Unveiling the rescaling of the global governance agenda:

The case of the globalisation of learner-centred education through open education

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Abstract

Enhancing the quality of teaching and learning in low-income countries has been a vexing global policy issue, in terms of both effectiveness and efficiency. Within these debates, learner-centred education (LCE) has been widely promoted as a solution to this quality crisis, but not without widespread critique. This thesis adds voice to this growing concern by arguing that the globalisation of learner-centred education through open education serves the interests of the global elite by rescaling the governance of education to global centres of power. Using an instrumental case study design, this research investigates how one intergovernmental organisation, the Commonwealth of Learning, uses open education teacher training initatives to facilitate the globalisation of LCE. Drawing on Robertson and Dale's (2015) Critical Cultural Political Economy of Education (CCPEE) and Bernstein's (2000a) pedagogic theory as theoretical and methodological frameworks, this thesis engages in an internal analysis of the structure of pedagogic discourse at macro (policy) and micro (curricular) levels. The findings reveal that the Commonwealth of Learning's Open Education for English Language Teaching modules facilitates the recontextualisation of LCE by reproducing teacher-centred pedagogic principles within a learner-driven design. This adaptation of LCE was found to aid an ideological shift in the nature of teaching and learning to reposition control of educational provision away from national governments, and to relay neoliberal and neocolonial ideologies into low-income countries. This study provides a rich description of how pedagogic discourse is used to aid the global governance of education by delinking national governments from having sole power and authority over local forms of education. These findings not only challenge assumptions about the neutrality of pedagogic practice in open education, but they also identify how globalising processes are facilitated through pedagogy to protect the economic, political and social interests of the global elite.

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Glossary

CCPEE	Critical, Cultural Political Economy of Education
CFS	Child Friendly Schools
COL	Commonwealth of Learning
EFA	Education for All
GNI	Gross National Income
LCE	Learner-Centred Education
IGO	Intergovernmental Organisation
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
ODL	Open Distance Learning
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development
OER	Open Education Resources
ORELT	Open Resources for English Language Teaching
PI	Performance Indicators
QI	Quality Indicators
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Policies
SRA	Strategic Relational Approach
TEI	Teacher Education Institution
TPS	Totally Pedagogised Society
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UPE	Universal Primary Education

Chapter 1: Introduction

My entry into this research began quite unsuspectingly in November 2009 when a friend told me about a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) that was looking for an educator to be involved in a teacher training project in Rwanda. The focus, she explained, was to train teachers and to develop national teacher training material to facilitate the national transition to English as a medium of instruction and to support the implementation of learner-centred pedagogy. It was intended that this training would also enhance teachers' capacity in using ICT so that their training could continue via distance using a Moodle platform. She immediately had my interest. As an assistant principal of an inner-city primary school in Sydney at the time, my entire professional career had focused on implementing inquiry-based learner-centred pedagogy, both within my own teaching practice and within school-wide programmes. While I'd never been to Rwanda before, I naïvely believed that my experiences as an educator in several Western contexts had equipped me to facilitate pedagogical change in this low-income nation and, even more naively, that learner-centred pedagogy was the 'answer' to this country's educational woes. With this unchallenged belief, I applied to go to Rwanda with a suitcase of idealism and a passport of Western teaching experience. It seems that was enough for a ticket to become an educational consultant for a country I had never met.

I touched down in Rwanda earnestly believing that pedagogical transformation would be simple. My first teaching experience gave me a nice dose of reality. As I worked with teachers in a Rwandan school to model lessons that utilised learner-centred strategies and then alongside these teachers to support their own pedagogical transformation, I soon found implementing learner-centred approaches incredibly challenging. Despite my experience and wealth of ideas, the teaching conditions, lack of resources, teaching facilities and crowded class sizes made sustained implementation difficult. I found myself questioning my belief that learner-centred pedagogy would be the 'answer' to the publicly proclaimed education crisis and a key to enhancing the currently crippled economic status. How, in the face of so many challenges and complexities, could pedagogy alone bring economic prosperity and social freedom that was so frequently claimed?

It was during this time of deep reflection that I began to feel increasingly uncomfortable in my role as teacher trainer. Up until this point, I had, as much as I hate to admit, come to Rwanda to impart my knowledge and transfer my expertise to Rwandan 'Others'. I had shamefully considered Rwandese teachers to be inferior in their pedagogical practice, and I had conceived it to be my role to move them forward on the evolutionary pedagogical continuum towards pedagogical competency. But upon spending time in the classroom with these Rwandan 'Others', they now had a face, a name and a story. They were no longer a nameless group of unskilled, unqualified, incapable teachers who needed urgent Western expertise to set them on the path towards pedagogical excellence. They were a group of dedicated, hard-working men and women who navigated extreme poverty and significant personal and professional challenges on a daily basis to teach amongst the surmountable challenges they faced. These teachers had far more skill, knowledge and expertise of their own culture and effective teaching practices within their challenging educational contexts, yet their knowledge was continually disregarded in favour of the Western 'expert'. Their own skilled teachers, school leaders, lecturers and academics were continually overlooked as sources of knowledge and expertise on strengthening their education system in preference to Western volunteers who knew nothing of their country, culture or education system. The fact that the decision-making about the future of their children and education in their country was subtly being eroded and placed into the hands of Western experts left me feeling uneasy about my own positioning in this emerging web of hidden agendas.

Alongside working with teachers, during that first visit to Rwanda I was subcontracted to a much larger international aid organisation to work alongside key personnel from a unit within the Ministry of Education to write the national teacher training modules. These modules would be used to train Rwandese teachers to implement English as the medium of instruction through learner-centred approaches. I formed part of a team of Western experts and a team of educational leaders from within this unit to work collaboratively to write national teacher training modules. The intention was that these modules would be used to train teachers at various workshops throughout the country over the summer holiday period. A cascade training approach was intended to be utilised, where the key trainers would initially be taught by those of us on the writing team. These key trainers would train district inspectors and College of Education lecturers from each of the regions, who would then, in turn, train local teachers.

For this task of developing teacher training material, I was partnered with a Rwandan colleague, and it was through this collaboration that I began to learn more about the complexities of the Rwandan education system from a broader perspective. Even as we were writing the modules, there were large numbers of teachers and teacher trainers quietly protesting on the steps because delays in aid funding meant that the Ministry of Education had been unable to pay their salaries for months. The significant impact that foreign aid was having on the nation was clearly evident. However, not all of this impact was in a positive way. I also came to realise that there were many, often misguided, interpretations of learner-centred education that were promoted and taught by aid agencies. There appeared to be a strong focus on implementing certain teaching strategies, such as role-plays, group work and questioning, without the rationale and understanding about why it was being implemented. For example, questioning was often reduced to asking children yes/no questions, rather than asking questions that would extend and engage thinking. Because of the reliance on external aid, it appeared as though international aid agencies were in the driver's seat about what effective learning and teaching should look like. Often this was reduced to activities that were devoid of their rich educational foundation.

Upon returning to Australia, it had been intended that the teacher training I was involved in would continue, via a distance education Moodle platform. Again, the realities of this seemingly cost effective and quality training programme became evident as limited and costly internet access coupled with insufficient computer knowledge meant that teacher engagement with this distance learning platform was non-existent. This distance-training programme was consequently a failure with 100% of teachers failing to complete the intended training. While a Western lens painted open education as a quick and effective remedy to the significant teacher shortage in Rwanda, the realities I experienced suggested otherwise.

This Rwandan experience left me with more questions than answers. Questions about the nature of international aid, questions about the use of cross-border distance learning and, importantly, questions about the underlying agenda in the globalisation of learner-centred education (LCE). These questions have framed this research, and my experiences have prompted me to take a critical lens to understand this widespread globalisation of LCE through open education. The following section locates my experiences within the broader context of

the global education agenda and provides a brief contextual background to the widespread interest that international aid agencies have taken in LCE.

1.1 Setting the scene: A brief introduction to learner-centred, open education

Increasing emphasis on enhancing the quality of education in low-income countries has seen growing interest in the role of LCE in facilitating the achievement of educational quality (Schweisfurth, 2013a; UNESCO, 2000; Vavrus, Thomas, & Bartlett, 2011). Despite this widespread interest, Schweisfurth (2013a) notes that LCE has been difficult to define and has been frequently misunderstood, particularly when implemented into diverse cultural and socioeconomic contexts. Consequently, Schweisfurth defines LCE as

> a pedagogical approach which gives learners, and demands from them, a relatively high level of active control over the content and process of learning. What is learnt, and how, is therefore shaped by learners' needs, capacities and interests. (Schweisfurth, 2013a, p. 20)

LCE is a pedagogical practice that "extends beyond the childhood phase" (Schweisfurth, 2013a, p. 14), and therefore centres on the learners' active control over their learning, regardless of their age or educational stage. As this thesis focuses on both teachers and their students as learners, the term learner-centred *education* (LCE) has been used rather than learner-centred pedagogy (LCP).

The role of teacher education in supporting the implementation of LCE has gained increasing awareness in the global community (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015f; UNESCO, 2014; World Bank, 2003). Open Distance Learning (ODL) and Open Educational Resources (OER) have been advocated as a viable and cost effective way to provide quality teacher training programmes to low-income countries, particularly for teachers in impoverished and isolated localities (UNESCO, 2002; 2014). The Commonwealth of Learning (COL) defines ODL as a

> system of teaching and learning characterised by separation of teacher and learner in time and/or place; uses multiple media for delivery of instruction; involves two-way communication and occasional face-to-face meeting for tutorials and learner-learner interaction. (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015k, p. 3)

Alongside ODL, the more recent emergence of OER has further transformed the conceptualisation of education within the global field of education (Atkins, Seely Brown, &

Hammond, 2007; Hylén, 2006; Peters, 2008, 2009). At the OER Paris Declaration in 2012, OER was defined as

> any teaching, learning and research materials in any medium, digital or otherwise, that reside in the public domain or have been released under an open license that permits no-cost access, use, adaptation and redistribution by others with no or limited restrictions. (UNESCO, 2012, p. 1)

While there are distinct differences between ODL and OER which will be explored in greater depth in chapter two, unless otherwise stated, this thesis will use the term 'open education' (Peters, 2009) to refer to a "paradigm of social production in the global knowledge economy" (Peters, 2009, p. 205), which utilises digital technologies to remove architectural and physical barriers to education in order to provide open access to educational programmes, resources and initiatives.

Despite strong justification for the implementation of LCE (Schweisfurth, 2013a) and increasing support for the role of open education in facilitating LCE's global reach (UNESCO, 2002), there have been growing concerns about its rapid and widespread implementation in low-income countries by international aid agencies (Biraimah, 2008; Carter, 2010; Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008; Guthrie, 2011; Tabulawa, 2003; Tikly, 2004). In particular, Tabulawa (2003) argues that LCE is not value-neutral, despite being presented as a neutral, value-free and technical phenomenon. He claims that LCE transmits a view of the world that serves Western interests, thus hiding political and ideological agendas. Tabulawa argues that LCE is, therefore, a modern-day carrier of a neoliberal agenda and a "process of Westernisation disguised as quality and effective teaching" (p. 7). Given that the implementation of learner-centred approaches has largely been assigned to international aid agencies, a growing number of academics have questioned whose agenda LCE actually serves (Carter, 2010; Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008; Guthrie, 2011; Tabulawa, 2003). It is for this reason that this research intends to examine the globalisation of LCE through open education and consider to what extent wider economic, political and cultural conditions have influenced its widespread implementation.

1.2 Research aims

This research aims to identify the invisible structures that frame the globalisation of LCE through open education. This research is, therefore, concerned with understanding who

benefits from the globalisation of LCE. In order to understand this, a case study of an intergovernmental organisation (IGO) the Commonwealth of Learning (COL) has been chosen to provide a lens through which to examine the political, economic and cultural factors that influence this phenomenon. As an organisation that promotes learner-centred approaches to teacher education through open education (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015f), COL's open education programmes provide a bounded case to investigate this globalisation of LCE. It is important to note that the emphasis of this research is not on examining the phenomenon of open education itself, rather it is on understanding the pedagogic principles within open education and understanding to what extent these pedagogic principles are influenced by wider economic, political and cultural agendas. Put simply, pedagogy is the central focus of this research, with open education providing the vehicle to understand the pedagogic principles within this pedagogic device.

It is also important to draw attention to the intentional decision to use the term low-income country to describe countries that are defined by having a gross national income (GNI) per capita of US $1, 045 or less (World Bank, 2016). While the terms global North and global South are frequently used in development literature (King, 1991, 2007), these terms are problematic as they suggest that the gross national income (GNI) is determined by geographical boundaries. The problem with such categorisation is that there are high-income countries, such as Australia and New Zealand, that reside in the southern hemisphere and similarly, there are low-income countries, such as Afghanistan, that are located in the northern hemisphere. Therefore, the crude application of the terms North and South do not accurately reflect the low-income status of countries that are a focus of this study. In a similar way, the term 'developing country' is equally problematic. The frequently held perspective that such countries are at the bottom end of a development continuum will be examined further in chapter two; however, it does raise questions about who decides what development looks like and how and by whom such an image is achieved. The paternalistic position taken by the West in such development thinking has been heavily criticised (Escobar, 2012). It is for this reason that the term low-income country has been used in this thesis to refer to the economic status of a country, rather than a geographical location or a position on a subjectively measured development continuum.

1.3 Introducing the case: The Commonwealth of Learning

A case study design was believed to be the most effective way to consider who benefits from the globalisation of LCE through open education and to thoroughly examine the economic, political and cultural influences on this phenomenon. This chapter briefly introduces the case in order to bring greater contextual understanding to this study from the outset of this thesis. COL is an IGO whose mandate is to assist low-income nations in the Commonwealth to improve their access to quality education and training through the development and advancement of distance education and open learning (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015f). Housed in Vancouver, Canada, COL was established in 1987 by the Commonwealth Heads of Government to encourage the development and access to ODL, technologies and resources (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015f). COL began from a report, *Towards a Commonwealth of Learning: A proposal to create the University of the Commonwealth for cooperation in distance learning* (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1987), which recommended that an institution be established to encourage the sharing of resources and technologies between both high and low-income countries and between low-income countries themselves through ODL.

COL was intended to be at the frontline of utilising information and communication technologies to address the education and training needs of member states in remote and impoverished regions of the Commonwealth (Commonwealth of Learning, 2007b). It was for this reason that COL's first decade focused on the expansion and improvement of higher education (Commonwealth of Learning, 2007b) with a particular goal of enhancing human capital in low-income nations of the Commonwealth. As detailed further in chapter five, COL later aligned its mandate with the global education agenda in order to support the achievement of the Education for All (EFA) education targets and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in each of its 54 Commonwealth member countries (Commonwealth of Learning, 2006a). Because of this, enhancing the quality of education for all Commonwealth citizens became a key target, with a specific focus on improving the capacity of governments and civil society to enable the achievement of this goal (Commonwealth of Learning, 2006a, 2009a, 2012a).

1.3.1   Governance structure

COL represents the 54 member states of the Commonwealth and is governed by a Board of Governors who holds responsibility for the policies, principles and priorities of COL (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015e). It is also the role of the Board to facilitate a triennial strategic planning workshop to ensure that there has been input from key stakeholders in the development of the three-year strategic plan before being presented to the Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers (CCEM) for endorsement (Commonwealth of Learning, 2014a). Alongside the Chair, the Board of Governors consists of six members who have been appointed as representatives from either Commonwealth Governments or donor organisations. The top six financial contributors to COL determine the six membership places on the Board of Governors, and these financial contributors can be either from Commonwealth governments or from non-governmental organisations. Representative Board members are appointed for a three-year term. The current representatives on the Board of Governors are from Canada, India, United Kingdom, New Zealand, Nigeria and South Africa, with the current position of Chair being held by a New Zealander. In addition to these six members, there are four regional representatives to ensure that there is a regional spread of representation. These regional representatives are appointed on recommendation from the Commonwealth Secretary-General and hold a three-year term. The Commonwealth Secretary General also appoints a member. The final position on the Board is an advisor. While this advisory role does not have voting power, this advisor can participate in discussions and debates (Commonwealth of Learning, 2014a).

1.3.2   Funding

Voluntary contributions from Commonwealth Governments and "other appropriate agencies and donors" (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015h, p. 3) form the bulk of funding to COL. However, it is unclear what constitutes an appropriate agency and donor, and on what grounds voluntary contributions from non-government sources are accepted or declined. The *2015 Governance Manual* (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015h) stipulates that these funds are to be freely used by COL for the purposes of fulfilling the strategic plans that have been approved by the Commonwealth Education Ministers at the triennial Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers (CCEM). COL also earns additional revenue through the provision of services, which is noted in the *2012−2015 strategic plan* (Commonwealth of Learning,

2012a), to consist of 20% of COL's income. Revenue from investments, royalties and licensing fees also make a small contribution to COL's funding.

1.3.3   Education initiatives

COL's wide-ranging involvement in primary, secondary and tertiary initiatives has been made possible by its network of partnerships with ministries of education in member states, universities, Teacher Education Institutions (TEIs), regional organisations, multilateral organisation, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and private philanthropic organisations. While these initiatives and partnerships are examined in greater detail in chapter five, it is pertinent to draw attention to a recent initiative that has seen the development of Open Educational Resources (OER) for teachers of English in low-income countries. These Open Resource for English Language Teaching (ORELT) modules are used as an important data source in this research and, therefore, are central to the analysis of LCE in this study. As chapter four explains, these ORELT modules are freely accessible and have been designed to assist English teachers in low-income countries to implement learner-centred approaches within their own teaching practice (Commonwealth of Learning, 2014b, 2014c). Because these resources are intended to be utilised by both TEI's in their pre-service teacher education programmes and by practising teachers as a self-study in-service training programme (Commonwealth of Learning, 2014b), the ORELT modules are advocated as a cost-effective and accessible resource to enhance the quality of teaching in low-income countries. Further information about COL will be provided in chapter five as COL's programmes and networks of partnership are explored and critically analysed.

1.4   Research questions

As previously noted, this thesis aims to examine the invisible structures that influence the globalisation of LCE through open education. This research intends to achieve this aim by considering the following overarching research question:

1. *Who benefits from the globalisation of learner-centred education?*

The answer to this overarching question will be found through the investigation of sub-questions that have been adapted from Dale's (2000, 2005) education questions. Chapter three

justifies the use of Dale's (2000, 2005) questions and explains how each of these questions have facilitated the analysis of this phenomenon and have also guided the structuring of this thesis. These questions are as follows:

- What is taught in the Open Resource for English Language Teaching (ORELT) modules and how and by whom are these things decided?

- To what extent is learner-centred education facilitated within open education, and who benefits from the utilisation of learner-centred education as a pedagogic device?

- How does the Commonwealth of Learning define, govern, organise and manage learner-centred education, and with what relations to other sectors does this occur and through what structures, institutions and processes?

- To what ends and in whose interests does the globalisation of learner-centred education occur, and what are the social, political and economic consequences?

1.5   Importance of research

While previous research has brought a sociological lens to the investigation of LCE in low-income countries (Barrett, 2007; Hoadley, 2008; Schweisfurth, 2013a; Sriprakash, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012), no research has applied this sociological understanding to the globalisation of LCE through open education. Therefore, this research seeks to address this gap by engaging in a sociological examination of the pedagogic principles within open education. In doing so, it is hoped that this study will reveal who benefits from the globalisation of this phenomenon and that it will identify the wider economic, political and cultural conditions that influence its application into the open education context. This scholarship is intended to bring new insight to the field of comparative and international education and make a unique contribution to the body of knowledge by examining pedagogic communication within this context.

It is believed that such findings will be of great interest to academics who have questioned pedagogic globalisation and the underlying agendas that such a phenomenon carries. Furthermore, by bringing a critical voice to the pedagogical assumptions that have governed the rapid expansion of open education, it is hoped that this research will reposition the focus of open education away from technology and access by re-engaging debate about the facilitation of pedagogy within open education. Therefore, by positioning pedagogy at the centre of open

education, the findings of this thesis are considered to be of interest to academics as well as educators, policy makers in both low and high-income countries and IGO's who use open education programmes to enhance the quality of teaching in low-income countries.

1.6   Chapter overview

Following this introduction to this theiss, chapter two lays a literary foundation for this research by introducing neoliberal globalisation and examining how this ideology influences the political, economic and cultural agendas driving international aid and development. With this broader theoretical understanding, the focus of chapter two shifts to examining the global interest in LCE by international aid agencies and its more recent marriage with open education. Chapter three establishes the ontological and epistemological foundation for this study by arguing that critical theory and critical realism provide a view of the social world which acknowledges that invisible causal mechanisms influence the conditions for knowing and knowledge production. Thus, this chapter rejects the notion that education and, in particular, pedagogy, is neutral and argues that invisible economic, political and cultural forces influence the actions of actors within the field of global education. Chapter three then explores Robertson and Dale's (2015) theorising of the Critical Cultural Political Economy of Education (CCPEE) and argues that it provides a way of understanding the globalisation of educational phenomena. Finally, the Structural Relational Approach (Hay, 2002; Jessop, 2005) is introduced to demonstrate how an investigation of the relationship between structure and agency can be used within the CCPEE framework to examine the globalisation of LCE through a critical realist lens.

Following the introduction of these meta-theoretical foundations, chapter four outlines the case study methodology and document analysis methods that have guided the collection and analysis of data in this research. Bernstein's (2000a) theory of the pedagogic device is explained and justified as an analytic theory to guide the theoretical analysis of data in this study. Chapters five, six, seven and eight draw on Robertson and Dale's (2015) four 'education moments' as a conceptual framework to facilitate an analysis of LCE at a micro and macro level. Each chapter focuses on a different 'education moment' and draws on content, and thematic and theoretical analysis to report on the findings of this micro and macro analysis. Chapter five begins with a macro level analysis where the *moment of the politics of*

education are considered. Using the Strategic Relational Approach (Hay, 2002; Jessop, 2005) in conjunction with Bourdieu's field theory (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), chapter five examines COL's relationships with its strategic partners. It applies the notion of organisational agency to reveal how the economic, political and cultural conditions that structure the field of global education influence COL's own strategic responses. It will show how COL's own structuring of these responses has enabled COL to establish the legitimacy of open education as an educational platform to facilitate LCE.

Chapter six builds on these findings to examine the *moment of education politics* (Robertson & Dale, 2015). This chapter bridges a micro level analysis of pedagogic discourse in the ORELT modules to a macro level analysis of pedagogic discourse within COL's official field of governance. A Bernstenian analysis of pedagogic discourse reveals that open education makes it possible for the state, as the traditional producer of official pedagogic discourse, to be removed from the governance of this domain. This chapter argues that open education has granted IGO's, such as COL, access to the governance of the official field of pedagogic discourse in low-income countries. It argues that this facilitates a silent shift in educational governance away from the nation-state.

Chapter seven explores the *moment of educational practice* (Robertson & Dale, 2015) by reporting on the findings of a micro-level analysis of the pedagogic device within the ORELT modules. This chapter demonstrates that while the ORELT modules do not adequately support the implementation of LCE, they do aid the socialisation of students. Finally, chapter eight draws together the key findings to discuss the *moment of outcome* (Robertson & Dale, 2015). The argument put forth in this chapter proposes that the globalisation of LCE serves the economic, political and cultural interests of the global elite and suggests that open education facilitates a recontextualisation of LCE that has enabled COL to gain symbolic control of the field of global education. This chapter concludes this thesis by arguing that open education facilitates a shift in the global governance of education away from nation states into the hands of global centres of power.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Providing access to quality education in low-income countries has been both fiercely debated and passionately advocated by political, educational and economic stakeholders (Braslavsky, 2005; Chapman, Weidman, Cohen, & Mercer, 2005; O'Sullivan, 2005; Schleicher, 2009; UNESCO, 2005, 2014). Claimed as a hallmark of educational quality, LCE has been advocated as a cure for widespread educational failure (Tabulawa, 2003). Yet sitting beneath the surface of this ambitious aim rests narratives of assumption, which critics argue conceal notions of power and control that hide underlying neo-liberal and neo-colonial agendas (Carter, 2010; Tabulawa, 2003, 2013b). This chapter focuses on the current debates that theorise the globalisation of educational phenomena and establishes how neoliberal globalisation has redesigned the nature of teaching and learning. This chapter then examines how neoliberal globalisation has influenced the quest for educational quality and demonstrates how LCE has been made synonymous with enhancing educational quality. Attention is drawn to the concerns about the implementation of LCE into low-income countries before considering the role of open education in facilitating its widespread implementation. This chapter draws attention to the limited research that has critically explored the intersection of open education and pedagogy and concludes by arguing that there is a pressing need to critically understand pedagogic communication within open education.

2.2 Setting the scene: Examining the foundations of aid and development

This section introduces the field of international aid and development by drawing attention to the theoretical debates that have underpinned international development as an intellectual field. During the eighteenth century the notion of progress evolved as Enlightenment thinking presented humankind on a moving continuum towards a predestined direction of development that included economic, moral and social betterment (Eriksson Baaz, 2005). Building upon this evolutionary ideal, social Darwinism emerged in the nineteenth century and advanced the idea that societies intrinsically move from a primitive to a modern state, with moral, cultural, technological and economic advancement being key indicators on the journey of societal transformation (Eriksson Baaz, 2005). Societies were believed to be positioned at different

stages of this evolutionary continuum, with primitive societies representing an underdeveloped and backwards position that legitimised the 'white man's burden' (Easterly, 2006) to civilise these societies towards modernity (Crewe & Harrison, 1998; Eriksson Baaz, 2005; Hettne, 1983). Despite change in development policy and practice since this time, Nordtveit (2010) argues that development is still considered by many as a "linear process of change towards Western modernity" (p. 110).

Development theory emerged as a theoretical field as a result of growing awareness of the backward conditions and widespread poverty in Asia, Africa and Latin America, which caught the attention of experts and politicians in the West (Eriksson Baaz, 2005; Hettne, 1983). Following the leading of the U.S. to intervene in the 'problems' of low-income countries, the need for a framework to theorise solutions to these increasingly acknowledged and widespread problems became apparent (Escobar, 2012; Hettne, 1983). Traditionalism, where economic and vocational advancement depended on agriculture, local trade contexts and birth right rather than achievement, was perceived as a barrier to economic recovery (Leys, 1996). On the other hand, modernisation advanced the "process of transition from traditional to modern principles of social organisation" (Leys, 1996, p. 66). Changing beliefs, perceptions and values towards modernity was considered an important part of the answer for poverty alleviation, despite this belief being founded in little empirical evidence. Modernisation theory directly addressed and challenged the notion of poverty with development being advocated as the magic formula to alleviate global poverty (Escobar, 2012, p. xiv). Development, therefore, became synonymous with this evolutionary model of economic thinking.

However, growing concern about the lack of socio-economic, historical, cultural and political awareness that would shape a more balanced understanding of development led to the critique of this teleological modernisation narrative (Escobar, 2012). Post-development theory argued the need to go beyond an economic perspective to engage in the critique of the social, cultural and historic structures that continued to perpetuate underdevelopment in low-income countries (Escobar, 2012). Post-development theorists believe that the ideological foundations of development are problematic. By questioning whose knowledge is driving development, they argue that development has been built upon a Western knowledge that has maintained domination through the "marginalisation and disqualification of non-Western knowledge systems" (Escobar 2012, p. 13). Post-development theorists argue that answers to local

problems largely reflect Western interests and perspectives as local knowledge and voices are largely silenced through the pilgrimage of Western 'experts' to low-income countries. Escobar (2012) observes that development continues to be a "top-down, ethnocentric, and technocratic approach that removes value from people and cultures in the name of statistics, concepts and charts of progress" (p. 44). These theorists suggest that improving the way that development is implemented will not result in long-term and widespread economic change, rather it will fulfil the concealed goal of homogenisation and, ultimately, Westernisation (Matthews, 2004). Post-development theorists advocate for alternatives to development to be sought. They maintain that socio-economic development can only be achieved if it is based on indigenous perspectives, knowledge and decision-making (Kaya, 2001). Consequently, such theorists promote the empowerment of local people through responding to their needs, attending to local culture and empowering grassroots projects (Janzen, 2008).

However, despite post-development theory bringing growing awareness to the need to facilitate a more balanced understanding of development, modernisation theory has shaped much of our thinking about development today (Escobar, 2012). In this regard, modernisation theory has explained the drive to enhance living conditions in low-income countries, with education providing an important means to "unlock the door to modernisation … and create 'modern' individuals" (Robertson et al., 2007, p. xii). With education being used as a tool for modernisation, it is important to understand this relationship between education and development and consider how modernisation theory has underpinned recent developments within the field of global education.

2.3   Education aid and the emergence of the Global Education Agenda

This section builds on this theoretical understanding of development by examining the relationship between education and development and by considering how this modernising function has facilitated the emergence of the Global Education Agenda. Up until recently, relatively few of the world's children have had access to education despite the fact that the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights states that free and compulsory education is a basic human right (Gakusi, 2010). Growing interest in the relationship between education and development has seen education play an important role in the modernisation of low-income countries through its attempts to create economically productive citizens (Escobar, 2012).

This has seen greater attention given to education as a field within mainstream development thinking (McGrath, 2010). Milestone conferences, reports and summits between 1990 and 2000 established new parameters for the coordination of education aid. King (2007) explains that it was the World Conference on Education for All (EFA) in 1990 (UNESCO, 1990), the OECD's report on *Shaping the 21st Century* (Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD), 1996), the World Forum in 2000 in Dakar (UNESCO, 2000), the Millennium Summit in New York in 2000 and the development of the MDGs (UN Millennium Project, 2015) that founded processes for identifying time-bound goals and targets for global education. These mechanisms established what is now commonly referred to as the Global Education Agenda (King, 2007). Instruments such as the Global Monitoring Reports (GMRs), the Millennium Project Reports and the 2005 Millennium Summit were also implemented to monitor progress towards achieving these goals (King, 2007). Consequently, the World Bank, UNICEF, UNESCO and the UNDP played important roles in establishing this world education agenda.

Despite the establishment of a Global Education Agenda, there has been criticism about the implications of such an agenda. A growing number of academics suggest that the MDGs project a narrow and universal view of education that will do little to change the current status quo (Malouf, 2010; Riddell, 2007b). For example, the six education goals that were set by EFA were narrowed further in the MDGs to focus on only two aspects of education: access to universal primary education and gender equality through challenging the gender disparity in education (King, 2007). Streamlining of funding to primary education has crippled the development of secondary and tertiary education in low-income countries, exposing these nations to an undeveloped workforce and making it difficult to fill professional and highly skilled roles (Adeyinka, 2006; Heyneman, 2009). There has also been significant concern that the emphasis on gaining access to education has overshadowed the importance of primary school completion and, as a result, academics argue that learning and skill development has played second-fiddle to access (Birdsall & Vaishnav, 2005; Jansen, 2005; Samoff, 2007).

There has also been increasing concern about the erosion of education quality as a result of the rapid increase in educational access (Knutsson & Lindberg, 2012). As explained later in this chapter, this prioritisation of access over quality has resulted in significant shortages of qualified teachers and a widespread lack of appropriate resources to provide quality education

programmes (Barrett, Chawla-Duggan., Lowe, Nikel, & Ukpo, 2006; Kagia, 2005; Knutsson & Lindberg, 2012). This has created space for aid agencies, such as COL, to provide alternative teacher training platforms in an effort to both increase access to teacher training programmes and to enhance the quality of teaching training programmes that are provided.

2.4 Theoretical foundations of aid and development

2.4.1 Debates and theories of globalisation

Given the centrality of globalisation to this study, this section examines some of the theoretical debates that have underpinned the conceptualisation of globalisation and examines its influence on aid and development. Globalisation has become an increasing focus in recent years, as the interplay between nation-states, societies, economies and cultures have transformed the nexus of global interactions, structures and power relations. This complex global architecture has infiltrated the educational arena by redefining the educational terrain, intensifying the rate of educational change, and realigning schooling with wider global political and economic agendas (Scholte, 2005). While there is no agreed definition of globalisation (Held & McGrew, 2000; Scholte, 2005), Held and McGrew (2000) conclude that globalisation has been generally referred to as the time-space compression that has resulted from the development of global communication, knowledge and information networks. This, they argue, has accentuated interdependence while at the same time facilitated the "shrinking of the world" (p. 3) by eroding borders and geographical boundaries to enable socio-economic activity, global integration, inter-regional interconnectedness and the reconfiguring of inter-regional power relations.

Depite having no agreed upon definition, there have been different theories to explain and conceptualise globalisation. Marxists maintain that capitalism has a "pathological expansionist logic" (Held & McGrew, 2000, p. 5), which has required capitalism to extend beyond national borders in order to exploit new markets (Raduntz, 2005; Wallerstein, 2004). World system theorists (Wallerstein, 2004) argue that the world is based upon unequal zones with the core zone dominating the periphery and semi-periphery nations. The covert aim of legitimising power in periphery nations is considered to be achieved through the implementation of certain knowledges and values which facilitates the spread of a world capitalist economy (Giddens,

2000; Spring, 2008). However, critics argue that such a view is over-simplified, focusing largely on economic influences at the expense of considering the complex and interconnected political and cultural relationships that exist within this core-periphery binary (Dale, 1999; Giddens, 2000). As chapter three explores, this structuralist world view also conflicts with critical realists' ideals of agential resistance and their interpretation to such forces (Lopez & Potter, 2001). Because of this, Held and McGrew (2000) challenge the belief that globalisation is a universal process by pointing out the unevenness of globalisation. Dale (1999) concurs by arguing that there is country variation in the interpretation and implementation of the new set of rules that globalisation has created. Dale maintains that "globalisation cannot be reduced to the identical imposition of the same policy on all countries" (p. 2). Therefore, the homogeneity that is evident within this Marxist perspective has been widely contested.

World culture supporters argue that globalisation is a new form of western imperialism and they maintain that the objective is to create one singular world culture (Hoogvelt, 2000; Spring, 2008). Education plays an important role in this perspective as culturalists argue that Western ideals of education are used as a model for other nation-states to follow. This is evident in the application of a Western-centric lens to the development of educational policies and the importation of Western educational programmes (Carney, 2003a; Little, 1996; Tikly, 1999). On the other hand, a 'globalists' (Held & McGrew, 2000) perspective presents a much broader and interrelated understanding of globalisation that accounts for the complexities of relationships within and between global actors at varying scalar levels. Globalists reject the notion that globalisation is an ideological construct or a substitute for Western imperialism that is driven from above solely by capitalism, technology or a quest for Western modernity (Dale, 1999, 2000; Held & McGrew, 2000; Singh, Kenway & Apple, 2005). While acknowledging that globalisation may serve Western social forces, globalists also argue that it reflects a rescaling of modern social organisation. Dale (1999) argues that globalisation is instigated and carried out by supranational organisations rather than by a single country. He maintains that this distinguishes globalisation from imperialism and colonialism. Globalists believe that global analysis must conceive globalisation as interrelated processes that operate across domains of social power, which includes the political and cultural as well as the economic (Dale, 1999, 2000; Giddens, 2000; Popkewitz & Rizvi, 2009). It is, therefore, considered that a socio-historical analysis provides a valuable examination of the globalist account. It is for this reason that this research draws on this globalist perspective as a way of

providing a historically located understanding of the interrelated economic, political and cultural processes that have influenced the globalisation of LCE through open education.

Globalists also argue that globalisation has transformed traditional territorial powers and the dominant socio-economic organisation of states by removing the barriers to social interaction through time and space compression (Giddens, 2000; Popkewitz & Rizvi, 2009). They maintain that the growth of international, transnational, multilateral, regional and intergovernmental organisations has changed the structural and relational landscape of state and civil society (Dale, 2000; Korten, 1996; Robertson, 2012c; Robertson & Verger, 2012; Robertson, Mundy, Verger, & Menashy, 2012). Because of this, traditional lines of decision-making, policy formation and economic development have been blurred with the presence and power of overarching global entities (Crossley & Tikly, 2004; Dale, 2000; Robertson, 2005; Spring, 2008). This is seen in the way that IGOs, such as COL, have gained greater governance of decision-making in low-income countries through their role in facilitating and implementing policy initiatives (Dale & Robertson, 2007). Rather than replacing nation-states, Dale and Robertson (2007) draw attention to how IGOs work through socialisation, institutionalisation and communication to create an informal structure of sovereignty.

Globalisation has consequently embedded the modern state within a web of global and regional interconnectedness that is pervaded by intergovernmental, transnational and supranational forces (Castells, 2000; Dale & Robertson, 2007; Sobe & Ortegon, 2009). This, globalists argue, ultimately increases the power of these global actors while eroding the control, autonomy and capacity for state governments to act independently to pursue and articulate domestic policy objectives (Mundy & Menashy, 2012). Globalisation has consequently aided the reconfiguring of political power. Rosenau (2000) concludes that shifts in the location of power and control are underway in continents and countries around the world with this power manifesting in the political, economic and social fields. Robertson (2013) builds on this notion of global governance by conceptualising governance as a pedagogical relationship. Robertson proposes that governance facilitates a pedagogical relationship in a broad sense, which guides the enactment of cultural production and reproduction. She explains that governance as pedagogy is further evidenced in a narrow sense in the way that pedagogical practice facilitates a governing relationship between teachers and learners. Robertson concludes that the form and nature of educational governance has

consequences for the social relations and identities of actors at all levels of this pedagogic relationship.

This lack of theoretical consensus of globalisation has led Robertson (2012c) to draw attention to the "thin ground" (p. xx) on which the conceptualising, theorising and operationalising of critical transnational policy analysis within the field of education resides. Robertson (2012b) suggests that global education policy analysis needs to go beyond the theorising of global as an exogenous notion that 'acts upon' the shaping of endogenous or local education policymaking. She argues that such perspective fails to recognise the role of agents and their agency to act within the dynamics of local legitimacy, regardless of how fragile these legitimations are in reality. It is for this reason that this research seeks to understand how COL utilises organisational agency in response to wider economic, political and cultural conditions and how these strategic responses shape the way that COL globalises LCE through open education. In doing so, it is hoped that greater awareness of the interrelationship between key global actors can be identified, thus drawing attention to the complexities and intricacies of this globalising process. In order to analyse the globalisation of LCE in such way, chapter three introduces Robertson and Dale's (2015) Critical Cultural Political Economy of Education (CCPEE) as a conceptual grammar to provide both a theoretical and methodological framework to examine the globalisation of LCE through open education.

2.4.2 Examining the emergence of the neoliberal agenda

This theorising and conceptualising of the globalisation of education sets the scene for considering its relationship with neoliberalism. This section intends to bring awareness to how neoliberal globalisation works to influence the actions of agents within the field of global education. Neoliberalism has been a dominant, persuasive and persistent hegemonic discourse that has invaded public policy and economic development from the mid seventies (Harrison, 2010; Kiiza, 2001; Mayo, 2015; Olssen, 2004). While neoliberalism was originally conceived as a form of economic policy to promote the efficiency of the free-market by reducing the state's role in economic governance (Kiiza, 2001; Klees, 2008; Mayo, 2015; Olssen, 2004), neoliberalism has more recently been recognised as an ideology that has underpinned the reorganisation of the social and political fabric of modern society (Giroux, 2004; Mayo, 2015). Consequently, neoliberalism "extends beyond the realm of economic policy making by

encroaching into the domains of individual and social life" (Mayo, 2015, p. 3). In essence, this makes neoliberalism an organising principle for social, political and economic decision-making (Giroux, 2004).

As a school of thought, Klees (2008) explains that neoliberalism has existed for over a century and has dominated western economics since World War II. Spring (2008) notes that the roots of neoliberalism can be found in the work of Friedrich Hayek who argued that government bureaucracies inhibited free markets. However, it was the oil shocks in the 1970s and the Mexican financial crisis in 1982 that led the World Bank and the IMF to aggressively usher in a series of neoliberal policies to ensure that indebted countries would repay their loans. These structural adjustment policies (SAPs) established the policy architecture to open up international competition, deregulate the economy and reduce state control and expenditure on social services, which paved the way for other actors to gain control of the provision of social services such as education (Robertson et al., 2007). The introduction of this neoliberal project later became known as the Washington Consensus, and it was this standardised framework that enabled IGOs to implement these neoliberal policies and practices into low-income countries (Tikly, 2004).

Low-income countries were encouraged to implement economic policies favouring export-led growth, privatisation, decentralisation and the conditions necessary to attract foreign investment (Brock-Utne, 2008; Harrison, 2010; Kiiza, 2001). Despite this, many critics draw attention to the widespread failure of the structural adjustment policies (SAPs) in reducing poverty and promoting growth (Harrison, 2010; Kiiza, 2001; Klees, 2008). There has also been concern that neoliberal policies have been the "perfect economic engine and political mantle" (Robertson, 2007b, p. 8) to protect the economic and political interests of the global elite. In essence, a quarter of a century of neoliberal reform has aided the rich, not the poor. Because of this, Giroux (2004) refers to neoliberalism as the most "virulent and brutal form of market capitalism" (p. xiii).

Education has played an important role in advancing neoliberal ideologies by preparing students for their role as economically productive citizens. Milton Friedman played an instrumental role in aligning these economic ideals to education. He maintained that students,

not the government, should be responsible for investing and financing their own education (Butler, 2011). Underlying this neoliberal drive for economic viability resides the image of students as human capital (Apple, 2006; Harrison, 2010; Mayo, 2015). Woodhall (1997) defines human capital as self-investment through education or training, which enhances actors future income through increased lifetime earning. Development banks have become fixated with the development of human capital in low-income countries as a way of creating the foundational infrastructure for investment in the mobility of capital to new markets (Mayo, 2015). Human capital discourse has increasingly underpinned educational policy initiatives as IGOs and governments have endeavoured to enhance economic productivity based on the belief that education will produce economically-viable citizens. As future workers of the knowledge economy, it is considered important that students have the necessary dispositions and skills to compete effectively and efficiently in order to generate profitable outcomes for the knowledge society (Apple, 2006; Hargreaves, 2003). Hargreaves (2003) observes that "knowledge-society organisations" (p. 3) develop the capacity for their members to "tune into the desires and demands of the consumer market and to change jobs or develop new skills as economic fluctuations and down-turn requires" (p. 3). This draws attention to the underlying socialising function of this neoliberal ideology and demonstrates how neoliberalism is a social as well as an economic project.

Giroux (2004) explains that neoliberalism is an organising principle of social, political and economic life, which makes understanding public pedagogy and cultural politics central to the struggle against neoliberalism. While neoliberalism's "limited story" (Giroux, 2004, p. xxiii) rehashes messages that oppose identities, values and institutions, it's ingenious that it does so in increasingly novel and deceptive ways. This understanding of the metamorphic qualities of neoliberalism demonstrates how it influences the choices and actions of actors within the field of education. This understanding of neoliberalism as a socialising project is central to this thesis and will be revisited in chapters six, seven and eight through an analysis of COL's open education programmes.

2.5   The quest for quality: Global education and the quality imperative

With education playing an important role in facilitating the socialising function of the neoliberal agenda, educational quality has attracted interest from both development banks and

the development community as an answer to the educational challenges faced by low-income countries. On the one hand, education quality has been used to validate increased accountability and the standardisation of educational measurement to support the advancement of human capital theory (Apple, 2006; Hargreaves, 2003; Mayo, 2015). On the other hand, critics argue that the introduction of aggressive neoliberal reforms has eroded the quality of educational provision in low-income countries (Knutsson & Lindberg, 2012). This section explores the implications of these neoliberal reforms on the quality of education in low-income countries and draws attention to the challenges that governments face in enhancing the quality of education.

The quest for quality began in the late 1980s as the global economic crisis left many African, Asian and Latin American countries in the face of severe economic hardship. The education sectors of these affected nations were left with significant challenges following the considerable drop in government spending on education (Vavrus et al., 2011). As noted earlier in this chapter, many low-income countries implemented structural adjustment reforms in order to alleviate the burden of external debt (Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008). The implementation of Universal Primary Education (UPE) and curriculum reform formed part of the educational requirements of these structural adjustment packages (Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008). Put simply, ensuring access to primary education became a central focus for governments in low-income countries in order to qualify for this financial assistance. Despite the benefits of providing access to primary education, these neoliberal reforms had a detrimental consequence on the quality of educational provision. School enrolments increased rapidly, yet school infrastructures had limited capacity to cope with the burgeoning class sizes (Akkari, 2005; Barrett, 2007, 2009; Guthrie, 2011; UNESCO, 2014). Increased class sizes placed considerable strain on the limited resources and ability for teaching staff to effectively cater for student needs (Barwell et al., 2007; Bines & Woods, 2008; Brodie, Lelliott, & Davis, 2002). Knutsson and Lindberg (2012) describe this as a "quality-quantity trade off" (p. 816). It was also falsely believed that that access to, and completion of, primary education would be evidence of educational quality (Chapman et al., 2005; UNESCO, 2014). However, research has since dispelled this myth (UNESCO, 2014; World Bank, 2011a) with Verspoor (2008) finding that literacy and numeracy levels for students completing primary school in Africa was so poor that years in school had given them few basic transferrable skills. This growing realisation that poor quality education will not alleviate poverty turned the development community's attention to enhancing the quality of teaching (Barrett et al., 2006; Kagia, 2005).

As the demand for teachers far exceeded their availability, governments have been faced with the overwhelming challenge of recruiting and training thousands of teachers to cope with the influx of students (Benavente, Stangeline, & Mbanze, 2008; UNESCO, 2005). A recent UNESCO report identified that 5.2 million teachers needed to be recruited and trained to achieve UPE by 2015 (UNESCO, 2014). Meagre teaching salaries have also done little to entice school levers into the profession (Chapman et al., 2005; World Bank, 2011b). This has resulted in a poor calibre of school leavers entering the profession as well as existing positions being filled with unqualified teachers, particularly in rural and hard to reach localities (Chapman et al., 2005). Not only has this placed pressure on existing Teacher Education Institutions (TEIs), but the quality of teacher training has also been called into question (Barrett et al., 2006; Benavente et al., 2008; Lewin & Stuart, 2003; Mtika & Gates, 2010; Nagel, 2005; O'Sullivan, 2010; Rutaisire, 2012). Underfunded facilities and teaching staff who have limited experience of teaching themselves has meant that graduating teachers are ill-equipped for the realities of teaching, and unprepared to adapt to rapid changes and curriculum reforms that many countries have experienced as a result of UPE (McGinn & Schiefelbein, 2010; O'Sullivan, 2010; UNESCO, 2005; World Bank, 2011b). This demonstrates the enormous challenge associated with providing quality teacher training and how many countries also face the challenge of finding ways to train existing teachers (UNESCO, 2014). Enhancing the provision of quality teacher training to both pre-service and in-service teachers in low-income countries is of central concern to the international community.

While the international community has responded to the poor quality of education by endeavouring to address funding, resourcing and training needs, the World Bank has used the poor quality of education to further advance its neoliberal policies. Following Heymann's (1993) declaration that education in low-income countries was experiencing a 'quality crisis', the World Bank has been quick to capitalise on this quality crisis by stating that "education is inadequate in most developing countries" (World Bank, 2003, p. xix). They were equally quick to reattribute the blame for poor educational provision squarely on the shoulders of TEIs by stating that "teacher training needs to change" so that teachers can "learn new skills and become lifelong learners themselves to keep up to date with new knowledge, pedagogical ideas and technology" (World Bank, 2003, p. xix). Almost ten years later, the World Bank (2011a) continues to lament on the difficulty in "bringing about this change in the way teachers and trainers behave" (p. 35). They attribute this poor behaviour to "lack of accountability for teacher (and school) performance …" (p. 35). In other words, resistance to

change is blamed on teachers and teachers educators rather than the structural reforms which eroded the quality of teaching in the first place (Heyneman, 2003). Barrett et al. (2006) also point out that for many years it was the World Bank's narrow instrument of measurement which ensured that inputs, such as textbook numbers and numbers of trained teachers, were used to measure educational quality, which devalued any emphasis on learning outcomes. It is then somewhat interesting that this 'learning crisis' has been problematised by the World Bank to frame their most recent *Learning for all* education strategy (World Bank, 2011a), which ushers in private stakeholders to rectify this crisis of learning. Thus, the World Bank has capitalised on the outcomes of its neoliberal policies by using poor educational quality to legitimate the privatisation of teacher education in low-income countries to non-state actors. This demonstrates how educational quality has been used to justify the acceleration of The World Bank's neoliberal education policies.

2.6   Learner Centred Education: Pedagogical preference or pedagogical guise?

This growing interest in quality teaching from both development banks and the development community has seen increased attention given to identifying the factors that both promote and inhibit teacher quality. In particular, pedagogy has quietly played an important role in this unfolding quest to enhance educational quality. The *Dakar framework for action* (UNESCO, 2000) explicitly addressed the importance of educational quality; however, it also identified the need for "well-trained teachers and active learning techniques" (p. 20). This alignment between quality and pedagogy was further accentuated in the 2005 EFA Global monitoring report *Education for all: The quality imperative* (UNESCO, 2005). Not only was the importance of improving educational quality reinforced as a global imperative, but it was made clear that pedagogy played a significant role in enhancing the quality of educational provision. Consequently, quality education dialogue was introduced into the curriculum reform requirements of many countries, with quality education being made synonymous with the implementation of LCE (Vavrus et al., 2011). LCE became increasingly prominent in the national education policies of low-income countries (Biraimah, 2008; Carter, 2010; Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008; Guthrie, 2011; Schweisfurth, 2013a; Tabulawa, 2003; Tikly, 2004). The significance placed on the implementation of LCE as the answer to the quality crisis highlights that "learner-centred education is one of the most pervasive educational ideas in contemporary sub-Saharan Africa" (Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008, p. 197). However, before examining the narratives that have justified LCE's widespread implementation, the following

section explores the epistemological foundations of LCE and draws attention to the confusion that has been created through the varying theoretical foundations that have underpinned its development.

2.6.1 Foundations of learner-centred education

LCE has been notoriously difficult to define which has caused confusion and misunderstanding, particularly when implemented into diverse cultural and socioeconomic contexts (Schweisfurth, 2013a). Terms such as student-centred pedagogy, child-centred pedagogy, critical thinking pedagogy, constructivism, inquiry-based learning, problem-based education, progressive education and discovery-based teaching have all been used synonymously with learner-centred pedagogy as a way of refocusing the attention to the learner as the centre of the teaching and learning process (Schweisfurth, 2013a; Vavrus et al., 2011). Chisholm and Leyendecker (2008) maintain that there are differences between these terms and note that it is important to understand and distinguish between them. Du Plessis and Muzaffar (2010), and Vavrus et al. (2011) observe that in Sub-Saharan Africa, the meaning associated with LCE often omits the elements of inquiry, critical thinking and problem solving and, consequently, is sometimes viewed as a series of 'tasks' (e.g. group work and discussions). Therefore, in an attempt to bring greater clarity to the definition of LCE, Schweisfurth (2013a) defines LCE as

> a pedagogical approach which gives learners, and demands from them, a relatively high level of active control over the content and process of learning. What is learnt, and how, is therefore shaped by learners' needs, capacities and interests. (p. 20)

As noted in chapter one, this thesis uses this definition of LCE because it acknowledges that LCE is a pedagogical approach that is centred on learners' having active control of their learning, regardless of their age or educational stage.

Considering the historical and epistemological foundations of LCE helps to understand why there has been such confusion over its definition. The origins of LCE can be traced back to Socrates' era (400BC); however, Schweisfurth (2013a) explains that it was continental philosophers who questioned the place of education within the conceptions of childhood. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's text *Emile* presented an image of childhood where it was considered that children's natural curiosity and quest for life should not be tainted by interfering adults

(Schweisfurth, 2013a). Chung and Walsh (2000) explain that it was from this conceptual understanding of childhood that Froebel (1889) used the term 'child-centred' within his writings. The term child-centredness consequently became known as "schooling based on the child's unfolding and growing capacity" (Chung & Walsh, 2000, p. 221).

This conception of child-centredness influenced educators in the UK and North America until the depression in the 1930s (Chung & Walsh, 2000; Schweisfurth, 2013b). It was at this time that John Dewey (1916), an American philosopher and educator, aligned the development of dispositions and democratic skills to what he referred to as 'progressive education' (Schweisfurth, 2013a). In order for education to be a lived experience of democracy, he argued that education should facilitate the development of critical thinking skills and reasoning (Dewey, 1916). This saw a shift in the way that education was conceptualised from the passive receiving of fixed knowledge to the active inquiry of knowledge (Schweisfurth, 2013a). This reconceptualised understanding of pedagogy was further extended by Piaget's work on child development, which influenced notions of child-centredness, particularly in the UK. Piaget's emphasis on discovery and exploration had implications for curriculum development, which saw a blurring of curriculum subjects and flexibility in the relay of curricular content (Schweisfurth, 2013a).

More recently, theorists have built upon these earlier conceptions to distinguish central components of LCE and locate them within the constructivist epistemology (Tabulawa, 2003). Paulo Freire (1972) questioned the prevalence of pedagogic interactions, which required learners to play a passive role in the acquisition of knowledge. Vygotsky (1980) added to this understanding by arguing that knowledge is actively constructed through social interactions in a socio-cultural context (Krause, Bochner, Duchesne, & McMaugh, 2008; Nykiel-Herbert, 2004). Vygotsky (1980) maintained that it is the teachers' role to support the learning process so that students are able to successfully build on foundations of understanding through the gradual removal of teacher support (Krause et al., 2008; Nykiel-Herbert, 2004). This notion of scaffolding (Bruner, 1978) became central to constructivist approaches to teaching (Krause et al., 2008).

Schweisfurth (2013a) points out that is is hardly surprising that LCE lacks clarity given these varying roots, visions and influences through which it has been shaped. Altinyelken (2010) observes that while LCE provides a theoretical foundation for learner-centred instruction, there is no defined format for educational practice. She argues that this makes it difficult for teachers who have not personally experienced this pedagogy to implement it into their own classroom contexts. Brodie, Lelliott and Davis (2002) examined the extent to which teachers in South Africa implemented learner-centred approaches and found that most teachers enacted *forms* of LCE without the *substance* of learner-centred teaching. The researchers describe scenarios where learners were organised into groups yet set individual tasks, thus removing the dialogic richness of group work. In other words, teachers implemented forms of LCE yet continued to teach in teacher-centred ways. Schweisfurth (2013a, 2015a) argues that this "selective hybridisation" (Schweisfurth, 2015a, p. 261) of poorly implemented LCE "is worse than a simple waste of hot air and training resources" (Schweisfurth, 2013a, p. 137). She claims that it can have dangerous consequences for student learning and it can create an environment where anti-emancipatory cultures can breed and thrive. Because of the importance of ensuring that LCE holds true to the substance of learner-centred teaching, Schwesifurth (2013a) has proposed seven 'minimum standards' for LCE.

2.6.2 Minimum standards for LCE

Schweisfurth (2013a) explains that these seven 'minimum standards' propose the basic principles of LCE. She emphasises that pedagogy cannot be conceived as a polarised construct where teacher-centred pedagogy and learner-centred pedagogy sit at dichotomous ends of the pedagogical spectrum. Rather, she argues that LCE includes "many continua, including epistemological, technique and relational dimensions" (Schweisfurth, 2015a, p. 262). She draws attention to the challenge in reconciling the vast and diverse range of manifestations of LCE without making it so watered-down and inclusive that it is meaningless. Despite these challenges, Schweisfurth argues that there are alternative ways of thinking about the implementation of LCE policies, which reach beyond ascribing fixed roles for learners and teachers and evaluating the extent to which they measure up. She proposes an interactionist perspective to allow for a more nuanced understanding that transcends barriers, obstacles and pedagogical polarisation. Such "pedagogical nexus" (Hufton & Elliott, 2000, p. 117) provides a way of understanding the complexities of introducing pedagogical innovations into new contexts.

The seven minimum standards for LCE aim to provide an understanding of the fundamental principles that underpin LCE. Schweisfurth (2015a) explains that minimum standards provide a framework to help existing practice achieve its potential within its local context and also to evaluate existing practice. These standards are intended to be broad enough to promote a "culturally-adaptive framework" (p. 263), yet limiting enough to ensure that minimum benchmarks are set to ensure that learner-centred practices promote effective teaching and learning.

Standard one addresses the provision of lesson content that engages and motivates learners. Schweisfurth explains that learner motivation is central to learning. While this might take different forms in its application in different cultural contexts, the underlying premise of this standard demands lesson content that motivates learners. *Standard two* focuses on the relationship between teacher and students. Schweisfurth asserts that this relationship needs to be based on mutual respect so that learners can learn without fear of emotional or physical punishment. She acknowledges that this relationship may be more formal and distant in some cultural contexts; however, this minimum standard ensures learners are provided with the basic human rights of respect and safety. *Standard three* establishes that learning must build upon learners prior knowledge. Schweisfurth explains that learning is optimal when it is attainable for learners, which requires teachers to adjust curriculum requirements to firstly identify and then build upon learners' prior knowledge. Schweisfurth acknowledges that notoriously large class sizes and resource constraints in many low-income countries may not make this feasible in some contexts. Nevertheless, the intention of improving learning through incremental development is the essence of this standard. *Standard four* emphasises the importance of dialogic teaching. Rather than frontal and choral teaching, dialogic teaching promotes "high quality classroom talk" (Schweisfurth, 2015a, p. 264), which not only engages learners and promotes agency, but it also provides teachers with feedback on student learning. *Standard five* reinforces the importance of a relevant curriculum for the present and future lives of learners. Meaningful lesson content, which enables learners to make connections with their own lived experiences is imperative to the learning process. Again, Schweisfurth draws attention to the cultural relevance of such lived experiences by questioning "who decides what is relevant to learners lives?" (p. 264). This question may be difficult for a global agenda to answer, particularly when global, national and even local goals may not align. *Standard six* establishes that curriculum needs to facilitate the development of skills and attitudes as well as the acquisition of knowledge. These include critical and creative thinking skills which have

been noted to support learner autonomy. Finally, *standard seven* focuses on assessment. Schweisfurth asserts that assessment for learning principles ensure that assessment is not only purposeful, but that it also enhances students' learning and teachers' teaching. As opposed to a regime of testing, formative assessment actively involves learners, which provides ongoing support for students. It is for this reason that assessment for learning is considered to be a minimum standard of LCE.

These seven minimum standards are used in a unique way in this study to analyse the extent to which COL facilitates the implementation of LCE within its ORELT teacher training initiative. Before detailing the application of these minimum standards in chapter four, the following section examines why LCE has been embraced by governments and international aid organisations and how and by whom such implementation has taken place.

2.6.3   Justificatory narratives of LCE

Tabulawa (2003, 2013b) points out that international development organisations have often been the main sponsor of implementing LCE and, therefore, have played a leading role in the globalisation of LCE into low-income countries. Because of this, the adoption of LCE into national policies, curriculums and educational strategies has been largely unquestioned and implemented at rapid speed (Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008; Mtika & Gates, 2010; Shah, 2012; Tabulawa, 2003; Vavrus, 2009; Vavrus et al., 2011). Tabulawa (2003) questions the agenda behind why international agencies have selected LCE as the preferred pedagogy to facilitate these rapid and widespread curriculum reforms. Schweisfurth (2013a) maintains that there are three narratives that have been used to justify the implementation of LCE, particularly in low-income countries. These justificatory narratives are described as the cognitive narrative, the emancipatory narrative and the preparation narrative.

Schweisfurth (2013a) explains that the cognitive narrative justifies the implementation of LCE based on the premise that having control over one's learning ultimately leads to improved educational outcomes. Founded on constructivist principles, this narrative situates learning as a socially and culturally constructed endeavour that requires learners to be actively involved in the learning process. Active involvement from the learner repositions the role of the teacher as

a facilitator of learning who is required to have an intimate understanding of the learners' educational needs in order to support individual learning. Motivation also plays a key role in this cognitive narrative, where intrinsic motivation is required for learners to take increasing control over their own learning process. Advocates of this cognitive narrative justify the implementation of LCE on the grounds that education is focused on individual learning needs, resulting in enhanced educational outcomes. Educational achievement is considered to be a key indicator of educational quality. However, Schweisfurth points out that there are mixed results when it comes to the correlation between LCE and educational achievement. Despite the strong support given to the ability for LCE to enhance educational quality, research is inconclusive (Carter, 2010), which suggests that the implementation of LCE alone may not necessarily lead to improved educational outcomes.

The emancipatory narrative maintains that "the key purpose of LCE is to free people from oppressive forms of control" (Schweisfurth, 2013a, p. 21). It is claimed that such control is evident in the way that knowledge is presented, which limits thinking and the ability to participate freely in all forms of decision-making. It is easy to see why international-aid agencies have advocated the implementation of LCE based on this emancipatory narrative as pedagogy is argued to have the capacity to either reproduce oppressive power structures by limiting freedoms, or bring liberation to the oppressed through critical consciousness (Freire, 1972). Breaking down traditional power-structures in classroom interactions and discourse is at the heart of this emancipatory narrative where dialogic power sharing is considered to enable learners to question those in authority so that oppressive structures, including those in the classroom, can be challenged. Dewey's (1916) alignment between democracy and certain forms of education also aligns with this emancipatory narrative perspective that draws alignment between democracy and certain forms of education. This emancipatory narrative is therefore intended to provide a way of liberating and transforming the oppressed through the teaching of critical consciousness.

The third and final justificatory narrative that Schweisfurth (2013a) addresses is the preparation narrative. This narrative proposes that the purpose of LCE is to prepare learners for citizenship in a democratic society and equip them with the 'right' skills, knowledges and understandings to be an economically productive citizen in a rapidly changing global marketplace. One aspect of this narrative is centred around the key notion of the knowledge

economy. It is believed that LCE has the ability to provide learners with the necessary skills of critical thinking, entrepreneurship, responsiveness, flexibility and innovation that are considered to be of central importance in driving the knowledge economy. Information technology in education features prominently in this narrative as it allows for learners to independently prepare themselves for the world of work - a world where increasing demands are placed on the ability to gather, integrate and synthesise increasing volumes of knowledge in more efficient and creative ways. With the promise of LCE preparing citizens with the 'right' skills that will lead a nation to improved economic outcomes, it is easy to understand why this narrative has been popular with development banks and governments, particularly those in low-income countries. Criticisms of this narrative lie in the fact that education is a complex endeavour, and particularly so in low-income countries (Guthrie, 2011). It is argued that teaching of such skills alone will not result in the economic gains that are believed to be achieved through the implementation of LCE, particularly in the short-term and particularly given the complex challenges facing many education systems in low-income countries (Carter, 2010; Hartley, 2003).

It is somewhat unsurprising that international organisations have often held different understandings and perspectives than local governments, given that these competing narratives frame the implementation of LCE (Vavrus et al., 2011). Similarly, it is easy to see how attempts to institutionalise LCE in low-income countries has generally been a widespread failure, despite considerable investment in time, finance and educational restructuring (Barrett, 2007; Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008; Schweisfurth, 2011; Tabulawa, 2013b; UNESCO, 2005). This 'tissue rejection' (Harley, Barasa, Bertram, Mattson, & Pillay, 2000) has been attributed to large class sizes (Barrett, 2007; Guthrie, 2011; Schweisfurth, 2011; Vavrus, 2009), lack of time to sufficiently support its implementation (Altinyelken, 2010; Barrett, 2007; Guthrie, 2011), lack of resources (Altinyelken, 2010; Brodie et al., 2002; Guthrie, 2011; Schweisfurth, 2011), misalignment with cultural traditions (Altinyelken, 2010; Guthrie, 2011; Mtika & Gates, 2010; Vavrus, 2009), incongruent assessment practices (Altinyelken, 2010; Barrett, 2007; Guthrie, 2011; Vavrus et al., 2011), teaching in English as a second language (Altinyelken, 2010; Lynd, 2010; Rutaisire, 2012), inadequate teacher education in LCE (du Plessis & Muzaffar, 2010) and inadequate in-service training in LCE (Barrett, 2007). These factors draw attention to the complexity of implementing LCE into low-income countries.

2.6.4   Concern about the implementation of learner-centred education

There has been growing concern in the past decade that the rapid implementation of learner-centred approaches in low-income countries has hidden the importation of neoliberal and neo-colonial agendas (Biraimah, 2008; Carter, 2010; Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008; Guthrie, 2011; Tabulawa, 2003). A growing number of academics have questioned the role of international aid agencies in its widespread implementation and have queried whose agenda LCE serves (Carter, 2010; Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008; Guthrie, 2011; Tabulawa, 2003). Schweisfurth (2011) points out that LCE is often associated with an "emancipatory vision of education" (p. 429); however, Guthrie (2011) challenges whether this emancipatory image is simply a front to cover a more subtle and deceptive neoliberal agenda. Schweisfurth (2011), therefore, questions whether LCE "should ... be rejected as a form of imperialism, or embraced as a potential liberator" (p. 429). This is a central question that this thesis aims to address. In order to do so, chapters five to eight examine the cultural, economic and political influences on the globalisation of LCE within the open education context.

Biraimah (2008) also maintains that the reinforcement of Western pedagogical models in developing countries is a clear example of neo-colonialism in action. She questions the effectiveness of a one-size-fits-all pedagogical approach and suggests this signifies a deeper neo-colonial agenda. Neo-colonialism works to enable colonising nations maintain control and influence in their former territories by indirectly ensuring that the interests of the west are achieved through the continuation of historic colonial practices (Crossley & Tikly, 2004; Crozier, 1964; McEwan, 2009; Nguyen, Elliott, Ferlouw, & Pilot, 2009; Woddis, 1967). However, rather than this power being state-based as it was in the past, some academics argue that neo-colonial control has increasingly been attributed to the convergence of transnational corporations, global financial markets and new forms of production as a result of the globalised labour market (Tikly, 2004). Neoliberal globalisation has, consequently, opened the door for supranational organisations to take positions of neo-colonial rule whereby foreign capital is used to exploit rather than assist under-developed nations (McClintock, 1992, p. 94). Thus, neoliberal globalisation has changed the nature of neo-colonalism by reconfiguring how and by whom this power is obtained.

Nguyen et al. (2009) argue that education plays an important role in advancing this neocolonial agenda. Referred to as "educational neo-colonialism" (p. 109), Nguyen et al. (2009) maintain that neo-colonialism is advanced through the prevalence of western paradigms that shape and influence educational systems and thinking in non-Western countries through the process of globalisation. Tabulawa (2003) goes further to pinpoint LCE as a carrier of this neo-colonial ideology. He argues that LCE is not value-neutral and, rather, has a "social, epistemological and philosophical foundation" (p. 9) that shapes a view of the world that protects Western interests. Because LCE is presented as a neutral, value-free and techincal phenomenon, Tabulawa maintains that this political and ideological agenda remains largely hidden. He claims that LCE has been funded and marketed as a prescription by aid agencies, proclaiming to cure the economic, political and social challenges experienced by low-income countries. He observes that LCE is justified in neutral, benevolent and apolitical language such as the promise of quality teaching and improved educational outcomes (Tabulawa, 2003). As this research examines an IGO that provides educational aid to its former colonies, it is essential to consider the economic, political and cultural outcomes of the globalisation of LCE through open education.

Tabulawa (2003) explains that aid agencies are often unaware of the hidden neo-liberal and neo-colonial ideologies that they carry and consequently they unwittingly work to alter modes of thought in low-income countries through the implementation of pedagogical reforms. He argues that globalisation seeks to further accelerate this process as a "carrier of conservative neoliberal ideology" (Tabulawa, 2003, p. 10). This is why he believes that LCE has been a natural choice for aid agencies to support. LCE promotes an ideological outlook and worldview that seeks to "develop a preferred kind of society and people and represent a process of westernisation disguised as quality and effective teaching" (Guthrie 2011, p. 37). Tabulawa (2003) maintains that LCE transmits the value of individual autonomy, open-mindedness and tolerance which are all characteristics valued by the "individualistic Western culture and are also character traits deemed necessary for an individual to survive in a pluralistic, liberal democratic capitalist society" (p. 12). Because of this, Tabulawa is not surprised that LCE has gained so much interest from aid agencies.

Despite the strong push by aid agencies to implement LCE into low-income countries, Tabulawa (2003) maintains that questions are rarely asked about which learning outcomes will

be enhanced and why these particular learning outcomes are desired. Moreover, there is an inherent assumption that quality of teaching can only come from a change in teaching style (Barrett, 2007; Biraimah, 2008; Tabulawa, 2009). Guthrie (2011) reiterates this by saying that there is no study to date that has conclusively determined that learner-centred pedagogy is superior to teacher-centred methods in low-income countries in terms of improving students' learning. Gurthrie (2011) challenges the assumption that formalism correlates with low student achievement and Barrett (2007) suggests that the push towards 'good teaching' models of the English-speaking West implies that these models are inherently 'superior'. For many years Guthrie (1990, 2011) has insisted that importing educational theories from different cultural context is inappropriate and that the answer lies not in alternatives to formalism, but in improving it. Similarly, Biraimah (2008) challenges the logic in a 'universal pedagogy' and advocates the need for pedagogies to be contextaully and culturally relevant − a notion that is supported by a growing number of academics (Guthrie, 2011; Mtika & Gates, 2010; Tabulawa, 2003). Despite this, the belief that learner-centred pedagogies result in improved learning outcomes continues to be a "pervasive rationale for their widespread adoption" (Carter, 2010, p. 227).

Robertson (2012a) also draws attention to the interest that IGOs have in the widespread implementation of LCE. She suggests that constructivism is an "attractive choice" for these organisations as it aligns with "the ontology of neoliberalism: of liberalism for the individual" (p. 14). The drive towards individual responsibility for learning that is inherent in constructivist pedagogies aligns perfectly with the neoliberal agenda of devolved state responsibility and competition for individual achievement. Robertson (2007a) reiterates that neoliberalism has transformed not only how we think but also how we think about the fundamental nature of what teachers and learners do. She ascertains that "personalised learning is the new buzzword" (p. 15) and draws attention to the way that international agencies are deploying "learning experience[s] ordered over the internet and packaged up 'just for me'" (p. 15) as a way of solving the myriad of educational problems. This shows how neoliberalism works to construct a particular type of cultural and political agent as well as working to achieve its economic objectives. However, while IGOs have been acknowedged to advance the widespread implementatin of LCE, what is not yet clear is why COL has aided this globalisation of LCE through open education and in what way this has contributed to the transformation of the nature of teaching and learning. It is for this reason that this research seeks to address such questions.

Robertson cautions that digital technology coupled with the promotion of personalised learning may provide a vehicle for removing learning from the traditional gatekeepers of knowledge − teachers. Robertson (2012a) argues that in its current form, "the very organisation of teachers' work and the way in which their pedagogical knowledge is deployed is considered a significant impediment for the future development of a knowledge economy" (Robertson, 2005, p. 158). Robertson (2013) refers to this as the 'villain and hero' scenario, with teachers being portrayed as the villain in this unfolding drama of educational quality. Robertson explains that teachers have also been purposed with the heroic role of enhancing educational and economic outcomes; however, the World Bank has presented another, more competent 'hero' in this quality drama: digital technology. In 2003 the World Bank signalled that Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) can

> …facilitate learning by doing… They can vastly increase the information resources available to learners, thereby changing the relationship between teachers and students. They can facilitate collaborative learning and provide rapid feedback to learners. (World Bank, 2003, p. xx)

In other words, ICT is considered to be able to perform the functions of a quality teacher. Robertson (2005) suggests that "the internet is represented as the alternative provider of knowledge; the new educator, able to replace poorly qualified teachers" (p. 162). Software has been developed to provide the individualised distribution of knowledge (Robertson, 2005) with learning analytic software providing the means to analyse responses and response rates, thus delivering a digital method to administer educational content at the correct pace. As gatekeepers of knowledge and education, teachers and educational institutions are considered to be antithetical to this neoliberal agenda of identity reconstruction. Consequently, learner-centred education provides the discourse to remove teachers from the core of the educational enterprise (Robertson, 2005). Without teachers and schools to guard the educational gates, neoliberalism has free reign to administer its socialising project.

Robertson (2012a) argues that key global actors, such as the World Bank and the OECD, have problematised the quality crisis in the teaching profession in order to "colonise the field of symbolic control over teacher policy" (p. 5). Robertson (2007a) cautions that this serves an underlying agenda to redefine the roles of educators and to reconfigure educational spaces and pedagogical practices under the guise of 'partnership' between the public and private sectors.

This essentially opens the door for transnational firms and private entities to gain access to the provision of learning. Robertson (2012a) claims that this global assault on teachers serves a symbolic purpose of repositioning the global governance of education away from the traditional custodians of education: teachers, schools, TEIs and even ministries of education. She maintains that the policy space has been reclassified and reframed through pedagogic discourse with "distant global actors" (p. 23) gaining increasing power and control of the pedagogic space as a way of controlling the social basis of the new knowledge economy. Robertson (2005, 2012a, 2013) has sounded the alarm by questioning the intentions of key global actors using digital technologies and distance education to facilitate learning programmes; however, an in-depth understanding of how such actors gain access to the field of symbolic control and the process through which they colonise this field is yet to be examined. This research intends to fill this gap by examining this pedagogic relationship between open education, symbolic control and global governance.

2.7   Foundations of open education

Open Distance Learning (ODL) is by no means a new phenomenon having gained traction and increasing prominence in the past decade as a result of being advocated as a viable, sustainable and efficient mode of teacher education (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015h; UNESCO, 2002, 2014). Peters (2008) traces the roots of this emerging paradigm of open education to the Age of Enlightenment where wider narratives of freedom were associated with political questions regarding ontology, epistemology and ethics. Peters explains that this early open education movement was both a political and psychological experiment, which attempted to provide alternatives to mainstream education in a way that was both politically and socially desirable. Providing education that defied both architecture and distance appeased advocates of educational access, given that education was no longer bounded to the physical confines of an institutional setting (Peters, 2008). Peters (2008) draws attention to the complexity of open education by pointing out the different movements within open education that have overlapped and metamorphosed to embrace new ideas and technological advancements.

The formal conception of open education coincided with significant epistemological changes in the nature of learning and teaching. Froebel's notion of child-centred learning was coupled with Roger's (1969) concept of self-directed learning to emphasise individual agency within

distance education. Furthermore, Dewey's ideal of democracy was also capitalised on by the open movement to advocate access to educational freedom and self-determination through its flexible model. Thus, the open movement was presented as an educational model that seemingly removed the constraints and restrictions of traditional institutional architecture and teacher-student pedagogical hierarchies. However, it was the establishment of the Open University in the U.K in 1969 that revolutionalised ODL as a legitimate and viable alternative to face-to-face learning in tertiary education (UNESCO, 2002).

The "glamour of e-learning" (Perraton, 2000, p. 9) attracted funding from development banks, multilateral organisations and IGOs in its expansion into the developing world. However, while industrialised nations have benefited from digital infrastructure that has supported the rise of open education, low-income countries have lagged behind, largely due to the inaccessibility and unaffordability of internet services (Perraton, 2000; UNESCO, 2002). While there is little literature that has examined the relationship between development and open education, Perraton (2000) notes that in the early days of correspondence education, low-income countries provided a new market for exploitation by for-profit correspondence institutions. She explains how the colonies particularly fell victim to the lure of social betterment that correspondence programmes promised, with correspondence providing the elite access to valuable educational qualifications from their colonial rulers. This unequal access to distance education has continued over the past twenty-five years as distance education has shifted from a print to a digital platform. The inconsistent, unreliable and costly access to digital infrastructure in low-income countries has quietly excluded the poor and marginalised from gaining access to open education programmes, thus further perpetuating educational inequalities (UNESCO, 2002). Interestingly, in recent years open education has been hailed as an answer to providing educational access to students in remote and impoverished regions of the globe (Commonwealth of Learning, 2009a, 2012a, 2015f; UNESCO, 2002). With the promise of open education providing cost effective solutions to educational access, the earlier issues of open education perpetuating educational inequality have been happily overlooked as international aid agencies have embraced open education as an answer to the impending educational 'crisis'.

2.7.1   Open education and LCE

As explained in chapter one, this thesis uses the term 'open education' (Peters, 2009) to refer to a "paradigm of social production in the global knowledge economy" (Peters, 2009, p. 205), which utilises digital technologies to remove architectural and physical barriers to education in order to provide open access to educational programmes, resources and initiatives. While chapter one also defined both ODL and OER, this section aims to expand on this earlier introduction to compare and contrast these open education initiatives.

Both OER and ODL have also been advocated to promote lifelong learning and social inclusion, particularly to those from ethnic minorities and low socio-economic backgrounds (Hylén, 2006; UNESCO, 2002; Wilson, 2008). They are considered to be accessible and cost-effective (Albright, 2005; Atkins et al., 2007; Hylén, 2006; Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD), 2007), and the independent and self-directed nature of digital mediums has been emphasised as providing a learner-centred experience (UNESCO, 2002). Such experience is noted to give learners control of their own learning by providing the flexibility to learn at their own pace and to be actively involved in the construction of their own knowledge (Atkins et al., 2007; Wilson, 2008). Freedom over individual learning is provided by ensuring that learners "take responsibility for aspects such as what they learn, how they learn, where they learn, how quickly they learn, who to turn to for help and where, when and where to have their learning assessed" (UNESCO, 2002, p. 23). However, it is also important to draw attention to the distinct differences between ODL and OER. While both ODL and OER capitalise on the digital environment to promote learning, ODL endeavours to facilitate pedagogic communication between the learner and a more knowledgeable 'other' to aid this learning process. OER, on the other hand, provide a source of knowledge without the two-way pedagogic relationship (Wilson, 2008). Thus, learners are encouraged to be self-directed facilitators of their own learning (Hylén, 2006; Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD), 2007; Wilson, 2008).

Both ODL and OER have been argued to play a valuable role in alleviating the widespread teacher shortage in low-income countries due to their ability to engage large audiences in education programmes at an extensive reach (Perraton, 1996; Perraton, 2010; UNESCO, 2002). However, the utilisation of open education as a platform for teacher education has not

been without challenges. Issues of quality have plagued open education programmes, particularly in low-income countries where for-profit service providers, educational institutions and aid agencies have provided educationally anaemic educational packages that are culturally and contextually removed from the realities of local teaching contexts (Muhirwa, 2009; Simpson, 2013a). In an earlier assessment of the quality of higher education distance programmes, Klees (1995) concluded that distance education provided second-class education to the most vulnerable and disadvantaged .

A further challenge has been the mixed success of open education teacher training programme completions. Simpson (2013a) blames this high attrition rate on open education institutions by claiming they have created a "distance education deficit" (p. 105) that has confused teaching with learning. Because the focus of such programmes have been on the provision of online learning materials, Simpson maintains that little attention has been given to the pedagogical relationship inherent in the nature of learning itself. Because of this, Simpson argues that most open education programmes provide e-teaching rather than e-learning and have little awareness of whether the content they teach has actually been learned. It is for this reason that this research seeks to understand pedagogic communication that is constructed through such open education programmes. As Simpson points out, until learning becomes the focus of such programmes, it is unlikely that this distance education deficit will be redressed.

Another weakness of open education teacher training programmes is that there is limited evidence to understand to what extent content knowledge is transferred into effective teaching practice. When related to the question of whether open education can enhance educational quality, again Perraton (2010) reports that there is limited hard evidence to demonstrate that such programmes enhance quality. Perraton draws on Beeby's (1966) claim that a teacher with minimal education can only teach to the "limits of his knowledge" (p. 61) to conclude that ODL programme completion *should* enhance the quality of teaching. However, such supposition remains unproven and makes false assumptions about the pedagogical relationship between teaching and learning, and it assumes an unproblematic enactment of pedagogical content knowledge. As such, the claims that ODL teacher training programmes enhance educational quality remain unfounded.

In addition to this, there have been longstanding concerns about the reproduction of inequalities when distance education takes place across national boundaries (Anderson & Simpson, 2007; Bates, 2001; Creed, Allsop, Mills, & Morpeth, 2005a). Bates (2001) draws attention to the cross-cultural challenges associated with Western open education providers. He argues that courses in English not only disadvantage English language learners in their ability to contribute to online discussion forums, but the Western-centric contextualisation of the course materials serves as a further barrier for understanding new content, particularly for students in low-income countries. These claims have been reiterated in further reports, which also highlight the barrier that both English and the Westernisation of learning materials play in impeding learning via open education in low-income countries (Albright, 2005; Creed et al., 2005a; Hylén, 2006; Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD)., 2007; Wright, Dhanarajan, & Reju, 2009). Arger (1990) points out that distance learning assumes the learner to be extremely literate, motivated and have the necessary skills to engage in independent learning. Besides the elite, Arger notes that many learners in low-income countries have not had sufficient opportunities to develop these skills to the extent that would enable them to be successful with distance learning. These challenges not only disadvantage students in low-income countries, but they serve to reproduce the existing social and economic inequalities, which such education is advocated to redress (Anderson & Simpson, 2007; Arger, 1990; Bates, 2001; Field, 1996). Therefore, the open education environment cannot be seen as a socially neutral platform for the provision of quality education.

Peters and Britez (2008) point out that open education is inevitably a political and social project. It is for this reason that it is necessary to identify, examine, interrogate and expose the social and political foundations which underlie the globalisation of open education within teacher education. Peters explains that this open movement needs to be understood within the wider societal shifts towards humanist notions of freedom and democracy. It is for this reason that the open movement has been strongly aligned to the notion of lifelong learning. As Peters (2008) explains "what is now simply 'open education' has emerged strongly as a new paradigm of social production in the global knowledge economy" (p. 10). Interestingly, Peters (2009) argues that the openness movement has provided an "alternative educational globalisation [that is] not wedded to existing neoliberal forms" (p. 203). Because the openness movement draws on knowledge as an economic good, the undepleting and non-transparent nature of knowledge challenges traditional principles of economic exchange. Furthermore, because the focus of the knowledge economy is on creating intellectual rather than physical

capital, Peters explains that this defies the economic principles of competition, transparency and excludability. Thus, the open movement has ushered in a new wave of neoliberalism that challenges previously existing forms. It is for this reason that the manifestation of this open movement within the context of teacher education needs close and careful analysis. With an earlier UNESCO (2002) report cautioning that ODL should not replace "the appropriate use and availability of human helpers in the learning process" (p. 7), this raises questions about whether open education has made too many assumptions about its ability to facilitate a learner-centred pedagogic relationship within a distance education platform. Therefore, what is missing from this current debate about open education is an understanding of pedagogic communication within open education.

With the increasingly prevalence of ODL and OER being used by international aid programmes to facilitate cross-cultural teacher training, assumptions have also been made that open education provides a socially neutral platform. As Perraton (2000) notes, there are surprisingly few critiques of distance education, and limited consideration has been given to the wider political, economic and cultural influences on distance education programmes that have been established by international aid agencies. Without such research it is difficult to determine whether open education programmes challenge or reproduce social inequalities. With concern being raised about the agendas behind the globalisation of LCE by international aid agencies (Tabulawa, 2003, 2013b), there is an urgent need to understand notions of power and control within the pedagogic communication that is facilitated by open education at both a macro and micro level. It is for this reason that this research seeks to critically examine the pedagogic relationship within open education and consider the wider political, economic and cultural forces that influence international aid agencies' implementation of such programmes into low-income countries.

Chapter 3: Meta-theoretical Foundations

The purpose of this chapter is to clearly outline the meta-theoretical foundations that have underpinned this research. This chapter begins by justifying why this research is informed by critical theory and critical realism, and how these ontological and epistemological foundations explain suppositions about the social world and the conditions for knowing and knowledge production. Building on this meta-theoretical foundation, this chapter briefly returns to chapter two's discussion of globalisation to justify why Robertson and Dale's (2015) theorising of a Critical Cultural Political Economy of Education (CCPEE) provides a conceptual framework that is particularly suited to examining the globalisation of LCE through open education. This chapter puts forth the argument that a Strategic Relational Approach (SRA) provides the conceptual and analytic tools to investigate the relationship between structure and agency through a critical realist lens. Finally, this chapter concludes by briefly introducing Bernstein's (2000) pedagogic code theory, demonstrating how his theorising of the pedagogic device allows an examination of power and control and its relationship to education and the social world.

3.1   Critical theory

Horkheimer (1982) perceived theory as being critical when it sought to "liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them" (p. 244). Through the awakening of consciousness, critical theory is positioned to activate this liberation by orienting itself towards critiquing and changing society (How, 2003; Kincheloe, McLaren, & Steinber, 2011). Critical theory provides an important epistemological foundation for this research because it seeks to understand the political, economic and cultural agendas that influence the globalisation of LCE. This section provides a brief historical overview of critical theory before justifying the meta-theoretical alignment with this research.

Critical theory is a tradition of intellectual thought that has significantly influenced the intellectual landscape of the Western world (How, 2003). Born out of what is now commonly referred to as the 'Frankfurt School', the Frankfurt School's unique positioning as an independent institute in Germany in 1923 divorced it from the intellectual dogmatism of

universities as well as from the agendas of social class interests and political parties. Members of the institute had relative intellectual freedom to consider and expand on the ideas and influences they found to be productive. However, Horkheimer's appointment to the Institute's directorship in 1930 saw the Frankfurt school begin a gradual shift towards developing and changing the Marxist assumption that economic life is reflected in every aspect of society (Bronner, 2011; How, 2003).

There are central tenants that distinguish and establish critical theory as an intellectual tradition. As a point of departure from the positivist assumptions that had framed the appearance of reality, critical theory rejects the notion of research being value-free and researchers assuming a "disinterested observer" position (How, 2003, p. 3). Critical theorists are concerned with understanding the relationship between the facts and argue that facts cannot be interpreted in isolation. They maintain that it is the network of relations and historical context in which these facts are located that provide an explanation of significance (Bronner, 2011; Felluga, 2015; How, 2003; Kincheloe et al., 2011). Similarly, critical theorists also challenge the ontological basis of interpretivism. Interpretivism holds a more subjective view of reality by arguing that the social world is a lived experience, creating multiple realities that are socially constructed (Bryman, 2012; Merriam, 1998). Critical theorists put forth the argument that interpretivism is ahistorical, thus failing to identify and expose the ideologies in which social existence is experienced (Hammersley, 2015). Consequently, critical theorists assert that both interpretivism and positivism work to eliminate genuine subjectivity (Bronner, 2011). Critical theory therefore concerns itself with how things have come to be as they are and it seeks to understand the truth behind what is currently seen (Bronner, 2011; How, 2003).

Critical theory maintains that social realities are based on assumptions and theorists argue that it is of importance to interrogate these assumptions to expose and challenge these socially constructed "ways of knowing" (Kincheloe et al., 2011, p. 169). Critical inquiry seeks to expose ideology, hegemony and class oppression and challenge injustice within society with the intention of empowering individual agents or a collective group of actors to challenge the current status quo (Bronner, 2011; Cohen, Marion, & Morrison, 2011; Felluga, 2015). Speculation is a vital element of reason within critical theory (How, 2003). How (2003) explains that "the speculative person is one who does not dogmatically accept this or that appearance as being all there is, but recognises that appearances mirror a particular historical

relation between subject and object" (p. 3). Thus, the transformative potential of critical research rests in its engagement with the political economy and its relationship with "emancipatory consciousness" (Kincheloe et al., 2011, p. 342).

Critique is a central foundation on which critical theory is established. Early critical theorists, such as Horkheimer, argued that criticism bases objection on the critics own subjectivities (Felluga, 2015; How, 2003). They argue that these subjectivities are ideologically constructed and serve the interests of the dominant class, and thus emphasis needs to be given to understanding the historical conditions for such identity formation alongside considering the alternative model of subjectivity, which failed to gain dominance (Felluga, 2015). Critical theorists point out the importance of historically grounding points of critique and considering the purpose and importance of the criteria in which such critique is determined. Justifying or grounding critique has been a persistent theme within critical theory. Alongside this, critical theory also aims to be dialectical by facilitating an iterative process of dialectical reasoning (How, 2003). This dialectical reasoning creates a process that facilitates a "unity of opposites" (How, 2003, p. 4) which are not only opposed but are also interlinked. It is the work of critical theory to interrogate these related dialectical opposites and determine a "more rational state of affairs" (How, 2003, p. 4). It is for this reason that Felluga (2015) argues that critical theory must involve critique that is politically engaged.

Considering why this research aligns within a critical theory paradigm also needs to be explored. Critical theorists believe that knowledge and the nature of knowing is facilitated by socially and historically constructed power relations (Kincheloe et al., 2011). This research demonstrates this in the way that it seeks to interrogate the historical and socially constructed power relationship between LCE and open education. Secondly, critical theorists focus on revealing the oppression that subordinate groups encounter (Kincheloe et al., 2011). This research aims to identify the 'winners and losers' from the globalisation of LCE through open education which demonstrates its intent to expose any oppressive structures that may impact on subordinate groups. Finally, the rejection of researcher neutrality is central to critical theory with critical theorists taking a reflexive stance to acknowledge their bias in the struggle against injustice (Kincheloe et al., 2011). In the context of this research, the researchers own positioning was detailed in chapter one, which disclosed the intent to take a critical stance in examining the globalisation of LCE through open education. This research locates this study

within the critical theory tradition in the way that it questions rather than accepts assumptions about pedagogy and open education, and through its intentions to expose underlying agendas, interests and ideologies.

3.2   Critical Realism

Building on this epistemological foundation, this section considers the ontological basis that informs this study. Meta-theoretically, the field of comparative and international education has tended to be dominated by empiricist and interpretive approaches (Tikly, 2015). More recently, there has been an increasing push for comparative and international education research to be informed by a third meta-theoretical approach, that is, critical realism (Robertson & Dale, 2015; Tikly, 2015). Critical theorists and critical realists both agree that sources of ideology can be found in the nature of reality (Lopez & Potter, 2001). They concur that identifying and exposing these sources of ideology and domination is a necessary step in emancipation (Lopez & Potter, 2001; Manicas, 1998). However, it is the transformational potential of human agency that distinguishes the ontology of critical realism from critical theory (Lopez & Potter, 2001). Critical realists argue that human agency enables actors to not just reproduce but to also challenge and transform social structure (Bhaskar, 1989; Manicas, 1998). This section explores these transformational characteristics of critical realism before justifying why critical realism provides an important ontological foundation for this study.

Critical realism is frequently referred to as the middle-ground between interpretivism and empiricism (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Tikly, 2015). Bhaksar (1989) explains that critical realism opposes empiricism, idealism and pragmatism by perceiving that the world is "structured, differentiated and changing" (p. 2). Ontologically, critical realism makes the assumption that there is an external reality that rests beyond what is perceived, both in the social and empirical sense (Bhaskar, 1989, 1998; Lopez & Potter, 2001). Critical realists argue that existence is not necessarily determined by what is observable as there is a realm of "structures, properties and practices" (Robertson & Dale, 2015, p. 4) that remain unseen. Social phenomena are, consequently, a product of a "plurality of structures" (Bhaskar, 1989, p. 3) and the existence of social structure is considered to be necessary for human activity (Bhaskar, 1989). It is only through identifying the structures that are at work in generating certain discourses and events that the social world can be firstly understood and then changed.

Lopez and Potter (2001) suggest that realist ontology is 'thing' centred and these 'things' can refer to "powers, forces, mechanisms, characteristics or sets of relations" (p. 11). Bhaskar (1989) adds to this by saying that these structures are not readily observable and it is only through theoretical and practical investigation that such underlying structures can be identified. These structures are aligned with certain mechanisms, which have causal powers. Bhaksar (1989) explains that agents who reproduce or transform their activities are themselves heavily constrained by pre-existing structures of power, which may include domination, alienation and oppression. These social structures seek to limit the range of choices an agent can act on, or even think (Lopez & Potter, 2001). Therefore, critical realists argue that context is an important element in deciphering understanding as it not only shapes the social world of actors, but it also exposes the conditions that the structures govern (Bhaskar, 1989). Such critical perspective is considered necessary to identify, challenge and transform the status quo (Bryman, 2012).

Alongside the view that these structures have powers and characteristics of their own, critical realists also propose that human agency has its own power and characteristics to rise against the causal powers of these mechanisms and structures. Critical realists argue that social emancipation is dependent on the transformation of these reproducing structures, and thus this emphasises the integral role of human agency in the emancipation of society (Harré, 2001; Lopez & Potter, 2001; Manicas, 1998). Social structures, such as the family, the state, the economy, and language are dependent on social relations, which may include labour and capital, parents and children, and ministers and civil servants (Manicas, 1998). Critical realism draws attention to these structures of social relations, both as a way of explaining trends and social events, and as a way of awakening self-consciousness and emancipation of the oppressed and exploited (Bhaskar, 1989). Importantly, it is the dialectic between structuralism and agency that characterises critical realism from the position of early critical theorists (Manicas, 1998). Critical realists maintain that social structures are not simply reproduced but they are reproduced *and* transformed through the agency of actors, thus challenging the early position that critical theorists held regarding the reproductive nature of structuralism (Bhaskar, 1989; Manicas, 1998). Consequently, researcher self-reflexivity also features as an important aspect of critical realism (Bryman, 2012). Tikly (2015) argues that such reflexivity requires researchers to critique their own value and theoretical system, which may, inadvertently, contribute to the reproduction of hegemonic research practices.

In the context of comparative and international education, Tikly (2015) argues that critical realism is particularly well-suited to comparative and international education research because it supports an emancipatory move within the process of research. Critical realism provides a way of identifying, explaining and understanding the structures and causal powers that create unequal educational and social outcomes. It also enables the facilitation of the emancipatory narrative that is centred within some comparative and international education research. Thus, through this actualisation, individual and collective actors have the power to act on such knowledge. Tikly explains that critical realism places learning at the core of the research process, and it is through this focus on learning that causal mechanisms can be considered in relation to learning. He maintains that it is the interdependence of these levels of learning from the global to the national, local and individual that critical realism is particularly well suited to examining. Tikly (2015) argues that it is the challenge for those who utilise critical realism to judge and determine which theories of learning are appropriate to determine "what works for who and under what circumstances" (p. 248). It is this redescription and recontextualisation of learning across contexts that makes critical realism particularly suited and relevant to the field of comparative and international education. Identifying, explaining and understanding the structures and causal powers embedded within pedagogy and open education demonstrates how this research is informed by a critical realist approach.

3.3   Critical Cultural Political Economy of Education

Chapter two's introduction to the debates about globalisation concluded with Robertson's (2012c) concerns about the "thin ground" (p. xx) on which the conceptualisation and theorising of critical policy analysis in the field of global education is founded. This section addresses these concerns by exploring how the cultural, political economy can provide a way to conceptualise and theorise the globalisation of education (Robertson & Dale, 2015). As noted earlier, the complexity of studying globalising processes and projects and the way in which global cultural, economic and political processes interact at a structural, ideological, policy and practice level has rendered the favouring of economic and political over the cultural. This presents an incomplete and, at times, over-simplified account of these globalising processes. With this in mind, Robertson and Dale (2015) have built on the education questions proposed by Dale (2000) in his Globally Structured Agenda for Education (GSAE) to conceptualise the Critical Cultural Political Economy of Education (CCPEE) as an alternative theoretical approach to studying the globalisation of education. This approach

intends to provide a way of interrogating assumptions within global education processes and framing global cultural, political and economic developments.

CCPEE's conceptual grammar builds on the ontological and epistemological foundation of critical realism and critical theory to establish the notion of an education ensemble. The intention of this ensemble is to provide an investigative process to "crack open" (p. 15) assumptions about education as a "static, homogenous, and enduring container of social processes, relations and identities" (p. 15). Robertson and Dale (2015) acknowledge that the socially constructed nature of learning cannot be understood by merely studying educators and educational institutions in isolation. Therefore, an education ensemble provides a way of analysing actors and institutions "whose logic, interests and forms of authority generate tensions and contradictions within the ensemble" (p. 7). The elements contained within the education ensemble consequentially encompass the study of education at the local, regional, national and global levels, which provide a way of examining casual powers within educational processes located across time and space.

Robertson and Dale explain that there are two 'moves' that are encompassed within this education ensemble. The first move intends to demonstrate the multiple and interwoven elements of education that constitute this ensemble. This first move consists of four elements that operate within the education ensemble:

- o   The relationship of education with regional, local, national or global societies,
- o   The cultural scripts through which education is established and facilitated,
- o   The organisation of education which characterises it as a system,
- o   The connection between the economy and education.

(Robertson & Dale, 2015, p. 7)

It is this collective converging of elements that enable a broader and more rigorous investigation into educational processes within the wider narrative of the globalisation of education.

The second 'move' in this education ensemble provides a methodological framework based on Dale's (2000, 2005) education questions. These questions are intended to orient the research process within the layers of the education ensemble and to encourage deeper engagement and

theorising with social processes that are often hidden within these complex and interwoven layers. Robertson and Dale (2015) explain that these questions reveal four education 'moments' that are interwoven yet analytically distinct and each of these moments provide a different understanding of the education ensemble. These moments consist of:

- *Moment of educational practice,*
- *Moment of education politics,*
- *Moment of the politics of education,*
- *Moment of outcome.*

The *moment of educational practice* asks the question 'who is taught what and by whom and what means are these things decided?' (Robertson & Dale, 2015, p. 8). This micro level analysis focuses on educational practice and the factors that distribute these educational experiences. The *moment of education politics* focuses the inquiry on the intersection between policy and practice by linking micro and macro level processes. This moment questions 'how and by whom are these things decided?' (Robertson & Dale, 2015, p. 8), and in doing so intends to shed light on why things occur at the moment of educational practice and the outcome of such occurrences.

The *moment of the politics of education* questions how these things are defined, governed, organised and managed. It asks with what relation to other sectors and through what structures, institutions and processes these things occur. This macro level analysis seeks to examine the social structures which govern actors and institutions and, likewise, the way in which actors and institutions are positioned within the social field. In essence, this moment intends to determine 'who establishes the rules of the game' to not only determine who gets to play but also how this game is played (Bourdieu, 1977). The final *moment of outcome* continues to build on this macro level analysis by considering who the 'winners' and 'losers' are on this social field. This moment asks 'how far are the successes of some achieved at the expense of others? (Robertson & Dale, 2015, p. 8). This moment considers the economic, cultural and political outcomes at the individual, local, national and global level as well as implications for educational polices, practices and politics. CCPEE enables causal mechanisms to be identified and exposed, which shows how the education moments provide a useful framework for theorising hidden social processes.

In the context of this study, CCPEE provides a way of critically examining the globalisation of LCE through open education. The education ensemble lays out the conceptual grammar to examine this phenomenon and the role that open education plays in this process. What is particularly distinct about the use of CCPEE in this research is that it provides a way to examine the cultural implications of the globalisation of LCE through open education in addition to an examination of the political economy. Investigating cultural processes allows consideration to be given to the extent to which dominant cultural scripts influence the globalisation of LCE through open education.

The methodological framework and the corresponding research questions also provide a way of closely examining LCE at the micro and macro levels, ensuring that this analysis cracks open assumptions about LCE, open education and quality teaching in each of the layers of the educational ensemble. The findings section of this thesis has been organised to correspond with each of these education moments. This is intended to ensure that this analysis of the globalisation of LCE through open education considers the cultural, political economy within the levels of practice, policy, politics and outcomes. However, rather than sequentially adopting Robertson and Dale's (2015) education moments, this thesis argues that these education moments should be reordered in order to bring greater contextual understanding to the early phase of this analysis. By doing so, it is believed that the identification of wider structural influences in this initial phase will aid the analysis of micro-level practices towards the later phase of this analysis. Chapter five begins with an examination of the *moment of the politics of education* and uses a Strategic Relational Approach (SRA) in combination with Bourdieu's (1977) social field theory to investigate the wider structures that govern the global education field and considers the strategies that COL employs to facilitate action in response to such structures. Chapter six explores the *moment of education politics* by using Bernstein's (2000a) pedagogic device to determine how knowledge of LCE is transformed into pedagogic communication within the open education context. Chapter seven continues with this Bernstenian analysis by examining the transformation of LCE into pedagogic discourse within the the Open Resource for English Language Teaching (ORELT) modules. Finally, chapter eight considers the *moment of outcome* through drawing together key findings from this research and by identifying who benefits from COL's globalisation of LCE through open education. Figure 3.1 provides a diagramatic representation of this reordered analytic structure:
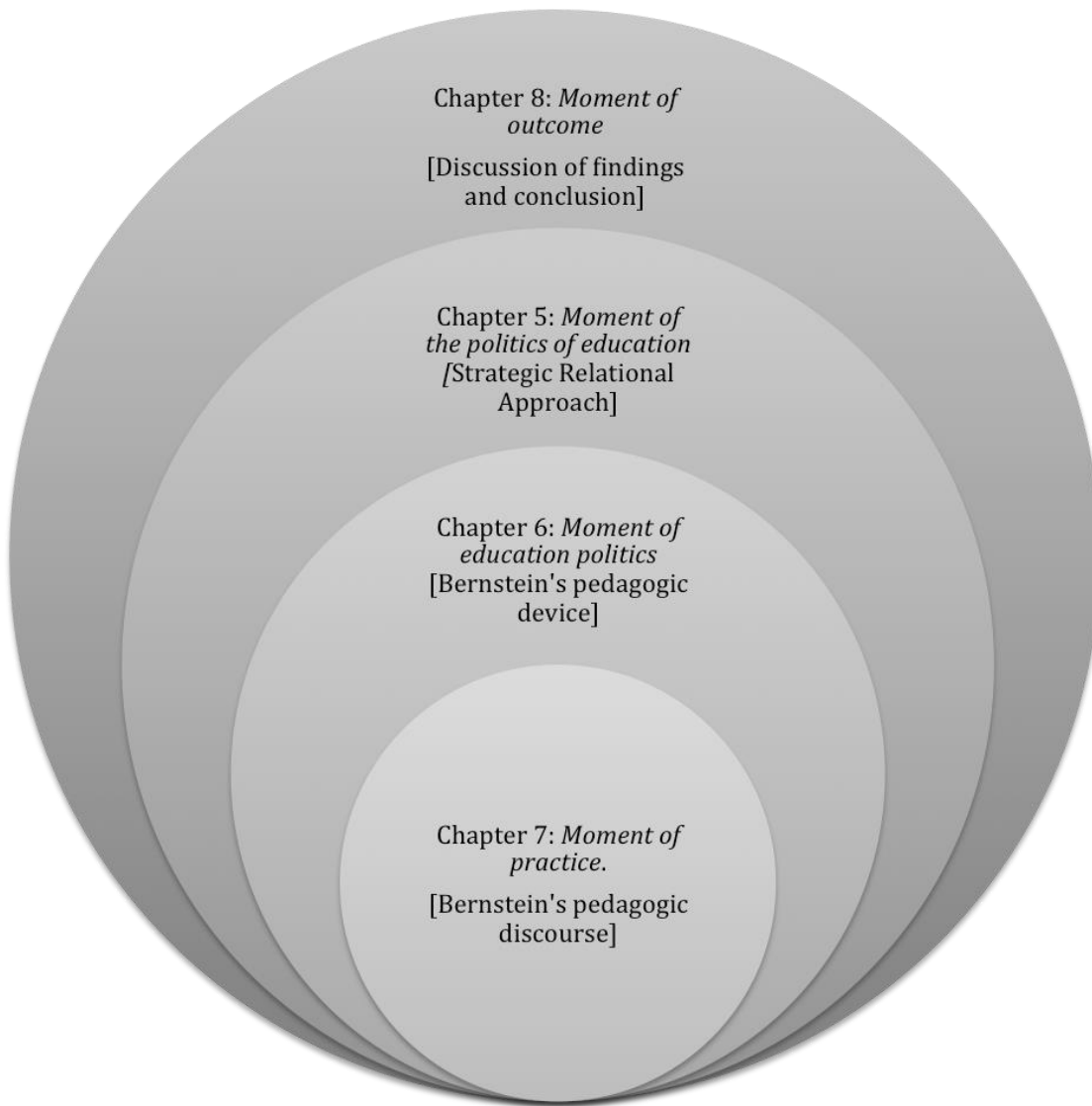
Figure 3.1 **Education moments chapter outline**

The remainder of this chapter introduces the analytic theories that have facilitated the analysis of data in this research; the Strategic Relational Approach (SRA) and Bernstein's theories of the pedagogic device, pedagogic discourse and pedagogic coding.

3.4   Strategic relational approach

The challenge with engaging in inquiry that draws on a critical realist approach is ensuring that the inquiry moves beyond both an overly structuralist analytic investigation and, similarly, an excessive analysis of agency. Put simply, critical realism requires conceptual, methodological and analytic tools that allow the examination of "structure in relation to action [and] action in relation to structure" (Jessop, 2005, p. 48). The Strategic Relational Approach (SRA) (Hay, 2002) is one such conceptual tool that addresses this dialectical and contingent

relationship between structure and agency. SRA provides an analytic model that allows both structure and agency to be separately examined while also ensuring that the enactment of agency can be analysed in relation to an agent's relationship with wider structures (Hay, 2002; Jessop, 2005; Lopes Cardozo & Shah, 2016; Shah & Lopes Cardozo, 2016). By defining agency as the ability for actors to move within and act upon their own desires within a "strategically selective context framed by discursive and material conditions" (Shah & Lopes Cardozo, 2016, p. 3), SRA pays particular interest to the strategies actors employ to act on these desires within the context of these wider structures. Hay (2002) argues that actors enact such strategies with the intention of achieving certain outcomes and objectives. As these strategies motivate action, Hay maintains that strategies provide critical insight into the structures that either constrain or enable the actions of actors. Put simply, the notion of strategy provides a way of analysing the enactment of agency in relation to these wider structures.

A key argument of SRA is that structures never reproduce identically and are considered to be strategically selective in their privileging of some strategies and actors over others (Hay, 2002; Jessop, 2005). By reinforcing certain actions, strategies and tactics and by discouraging others, SRA maintains that structures operate within temporal configurations of space and time to either constrain or enable the actions of actors (Hay, 2002). Actors respond reflexively to these structures, prompting actions that are influenced by their context and environment (Hay, 2002; Jessop, 2005). The ability for actors to transform governing structures is dependent on their access to opportunities and resources. As Lopes Cardozo and Shah (2016) point out, actors with significant cultural, social and economic capital may be favoured by such structures through their access to the financial means, the required knowledge and the social connections to either transform or work within such structures for their own benefit. On the other hand, actors who fail to have access to this economic, social and cultural capital may perceive these structures as an obstacle or barrier, thus limiting agency and restricting action. Hay (2002) argues that power is central in determining the capacity of actors to transform these structures, regardless of whether or not this power is intentionally exercised. Consequently, he maintains that the less powerful are constrained in their ability to both formulate and act on their strategies.

However, Lopes Cardozo and Shah (2016) challenge the idea that enacted strategies are conscious responses to causal mechanisms. Instead, they argue that the influence of political, economic and/or cultural mechanisms do not necessarily lead actors to respond with conscious strategies. Lopes Cardozo and Shah argue that actors can employ varying strategies at different times and in different contexts which shows how actors can also respond unconsciously to such structures. While the enactment of these strategies may be unintentional, these causal mechanisms still influence action, which may not be readily identified by the actors themselves. Similarly, Hay (2002) points out that actors may have different motivations for changing or maintaining existing structures and these also serve to both consciously and unconsciously reproduce or challenge the current status quo. This suggests that strategies may be both conscious and unconscious responses to wider structures.

When combined with the Critical Cultural Political Economy of Education (CCPEE) conceptual framework, SRA and CCPEE can be used concurrently as analytic tools to strengthen understanding of how structures enable or inhibit the actions of actors. Lopes Cardozo and Shah (2016) explain that SRA and CCPEE bring historical understanding to the complex relationship between practice and meanings at different scalar levels and, in doing so, they can identify how structures influence the strategic actions of actors over time. This enables the identification of the "production of particular hegemonic conditions" (p. 14). Because CCPEE embraces an analysis of culture alongside the investigation of political and economic influences, SRA provides a way of examining the strategies used by actors to enact their sense of agency in relation to these cultural, economic and political influences. This further strengthens the ability for researchers to 'crack open' assumptions about the educational phenomena under investigation, and the agency actors have to either transform or reproduce the globalisation of such phenomena.

What makes SRA of particular interest to this study is that it opens the possibility for an analysis of collective agency and the strategies that collective agents have utilised to enact such agency (Hay, 2002; Jessop, 2005). In other words, the collective agency of individual agents operating within an organisational structure allows the actions, strategies, plans, policies and activities *of an organisation* to be enacted. This enables an investigation of *organisational agency* and its relationship to wider structures. This thesis puts forward the argument that organisational agency is evident in the way that organisational strategies, such

as governance policies, strategic plans, meetings, reports, speeches and memos, not only direct the collective actions of agents working within an organisation, but they also act to either transform or reproduce the structures which influence the field that such organisation is located. Organisational agency enables an investigation of "the strategies they consider in the first place, the strategies they deploy in the final instance and the policies they formulate – [which] reflect their understanding of the context in which they find themselves" (Hay, 2002, p. 382). By using the SRA as both a conceptual and analytic tool, this allows consideration for how these wider structures selectively encourage and discourage certain actions, plans and strategies that an organisation can both embody and enact. It also enables examination of the reflexivity that an organisation engages in to either reproduce or transform these structures. Such analysis brings a new perspective to the investigation of agency and how organisations utilise agency to either transform or reproduce the status quo.

In the context of this research, using SRA alongside CCPEE as conceptual and analytic tools allows an analysis of the strategies utilised by COL in relation to the wider economic, political and social structures that influence the field of global education. Such strategies are evident in document sources such as strategic plans, policies, reports, official documents, media documents and virtual documents. As chapter four argues, these documents also work as active agents to direct the actions of collective actors associated with COL. COL's organisational agency is evident in the way that it works strategically at global, regional and local levels to enhance its political, economic, social and cultural capital. By drawing attention to the neoliberal ideologies that facilitate the uneven distribution of resources within this field, chapter five demonstrates how economic, political and cultural influences both limit and enable the choices COL has to enact its agency and the strategies it can employ to gain access to various forms of capital. Therefore, SRA facilitates the exploration of COL's organisational agency within the global education field, enabling a greater understanding of the complexities that influence the relationship between structure and organisational agency. Such account challenges the conception of this relationship as static and unproblematic and draws attention to the nuanced complexities that are evident through COL's engagement with this rapidly shifting and continually changing field of global education.

3.5 Bernstein's theory of pedagogic practice

Maton (2014) explains that "seeing what is hidden by a blind spot requires a new gaze, a different insight" (p. 1). It is for this reason that it is important to understand how wider structures, forces and casual mechanisms that are at work at the macro level are reinforced and reproduced through the structuring of pedagogic discourse and practice at a micro level. In order to do so, the remainder of this section introduces Bernstein's notion of the pedagogic device as a way of demonstrating how notions of power and control are established through the production, recontextualisation and reproduction of pedagogic discourse. While this analytic theory is explored in greater depth in chapters five, six and seven, its introduction in this chapter seeks to explain its relationship to critical theory. This section argues that Bernstein's pedagogic theories provide a valuable lens through which to analyse the globalisation of LCE.

Sriprakash (2012) points out that Basil Bernstein is one of the few educational theorists whose interest in understanding the social significance of pedagogic relationships has extended to both the micro and macro levels. While his earlier work examined the relationship between pedagogic practice, curriculum and communication codes (Bernstein, 1971), his more recent theorising analysed the production and transmission of pedagogic discourses at the micro and macro levels (Bernstein, 1990, 2000a). His work has recently gained attention in its application to development research (Barrett, 2007; Hoadley, 2008; Sriprakash, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012), despite originating from the English education system.

Bernstein (2000a) argues that biases lie embedded within the structure of educational transmission and acquisition. He contends that an analysis of these biases within the field of education is necessary in order to understand their influence on social assumptions. Bernstein's theory of pedagogic practice provides a way of analysing pedagogic practice and pedagogic discourse so that attention is drawn to class relations and the role that pedagogy plays in cultural reproduction-production (Bernstein, 2000a; Sadovnik, 1995). According to Bernstein (2000a), pedagogic discourse becomes a carrier of wider power relations and patterns of domination, namely that of class, patriarchy and race. He emphasises the importance of understanding how power and control translate into pedagogic discourse and

how pedagogic practice differentially shapes consciousness. Bernstein's (2000a) notion of the pedagogic code provides a way of understanding this.

3.5.1   Pedagogic code

Bernstein believed that social messages are disseminated through different forms of pedagogy with pedagogic coding being central to this sociological theorising. Bernstein (1990) explains that "codes are culturally determined positioning devices" (p. 13), which are regulated by social class through the relationship between either dominant or dominated message systems. Curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation are powerful message systems, which structure the way in which school knowledge is transmitted and practised. Bernstein argues that ideology is established in and through such message systems, which regulate modes of relations.

Understanding how power and control operate through this pedagogic code is central to understanding how social message systems are established and reproduced. Bernstein (2000a) explains that "power constructs relations *between,* and control [constructs] relations *within,* given forms of interaction" (p. 5). Consequently, power and control are reproduced through the pedagogic code. Classification and framing are two central components of this code theory. The following section explores the notion of classification to demonstrate how power is constructed and legitimised between forms of pedagogic interaction.

3.5.2   Classification

Bernstein (1971, 2000a) uses the notion of classification to consider the implicit rules between curriculum subjects or areas of knowledge. Bernstein (2000a) explains that classification carries power relations. As dominant power relations establish boundaries, power can be constructed between the divisions in curricular subjects. Bernstein questions these hidden power relations by asking, "in whose interest is the apartness of things and in whose interest is the new togetherness and the new integration?" (p. 11). Bernstein maintains that strong classification is more likely to temporarily interrupt the transmission of knowledge as the progression between concrete local knowledge to higher levels of abstraction occurs over time and after sustained engagement in schooling. In other words, curriculum that is strongly

classified tends to be disconnected from local knowledge and, therefore, more abstract in nature.

3.5.3   Framing

Framing is concerned with *how* meaning is established and the social relationship that is associated with this construction of meaning. This differs from classification, which is concerned with *what* is transmitted. Essentially, "framing is about *who* controls *what*" (Bernstein, 2000a, p. 12). Framing sets the parameters for what is communicated, how it is sequenced, how it is paced (e.g. the rate of acquisition) and the social basis through which the transmission is possible. Framing is concerned with the way in which this knowledge is transmitted through pedagogic practice whereas classification focuses on the way in which knowledge is organised into curriculum (Sadovnik, 1995).

3.5.4   Changing codes

This section returns to the larger purpose of Bernstein's work, which endeavours to understand the relationship between changes in classification and framing and the social division of labour. Sadovnick (1995) explains that Bernstein was particularly concerned with the "production, distribution and reproduction of official knowledge and how this knowledge is related to structurally determined power relations" (p. 10). Therefore, understanding the consequences of such production and transmission of knowledge for different groups was central to his work.

Bernstein questions the agenda behind any shift in values from strong to weak framing or classification (or vice versa) by asking "which group is responsible for initiating the change? Is the change initiated by a dominant group or a dominated group?" (Bernstein, 2000a, p. 15). He explains that changing values creates a system through which ideologies are constructed − ideologies that create and regulate relationships. These questions are central to this thesis. By identifying the actor/s that have initiated the widespread implementation of LCE through open education, this enables consideration to be given to the extent such actors use LCE to regulate relationships and to gain greater power and control. Thus, these questions help to challlenge assumptions about this shift towards the globalisation.

3.6 Bernstein's pedagogic device

This understanding of pedagogic coding provides an important foundation for exploring the social significance of the underlying rules that frame the pedagogic relay of knowledge. Bernstein (2000a) identified the pedagogic device as a mechanism which relays ideological messages and external power relations through pedagogic communication. This pedagogic device provides the "intrinsic grammar of pedagogic discourse" (p. 28) through three interrelated rules: *distributive rules, recontextualising rules* and *evaluative rules.* The *distributive rule* establishes what knowledge is thinkable and unthinkable; the *recontextualising rule* examines how pedagogic discourses are produced and reconstructed through their relocation between different fields; while the *evaluative rule* is responsible for regulating this recontextualised pedagogy into pedagogic practice. These rules are hierarchical in the sense that the recontextualising rules stem from the distributive rules and the evaluative rules from the recontextualising rules. Figure 3.2 illustrates this hierarchical interrelationship:
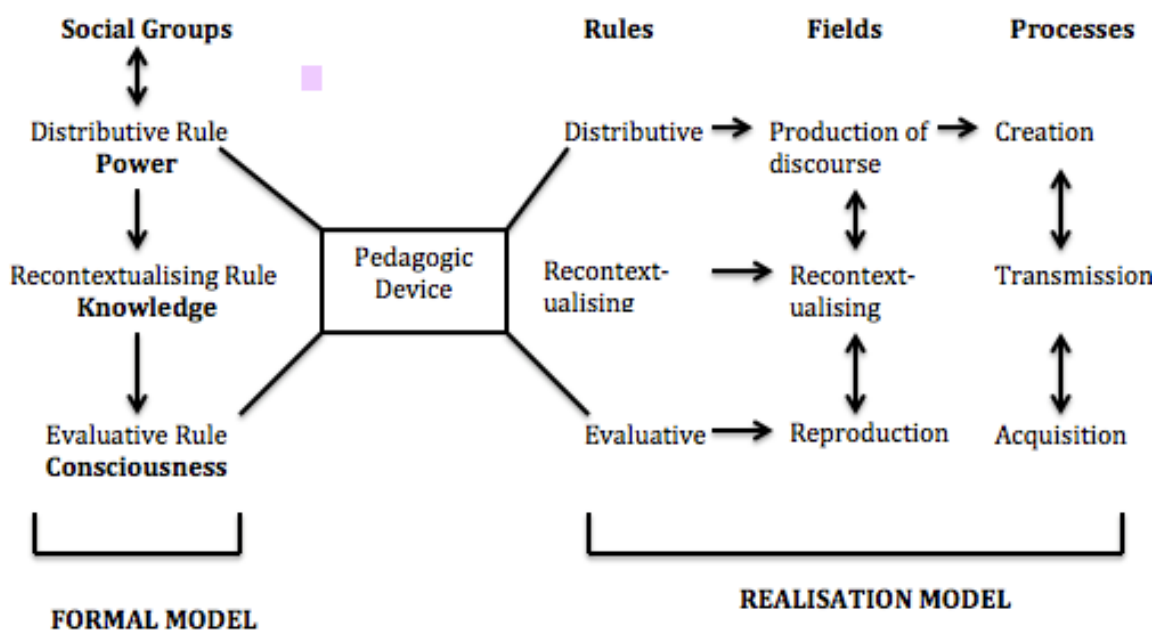
Figure 3.2 **Bernstein's pedagogic device.**

(Adapted from Bernstein, 2000a, p. 37)

Each of the three rules that govern this device and the application of them to this study will be revisited and discussed in greater depth in chapter six. Chapter six introduces the distributive rule by exploring ways that COL legitimates open education as a valid mechanism for implementing an ideological adaptation of LCE into low-income countries. Examination of the

recontextualising rule demonstrates how the Open Resource for English Language Teaching (ORELT) modules recontextualise LCE to produce a learner-centric adaptation of LCE that facilitates the reproduction of teacher-centred pedagogy within a learner-centred design. Finally, chapter six concludes by showing how the evaluative rule examines the mechanisms that COL uses to regulate the implementation of this adaptation of LCE into low-income countries.

3.7   Totally pedagogised society

This understanding of Bernstein's pedagogic theory provides an important basis for justifying why this study has used a Bernsteinian lens to analyse the globalisation of LCE through open education. To do so requires considering Bernstein's later work, where he became increasingly concerned with the vision of society that was emerging under the UK's New Labour government. Bernstein (2001) used the term 'Totally Pedagogised Society' (TPS) to describe this emerging society. He believed that this society would become embedded in discursive principles of pedagogy that would seek to shape and sustain social order. He suggested that this would be evident in the rise of educational technologies through the implementation of lifelong learning principles in policy and practice, and through the increase of a flexible, credential-driven workforce. Robertson (2012a) raises similar concerns by arguing that lifelong learning has capitalised on social constructivism by advancing the idea that individualised learning programmes are the most effective way to support learners. She points out that this has enabled neoliberals to harness the capabilities of digital technology to provide individualised programmes that can operate independently of teachers and schools (Robertson, 2005, 2012a). By restructuring schooling (an institutional structure which has traditionally been designed to facilitate early socialisation through a stratified educational process) to facilitate the integration of open learning (a model which repositions learning away from schools and teachers), Tyler (2004) maintains that such an educational shift is designed to facilitate a TPS. He goes on to argue that this shift in the nature of learning supports the construction of "the new ordering of social identities, cognitive and moral formation and, ultimately, to the bases of social inequality" (p. 15). Bernstein's argument here is that this shift towards a TPS means that education is no longer the reproducer of society, but it now plays a leading role in establishing and legitimating society.

Bernstein (2001) argues that a TPS effortlessly harmonises daily activities, practices and meaning with the division of labour through symbolic control. He believes that our current

entry into a TPS facilitates pedagogic relationships that normalised aspirations, desires and conduct through shaping macro structures. Bernstein suggests that recent developments in government policy have placed emphasis on embedding principles of lifelong learning within education is evidence of creating this seamless harmonisation of symbolic control. He argues that the technicisation of schooling, through the synchronisation of technology and the re-centering of the State, is part of a guise for the "management and repackaging of the pedagogic relationships outside of its conventional boundaries of centralised bureaucratic control" (Tyler, 2004, p. 19). Bernstein believes that lifelong learning is the educational translation of the social division of work and this is central in both establishing and legitimating TPS. This specialised pedagogic discourse works to normalise the consciousness of society and is the mechanism through which social identities are reconstructed to align with the stratified market conditions of the global economy. Lifelong learning is, therefore, believed to be the means of socialising actors into a TPS.

It is also important to critically examine the place of institutions within a TPS. Tyler (2004) explains that sociologists' central argument, that schooling exists as a function of social reproduction, is both eroded and challenged as traditional educational institutions become destabilised through technology-driven education and neoliberal reforms. Tyler's (2001) concern that education will be reduced to "commodified packages of information" (p. 349) also raises the question of whether pedagogic discourse has meaning when it is removed from face-to-face instruction and embedded within institutional structure. Tyler explains that the basis of communication in the digital environment is essentially "de-authored" (p. 348) as interaction between teacher and pupil is dissolved as a result of the "de-privileging of pedagogic activity" (p. 348). This shift towards the function of schooling as a "provider of individualised commodities" (Tyler, 2001, p. 348) also changes the relationship between teachers and learners from reproducers and producers of knowledge, to both being consumers of knowledge. Consequently, this challenges the class basis of the acquisition and transmission of knowledge — the very essence of Bernstein's pedagogic theory.

Tyler (2001) suggests that, rather than these changes undermining Bernstein's theory, they may in fact be of central importance in being able to understand the complexities of a virtual classroom within contemporary culture. Tyler argues that it is necessary to examine the internal pedagogic rules to understand whose voices are formalised and whose voices are

connected within the digital space in order to expose hypertext-based pedagogy, which may give the appearance of an informal, user-friendly and inclusive pedagogy, yet operate covertly in a strongly classified manner. Tyler challenges the assumption that hypertextual documents provide an open and uninterrupted mode of communication that is controlled by the student. Pedagogic theory may provide a powerful lens for critically considering how 'virtual pedagogy' operates within geographically diverse 'virtual classrooms'. Tyler argues that there is unrealised potential for the recasting of Bernstein's pedagogic device to understand the relationship between technology and pedagogic communication. In other words, an understanding of pedagogic theory may provide a strong insight and awareness of the way in which hypertext, as a form of pedagogic discourse, is realised within the geographically diverse local contexts and through learners' subjective experiences. Tyler (2004) suggests that there is a need to understand the new relationships between education and society within this reconfigured educational paradigm. Therefore, Bernstein's pedagogic theory provides a valuable lens for critically considering pedagogic discourse within open education.

Tyler (2004) also asserts that uncritical examination of the use of hypertext within the open education environment may provide a vehicle for political, ideological and managerial interests to be transported and distorted within new contexts. He argues that it is necessary to determine the "cultural and political centres" (p. 357) through which such virtual pedagogical discourse is constructed. This research is suitably positioned to examine such concerns about the uncritical examination of pedagogic communication within open education. Bernstein's pedagogic theory provides a valuable lens through which to examine pedagogic communication within COL's open education initiatives. It is for this reason that Bernstein's pedagogic theory has been used as an analytic theory in this research in order to 'crack open' pedagogic assumptions within open education.

3.8   Conclusion

This chapter has sought to outline the meta-theoretical foundations that underpin this research. An examination of critical theory and critical realism provide the ontological and epistemological foundations that underpin this study. The Critical Cultural Political Economy of Education (CCPEE) and the Structural Relational Approach (SRA) were introduced as conceptual and analytic tools to investigate the relationship between structure and agency

within the context of this study. It was argued that an analysis of organisational agency would provide an understanding of the strategies that COL utilises as it responds to the wider structures that govern its engagement with the field of global education. Finally, this chapter concluded by examining Bernstein's pedagogic theories which have sought to understand the relationship between notions of power, control, education and the social world. Bernstein's theory of the pedagogic device was presented as a way to both theoretically and methodologically explain the relationship between micro level pedagogic practice and macro level notions of power and control. Therefore, this chapter has outlined the epistemological and ontological foundations of this study, the conceptual framework for theorising globalisation and the analytic theory to guide the analysis of macro and micro pedagogic communication.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter shifts attention from the meta-theoretical foundations that have directed focus in the previous chapter to outline the methodology and methods that have guided the collection and analysis of data in this research. This chapter justifies why a case study design has enabled the researcher to engage in a rich, detailed and descriptive exploration of the globalisation of LCE through open education before defending why COL provides an insightful case to study the globalisation of this phenomenon. By detailing the methods used to gather data, this chapter justifies the selection and classification of document sources by providing a descriptive account of the five types of document sources used. Finally, this chapter concludes by describing and justifying the content, thematical and theoretical methods of analysis used in this study.

4.1   Case study

Chapter one provided a brief introduction to the case by indicating that COL makes a valuable bounded case through which to examine the globalisation of LCE through open education. This chapter builds on this earlier introduction by justifying why a case study design is the most effective methodological framework to guide a detailed analysis of this phenomenon. To do so requires briefly considering the nature of case study designs and why such design is best suited to the purposes of this research.

Case studies encourage a rigorous and thorough analysis of a bounded case, which provides an in-depth, detailed and rich description of a phenomenon (Bryman, 2012; Flyvbjerg, 2013; Merriam, 1998; Mutch, 2013; Stake, 2005). By concentrating on a single phenomenon, the research can expose significant relationships and interactions, making case studies particularly well-suited to examining complex phenomena (Merriam, 1998). Merriam (1998) notes that sociological case studies focus on examining the "constructs of society and socialisation" (p. 34) through the study of educational phenomena. Sociological case studies provide a valuable way of examining the complex relationships and social processes that are reproduced through certain educational phenomena.

A feature of a case study design that makes it particularly suitable to this research is that case studies provide opportunities for researchers to focus their inquiry in ways that are best suited to their research. Stake (2005) argues that a case study is defined by interest in an individual case, rather than the methods of inquiry. Because of this, there is no prescribed method to undertaking case study research. Cases can be individuals, institutions, organisations, programmes, concepts or a setting (Mutch, 2013; Stake, 2005). It is at the researchers' discretion to select research methods that allow a thorough examination of the case. This flexibility of research design is particularly well-suited to this research as it has enabled an institution (COL) to be used as the case in which to examine the globalisation of LCE through open education. Therefore, the flexibility of a case study research design has enabled the researcher to investigate the case in a way that best illuminates the phenomenon of interest.

Case studies have a central aim of intensively investigating a bounded case; however, there are different purposes for undertaking case studies. Merriam (1998) distinguishes three different types of case study — the *particularistic, descriptive* and the *heuristic* case study. She explains that a *particularistic* case study examines a "particular situation, event, program or phenomenon" (p. 29) and it is the case that is important in revealing understandings about the phenomenon. *Descriptive* case studies provide a rich and thick description of the phenomenon. Such case studies are particularly interested in examining relationships over a period of time in order to analyse the phenomenon in different situations and contexts. The complexities of a phenomenon or situation are highlighted through obtaining information from a wide range of sources. Finally, the *heuristic* case study intends to enhance the reader's understanding of the phenomena by bringing new meaning or explanations to a problem.

Stake (2005) brings an additional perspective to this typology of case studies. He identifies *intrinsic, instrumental* and *multiple* case studies as varying approaches to the case study design. He explains that an *intrinsic* case study is undertaken to gain a better understanding of a particular case and it is the case itself that is of particular interest. On the other hand, *instrumental* case studies provide particular insight into an issue; however, the case plays a secondary role to understanding this phenomena or issue of interest. Stake points out that the case is chosen to gain greater contextual understanding of the phenomena of interest and to illuminate understandings of the contextual issues surrounding this phenomenon. Finally, *multiple case studies* involve several cases being studied to investigate a "phenomenon,

population or general condition" (Stake, 2005, p. 445). These typologies provide a way of identifying the place of both the case and the phenomenon of interest in the case study design. This study uses an instrumental case study design to provide a descriptive understanding of the globalisation of LCE through open education. The following section explains and justifies this choice of case study design.

4.1.1 Defining the case

In order to thoroughly examine the globalisation of LCE through open education in a way that is thorough and intensive, yet manageable and contained, an instrumental case study design was considered to be the most appropriate research strategy. This case study methodology enabled a rigorous and thorough examining of the phenomenon (the globalisation of LCE through open education), within a bounded 'case' (the Commonwealth of Learning). This instrumental case study design allowed the case (the Commonwealth of Learning) to be secondary to the analysis of the phenomenon (the globalisation of LCE through open education). Thus, the complex relationships and social processes that are produced and reproduced through the globalisation of LCE in an open education environment could be thoroughly examined within one specific case.

A descriptive case study design was particularly useful for allowing the researcher to provide "thick descriptions" (Stake, 2006, p. 450) of the globalisation of LCE through COL's strategic plans, policies, global partnerships and online teacher education modules. Such an in-depth and focused investigation was necessary to allow the researcher to illuminate and thoroughly examine the intricate and subtle complexities of international educational aid. It is believed that by investigating the complex and dynamic interface of international educational aid and LCE using a case study design, this research has been able to shed light on hidden ideologies concealed within pedagogic relationships on a micro and macro scale.

A case study design also provided a way for this study to critically examine the cultural, political economy of education and its influence on the globalisation of LCE through open education. (Robertson & Dale, 2015). This provided opportunities for relationships within COL's network of global partnerships to be carefully explored, providing greater

understanding about the nature of decision-making, financing and co-ordination of educational aid. Furthermore, it allowed for a thorough exploration of the casual powers that justify the globalisation of LCE through open education. This rich and thick description of the complexities governing the globalisation of LCE was necessary to identify, expose and challenge underlying assumptions about the neutrality of LCE, open education and educational aid.

4.1.2   Justifying the case

COL is an ideal case to examine the globalisation of LCE through open education because it is an IGO whose mandate focuses specifically on enhancing the quality of learning in low-income countries through open education (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015f). As chapter one explained, this case was selected because it provides the researcher with an opportunity to examine an IGO that specialises in supporting the implementation of LCE into low-income nations of the Commonwealth through open education. In particular, COL's focus on teacher education and its role in developing, implementing and evaluating distance teacher education programmes in low-income countries makes it an insightful case to examine. COL's approach to enhancing teacher quality is facilitated through open education, which removes its visible on the ground presence and makes it a unique case of digital education aid. Such digital education aid has significant implications for the globalisation of pedagogy, particularly given the heightened interest in the role of digital technologies in the globalisation of education (Singh et al., 2005). Furthermore, as an IGO, COL brings a unique and unexplored perspective to the globalisation of LCE. Large multilateral organisations have frequently been the subject of research and critique (Heyneman, 2009; Jansen, 2005; Malouf, 2010; Samoff, 2007); however, COL has remained largely out of the spotlight. Importantly, its historic ties to the ex-colonies of the British Empire provide a subtle yet significant backdrop to COL's engagement with open education.

A further reason why COL is a suitable case to study is that its position as a public organisation means that a significant number of documents, including strategic plans, reports, teaching modules, board minutes, publications and speeches, are readily available on the organisation's website. This has enabled the researcher to have access to a large number of document sources that spanned over a fifteen-year period. Because of this, the researcher has

been able to access documents as data sources since COL's integration into the global education agenda at the turn of the new millennium. It is acknowledged that the document sources made publically available may not reflect COL's whole story; however as demonstrated shortly, there are a significant number of documents from a range of data sources that can be utilised to corroborate findings. Therefore, the accessibility and availability of a wide range of documents' sources makes COL an accessible case to study.

The final aspect that makes COL an insightful case is its intricate web of global partnerships and alliances. From bilateral involvement with Commonwealth nations, to large multinational organisations, private partnership and technical expertise from global universities, COL provides a smorgasbord of global networks, bringing a rich sample of coordinated partnerships to this investigation. Understanding the nature of these partnerships and the way in which these global alliances support the delivery of LCE through open education, makes COL a worthy case to investigate. Therefore, COL provides a unique, rich and complex case to examine the cultural, political economy of education through the globalisation of LCE.

4.2   Methods: Document research

This section details the methods used to carry out this case study investigation. As the central data source in this study, this section aims to bring insight to document research by justifying the importance of documents as a data source, detailing the various types of data sources and demonstrating how they are used in this study. Because documents are considered to be "windows into social and organisational realities" (Bryman, 2012, p. 554), this section puts forth the argument that documents are active agents that influence social interaction through their positioning within the open education environment. This section argues that documents are a valuable data source for examining both the wider economic, political and cultural influences on COL's globalisation of LCE and for understanding how these documents act as agents for carrying economic, political and social agendas.

Scott (1990) describes documents as "the accounts, returns, statutes and proclamations that individuals and groups produce in the course of their everyday practice and that are geared exclusively to their immediate practical needs" (p. 12). McCullouch (2011) points out that

particular insights about social activity can be obtained from documentary research methods. He explains that documents provide valuable information about continuity and change over time, and that documents can reveal the interaction of educational processes within the wider social, political and economic agendas. Furthermore, he maintains that documents reveal information about current relationships, behaviours and structures, and these can be viewed in relation to both longer term and more recent trends. It is for these reasons that documents are an important data source for examining the historic economic, social and political mechanisms that have influenced COL's current policies and practices.

However, Prior (2003) brings a different interpretation to the purpose of documents. She argues that documents need to be considered in terms of "fields, frames and networks of action" (p. 2). As networks of action, Prior explains that documents engage creators (such as writers, agents and publishers), users (such as readers) and the context in which a document is received. She urges the importance in acknowledging all three realms within a field so that an understanding of both the emergence of document sources and the implications of these can be gained. Prior (2008) maintains that bringing a sociological lens to document research can enable both data collection and analysis to be conceptualised from a much broader perspective. Rather than viewing documents as "static immutable things" (p. 821) that "enter and leave the field in relative silence" (p. 822), Prior encourages researchers to view documents as "active agents in the world" (p. 821). Because of this, she suggests that documents "*do* things as well as contain things" (p. 822). By conceiving documents as actors, Prior's fundamental argument is that documents should be perceived as central to dynamic networks that can influence social interactions and systems of social organisation. Documents, she argues, instigate and direct the actions of others as well as being directed themselves. In this sense, documents are consumed, not just manufactured (Prior, 2003). Similarly, Cooren (2004) argues that organisational texts, such as checklists, records and organisational proceedures, can display a form of agency that can instigate action. Documents can act as "active agents in networks of action" (Prior, 2008, p. 822) which can drive human actors as well as be open to the manipulation of others (Prior, 2011).

It is for this reason that documents are not neutral (Atkinson & Coffey, 2011). Prior (2008, 2011) asserts that documents can be considered by others as enemies, as allies, as resources for further action and "as opponents to be destroyed, or suppressed" (Prior, 2011, p. 94).

Furthermore, the effect of documents remains long after the human creator has died, which demonstrates that documents can parellel human actors in their ability to shape and drive political, economic and social processes (Prior, 2008, 2011). This understanding causes researchers to consider how documents are both utilised and integrated into knowledge networks as well as how they are produced, reproduced, circulated and exchanged within such networks. Prior (2008) questions social scientists' heavy reliance on 'talk' rather than 'text' as a key source of research data, particularly given the significant prevalance and utilisation of document sources in our society. Similarly, Cooren (2004) points out the limited research that focuses on the agency of text. It is for this reason that documents are the central data source in this research. Considering digital document sources also brings fresh sociological insight to what digital documents *do* within open education rather than simply what these documents contain.

Prior (2008) draws attention to the uncertainty that surrounds how documents will be circulated, activated and interpreted in specific cultural and social contexts. She places the spotlight on the way that meaning is recontextualised through the cultural and social spaces through which documents are received and understood. Prior points out that analysing document content has tended to take precedence over documentary analysis which examines the way in which human actors position and manipulate documents to ensure that documents actively act as agents of action. She advocates that this perspective provides new scope for documentation research and demands the need to reticulate 'the field'. Atkinson and Coffey (2011) also acknowledge the importance of intertextuality in understanding how documents relate to other documents and the signs and messages that this network of documents create. They maintain that analysing such complex document interlinkages enables an understanding of the document realities that documents establish and how they institue their own hierarchies and legitimate authority. The importance of analysing the social networks in which documents circulate is, therefore, critical to a sociological documentary analysis.

Prior (2008) also acknowledges the importance of understanding the links between documents and people, documents and institutions, documents and documents, and documents and concepts. It is for this reason that this research seeks to examine the wider social networks associated with COL's production and reproduction of both 'official documents' and 'teaching documents' so that an understanding of how human actors position and manipulate documents

to serve wider economic, political and social agendas can be gained. This research, therefore, intends to draw on the Structural Realational Approach (SRA) in order to determine how digital documents act as "active agents" (Prior, 2008, p. 822) to influence social interaction within the open education environment. Thus, this research seeks to understand what digital documents *do*, rather than just what they contain.

Document sources are an important way of achieving an understanding of the historical networks of relations within the field of global education. The objective of sociology is to reveal and explain the structures that are produced and reproduced by the actions of actors. However, Scott (1990) argues that neither 'structures' nor 'actions' are readily observable. He maintains that it is imperative to draw on data sources to identify behaviours and actions and show how these are manifested over time. This cumulative analysis provides a valuable way of understanding the invisible structures that lie beneath the surface, which observational evidence would fail to identify. Documents provide a valid, valuable and insightful source of data to support this critical analysis. Before examining the classification and selection of document sources in this study, the following section considers the ethics of using documents as a central source of research data.

4.2.1 Ethical considerations

Taking a critical lens to social research requires what Cannella and Lincoln (2011) refer to as "radical ethics … that is always/already concerned about power and oppression even as it avoids constructing 'power' as a new truth" (p. 81). They argue that ethical orientations are outworked within each individual researcher as they conceptualise and conduct research in a way that is either emancipatory or oppressive. It is for this reason that the ethics of critical social research requires the "cultivation of consciousness" (Cannella & Lincoln, 2011, p. 84) within the researcher by developing awareness of the socio-political context in which the research is conducted. This section demonstrates how the researcher has taken a radical ethics approach to critical inquiry and it explores the ethical tensions that the researcher has grappled with to identify, critique and acknowledge the implications of the research practices utilised in this research.

Despite the impression that documents serve as a neutral data source, Tesar (2014) challenges this notion by arguing that archived documents "are not as ethically neutral as they are often portrayed" (p. 149). Kellehar (1993) acknowledges that universiy ethics committees often provide thin ground for ethical dilemmas that concern unobtrusive measures. This was certainly evident in Tesar's (2014) research. Tesar discovered that the representation of sensitive material in published works had the potential to impact the lives of citizens and the view of reality that they trusted as truth. Despite the University of Auckland maintaining the neutrality of documental research, Tesar's cautionary tale draws attention to the pressing need to consider the ethics of documental research and, importantly, the potential harm on human subjects.

Like Tesar's (2014) experiences, this documentary research has also raised ethical tensions for the researcher. Naming COL as the case study organisation used in this research presents the most significant ethical tension. McCullouch (2011) observes that ethical tensions arise when naming a prominent organisation, particularly when the findings of the research present the organisation in an unfavourable light. Kellehear (1993) concurs by pointing out the impact that publishing research findings can have on people, despite the fact that the research may not have engaged with human participants. Because of the public nature of the documents used in this research, no consent was required to gain access to data or to name the organisation. However, approaching this study from a critical perspective has significant implications for COL, which could have concerning outcomes for the organisation and associated personnel. As an organisation, COL has received very little critique, other than the external evaluations that have been commissioned by the organisation. This study will be the first known research to question and challenge some of the underlying assumptions and pedagogical practices that have been advocated by the organisation. Aspects of the organisation may be presented in an unfavourable light which may impact on the credibility of the organisation as a global thought leader. However, taking a radical ethics approach requires COL to be named in order to challenge the continuation of oppressive and hegemonic educational practices. This decision has resulted in a number of ethical tensions which need to be explored in greater depth.

The researcher grappled with a number of significant ethical tensions as a result of naming COL as the case study organisation used in this study. One tension centred around the dilemna of exposing the policies and practices of an organisation that reproduces rather than eradicates

social and economic inequalities verses knowing such practices exist and remaining silent. Another ethical tension related to acknowledging the harm that exposing this knowledge might have on the reputation, jobs and livelihoods of the personnel associated with COL versus the longstanding harm that its programmes might cause if the perpetuation of oppression and inequality continues. Ethical tensions also arose from the realisation that naming COL might implicate all of its associated programmes, including those that have not be examined in this research. Furthrmore, ethical tensions exist by exposing the "disabilities of aid" (Samoff, 2007) and risking the financial fallout for low-income countries versus remaining silent and being privy to the reproduction of the status quo. Cannella and Lincoln (2011) acknowledge these tensions by explaining that the ethics of critical social inquiry requires researchers to engage in moral projects that bring honor and value to indigenous peoples and their cultural practices and projects that mobilise collective actions to ensure equality for humanity. It is for this reason that naming COL was decided to be necessary in order to expose practices that reproduce inequalities and oppressive power structures. Through exposing such practices, it is hoped that this research contributes to the decolonisation of modes of thought and educational practices in order to bring educational equality to actors in low-income countries.

In addition to these tensions, tensions also exist in the way that documents have been used for research purposes. Authors of documents often have a very different purpose in mind when producing the documents (Bryman, 2012). Kellehear (1993) raises concern about the ethics of exposing information in a new light, for a purpose never intended by the original author. This calls into question the ethics of using documents for unintended purposes. Not only does this deconstruction of documents remove them from the original context, but it also removes the opportunity for the author to defend their perspective and/or edit the documentation to suit the purposes of research. In this study, document sources have been analysed, contrasted, compared and interrogated in ways that were never intended by the author/s. Consequently, the findings from such analysis implicate the author/s to inadvertent outcomes. Taking a radical ethics perspective, the decision to use documents in such way was based on the larger objective of challenging inequalities and hegemonic modes of thought that have been obscured through the perceived neutrality of document sources. Using documents for research purposes was intended to reveal the textual agency that these documents afford after leaving the context in which such documents were originally written. This has meant that the authors have been unknowingly implicated in this study; however, this was deemed necessary in order to

illustrate how the intertextuality of documents works agentically to legitimate ideas, actions and educational practices.

Despite the complexities that these ethical considerations raise, none of these noted tensions have been addressed by The University of Auckland's *Guiding Principles for Conducting Research with Human Participants* (The University of Auckland, 2013). Like Tesar (2014) found, these guiding principles provide little guidance for navigating this unfamiliar yet ironically neutral ethical terrain. As this research demonstrates, documental research is not neutral. As a holder of knowledge, documents carry an ontological foundation that communicates the beliefs and values through which such knowledge is conceived (Atkinson & Coffey, 2011). Documents are political, they are ideological, they hold power and they can be an object of control (Atkinson & Coffey, 2011). In an age where open education is gaining increasing prominance, bringing a radical ethical perspective to this research has allowed the researcher to make ethical decisions based on the wider objective of exposing and challenging the reproduction of inequality and hegemonic pedagogical practices within open education. Because of this, the deliberate decision has been made to name COL as the case in this research in an attempt to reveal and expose the perpetuation of inequalities through the globalisation of LCE through open education.

4.2.2   Selection and assessment of document sources

Before detailing the process for selecting documents used in this research, this section briefly draws attention to the assessment of documentary sources to ensure that the documents used for analysis are of suitable quality. Scott (1990) provides four questions for assessing the suitability of documents for scientific research. These include:

Chapter 1 Authenticity: Is the evidence genuine and of unquestionable origin?
Chapter 2 Credibility: Is the evidence free from error and distortion?
Chapter 3 Representativeness: Is the evidence typical of its kind and, if not, is the
extent of its untypicality known?
Chapter 4 Meaning: Is the evidence clear and comprehensible?

<div align="right">(Scott, 1990, p. 6)</div>

These criteria provide a means to assess the suitability of documents for social science research; however, it is pertinent to point out that official documents sources often have vested interest. These documents can present a bias perspective in a bid to transform political propaganda into the justification of a choice of action (Scott, 1990). In the instance of sociological research, such biases are of great interest for identifying underlying agendas, and it is for this reason that lack of credibility may also warrant selection as a document source (Scott, 1990).

In this study, documents were accessed from COL's website (www.col.org) which housed both primary and secondary sources of data. While the specific details of these documents will be explored shortly, it is necessary to note that Scott's (1990) criteria for document quality was used to assess the suitability of such documents for inclusion in this study. Of particular interest to this selection process were official documents that presented strong support for the advancement of open education. Scott's (1990) credibility criterion was therefore used to identify 'uncredible' official documents that had a notable bias towards the advancement of open education. As explained later in this chapter, the analysis of such documents enabled a thorough understanding of how these biases influence the official pedagogic field, a point of central importance to this research.

COL's website provided access to a broad and vast range of document sources that could be used as data in this study. These included policy documents, teaching resources, strategic plans, meeting minutes, financial statements, governance reports, speech transcripts, blogs, magazines and media releases. It is acknowledged that not all information pertaining to COL's governance and educational initiatives is available on this website, making it impossible to draw definitive conclusions from this research. Therefore, the conclusions and findings from this research are based on the available document sources, and despite efforts to triangulate data, the findings from this study reflect the data available at the time of this research. Triangulation of data sources has meant that emerging themes have been corroborated from multiple document sources and, when inconsistencies have occurred, this has called into question the trustworthiness of claims made within these documents, thus illuminating areas for further inquiry.

There were some limitations that resulted from the reliance on COL's website for gaining access to document sources. Notably, access to documents prior to 2000 is extremely limited.

While the availability and accessibility of governance documents became more prevalent from 2004 when Sir John Daniel became president of COL, there is limited data available prior to 2000. It is for this reason that this research has focused on document sources from 2000 to 2015. A further limitation is that the website was upgraded in the latter part of 2015 and some document sources have been archived in different sections of the website. While this has not impacted the information gathered, it did require time to relocate the document sources. Importantly, this highlights the fragility of web-based document sources and the possibility that some may have a limited public lifespan in their current form.

After gaining access to document sources, it was necessary to select key documents for analysis. Chapter five details the overall programmatic structure of COL (Fig, 5.1), which initially helped to determine the specific documental focus for this inquiry. Documents relating to open education teaching initiatives and teaching programmes were selected while documents relating to vocational development, regional media centres and the virtual university were excluded. In addition to the selection of teacher education documents, governance related documents, such as strategic plans, governance manuals, Board of Governors meeting minutes, president reports and financial statements, were also examined so that analysis of wider economic, political and cultural influences could be considered. In order to gain an understanding of views and perspectives on pedagogy and open education, commissioned reports and evaluations were selected as well as speeches, interviews, blogs, magazine articles and webpages.

Following this selection of documents, Bryman's (2012) typology of documents was used to classify document sources into four different categories: official documents deriving from the state, official documents deriving from private sources, mass-media outputs and virtual output. A fifth category, teaching documents, was added to this classification to reflect the focus of this research on understanding pedagogic principles within open education. The following section provides a brief overview of each of these document typologies before detailing the document sources that have been used in this study.

4.2.3 Official documents deriving from COL

Official documents produced by the state or any other public entity, such as COL, provide large amounts of documents' sources that can have great significance for researchers (Bryman, 2012; Scott, 1990). In the context of this research, COL is considered to be a governing body over the domain of open education within the Commonwealth so any governance, policy or report related document that has been produced by COL was categorised as an official document. This section begins by giving specific consideration to policy documents as a data source and then explores three types of official documents that are either produced by, or used by, COL: policy documents, official reports and governance documents.

Rizvi and Lingard (2010) draw attention to the recent emergence of, and interest in, policy studies as an academic endeavour. They point out that public policy is agenda setting, and therefore "designed to steer the actions and behaviour of people" (p. 4). Because of this, governments use policy to reform education systems, however they also acknowledge the increasing incidence of IGOs in framing public education policy within the state.. Rizvi and Lingard maintain that the justification and promotion of political decisions are translated into policy by policy experts. Policy, therefore, plays an active role in shaping and producing change and steering the direction of social formations. This demonstrates how the textual agency of policy documents act as active agents of change to redirect social processes to serve wider political agendas (Cooren, 2004; Prior, 2008).

It is through policy that power is legitimately exercised by different institutional practices and norms (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Lingard (2009) explains that critical policy analysis examines the mechanisms of political power and authority and embedded relations of power. It is important to acknowledge that policy not only fufils a textual function in recording these agentic political decisions, but it also serves a procedual function by encompassing the political process of agenda setting as well as the process of policy production (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). However, Lingard (2009) maintains that policy sociology needs to move beyond simply describing power relations within the policy processs to also identifying strategies that might challenge oppressive practices and structures. It is for this reason that this research seeks to analyse policy in order to crack open assumptions about LCE and open education.

The context in which policies exist also hold significance. Policies have a prior history that are linked to other earlier policies as well as to individuals and institutions (Gale, 2001; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Lingard (2009) argues that taking a historical approach to policy analysis is crucial in understanding the influence of globalisation on policy processes. The intertextuality between policies plays an important role in constructing what is referred to as a "policy ensemble" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 8). By cross-referencing other policy texts and echoing ideas, concepts, phrases and words within these texts, intertextuality creates a policy ensemble that acts to legitimate certain actions, ideas and modes of thought. It is this ensemble of policies that works collectively as an active agent to steer the actions and behaviours of institutions and human actors in a particular direction (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). This research has examined COL's policy ensemble of strategic plans from 2000 to 2021, governance manuals and Memorandum of Understandings, in order to identify the intertextuality of ideas and concepts that have worked agentically to legitimate actions, ideas and modes of thought (refer to Table 4.1 for a complete overview of these documents).

As well as policy documents, official reports can also be classified as official documents deriving from the state. McCullouch (2011) observes that reports published by the government are of particular significance as they reveal identified problems as well as proposed solutions. Put another way, reports provide insight into key areas that the government intends to intervene. Dale (2014) explains that problematisation is a strategy used by governments to create the impression of a problem so that the solutions identified in the report necessitate government intervention to change, reinstate or abolish certain policies and social practice. Reports can signal potential policy changes and provide valuable insight into potential shifts in educational practices. Furthermore, policy reports generally represent a certain perspective and can also reveal conflicts and discrepancies within state policy (Codd, 1988). As noted earlier, these inconsistencies bring great insight to social research. Codd (1988) suggests that these irregularities are valuable for pinpointing underlying agendas and ideologies, which are central to sociological research. It is for this reason that this research has examined three different types of offical reports (refer to Table 4.1 for a complete overview of these reports). These include official reports commissioned by COL to examine a particular aspect of open education, official reports published by COL which are intended to contribute to knowledge production and, finally, evaluative reports which have evaluated COL's policies and implementation practices.

This research has also analysed 'official documents' that report on COL's governance, organisational and procedural processes (refer to Table 4.1 for a complete overview of these documents). Bryman (2012) draws attention to the valuable information contained within meeting minutes. The record of issues raised, perspectives and actions taken can be of particular interest for social researchers as they can provide a historical record of intended actions. However, Bryman (2012) also acknowledges that meeting minutes and board reports may suppress disagreements and noted actions may be recorded to demonstrate that issues are to be addressed rather than sincere intent to act upon them. Therefore, Atikinson and Coffey (2011) caution that such documents may not always reflect reality. This study has examined the *Board of Governors: President's Quarterly Progress report* from October 2006 to September 2014 and COL's financial statements dating from 2005 as primary data sources in order to understand the reported governance processes and organisational strategies that have occurred over the past ten years.

Table 4.1 *Official Documents Deriving From the Commonwealth of Learning*

Document Source	Description	Title of document
Strategic Plans	Until 2015 COL's strategic plans have been published every three years and are intended to set the scope and focus of projects and programmes that are aligned to each funding cycle. Commonwealth member governments review and provide feedback on each strategic plan with the intention that the plans are informed by the needs of Commonwealth member states. In 2015 the planning cycle changed from three to seven years.	Commonwealth of Learning. (2003a). *Commonwealth of Learning: Three year plan 2000-2003: A world of knowledge.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning.
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2003b). *Commonwealth of Learning: Three year plan 2003-2006: Building capacity in open and distance learning.* (Strategic plan). Vancouver, BC, Canada:
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2006a). *Commonwealth of Learning: Three year plan 2006-2009. Learning for development.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2009a). *Commonwealth of Learning: Three year plan 2009-2012. Learning for development.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning.
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2012a). *Commonwealth of Learning: Three year plan 2012-2015. Learning for development.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning.
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2015f). *Commonwealth of learning strategic plan 2015-2021: Learning for sustainability.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning.
Manuals	Manuals include key documents that provide information about the operational processes of COL's organisational structure, programmes and processes. Included in this selection of documents is UNICEF's *Child Friendly Schools manual* as COL has worked in collaboration with UNICEF to implement and evaluate this programme.	Commonwealth of Learning. (2015h). *Governance Manual.* Vancouver, BC, Canada.
		Farrell, G. M. (2009). *Results-based monitoring and evaluation at the Commonwealth of Learning: A handbook.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning.
		UNICEF. (2009). *Child Friendly Schools Manual.* New York, NY: United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).
Commissioned Reports	These reports include those that have been commissioned by COL to provide a comprehensive overview of research on key educational areas. These reports also include those that other development agencies (such as the World Bank) have commissioned COL to write.	Commonwealth of Learning. (2001). *Building capacity to deliver distance education in Nigeria's federal university system.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning.
		Knight, J. (2006). *Higher education crossing borders: A guide to the implications of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) for cross-border education.* Paris, France: COL/UNESCO

Document Source	Description	Title of document
Commissioned Reports (Continued)		Perraton, H. (2010). *Teacher education: The role of open and distance learning.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning.
		Perraton, H. (1996). *The cost effectiveness of distance education for primary teacher training.* Cambridge, England: International Research Foundation for Open Learning.
		Creed, C., Allsop, T., Mills, R., & Morpeth, R. (2005b). *The art of the possible: Issues of learner support in open and distance learning in low income countries.* Cambridge, England: International Research Foundation for Open Learning.
		South African Institute for Distance Education (SAIDE). (2004). *Distance Education and open learning in Sub-Saharan Africa: Criteria and conditions for quality and critical success factor.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning.
		Henevald, W., Ndiddle, A., Rajonhson, L., & Swai, F. (2006). Synthesis Report: Local Studies on the Quality of Primary Education in Four Countries.Association for the Development of Education in Africa
		Hoosen, S. (2012). *Survey on governments Open Educational Resources (OER) policies.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning
Evaluation Reports	These reports have been commissioned by COL to evaluate an aspect of their operational programme.	Umar, A., Kinakin, R., & McEachern, D. (2012). *Interim report on the UNICEF-Commonwealth of Learning Child Friendly Schools Project.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning.
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2012i). *Africa: Commonwealth of Learning's work by region.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning.
		Greenop, K. (2010). *Commonwealth of Learning: Monitoring and evaluation for open schools workshop (Africa Region).* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning
		Umar, A. (2012). *Report on the partners' consultative meeting on teacher education. Held in UNESCO, Paris, February 21, 2012.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning.
Official Publications	Official publications are those that COL has published to contribute to knowledge production about an aspect of ODL, OER, teacher education, educational quality and quality assurance.	Lakshmi, T. K. S., Rama, K., & Henrikz, J. (2007). *An anthology of "best practices" in teacher education.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning and National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC)

Document Source	Description	Title of document
Official Publications (Continued)	Official publications are those that COL has published to contribute to knowledge production about an aspect of ODL, OER, teacher education, educational quality and quality assurance.	Danaher, P. A., & Umar, A. (Eds.). (2010). *Teacher education through open and distance learning.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2007b). *Towards a Commonwealth of Learning: Twenty years of progress.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning
		Menon, M., Rama, K., Lakshmi, T. K., & Bhat, V. D. (2007). *Quality indicators for teacher education.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning and National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC)
		Lakshmi, T. K. S., & Rama, K. (2007). *Quality assurance toolkit for teacher education institutions (QATTEI): Guidelines.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning
		Koul, B. N., & Kanwar, A. (Eds.). (2006). *Perspectives on distance education: Towards a culture of quality.* Vancouver, B.C. Canada: Commonwealth of Learning
		Rama, K., & Hope, A. (Eds.). (2009). *Quality assurance toolkit: Distance higher education institutions and programmes.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning
		Mishra, S. (2007). *Quality assurance in higher education: An introduction.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning and National Assessment and Accreditation Council India (NAAC)
President's Report	The *Board of Governors: President's quarterly progress report* is a quarterly report by COL's president to the Board of Governors. It details the president's activities alongside key initiatives, meetings, proposals, publications and event that COL has been engaged with over the previous four months. President reports dating from October 2006 until September 2014 have been used in this research, given their availability online. Therefore, 32 president's reports have been reviewed for the purposes of this research. They include the reports written by previous president Sir John Daniel and current president Professor Asha Kanwar. Due to space limitations only one reference has been provided in this table as an illustrative example of these 32 reports.	Daniel, J. (2009). *President's quarterly progress report, July – September, 2009.* (Board of Governors). Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning

Document Source	Description	Title of document
Financial Statements	COL's annual financial statements provide an audited record of income and expenditure. The financial contributions of Commonwealth member states are documented alongside financial contributions from multilateral organisations, independent banks, universities and private corporations and foundations. In addition to this, financial records of COL's contracted services are also detailed.	Commonwealth of Learning. (2013). *Consolidation of financial statements of Commonwealth of Learning.* Vancouver, BC, Canada; Commonwealth of Learning Commonwealth of Learning. (2012b). *Consolidation of financial statements of Commonwealth of Learning.* Vancouver, BC, Canada; Commonwealth of Learning Commonwealth of Learning. (2011). *Consolidation of financial statements of Commonwealth of Learning 2011.* Vancouver, BC, Canada; Commonwealth of Learning Commonwealth of Learning. (2010a). *Consolidation of financial statements of Commonwealth of Learning 2010.* Vancouver, BC, Canada; Commonwealth of Learning Commonwealth of Learning. (2009b). *Consolidation of financial statements of Commonwealth of Learning 2009.* Vancouver, BC, Canada; Commonwealth of Learning Commonwealth of Learning. (2008a). *Consolidation of financial statements of Commonwealth of Learning 2008.* Vancouver, BC, Canada; Commonwealth of Learning Commonwealth of Learning. (2007a). *Consolidation of financial statements of Commonwealth of Learning 2007.* Vancouver, BC, Canada; Commonwealth of Learning Commonwealth of Learning. (2006b). *Consolidation of financial statements of Commonwealth of Learning 2006.* Vancouver, BC, Canada; Commonwealth of Learning

4.2.4 Official documents from private sources

The second categorisation of documents used in this study were 'official documents from private sources'. Private sources refer to documents that sit outside of the public arena. Bryman (2012) explains that these documents come from organisations and companies that are located within the private sector. This can include annual reports, press statements, mission statements, commissioned reports and company websites. Information from private sources is considered to be valuable as it can provide researchers with insight into the particular viewpoint that private organisations are trying to market (Bryman, 2012). While it is acknowledged that such documents present an inherent bias, these contradictions and inconsistencies are particularly valuable to understanding the wider political, economic and social agendas that are of interest to this research.

In the context of this study, the private sector refers to COL's partnerships with private organisations. In this instance, the Hewlett Foundation is a philanthropic organisation that COL has worked in partnership with and, therefore, official documents deriving from this partnership have been of interest to this study. The Ford Foundation is another private philanthropic organisation that has supported COL; however, due to the fact that the Ford Foundation's involvement does not directly align with teacher education, documents from this partnership have not been included in this research. Table 4.2 details the official document from private sources that have been selected for analysis in this study.

Table 4.2 *Official Documents Deriving From Private Sources (The Hewlett Foundation)*

Document Source	Description	Title of document
Commissioned Reports	These documents include reports that have been commissioned by the Hewlett Foundation and have been referred to in COL's official documents to support their programmes and initiatives.	Atkins, D. E., Seely Brown, J., & Hammond, A. L. (2007). *A review of the Open Educational Resources (OER) movement: Achievements, challenges and new opportunities.* (Report to The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.).
Evaluation Reports	These reports have been externally commissioned to evaluate various aspects of the Hewlett Foundation/COL OER initiative	South African Institute for Distance Education (SAIDE). (2009)*William and Flora Hewlett Foundation/COL Open Education Resources for Open Schools.* (Midterm evaluation report).
		Bialobrzeska, M., Hellmann, L., & Moore, A. (2011). *William and Flora Hewlett Foundation/COL Open Education Resources for Open Schools: Final evaluation, main report.*
		South African Institute for Distance Education (SAIDE). (2009). *William and Flora Hewlett Foundation/COL Open Education Resources for Open Schools.* (Input Indication Evaluation report).

4.2.5 Media documents

Media documents have been used as data sources in this study. McCullouch (2011) explains that media documents act as the "interface" (p. 249) between the private and public domain and can take the form of newspapers, magazines, films and television programmes. Media documents are useful for revealing contradictions and inconsistencies in reporting, making them a valuable means to reveal underlying tensions and hidden agendas.

In the context of this study, media documents selected for analysis include any document that COL uses as a form of communication to both its stakeholders and the public. These media sources include the triannual *Connections* magazine (which COL produces to inform stakeholders of its recent activities), and interviews, blogs and speeches by key COL staff (which are accessible online as videolinks or podcasts). In this study, media documents selected for analysis include those that relate to teacher education through open education as well as documents that provide insight into COL's governance and global partnerships. Media documents that focus on vocational training programmes and regional media centres were excluded from selection. Table 4.3 provides an overview of the media sources that have been used in this study:

Table 4.3 *Media Documents*

Document Source	Description	Title of document
Connection magazine	This triannual magazine communicates COL's recent activities, initiatives, programmes, publications and awards to its stakeholders and the general public. This magazine is available in print form and on COL's website. Magazines from June 2006 to July 2014 have been accessed for this research, with a total of 25 magazines reviewed. Due to space restrictions, one reference to the *Connection* magazine has been included as an example of the 25 magazines analysed.	Commonwealth of Learning. (2012i). Paris declaration promotes international support of OER. *Connections: Learning for development*, *17*(2), 1-2.
Blogs	Periodically, COL communicates items of interest through its blog. Blog posts have predominately been written by the current president, Asha Kanwar, and the past president, Sir John Daniel; however, other key staff have also made contributions. These blogs not only relay information about COL's activities, but they also pose questions and present alternative perspectives on key global educational events. Blog posts from 2009 to 2014 have been accessed for this study. Due to space restrictions, one reference to a selection of blog posts has as an example of the blog posts analysed.	Commonwealth of Learning. (2010b). *Distance education: Threats and opportunities. Selected speeches and website blogs of Sir John Daniel and colleagues 2009-2010.* Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning.
Speeches	COL staff gives keynote addresses at a large number of conferences, workshops and seminars throughout the Commonwealth. Speeches are, therefore, an important aspect of COL's public communication. Speech transcripts are available on COL's website and eleven speeches from 2006 to 2015 have been used as data in this study.	Daniel, J. (2006). *UNESCO and COL: Two complimentary organisations. Regulation of Cross-Border Higher Education: Issues and Trends*. Speech presented at Workshop, New Delhi, India. 21-22 September, 2006.
		Daniel, J. (2008). Open schooling: Communicating the basics. Workshop to develop an open schooling handbook. 4 − 8 February, 2008. Commonwealth of Learning, Vancouver, BC, Canada.
		Daniel, J. (2011b). Publishing with public money for public benefit. Presentation at Open access week, Open Education event. B.C. Campus, Canada. 17 October, 2011.
		Daniel, J. (2012). A Celebration of Sharing and a Milestone for Open Educational Resources − but what really matters is what happens now! Presentation to the launch of Open Educational Resources for Open Schooling, The Seychelles, 2 March, 2012.

Document Source	Description	Title of document
Speeches (Continued)		Kanwar, A.S. (2010). UNICEF-COL CFS project meeting. Kochi, India.
		Kanwar, A. (2015d). *The impact of MOOCs and OER on ODL: an international perspective.* Speech presented at International Distance Education Forum, Beijing, China
		Kanwar, A. (2015b). *Connecting the Commonwealth with online learning.* Speech presented to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Malta
		Kanwar, A. (2015c). *Promoting learning for sustainable development.* Speech presented to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Malta
		Kanwar, A. (2015a). *Adding global value.* Speech presented to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Malta.
		Kanwar, A., & Ferreira, F. (2015). *Universal secondary Education for All: What are the options?* Speech presented to *Stakeholders Forum* 19th Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers (19CCEM). Nassau, The Bahamas.
		Naidoo, V. (2012). *Value of partnership in building an education system.* Speech presented at BOCODOL Seminar, Gaborone, Botswana
Interviews	Three television interviews of Sir John Daniel, COL's past president have been viewed and used as data in this study.	Perelman, M. (2012). *Sir John Daniel, former CEO of the Commonwealth of Learning.* Interview with Marc Perelman France 24 International News. Retrieved from http://www.france24.com/en/20120712-john-daniel-open-educational-resources-movement/
		PCF5. (2008b). *Interview with Sir John Daniel.* Retrieved from https://www.col.org/resources/interview-sir-john-daniel
		PCF5. (2008a). *Interview with David Nthenqwe.* Retrieved from https://www.col.org/resources/interview-david-nthenqwe

4.2.6   Virtual outputs

The fourth category of document sources used in this study are virtual outputs. Bryman (2012) argues that the internet provides a powerful and accessible document source for data analysis. In particular, websites offer researchers a wealth of information, which hold great potential for document analysis. McCullouch (2011) observes that both public and private organisations have made primary documents readily available on websites; however he cautions that these documents may be stored in a way that casts the organisation in a favourable light. This emphasises the need to triangulate virtual outputs with other document sources in order to gain a balanced understanding of the presentation of ideas.

In the context of this study, COL's website (www.col.org) has been valuable for locating a wide range of document sources. This website provides overviews of COL's programmes, COL's partnerships as well as providing access to a large repository of official documents, media documents and teaching documents. As noted previously, there are limited documents available prior to 2000 which has restricted the historical scope of this study. Despite this, the extensive information available post-2000 has enabled the researcher to gain an understanding of COL's educational developments over the past fifteen years. Table 4.4 provides an overview of the website sources that have been used in this study.

Table 4.4 *Virtual Documents*

Document Source	Description	Title of document
Website	While COL's website is a central repository for a wide range of official documents, media documents and teaching documents, its website also provides general information about the organisation, its programmes, partnerships, staff and key events. Alongside COL's website, websites from partner organisations have been used as data for this research.	Commonwealth Foundation. (2015b) *The Commonwealth Foundation: Background*. http://www.commonwealthfoundation.com/background
		Commonwealth Foundation. (2015a). *Renewed commitment to Commonwealth collaboration*. http://www.commonwealthfoundation.com/renewed-commitment-commonwealth-collaboration
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2015a). *COL Focal Points*. https://www.col.org/about/focal-points/col-focal-points
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2015i). *Honorary advisors*. https://www.col.org/about/focal-points/honorary-advisors
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2015j) *International organisations and resources*. https://web.archive.org/web/20140815042401/http://www.col.org/resources/otherResources/Pages/international.aspx
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2015c). *COL-UNESCO Chairs*. https://www.col.org/about/unesco-col-chairs/unesco-col-chairs
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2015d). *COL/UNESCO Workplan agreement*. https://web.archive.org/web/20140815051138/http://www.col.org/progServ/programmes/Pages/unesco.aspx
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2015b). *Collaboration between COL and the Commonwealth Secretariat*. https://web.archive.org/web/20140815032811/http://www.col.org/progServ/programmes/Pages/comsec.aspx
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2015g) *Excellence in Distance Education Awards*. https://www.col.org/about/pan-commonwealth-forum/excellence-distance-education-awards-edea
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2015j). *Commonwealth organisations and resources*. https://web.archive.org/web/20140815045024/http://www.col.org/about/Commonwealth/Pages/organisations.aspx

Document Source	Description	Title of document
Website (Continued)		Commonwealth of Learning. (2015e). *Commonwealth Foundation and Commonwealth of Learning sign MoU.* https://www.col.org/news/news-releases/commonwealth-foundation-and-commonwealth-learning-sign-mou
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2015m). *Virtual University for Small States of the Commonwealth (VUSSC).* https://web.archive.org/web/20140901040433/http://www.col.org/progServ/programmes/Pages/VUSSC.aspx/

4.2.7   Teaching documents (OER)

Finally, teaching documents have also been used as sources of data in this research. As introduced in chapter one, the Open Resources for English Language Teaching (ORELT) modules are an OER that have been developed by COL. These modules are intended to support teachers of English in low-income countries to teach English using a learner-centred approach. Each of these six ORELT modules consists of five units, with 30 units being analysed in total. As an OER, these modules are freely available and accessible via COL's website and can be adapted and modified by teachers (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015l). All of the six ORELT modules were selected for analysis in this study and formed a central part of the data analysis. Table 4.5 provides an overview of these ORELT modules.

The aims of these ORELT modules are threefold: a) to provide a resource bank of resources for junior secondary school teachers of English in low-income countries that promote activity-based classroom learning experiences that are available in online, offline and traditional text formats; b) to provide a resource bank of activity-based teacher training material for teacher educators of junior secondary school English teachers in low-income countries; and c) to provide a forum to encourage the exchange of ideas and experiences of teachers and teacher educators throughout the Commonwealth (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015l). In this sense the modules have a dual pedagogical purpose — as both a resource for teachers and teacher educators, and as a scheme of work for teaching English to juniors school students. Consequently, the beneficiaries of such modules are threefold, teacher educators, teachers and junior secondary school students.

While these modules are not intended to be a course of study (Commonwealth of Learning, 2014c), the open education context is utilised to provide a repository of teacher training modules that guide teachers and teacher educators to implement learner-centred approaches to teaching English. Alongside these standalone modules, there are additional mechanisms of support for teachers, but this is dependent on these provisions being made available for teachers in their local areas. These mechanisms of support can include access to online discussion forums, development of an ORELT Consortium of teachers and teacher educators, and in some cases, a cascade model (Commonwealth of Learning, 2014b) of face-to-face training for teachers and teacher educators (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015f).

Table 4.5 *Teaching Documents*

Document Source	Description	Title of document
ORELT modules	COL's ORELT modules consist of six modules that have been established as an Open Educational Resource (OER). These modules are intended to support English teachers in low-income countries to implement learner-centred practices through the teaching of English.	Commonwealth of Learning. (2012d). *Open Resources for English Language Teaching. Module 1: Better listening*. Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning.
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2012e). *Open Resources for English Language Teaching. Module 2: Speaking for better communication*. Vancouver, BC. Canada: Commonwealth of Learning.
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2012i)*Open Resources for English Language Teaching. Module 3: Success in reading*. Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning.
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2012f). *Open Resources for English Language Teaching. Module 4: Effective writing*. Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2012g). *Open Resources for English Language Teaching. Module 5: Language through literature*. Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning.
		Commonwealth of Learning. (2012h). *Open Resources for English Language Teaching. Module 6: Communicative grammar*. Vancouver, BC, Canada: Commonwealth of Learning.

4.3 Documentary analysis

The second half of this chapter focuses its attention on the process for data analysis. Data analysis requires researchers to find their path "through the thicket of prose" (Bryman, 2012, p. 565) in a way that embraces the richness of data while illuminating its wider theoretical significance. Researchers attest that there are no definitive or systematic rules to determine how to carry out educational policy or document analysis (Lingard, 2009; Prunty, 1984). Lingard (2009) suggests that the adoption of a theoretical and methodological research approach is dependent on the purposes of policy analysis, who is doing the policy analysis, the type of policy being analysed and the context in which policy is located. Establishing an analytic path through the "thicket of prose" (Bryman, 2012, p. 565) is, as Bryman (2012) observes, seldom paved with clear, pre-established guidelines. Because of this, a layered approach to analysis was taken by analysing data in three discrete moves to allow for emerging patterns and themes to be theorised. The first analytic move involved utilising a form of content analysis to identify patterns within the data. The second analytic move engaged thematic analysis to identify themes within the data. Finally, the third move used critical theory as an analytic tool, which offered "lenses for looking" at data and enabling theoretical postulations to be made (Marshall, 1997, p. 11). Each of these analytic moves will be discussed, considered and detailed in relation to this study.

4.3.1 Content analysis

Content analysis was used on two occasions in this research: 1) to determine the number of instances that certain categories appeared within COL's Open Resource Language Teaching (ORELT) modules, and 2) to determine the number of instances that moral discourse appeared in the ORELT modules. Content analysis was considered to be useful for this research because it provided an indication of the intensity and frequency of certain content (Kellehear, 1993). This was helpful in identifying prejudice, bias or propaganda within written texts (Cohen et al., 2011). Determining the frequency of pedagogical categories within these modules was intended to identify the importance attributed to each of these pedagogical practices.

As a research method, content analysis establishes strict and methodical processes to ensure that a rigorous examination of the content of text is undertaken (Cohen et al., 2011). Pre-determined categories are used to quantify the number of instances that each category occurs within the data (Kellehear, 1993). Categories can be individual words, phrases, concepts or even themes (Bryman, 2012; Mutch, 2013). While there is no agreed formulaic process for undertaking content analysis, Mutch (2013) emphasises the importance of determining clearly defined categories so that there is clarity regarding what will be included and excluded within each category. Scott (1990) suggests that a comprehensive typology of categories is necessary to reduce ambiguity and to further enhance reliability. Kallehear (1993) goes further to argue that these categories should be robust enough to enable others to check the method of classification and, ultimately, the data. Such clarity notably enhances the reliability of the findings (Scott, 1990). It is for this reason that Tables 4.6 and 4.7 (refer to pages 97 and 100) provide clear category descriptors for each of the categories used to analyse content in this research.

Content analysis provides researchers with an overall understanding of messages and values that are often hidden within text; however, it does have notable limitations. Importantly, the frequency of particular categories can lead to assumptions about the importance of a category. In other words, repetitive words, phrases or themes may not accurately reflect the attributed value. Content analysis also incorrectly assumes that individual measures are of equal value. In some instances, the position of information within texts can indicate importance and hold greater significance than information contained at the end of a document (Kellehear, 1993). A quantative analysis of category frequency may fail to identify the significant of the ordering of information within text. A further criticism of content analysis rests within the pre-defined categories, which Scott (1990) warns imposes the researcher's hypothesis on the data. This limits the likelihood of themes emerging from within the text, thus potentially restricting a much richer and nuanced understanding of data. Researchers need to be aware of such limitations and it is therefore advocated that content analysis is used in addition to other methods of analysis (Robson, 2002). It is for this reason that content analysis was used in this research alongside thematic and theoretical analysis so that a thorough and robust understanding of the globalisation of LCE through open education would be obtained.

4.3.2 Content analysis in the ORELT modules: 'Minimum Standards' for LCE

Firstly, content analysis was used to quantify the number of instances that each minimum standard for LCE (Schweisfurth, 2013a) was evident in the ORELT modules. The purpose of this analysis was to determine the frequency of each minimum standard within the ORELT modules. This revealed which aspects of LCE was emphasised over others. Each of the six ORELT modules were included in this analysis and each of the six units contained within each ORELT module were examined. Thirty-six units in total were analysed. Schweisfurth's (2013a) minimum standards were each classified as a category, thus providing seven categories for analysis. These categories included motivation, relationships, prior knowledge, dialogic teaching, relevant curriculum, skills and attitudes and formative assessment. Table 4.6 on page 97 describes each of these categories, indicating the inclusion and exclusion of data.

Alongside this, data from each of these seven categories were further categorised into *examples of* LCE and *references to* LCE. *Examples of* LCE were defined by specific teaching activities, learning experiences and tasks, where the intended enactment of LCE is clearly qualified. *References to* LCE were defined by explicit reference to LCE without accompanying teaching tasks to facilitate its implementation. *References to* LCE were generally found in introductions, case studies, module outcomes, unit outcomes and unit summaries.

Table 4.6 *Category Descriptors for Content Analysis of the 'Minimum Standards' for LCE*

Category	Definition	Inclusions	Exclusions
Motivation	Motivation refers to attempts to ensure lessons engage students in the learning process and foster their desire to learn. This encompasses cultural approaches to motivation.	'Active' learning techniques (e.g. tasks and activities that promote students to interact with each other and engage in 'hands on' learning activities).	Universal applications of motivation. In other words, assumptions that all students are motivated by the same means.
		Cultural applications of motivation are acknowledged (e.g. notions of respect, patience, concentration etc, are recognised).	Over-emphasis on rote learning, memorisation, worksheets/textbook.
		An awareness of learning styles is developed in both teachers and students	
		Tasks and activities that promote goal setting, self-reflection and metacognitive awareness.	
Relationships	Relationship refers to the interpersonal relationship between teachers and students and this 'minimum standard' argues that this relationship should be founded on mutual respect. This encompasses relational interactions that are responsive to cultural variances. While the enactment of these relationships cannot be determined within the confines of this study, the intended enactment (e.g. as scripted in the ORELT modules) can be analysed.	Interactions that advocate mutual respect between teacher and student.	Universal applications of relational interactions.
		Interactions that allow opportunities for 'students' voices' (e.g. ideas/perspectives) to be heard	Teachers controlling student-teacher interactions. E.g. limited opportunities for student voices
		Interactions that acknowledge and value cultural variances — both between student and teacher, and student and student.	Interactions that promote disrespect, exploitation, racism and sexism.
		Interactions that respect students' rights to learn.	Interactions that exclude certain groups from learning.
Prior Knowledge	Prior knowledge relates to the provision of learning experiences where students build on existing skills and knowledge. This acknowledges and values cultural and indigenous forms of knowledge and skills.	Opportunities for students to discuss/demonstrate/indicate their knowledge of a particular learning area.	Universal applications to learning and knowledge. In other words, assumptions that all students start with the same knowledge and skills.
		Cultural forms of knowledge and skills being validated as an important basis for learning.	Lack of acknowledgement of the valuable knowledge that students bring with them into the learning environment from their own cultural heritage.
		Assessments (both formative and summative) to identify students' individual learning needs.	

Category	Definition	Inclusions	Exclusions
Dialogic teaching	Dialogic teaching promotes high quality classroom talk, not just verbal interaction. Classroom talk involves peer-to-peer verbal interaction alongside teacher to student interactions.	Activities that promote group discussion.	Activities that encourage choral and chanted responses.
		Activities that promote whole class discussion (where all students are encouraged to participate in the student-led discussion).	Activities that provide limited opportunities for multiple students to respond to questions.
		Activities that promote paired interaction and discussion.	Activities that limit students to express their opinions.
		Activities that encourage students to voice their opinions.	
Relevant Curriculum	A relevant curriculum is evident when content knowledge is meaningful, relevant and applicable to the present and future lives of learners. Included in this standard is valuing students' 'lived experience' which includes cultural forms of knowledge and knowing.	Subject content that draws upon learners lives, life experiences and localised needs.	Western-centric curriculum content and/or a universal approach to subject content.
		Subject content that builds upon the personal experiences of students.	Little emphasis on integrating the lives of learners into the learning process.
Skills and attitudes	In the context of this analysis, skills and attitudes have been defined as the promotion of critical and creative thinking. While Schweisfurth (2015) also refers to 'active learning techniques' within this standard, this has been excluded from this analysis in order to differentiate from the minimum standard of 'motivation'.	Activities that promote critical thinking, such as the ability to evaluate, critique, contrast and compare, synthesise information and justify reasoning.	Active learning techniques.
		Activities that promote creative thinking such as the ability to create new outcomes, solutions, ideas and perspectives.	Activities that are pre-scripted and have a pre-determined outcome.
		Activities that provide students the opportunity to create and construct their own learning pathway. E.g. the 'end product' is not pre-defined.	
Formative assessment	Formative assessment or 'assessment for learning' involves assessment strategies that not only involve learners but also enhance both learning and teaching. This ongoing assessment process requires both teachers and students to be engaged in providing feedback on their learning in order for the next learning steps to be made clear and explicit.	Learning conversations between teacher and student where teachers provide specific feedback.	Student/teacher interactions that are not focused on learning.
		The sharing of learning intentions/outcomes and specific assessment criteria.	One-off tests or summative assessment tasks.
		Self and peer assessment strategies	
		Using assessment data to inform teaching practices	
		Goal setting as a result of assessment data.	

The process of analysing data initially involved uploading the ORELT modules into NVivo software where 'parent nodes' (Bryman, 2012) were created for categorising each of the seven minimum standards for LCE. Within each of these seven 'parent nodes', two further 'child nodes' (Bryman, 2012) were created and titled 'references to' and 'examples of'. Once these nodes had been established, the researcher examined each of the modules, using the category descriptors from Table 4.6 (refer to page 97) to identify instances of LCE. Following their identification, the text was coded accordingly and ascribed to the relevant node within the Nvivo programme. This provided a numerical summary of each 'parent node' and 'child node' and it also created a digital link to the coded document, enabling the researcher to revisit, cross-check and confirm the accuracy of the coding.

4.3.3   Content analysis in the ORELT modules: Instances of moral discourse

The second occasion where content analysis was used to analyse data was in the identification of moral discourse within the ORELT modules. As chapter seven explains, identifying the prevalence of moral discourse within the ORELT modules was important for determining the intensity of its use within these modules. Categories were based on Bernstein's (2000a) description of moral discourse and included the analysis of beliefs and values. Table 4.7 on page 100 provides a definition of each of these categories. In addition, this analysis further categorised data into *examples of* moral discourse and *references to* moral discourse. *Examples of* moral discourse were defined by specific teaching activities, learning experiences and tasks where the intended enactment of moral discourse was clearly outlined. *References to* moral discourse were defined by explicit references to moral discourse without accompanying teaching tasks to facilitate its implementation.

Table 4.7 *Category Descriptors for 'Moral Discourse' within the ORELT Modules*

Category	Definition	Inclusions	Exclusions
Values	In the context of this study, 'values' refer to the development of a students' sense of right or wrong. In other words, it is an internal compass that guides one's actions or outcomes.	Activities that promote the identification of values. Activities that teach the enactment of pre-determined values.	Activities that promote the identification of thoughts and feelings.
Beliefs	A belief refers to the conviction that something is true; however, there is no verification that this conviction is truth or reality. In this context of this study, the teaching of beliefs refers to the teaching of a concept that is not verified as true.	Activities that teach the belief that certain people or groups of people are superior to others (e.g. Western culture, social class, gender, urban dwellers).	Activities that teach students about different countries or cultural groups.
Behaviour and attitudes	In the context of this study, behaviour refers to the teaching of how to conduct oneself in the presence of others. Attitude involves teaching students how to think or feel about something or someone.	Activities that teach students how to behave and how to feel about an event, situation or person.	Activities that promote the identification of thoughts and feelings.

The process of analysing moral discourse in the ORELT modules followed a similar process as previously detailed in the analysis of minimum standards for LCE. Parent nodes were created for each of the three moral discourse categories and child nodes further categorised this data into *examples of* and *references to*. Data were systematically coded into the appropriate categories.

4.3.4 Thematic analysis

The second move in this data analysis involved thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a method of describing and organising data in rich detail through the identification, analysis and reporting of themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This research has used thematic analysis in three instances to organise and analyse data which include: 1) the justificatory narratives for LCE in chapter six; 2) the moral discourse in the ORELT modules in chapter six; and, 3) the forms of capital in COL's social field in chapter five. Ryan and Bernard (2003) describe themes as abstract and sometimes "fuzzy" (p. 87) constructs that link expressions in texts. Braun and Clarke (2006) go further to suggest that the flexibility of thematic analysis' is its strongest feature as it can be used as a form of analysis for both theoretical and inductive purposes.

Themes can be developed from data as an inductive approach but also from the researcher's own prior theoretical understanding of the phenomenon (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). This priori approach develops themes either from the characteristics of the phenomenon, from definitions obtained from literature reviews or from the researcher's own personal experiences, values or theoretical orientations. On the other hand, the inductive approach discovers themes within text by identifying repetition, indigenous typologies, metaphors or analogies, similarities and differences, missing data and theory-related material (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). In this research, a priori approach was used to analyse data thematically. To demonstrate this further, the following sections outline the procedure that has been used to undertake thematic analysis in each of these instances.

4.3.4.1 Thematic analysis: LCE justificatory narratives

The first thematic analysis used Schweisfurth's (2013a) LCE justificatory narratives to contrast and compare the narratives for implementing LCE within COL's official documents. This

comparative analysis was intended to reveal any alignment and mismatch in the narratives that have justified the implementation of LCE within the official field (Bernstein, 2000a). A priori thematic approach was used to analyse themes that were drawn from both literature and theory. Schweisfurth's (2013a) three justificatory narratives that were introduced in chapter two were used as themes to analyse data in COL's official documents. In other words, the themes of emancipation, preparation and cognition were used to code data. Table 4.8 on page 103 provides descriptions of each of these themes.

Table 4.8 *Theme Descriptors for Thematic Analysis of the Justificatory Narratives for LCE*

Category	Definition	Inclusions	Exclusions
Cognitive	The cognitive narrative justifies the implementation of LCE based on the premise that having control over one's learning ultimately leads to improved educational outcomes. The focus of this narrative is on justifying that LCE will enhance educational achievement. It is evident in the elements of LCE that focus specifically on enhancing the cognitive development such as 'formative assessment', links to 'prior knowledge', 'relevant curriculum', 'dialogic teaching' and 'motivation for learning'.	Indications of enhancing learning outcomes, learning intentions or cognitive development.	Reference to learning without indication of enhancing learning.
		Examples include formative assessment, building on prior knowledge, relevant curriculum, motivation for learning, dialogic teaching, the development of metacognitive strategies.	Examples of testing without indication that assessment information will be used to enhance learning.
		Identifying and working to enhance the learning needs of students.	Reference to learning styles without indication of how this knowledge will be used to enhance learning.
Emancipatory	On the one hand, the emancipatory narrative seeks to ensure the actualisation of human rights by providing access to quality education in accordance with the MDGs and EFA. On the other hand, it speaks to the emancipation of actors by developing critical consciousness through education. Not only does this require the facilitation of critical thinking, but it also demands a learning environment that creates flatter power hierarchies. Includes sub-themes of themes of 'rights to educational access', 'democracy' and the 'promotion of critical and creative thinking'.	Facilitating critical thinking.	Controlled approach to critical thinking (e.g. requires students to achieve the 'correct' critical answer).
		Facilitating student voice (e.g. valuing of opinions, ideas and perspectives)	Controlling students' opinions, ideas and how they are to think.
		Facilitating of respectful student-teacher interactions that give students control of the 'what' and 'how of their learning.	Controlling pedagogic interactions.
		Narratives that justify the implementation of LCE based on the right to educational access and resulting in the improvement of social and cultural freedoms.	
		Narratives that justify the implementation of LCE based on democracy.	
Preparatory	This "economically driven" (Schweisfurth, 2013, p. 33) narrative centres around the development of the knowledge economy which seeks to develop an educated workforce that can respond flexibly to change, think critically to identify problems and work innovatively to find creative solutions to lead an economically productive workforce. It is argued that critical and creative thinking, flexibility and IT skills support the development of this narrative.	Activities that promote critical and creative thinking.	Controlled or perspective approach to critical and creative thinking.
		Activities that promote the development of IT skills.	Reference to IT equipment without support in how to utilise it.
		References to the development of the 'knowledge economy' and 'human capital' development in official documents.	

Bernstein's (2000a) two fields of recontextualisation were also used as themes to facilitate this comparative analysis. Chapter six explains this notion of recontextualisation in greater depth; however, it is important to point out that the *official field* was used as a theme to analyse official documents derived from COL and the *pedagogic field* was used as a theme to analyse documents intended for pedagogic enactment. Data for the analysis of the *official field* consisted of official document sources that were either produced by COL or written for COL and provide an official voice to represent the vision, mandate, purpose and direction of the organisation. This included 'official documents derived from the state' (refer to Table 4.1 on page 80), 'media documents' (refer to Table 4.3 on page 87) and 'virtual outputs' (refer to Table 4.4 on page 90). A historical analysis of COL's strategic plans formed part of this analysis (refer to Table 6.1 on 165). However, because of the large number of documents that this analysis contained, a selection of key documents were presented and reported on in chapter six (refer to Table 6.2 on page 167). These documents were selected to provide a representation of COL's official voice in each of these three documentary areas ('official documents derived from the state', 'media documents' and 'virtual documents').

Four 'official documents derived from the state' were selected to provide a representative cross-section of key documents that contribute to this official voice. These included 1) COL's governance manual (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015h) which was selected to show COL's operational policies and procedures from a governance perspective; 2) COL's report on *Twenty years of progress* (Commonwealth of Learning, 2007b) which provides a historical account of COL's organisational development; 3) COL's report on *Teacher education through Open Distance Learning* (Danaher & Umar, 2010) which shows an insight into the beliefs, values and perspectives that drive COL's approach to teacher education through ODL; and 4) the *Anthology of best practice in teacher education* (Lakshmi et al., 2007) which was selected to demonstrate what COL considers to be best practice in teacher education. COL's speeches were selected to represent 'media documents' (refer to Table 4.3 on page 87 for an overview of these). Speeches were included because they provide a visible public voice that communicates the ideas and perspectives of key COL personnel directly to stakeholders in low-income countries. Also selected for this analysis were 'virtual documents' which included document sources contained in COL's website (refer to Table 4.4 on page 90 for a detailed description of these). Data included in the pedagogic field were the six ORELT modules.

Documents were uploaded into NVivo software and memos were written about each document to report on emerging ideas, themes and insights. Themes from the official field and the pedagogic field were created as grandparent nodes with the parent nodes of emancipation, preparation and cognition established within each of these grandparent nodes. Each document was then systematically analysed and coded accordingly. Through this initial analysis, sub-themes were identified within each of the parent nodes and these were accordingly categorised as child nodes. These included democracy, critical thinking and education rights under the emancipatory theme and human capital, knowledge economy, critical and creative thinking and ICT under the preparatory theme. Under the cognitive theme, child nodes based on Schweisfurth's (2013a) minimum standards for LCE were established to identify instances of formative assessment, prior knowledge, relevant curriculum, motivating learning, dialogic teaching, skills and attitudes and relationships. Data were coded accordingly and this was transferred into a grid framework (Bryman, 2011) which revealed consistent and inconsistent patterns within and between the data sources (refer to Table 6.2 on 167 as an example).

4.3.4.2   Thematic analysis: COL's economic, political and cultural influences

Thematic analysis was used in chapter five to identify the economic, political and cultural conditions that influence COL's strategic responses as a result of its positioning within the global field of education. The 'economic', 'cultural' and 'political' themes were identified prior to analysis and were selected based on Robertson and Dale's (2015) theorising of the cultural political economy of education and were intended as a way of uncovering underlying agendas and ideologies hidden within the data. Therefore, the 'economic', 'cultural' and 'political' themes were used to code data. Table 4.9 on page 106 provides a description of each of these themes. Data for this analysis were obtained from the document sources that were detailed earlier in this chapter and displayed in Table 4.1 on page 80.

The process for analysis followed a similar path to the one described previously. Parent nodes were created for each of the 'economic', 'cultural' and 'political' themes and data were systematically analysed and coded accordingly using the theme descriptors outlined in Table 4.9 (refer to page 106). Data were coded and transferred into a grid framework in order to identify patterns within and between data sources.

Table 4.9 *Theme Descriptors for the Thematic Analysis of the Economic, Cultural and Political influences on COL*

Category	Definition	Inclusions	Exclusions
Economic	This is defined as market and non-market forms of economic activity, which organise production, exchange and distribution of goods and services of which education is part.	Financial capital in both monetary and non-monetary forms (e.g., knowledge is viewed as capital).	Exchange of products and services.
		Human capital development and the strengthening of the knowledge economy.	
		The global financial position.	The financial position of individual nation.
		Financial agendas set by development banks.	
		Partnerships with the private sector.	
Political	This definition of political takes a broader perspective than the traditional state/government role. This encompasses governance and the notions of power and control in a multiplicity of forms including who makes decisions regarding education and by what means these decisions are made.	Notions of democracy and how these are enacted on a global stage.	A singular focus on individual governments.
		The nature of relationships between COL, member states, other IGOs and the private sector.	
		Decision-making by IGOs and private organisations.	
Cultural	Cultural influences can be described as social networks of relations and, in particular, the positions of social status, or social capital, that enable actors to competently enhance their social position.	The nature of relationships and partnerships between COL, Member states, other IGOs and the private sector.	
		Key events that COL attends for the purpose of social networking.	
		References to 'thought leadership' and the focus on publications, presentations and dissemination of knowledge.	

4.3.5 Thematic analysis: Forms of capital

Thematic analysis was also used in chapter five to analyse COL's strategic responses to enhance its social and cultural capital. A priori thematic approach used Bourdieu's (1990, 2007) notion of social capital and cultural capital to identify strategies that COL employed to enhance its cultural and social capital (refer to Table 4.10 on page 108 for a description of these themes). The generation of these themes were consequently informed by theory. Data for this analysis were obtained from each of the document sources that were detailed earlier in this chapter and displayed in Table 4.1 (refer to page 80).

The analysis of data took a similar process to the one previously noted. Parent nodes were created for the themes of social capital and cultural capital and each document was then systematically analysed and coded accordingly using the theme descriptors outlined in Table 4.10 (see page 108). Following the coding of data, a grid framework was used to display this data, which revealed patterns within and between each of these themes (refer to Tables 5.3 and 5.4 on pages 124 and 140).

Table 4.10 *Theme Descriptors for the Thematic Analysis of the Forms of Capital on COL's Social Field*

Category	Definition	Inclusions	Exclusions
Social	Social capital can be described as the social connections or social relations with significant others.	The establishment of titles of notability.	Attending meetings and events without the clear intentions of enhancing social networks.
		Clear intentions to engage in networking opportunities to extend its social connections.	
		Membership with certain groups (e.g., CHOGM).	
Cultural	Bourdieu (1998) defines cultural capital as an internal code that enables actors to competently decipher cultural relations and cultural artefacts. Cultural capital can be evident in an objectified state, an institutional state or an embodied state.	The publication of knowledge sources such as books, reports, OER, teacher education programmes, quality assurance mechanisms (objectified state).	Any material and documents that are not published by COL.
		The establishment of digital institutions such as universities and Open Schools (institutional state).	Any partnerships with universities, regional bodies or institutions, where COL is not the leading partner.
		Indications that COL's key staff are educated, have qualifications and dispositions to learn (embodied state).	
		Legitimation of quality education (e.g. through quality assurance mechanisms, publications etc.).	

4.4 Theoretical analysis

4.4.1 Bernstein's pedagogic coding

The final move of this data analysis involved using theory as an analytic tool. The earlier thematic analysis detailed instances where theory has informed the development of themes; however, this theoretical analysis differed in the way that theory was used to analyse data. Bernstein's (2000a) notion of the pedagogic device was used as a framework to analyse how pedagogy works to regulate consciousness within the ORELT modules. As chapter three detailed, Bernstein's notion of pedagogic coding provides a way to analyse instructional discourse at a micro level where notions of power and control that are embedded within the pedagogic interchange can be critically examined.

Bernstein (1971, 2000a) maintains that framing can either be strong ($^+$) or weak ($-$). Strong framing (F^+) is evident when the transmitter has explicit control over the selection of content, how it is sequenced, paced and the social base through which it is communicated. Bernstein explains that strong framing is generally evident in a visible pedagogic practice where there are explicit rules of instruction and regulative discourse. This is often referred to as a teacher-centred or didactic pedagogical approach where states of knowledge and the receiving of problems are valued. On the other hand, weak framing ($F–$) gives the acquirer the appearance of apparent control over the social base and mode of communication. Pedagogic practice is likely to be invisible when framing is weak as instructional and regulative discourse is implicit and, therefore, unknown to the acquirer. Invisible pedagogy is often referred to as a learner-centred pedagogical approach where ways of knowing and the construction of problems are valued. Classification, on the other hand, refers to the implicit rules between curriculum subjects or learning areas (Bernstein, 1971, 2000). Sadovnick (1995) explains that strongly classified (C^+) curriculum is evident in the clear separation of learning into traditional subjects. Conversely, weak classification (C^-) is evident in an integrated curriculum, where there are fragile boundaries between subject areas.

In this study, analysis involved individually examining each of the pedagogic principles within the ORELT modules in order to understand the nature of control within this instructional discourse. The six ORELT modules were used as data sources for this analysis. Data were coded according to each of the five pedagogic principles and these were categorised as parent

nodes in NVivo. These pedagogic principles include, the selection of knowledge, sequencing of knowledge, pacing, the criteria for evaluation and the social base through which the pedagogic interaction is made possible. Following a similar process that was developed first by Hoadley (2008) and then later adapted by Sriprakash (2010), this analysis involved using Bernstein's pedagogic codes to analyse the classification and framing of the pedagogic relationship within the ORELT modules. By considering both the teacher and the students as the recipients of this knowledge, this analysis examined the dual purpose of these modules as both a form of teacher training and a programme of instruction for teaching English. This analysis examined both the classification (C) and framing (F) of knowledge in the ORELT modules and considered if this pedagogic discourse was strong (+) or weak (-). The code F+ was used to indicate strong framing and F- to indicate weak framing. Similarly, C+ reflected strong classification and C- represented weak classification. On occasion, the value of ^{0} was used to illustrate that no instance of this particular pedagogic principle was evident. Table 4.11 on page 111 provides key questions that guided the analysis of each these pedagogic principles.

Table 4.11 *Key Questions that Guided the Analysis of Bernstein's Pedagogic Principles*

Pedagogic Principle	Key questions
Selection of Knowledge	Who develops module content? How is the module content decided?
	What role do students play in the selection of their own knowledge?
	How closely does the module content match students' own lives and lived experiences?
	What role do teachers play in the selection of knowledge that they teach?
	To what extent can teachers adapt and modify module content?
Sequencing of knowledge	Who decides on the sequence of lessons? How is this organised?
	Is the lesson sequence pre-determined and linear or can teachers adapt and adjust teaching sequence?
	What involvement do students have in organising the sequence of their own learning?
Pacing of knowledge	Who determines how fast the module content is taught?
	How is the module content organised?
	What flexibility does the OER environment bring to the pace of learning for teachers?
	What control do students have over the pace of their own learning?
Evaluation criteria and processes	Who decides on the outcomes and objectives for learning?
	How are teachers evaluated for the completion of the modules?
	What qualification is attributed to the completion of the modules?
	How are students assessed in the modules?
Space/resources/interaction	How is the learning environment organised for teachers?
	How are teachers encouraged to organise the learning space for students?
	Who decides what teaching resources are required?
	How are students encouraged to interact with each other in the classroom?
	How are students encouraged to interact with the teacher?
	How are teachers encouraged to interact with other educators?

Following this initial analysis, a second level of analysis was undertaken and involved coding data in each of the parent nodes as either strong or weak classification (C+/C-) or strong or weak framing (F+/F-). In some instances, the code F^0 was also applied. Data were then recorded in a grid framework as demonstrated in chapter seven (Tables 7.8, 7.9, 7.10, 7.11, 7.12 and 7.13 on pages 218, 220, 221, 224 and 226).

4.5   Conclusion

This chapter sought to outline the methodology and methods that have guided the collection and analysis of data in this study. By justifying the use of a case study design and the value of

using documents as the central data source for this study, this section has positioned this research to investigate what documents *do* as well as what documents contain (Prior, 2008). The following chapters five, six and seven move to report on the findings of the data analysis that has been detailed in this chapter.

Chapter 5: Moment of the Politics of Education

Chapter three drew attention to Tyler's (2004) prompting to examine the cultural and social centres of reproduction within the digital environment. To do so requires considering analytic theory that probes into the governing structures that such cultural and social centres are located. This chapter seeks to examine the *moment of the politics of education* (Robertson & Dale, 2015) by investigating the macro-level social structures that govern the field of global education in which COL is positioned. In doing so, this chapter responds to the following research question: *How does the Commonwealth of Learning define, govern, organise and manage learner-centred education, and with what relation to other sectors does this occur and through what structures, institutions and processes?*

This chapter draws on the Strategic Relational Approach (SRA) that was introduced in chapter three to examine both structure and agency. It is hoped that this will bring understanding to the strategically selective conditions that govern the field of global education and the selective strategies COL employs in response to such conditions. By considering the wider cultural, political and economic conditions that determine the rules of the game, this chapter also uses Bourdieu's field theory (Bourdieu, 1990, 1993) to investigate how such conditions constrain or enable COL's ability to act within this field. An analysis of COL's strategic partnerships demonstrates how neoliberal structures work discriminately through these relationships to either limit or afford COL access to opportunities and resources. An analysis of the selective strategies that COL uses to respond to this access reveals how neoliberal globalisation works through economic, political and cultural conditions to operate as an organising principle for social life. However, in order to provide the necessary contextual understanding to engage in this Strategic Relational Approach (SRA) analysis, this chapter begins by returning to the notion of the Global Education Agenda and considering how this has facilitated the construction of the field of global education.

5.1 The global education agenda and the field of global education

Chapter two introduced the Global Education Agenda by outlining how the coordination of key forums, meetings and documents have established global goals and targets that have set the agenda for global education. Bourdieu's (1993) field theory provides a useful way of conceptualising how the global education agenda and this coordinated aid architecture have established a new field of global education. Bourdieu draws parallels to a game to explain socially governed rules. He uses the metaphor of a field to describe a social arena where activities are played out by actors and institutions as they struggle over certain resources (Bourdieu, 1993; Jenkins, 2002; Mutch, 2006; Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002). Bourdieu (1977) demonstrates how power relations internally structure the field and operate between actors positioned in this field. These power relations essentially influence the strategies that actors can use to play the game (Bourdieu, 1998). The way that the game is played is determined by the positions held by players on the field, with some players having the ability to dominate the field by either blocking or providing access to other players (Jenkins, 2002; Mutch, 2006). This positioning of the player depends on the access that these players gain to certain economic, social or cultural resources, which Bourdieu refers to as capital (Bourdieu, 1974, 1990, 1998, 2007; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). The more capital a player possesses the more powerful their position will be in relation to other players on the field.

In the context of this research, Bourdieu's field theory provides a way of conceptualising global education as a field, enabling power relations that exist between actors situated within this field to be identified. Bourdieu's field theory can be used in combination with the Strategic Relational Approach (SRA) to identify the selective strategies COL employs in response to such conditions. This enables wider structures governing this field to be examined and revealed. The following section examines COL's entry into this field of global education and briefly considers how its own policies and practices have changed to align with the conditions that govern this field.

5.2 COL's entry into the field of global education

Exploring the changes in COL's own policies and practices as a result of its alignment with the global education agenda provides a way of understanding the strategically selective

conditions that influence COL's movements within this field. Since its original conception in 1987, COL's implementation of the MDGs and EFA goals in its programmes has seen their focus shift from the Commonwealth priorities of good governance and the needs of small states, to align its vision with the global development agenda (Commonwealth of Learning, 2003b). This alignment repositioned COL from being a relatively autonomous intergovernmental organisation into a global network governed by cultural, political and economic forces, which rapidly influenced the reconfiguration of COL's own practices.

The most notable change was the broadening and diversification of COL's work to include engagement with the primary and secondary education sectors, teacher training in the tertiary sector as well as the involvement in skills development and learning in the non-formal sectors of agriculture and health. COL's vision consequently shifted from providing 'access to education' in 2000 (Commonwealth of Learning, 2003a) to 'learning for sustainable development' (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015f) and the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (United Nations, 2016). Table 5.1 on page 116 provides an overview of how the focus of COL's strategic plans have developed and transformed since 2000.

Table 5.1. *Historical Overview of COL's Strategic Plans 2000-2021*

	2000–2003	2003–2006	2006–2009	2009–2012	2012–2015	2015–2021
Theme of strategic plan	*A world of knowledge*	*Building capacity in ODL*	*Learning for Development*			*Learning for Sustainable Development*
Focus of strategic plan	Access to knowledge through ODL.		Access to quality education.	Enhancing quality of education.		Opportunities for Lifelong Learning.
Vision of COL	Access to education – Access to a better future.		Access to learning is the key to development.		To be the foremost global agency that promotes learning for development.	To be the foremost global agency that promotes learning for sustainable development.
COL's Mission Statement	Recognising knowledge as key to cultural, social and economic development, the Commonwealth of Learning is committed to assisting Commonwealth member governments to take full advantage of open, distance and technology-mediated learning strategies to provide increased and equitable access to education and training for all their citizens.		To help governments and institutions expand the scope, scale and quality of learning by using new approaches and technologies, especially those subsumed under the general term of open and distance learning (ODL).			To help governments, institutions and organisations to expand the scale, efficiency and quality of learning by using open, distance and technology-based approaches.

Table 5.1 reveals a number of shifts in COL's vision, policies and practices that reflect its harmonisation with the global education agenda. For example, the period 2000–2006 focused on providing access to knowledge which shifted to providing access to quality education from 2006–2015 as the Global Education Agenda also adjusted its own focus on educational quality. More recently, the 2015–2021 strategic plans have changed the emphasis to enhancing learning to coincide with the global focus on the Sustainable Development Goals (United Nations, 2016). These shifts provide key insights into the strategically selective conditions that govern COL's movement within the field of global education. However, in order to identify the economic, political and cultural conditions that have influenced COL's own strategic responses, an analysis of COL's partnerships is necessary. Examining the nature of these partnerships provides a way of identifying the economic, political and cultural conditions that operate on a global scale and it allows us to consider COL's responses to these wider structures.

5.3 Strategic partnerships

COL's harmonisation with the global education agenda saw the organisation actively work to increase its network of multilateral, bilateral, regional and private partnerships (Commonwealth of Learning, 2003b, 2006a, 2009a, 2012a, 2015f). This was acknowledged in the 2000–2003 strategic plan:

> The role of catalyst for collaborative action means marshaling the available wealth of experience, talent and resources for the benefit of the Commonwealth *by developing partnerships and alliances with international, intergovernmental and non-governmental agencies and institutions in the promotion and application of open and distance learning* [emphasis added] (ODL). (Commonwealth of Learning, 2003a, p. 11)

Referred to as strategic or 'upstream' partnerships (Commonwealth of Learning, 2012a), these networks have been actively sought by COL in order to "enable COL to broaden its vision and complement its resources" (Commonwealth of Learning, 2012a, p. 21). COL considers these partnerships to provide access to both financial resources, an extended network of intellectual resources and the social connections to gain access to further financial and intellectual opportunities (Commonwealth of Learning, 2012a). Put simply, these alliances have been strategically developed to transform COL's own vision so that it can retain a "comparative advantage" (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015f, p. 11) and safeguard its future within a rapidly changing global development arena. While COL also engages closely with 'downstream' or implementation partnerships to implement its plans and programmes, this analysis will focus on examining COL's strategic partnerships in order to identify the factors that enable and constrain COL's agency within the global field of education. Figure 5.1 provides a diagrammatic map of these strategic and implementation partnerships.
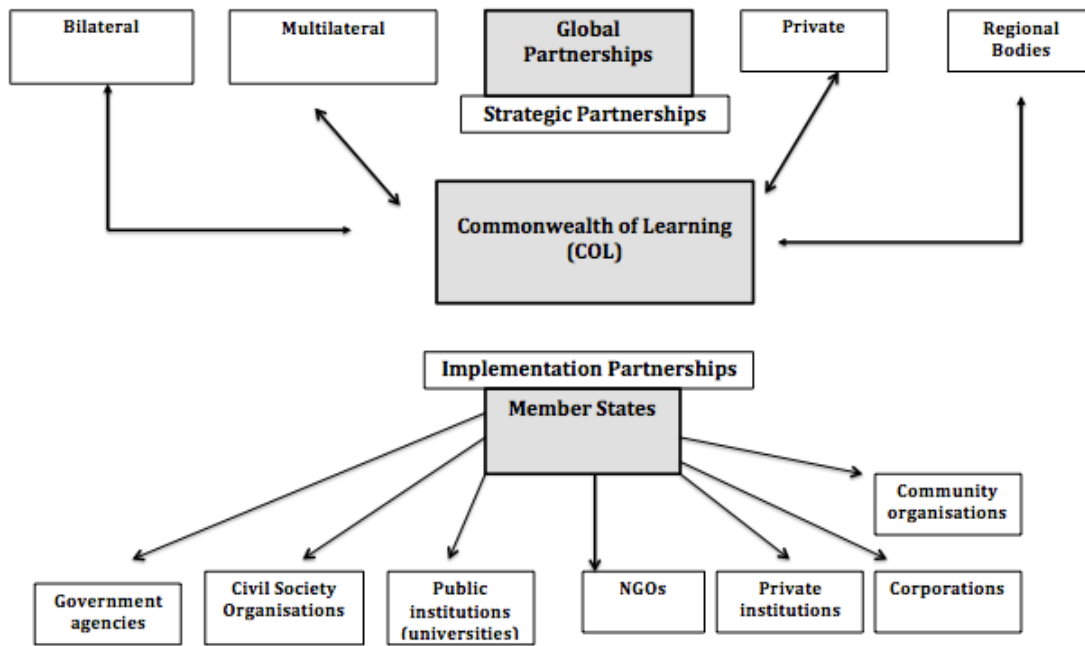
Figure 5.1 **COL's implementation partnership.**

As Figure 5.1 illustrates, 'downstream' or implementation partners include ministries of education in member states, universities, TEI's, regional organisations, NGOs and smaller private implementation organisations. 'Upstream' or strategic partners include the World Bank, the OECD, COMSEC, UNESCO, UNICEF, regional bodies, such as SADC-CDE, and private actors such as The Hewlett Foundation. These dominant actors reflect the field of power by having the ability to set the rules of the game. As chapter two noted, this was evident in the development of the global education agenda. Table 5.2 on page 119 briefly details the nature of COL's relationships with each of these strategic partners.

Table 5.2. *COL's Strategic Partnerships*

Institution	Nature of Relationships	COL's role in partnership	COL's strategic responses as a result of this partnership
UNESCO	Entered into official cooperation agreement in March 1994. Initial purpose of partnership was to exchange information. (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015d). Sir John Daniel (COL's past president) was the former Assistant Director-General for Education at UNESCO. COL and UNESCO have carried out a cooperative endeavour with funding from the Hewlett Foundation '*Fostering governmental Support for Open Educational Resources*' which resulted in the drafting of the Paris Declaration (Commonwealth of Learning, 2012i; UNESCO, 2012).	COL has engaged in UNESCO's Education for All (EFA) programme in nine nations. COL has played an implementation role in EFA by providing access to teacher education through ODL.	COL has harmonised its own strategic plans to align with EFA (notably a focus on teacher education) and to the directives and agendas set by UNESCO and COL has worked in non-Commonwealth nations to implement EFA (e.g. China, Brazil, Egypt). COL's partnership with UNESCO has afforded COL greater movement within the global field of education. COL's established Honorary COL-UNESCO Chairs in Open and Distance Learning (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015c).
UNICEF	Working relationship formalised in 2008 to advance the implementation of UNICEF's Child Friendly Schools (CFS) model in Commonwealth nations (UNICEF, 2009).	COL has taken responsibility for the in-service and pre-service training of teacher education and teachers in the CFS methodology (Commonwealth of Learning, 2009c; Umar et al., 2012). COL has developed CFS resources and country-specific training materials. COL has monitored and evaluated CFS in Commonwealth countries.	COL has gained access to UNICEF's network of partners and strengthened relationships with the 10 participating Commonwealth nations (A. S. Kanwar, 2010). COL's partnership with UNICEF has afforded COL greater movement within the global field of education.
World Bank	COL refers to the World Bank as a 'Global Knowledge Partner' which began in October 1998 when COL was included in the World Bank's 'Development Forum' (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015j). The World Bank has been reluctant to support COL's initiatives (Commonwealth of Learning, 2010b; Daniel, 2008, 2010).	COL prepared reports for the World Bank in the early days of their alliance (Commonwealth of Learning, 2001). COL has been employed by the World Bank in a fee-for-service capacity to deliver training to World Bank as part of COL's eLearning for International Organisations (eLIO) programme (Commonwealth of Learning, 2006a).	COL has responded to the World Bank's reluctance to fund COL's initiatives by implementing a research plan (Daniel, 2008). COL has responded to the World Bank's policy to fund UPE which redirected COL's own focus from higher education to distance primary teacher education.

Institution	Nature of Relationships	COL's role in partnership	COL's strategic responses as a result of this partnership
COMSEC and the Commonwealth Foundation	COMSEC and the Commonwealth Foundation are the other two Commonwealth intergovernmental organisations in the Commonwealth 'family'. Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) held every two years to promote cooperation and consultation between Member States (Commonwealth Foundation, 2015b).	In 2006 COMSEC and COL harmonised their work to avoid overlapping priorities (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015j). The Commonwealth Foundation and COL signed a Memorandum of Understanding in 2015 (Commonwealth Foundation, 2015a, 2015b; Commonwealth of Learning, 2015e).	The Commonwealth Secretary-General has encouraged COL to actively seek private partnerships with corporations and foundations (Daniel, 2009). The Commonwealth Secretary-General extends COL's own social networks (Daniel, 2010b). COL uses the CHOGM to extend its own contacts and to gain visibility in the diplomatic community (Daniel, 2009; Kanwar, 2014).
The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation	The Hewlett Foundation supported COL's work in 2006 as it began to fund five of COL's initiatives, including the joint UNESCO-COL OER project (Daniel, 2012).	COL has worked with UNESCO to foster government support for OER (Daniel, 2012).	The Hewlett Foundation made it a conditionality of their funding that the president at the time, Sir John Daniel, take the responsibility for directing this project (Daniel, 2011a). This required COL and the president to change their plans and schedules to attend to this request.
Regional Bodies – SADC-CDE	The Southern African Development Community – Centre for Distance Education (SADC-CDE) began its association with COL in 2006 (Naidoo, 2012).	COL makes financial contributions to the centre (Naidoo, 2012).	An Open School Consortium, which has been supported by COL, has been a vehicle for the design, development and implementation of distance education programmes and materials (Commonwealth of Learning, 2006c). COL uses networks within SADC-CDE to carry out the implementation of COL's policies and programmes in the region.
OECD	The OECD was noted to push the OER initiative, yet COL-UNESCO were chosen to front this initiative because 'developing countries are sometimes suspicious of OECD initiatives' (Daniel, 2011b).	COL has worked with UNESCO to foster government support for OER (Daniel, 2012).	COL has refocused its own plans, policies and programmes to reinforce its commitment to lifelong learning and OER.

Institution	Nature of Relationships	COL's role in partnership	COL's strategic responses as a result of this partnership
OECD (Continued)	COL has aligned its programmes and policies to facilitate the OECD's push to implement lifelong learning	COL implemented lifelong learning into its policies and programmes.	COL aligned its programmes and policies to place greater emphasis on lifelong learning in 2015 as a result of feedback from stakeholders in low-income countries who wanted greater emphasis on lifelong learning.
Bilateral Partnerships	Member state donations are critical for COL's own survival. Financial contributions from member states determine the degree of decision-making that a member state is granted. The top six financial donors are awarded a place on COL's Board of Governors. Currently the U.K., Canada, New Zealand, India, Nigeria and South Africa hold these places.	COL provides policy advice and programmatic support in open education to member states.	COL maintains positive relationships with member states to maintain donations (Commonwealth of Learning, 2012a) Engages with member states in three ways: 1) through the appointment of Focal points, Honorary Chairs and Honorary Advisors 2) by providing triennial country reports to summarise COL's work, and 3) by maintaining regular communication with stakeholders through media, biennial forums and publications.

This analysis provides an understanding of the nature of COL's relationship with each of its strategic partners. It also draws attention to the conditions that these partners have established to either restrict or enable COL's movement within the field of global education. In order to understand the causal mechanisms that delineate this field and establish the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1977), the following analysis investigates how wider economic, political and cultural conditions influence COL's policies and practices. Put simply, this analysis intends to reveal the wider structures that work through COL's strategic partnerships to restrict and enable COL's decision-making ability within the field of global education.

5.4   COL's strategic response to economic influences

One of the most notable outcomes of COL's alignment with the global development agenda has been the way that wider economic forces have shaped and influenced COL's work as an organisation. This was first evident in the way that neoliberalism increasingly underpinned COL's understanding of knowledge. This was seen in the 2003–2006 strategic plan (Commonwealth of Learning, 2003a) where the Global Agreement on Trades and Services (GATS) influenced COL's perception of education as a tradable service:

> *The treatment of knowledge as a commodity* [emphasis added], the desire to include education and training within the ambit of the World Trade Organisation, and international agreements on intellectual property rights all have an impact on the education and training sectors. (Commonwealth of Learning, 2003a, p. 8)

This was again reinforced in a later report to COL and UNESCO, which explored the implications of GATS on cross-border education (Knight, 2006). Education was consequently seen to have direct transferrable value as an economic commodity that would alleviate low-income nations from the grips of poverty.

Aligning with the global development community opened up the playing field of eligible learning providers who competed to provide learning services to a global marketplace. This was signalled in COL's 2003–2006 strategic plan:

> *COL has to compete* [emphasis added] for both the limited resources available for development assistance from donor agencies and the limited resources available in the education budgets of client states …
> *A key feature distinguishing COL from all other "competitors"* [emphasis added] is that it is the Commonwealth's own agent: member governments define its area of action and hold it accountable to them for its performance. **(**Commonwealth of Learning, 2003b, p. 10)

This competitive market was also noted to extend to universities and colleges, with the potential benefit of such partnerships also acknowledged:

> *Universities and colleges*: Although these are sometimes competitors with COL for funding from international financial institutions for specific education-related projects, they are just as often partners with COL in seeking such support. (Commonwealth of Learning, 2003b, p. 10)

This passage demonstrates that this neoliberal agenda, operating on a global scale, changed COL's mode of operation as it entered into a new playing field. Understanding the financial relationship that COL has with each of its strategic partners enables the strategies that COL has employed in response to such economic conditions to be identified. Table 5.3 provides an overview of COL's financial relationship with each of its strategic partners:

Table 5.3 *Overview of COL's Financial Relationship with Strategic Partners*

	UNESCO	UNICEF	World Bank	COMSEC and Commonwealth Foundation	Hewlett Foundation	OECD	Regional Bodies (SADC-CDE)	Bilateral Partnerships
Financial Relationship	Collaborative projects are resourced by funds from each organisation. Each organisation obtains additional funds from extra-budgetary sources.	UNICEF provided funds to COL to carry out its work in Child Friendly School (CFS) programme.	World Bank contracted COL for eLIO services. Fees paid for services only. Has previously supported NEPAD project.	COMSEC provided funds to COL to carry out its work in collaborative programmes. COMSEC contracted COL for eLIO services. Fees paid for services only.	COL's largest private donor. The Hewlett Foundation has supported the COL-UNESCO OER project.	No financial contributions.	COL contributes financially to SADC-CDE for implementing COL's policies and programmes.	Top six financial donors have seat on COL's Board of Governors – UK, Canada, New Zealand, India, Nigeria and South Africa.

Table 5.3 shows that COL has received financial contributions from three organisations: COMSEC, UNICEF and the Hewlett Foundation. This indicates the financial obligation that COL has to these organisations to implement required programmes or to achieve change in the intended policy landscape (as was the case in the Hewlett Foundation partnership). COL's strategic response to these financial partnerships has refocused their own energies to fulfilling these obligations. However, while COL has utilised agency to implement some of these programmes to their discretion, economic forces working within such partnerships have influenced the way that these initiatives have been measured. This was evident in UNICEF's Child Friendly Schools (CFS) initiative where COL's role in overseeing the training and evaluation of this CFS initiative enabled the organisation to draw on regional partners such as SADC-CDE to develop and implement this programme. The CFS initiative illustrates how COL is both unconsciously structured by these wider economic forces through its financial obligations to UNICEF, yet it also plays a role in structuring the actions of regional partners, such as SADC-CDE, in the way that it contracts their services to develop and implement its programmes.

This analysis of COL's financial relationship also reveals that COL has been required to examine its own policies and practices in order to survive in this fast-paced field of constant flux. Table 5.3 outlines COL's financial relationship with its member states and reinforces the importance that this financial contribution has in ensuring COL's own financial survival. It also reveals how financial contribution from member states directly relates to decision-making ability. In other words, member states who make the greatest financial contributions are afforded the greatest decision-making power. This reiterates how COL utilises economic resources to reinforce strategically selective conditions that privilege some member states over others.

One strategy that COL employed in response to its entry into the field of global education was to mandate flexible learning options as a viable quality educational alternative in low-income countries. Upon entering this field, COL identified that its greatest advantage was its undivided focus on open education and COL consequently sought to position itself as a global thought leader in open education (Commonwealth

of Learning, 2012a). In doing so, COL has been able to utilise its direct involvement with Commonwealth member state governments to advance the implementation of a low-cost alternative to standard teacher training programmes. COL's increased focus on the integration of ODL in member state's education policies in the 2003–2006 strategic plan provides clear demonstration of how COL has acted upon this strategy (Commonwealth of Learning, 2003b). In fact, this 2003–2006 strategic plan, included policy development as one of COL's three key programmes, with an allocated 25% of COL's time devoted to policy development in ODL:

> • *Open and distance learning policy*
> Continuous advocacy and promotion of ODL as a major strategy to ensure access, inclusion and achievement *require clearly enunciated policies at the national and institutional levels [emphasis added].* This programme expects to support member states in this aspect. (Commonwealth of Learning, 2003b, p. 16)

In the 2006–2009 strategic plan, policy development continued to be a strong focus. However, in this strategic plan, the policy focus shifted to the development of policy frameworks that could be "adopted" by member state governments and their teacher education institutions (Commonwealth of Learning, 2006a, p. 30). This is shown in the following passage:

> Policies for adding distance education programmes to conventional teacher education establishments are a vital response to the chronic shortage of teachers. (Commonwealth of Learning, 2006a, p. 33)

This strong focus on, and advocacy for, policy adoption in member states essentially secured a legitimate place for COL's services. While enhancing access to knowledge through open education has always been a central focus for COL (Commonwealth of Learning, 2003a, 2003b, 2006a), the opening up of educational markets under the global education agenda, accelerated and intensified COL's push to integrate open education into the education policies of member states (Commonwealth of Learning, 2003b, 2006a, 2009a, 2012a, 2015f). By providing policy advice to Commonwealth member states, COL has worked to secure its own survival by ensuring that open

education gains increasing prominence within this fiercely contested and rapidly changing field of global education.

A second strategy that COL employed to remain competitive within the global education field was to implement quality assurance mechanisms into its education programmes and policies. The global education agenda provided a new platform for the implementation of neoliberal reforms, with quality assurance mechanisms providing a means to standardise and regulate the global education market (Cheng, 2009; Kettl, 2005; King & Rose, 2005; Klees, 2008). COL's entry into this field soon saw its own alignment. This heightened emphasis on quality was evident in the 2006–2009 strategic plan (Commonwealth of Learning, 2006a), where access to quality education and the mechanisms used to assess quality suddenly entered policy discourse (refer to Table 5.1 on page 116). This focus on quality resulted in COL developing and integrating quality assurance mechanisms into the policies of teacher education institutions within member states. This is seen in the following statement:

> All governments are now emphasising quality as they strive to broaden access. *COL helps them formulate policies for quality assurance* [emphasis added], notably in the areas of teacher education, alternative schooling and higher education (with a special focus on eLearning)… (Commonwealth of Learning, 2006a, p. 33)

The focus on quality assurance continued to take centre stage in the 2009–2012 strategic plan where quality was identified as a cross-cutting theme that intersected all of its programmes (Commonwealth of Learning, 2009a). This following passage accentuates this relationship between quality assurance and COL's alignment with the global education agenda:

> In 2006–2009, COL treated quality assurance as a programme initiative. *For 2009–2012, quality will be a cross- cutting theme in recognition of its pervasive importance. With its involvement in developments at the international level* [emphasis added] (such as the Global Initiative for Quality Assurance Capacity and the global campaign against degree mills), COL has the ability to assist Member States with quality issues in an effective and informed manner. (Commonwealth of Learning, 2009a, p. 27)

While the 2012–2015 strategic plan saw the removal of quality as a cross cutting theme, it was introduced as one of COL's three strategic goals "to provide quality education for all Commonwealth citizens" (Commonwealth of Learning, 2012a, p. 11). COL specifically set the goal to implement and integrate quality assurance frameworks into teacher education within member states, as seen in this statement:

> COL's Teacher Education Initiative will focus on school-based, in-service training models and during this Three-Year Plan will continue to:
> - work with institutions and quality assurance agencies to develop and implement quality assurance frameworks. (Commonwealth of Learning, 2012a, p. 13)

Finally, in the most recent strategic plan (2015–2021), COL's assessment of quality has shifted from a focus on educational outputs to educational outcomes, as noted in the following statement:

> This approach encouraged COL to think beyond outputs such as training teachers to outcomes – or *how this training would lead to better performance* [emphasis added] in the classroom and the impact this would have on learning outcomes. (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015f, p. 10)

This indicates a subtle shift from quality assurance of teacher education programmes, to assessment of teacher performance. While this is an emerging initiative and is yet to be enacted through policy and practice, this focus signals another shift in COL's development of quality assurance mechanisms in alignment with wider global accountability initiatives.

A further strategy that COL utilised to survive financially within an increasingly competitive field has been to increase its relationship with the private sector. With shifts in the global governance of education seeing increasing privatising of education, COL too has responded to this changing field by embracing private sector

investment and engagement in its activities. This was firstly noted in the 2006–2009 strategic plan:

> Given the modest funding at its disposal, *COL has to reach out to a variety of sources for additional support to its programmes, including multi-national organisations, large corporate bodies, public/private charities and other donor agencies* [emphasis added]. However, COL will seek funding for its own programmes rather than tendering for contracts from development banks. (Commonwealth of Learning, 2006a, p. 40)

The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation was the first private philanthropic foundation to support COL's work and in 2006 it began to fund five of COL's initiatives, including the Virtual University for Small States of the Commonwealth (VUSSC). This need to involve private foundations and non-traditional donors became increasingly apparent during the global financial crisis in 2008 when COL recognised that global economic fluctuations could impact on the organisations own survival. Because of this it was acknowledged that a diversified financial approach was needed. In the *President's quarterly progress reports* to the Board of Governors in July 2012, it was noted that

> Due to the global economic crisis and cuts in social spending, COL will need to diversify its funding base. *The emerging partnerships with the private and corporate sector will provide additional revenue streams* [emphasis added]. (Kanwar, 2012, p. 6)

In the same report it was also noted who these private partnerships may include:

> *COL is now moving towards expanding its partnerships with private entities and corporations such as Microsoft and Iffco Kisan Sanchar Limited (IKSL)* [emphasis added]. (Kanwar, 2012, p. 4)

Alongside facilitating its own partnership with the private sector, COL has also worked to facilitate partnerships between its Commonwealth member states and the private sector. In the same report, COL president Professor Asha Kanwar indicates that COL will maintain its role as a "catalyst" for private-public partnerships within the Commonwealth:

During the next TYP, *COL will continue to be a catalyst for promoting bilateral linkages, public--private partnerships and regional and international cooperation* [emphasis added]**.** (Kanwar, 2012, p. 7)

Thus, through COL's endeavours to secure its own financial survival, this has ushered in the establishment of public-private relationships in its member states and consequently expanded this neoliberal policy into low-income Commonwealth countries.

An interesting implication of these private-public partnerships is that the private sector has begun to serve its own interests by shaping COL's policies and programmes. This became clear in 2011 when COL's partnership with The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation successfully enabled the global integration of Open Education Resources to be achieved, as noted in the *President's quarterly progress reports* to the Board of Governor in December 2011:

> COL itself is becoming a partner of choice for projects such as … *the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation's thrust to integrate Open Educational Resources into government policy* … [emphasis added]. (Daniel, 2011a, pp. 2–3)

The same report details how The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation provided funding for the joint UNESCO-COL project: *Taking OER beyond the OER community: Policy and capacity for developing countries* and the subsequent *Fostering governmental support for open educational resources internationally*:

> In August, the Hewlett Foundation approached COL to ask if we would accept a grant to reinforce this [joint COL-UNESCO project *Taking OER Beyond the OER Community: Policy and Capacity for Developing Countries*] activity… I was very pleased by the confidence that the Hewlett Foundation showed in COL by making this approach …The project is entitled Fostering Governmental Support for Open Educational Resources Internationally. *It is a condition of the grant that I direct the project personally, so this*

work will absorb a significant amount of my time until I demit office in May [emphasis added]. (Daniel, 2011a, p. 1)

What is of interest in this partnership is that The Hewlett Foundation has set some rules of the game by insisting that the president of COL lead this project. As indicated above, this absorbed the president's time away from other foci and shifted his own priorities to a specific programme that this philanthropic organisation wanted to promote. This influence that the private sector has begun to have on COL's own programmes and initiatives is important to note.

To conclude, this section has shown how COL's alignment with the global education agenda has been influenced by neoliberal globalisation. In response to this, COL has sought to survive in this economically competitive field by implementing three key strategies: 1) by attempting to mandate open education policy in member states, 2) by implementing quality assurance mechanisms, and 3) by establishing public-private partnerships throughout the Commonwealth. Such strategies not only seek to retain COL's financial viability but they also work to reproduce this neoliberal ideology into low-income member states through its policies, plans and programmes.

These strategies provide greater insight into how COL works to exploit these structural conditions for its own survival yet reproduces these structural conditions in its low-income member states. Neoliberal globalisation has consequently sought to influence a transformation in COL's own policies and programmes while also working through COL to reproduce neoliberal conditions into low-income member states. It is here that we begin to understand how this neoliberal structure differentiates its reproduction by establishing strategically selective conditions to facilitate neoliberal globalisation in ways that privilege some actors and some strategies over others. In order to gain greater understanding of how wider structures facilitate these strategically selective conditions, the following section examines the political conditions that have influenced COL's policies and programmes since its entry into the global education agenda.

5.5 COL's strategic response to political influences

COL's alignment with the global education agenda positioned COL within an interdependent network of political influences. The strategies COL implemented in response to these influences is of particular interest to this analysis as it brings further insight into the political structures that have influenced the development and direction of COL's own policies, practices and agendas. This section outlines three political conditions which have promoted COL to strategically respond: 1) the interdependent political nature of international aid, 2) changing geopolitical power relations, and 3) the enforcement of a political sanction. Each of these conditions will be examined in greater depth, with specific consideration given to the selective strategies employed by COL.

COL's work as a Commonwealth organisation has always been directly involved with the governments of its member states; however, COL prides itself in being an "apolitical international organisation", by stating in the 2009–2012 strategic plan that "as an apolitical international organisation without axes to grind, it engenders great trust" (Commonwealth of Learning, 2009a, p. 51). This statement is of particular interest because it not only presents COL as politically neutral, but it also creates a benevolent image, enabling COL to gain the trust and confidence of its member states. However, despite advocating to be an apolitical organisation, COL actively promotes Commonwealth values of "peace, democracy, equality, good governance and the resolution of conflicts" (Commonwealth of Learning, 2009a, p. 14). This is detailed in the 2009–2012 strategic plan:

> The 53 nations of the Commonwealth are united by a commitment to common values, notably peace, democracy, equality, good governance and the resolution of conflicts through mediation and consensus building. *COL expresses and promotes these values in its work* [emphasis added]. (Commonwealth of Learning, 2009a, p. 14)

The promotion of these priorities and values suggests that COL is not as politically impartial as it outwardly claims.

The extended networks that developed as a result of COL's entry into the global field of education exposed COL to a new set of political conditions to which it strategically responded. The interdependence of decision-making with the international aid community was one such condition. This was first acknowledged in the 2006–2009 strategic plan when disparities between countries, particularly in the wake of civil war, were redefining the geopolitical climate:

> From COL's perspective, *the increasing disparities between developing countries are a disturbing geopolitical trend* [emphasis added]… But it is harder to be optimistic about the future of some of the Commonwealth's smaller states that are faced with one or more of the challenges of civil strife, fragile democracy, rising sea levels, high HIV infection rates, deteriorating natural environments and the collapse of traditional cash crops. (Commonwealth of Learning, 2006a, p. 19)

Many of these inter-related decisions were influenced by global political events. At times, this interplay of political events provided COL with opportunities to retain a competitive edge. This is best seen in the 2006–2009 strategic plan:

> In the international arena there are conflicting signals. *Development agencies, preoccupied by the world's many conflicts, are giving less attention to the largely peaceful Commonwealth* [emphasis added], making COL's philosophy of promoting development without donors timely. (Commonwealth of Learning, 2006a, p. 19)

Such changes and the associated challenges were noted to encourage COL to think in new ways and respond more effectively to local needs as well as working "to nurture regional networks and partnerships that make its work in each region more than the sum of the country action proposals" (Commonwealth of Learning, 2006a, p. 21). With conflicts redirecting both the focus and finances of development agencies, this provided an unrivalled opportunity for COL to strengthen its focus on open education in Commonwealth member states. In this sense, COL was able to take advantage of these wider political events to establish itself as an attentive, trustworthy and receptive organisation.

At other times, this interdependent nature of global development politics presented challenges for COL. This was evident when the U.S. cut funding to a COL-UNESCO programme as a result of UNSECO admitting full membership to Palestine. This was detailed in the *October-December 2011 President's Quarterly Progress Report:*

> I happened to be at UNESCO, launching our joint Guidelines for OER in Higher Education at the 36th General Conference, *on the day when the vote to admit Palestine to full membership of the organisation was taken. This precipitated the immediate withdrawal of US funding to UNESCO* [emphasis added]*,* which is now implementing budget cuts of up to 30%. (Daniel, 2011a, p. 3)

This illustrates how decisions made within this global education field can have both a political and financial impact on COL's work. Not only does this emphasise COL's interconnected relationship with global politics, but it also reveals how dominant actors within this field can make decisions that severely restrict COL's movement within this field.

A second political condition that has influenced COL to strategically respond is in the changing geopolitical developments that have altered traditional approaches to aid. The emergence and involvement of Asian tiger economies in development aid is noted to have significantly challenged the existing aid paradigms. The 2012–2015 strategic plan draws attention to the "rapid emergence of China" (p. 8) and signals how this has reconfigured the nature of development aid:

> Persistent economic difficulties in richer countries and the rapid emergence of China and other developing countries have rendered the traditional paradigm of development aid obsolete. (Commonwealth of Learning, 2012a, p. 8)

While this statement doesn't elaborate on the extent of what this "rapid emergence of China" might mean, it could refer to the emergence of China as a global powerhouse

and the concerns that the Western development community have raised about China's approach to providing aid without conditionalities (Kilby, 2012). As Kilby (2012) explains, this concern stems from the belief that China's approach to aid is undermining traditional aid paradigms and has challenged the development community to re-evaluate and reassert its own approaches to aid. Regardless of the intent of this statement, it has promoted COL's own assertiveness in re-emphasising its grassroots approach in order to parallel the aid without conditionalities model which low-income countries have favoured (Commonwealth of Learning, 2012a). In other words, COL's grassroots approach, which favours working with local Teacher Education Institutions (TEIs), Teacher Training Colleges and universities as well as with ministries of education and regional bodies, has been emphasised by COL in order to present a more personalised and benevolent organisation that understands and responds to partner needs (Perraton, 2010, p. 9). By doing so, this has provided COL with a strategy to remain competitive in an aid paradigm that is subservient to changing geo-political agendas.

A final way that shows how COL has been required to strategically respond to changing political conditions was evident when Australia withdrew financial support from COL. In 2004 Australia withdrew its financial aid and representative personnel from COL amid concerns about the transparency, effectiveness and distribution of resources (Daniel, 2011a). As Australia was a key financial donor and a powerful political ally, Australia's exit was of significant concern (Daniel, 2011a). COL responded to this political embargo by transforming its own internal workings to improve its Monitoring and Evaluation systems in 2006 in a bid to ensure greater efficiency with its programmes. This is noted in the 2006–2009 strategic plan:

> To effect the recommended improvements, monitoring and evaluation received special attention in the preparation of the 2006–2009 Plan …The new framework articulated more transparent outcomes and outputs and more measurable indicators, as well as augmenting COL's capacity to capture and analyse data as evidence (Commonwealth of Learning, 2006a, p. 43)

Furthermore, financial and governance documentation were made publically available on COL's website in order to enhance transparency (Daniel, 2011a). Australia's return as a financial contributor in 2011 was considered to be the result of COL's work to address the concerns raised by Australia, and COL's commitment to focus more of its attention on the Pacific. This was noted in the *October–December 2011 President's Quarterly Progress Report*:

> … the Australian Foreign Minister, the Honourable Kevin Rudd, announced that Australia would rejoin COL as a financial partner... This is very good news and represents the successful culmination of a campaign that we initiated as soon as Australia withdrew from funding COL in 2004. As well as substantially improving COL's overall effectiveness over the intervening years, *we have devoted more attention to the Pacific Region and particularly to the countries of special concern to Australia, such as Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands* [emphasis added]. (Daniel, 2011a, p. 2)

This demonstrates that one high-income nation can significantly influence COL's organisational processes. In this case, a financial embargo sought to improve the internal management of the organisation; however, it also reveals the substantial power that nations such as Australia can have in reframing the foundations of COL's operational work and determining the regions where COL devotes its time, resources and expertise. The strategies COL employed in response to Australia's concerns resulted in significant organisational change. In comparison, poorer states have not had the same impact on COL's programmes and policies, despite also withdrawing their financial contributions. This was evident between 2009–2012 when a number of states, including Fiji, Vanuatu, Cameroon and Malawi, did not make financial contributions to COL (Commonwealth of Learning, 2012a). There is no indication in the President's reports, Board reports, or reports to the Commonwealth Secretariat to suggest that changes were made to COL's programmes and policies as a result of these withheld funds. In other words, the "national capital" (Lingard, Rawolle, & Taylor, 2005, p. 766) held by wealthy Commonwealth nations appear to have greater influence on COL's strategic actions than low-income nations.

To conclude, this section has sought to examine the strategies COL employs in response to political conditions. Not only has this analysis challenged COL's claims of being an apolitical organisation, but it has also revealed how political forces have significantly transformed COL's organisational and policy directions. This analysis has demonstrated how COL has responded to political conditions by making significant governance, structural and policy changes to its organisation. The changing aid paradigm and the volatility of geopolitical events has accentuated the inter-relatedness of political decision-making. COL's response to such conditions has prompted its own re-evaluation and redesign of its policies and organisational processes. Put simply, these political conditions appear to have influenced an internal transformation of COL's governance and organisational structure.

Identifying COL's strategic responses to these political conditions helps to determine the wider governance structures that regulate this field. COL's work to enhance organisational accountability and transparency suggests a shift to align with neoliberal ideologies. Klees (2008) explains that increased accountability and transparency of organisational processes allows individuals to make a choice regarding their monetary investment. In this case, increasing transparency and accountability allows member states, citizens and the development community to make judgements about COL's effectiveness in utilising public money for its intended purposes. From this perspective, COL's future survival is determined by public scrutiny. Australia's political embargo set conditions that required COL to transform their internal workings to align with this neoliberal agenda. While COL had to choose whether or not to comply, it chose to transform its organisational structure by implementing strategies to align with this agenda. This analysis shows how neoliberalism is an organising principle of political life (Giroux, (2004) within the field of global education.

5.6   COL's strategic response to social and cultural influences

As this chapter has previously demonstrated, COL's network of partnerships and alliances is extremely important to ensure its own financial survival. However, this section shows how such networks and alliances also serve a cultural purpose that not

only seeks to strengthen COL's social and cultural capital, but also unconsciously reinforce neoliberaliam as an organising principle of social life. Robertson and Dale's (2015) definition of cultural as a social practice is used in this section to identify the strategies employed by COL to enhance its own cultural capital. In doing so, this section reveals how neoliberal forces operate within these social networks to underpin the organisation of social life.

Conceptualising 'cultural' as a social practice within a broader social project (Robertson & Dale, 2015) requires understanding how COL's responds to these wider social conditions and the extent to which these responses achieve broader cultural objectives. Examining the strategies COL uses to gain access to, and extend its social networks within the field of global education enables the wider cultural forces that regulate this field to be identified. Bourdieu's (1977, 2007) notion of capital provides a useful way of analysing the different types of cultural resources, or capital, that are available on a field. Bourdieu (1993) refers to cultural capital as an internalised form of knowledge, which disposes social agents with appreciation for and competency in understanding "cultural relations and cultural artefacts" (p. 7). Bourdieu maintains that the more capital a player possesses, the more powerful their position will be in relation to other players on the field. Identifying 'who gets to play' and 'who gets what' position in the field of global education helps to identify the type of "cultural relations and cultural artefacts" (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 7) that are valued. Put simply, understanding the nature of COL's relationships with its strategic partners provide a key to identifying whose cultural capital is valued in this field and the extent to which this capital either reproduces or transforms broader social objectives. In order to do this, culture as a social practice needs to be examined. This requires an investigation of the strategies COL uses to establish social connections with significant others in the field (Bourdieu, 2007).

5.6.1 COL's strategic response to enhance social capital

COL's alignment with the global education agenda provided COL with social networks and alliances to ensure that it 1) maintained financial support from member states 2) gained financial support from multilateral organisations and private foundations for its projects and 3) enhanced its reputation in order to gain influence as

a global thought leader within the development community. Social networks provide great leverage for COL in terms of both financial opportunities and reputation. Because of this, COL implements specific strategies to gain access to the necessary social capital that will ensure that it retains a "place at the table" (Commonwealth of Learning, 2006a, p. 25). The 2006–2009 strategic plan refers to this by stating that "COL does not pay for its place at the table; it has to earn that place by offering appropriate solutions that are best constructed through a process of iterative dialogue" (Commonwealth of Learning, 2006a, p. 25).

Pursuing profitable partnerships is a strategy that COL actively pursued in order to earn its place within the field of global education. In the 2009–2012 and 2012–2015 strategic plans (Commonwealth of Learning, 2009a, 2012a), particular reference is given to the social capital that COL has accumulated through the implementation of such strategy. The following passage demonstrates this by explaining that "*the substantial social capital that COL has accumulated* [emphasis added] through its partnerships provides considerable leverage to its modest budget (Commonwealth of Learning, 2012a, p. 34).

These examples reveal the agency that COL has used to gain and retain access to this fiercely competitive field. This understanding requires an examination of the strategies COL employs to achieve its objective of gaining and retaining access to social capital. Bourdieu (2007) observes that social networks are the outcome of both intentional and unintentional social investments that take place at a collective and individual level. Because networks are purposed with reproducing strategic relationships that can be of use in either the short or long term, the size of the network of connections provides a key to determining the amount of social capital that actors' possess. Table 5.4 provides an overview of COL's strategic partnerships and the strategies it has employed to gain access to, and maintain, each of these social connections:

Table 5.4 *Overview of Strategies Used to Enhance COL's Social Capital*

	UNESCO	UNICEF	World Bank	COMSEC and Commonwealth Foundation	Hewlett Foundation	OECD	Regional Bodies (SADC-CDE)	Bilateral Partnerships
Strategies used to enhance social capital	COL-UNESCO Honorary Chairs Established in 2009 Sir John Daniels ex Assistant Educational Director of UNESCO – access to UNESCO social networks COL's partnership with UNESCO was noted to enhance COL's reputation and visibility as a global organisation (Sir John Daniel, 2006)	UNICEF was noted to consider COL an appropriate partner because of its extended networks in 52 Commonwealth countries President Asha Kanwar noted COL's partnership with UNICEF extends their own social network by gaining access to UNICEF's partners	Contracting fee-for-service through eLIO initiative with World Bank has extended COL's social networks	Relationship with Commonwealth Secretary General noted to provide access to extended networks, resources and financial opportunities Engagement with CHOGM seen as an important way of extending social network. Sir John Daniel noted his disapproval when access to certain meetings were denied Regular engagement with 'newly appointed diplomats' induction as a way of extending social network. Congratulatory letters are sent to newly appointed Prime Ministers, Presidents, Diplomats and Education Ministers	The high opinion that the Hewlett Foundations has of COL led to funding of OER project Building relationship with private foundations noted to be a key strategy for enhancing influence and gaining access to financial resources	Little is spoken about regarding the social networks associated with COLs involvement with the OECD	SADC-CDE extends COL's social network of teacher education institutions, organisations and experts within the South SADC-CDE and other regional bodies provide COL with networks to create South-to-South partnerships	COL has created titled positions – Focal Points, Honorary Chair, Academic Advisors – to provide notable 'membership' to COL's work

This overview identifies three key strategies that COL employs to enhance its social capital. These include 1) engaging in social events and social formalities that provide opportunities for COL to network, 2) strenghten its reputation as a global thought leader in open education, and 3) establishing titled positions. Engaging in social events with its strategic partners is a key strategy that COL utilises to enhance its social capital. COMSEC has been pivotal in providing a number of platforms for COL to both maintain and extend its social network. Notably the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) meetings and the annual induction of newly appointed diplomats are examples of two such occasions where COL has been active in maintaining a regular presence. The importance that COL places on social networking is evident in a statement made by Sir John Daniels on his attendance at the CHOGM in 2011:

> Whereas the CHOGM should be an opportunity for all Commonwealth bodies to celebrate the organisation, *COL's opportunities to observe and participate in the various events were severely restricted by Commonwealth Secretariat officials, often to the point of making us feel that COL was there on sufferance* [emphasis added]. At an appropriate moment the Chair plans to raise this matter with the Secretary-General, who has always showed great goodwill towards COL. (Daniel, 2011a, p. 2)

This example shows the intention of COL representatives to network at the CHOGM; however, in this instance their intentions to do so were restricted by Commonwealth Secretariat officials. This suggests that COL was not seen as a significant player on this field and, therefore, they were denied access. Furthermore, Sir John Daniel's disappointment at COL's exclusion demonstrates the high value COL places on its ability to network at such functions, and being limited to do so appeared to cause great concern for the organisation at this time.

Alongside engagement with the diplomatic community, regional bodies such as SADCE-CDE, also provide an important avenue for enhancing COL's social capital. While COL makes financial contributions to SADC-CDE to carry out the implementation of its programmes, COL also benefits from this investment in several

important ways. Firstly, COL enhances its own social networks through gaining access to SADC-CDE's alliances. These networks are invaluable as they enable COL to contract out curriculum development for its programmes and the training of teachers and teacher educators. Secondly, this is particularly important for advancing COL's grassroots approach and for promoting its South-to-South partnerships. Such networks are consequently essential for the development and implementation of COL's policies and programmes.

COL's active pursuit to extend its social network is further evidence of how it engages in social formalities to strengthen its relationship with political figures in Commonwealth member states. An example of this is seen in the way that COL regularly sends congratulatory letters to all newly appointed diplomats, ministers of education and heads of government within the Commonwealth (Kanwar, 2012; Kanwar, 2013). Such measure of goodwill raises COL's profile with key politicians in its member states and provides an entry point for further social engagement. Therefore, engaging in social events and social formalities is a strategy that COL regularly engages in to gain access to social capital.

A second strategy that COL has employed to gain social influence within the global development community is to present itself as a global 'thought leader'. This notion of being a gobal thought leader entered COL's strategic plans in the 2009–2012 triennium (Commonwealth of Learning, 2009a) and since then has become an increasing focus of COL's work. This is detailed in the *April – June, 2013 President's Quarterly Progress Report:*

> If a small organisation like COL *has to continue to merit respect, it must come through as a thought-leader at all times* [emphasis added]. How can that be measured? Through various publications; the number of invitations to speak at key international conferences; citations in research; additional contributions and concrete evidence of influence on policy and practice. (Kanwar, 2013, p. 2)

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In this regard, being producers of knowledge, influencers of policy and an invited voice on a global stage is considered to generate the necessary influence as a thought-leader. The current president, Professor Asha Kanwar, goes on to detail the characteristics and dispositions of COL staff who need to be 'worldclass development professionals':

> To be a thought-leader, COL's staff, which is its major strength, *must continue to be world-class development professionals* [emphasis added]. What does this mean? A world-class professional is at the frontiers of knowledge; contributes to innovation and research; is proactive rather than reactive and ready to walk the extra mile; is a networker with excellent communication skills; displays humility and impeccable integrity. Above all, the world-class professional is deeply committed to making a difference. (Kanwar, 2013, p. 3)

In addition to this, the recent 2015–2021 strategic plan refers to this notion of thought leadership as supporting the COL brand to raise its profile within the development community, as seen in this following except:

> The COL brand and its comparative advantage are well-recognised within the Commonwealth and globally. *Key to this branding and advantage is to raise the profile of COL among a wider group of ICT/ODL professionals and organisations involved in development work* [emphasis added]. This would require a robust communications and stakeholder strategy, thought leaderships and responding to the needs of stakeholders. (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015f, p. 16)

By creating a niche of global expertise, COL has strategically worked to brand itself as a thought leader for the purpose of enhancing the social status of the organisation.

A final strategy that COL has employed to gain social influence within the global development community has been to create positions of social status within its own organisation. In 2006 Focal Point positions were established to enable each member

state to nominate a representative that could implement COL's mission and mandate within their nation (Commonwealth of Learning, 2006a). This was intended to be a way of ensuring that COL remained relavant to the needs and educational agendas of its member states. This was detailed in the *President's Quarterly Progress Report, April – June, 2013*.

> In its ongoing commitment to relevance, COL created a network of in-country Focal Points to identify the national agendas that could be implemented within COL's mission and mandate. Since most of the Focal Points have been nominated by Ministers of Education (who make annual contributions to COL's budget), the country priorities focused mostly on formal education. (Kanwar, 2013, p. 1)

Alongside Focal Points, honorary advisor positions were created in 2009. These advisors are considered to be eminent ODL professionals that advise COL on open education (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015i). However, the creation of these titled positions are more than just an opportunity to connect with local needs; they also serve to advance COL's social network. Firstly, titled positions provide an avenue for member state representatives to gain access to COL's association of global elite and to enhance their own status and social standing. With more titled positions and holders of these positions located within each member state, the perpetuation of COL's reputation and influence is accentuated. Therefore, these positions also serve the purpose of enhancing COL's reputation and influence within its member states.

This analysis of COL's social networks has demonstrated that COL actively works to extend its social network by engaging in social events and formalities, by establishing itself as a global thought leader in open education and through the creation of titled position. In doing so, COL has worked to enhance its profile and reputation through the unique contribution that it makes to the development community. Not only is such social influence critical for gaining access to political power and financal resources, but it also reveals the symbolic power that COL gains in doing so. Webb et al. (2002) explain that those who possess large amounts of social capital have the ability to be gatekeepers of certain fields and are often authorised to speak for or attribute value to

certain positions on the field. Bourdieu (1993, 1998) refers to this as symbolic capital. Actors or institutions that possess large amounts of symbolic capital carry power to legitimate what is common sense and to create "the official version of the social world" (Harker, Mahar, & Wilkes, 1990, p. 13). As chapter six explores in greater depth, COL's endeavour to become a thought leader has enabled it to become a voice of authority in open education within the development community. As a producer of knowledge, influencer of policy and an invited voice on a global stage, COL has worked to legitimate open education as a quality alternative to face-to-face teacher education. Because of this, COL has gained increasing power to legitimate what counts as quality teaching and learning within the open education context. Therefore, enhancing social capital has also enabled COL to gain increasing symbolic control of this pedagogic space.

As the previous sections in this chapter have revealed, neoliberal globalisation has been at work through both economic and political conditions to be the organising principle that has governed COL's decision-making. However, the social strategies identified in this section also serve the purpose of gaining access to these political and financial conditions. This demonstrates how neoliberalism works through social networks to further this neoliberal agenda. Neoliberal globalisation has consequently influenced COL's policy and practices to prioritise social networks, the publication of open education materials and the establishment of titled positions. What this analysis has also revealed is how neoliberalism works through social networks to establish strategically selective conditions to privledge some actors' access to economic and political capital over others. As the CHOGM example demonstrated, COL was limited in its ability to gain access to the social networks that it sought to further advance its own economic, political and social standing. Consequently, the actions that COL had intended to employ to improve its own position on this field were actively discouraged by dominant actors. It is here that it is evident how neoliberalism works as an organising principle to selectively determine who gains entry and access to the field and who can use the available power and resources to serve their own interests. Social networks therefore create the necessary social conditions to differentially determine who benefits from neoliberal globalisation.

5.6.2   COL's strategic response to enhance cultural capital

Recognising that neoliberal globalisation influences the strategic decisions that COL employs to enhance its social capital brings greater awareness to the examination of cultural resources that are made available through such social networks. Importantly, these strategies help to identify whose cultural practices are valued in this social field and the extent to which cultural capital either reproduces or transforms these broader social objectives. Bourdieu (2007) conceptualises cultural capital as an internalised form of knowledge, which disposes social agents with appreciation for, and competency in, understanding "cultural relations and cultural artefacts" (p. 7). Such definition provides a useful way of identifying these cultural resources in COL's initiatives, programmes and policies. Bourdieu explains that cultural capital can be observed in three mediums: individuals, objects and within institutions. Individuals display this cultural capital in an embodied state by exhibiting characteristics and dispositions such as refined accents, knowledge that is evident of an educated upbringing, a value for education and the necessary dispositions to learn. Objects, such as books, computers, the internet and qualifications are also possessors of large amounts of cultural capital, which Bourdieu considers to reflect cultural capital in the objectified state. Finally, cultural capital in the institutionalised state is evident in institutions such as universities, libraries and elite schools (Webb et al., 2002). Knowledge is conceived as a good; however, particular forms of knowledge are considered to have greater value, or cultural capital, than others. Bourdieu (1993) argues that this creates an inequitable distribution of cultural capital. Ultimately, those who possess large amounts of cultural capital are those who have knowledge and dispositions associated with notable positions and hence, these forms of knowledge become socially legitimated "markers of distinction and social privilege" (Webb et al., 2002, p. 110).

Analysis of COL's strategic partnerships reveals the strategies COL employs to enhance its cultural capital through collaborative initiatives with each of these strategic partners. By identifying the strategies that COL uses to access this capital, this provides a key to understanding whose cultural practices are valued in this field.

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Table 5.5 shows the strategies COL has employed to enhance its cultural capital by either capitalising on the cultural capital held by its strategic partners, or by implementing initiatives to increase the institutional capital of its organisation.

Table 5.5 *Overview of Strategies Used to Enhance COL's Cultural Capital*

	UNESCO	UNICEF	World Bank	COMSEC and Commonwealth Foundation	Hewlett Foundation	OECD	Regional Bodies (SADC-CDE)	Bilateral Partnerships
Strategies used to enhance cultural capital	As an organisation, UNESCO possesses significant cultural capital [*Institutionalised state*] Those working in UNESCO possess significant cultural capital [*Embodied state*] Holder of educational knowledge about educational access, quality education (EFA) and lifelong learning [*Objectified State*] COL-UNESCO OER project facilitates the online organisation of educational knowledge [*Objectified state*]	Awarder of 'Child Friendly Schools' status. [*Objectified state*] As an organisation, UNICEF possess significant cultural capital [*Institutionalised state*] Those working in UNICEF possess significant cultural capital [*embodied state*]	As an organisation, The World Bank possesses significant cultural capital [*Institutionalised state*] Those working in World Bank possess significant cultural capital [*Embodied state*] Refers to itself as the 'Knowledge Bank'. Holder of economic knowledge [*Objectified State*] Recent development of global Open Knowledge Repository. Holder of knowledge [*Objectified State*]	As organisations, COMSEC and Commonwealth Foundation possesses significant cultural capital [*Institutionalised state*] Those working in COMSEC and Commonwealth Foundation a possess significant cultural capital [*Embodied state*]	Has funded COL's Virtual University of Small States (VUSS). [*Institutionalised state*] Those working at the Hewlett Foundation possess significant cultural capital [*Embodied state*] Has funded COL-UNESCO OER project [*Objectified state*]	As an organisation, The OECD possess' significant cultural capital [*Institutionalised state*] Those working in OECD possess significant cultural capital [*Embodied state*] Knowledge holder of lifelong learning [*Objectified state*] Has supported the COL-UNESCO OER project [*Objectified state*]	As a regional body, SADC-CDE possesses cultural capital within the region [*Institutionalised state*] Those working in SADC-CDE possess significant cultural capital [*Embodied state*] Distributor of academic qualifications [*Objectified state*] Developed Open Schooling Consortium – holder of open education knowledge and programmes [*Institutionalised and objectified state*]	COL Board Members, Focal Points, UNESCO-COL Chairs and Honorary Advisors – all possess significant cultural capital [*Embodied state*]

This analysis reveals that most of COL's strategic partners possess significant amounts of institutionalised, objectified and embodied cultural capital. Put simply, these organisations are recognised as holders of vast amounts of knowledge. The World Bank is a particularly good example of this as it has, in recent years, transitioned into a global knowledge bank (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). As a holder of knowledge, the World Bank not only possesses cultural capital in the objectified state through its recently developed Open Knowledge Repository, but its employees also embody cultural capital through their own knowledge, dispositions and characteristics which reinforces an educated worldview. As an institution, the World Bank is seen as a holder of significant cultural capital. A similar story is evident with COL's other strategic partners such as UNICEF, UNESCO and OECD. As global sources of development knowledge, each of these organisations carry considerable cultural capital which is also embodied through both the collective organisation and through individual actors working within these institutions. COL's relationship with these partners not only gives them access to this wealth of development knowledge, but it also strengthens their own cultural capital by partnering in initiatives such as the Child Friendly Schools programme with UNICEF and the OER initiative with UNESCO and the OECD.

COMSEC and the Commonwealth Foundation possess less objectified forms of cultural capital; however, as Commonwealth organisations, they carry significant institutional forms of cultural capital. Being part of the Commonwealth family affords COL access to the cultural capital embodied within this Commonwealth heritage. On the other hand, SADC-CDE is less regarded on a global scale; however, it holds cultural capital within the Southern African community. As an institution SADC-CDE gains its greatest capital through housing the regions' Open Schooling initiative where the distribution of academic qualifications enhances cultural capital in an objectified form. COL's association with SADC-CDE in the Open Schooling initiatives enables it to extend its own reputation and reach as a holder of knowledge in open education. This enables COL to strengthen its cultural resources at the 'grassroots' level, providing a valuable mechanism to promote its development of knowledge in open education. In contrast, the Hewlett Foundation does not carry the same degree of objectified or institutional cultural capital within the field of global education; however, its position as a philanthropic organisation affords it large amounts of institutional capital within the development community. Interestingly, by funding two of COL's projects – the Virtual University for Small States of the Commonwealth (VUSSC) and the OER initiative – the Hewlett Foundation has been able to enhance its own cultural capital by funding the

development of objectified forms of cultural capital. In this sense, the Hewlett Foundation gains access to cultural resources from this partnership while COL secures valuable financial revenue.

This analysis has revealed the significant cultural capital that COL's strategic partners possess; however, it also demonstrates how COL has strategically capitalised on these partnerships to enhance its own cultural capital. As a 'tiny organisation' (Daniel, 2006) entering the global field of education, COL has leveraged the institutional and objectified capital that these organisations possess to spring board its own reputation as a holder of knowledge in open education. COL's strategic development of its social capital has worked hand-in-hand to advance both its status as a holder of objectified forms of cultural capital and to also enhance the cultural capital of the organisation.

There are four key strategies that COL has used to enhance cultural capital, all of which overlap with the strategies COL used to extend its social capital. These include 1) strengthening its reputation as a global 'thought leader' and producer of knowledge in open education; 2) engaging in collaborative initiatives with institutions who possess significant cultural capital such as the UNICEF-COL, Child Friendly Schools initiatives and the UNESCO-COL OER initiative; 3) developing titled positions to grow the reputation of the organisation as a holder of cultural capital in its member states and, 4) employing global thought leaders who possess significant amounts of cultural capital in the embodied state. Because each of these strategies have been previously explored in relation to the way that COL works to extend its social capital, it is not necessary to examine these strategies again. What is important to consider is the fact that COL's pursuit to strengthen its cultural capital is not overt. It is not obvious that COL endeavours to extend its social network both consciously and unconsciously by strengthening its cultural knowledge and extending its cultural resources. This subtle, symbolic accumulation of cultural capital is a finding that is of great importance to this research as it signals the considerable value that COL places on these cultural resources.

5.7   Chapter summary

This chapter has shown how the emergence of a global field of education has created a space for development organisations to compete for cultural and, importantly, symbolic capital. The

introduction of GATS repositioned education as a global commodity and saw the creation of the global field of education, which has increasingly shifted both the responsibility of, and provision for, education from national governments into the global arena. This has essentially levelled the educational playing field and has created a space for the redistribution of power and the redefinition of symbolic capital on a global scale. This chapter has shown how education has been thrust into a new global field that has put cultural and symbolic capital at stake for development organisations to compete. This has required the creation of new rules, new players and new ways of governing this global education game. This chapter has demonstrated how players with large amounts of symbolic capital, such as the OECD and the World Bank, have taken leading positions on this field by defining education as an economic commodity. UNESCO has also been a key player in the construction of the global education agenda where EFA has established the rules of the game by legitimising what counts as knowledge: quality education.

Global development organisations have worked quickly to define and legitimate what counts as quality education in a bid to enhance their own cultural and symbolic capital. As this chapter has detailed, COL has struggled to gain access to this symbolic and cultural capital by endeavouring to authenticate open education as a learner-centred alternative and validating open education as a facilitator of quality education. This is evident in a range of strategies that COL has employed to advance open education initiatives into low-income countries such as through policy development, the implementation of assessment tools, the development of quality indicators, the development of teacher training curricular and through its active pursuit of strategic partnerships. This understanding provides a context for considering whose cultural knowledge is valued in this field. In order to understand this, further investigation into how LCE has been legitimated within the open education environment is required. The following chapter attends to this by examining how COL uses pedagogic discourse to define and legitimate LCE.

Chapter 6: Moment of Educational Politics

This chapter builds on the previous analysis the politics of education to examine the *moment of educational politics* (Robertson & Dale, 2015). By investigating the relationship between pedagogic discourse at the micro (curriculum) and macro (policy) levels, this chapter begins to investigate: *What is taught in COL's ORELT modules, and how and by whom are these things decided?* In order to respond to this question, this chapter returns to Bernstein's (2000a) notion of the pedagogic device that was introduced in chapter three to examine pedagogic communication in the open education context. Bernstein's distributive, recontextualising and evaluative rules are used to investigate how COL relays such knowledge through its policies, plans, programme initiatives and practices. This chapter begins by briefly introducing Bernstein's distribution rule and detailing how COL justifies LCE as an indicator of educational quality. It then focuses on Bernstein's (2000a) recontextualisation principle to analyse the construction of pedagogic discourse in the official field and shows how LCE has been recontextualised to achieve wider economic, cultural and political objectives. Finally, this chapter examines the evaluative rule and demonstrates how COL regulates this adaptation of LCE to facilitate neoliberal globalisation as an organising principle of social life.

Returning briefly to the three interrelated rules that were introduced in chapter three (refer to Figure 3.2 on page 59), this section revists and then analyses how these rules work to create a pedagogic device. The distributive rule establishes who holds power by identifying what knowledge is defined as thinkable. The recontextualising rule builds on this by determining how knowledge is transformed as it moves between different fields, while the evaluative rule aims to understand how such recontextualised knowledge reframes social consciousness. By analysing the creation, transmission and acquisition of pedagogic knowledge within the open education context, this chapter seeks to understand how LCE is produced, recontexutalised and reproduced within the open education context.

6.1 Distributive rule

Bernstein (2000a) explains that the distributive rule is responsible for determining what knowledge is conceivable and unconceiveable. It does so by specialising certain forms of

knowledge, certain forms of practice and certain forms of consciousness to different social groups. Bernstein argues that this distributive rule creates, produces and distributes pedagogic discourse to privilege the dominant social group. Because of this, the economic field, the field of symbolic control and the international field, strongly influences this generation and production of pedagogic discourse in the field of the State. Figure 6.1 provides a diagrammatic illustration of this:
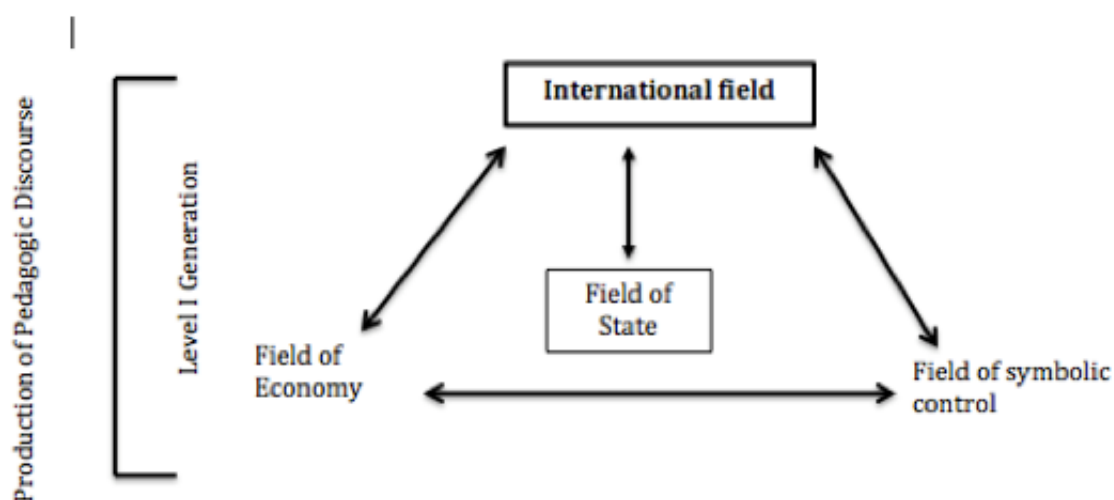
Bernstein's (1986) model of the production of pedagogic discourse. (Adapted from ESSA, 2015, p. 14)

Figure 6.1 **Bernstein's (1986) model of the production of pedagogic discourse.**

Chapter five's analysis of the economic, political and cultural conditions that restrict and enable COL's movement within the global field of education provides a valuable way of understanding what knowledge is legitimated on this field, whose interests the legitimation of this knowledge serves and how these conditions influence COL's production and distribution of pedagogic discourse. Dominant actors in the field of global education have vied to legitimate quality education, with lifelong learning being regarded as having significant cultural value in this global field. This has consequently framed lifelong learning as an indicator of quality. Because of this, the distributive rule is useful for understanding how LCE is legitimated within the open education context as a way of facilitating the production, reproduction and transmission of cultural knowledge. This distribution rule plays a pivotal role in regulating the distribution of power through the pedagogic device. To analyse how the distributive rule is at work in COL's programmes and policies, the following section examines how LCE is defined and legitimated.

6.1.1 Education quality and the legitimation of Learner-Centred Education in open education

This analysis begins by considering how COL justifies LCE as a way of enhancing educational quality in open education. COL produced a series of three documents in 2007 in collaboration with the National Assessment and Accreditation Council, India (NAAC), which provides a quality assurance framework and accompanying resources for higher education, teacher education and distance education institutions. These are: *Quality Indicators for Teacher Education* (Menon, Rama, Lakshmi, & Bhat, 2007), *Quality Assurance in Higher Education: An introduction* (Mishra, 2007), *An anthology of 'best practices' in teacher education* (Lakshmi, Rama, & Henrikz, 2007) and a later document, *Quality assurance toolkit: Distance Higher Education Institutions and Programmes* (Rama & Hope, 2009).

Throughout each of these key documents, there is a strong emphasis on implementing LCE as an indicator of quality. Pedagogy is presented on a pedagogical continuum with LCE positioned on one end and teacher-centred pedagogy at the other. One example of this is evident in the *Quality assurance toolkit for teacher education institutions* where it states that pedagogical practices are "… spread across a continuum of teacher designed and propelled emphasis to learner evolved learner centric emphasis" (Lakshmi & Rama, 2007, p. 3). This teleological view of pedagogy (Beeby, 1966) assumes that pedagogical change involves providing an appropriate input, such as teacher training, to move teachers 'up' this continuum. Guthrie et al. (2015) critique this oversimplified perspective of pedagogy by drawing attention to the significant body of research that challenges this dichotomous view of formalism versus progressivism. Such perspective suggests that pedagogy is viewed as an exchange of knowledge and removed from the sociocultural nature of learning and teaching. In this research, this technicist view of pedagogy (Tabulawa, 2013b) is evidenced in the way that pedagogy is occasionally referred to as a 'curriculum transaction' within these quality education documents. One example of this is seen in the *Quality indicators for teacher education* where it states that

> There can be a wide range of *transaction practices* [emphasis added]*: from well coordinated meaningful activities pre-designed by teachers and participated by students, *systematically monitored by teachers (teacher centric) to entirely learner evolved, learner need based, teacher facilitated, and not pre-designed but evolving set of activities (learner centric)* [emphasis

added]. Most institutions are somewhere between these two extremes (Menon et al., 2007, p. 6).

LCE is frequently presented as the preferred pedagogical option through the problematisation of formalism and teacher-centred pedagogy. One example of this is evident in the *Quality assurance in higher education* document where teacher-centred pedagogy is referred to as a traditional method that is inadequate in this digital era:

> Obviously, *traditional methods of delivering higher education have become inadequate* [emphasis added]. To keep pace with the developments in other spheres of human endeavour, HEIs have to build on the recent technological developments and enrich the learning experiences they provide to students. (Mishra, 2007, p. 9)

These examples show how COL has justified the alignment between LCE and quality education.

6.1.2 The reframing of LCE within open education

This section demonstrates how this 'thinkable' association between LCE and open education is established and how it presents a narrow interpretation of learner-centredness, which advances the idea that self-directed learning is evidence of a learner-centred programme. Firstly, it is assumed that LCE can be implemented into a teacher education programme without the direct presence of a teacher educator. While COL has recently changed its perspective by suggesting that its programmes should use a blended approach of face-to-face and online teaching (Kanwar, 2015c); the ORELT modules have been designed as online self-study resources that can be used independently of a teacher educator. This raises the question: can a programme be learner-centred if it is already pre-packaged and standardised? COL suggests it can be and uses the concept of self-directed learning to make that point.

There are occasions in COL's documents on educational quality where learner-centredness is used interchangeably with self-directed learning, as demonstrated in this statement from *An anthology of 'best practices' in teacher education*:

> *The student-centred study system* [emphasis added] is designed to support a distance learner through multiple modes including self- study, print and audio visual (AV) materials, contact sessions, e-mail and the Internet. (Lakshmi et al., 2007, p. 14)

This statement suggests that this "student-centred study system" (p. 14) is focused more on providing interactive study materials that cater for different *learning styles* rather than providing a learner-centred experience that is skilfully scaffolded to enhance the learning of each individual. This emphasis on catering open education materials to a wide range of learning styles (e.g., auditory learners, kinesthetic learners, visual learners etc.) is often used interchangeably with learner-centredness. However, the argument made in this thesis is that LCE goes much further than catering for learning styles through pre-packaged programmes by ensuring that *teachers* adjust their teaching approach to *enhance* learning (Krause et al., 2008).

This narrow interpretation of learner-centredness is extrapolated further through the belief that self-directed learning is evidence of a learner-centred programme. Providing pre-packaged open education learning materials is considered to cater for different learning styles and, as a result, pre-service teachers are believed to be recipients of a learner-focused educational programme that will produce independent learners. This is detailed in *Perspectives on distance education: Towards a culture of quality:*

> *The combination of learning objects and a development and management system has merged technology and pedagogy, creating a transactional paradigm that has applications for both ODL and face-to-face systems* [emphasis added]. Learning materials are developed digitally as learning objects …. Special features built into them make it possible to assemble them into *self-learning modules* [emphasis added] of varying types for differing levels of learner groups, as these modules can be deconstructed and reconstructed to repurpose and reuse them. (Koul in Koul & Kanwar, 2006, pp. 3–4)

The next section of this passage draws attention to the anticipated results of this customised perspective of LCE:

> … As a result, it provides i) for easy customisation of educational products *for differing situations and needs* [emphasis added], ii) for easy access to study materials through both proprietary and open source systems, whichever is available to learners, and iii) materials in any desired format—print, audio,

video or their combinations from one and the same database. (Koul in Koul & Kanwar, 2006, pp. 3–4)

It is here that we start to see how this approach to LCE provides an ease of marketability and application through the customised nature of this learner-centred approach to pre-service teacher education. Other documents have referred to this approach as learner-centric as noted in *An anthology of 'best practices' in teacher education:*

> *A learner centric approach has emerged as a feasible alternative in pre-service teacher education* [emphasis added]. The process leads to learning in a more personalised manner, in diverse ways, with great conceptual clarity and comprehensiveness. It helps in enhancing integration of theoretical understanding and practice and also self-development in student teachers. It makes teacher education programme dynamic, field sensitive, conceptually deep and the teacher educators more accountable and satisfied. (Lakshmi et al., 2007, p. 27)

This customised interpretation of LCE, which is facilitated by open education, capitalises on the self-directed nature of LCE. Earlier in the document, this notion of a pre-packaged learner-centric approach is expanded further:

> The main aim of the practice was to try out the possibility and feasibility of a *totally learner evolved TE curriculum which provides for individualised learning routes, personalised goal priorities, coordinated learning efforts as well as continuous self appraisal and peer feedback.* (Lakshmi et al., 2007, p. 21)

However, in the *Quality indicators for teacher education*, a learner centric "transaction practice" (p. 6) is considered to be learner driven and, therefore, not pre-designed. This is noted in the following passage:

> There can be a wide range of transaction practices: from well coordinated meaningful activities pre-designed by teachers and participated by students, systematically monitored by teachers (teacher centric) to *entirely learner evolved, learner need based, teacher facilitated, and not pre-designed but evolving set of activities (learner centric)* [emphasis added]. Most institutions are somewhere between these two extremes. (Menon et al., 2007, p. 6)

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While this presents a slightly differing perspective of a learner-centric approach from the pre-packaged example of learner-centricity referred to earlier, all examples demonstrate a notion of learner-centricity that mimics LCE, yet has a significantly different ideological emphasis. In a learner-centric teacher education programme the physical role of the educator has been removed and the learning process tends to be customised through open education. The nature of learning is said to be self-directed and independent with learner-centredness being marketed as an attractive feature of such a programme. This is evident in this statement in *Perspectives on distance education: Towards a culture of quality:*

> The British Open University, while emphasising the social purpose of education**,** *emancipated it for the first time, from the clutches of traditional constraints* [emphasis added] of qualifications, time and place with the help of innovations like open registration and distributed team teaching with an emphasis on *self-learning, learner-centricity services and mediated didactic communication* [emphasis added]. Computer-marked assignments too were incorporated into this model. *With learning replacing teaching as the crucial activity in this system* [emphasis added], we notice the emergence of a new educational dispensation, namely ODL, which has made a lasting contribution to the evolution of education as an institution and has brought it to the centre stage of socio-economic development. (Koul in Koul & Kanwar, 2006, p. 2) [Emphasis added]

It is here this learner-centric adaptation of LCE is seen to redefine what is thinkable about LCE. In other words, emphasis on self-directed learning and the customisation of learner needs is presented as the accepted and thinkable version of learner-centredness. On the other hand, face-to-face teaching programmes are implied to present an inflexible, ineffective and 'unthinkable' interpretation of LCE. Legitimating this learner-centric adaptation enables COL to validate learning to take place independently of an educator. As chapter two explained, Robertson (2005) warns that this removes the need for educators to fulfil their traditional role as gatekeepers of education. Considering the purpose for this removal draws attention to the neoliberal agenda that is at work to both reorganise and reframe the governance of education. Not only does this learner-centric adaptation of LCE provide a way for teacher education to be delinked from national and localised provision of teacher education, but it also provides an effective way for education to be governed from a distance under the guise of a learner-centred teacher education programme. Therefore, this learner-centric adaptation mimics certain aspects of learner-centredness to present an image of enhancing educational quality while at

the same time redefining the role of the educator and repositioning the governance of educational provision.

To justify this point further the image of a learner needs to be examined. In the *Quality assurance in higher education: An introduction*, Mishra (2007) redefines this image to support a learner-centric adaptation of LCE. As this passage shows, this image of a learner is underpinned by a managerial interpretation of quality:

> TQM [Total Quality managment] assumes that quality is what the consumer of the service/product perceives. (Mishra, 2007, p. 50)

From this perspective, providing outstanding customer service is believed to be an important indicator of quality in business. Mishra (2007) explains how the notion of understanding customers in teacher education can be demonstrated by showing "understanding [of] students and their needs" (p. 27). Understanding student needs from this perspective serves the purpose of providing customer satisfaction, rather than the purpose of enhancing learning. In the *Quality assurance toolkit* one of the criteria standards states that staff must have positive attitudes towards learner-centredness *and* use this knowledge to effectively and efficiently direct them to student support services. This is shown in the following passage:

> **Criteria Standard**
>
> 7.13 Staff are trained and have a positive attitude towards learner-centred provisions and effectively and efficiently handle the learner-support services. (Rama & Hope, 2009, p. 77)

Because these two notions are presented together in the same criterion, it appears that this positive attitude towards learner-centredness ensures that students have adequate support-services. Ensuring that these students *feel* supported creates the perception that their needs are being attended to, regardless of whether this support actually enhances their learning. Marketing a learner-centred programme that caters for individual learning needs sends the message that the learner is an important and valued customer. Individualised and independent learning are emphasised as a way of catering for these individual needs. One example of this is shown in the *Quality assurance toolkit: Distance Higher Education Institutions and Programmes*

Criteria Standard

7.10 Learner support emphasises the development of independent learning skills.

Performance Indicator

7.10.2 There is appropriate guidance and support structures empowering the learners to acquire the skills for independent learning.

(Rama & Hope, 2009, p. 76)

Here we see that it is considered to be the role of learner-support to emphasise the development of independence in students' learning. While these skills are valuable and are certainly important in teacher education, it also emphasises a subtle but important shift in the nature of learning and teaching. By promoting independent and individualised learning and by using open education to facilitate this independence, the need for a teacher is effectively removed. This is alluded to in the *Quality assurance toolkit for teacher education institutions,* where Lakshmi et al. (2007) point out that this digital age has changed the nature of the role of the teacher.

> For instance, *the expected changes in the roles of teachers and students* [emphasis added] may be difficult with both parties, who are more comfortable with conventional teacher-centered methods. (Lakshmi et al., 2007, p. 18)

Interestingly, they draw attention to the possible resistance that might be met by this change. Furthermore, they reposition the blame on teachers and students who, they maintain, are stuck in traditional methods of teaching.

Removing the teacher and emphasising independent learning eliminates the need for the state to be the only provider of teacher education. This positions teacher education to be decentralised to open education providers, including the private sector and providers located outside national borders. In the foreword of the *Quality assurance toolkit: Distance higher education institutions and programmes*, specific attention is given to the promotion of private public partnerships:

> The Project aims at modernizing the post-secondary education system in the country [Sri Lanka], especially *through the enhancement of on-line distance education and promotion of public-private partnerships to reduce pressure*

on public sector enrollment [emphasis added] through the establishment of National On-Line Distance Education Network linked to a number of Access Centres with high bandwidth spread across the country (Rama & Hope, 2009, p. ix)

Even more interesting is that the same documents consider public-private partnerships as an indicator of quality in distance education:

Criteria Standard

1.13 The institution has a stated policy on partnerships and collaborations.

Performance Indicator

1.13.1 The institution has a clearly identified policy that provides the basis for collaborative relationships and partnerships *involving public – private - governmental and non-governmental agencies for the development and delivery of quality programmes* [emphasis added].

1.13.2 There are specified criteria for establishing collaborations and partnerships and for monitoring and evaluating their effectiveness with reference to defined performance indicators.

(Rama & Hope, 2009, p. 24)

These examples show that private-public partnerships are promoted in higher education and distance education programmes, with open education used as a vehicle to aid access. While it is acknowledged that the private sector is diverse and caters for non-state actors, such as NGO's as well as private corporations, these examples demonstrate that non-state partnerships are considered to be an indicator of educational quality. This reveals that open education provides access for the private sector to increase its involvement in teacher education and ultimately contribute to the decentralisation of education in low-income countries. This is where the neoliberal agenda can be seen quietly working through these independent, individualised and learner-centred open education programmes. It is here that the distributive rule is at work by creating, producing and distributing pedagogic discourse to serve the governance purposes of this neoliberal agenda. This analysis of the distributive rule has shown how this learner-centric adaptation of LCE works to legitimate a new kind of learner that requires individualised and independent programmes of instruction. Considering how this learner-centric adaptation of LCE is reproduced at the macro (policy) and micro (curricular) levels also needs to be examined. Bernstein's recontextualisation rule provides a useful analytic tool to carry out such investigation.

6.2   Recontextualising rule: Pedagogic discourse

Bernstein's (2000a) notion of recontextualisation incites an examination of the contested nature of pedagogic discourse by actors with competing interests. Sriprakash (2011) observes that Bernstein's concept of recontextualisation "encourages us to think about the ways in which pedagogic discourses are produced or constituted through the relocation, refocus and relation of other discourses" (p. 524). In other words, this notion of recontextualisation considers how pedagogic discourse transforms as it moves between fields and contexts and the role that actors play in both shaping and reshaping this pedagogic discourse through their own interrelationships with each other and with these fields. Bernstein's recontextualisation rule facilitates an examination of how pedagogic discourses are created by aligning instructional codes, such as the sequence, pace and evaluation of knowledge, to social practices.

Bernstein asserts that pedagogic recontextualisation occurs in different fields where the movement of various actors from differing social and political fields establish the creation and flow of educational discourses (Bernstein, 2000b). These actors, with their recontextualising functions and practising ideologies, create specific pedagogic discourse within this recontextualising field. Bernstein identifies two types of recontextualising fields: the *official recontextualising field* (official field)*, which is governed by the state and state officials, and the *pedagogic recontextualising field* (pedagogic field) which comprises of teachers, educators and researchers operating in schools, education departments, private research establishments and journals. Bernstein took particular interest in understanding how discourses move between these fields and how shifting relationships within and between these fields redevelop and recontextualise this discourse. However, Sriprakash (2012) suggests that it is better not to conceptualise these fields as separate or stable. Rather she advises that it is useful to consider the interrelationship of actors as they move between these fields as this offers an understanding of how actors shape, reshape and recontextualise pedagogic discourse.

The notion of recontextualisation is particularly significant to this study as it not only recognises the struggle over pedagogy in different fields, but it also acknowledges the politicisation of pedagogy and how this facilitates a struggle over social change (Sriprakash, 2012). Bernstein's notion of recontextualisation gives consideration to how LCE is reshaped

and re-interpreted as it moves between different fields and contexts within open education. Because of this, it provides a valuable tool for illuminating assumptions about the neutrality of pedagogy in open education and it serves as a reminder of the political, cultural and economic implications of pedagogy. This challenges researchers to "examine social relations through which pedagogic discourses are constituted and contested" (Sriprakash, 2012, p. 17). Figure 6.2 provides a visual overview of Bernstein's notion of recontextualisation and its application to this analytical process:
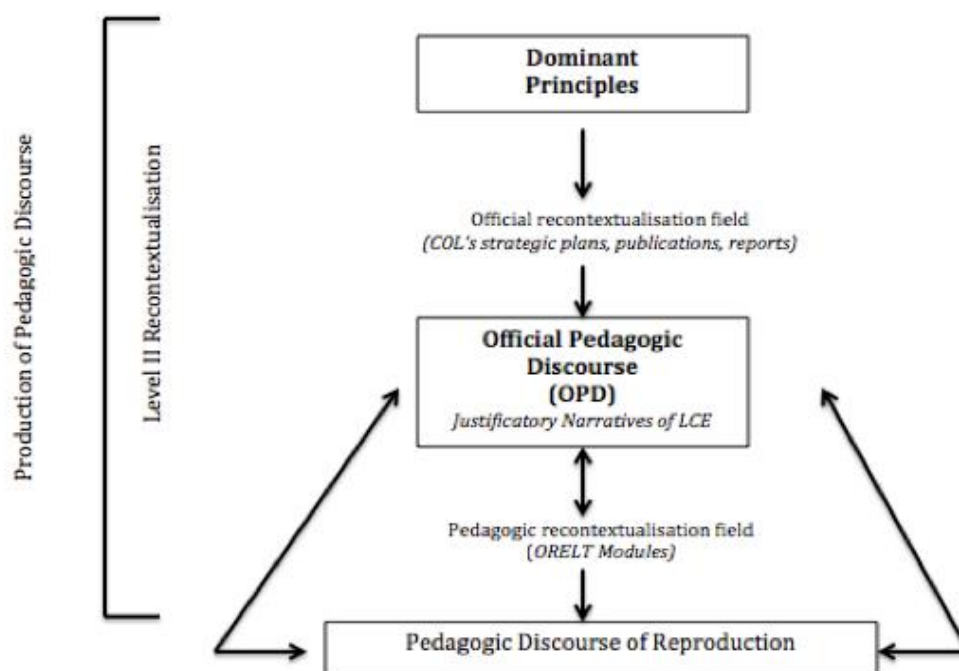
Bernstein's (1986) model of the production of pedagogic discourse. (Adapted from Morias & Neves, (2001)

Figure 6.2 **Bernstein's model of the production of pedagogic discourse.**

Figure 6.2 shows the relationship between the official field and the pedagogic field and how both of these fields influence the official pedagogic discourse. In this study, official pedagogic discourse is evidenced in the narratives that have justified the implementing of LCE into low-income countries through open education. Figure 6.2 shows how this contributes to the reproduction of pedagogic discourse. However, Bernstein explains that the official field tries to dominate the construction of pedagogic discourse by weakening the autonomy of the pedagogic field through a range of policy and evaluative measures. If the pedagogic field is successful in independently creating pedagogic discourse then this indicates that there has been a struggle within this field to gain autonomy to govern pedagogic practice and discourse. This struggle is at the heart of pedagogic discourse as it determines who has power to control social change.

6.3   Justificatory narratives for LCE

This understanding of recontextualisation provides a basis to examine the narratives that have been used to justify the implementation of LCE into low-income countries through open education. This section reports on the findings from a thematic analysis that has contrasted and compared Schweisfurth's (2013a) cognitive, emancipatory and preparatory narratives in COL's official field. This analysis uses Schweisfurth's (2013a) justificatory narratives as thematic descriptors to analyse themes within this official field(refer to Table 4.8 on page 103). The following sections examine each of these justificatory narratives separately.

6.3.1   Cognitive narrative

As chapters two and four explained, the cognitive narrative justifies the implementation of LCE based on the idea that having control over ones learning will lead to improved educational outcomes (Schweisfurth, 2013a). In order to determine the extent to which the cognitive narrative has justified the implementation of LCE in COL's official field, a thematic analysis was used to examine instances of the cognitive narrative in each of COL's strategic plans dating from 2000 to its most recent 2015–2021 strategic plan (refer to page 101 to revisit this process). Table 6.1 provides an overview of the key findings from this analysis:

Table 6.1 *Analysis of the 'Cognitive Narrative' in COL's Strategic Plans, 2000-2021*

	2000—2003 *A world of knowledge*	2003—2006 *Building capacity in ODL*	2006—2009 *Learning for Development*	2009—2012 *Learning for Development*	2012—2015 *Learning for Development*	2015—2021 *Learning for sustainable development*
Aims of strategic plan	There is a strong emphasis on access to and impartation of, knowledge, thus suggesting an underlying didactic approach to cognitive development (p. 17).	Continued focus on access to knowledge; however, it is noted that this access to knowledge will result in equality of educational outcome (p. 4).	There is a shift in discourse in this strategic plan from 'knowledge' to 'learning'.	Mission statement speaks to helping governments achieve quality of learning through the use of 'new approaches' and technologies (p. 21)	The vision for this strategic plan has shifted to promoting *learning* for development (p. 24). Thus, its mission statement is to help governments to *enhance* the quality of learning through ODL (p. 24).	This strategic plan has a clear focus on enhancing learning outcomes through learner-centric methodologies that are promoted by ODL (p. 20).
Focus on enhancing learning	No mention is made of how knowledge can enhance learning and educational outcomes.	There is an implied implicit link between knowledge and supporting cognitive development to enhance learning outcomes (p. 6).	Noted that human learning is the key to achieving the development agenda (p. 29)	It is noted that open schooling will increase learning opportunities for secondary students (p. 30—31).	This strategic plan notes that it will begin to evaluate the extent to which 'learning' has led to 'development' as a result of its programmes. This strategic plan coincided with the publishing of the ORELT modules.	There is a noted need that further research is needed to establish the link with technology-based learning. Thus, there is a focus on enhancing cognitive development through ODL and OER programmes (p. 19).
Quality teaching and learning	There is an implied alignment between quality and learner-centred approaches.	It is noted that this 'new approach to education and training can be transposed across the Commonwealth' (p. 13).	It is stated that quality training, quality resources and quality assurance systems will lead to quality outcomes (p. 30-31).	It is stated that unqualified teachers have a negative impact on student learning outcomes, and, therefore ODL in distance education will remedy this (p. 23).	Providing quality learning opportunities to secondary students and providing quality training for teachers is noted as a key strategy for achieving this vision (p. 24).	There is a clear focus on 'improving the quality of teaching and learning to ensure *positive* learning outcomes' (p. 14). This implies a focus on cognitive development.
LCE	LCE is mentioned in the context of the development of quality Gender Management Systems materials (p. 16). Noted that traditional approaches can't cope with new challenges facing the world (p. 1).	It is stated that the focus has shifted from impartation of knowledge to pedagogies that promote acquisition of skills and new knowledge (p. 9).	While there is no specific mention of LCE, it is noted that 'conventional methods' are not equipped to facilitate learning (p. 6).	No specific mention of LCE but talks of 'new approaches'.	A learner-centred pedagogical approach is assumed. A quote on p. 19 that argues that ODL supports a learner-centred approach.	Notes that ODL pedagogy needs to move beyond 'conventional methods' to support learners to be autonomous and self-directed. (p. 30). Thus, promoting lifelong learning.

Table 6.1 shows that enhancing learning has not been a strong reason for the implementation of "new pedagogical approaches" (Commonwealth of Learning, 2003b, p. 13). For example, the 2000–2003 and 2003–2006 plans initially focused on knowledge impartation with little regard given to whether such impartation would result in learning (Commonwealth of Learning, 2003a, 2003a). The 2006–2009 and the 2009–2012 strategic plans provided a distinct shift in focus from knowledge to learning. However, this emphasis on learning was ambiguous in the sense that quality training, quality resources and quality assurance was assumed to lead to learning. More recently, in the 2012–2015 strategic plan, quality became associated with learning and there was a shift to align this focus on learning to development outcomes. However, details around what learning consisted of and how learning would be assessed remained vague. This finding adds to the underlying message that has been consistent in the strategic plans from 2000–2015: that enhancing student learning has not been COL's reason for implementing LCE into low-income countries. As demonstrated shortly, this cognitive narrative resided as a background voice to the other justificatory narratives that gained dominance during this period.

However, the recent shift from access to learning in the 2015–2021 strategic plans is notable as it places a much stronger emphasis on enhancing learning outcomes. It also identifes the urgent need to research learning in technology-based open education platforms. However, it is important to note that COL's increased emphasis on learning hasn't occurred in isolation — it needs to be understood within the broader context of the Global Education Agenda. As chapter five discussed, this increased emphasis on learning outcomes aligns with the shifting focus in the international community which has placed greater emphasis on the assessment of learning rather than simply access to learning. This demonstrates how COL's strategic actions in its official field are influenced and shaped by key actor and global policies in the field of global education. Alongside this historical analysis of COL's strategic plans, this thematic analysis has examined the cognitive narrative in key COL documents. A selection of documents from COL's official field are presented in Table 6.2 (refer to page 101 for a description of this selection and analysis process).

Table 6.2 *Analysis of the 'Cognitive Narrative' in COL's Official Recontextualisation Field*

	COL's Website	COL's Governance Manual (2015)	COL's Report on Twenty Years of Progress (2007)	COL's Teacher Education through Open and Distance Learning (2010)	COL's Anthology of Best Practice in Teacher Education (2007)	Speeches by Key COL Staff
Aims/Purpose	COL's mission is to help governments expand the scale, efficiency and quality of learning by using appropriate technologies, particularly those that support "open and distance learning" (ODL). *(Overview of COLs programmes).*	COL's purpose is noted to 'create and widen access *to opportunities for learning.* (p. 2) COL's educational philosophy notes that 'learning is necessary for human survival' (p. 37).	COL's purpose is noted to 'create and widen access *to opportunities for learning.* (p. 2)/	Umar and Danaher (2010) note that this publication interrogates 'the pressures on, and the possibilities of, teacher education through ODL that can generate long-term and sustainable outcomes for learners (p. 1).	Notes that it is anticipated that this publication will provide 'good support to policymakers and practitioners across the Commonwealth' (p. iii). This anthology is part of establishing a quality culture in teacher education (p. iii)	Kanwar (2015) reinforces that COL harnesses potential of distance learning for expanding access to education and training (Beijing, China, 10 Oct).
Focus on enhancing learning	Notes that ODL increases learning opportunities. *(Overview of Education programmes).*	No explicit mention.	Notes that ODL will bring 'quality learning opportunities' (p. 3) but no mention of enhanced learning.	Mayes and Burgess (2010) conclude that ODL can result in improved learning gains (p. 41)	Notes that learning is meaningful and authentic because it is situated (p. 16) Notes that evaluation of student learning is more effective through ICT (p. 47).	Daniel (2006) notes that 'traditional approaches are not up to the task' of expanding learning. (Jamaica, 31 Oct). Kanwar (2015) notes that there must be a blended approach – mix of online and face-to-face learning to have a positive impact on learning outcomes (Malta, 25 November).
Quality teaching and learning	Enhancing the quality of teaching through ODL is evident in all 'levels' of COLs educational involvement. *(Overview of Education programmes)* "COL is building the capacity of their teacher training systems so that it can enhance teachers' quality, performance and effectiveness." *(Teacher Education).*	Notes that COL's 'branding' must create an image of a global leader in innovative ODL implementation. There is no mention of the link between ODL and learning.	Notes that ICT and ODL can bring 'quality learning opportunities to all Commonwealth citizens' (p. 3). The report details how COL has worked to enhance quality.	Simpson and Kehrwald (2010) draw attention to the tension in distance education and quality (p. 28). They note that the quality of teacher education programmes can equal or better place-based programmes (p. 30).	Student-centred study system are advocated to enhance teacher quality by promoting reflective practice (p .14-15). Argues that ICT will improve classroom teaching (p. 74).	Daniel (2006) argues that classrooms are not the benchmark for learning as poor people in rural areas are 'open to learning in different ways' (Jamaica, 31 Oct). Kanwar (2015) notes that OER can improve the quality of education (Malta, 28 November).

	COL's Website	COL's Governance Manual (2015)	COL's Report on Twenty Years of Progress (2007)	COL's Teacher Education through Open and Distance Learning (2010)	COL's Anthology of Best Practice in Teacher Education (2007)	Speeches by Key COL Staff
LCE	LCE underpins COL's UNICEF/COL Child Friendly Schools initiative. (*Overview of Child Friendly Schools*).	COL's education philosophy states that education should include 'training and skills necessary to perform specific tasks and the development of critical thinking, problem solving, creativity that enables the learner to deepen understanding and use knowledge wisely' (p. 37).	Notes that 'traditional teaching methods cannot cope with the scale and diversity of learning needs, but rapidly evolving information technologies and media can bring quality learning opportunities to all Commonwealth citizens" (p. 3).	ICTs noted to be effectively utilised to train teachers and involve teachers in the experience of learner-centred pedagogy (Latchem, 2010, p. 83).	Notes that ODL supports collaborative learning and critical reflection (p. 36). Notes that the case studies demonstrate a totally learner-centred approach to teacher education (p. 21). States that: A learner centric approach has emerged as a feasible alternative in pre-service teacher education (p. 27.) Also suggests that ODL will encourage a 'change in roles' for teachers and students as opposed to a conventional teacher-centred method (p. 18).	Daniel and Menon (2005) note that ODL is a more learner-centred approach with options for greater interaction between learners and resource materials, tutors and lecturers or teachers. (Botswana) Daniel (2006) states that 'All open and distance learning now places increasing emphasis on active learning – on the construction of knowledge by the student (Jamaica, 31 Oct). Kanwar (2014) observed that ' we can see the shift to learner centric approaches, and the view that learning can take place in a variety of settings and contexts (Malaysia, November). Kanwar (2015) asks 'what implications have OER had for pedagogy?' She notes interaction with content and online networks lead to 'connectivism' and that the learners role shifts from being a consumer to a producer of content (China, 10 October).

COL's governance manual provides one of the few places in the official field where cognitive development is specifically mentioned. In this manual COL's philosophy statement states that "learning is necessary for human survival" (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015h, p. 37). It indicates that COL supports the development of "critical thinking, problem solving and creativity that enables the learner to deepen understanding and use knowledge wisely" (p. 37). While this suggests that the cognitive narrative is fundamental to COL's objectives, COL's purpose statement diverges from this by placing value on *access* to learning opportunities rather than facilitating sustained learning. This signals that there is a conflicting emphasis on the cognitive narrative in COL's governance manual.

This inconsistent focus on cognitive development is also evident in other key document sources in COL's official field. COL's website places particular emphasis on the quality narrative by noting that COL's role in the capacity building of teacher training systems in low-income countries will enhance the quality, performance and effectiveness of teachers (Commonwealth of Learning, 2014d). However, this focus is based on external measures of teachers' performance with little mention of student learning. Because of this, the cognitive narrative is hidden within the notion of teacher quality. A similar assumption is seen in the *Commonwealth of Learning Twenty-year Report* (Commonwealth of Learning, 2007b). In this report it is assumed that digital technology will enhance learning. By noting that "traditional teaching methods cannot cope with the scale and diversity of learning needs" (p. 3), it suggests that "rapidly evolving information technologies and media can bring quality learning opportunities to all Commonwealth citizens" (p. 3). This assumes that access to learning opportunities will alone lead to cognitive development.

However, COL's publication titled *Teacher education through open and Distance Learning* (Danaher & Umar, 2010) presents a more balanced and informed perspective of learning within open education. This publication consists of a collection of research-informed chapters by authors working to facilitate ODL teacher education programmes around the world. It provides the opportunity for issues and practices to be interrogated and critiqued. While this publication suggests that ODL can facilitate teacher education and provide a platform for learning, the authors draw attention to the significant tensions in ensuring quality learning outcomes, particularly in cross-cultural educational settings. It concludes that learning through ODL is best achieved through a blended approach of face-to-face and online teaching. Despite

these recommendations being made in 2010, this point has recently been acknowledged by COL president Professor Asha Kanwar in a speech to the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting (CHOGM) in Malta in 2015 (Kanwar, 2015a). This reflects COL's gradual shift, particularly in the latest 2015—2021 strategic plan, to acknowledge and place greater value on this cognitive narrative.

What is clearly evident in this analysis is that LCE is given explicit attention within this official field. Learner-centred pedagogy is repeatedly referred to in the speeches of key COL staff over the past ten years. Daniel (2006) speaks of ODL promoting active learning while in an earlier speech (Daniel & Menon, 2005), ODL is advocated to support a learner-centred approach because it presents opportunities for online interaction with resource materials, lecturers and other online learners. More recently, president Asha Kanwar advocates that OER encourage connectivism which facilitates a learner-centric experience (Kanwar, 2015b). This finding is of particular interest to this research, given that COL's strategic plans only implicitly refer to LCE. This reveals that the implementation of LCE through open education has been given explicit attention by key COL staff in the official field and draws attention to the assumption that this learner-centric adaptation of LCE will lead to learning.

To summarise, this analysis of the cognitive narrative in COL's official field has identified a recent shift towards acknowledging the importance of enhancing learning outcomes through learner-centred open education. However, despite this more recent change, this analysis reveals that the cognitive narrative has historically been given little emphasis within COL's official pedagogic discourse. As demonstrated shortly, this narrative has taken a backseat to the emancipatory and preparatory narratives that have gained greater traction within this pedagogic space.

6.3.2   Emancipatory narrative

The emancipatory narrative moves beyond concerns for the effectiveness of learning to how the outcomes of learning, skills and social development transform society (Schweisfurth, 2013a). To understand how this emancipatory narrative is evident in the COL's programmes and policies, this analysis begins by examining the official field through an analysis of COL's

official documents. As outlined in Table 4.8 (refer to page 103), this thematic analysis sought to understand the extent to which sub-themes of 'rights to educational access', 'democracy' and the 'promotion of critical and creative thinking' were evident in the COL's strategic plans from the period 2000 through to 2021. Table 6.3 (refer to page 172) presents a historical analysis of the emancipatory narrative in COL's strategic plans. Table 6.4 (refer to page 174) details findings from a thematic analysis of key documents within this official field.

Table 6.3 *Analysis of the 'Emancipatory Narrative' in COL's Strategic Plans, 2000—2021*

	2000—2003 *A world of knowledge*	2003—2006 *Building capacity in ODL*	2006—2009 *Learning for Development*	2009—2012 *Learning for Development*	2012—2015 *Learning for Development*	2015—2021 *Learning for sustainable development*
Emancipatory 'promise' of education	Argues, "education remains the most effective strategy in the struggle against poverty, misery and violence" (p. 7).	Knowledge is seen as a key to social and cultural development (p. 6) and COL is committed to supporting Commonwealth governments to take advantage of ODL to 'provide increased and equitable access to education and training for all their citizens' (p. 6).	COL bases this strategic plan on Amartya Sen's – development as freedom (p. 5). Notes that 'increasing and improving human learning' is central to achieving the development agenda (p. 29).	COL aligns work with thinking of Amartya Sen by increasing freedoms as a measurement of development. Freedom is believed to be obtained by the acquisition of knowledge. Free people are argued to be the drivers of development. (p. 14).	Notes the pursuits of freedoms as a way of ensuring people are 'effective agents of development' (p. 6). Empowering people to take responsibility for their lives and community is a central emphasis.	Key emphasis on empowerment and empowering citizens to take responsibility for themselves and for their communities. Focus on education to enhance social development.
Focus on education as a 'right'	ODL programmes for NGOs are noted to ensure that 'their staff can become better equipped to provide their clientele with opportunities to become productive, contributing citizens through their vital work as a part of the international humanitarian effort (p. 34).	COL's focus on providing access to knowledge via ODL aligns with EFA and MDGs commitment to ensuring children's rights to an education. It is argued that training teachers enhances the capacity for countries to provide 'quality' education for students (p. 12).	Notes that COL's mandate aligns with the MDGs and EFA Goals in ensuring children's rights to a quality education. (p. 5) Argues that COL has given 'millions of people new opportunities to learn' (p. 6).	Notes the alignment with EFA and MDGs as a way of pursuing development and the rights to an education (p. 14).	Aligns with the EFA and MDG goals of ensuring that children have the right to a quality education. COL focuses on enhancing quality of teaching as a way to achieve this objective.	Noted need to teach values, knowledge and skills for sustainable development. Notes that COLs programmes are targeted to ensure gender equality and equitable outcomes for all through improving learning outcomes through ODL (p. 20).
Critical and creative thinking	No mention	No mention	No mention	No mention	Quote from the governance manual is included which acknowledges the importance of critical thinking, problem solving and creative thinking in order to use knowledge wisely (p. 39).	No mention

	2000—2003 *A world of knowledge*	2003—2006 *Building capacity in ODL*	2006—2009 *Learning for Development*	2009—2012 *Learning for Development*	2012—2015 *Learning for Development*	2015—2021 *Learning for sustainable development*
Democracy	No mention	No mention	Notes that COL's strategic plans, aims and objectives align with the Commonwealth objectives of peace, democracy, equality and good governance (p. 5-6) . Notes that the development, adaptation and training of ODL materials serves the purpose of strengthening democracy and good governance through the education system (p. 36).	No specific mention but notes that COL works to cultivate Commonwealth values of respect and understanding (p. 14).	Notes that COL adheres to the Commonwealth objectives of peace, democracy, equality, and good governance (p. 9).	Noted alignment with Commonwealth objectives of peace, equality democracy and good governance (p. 9). Learning must lead to ability to live together in harmony as global citizens.
LCE	Notes that COL continues to play a critical role as a catalyst for empowerment through ODL (p. 7). Notes that conventional and traditional teaching methods can't provide the right to access to education and thus ODL is the 'answer' to this basic human right.	It is stated that the focus has shifted from impartation of knowledge to pedagogies that promote acquisition of skills and new knowledge (p. 9). Such 'new approach' is argued to support the development of 'life skills to liberate those considered to be at 'high risk' of poverty.	Notes that conventional teaching methods cannot cope with expanding human learning which is essential in providing access to 'the royal road to freedom' (p. 6).	No specific mention of LCE but talks of need for new approaches for conventional teacher training institutions to ensure pursuit of freedoms (p. 24).	A quote on p. 19 that argues that ODL supports a learner-centred approach and there is an underpinning assumption that these 'new approaches' will lead to increased freedoms.	Notes that pedagogy needs to move beyond 'conventional methods' to support learners to be autonomous and self-directed. (p. 30). By targeting such ODL programmes to marginalised peoples such as women and youth this will promote lifelong learning and sustainable livelihoods.

Table 6.4 *Analysis of the 'Emancipatory Narrative' in COL's Official Recontextualising Field*

	COL's Website	COL's Governance Manual (2015)	COL's Report on Twenty Years of Progress (2007)	COL's Teacher Education through Open and Distance Learning (2010)	COL's Anthology of Best Practice in Teacher Education (2007)	Speeches by Key COL Staff
Emancipatory 'promise' of education	Notes that open schooling is recognised as a viable solution for providing equitable secondary school education, particularly for girls and those marginalised in remote locations *(Overview of education programmes).*	No mention.	Notes that "COL works to create a learning Commonwealth, a Commonwealth in which learning is the high road to greater freedom and a better life for all citizens" (p. 2).	Mayes and Burgess (2010) note that ODL can be used to train teachers in remote geographical localities (p. 37).	Notes that ODL will ensure that students in remote, rural and marginalised communities will achieve access to education (p. 103).	Daniel (2007) described freedom as 'the freedom to be treated as an equal to other members of society... There is the freedom to be educated; the freedom to choose who governs you; the freedom to express yourself' (Guyana). Daniels (2006) also notes that ODL is essential for providing education to marginalised students that conventional teaching cannot cater for (Jamaica).
Focus on education as a 'right'	COL is committed to supporting MDGs through addressing inadequate access to education and insufficient supply of qualified teachers. ODL is considered to be the 'only way' to adequately train vast numbers of teachers needed to achieve MDG goals. *(Meeting demands of teacher education).*	No mention	Notes that open schooling increases access to schooling for girls, women and other disadvantaged groups (p. 12). Notes that learning is the key to achieving the MDGs and EFA goals (p. 2). Notes that Heads of Government reaffirmed commitment to respect for human rights and freedoms (p. 14).	Mayes and Burgess (2010) argue that ODL can support the achievement of the ambitious MDG goals by enabling more teachers to be trained (p. 43).	Access to education via ODL will ensure the MDG are achieved (p. 103).	Daniels (2006) notes that COL supports the MDGs, EFA and Commonwealth goals to ensure equality, peace and right to an education (2006, Canada). Daniel (2006) notes that ODL must 'move beyond itself and develop formulae for addressing gender inequalities in education' (Jamaica).

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	COL's Website	COL's Governance Manual (2015)	COL's Report on Twenty Years of Progress (2007)	COL's Teacher Education through Open and Distance Learning (2010)	COL's Anthology of Best Practice in Teacher Education (2007)	Speeches by Key COL Staff
Critical and creative thinking	No mention	The COL philosophy states of the importance to enhance critical and creative thinking, adaptability and problem solving (p. 37).	No mention	Postle and Tyler (2010) suggest that ODL can promote critical dialogue with peers (p. 71) Danaher (2010) affirms that students need to think critically after leaving school (p. 95).	Suggests that ODL encourages critical reflection. Notes that students who have been subjected to teacher-centred pedagogy are unable to engage in decision-making.	No specific mention
Democracy	No mention	No mention	Notes that learning is key to achieving Commonwealth goals of peace, democracy, equality and good governance (p. 2).	No mention	No mention	Daniel (2007) notes that 'learning on a massive scale is the primary route to … the adoption of these values [peace, equity, democracy and good governance' (Georgetown, Guyana). Daniels (2006) argues that using ICT to strengthen democracy must start from having strong democratic values (Ocho Rios, Jamaica). Kanwar (2014) argues that open access supports democracy as 'it involves equalising of opportunities, opening of access, freedom of choice and a fair chance of success' (Malaysia).

Table 6.3 shows that the emancipatory narrative is evident throughout each of COL's strategic plans from 2000 – 2021. A consistent theme throughout these strategic plans is the strong alignment between access to knowledge and freedom. In other words, it is advocated that, by providing access to knowledge via its various open education programmes, COL's programmes will provide teachers and students with freedom from "poverty, misery and violence" (Commonwealth of Learning, 2003a, p. 7). Table 6.4 reveals that a similar finding is evident in the speeches of past COL president, Sir John Daniel. Daniel describes freedom as "the freedom to be treated as an equal to other members of society ... the freedom to be educated; the freedom to choose who governs you; the freedom to express yourself" (Commonwealth of Learning, 2008b). This thought is also reiterated in the *Commonwealth of Learning Twenty Year Progress Report* (Commonwealth of Learning, 2007b) where it is stated "that learning is the high road to greater freedom and a better life for all citizens" (p. 2). These examples demonstrate that freedom is strongly aligned with education. COL's alliance with Amartya Sen's notion of development as freedom (Sen, 1999) in the 2006–2015 strategic plans (Commonwealth of Learning, 2006a, 2009a, 2012a) embraces this emancipatory promise by training teachers in new teaching methods as a way of empowering citizens in low-income countries. Such approach is considered to bring freedom by empowering students to take responsibility for themselves and their community. This emancipatory promise is used to create strong justification for the implementation of open education programmes into low-income countries.

The human rights narrative is another aspect of emancipation that remains persistent in COL's official field. COL's most recent strategic plan (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015f) justifies the implementation of learner-centred approaches as a human right, arguing that it provides the best educational means to achieve these sustainable and equitable educational outcomes for all students. COL's website reiterates this by explaining that open education is the only way to train the vast number of teachers needed to achieve the MDGs (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015j).

This emancipatory narrative is also evident in this official field in the way that LCE is considered to enhance critical and creative thinking. As chapter four explained, supporting the development of critical thinking is believed to achieve liberation, emancipation and freedom (Freire, 1972). Despite this, this analysis shows that developing critical thinking is only explicitly stated in COL's governance manual. In this instance, it acknowledges the importance of enhancing "critical and creative thinking, adaptability and problem solving" (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015h, p. 37). Apart from this explicit reference to critical thinking in this philosophy statement, the importance of enhancing critical thinking is seldom spoken of in the official pedagogic discourse. Therefore, critical thinking is not used to justify the implementation of LCE into Commonwealth countries.

A final point of interest from this analysis is the increased focus on democracy. Democracy seeks to provide voice to citizens and it speaks to the right to be heard. In this analysis, democracy fails to feature from 2000–2006; however, it emerges in the 2006–2009 strategic plan in alignment with the Commonwealth's goals of "peace, equality, democracy and good governance" (Commonwealth of Learning, 2006a, pp. 5–6). It notes that COL's training materials have been adjusted to strengthen democracy and good governance through the education system. This focus on democracy continues to be evident in the 2009, 2012 and the recent 2015 strategic plans (Commonwealth of Learning, 2009a, 2012a, 2015f). Interestingly, while democracy has limited appearance in other document sources within this official field, it is given specific attention in speeches made by key COL staff (refer to Table 6.4 on page 174). More recently, COL president Professor Asha Kanwar suggested that open access supports democracy as "it involves equalising of opportunities, opening of access, freedom of choice and a fair chance of success" (Kanwar, 2014). This suggests that it is important for COL to publically show that it is actively supporting the advancement of democracy. To summarise, this analysis of COL's official field has revealed that notions of freedom and democracy have been used to justify the implementation of LCE through open education.

6.3.3   Preparation narrative

The preparatory narrative is 'economically driven' and seeks to justify the implementation of LCE based on the belief that LCE will develop an educated workforce that is responsive to change, innovation and economic productivity (Schweisfurth, 2013a). This final thematic analysis examines COL's official documents to determine the extent to which themes such as 'human capital' and 'knowledge economy' are evident in justifying the implementation of LCE in the 'official field'. Table 6.5 (refer to page 179) provides a historical analysis of the preparation narrative in COL's strategic plans while Table 6.6 (refer to page 180) provides an analysis of the preparation narrative in selected key documents:

Table 6.5 *Analysis of the 'Preparation Narrative' in COL's Strategic Plans, 2000–2021*

	2000–2003 *A world of knowledge*	2003–2006 *Building capacity in ODL*	2006–2009 *Learning for Development*	2009–2012 *Learning for Development*	2012–2015 *Learning for Development*	2015–2021 *Learning for sustainable development*
Alignment of strategic plan with preparation narrative	Access to knowledge is the key to economic development (p. 2).	This plan aims to show how ODL can strengthen the system of continuing education and professional development, as well as entrepreneurship (p. 8).	Notes that COL's programme initiatives provide access to education throughout the Commonwealth to promote economic development and freedom through improved livelihoods (p. 59).	Refers to 'Learning is our Common Wealth'. Notes that governments need to make human resource development as 'cost effective as possible'. ODL provides an answer to this challenge (p. 3).	Notes that ODL programmes 'enhance skills, share knowledge and develop new economic opportunities (p. 11).	Focus has shifted to learning for sustainable growth with a focus on education to enhance sustainable economic growth (p. 4).
Human Capital	The development of human capital through education is seen as a key to poverty reduction (p.19).	COL notes that human capital is overtaking other economic inputs in importance. COL argues that this adds 'urgency to the challenge' of providing access to education (p. 4).	Learning is associated with economic productivity (p. 22).	Notes that 'useful work' enables citizens to contribute to their community. ODL is argued to prepare students for this 'useful work' (p. 14). States that human capital is one of COL's greatest assets (p. 46).	Human resource development in the Commonwealth is one of three strategic goals (p. 11).	ODL is argued as a viable means for promoting human resources and achieving economic development (p. 15 and 29). Focus on strengthening human capital through quality learning (p. 3).
Knowledge Economy	ICT is noted as important for the development of the knowledge economy (p. 19).	Knowledge is seen as a commodity (p. 8) and COL argues that ODL can strengthen the deployment of this commodity into low-income countries (p. 8).	Flexible options for professional development are noted to be essential to ensure the workforce keeps up with the required change for economic growth (p. 22).	ICTs are used to exploit economic opportunity (p. 5). Notes that the global downturn requires people to 'learn their way to new livelihoods' (p. 9).	Sharing of knowledge is aligned with providing economic opportunities (p. 5). Acquiring knowledge aligned to economic productivity (p. 24).	Enhancing knowledge of 'new skills' and ICTs is considered essential in achieving goal of sustainable economic development (p. 29).
LCE	Conventional teaching methods are unable to rectify the economic needs of citizens in low-income countries of the Commonwealth (p. 7)	Argues that conventional teaching is failing. ODL is argued to provide a cost-effective answer to provide 'new approaches' to teaching and learning. (p. 4)	Noted that 'conventional teaching methods can't cope with challenge'. ODL is noted as the key to success (p. 6)	Notes that incomes, livelihoods and the economic opportunities of communities are improved through ODL and new approaches (p. 31)	Access to education and training through ODL methodologies is argued to lead to economically productive lives (p. 4)	New economies and ICT revolution are demanding 'new skills' and the need to refine 'traditional' skills and knowledge (p. 29) to support learners who are 'autonomous, self-directed and technology-adept' (p. 30).

Table 6.6 *Analysis of the 'Preparation Narrative' in COL's Official Recontextualisation Field*

	COL's Website	COL's Governance Manual (2015)	COL's Report on Twenty Years of Progress (2007)	COL's Teacher Education through Open and Distance Learning (2010)	COL's Anthology of Best Practice in Teacher Education (2007)	Speeches by Key COL Staff
Alignment of with preparation narrative	Clear focus on ODL and ICT in all teacher education initiatives. Rationale given – cost effective and can work to enhance quality. *(Overview of Teacher Education)*	Preparing learners for economic enhancement is implied.	Notes that it makes access to schooling flexible and cost-effective (p. 12).	Harreveld (2010) explains that utilising ODL for teacher education is responsive to the economic forces affecting employment (p. 47).	No mention	Daniel (2006) notes that learning is the key to reducing poverty (Jamaica) Kanwar and Ferrara (2015) emphasise the links between secondary education and economic growth (The Bahamas).
Human Capital	Views education as human capital to enhance human development. COL views ODL and ICT as an important aspect of human capital development. *(Overview of COL's programme)*	Explains that "COL's activities will aim to strengthen member countries' capacities to develop the human resources required for their economic and social development..." (p. 2).	Reinforces that COL's activities will aim to strengthen member countries' capacities to develop the human resources required for their economic development (p. 3).	Access to ODL for the purposes of teacher education is said to enhance greater access to education.	Notes that ODL is an economically viable way of enhancing human capital (p. 34).	Kanwar (2015) notes that COL believes that learning must lead to economic growth (Malta). Kanwar (2015) ascertains that OER enables governments to 'cut costs' (China).
Knowledge Economy	ODL is implied to promote lifelong learning and this is noted to enhance human development. *(Overview of education programmes)*	The philosophy statement states that students should be taught to use knowledge wisely (p. 37). Implied use of knowledge for economic enhancement.	States that knowledge is essential for development (p. 16). Notes that engagement with ICT will help to bridge the 'digital divide' and prepare students to participate in the knowledge economy (p. 22-23).	Postle and Tyler (2010) present a model of e-learning within teacher education that is said to support the purposes of the knowledge economy.	Notes that integrating ICT prepares 'technically and educationally sound instructional designers for the emerging e-learning industry' (p. 48).	Kanwar (2014, November) notes the discrepancy between the job market and what is taught in schools and universities (Malaysia). Noted shift over time from knowledge for development to learning for development.
LCE	No specific mention although implied the in implementation of ODL and this is advocated to enhance access to lifelong learning.	Philosophy notes of the importance to enhance critical and creative thinking, adaptability and problem solving (p. 37).	Notes that sustainable development requires people to 'develop skills and values to change their behaviour' (p. 14). And it notes that 'this cannot be achieved through formal classroom teaching alone' (p. 14) and it must involve ODL.	Simpson & Kehrwald (2010) argue that the change in the global economy and global marketplace has changed the 'type' of student entering pre-service teacher education. Agues that ODL caters for this type of learner through its flexible approach (p. 26).	Notes that ODL establishes 'best practice' in teaching and learning by promoting learning by doing, problem-solving, situated learning, scaffolding of learning and authentic assessment tasks… while students are supported with various resources including information and ICTs.	Kanwar (2015) notes that Individual accessibility to OER and ODL foster self directed learning so reduces cost of 'bricks and mortar' (China).

Table 6.5 and Table 6.6 reveal a consistently strong and persistent emphasis on this preparation narrative throughout each of COL's strategic plans, key reports, publications, speeches and websites. Because of this, the implementation of LCE through open education is convincingly justified on economic terms. For example, it is argued that a learner-centred open education programme facilitates autonomy, self-direction and also the ICT skills that are necessary for Commonwealth citizens in low-income countries to achieve sustainable livelihoods and economic opportunities (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015f). More recently, COL president Professor Asha Kanwar noted that the individual accessibility to open education fosters self-directed learning, thus reducing the cost of 'bricks and mortar' (Kanwar, 2015c). This suggests that facilitating 'self directed learners' serves the important purpose of reducing costs by eradicating the need for classrooms, schools, textbooks and even teachers. Similarly, the 2000–2003 strategic plan (Commonwealth of Learning, 2003a) claimed that conventional teaching methods are ill-equipped for supporting the development of necessary skills and ICT capabilities that are essential for gaining access to the knowledge economy. Open education is therefore presented as the most economically viable and effective platform to prepare citizens to successfully compete in the knowledge economy.

The alignment of open education with human capital development and poverty reduction is a message that is emphasised throughout each of the strategic plans. COL's facilitation of learner-centredness through open education is argued to be central to developing the human capital in low-income countries. For example, COL's *Twenty Years of Progress* (Commonwealth of Learning, 2007b) report reinforces that COL's activities will aim to strengthen member countries' capacities to develop the human resources required for their economic development (p. 3). This is followed by a shift in the 2009–2012 strategic plan, which saw learning referred to as "our Common *Wealth*" [emphasis added] (Commonwealth of Learning, 2009a, p. 8). This aptly accentuates how strong this preparation narrative has been in successfully justifying COL's implementation of LCE through open education for the purposes of enhancing wealth.

6.3.4   Summary of the justificatory narratives

This analysis of Schweisfurth's (2013a) justificatory narratives has considered how the cognitive, emancipatory and preparatory narratives have each been justified in COL's *official recontextualisation field.* Table 6.7 provides an overview of these findings. A weak narrative (N-) has been used to indicate instances where a justificatory narrative has minimal presence in COL's official field and, accordingly, a positive narrative (N+) demonstrates when this narrative has a strong presence in this field.

Table 6.7 *Summary of LCE's Justificatory Narratives*

	Official Recontextualisation Field **COL's official documents**
Cognitive Narrative	Weak Narrative (N-)
Emancipation Narrative	Strong Narrative (N+)
Preparation Narrative	Strong Narrative (N+)

This analysis shows that the emancipation and preparation narratives are strongly supported in COL's official field and have been used to justify the widespread implementation of LCE through open education. On the other hand, the cognitive narrative is reflected weakly in COL's official field. This suggests that, until very recently, the implementation of LCE through open education has not been justified on the basis of cognitive development. This indicates that enhancing economic outcomes and democracy has supported the widespread implementation of LCE and has taken precedence over enhancing learning outcomes.

This finding demonstrates how political and economic objectives are favoured in this official field. What it also reveals is how LCE is recontextualised within this official field to achieve a multiplicity of meanings that serve political and economic agendas.

This learner-centric adaptation of LCE appears to gain traction as a legitimate pedagogical device as it aligns with this recontextualised pedagogic discourse in the official field. When considered in relation to the findings in chapter five, which showed how neoliberal globalisation works as a political and economic project within the global field of education, this chapter has shown how COL has used recontextualised pedagogic discourse to strategically respond to these wider political and economic objectives. This appears to affirm Biraimah (2008) and Tabulawa's (2003) concerns that LCE is seen as an agent for the promotion of democracy in the official field. This shows how pedagogy has been politicised to facilitate a struggle over social change and also how COL's strategic responses have reproduced neoliberal ideologies within its own programmes and policies. This finding is significant to this study and will be revisited in chapter eight when considered in relation to the analysis of COL's pedagogic field.

6.4 Evaluative Rules

The remaining section in this chapter returns to an examination of the pedagogic device by considering Bernstein's (2000a) evaluative rule. The evaluative rule provides a way to understand how COL regulates thinkable pedagogical practices within the open education context. Bernstein (2000a) explains that this evaluative rule is responsible for regulating pedagogic practice through defining standards, the content that is transmitted, the form of transmission and the way that this knowledge is distributed to different groups in different contexts. Bernstein explains that a series of three transformations take place to enable discourse to be transformed into classroom practice. These transformations bring *time* (acquisition), *content* (evaluation) and *space* (transmission) into a relationship with each other. This first transformation (Level 1) is the most abstract in nature and, as Bernstein suggests, the meaning of pedagogic discourse is condensed through time and space, which has implications at the cognitive, social and cultural level. Figure 6.3 illustrates this:

LEVEL 1

PEDAGOGIC
DISCOURSE

TIME ⟷ TEXT ⟷ SPACE

(Adapted from Bernstein, 2000, p. 35)
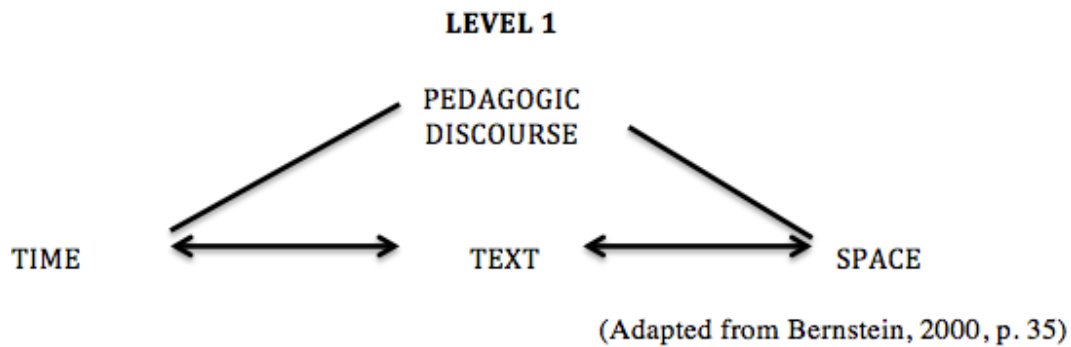
Figure 6.3 **Level 1**

As chapter seven will soon demonstrate through a more rigorous analysis of the ORELT modules, open education provides an environment that is conducive to the punctuation of *time* and *space.* Put another way, the meaning of pedagogic discourse, which is embodied within the ORELT modules (*text*), gains specialised meaning as it is established as an OER (*space)* and through the various occasions in which this implementation takes place (*time)*.

Bernstein explains that all pedagogic discourse will punctuate *time* and this, in turn, transforms into age as this more abstract level transforms into a more 'real' manifestation. Similarly, in this second level of transformation, *text* transforms into specific content while *space* changes into context. Figure 6.4 demonstrates this level 2 transformation:

LEVEL 2

AGE ⟷ CONTENT ⟷ CONTEXT

(Bernstein, 2000, p. 35)
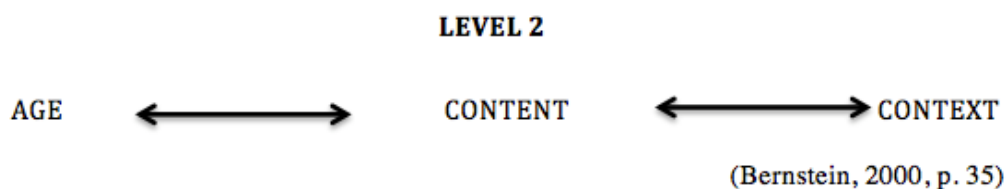
Figure 6.4 **Level 2**

At this second transformative stage the pedagogic discourse transfers from *text* in the ORELT modules to specific teaching activities within the module (*content)* which are designed for accessible implementation into the various learning contexts throughout

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the Commonwealth *(context)*. Finally, *time* is transformed into *age* as the ORELT modules punctuate a specific period of time, that is, students in Junior Secondary School.

The final transformation is evidenced in features that are essential to pedagogic communication – that is acquisition, evaluation and transmission. In this final transformation, *content* transforms into *evaluation*, *context* into transmission and *age* into *acquisition.* Figure 6.5 provides a visual overview of this:

LEVEL 3

ACQUISITION ⟷ EVALUATION ⟷ TRANSMISSION

(Bernstein, 2000, p. 36)
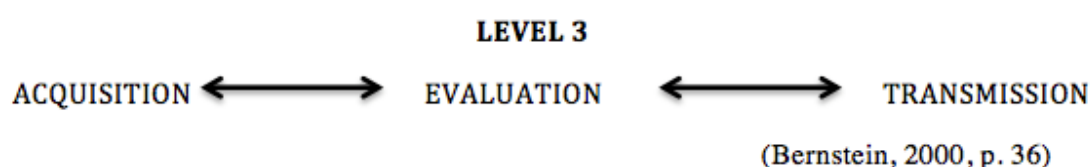
Figure 6.5 **Level 3**

In order to understand this final transformation within the context of this study, understanding how COL works to evaluate standards for implementing quality education within low-income countries needs to be gained. It is through this process that COL affirms the adaptation of learner-centredness that was exposed earlier in this chapter by evaluating thinkable knowledge about educational quality.

6.4.1 COL's quality indicators

An important insight into COL's perspective of educational quality is the belief that quality can be measured through various quantifiable outputs. This is evident in the development of 25 'Quality Aspects' and a set of 75 'Quality Indicators' (QIs) for teacher education (Menon et al., 2007). While COL has traditionally focused on advancing teacher education through open education initiatives, they have also developed quality indicators for teacher education institutions as part of their broader mandate to support Commonwealth countries to enhance the quality of education in their transition to supporting distance education modalities. In these indicators a quality teacher education institution is determined through the demonstration of 75

quality outputs. The QI have been organised into six Key Areas (KAs), which are curriculum design and planning; curriculum transaction and evalution; research development and extension; infrastructure and learning resources; student support and progression; organisation and management. The 75 QI's each have an operational definition, an outline of the importance of the QI and examples of sources of evidence that can be used to demonstrate successful achievement of the QI. One example of a QI is shown below:

> *Quality Indicator 6:* The institution has a practice of time allocations and scheduing for conceptual inputting (theory) through a process of deliberations (Menon et al., 2007, p. 32).

This example highlights an important difficulty with quantifying quality into measurable outputs. Firstly, they are extremely difficult to write in a way that can be clearly understood in culturally diverse contexts (as the examples above demonstrate), and secondly, they become extremely difficult to measure. It would seem that QI6 requires each TEI to record the time that is allocated to teaching theory. While this seems like a straightforward request, it is not necessarily made clear by the QI itself. In the 'sources of evidence', however, it notes the need for there to be records of "interactions with the staff on development and deployment strategies" (Menon et al., 2007, p. 32). This could become a cumbersome and timely exercise and possibly misinterpreted in the multiple cultural contexts that these QIs are designed to be implemented. This indicates the challenges of applying such a technicist approach to educational quality and the dangers of creating such an internationally standardised list of quality indicators. As Tabulawa (2013b) points out, such approach "implies that teaching is a value-free, objective activity whose problems are solveable through the application of the rigorous procedures of the scientific method" (p. 9-10). Such assumptions, Tabulawa argues, lack understanding of the socio-cultural nature of learning and are, therefore, fundamentally flawed.

A further example that demonstrates how quality is treated as a measurable commodity is in the way that the QIs are measured. While, at this stage, it is up to individual TEIs and ministries of education to determine if these QIs will be used for external or internal assessment of quality, the way that quality is measured remains

the same. For example, the following system is used to measure each indicator of quality:

> Performance of the institution, the KAs the QAs or the QIs can be rated at five levels which are descriptions of degrees to which quality is expressed and each level is assigned a numerical weightage (points) as given below:
>
> Needs improvement – 1
>
> Can do better – 2
>
> Satisfactory – 3
>
> Good – 4
>
> Outstanding – 5
>
> (Menon et al., 2007, p. 20)

Without specific criteron to articulate what 'outstanding', 'good', 'satisfactory', 'could do better' and 'needs improvement' looks like for each QI, this measurement becomes subjective and has the potential to be interpreted differently across national and international TEIs. Furthermore, this becomes even more misleading when these subjective measurements are quantified in an overall performance rating through the use of numerical stastical data. Figures 6.6 provides a snapshot of how the indicator of quality is converted to a raw score. In this table, KA refers to the Key Area, QA the Quality Aspect and QI the Quality Indicator:

Table 2

Range of Scores on Quality Aspects (QAs)

KA	QA	QI	Performance Quality Levels				
			1	2	3	4	5
I	1.	1	0-1.5	1.6-2.5	2.6-3.5	3.6-4.5	4.6-5.0
	2.	2-4	3.0-5.5	5.6-8.0	8.1-10.5	10.6-13.5	13.6-15.0
	3.	5-9	5.0-9.5	9.6-13.5	13.6-17.5	17.6-21.5	21.6-25.0
	4.	10-11	2.0-3.5	3.6-5.5	5.6-6.5	6.6-8.5	8.6-10.0
II	5.	12-13	2.0-3.5	3.6-5.5	5.6-6.5	6.6-8.5	8.6-10.0
	6.	14-17	4.0-7.5	7.6-10.5	10.6-13.5	13.6-16.5	16.6-20.0
	7.	18-21	4.0-7.5	7.6-10.5	10.6-13.5	13.6-16.5	16.6-20.0
	8.	22-25	4.0-7.5	7.6-10.5	10.6-13.5	13.6-16.5	16.6-20.0
	9.	26-28	3.0-5.5	5.6-8.0	8.1-10.5	10.6-13.5	13.6-15.0
III	10.	29-32	4.0-5.5	7.6-10.5	10.6-13.5	13.6-16.5	16.6-20.0
	11.	33-34	2.0-3.5	3.6-5.5	5.6-6.5	6.6-8.5	8.6-10.0

Figure 6.6 **Quality indicator raw score.**   (Menon et al., 2007, p. 21)

Figures 6.7 and 6.8 shows how the total score is then converted to a scalar score in order to measure the 'quality impact'.

Range of Scores on Overall Performance

Key Areas (KAs)	Performance Quality Levels				
	1	2	3	4	5
I	11-19.5	19.6-28.5	28.6-37.5	37.6-46.5	46.6>
II	17-30.5	30.6-44.5	44.6-57.5	57.6-71.5	71.6>
III	6-11.5	11.6-16.5	16.6-21.5	21.6-26.5	26.6>
IV	6-11.5	11.6-16.5	16.6-21.5	21.6-26.5	26.6>
V	16-29.5	29.6-41.5	41.6-54.5	54.6-66.5	66.6>
VI	19-34.5	34.6-49.5	49.6-65.5	65.6-80.5	80.6>
Total	75-135.5	135.6-196.5	196.6-257.5	257.6-318.5	318.6>

Figure 6.7 **Raw score of performance quality levels.**

(Menon et al., 2007, p. 24)

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Quality Matrix

Level of Impact	1 (Low Quality)	2	3	4	5 (High Quality)
10 (High Impact)	1 2 / 4 5		8 10 / 11 12		29 34 33 / 31 32 30
9		6 3 / 9 7			65 68 / 62 67
8	75 70 / 71 72		61 68 / 64 59		
7			49 55 / 46 54		40 39 38 / 37 35 36
6	15 18 21 / 26 22 28				
5					16 23 19 / 27
4			13 25 17 / 20 24 14		
3		44 47 / 53 51	8 10 / 11 12		
2		42 43 / 48 52		41 45 / 50 56	
1 (Low Impact)		73 74 / 69	57 58 / 60 63		

Performance Rating
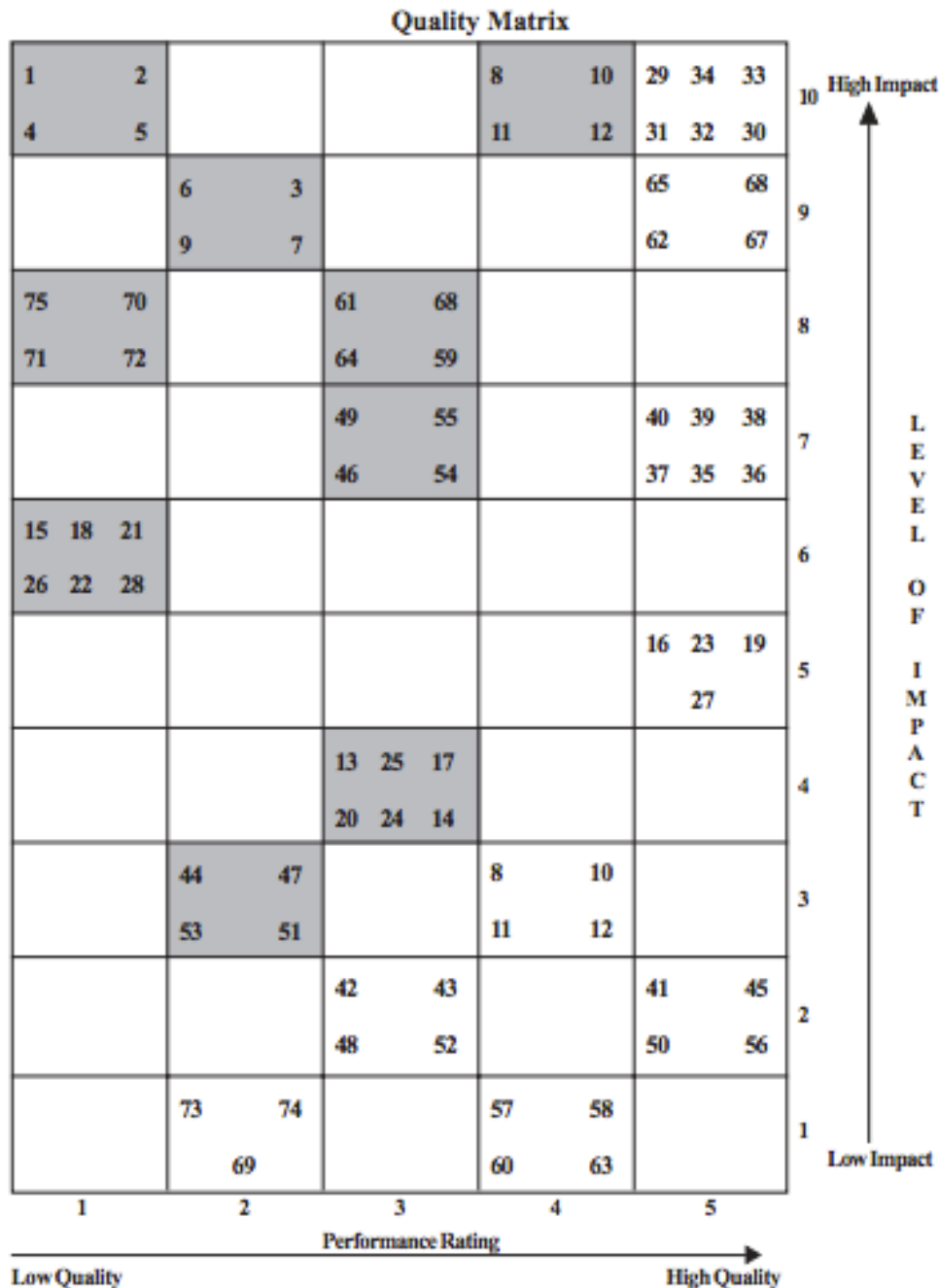
Figure 6.8 **Quality matrix.**

A final overall 'performance score' may provide a numerical score of performance; however, the calculation of this score is based on a subjective assessment of quality.

These quality indicators also argue that the nature of learning has changed. Koul (Koul & Kanwar, 2006) suggests that students themselves demand a different function from education. He notes that education should now be seen as a ready-to-use commodity:

No wonder then that the learner profile is changing – ... *they prefer end-to-end user-friendly educational products and services—their behaviour is more like customers* [emphasis added] than the traditional fresh-from-the-school obedient students. *To them, education/training must return the value of money spent on it, and they prefer it as a packaged, ready-to-use commodity'* [emphasis added]. (Koul, p.6. In Koul & Kanawar, 2009)

Thus, COL's QIs form an important piece in the pedagogic puzzle. As an *evaluation* of TEIs, the QIs ensure the *transmission* of this learner-centric adaptation of LCE throughout the Commonwealth. While this notion will be discussed further in chapter eight, understanding how these three levels of the evaluative rule work to condense the meaning of the pedagogic device is important to consider. Figure 6.9 provides an overview of each of the three levels of this evaluative rule:
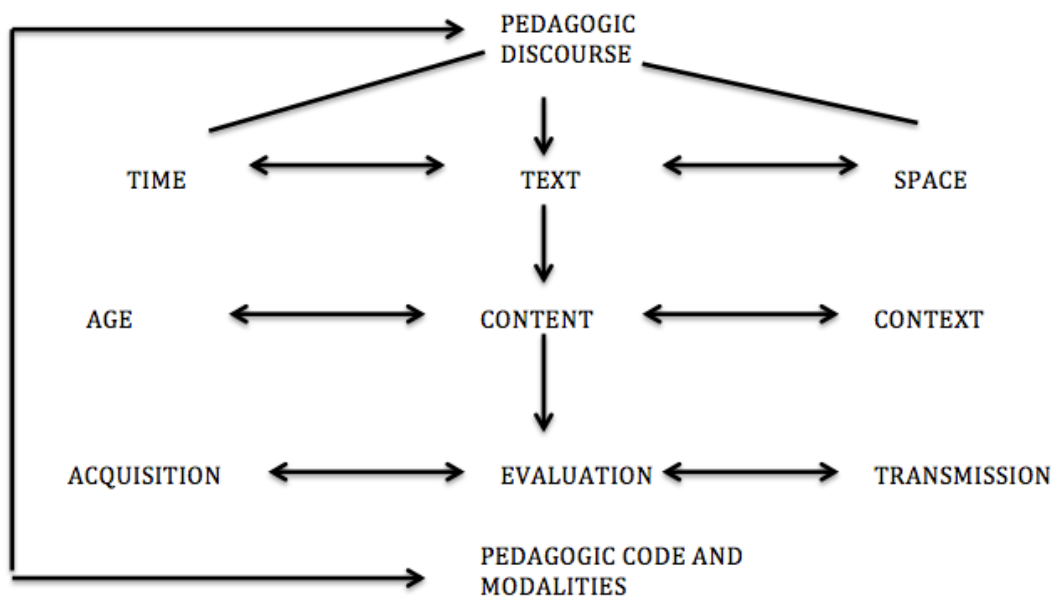
(Adapted from Bernstein, 2000a, p. 36)

Figure 6.9 **Overview of the three levels of the evaluative rule.**

From this analysis of the evaluative rule it is evident how open education creates the necessary *space* and *context* for the implementation of this adapted pedagogical transmission. Furthermore, it reveals how COL's increasing role in the governance of quality education in low-income countries has reinforced the *thinkable* – that this learner-centric adaptation of LCE within the open education context is synonymous with educational quality.

6.5   Chapter summary

To conclude, this chapter argues that this adaptation of LCE is legitimated, recontextualised and transmitted as a pedagogic device to carrry neoliberal ideologies into the social fabric of low-income countries. By doing so, this pedagogic device enables neoliberalism to work as an organising principle of cultural, political and economic life. Bernstein (2000a) argues that when discourse moves from one context to another, this creates space for ideologies to play. In its conception, open education creates numerous educational sites throughout the Commonwealth for ideology to be entertained. Bernstein (2000a) maintains that the purpose of the pedagogic device is to provide "a symbolic ruler of consciousness" (p. 36). The questions: "what consciousness and for whom?" (p. 37) and "who regulates this consciousness?" are central to understanding who controls and ultimately holds the power within this symbolic field.

Chapter five drew attention to the struggle over symbolic capital within the global field of education. The revelation that the pedagogic device enables social consciousness to be controlled by dominant actors or interests outside of national boundaries is of significant interest to this thesis. By analysing the pedagogic relay of knowledge within the open education context, such a finding moves beyond identifying what knowledge is transmitted to demonstrating how the pedagogic device acts as a symbolic ruler of consciousness to embed neoliberal ideologies within the fabric of social life. This finding brings a unique perspective to our understanding of pedagogic communication within the open education context and it sheds light on the underlying ideologies that drive the globalisation of LCE through open education.

Chapter 7: Moment of Practice

Chapter six's analysis of the pedagogic device provides an important basis to examine how consciousness is regulated at the micro (curricular) level. This chapter extends on this analysis by examining the pedagogic field through an investigation of pedagogic discourse in the ORELT modules. Of particular importance to this analysis is identifying the social purposes of this pedagogic discourse at the micro (curricular) level. In doing so, this chapter examines the *'moment of educational practice'*(Robertson & Dale, 2015) and continues to respond to the question: *What is taught in COL's ORELT modules, and how and by whom are these things decided?* This chapter begins by investigating the extent to which LCE is facilitated within COL's ORELT modules. Such analysis aims to gain greater understanding of whether the rhetoric that supports COL's globalisation of LCE through open education in the official field is actualised in the ORELT modules. This analysis uses Schweisfurth's (2015b) minimum standards for LCE to thematically analyse how LCE is facilitated within the ORELT modules. This chapter then builds on these findings by using Bernstein's pedagogic coding to examine to what extent pedagogic discourse in the ORELT modules works to regulate consciousness. In doing so, this chapter considers how notions of power and control are established through pedagogic communication within the open education context.

7.1   Minimum standards for LCE

7.1.1   Summary of the ORELT analysis

Examining the extent to which the seven minimum standards for LCE (Schweisfurth, 2015a) are evident within the ORELT modules is intended to bring greater awareness of the relationship between COL's policies and practices. This analysis examines the extent to which LCE is facilitated at the micro (curricular) level, through an examination of COL's ORELT modules. As chapter four detailed, content analysis has been used to identify the number of *references to* and *examples of* each of the seven minimum standards (refer to page 96). Figure 7.1 provides an overview of this analysis and indicates the number of *references to* and *examples of* each of the LCE standards that are evident in the modules.

'Minimum Standards' for LCE within the ORELT modules
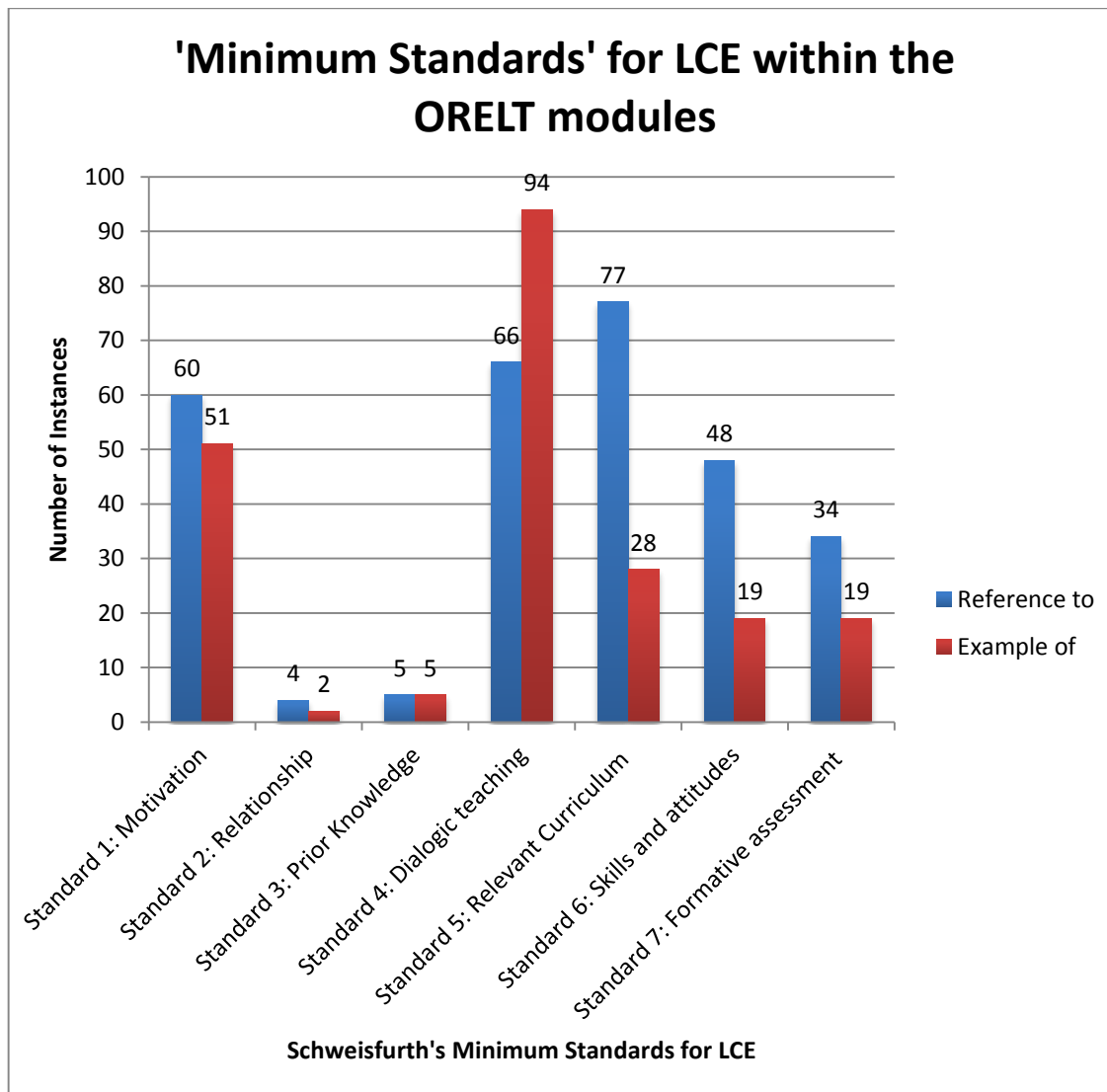
*Figure 7.1 '*Minimum Standards' for LCE in the ORELT modules.

Apart from dialogic teaching, this analysis shows that there are fewer *examples of* how to implement each of these LCE standards than there are *references to* these standards. This suggests that in most instances, teachers have less guidance to facilitate the implementation of LCE. In order to gain greater understanding of this discrepancy, the following section systematically analyses each of these minimum standards.

7.1.2   Motivation

Using the definitions and indicators of motivation outlined in chapter four's Table 4.6 (refer to page 97), this analysis sought to identify instances where the ORELT modules support

teachers to motivate their students in the learning process. Table 7.1 provides an overview of this analysis:

Table 7.1 *Instances of 'Motivation' in the ORELT Modules*

	Module 1	Module 2	Module 3	Module 4	Module 5	Module 6	Total
Reference to:	1	12	12	10	15	10	60
Example of:	11	10	2	6	14	8	51

These findings suggest that supporting teachers to motivate their students to learn has a strong presence throughout each of the ORELT modules. This analysis reveals that there are 60 *references to* motivation in the ORELT modules. Each of these references emphasise the importance of teachers motivating and engaging students through their pedagogical practice. The findings also show that there are a similar number of *examples of* teaching activities that support teachers to motivate learners. In other words, these modules not only talk about the importance of motivating learners, but they also provide specific teaching strategies to encourage teachers to foster motivation in students.

Many of the module outcomes and objectives have a clear focus on supporting teachers to motivate learners. An example of this can be found in the introduction to module 3:

> In this unit, you will learn how to *motivate reluctant readers* [emphasis added] and help them build their confidence. You will learn to use an *interactive methodology* [emphasis added] to help students experience success in reading and build confidence in their ability to read efficiently. (ORELT Module 3, Unit 1, p. 9)

This is further evident in the objectives of unit 1:

Unit objectives

The objectives of this unit will help teachers to:

- motivate passive and bored readers to become interested in the reading process, and
- instil in students the confidence to read for longer periods.

Figure 7.2. **Unit objectives: Motivation.**

(ORELT Module 3, Unit 1, p. 9)

Teachers are also encouraged to reflect on student engagement in the end-of-unit reflections, as this example from unit 2 demonstrates:

Reflections

- Did you find the activities relevant and interesting?
- Did the resources motivate your students to read more?
- Did the students participate actively in the activities? Were the activities too difficult for some students? How did you help them?
- In your opinion, should anything have been done differently?

(ORELT Module 3, Unit 2, p. 27)

Figure 7.3 **Unit reflection: Motivation.**

As well as these *references to* motivation, there are also 51 *examples of* teaching activities that are intended to enable teachers to motivate learners. One example is found in module 3:

This activity aims to help you build your students' motivation to read by preparing them for the reading process. Students with poor reading skills

(like the ones mentioned above and in **Activity 1**) can be motivated to read

(ORELT Module 3, Unit 1, p. 13-14)

Figure 7.4 **'Examples of' activities that motivate students.**

Throughout these modules there is an inherent assumption that actively involving students in the learning process will lead to enhanced motivation and learning. In this sense, engagement

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is used interchangeably with motivation and it is assumed that the outcome will lead to enhanced achievement. This is evident in this passage from module 6:

Introduction

> This unit contains some activities that show that learning grammar in class can be fun. If the focus in the grammar class is not on routine discussion of grammatical rules and categories, and the students are engaged instead in real-world fun tasks, they will begin to realise how their grammar skills can develop in interesting ways. This will motivate them to participate actively in class, which in turn promotes language development. This unit focuses on three grammar games. You can find more in any of the good practical activity books developed by ELT specialists and published by Cambridge University Press, Routledge, Oxford University Press and others.

(ORELT Module 6, Unit 3, p. 35) [Emphasis added]

Figure 7.5 **Assumed relationship between engagement and achievement.**

Such assumption negates to realise that students can actively participate in forms of learning yet fail to learn through this process (Brodie et al., 2002). In other words, these modules assume that active learning (e.g., the *form* of LCE) will result in achieving cognitive gains (e.g. the *substance* of learning). However, Brodie et al. (2002) caution against making such assumptions.

Building on this is a further assumption that motivating learners is universal, regardless of cultural context. Schweisfurth (2015a) is careful to acknowledge in her conceptualisation of this standard that motivation is not universal and what might be motivating to learners in one cultural context may be different to learners in another. Without such acknowledgement of these differences in motivation it is questionable whether these examples will be motivational to all learners in all cultural contexts. Despite there being 111 *references to* and *examples of* LCE focus on motivational teaching strategies, it is possible that these activities may not motivate all learners.

7.1.3 Relationships

Establishing mutual respect between learners and teachers is the second minimum standard for LCE that is advocated by Schweisfurth (2013a). This standard was particularly difficult to analyse, given that relationships between teacher and student are constructed outside of programmatic parameters of the ORELT modules and through the unique and individualised interactions between teachers and students. As Table 4.6 in chapter four explained (refer to pages 97), this analysis identified instances where the modules specify either strategies to promote the development of respectful relationships or examples that illustrate the enactment of these respectful interactions. Through such analysis, findings revealed that relationships are given the least emphasis within the ORELT modules with only six *references to* and *examples of* building respectful relationships identified. This limited focus on relationships is particularly evident in several modules where there are no references made to teacher-student relationships. Table 7.2 draws particular attention to this inconsistency:

Table 7.2 *Instances of 'Relationships' in the ORELT Modules*

	Module 1	Module 2	Module 3	Module 4	Module 5	Module 6	Total
Reference to:	2	2	0	0	0	0	4
Example of:	0	1	0	0	0	1	2

Table 7.2 reveals that there are only two *examples of* how to implement respectful relationships in all of the six modules. In addition to this, both of these *examples of* building relationships accentuate the type of classroom environment that these respectful relationships create, rather than providing strategies, guidelines or reflective questions that would support a teacher to develop such relationships with their own students. Such implicit examples alone may not be sufficient to support teachers to build respectful relationships with students. One such example of this is found in module 6:

> Lack of confidence and fear of committing errors in front of others are other issues that you may have to cope with. If you create a relaxed atmosphere and group the students appropriately, even the shy ones will begin to speak.

<p align="right">(ORELT Module 6, Unit 1, p. 8) [Emphasis added]</p>

Figure 7.6 'Example of' facilitating respectful relationships.

References to teacher-student relationships are slightly more common than *examples of*, with a total of four *references* to building respectful relationships in all of the ORELT modules. These *references to* relationships are often evident within specific unit case studies, as seen in module 2:

Case study

Case study

When Daniel Ntini, a JSS English teacher, joined Community Secondary School, Keffi, recently, he found his students serious about their studies and conscientious about following his instructions. Individually, they responded to him with warmth and respect, which made him feel happy in their company. However, he noticed that they kept to their own sets of friends, and rarely spoke to other classmates. They were self-conscious and shy, and did not make any new classmates feel comfortable. As a result, they were unable to work together in the class, preferring to study by themselves.

(ORELT Module 2, Unit 5, p. 56-57) [Emphasis added]

Figure 7.7 **'Reference to' facilitating respectful relationships.**

Because these *references to* relationships are embedded within case studies rather than being clearly stated in unit objectives and outcomes, the emphasis on relationships tends to be implied rather than explicit. Put simply, some modules implicitly refer to the importance of respectful relationships yet fail to make it clear how teachers might establish such relationships. This suggests that this relational aspect of LCE is not prominent within the modules.

What is also noticeably absent in the modules is consideration for what respectful relationships might look like within different cultural contexts. Schweisfurth (2015a) is clear to point out in her conceptualisation of this minimum standard that a relationship of respect might vary considerably in different cultural contexts. Acknowledging these variances is critical in order for teachers to build culturally responsive notions of respect with their students. Despite this, *references to* and *examples of* relationships within these modules tend to be underpinned by a standardised view of a respectful student-teacher relationship. To summarise, this investigation demonstrates that student-teacher relationships are given little consideration within the modules. Furthermore, the limited *references to* and *examples of* student-teacher relationships lack consideration of culturally responsive notions of such relationships.

7.1.4 Prior knowledge

Schweisfurth's (2013a) third minimum standard explains the need for teachers to build on learners' prior knowledge. As detailed in Table 4.6 (refer to pages 97), this standard focuses on gaining insight into the knowledge and understandings that students bring with them into the learning environment. Despite the importance of understanding students' prior knowledge, there are only 10 instances throughout the modules that address the need to build on learners' prior knowledge as Table 7.3 shows:

Table 7.3 *Instances of 'Prior Knowledge' in the ORELT Modules*

	Module 1	Module 2	Module 3	Module 4	Module 5	Module 6	Total
Reference to:	0	2	0	0	0	3	5
Example of:	2	0	0	2	0	1	5

This analysis reveals that there are only five *references to* prior knowledge in all of the six modules. One example is found in the introductory section of module six, where it is noted that building on prior knowledge is an essential precursor for academic development. This is explained in the following passage:

Teacher support information

By building on the students' prior knowledge of grammar, we can help them understand how to form grammatical structures that serve the specific academic function they need to perform. For example, they will be able to decide which structure to use to *define* a concept, how to *illustrate* a point with examples, how to describe the *cause* and *effect* of a scientific occurrence and so on. At the JSS level, students will already have learned about complex and compound sentence structures, various tense forms and other grammatical categories such as phrases and clauses. In this unit, we will try to use students' existing knowledge to help them use English appropriately for academic purposes.

(ORELT Module 6, Unit 5, p. 55) [Emphasis added]

Figure 7.8 **'References to' prior knowledge.**

This analysis also found that there are only five *examples of* teaching activities that aim to build on students' prior knowledge. Of these five examples, most did not provide clear strategies to support teachers to effectively utilise prior knowledge to enhance learning. An example of this is found in module 6:

> The first step is to test their existing knowledge about requests in English. On slips of paper, write a situation where a request would be required (asking for a glass of water, borrowing a pen, running an errand, etc.). Put the students into groups of four or five, ask them to pick a slip of paper and have them use the phrase on it to write a request. In the feedback session, use their responses to collect a sample of different structures (*Please give me a glass of water/Can I borrow your pen?* etc.). Put these on the board (correcting any grammatical mistakes).

<div align="right">(ORELT Module 6, Unit 2, p. 19) [Emphasis added]</div>

Figure 7.9 **'Examples of' prior knowledge.**

As this example demonstrates, it is not clear how teachers will use this existing knowledge to support learners. The purpose for assessing prior knowledge is not only unclear, but it is questionable whether teachers will use this assessment information to enhance student learning. Furthermore, identifying cultural forms of knowledge and using this to support learning and development is also notably absent in these modules, despite academics advocating the need to facilitate culturally relevant and responsive pedagogic practices (Amosa & Ladwig, 2004; Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Bishop & Glynn, 2003; Ngara, 2007). The lack of emphasis given to eliciting prior knowledge in these modules demonstrates that the bridging of connections between home and school knowledge is given minimal consideration. To conclude, the inconsistent and limited focus on prior knowledge within the ORELT modules indicates that it is given limited attention. Without gaining a baseline understanding of student knowledge, this raises questions about the extent to which teachers can facilitate a learner-centred programme.

7.1.5 Dialogic teaching

Dialogic teaching has a strong focus throughout each of the six ORELT modules. Schweisfurth (2015a) explains that dialogic teaching provides opportunities for "high quality classroom talk" (p. 264). It is impossible to determine to what extent the intended dialogic activities within the modules will be enacted as 'high quality talk'; however, this thematic analysis draws attention to the strong emphasis that is placed on dialogic teaching throughout the modules. With 160 *references to* and *examples of* dialogic teaching throughout the modules (refer to Figure 7.1 on page 194), this aspect of LCE is the most prominent out of all

of the minimum standards. Table 7.4 shows this consistent emphasis on dialogic teaching throughout each of the six modules:

Table 7.4 *Instances of 'Dialogic Teaching' in ORELT Modules*

	Module 1	Module 2	Module 3	Module 4	Module 5	Module 6	Total
Reference to:	6	15	6	17	15	7	66
Example of:	13	20	15	13	22	11	94

Interestingly, this analysis reveals that there are more *examples of* dialogic teaching than there are *references to* dialogic teaching. This point is particularly noteworthy given that in all of the other minimum standards, there are substantially more *references to* than *examples of* these particular standards. This suggests that the implementation of dialogic teaching is strongly valued and, consequently, teachers are given clear examples of how to do so.

Strong justification for implementing dialogic teaching strategies is clearly stated throughout the modules. This emphasis is also apparent right from the outset of each module with *references to* dialogic teaching evident in the module objectives and unit outcomes, as Figure 7.10 demonstrates:

Module objectives

The objectives of this module are to:

- help teachers devise and use meaningful activities to develop listening skills in the classroom, and

- provide teachers with a variety of listening exercises that engage students in pair and group work activities to practise meaningful communication in English.

Objectives

(ORELT Module 1, Unit 1, p. 3) [Emphasis added]

Figure 7.10 **'References to' dialogic teaching.**

Peer and group work are frequently utilised as a strategy for promoting discussion. Figure 7.11 provides an example of this:

For further practice, divide the students into groups of four, and have them listen to an audio recording of a conversation (**Resource 2a**) then fill in the blanks on a worksheet (**Resource 2b**) with the greetings they hear on the audio. Then, in their groups, have them design their own conversations in a dialogue format, and put in appropriate responses to greetings from the examples they heard on the video or audio. You could also read out the transcripts yourself if your classroom does not support the multimedia files.

(ORELT Module 1, Unit 2, p. 19)

Figure 7.11 **Examples of dialogic teaching.**

Given the frequency and intensity that is placed on dialogic teaching throughout each of the modules, dialogic teaching is presented as the most important form of LCE. This implies that this visible *form* of teaching (Brodie et al., 2002) is considered to be indicative of a learner-centred approach. This is an important finding, which will be addressed in greater depth towards the end of this chapter.

7.1.6   Relevant curriculum

A curriculum that has meaning and relevance in the current and future lives of learners is the fifth minimum standard that has been identified by Schweisfurth (2013a). This analysis of the ORELT modules demonstrates that providing a relevant curriculum is strongly supported with 105 *examples of* and *references to* the importance of a relevant curriculum (refer to Figure 7.1 on page 194). Interestingly, this analysis showed that the number of *references to* a relevant curriculum strongly outweighed actual *examples of* how to provide a relevant curriculum. Table 7.5 demonstrates this disparity:

Table 7.5 *Instances of 'Relevant Curriculum' in ORELT Modules*

	Module 1	Module 2	Module 3	Module 4	Module 5	Module 6	Total
Reference to:	17	10	8	10	17	16	78
Example of:	6	3	2	6	7	4	28

The discrepancy in the number of *references to* and *examples of* a relevant curriculum creates the impression that the implementation of a relevant curriculum is supported. Consequently,

the consistent and repetitive discourse of curriculum relevance hides the somewhat limited strategies that support teachers to facilitate its implementation.

This finding is further reinforced by the numerous examples throughout the modules, which mislabel the Western-centric context of learning experiences as 'real life' or 'contextually relevant'. For example, Figure 7.12 demonstrates this in the following unit outcomes:

Unit outcomes

By the end of this unit, you should be able to:

Outcomes

- help your students engage in informal conversational English for real-life communicative purposes,
- involve your students in activities that encourage them to speak about themselves, their daily routines and their future plans, and
- help your students perform certain language functions using appropriate grammar and vocabulary.

(ORELT Module 6, Unit 1, p. 7) [Emphasis added]

Figure 7.12 'References to' the implementation of 'real-life' learning.

There are also a large number of *references to* the importance of contextually relevant curriculum throughout these modules. Figure 7.13 provides one example of this:

Activity 2: Building students' exchanges around everyday events

Activity 2

Encouraging students to talk about familiar situations, such as events and interactions at school, at home and in society, is an effective way of developing their fluency and grammatical competence. **Activity 2** gives you a set of steps you can use to build up a situation based on everyday activities. This activity will give your students practice in the use of the **simple present tense** and **adverbs of frequency**. For this activity, take the students through the steps described in **Resource 2: Working with everyday events**.

(ORELT Module 6, Unit 1, p. 10)

Figure 7.13 'Reference to' contextually relevant curriculum.

However, despite strong indications that this unit will support teachers to implement relevant curriculum content, the accompanying 'Resource 2' (see Figure 7.15) is based on Western

notions of everyday events. Consequently, the everyday events in this activity would have very little relevance to many students and teachers in low-income countries.

Resource 2: Working with everyday events

Resource 2

Worksheet

a Look at these activities. Which of these do you do regularly?
   i   swim
   ii   watch English movies
   iii eat Chinese food
   iv   listen to music
   v   wake up at 6:00 a.m.
   vi   take a bath with warm water
   vii wear Western outfits
   viii go for a walk

b Which of the above activities do you do?
   i   every day
   ii   once a week
   iii every evening
   iv   only at night
   v   sometimes

c Activities that are repeated very often are called **regular activities**. Share one of your regular activities with a partner. For example:
   I wear Western outfits once a week for my salsa class.

(ORELT Module 6, Unit 1, p. 13)

Figure 7.14 **Resource 2.**

This Western-centric notion of a contextually relevant everyday event is again reinforced in a further task within the same unit. Figure 7.15 demonstrates this:

e Read the passage below. It describes how Reena spends her time every week. After you have read it, discuss it with a partner and write a similar paragraph using the information from the table above.

Reena wakes up at 5:30 every morning. She listens to her favourite hymns on CD for two hours every day, and prays two times a day. Every afternoon she jogs a kilometre in the park, and takes a hot shower. She swims once a week in the pool on the terrace. On Sundays she cooks a special dinner for her family. Reena attends parties on weekends, and dresses in Western outfits for these parties.

(ORELT Module 6, Unit 1, p. 14)

Figure 7.15 **Resources 2, activity 'e'.**

Despite the fact that these *examples of* a relevant curriculum have little relevance to many of the cultural contexts in which they are implemented, the unit summary incorrectly affirms that the unit has 'looked at how to teach communicative grammar effectively *focusing on the functions and social contexts that students are likely to find themselves in'* [emphasis added]. This is shown in Figure 7.16:

Unit summary

Summary

In this unit we looked at how to teach communicative grammar effectively focusing on the functions and social contexts that students are likely to find themselves in. In authentic communication situations, people are less self-conscious, and so can focus more on expressing themselves meaningfully. In such situations, mastering grammar rules is not the objective, and hence the structures used are likely to become absorbed more quickly. The activities described above should inspire you to design your own communicative grammar exercises.

(ORELT Module 6, Unit 1, p. 11)

Figure 7.16 **Relevant curriculum: Unit summary.**

The repetitive contextually relevant message throughout this particular unit gives the impression that these teaching activities facilitate a relevant curriculum. This impression is further reinforced by the resource clips that accompany the units (Commonwealth of Learning, 2012c). Figure 7.17 provides a transcript of these clips:

Resource 3a: Describing a cultural show (transcript)

Resource 3a

Rodney:	Hi, Samantha! Where were you yesterday? We missed you at the rock show!
Samantha:	Oh, sorry, Rodney! Our college Dramatics Club had put together a cultural extravaganza for the Governor's visit, and it was a really unique experience.
Nikita:	So what happened there? Was it good?
Samantha:	It was terrific, Nikita! There were, let me see... seven presentations, including a solo performance by Jennifer White the country singer. Of course, the best performance was by our Dramatics Club. They put on a skit on our generation's obsession with our iPhones and iPads and what not, and it was hilarious!
Shalom:	We sure missed it, Sam! Why didn't you tell us about it?
Samantha:	I DID, Shalom! Last week... in the cafeteria, remember?
Shalom:	Yeah... you did, didn't you? And I clean forgot! So what else did you like?
Samantha:	I think the ballet from The Troupers was simply superb. The violin solo by our local maestro Mr Mogambo wasn't too bad either, though a bit too slow for the young crowd.
Rodney:	Okay... that makes it four so far. What were the other three shows?
Samantha:	Let me see... Umm... It started with an Indian classical dance recital by the Patil twins, Ruchika and Devika, which was actually very exotic and nice, and then there was one gymnastics show from a circus performer who danced with rings. The other item, I think, was the stand-up comedian Joe Pullman's gig, which I thought was boring and his jokes were in really bad taste. I think that was about all.

(ORELT Module 6, unit 4, p. 52)

Figure 7.17 **Describing a cultural show transcript.**

These clips are accessible online or as a DVD and are intended to provide an audio and visual model of spoken English. As Figure 7.17 demonstrates, the context of this particular cultural show would be unfamiliar for many teachers and students in low-income countries, making it difficult for both teachers and students to gain meaning from this clip.

To conclude, this analysis shows that despite 78 *references to* the importance of implementing a contextually relevant curriculum (refer to Table 7.5 on page 203), many of the teaching activities are not culturally or contextually relevant for students in low-income countries. Despite the consistent and repetitive discourse that creates an appearance of a relevant curriculum, such discourse effectively hides a standardised and Western-centric interpretation of curriculum relevance. This sends a subtle message that what counts as a real-life experience

can only be defined by Western cultural norms. This is a central argument in this thesis that will be revisited and discussed in greater depth in the second half of this chapter.

7.1.7 Skills and attitudes

The sixth LCE minimum standard that Schweisfurth (2013a) addresses is the development of skills and attitudes. Schweisfurth notes that this particular standard speaks to the development of skills such as critical and creative thinking alongside the acquisition of knowledge. It also acknowledges the development of attitudes that are important for facilitating democratic citizenship. As explained in Table 4.6 (refer to page 97), this analysis has focused on the way in which the ORELT modules have facilitated the development of critical and creative thinking.

The analysis of skills and attitudes in the ORELT modules reveals an uneven focus across the modules. As Table 7.6 demonstrates, module 5 places a strong emphasis on skills and attitudes, whereas the development of skills and attitudes in other modules is minimal.

Table 7.6 *Instances of 'Skills and Attitudes' in ORELT Modules*

	Module 1	Module 2	Module 3	Module 4	Module 5	Module 6	Total
Reference to:	0	1	0	19	28	0	48
Example of:	1	4	3	4	7	0	19

This lack of consolidation and reinforcement of skills and attitudes across the modules may result in these skills and attitudes only being developed at a superficial level. To clarify this point further, it is necessary to closely examine activities in the ORELT modules that are intended to develop the skill of critical and creative thinking.

7.1.7.1 Critical thinking

Content analysis was used to identify the instances where critical thinking was both referred to, and facilitated in, the ORELT modules (refer to page 96 for further explanation of this process). These *references to* and *examples of* critical thinking are shown in Table 7.7:

Table 7.7 *Instances of 'Critical Thinking Skills' in ORELT Modules*

	Module 1	Module 2	Module 3	Module 4	Module 5	Module 6	Total
Reference to:	0	1	0	1	18	0	20
Example of:	1	4	3	0	2	0	10

This analysis shows that *references to* the importance of developing critical thinking strongly outweigh *examples of* how teachers can develop this skill. In fact, there are only 10 examples of how to develop critical thinking in all of the 30 units analysed, and this is despite the fact that one unit has been dedicated to facilitating critical thinking. Seven of these examples (one in module 1, three in module 2 and three in module 3) were implicitly embedded within teaching activities. In other words, these examples have not been explicitly identified and teachers may not be aware that these particular teaching strategies promote critical thinking. This means that there were only three examples of critical thinking that were explicitly identified and aligned with clear teaching strategies. One example of this *reference to* critical thinking is shown in Module 5's unit outcomes:

Unit outcomes

Upon completion of this unit you will be able to:

- develop students' critical thinking abilities;

- engage students in activities that activate their higher-order thinking skills such as logical reasoning, evaluative comprehension, drawing inferences, etc.; and

- develop students' ability to express an opinion, argue their case, initiate and sum up ideas, and illustrate opinions with examples.

(ORELT Module 5, unit 5, p. 61)

Figure 7.18 **Unit outcomes: Critical thinking.**

However, despite this indication that the unit will facilitate teachers to develop critical thinking skills, the accompanying activities provide few opportunities for teachers to do so. For example, this passage suggests that the accompanying teaching activities will promote the development of critical thinking skills:

One way to develop higher-order thinking skills is to have students evaluate a text … The students should read the texts and answer evaluative questions like the ones given in Resource 2a

(ORELT Module 5, Unit 5, p. 64)

However, the accompanying resource asks questions that facilitate the recall of knowledge rather than questions that facilitate higher-order thinking. Figure 7.19 demonstrates this:

Resource 2a: Critically reflecting on and responding to literary texts: Asking evaluative questions

Resource 2a

You can use the following questions as prompts to sensitise your students to the special nuances of the text.

- What traits/qualities do you notice in the main and minor characters in the text?

- Which characters do you like or dislike, and why?

- What parts of the text did you like, and why? Which parts did you not like? How would you have told the story differently, if given the opportunity?

- What different interpretations could you give to the text? Is it a story about personal relationships, a romantic story, a story about sacrifice or patriotism or bravery?

- Is the language of the text easy to understand? Did you notice any unusual words, phrases or grammatical patterns? Do the characters speak like normal people? Do the descriptions of people, places and events resemble real life?

(ORELT Module 5, unit 5, p. 68-69)

Figure 7.19 'Examples of' critical thinking.

What is missing from such examples is the link between students' opinions (e.g., likes and dislikes about characters) and evaluating the effectiveness of literary techniques within the text. Without this emphasis the discussion of opinions becomes little more than a description of feelings without the depth of technical understanding to critically evaluate the quality of the text. Such an example is one of many in the unit. Despite these activities failing to provide opportunities for students to think critically, the unit summary strongly suggests that this module has, in fact, facilitated the development of critical thinking.

Unit summary

Summary

In this unit you learned strategies for developing your students' critical and creative thinking abilities by analysing literary texts. Some of the skills that the unit aimed to develop were the ability to draw inferences from a text and to synthesise information to evaluate a text, and to then apply this knowledge to produce their own texts. The activities described in the unit should help you make your students more aware of the interesting ways in which writers use language to convey their thoughts and ideas. Using this knowledge, students should be able to use their imagination and language skills to express themselves creatively.

(ORELT Module 5, unit 5, p. 66)

Figure 7.20 **Unit summary critical thinking.**

Therefore, this analysis of critical thinking in ORELT modules reveals that teachers are given few clear and explicit examples of how to facilitate the development of this skill in their teaching.

7.1.7.2   Creative thinking

This analysis has also shown that there are discrepancies between the number of *references to* and *examples of* creative thinking in the ORELT modules. Module five places a particular emphasis on creative thinking and appears to support teachers to facilitate creative thinking in students. However, there are few clear examples of how teachers can develop this skill. For example, module 5 appears to emphasise creative thinking in the module outcomes, as Figure 7.21 shows:

Module outcomes

Outcomes

Upon completion of **Module 5 — Language through Literature** you will be able to:

- teach language through literature using diverse strategies,
- stimulate interest in the extensive reading of literature,
- organise collaborative and interactive tasks that facilitate language learning through literature, and
- develop critical thinking and creative writing skills in students through exposure to a variety of literary texts.

(ORELT Module 5, Unit 1, p. 4)

Figure 7.21 **Creative thinking module outcomes.**

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Despite these *references to* creative thinking, the corresponding activity asks students to report on their findings rather than create new and original literary ideas. Figure 7.22 provides an extract from this activity:

To prepare them for this story-development task, give them a homework assignment a day before. Give them two versions of a short story to read. The first version should contain the original story and should have a clearly developed storyline, with well-developed characters and a narrative that progresses logically with a beginning, middle and end. The second version should have some distortions in style, such as an unclear storyline, no clear progression from beginning to end and hazily sketched characters. The students' task is to individually mark which story is "better" and more interesting to read, and why (i.e., what differences are there in the two versions). The objective of this homework task is to help them find out for themselves the important ingredients of a good story so that they can use this knowledge for their group storytelling exercise.

For the actual exercise, have the students give a report on their homework assignment. You could list the points they give on a board. The preliminary discussion should cover the features of a good story, like the ones listed in **Resource 2** for **Activity 2** above.

(ORELT Module 5, unit 1, p. 12)

Figure 7.22 '**References to' creative thinking.**

These *references to* creative thinking give the appearance that this activity promotes the development of "creative abilities" (ORELT Module 5, p. 11), yet there are no opportunities for students to "express themselves creatively through a fun-filled group task" (ORELT Module 5, p. 12) as indicated in the paragraph prior to this excerpt. The point being made here is that not all *references to* creative thinking actually support the development of this skill. Put simply, there are few clear *examples of* how to facilitate creative thinking in the ORELT modules, despite a large number of *references to* the development of this skill.

7.1.8   Formative assessment

Formative assessment is the final minimum standard and Schweisfurth (2015a) maintains that in order to facilitate LCE, assessment strategies should improve both learning and teaching. For this reason, this analysis has considered the extent to which formative assessment is supported in the ORELT modules (refer to Table 4.6 on page 97 for details of this analysis).

While formative assessment did not have a prominent presence in the ORELT modules, analysis reveals that it was consistently addressed in each of the six modules as Table 7.8 shows:

Table 7.8 *Instances of 'Formative Assessment in ORELT Modules*

	Module 1	Module 2	Module 3	Module 4	Module 5	Module 6	Total
Reference to:	1	9	7	5	4	8	34
Example of:	0	6	3	5	3	2	19

There are more *references to* formative assessment strategies than there are *examples of* how to implement these strategies. Case studies frequently provide these *references to* formative assessment practices as seen in Figure 7.23, which implicitly refers to peer assessment:

She discussed each question, asked the highest scorer to read out his or her answer and explained why it deserved the mark. The purpose of the detailed discussion was to help students see that scores were not based on teacher prejudice or bias but on performance expectations.

(ORELT Module 3, Unit 1, p. 10)

Figure 7.23 **'Reference to' formative assessment.**

These implicit *examples of* formative assessment are also evident in the end-of-unit reflections. In some instances, teachers are asked to reflect on the extent to which particular activities improved learning, as evident in these examples from module 2:

Reflections

?

Reflection

- Do you think the activities suggested in this unit adequately address the particular needs of your students?

- Did the activities help improve your students' speaking in the class?

- Were the activities enjoyed by all the students, or were some of the activities easy for students while some others were difficult? How did you handle this?

(ORELT Module 2, unit 5, p. 61)

Figure 7.24 **'Examples of' formative assessment.**

However, these reflective questions fail to prompt teachers to consider what evidence they have to support this assessment and how they might then adjust their own teaching based on the information their assessments provide. Teachers may therefore be unaware of the importance of formative assessment strategies and how to implement these strategies in their own teaching practice.

7.2   Key findings from 'minimum standards' analysis

This analysis of the minimum standards for LCE was intended to consider the extent to which each of these aspects of LCE is evident within the ORELT modules. Such understanding was intended to reveal whether the rhetoric of learner-centredness in COL's official field is actualised in the pedagogic field. Two key findings were identified from this analysis, challenging the assumption that the ORELT modules facilitate the implementation of LCE in the pedagogic field. That is, that the ORELT modules 1) fail to meet the minimum standards for LCE, and 2) lack focus on the *substance* of learning.

Firstly, this analysis found that the ORELT modules fail to sufficiently facilitate the implementation of all seven elements of LCE. The disproportionate number of *references to* aspects of LCE disguises the lack of examples that can support teachers to facilitate LCE within their own teaching practice. This is particularly evident in two LCE standards: 'skills and attitudes' (e.g., the development of critical and creative thinking) and 'relevant curriculum', where the repetitive discourse gives the false impression that teachers are supported to implement these aspects of LCE. In essence, these *references to* LCE create false promises that the modules support teachers to implement these aspects of LCE. This further affirms the findings from chapter six, which revealed that the official field uses open education to facilitate an adaptation of LCE.

Secondly, this analysis has revealed that there is a lack of focus on the *substance* of learning throughout the modules. With few *examples of* how teachers can identify prior knowledge, determine learning needs and use formative assessment to enhance both learning and teaching, the core business or substance of LCE is largely absent. This is further supported by an over-emphasis on the form of LCE throughout the modules. Dialogic teaching (e.g., facilitating

group and peer work) and motivating learners (e.g., through 'hands on' activities) takes precedence over supporting teachers to advance the cognitive development of students. While dialogic teaching and motivating learners are important in supporting cognitive development, without learning driving these aspects of LCE they, as Brodie et al., (2002) attest, can become little more than a placeholder of meaningless and time-wasting activities. Therefore, the central place of the learner and their learning needs is absent from this pedagogic relationship. This shows that the visible acts of LCE are favoured over the essence of LCE: learning. To conclude, this analysis of LCE within the ORELT modules has revealed that these modules fail to adequately support teachers in low-income countries to implement LCE. This draws attention to the disjuncture between COL's policy and practice, and also reveals that the rhetoric to advance open education as a quality, learner-centred alternative to face-to-face teacher education has failed to produce a programme that meets the basic criteria for facilitating LCE.

7.3 Bernstein's pedagogic discourse

Understanding that the ORELT modules fail to meet the minimum standards for facilitating LCE encourages a deeper investigation into the nature of the pedagogic communication within the open education environment. Such investigation is necessary for understanding the extent to which such pedagogic communication facilitates the reproduction of the neoliberal ideologies that were previously identified in chapters five and six. Bernstein's (2000a) notion of pedagogic discourse provides a valuable way of analysing the nature of social reproduction through pedagogic communication. While such analysis has traditionally been used to examine pedagogic discourse within face-to-face classroom settings, this thesis acts on Tyler's (2001) suggestion to apply these pedagogic principles to the open education context so that pedagogic communication can be analysed within this digital space.

Before engaging with this analysis, the remainder of this section builds on Bernstein's (2000a) notion of pedagogic discourse that was introduced in chapter six and focuses on its function within the pedagogic field. This chapter seeks to understand how pedagogic discourse works to recontextualise pedagogy within the pedagogic field. Bernstein defines pedagogic discourse as a "rule which embeds two discourses: a discourse of skills of various kinds and their relations to each other, and a discourse of social order" (pp. 31–32). There are rules for

creating skills, rules for regulating the way these skills relate to each other and rules for the creation of social order, which are embedded within pedagogic discourse. Bernstein explains that *instructional discourse* is one of these rule systems, which establishes the discourse that creates specific skills and the way these skills relate to each other. *Regulative discourse*, on the other hand, is another rule system, which establishes what Bernstein refers to as moral discourse. It is this moral discourse that "creates order, relations and identity" (p. 32). It establishes the criteria that govern conduct, character, manner and behaviour and, as such, it creates the rules of social order. Importantly, regulative discourse is the dominant discourse, which means that the creation of social order governs the operationalisation of instructional discourse. This can be recorded in the following algorithm, which emphasises the dominance of regulative discourse:

<div align="center">

INSTRUCTIONAL DISCOURSE   *ID*
REGULATIVE DISCOURSE   *RD*

</div>

<div align="right">

(Bernstein, 2000a, p. 32)

</div>

Bernstein asserts that pedagogic discourse is constructed by a recontextualising principle that appropriates other discourses and brings them into relationship with each other for the purposes of transmission and acquisition. Pedagogic discourse is, therefore, a principle that facilitates the reorganisation and distribution of discourses. This recontextualising principle recontextualises *what* discourse becomes content and also *how* this content is theorised and taught. Bernstein suggests that a transformation takes place each time pedagogic discourse moves from its original to its new location. He argues that such transformation creates space in which "ideology can play" (2000, p. 32). Therefore, it is impossible for pedagogic discourse to relocate without entertaining ideology. As chapter six explained, open education capitalises on the elongation of time and space that is made possible by digital technologies, creating multiple locations through which ideologies can be entertained. Understanding how pedagogic discourse facilitates the reproduction of ideologies within the pedagogic field of open education is of central importance to this thesis. For this reason, analysis of pedagogic discourse in COL's ORELT modules needs to be examined. Such analysis necessitates an investigation of both instructional discourse and regulative discourse. This analysis begins by examining instructional discourse and Bernstein's (1990, 2000a) notion of pedagogic coding is used to facilitate this analysis.

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7.4 Bernstein's pedagogic coding: Critically analysing pedagogy within the ORELT modules

Bernstein's (1990, 2000a) pedagogic coding provides a way of understanding the social significance of the pedagogic communication that is facilitated in the ORELT modules. This section applies Bernstein's pedagogic coding as an analytic tool to analyse the nature of pedagogic communication within the ORELT modules. This analysis begins by returning to the notions of classification and framing as a way of examining instructional discourse in the ORELT modules.

7.4.1 Classification and framing in the ORELT modules

Chapter three introduced Bernstein's (1971, 1990, 2000a) concepts of classification and framing as a way of understanding how power and control is translated through pedagogic discourse. There are five pedagogic principles that can be used to analyse the nature of control in this instructional discourse: 1) the selection of knowledge, 2) the sequencing of knowledge, 3) pacing, 4) the criteria for evaluation, and 5) the social base through which the pedagogic interaction is made possible. Each of these pedagogic principles are used to examine how power and control is translated through classification and framing in the ORELT modules.

7.4.2 Selection of knowledge

Chapter four's Table 4.11 (refer to page 111) outlined the key questions that guided the anlaysis of Bernstein's pedagogic principles. The analysis of the 'selection of knowledge' involved examining how knowledge is organised in the ORELT modules and who has control over the selection and communication of knowledge. This analysis considered both the teacher and the students as the recipients of this knowledge, given these modules have a dual purpose as both a form of teacher training and a programme of instruction for teaching English. This analysis examined both the classification (C) and framing (F) of knowledge in the ORELT modules and considered whether this pedagogic discourse is strong (+) or weak (-). Table 7.9 provides an overview of this analysis:

Table 7.9 *Analysis of 'Selection of Knowledge' in the ORELT Modules*

Pedagogic Principle	Example	Pedagogic Coding
Selection of Knowledge	COL module writers develop English curricular content as a separate subject of study.	C+
	Units focus on the teaching of specific literacy skills e.g., grammar, reading, writing etc. While, some units attempt to relate content to 'real life experiences' and other curriculum areas, there are only 3 examples of these suggesting that curricular content is strongly bounded.	C+
	Standardised and pre-written module content is selected and developed for teacher training by COL writers. Teachers have no control over the selection of content; however, it incorrectly states that the OER environment gives teachers 'control over their own learning'.	F+
	Teachers are required to teach the standardised and pre-written module content as part of their own programme completion. Module content provides limited opportunities for students to be involved in the selection of their own knowledge.	F+
	Teachers are encouraged to adapt and contextualise the module's content. The reality of being able to adapt and contextualise module content is questionable.	F-/**F+**
Overall analysis summary		C+ and F+

These findings show how knowledge is organised or classified in the ORELT modules. As the modules present English as a separate subject of study, strong boundaries around the teaching of English are created, indicating that these modules are strongly classified (C+). In addition to this, units within the modules typically focus on specific aspects of English language; for example, the teaching of grammar, reading, writing etc. While these bounded activities tend to be taught in isolation (C+), there are attempts to relate the content to real life experiences and other curricular content (C-). This suggests that there are attempts to weaken the boundaries of knowledge between English discourse and the students' own life experiences.

However, the content analysis discussed previously in this chapter (refer to Table 7.6 on page 208) demonstrated that there are limited *examples of* a relevant curriculum that integrates curriculum content. These *examples of* a relevant curriculum fail to provide the type of curriculum integration that Bernstein contends will dispel the power relations between curricular content. Because the ORELT modules maintain tight boundaries between the teaching of English and other curricular subjects, it is argued that these modules facilitate a curriculum that is strongly classified (C+).

The second finding relates to who has control over the selection of knowledge. Framing refers to *who* controls *what* (Bernstein, 2000a) and is important in understanding who makes decisions about the selection of knowledge. By determining how much control teachers have in the selection of knowledge for their own learning and, accordingly, how much control students have in the selection of knowledge for their own learning, this analysis found that the pre-determined ORELT module content limits opportunities for teachers and students to engage in the two-way construction of knowledge. Consequently, the absence of a physical teacher educator within this open education environment creates a space for COL module writers to legitimate and control knowledge through pre-scripted text. This shows that the selection of module content for the purpose of teacher training is strongly framed (F+) with module developers having ultimate control over the selection of content despite the persistent rhetoric that teachers have "control of their learning" (Commonwealth of Learning, 2012a, p. 4).

For students, these standardised modules limit opportunities for them to participate in the selection of knowledge for their learning (F+). COL encourages teachers to adapt and contextualise these modules (F-) (Commonwealth of Learning, 2014c); however, Creed et al. (2005a) observe that teachers may not stray from a pre-determined script when text is received in cultural contexts where the written word is greatly revered. This has further implications when the modules have been developed by an IGO such as COL. Some teachers may believe that changing this digital content may challenge the revered knowledge, wisdom and authority of this Commonwealth organisation. Furthermore, to actually alter the course material is no simple task as many of the units are linked to online resources and online film clips (Commonwealth of Learning, 2012c) which would also need to be redeveloped if the module content were to be adapted. This may prove challenging in remote and impoverished localities where technical equipment and expertise may limit teachers' ability to redevelop these resources. The claims that teachers can adjust module content to meet the contextual needs of the students they teach therefore may not be viable for all teachers in all contexts. Despite the rhetoric that teachers and students have "control over their learning" (Commonwealth of Learning, 2012a, p. 4), this analysis has shown that the framing of knowledge selection is strong (F+). As a result, module developers (the *who)* have control over the teaching of English (the *what*) in the low-income countries that utilise these modules for teacher training.

7.4.3 Sequencing of knowledge

Sequencing of knowledge is the second pedagogic principle, which aims to identify who controls how knowledge is sequenced. This principle intends to determine who controls instructional discourse within the ORELT modules. Table 7.10 summarises this analysis:

Table 7.10 *Analysis of 'Sequencing of Knowledge' in the ORELT Modules*

Sequencing of Knowledge	English content knowledge is pre-determined for teachers and students through its organisation into six modules, which consists of a total of thirty units.	F+
	Progression through lesson sequence determined by 'unit completion' rather than teacher or student learning.	F+
	Teachers are advised that module content does not need to be taught in the pre-determined sequence. The reality of being able to teach content 'out of sequence' is difficult as unit content is developed sequentially.	F-/**F+**
Overall analysis summary		F+

The content in the ORELT modules has been organised into six modules, with each module consisting of five units; this creates a pre-determined sequence of knowledge. Each module has unit objectives, learning outcomes, the introduction of new terminology, units that include specific teaching activities and assessments. Figure 7.25 demonstrates this:

The module content

The module is broken down into units. Each unit comprises:

- an introduction to the unit content,
- unit objectives,
- unit learning outcomes,

- core content of the unit with a variety of learning activities,
- a unit summary,
- assignments and/or assessments, as applicable, and
- answers to assignments and/or assessments, as applicable.

(ORELT Module 1, p. 1-2)

Figure 7.25 *Sequencing of knowledge in the ORELT modules.*

Because of the formulaic structure, pre-determined learning objectives and pre-programmed module content, these modules provide limited opportunities for teachers to have control over the sequencing of this knowledge. This is further exemplified by its positioning within the OER environment where teachers have minimal opportunities to engage with teacher educators to negotiate the learning sequence. These modules present a top down impartation of knowledge that fails to respond intuitively to the rich and contextualised experiences that teachers and their students bring to the learning environment. Because of this, these modules strongly frame the sequencing of knowledge (F+).

While teachers have limited opportunities to negotiate the sequence of their own professional learning, COL advocates that teachers can adjust the sequence of knowledge within the modules to cater for the learning needs of their students (Commonwealth of Learning, 2014c). This suggests a weakened framing of the knowledge sequence for students (F-). Despite this outward validation, in many modules the unit content develops sequentially, requiring students to gain the previous knowledge in order to successfully complete the following unit. Because of this, it may be difficult for teachers to teach the module content out of sequence. Furthermore, the module content also fails to provide students with opportunities to negotiate with their teachers how knowledge will be sequenced. Therefore, despite outward appearances of weaker framing (F-), this analysis has revealed that sequencing of knowledge in the ORELT modules for both teachers and their students is strongly framed (F+).

7.4.4 Pacing of knowledge

Analysing the pace in which knowledge is relayed is a pedagogic principle that allows analysis of how fast knowledge is transmitted and who has control of this speed of transmission. Table 7.11 provides an overview of this analysis within the ORELT modules:

Table 7.11 *Analysis of 'Pacing of knowledge' in the ORELT Modules*

Pacing of Knowledge	Teaching of units and modules is organised into weekly 'lessons'. Thus, the school term and the estimated 15-week module 'completion' regulate the pace of content.	F+
	OER is said to provide teachers with the freedom to learn at 'own pace'.	F-
	The pre-scripted unit sequences make no allowances for students to have control over the pace of their learning.	F+
Overall analysis summary		F+

OER provides an intriguing context through which to examine this pedagogic principle of pacing. As an OER, the ORELT modules are advocated to provide the freedom for teachers to engage in the module content at their own pace (Atkins et al., 2007; UNESCO, 2002). This signals weaker pacing of module content (F-). This notion is reinforced in the introductory section of each module, as Figure 7.26 illustrates:

Study skills

As an adult learner your approach to learning will be different from that of your school days: you will choose what you want to study, you will have professional and/or personal motivation for doing so and you will most likely be fitting your study activities around other professional or domestic responsibilities.

Essentially you will be taking control of your learning environment. As a consequence, you will need to consider performance issues related to time management, goal setting, stress management, etc. Perhaps you will also need to reacquaint yourself with such things as essay planning, coping with exams and using the Web as a learning resource.

Your most significant considerations will be *time* and *space*; that is, the time you dedicate to your learning and the environment in which you engage in that learning.

(ORELT Module 5, p. 4)

Figure 7.26 **Pacing of knowledge.**

However, closer examination of pacing within the ORELT modules provides a contrasting perspective. As the completion of module content is regulated by external timeframes, such as their alignment with school terms, these pacing rules are tightened. Because the organisation of each unit corresponds with a sequenced timeframe of lessons within a teaching week, this conflicts with the outward appearance that these modules facilitate relaxed pacing rules. This reduces the amount of control that teachers have over the pace of this knowledge (F+). This paradox between flexibility and regulated timeframes is highlighted in this following excerpt:

Time frame

You will need approximately 15 weeks to finish this module — eight weeks for formal study and seven weeks for self-directed study — to complete all the activities recommended.

How long?

This is a distance learning programme, thus the time frame is flexible and largely self-directed.

(ORELT Module 5, p. 4)

Figure 7.27 **Pacing of knowledge paradox in the ORELT modules.**

In addition to teachers experiencing deceptively strong pacing, the strong pacing of content knowledge is also evident for students. The same external time restrictions that regulate the teaching of module content also influence the pacing of curricular content for students. As teachers work to 'cover the module content' within the pre-determined timeframes, this allows students few opportunities to gain control over the pace that this knowledge is disseminated. This indicates that the pace in which students engage with this knowledge is strongly framed (F+). Therefore, despite the appearance that teachers have the flexibility to govern the pace of their learning, this analysis has shown that pacing of module content for both students and teachers is strongly framed (F+).

7.4.5   Evaluation criteria and processes

The fourth pedagogic principle that requires careful analysis is the evaluation criteria process. This aspect of instructional discourse is also one of particular interest given that teachers who utilise these modules as an OER are not formally assessed. As indicated in chapter four, while some countries see the completion of the modules as evidence of quality training, COL does not assess or certify this programme (Commonwealth of Learning, 2014b). There is no process for evaluating the pre-determined objectives and outcomes that are established at the beginning of each module. As chapter four explains, the value F^0 has been used to indicate instances where there is no formal assessment procedure. Table 7.12 demonstrates this:

Table 7.12 *Analysis of 'Evaluation Criteria and Processes' in the ORELT Modules*

Evaluation criteria and processes	Each module and unit has pre-determined objectives and outcomes.	F+
	Teachers are not formally evaluated against the criteria.	F^0
	Completion of modules is awarded with a 'qualified' status in some countries.	F^0
	There is no consistent assessment of student achievement throughout modules. Participating in modules is used as an indicator for student achievement.	F^0
	There are 19 examples where teachers are encouraged to use formative assessment strategies.	F-
Overall analysis summary		F^0

Despite the fact that there is no formal assessment procedure for teachers, it is noted that each module consists of a 'self-assessment' activity. This is explained in the following excerpt from the introduction of module 2:

Assessment

- Each unit of this module consists of a self-assessment activity. The assessments are for self-development purposes and need not be submitted to anybody. The goal of the module is to develop your teaching-learning skills, not to test you.

- Assessment is also meant to encourage you to think about and devise some innovative teaching practices that could make your teaching more exciting and relevant to your students.

- All assessments are to be completed at the end of every unit. You may cross-check your answers with your colleagues.

(ORELT Module 5, p. 5)

Figure 7.28 **Assessment in the ORELT modules.**

These self-assessment activities have no alignment to the module or unit outcomes and objectives. Therefore, the assessment processes serve as an additional activity for teachers to implement rather than a form of self-assessment. Figure 7.29 provides an example of this:

Assessment

- Identify five other areas of pronunciation use where your students need to improve. Can you make similar activities for your classroom?

Assessment

Figure 7.29 **End-of-unit assessment in the ORELT modules.**

Each module has clear criteria, unit objectives and unit outcomes; however, the lack of a clear and consistent assessment procedure for evaluating teachers' achievement of the module content shows that there is no formal module or unit assessment (F^0). Similarly, there are no clear procedures for assessing students in the modules. While the earlier thematic analysis drew attention to 19 implicit examples of formative assessment, most of these assessment strategies were not made explicit. The hidden nature of these assessment strategies and their lack of alignment to the module outcomes and objectives indicates that no clear process for evaluating module criteria for students or teachers was determined (F^0).

7.4.6   Space/resources/interaction

Finally, examination of space, resources and interaction provides a way of understanding instructional discourse in the ORELT modules. The ORELT modules encompass a comprehensive range of learning contexts which include both the OER environment and the classroom context through which they are implemented. This analysis considers the components of space, resource and interaction separately in order to provide a thorough analysis of this pedagogic principle. Table 7.13 provides an overview of this analysis:

Table 7.13 *Analysis of 'Space/Resources/Interaction' in the ORELT Modules*

Space/resources/interaction	OER provides a flexible learning space for teachers.	F-
	Classroom space is left to the teacher to organise; however, pre-determined teaching activities may control how teachers can organise the learning environment.	F+/F-
	Teaching resources are pre-determined by module and unit content. Teachers are encouraged to adapt unit content; however, access to suitable resources (e.g., video cameras) may prove difficult in some low-income countries.	F+/F-
	Required resources including printing materials, computers, video cameras, books, newspapers and magazines may not be accessible for all teachers in low-income countries.	F+
	There is a strong emphasis on group and peer work throughout the modules.	F-
	There are limited teaching activities that encourage students to ask questions and seek clarification.	F+
	Teachers are encouraged to promote peer-support.	F-
	There are limited opportunities for teachers to interact with teacher educators to support their own professional learning.	F+
Overall analysis summary	Space	F-
	Resources	F+
	Interaction	F+

Space provides another interesting point of analysis. As the ORELT modules are located within the OER environment, one of the salient features of this platform for learning is the ability for teachers to access and engage in the programme in any geographic locality. Consequently, the flexibility regarding space applies not only geographically but also to the physical space that teachers choose to work. Obviously the intention is for the teacher to implement the units within their local teaching context; however, accessing and engaging in the module content is intended to provide further flexibility and freedom to teachers. Similarly, classroom space is left to the teacher to organise, thus giving teachers further control over how they organise their learning environment. This demonstrates that the framing of space for teachers is weak (F-).

Students, on the other hand, appear to have few opportunities to make decisions about their own learning space. Apart from group work, no specific mention is given to the organisation of the learning space in the modules and it is not clear if students choose their own groups or if the teacher decides these groups. The organisation of all other learning experiences is governed by teacher decision-making. If teachers were to follow the modules 'to the text', it is unlikely that students would have any opportunities to co-construct their learning space. This

shows that there is strong framing of the organisation of the learning space, giving little control to students (F+).

Interaction is the next component of this principle that needs close consideration. As previously noted, the OER environment provides few opportunities for teachers to interact with a teacher educator or mentor to support their own professional learning. Figure 7.30 provides an example which outlines the options given to teachers should they wish to engage in professional interactions:

Need help?

Contact your Google Group support email, SMS number or your tutor.

Group email: orelt_tutors@googlegroups.com

Help
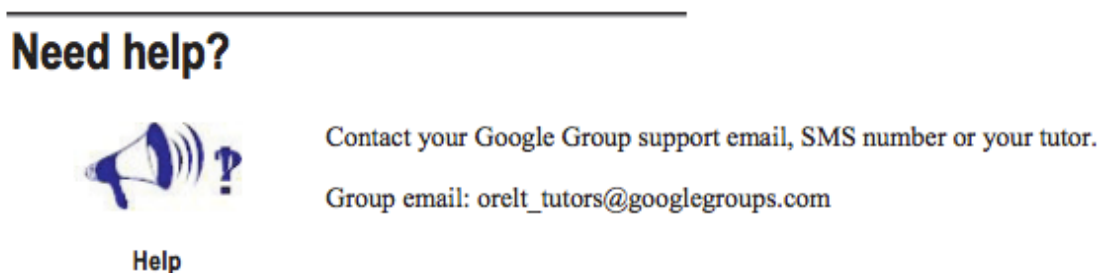
(ORELT Module 2, p. 6)

Figure 7.30 **Facilitating interactions within the ORELT modules.**

As this example shows, teachers are limited in their ability to engage in two-way interactive conversations with a programme tutor to enhance their own professional learning. This demonstrates that interactions are strongly framed (F+).

It is impossible to determine how teachers will interact with their students; however, the carefully scripted module texts suggest that students have few opportunities to ask questions of their teachers to seek clarification and support (F+). Despite this, there are a large number of group and peer activities, which encourage students to interact with their peers as a way of seeking support and clarification (F-). Thus, while the learning environment is organised for weak framing of peer-to-peer interactions, student-teacher interactions are strongly framed (F+).

Finally, the analysis of teaching resources reveals that the modules appear to give teachers control to draw on and adapt a wide range of print and technology based learning resources (F-). Despite the appearance of weak framing, the reality is that teachers and schools in low-income countries may not have access to the video cameras, laptops, iPads and print-based magazines and textbooks that the modules frequently refer to. As the example in Figure 7.31 shows, students are encouraged to use the internet to create a blog:

Activity 2: Exchanging literary reviews on the Internet: Writing a blog

Activity 2

This activity is meant to give students meaningful exposure to Internet-based resources such as a **blog**. Other resources that are based on collaborative and interactive Web-based activities are wikis and social networking sites or online communities (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, Myspace, LinkedIn, Picasa, Flickr). If your school does not have computers with Internet access for students, allow them to work at home

or anywhere they have Internet access. The Internet is a wonderful source of useful information, and we should make the best possible use of it for learning purposes.

(ORELT Module 5, p. 49-50)

Figure 7.31 **Use of resources in ORELT modules.**

This passage notes that if there is no access to internet at school, students should use internet at home or at an internet café. The reality that remote geographical regions often lack internet access at home, school and in the community means that teachers in low-income countries may have difficulty carrying out this activity. This further limits the types of activities that teachers can actually implement because of their lack of access to these required resources. Because socio-economic barriers influence access to digital and print resources, teachers may be limited to only teach the activities in the ORELT modules that require pencil and paper or even 'chalk and talk' resources. This means that socio-economic barriers may limit the choice of resources. This essentially creates strong framing of resource selection (F+).

To summarise, space is weakly framed for teachers as a result of learning through the OER environment (F-); however, students are more likely to experience limited control over their

learning context (F+). For teachers, interactions are strongly framed given the limited opportunities to interact in professional dialogue (F+) whereas students are given opportunities to experience peer-to-peer interactions (F-). However, it appears that the modules facilitate more strongly framed interactions between teacher and students (F+). Finally, the resources promoted in the ORELT modules are unlikely to be accessible to all teachers in low-income countries, thus restricting the ability for teachers to teach many of the lessons. In this sense, teachers have limited control over the selection of resources (F+). Therefore, while there is more variation of strong and weak framing in this pedagogic principle, the strong framing of resources and interactions (F+) assures that this aspect of instructional discourse is strongly framed (F+).

To conclude, this analysis of Bernstein's pedagogic principles in the ORELT modules has revealed that COL has capitalised on the weak framing of both pace and space to argue that teachers have "control over their own learning" (Commonwealth of Learning, 2014c). By analysing each of Bernstein's pedagogic principles, it is evident that the instructional discourse embedded throughout these modules is strongly framed and strongly classified, thus facilitating a visible, or teacher-centred, pedagogic approach. This analysis confirms the previous findings that used Schweisfurth's (2015a) minimum standards to show that LCE is not sufficiently facilitated within the ORELT modules. Hidden by relaxed pacing rules that promote the self-directed nature of this programme, the ORELT modules hide the reproduction of teacher-centred pedagogy in a learner-driven design. Put simply, the ORELT modules enable the reproduction of teacher-centred pedagogical practices.

Bernstein (2000a) was always suspicious of any change in pedagogical code as he argued that such change hides the construction of ideologies. Not only has open education promoted a change of pedagogical code but, as this chapter has shown, open education supports the relocation of pedagogic discourse to multiple sites, thus creating further space for "ideologies to play" (Bernstein, 2000a, p. 32). Bernstein urges us to question who is responsible for initiating such pedagogical change so that underlying ideologies can be identified and exposed. Chapter five revealed how COL is both structured by dominant actors in the global field of education and is also active in structuring its own strategic responses to these wider economic, political and cultural conditions. This analysis of pedagogic discourse in the ORELT modules provides a way of understanding COL's strategic responses to these wider

influences. As chapter six's analysis of the official field revealed, these strategic partnerships have influenced COL's adaptation of LCE within the open education context to facilitate neoliberalism as a principle for transforming the organisation of social life. What now needs to be understood is the extent to which the ORELT modules facilitate the transmission of such neoliberal agenda at this micro, pedagogic field. To do this requires returning to Bernstein's (2000a) notion of regulative discourse.

7.5   Regulative discourse in the ORELT modules

Bernstein (2000a) argues that regulative discourse is a moral discourse that "creates order, relations and identity" (p. 32). It establishes the criteria that govern conduct, character, manner and behaviour and, because of this, it creates the rules of social order. This suggests that the ORELT modules may place greater emphasis on transferring certain values, beliefs and behaviours than it does on facilitating LCE. In order to determine this, content analysis was used to examine instances of moral discourse in the ORELT modules.

7.5.1   Moral discourse in the ORELT modules

As explained in chapter four (refer to Table 4.7 on page 100), content analysis was used to identify instances of moral discourse in the ORELT modules. Each of these instances were categorised as either *references to* or *examples of* teaching activities that promoted the development of behaviour, character, beliefs and values. An overview of this analysis is presented in Table 7.14:

Table 7.14 *Instances of 'Moral Discourse' in the ORELT Modules*

	Module 1	Module 2	Module 3	Module 4	Module 5	Module 6	Total
Reference to:	2	2	3	-	4	2	13
Example of:	13	6	2	6	14	16	57
Total	15	8	5	6	18	18	70

The findings show that there are a significant number of *examples of* teaching activities that explicitly promote the teaching of moral discourse. Interestingly, there are significantly more explicit *examples of* how to teach moral discourse than there are *references to* this notion. In

other words, most of the instances of moral discourse within the modules are teaching activities, thus directly transmitting criteria for social order through explicit and implicit teaching of values, behaviour, conduct and character. This highlights the dominance of moral discourse in these modules. The remaining section of this chapter will examine and discuss specific aspects of the moral discourse that is evident in the ORELT modules, that is values, beliefs, behaviour and character. While it is not possible to provide examples of all of the instances of moral discourse within these modules, a small selection of examples from these modules will be used to illustrate how each of these aspects of moral discourse is used to create social order.

7.5.2   Values

The explicit teaching of values is evident throughout the modules with one unit dedicated to teaching values through literature (*Using literature to develop sensitivity to life's values*, Module 5, pp. 21–33). The unit's introduction outlines the intention of using children's literature to expose students to real-life values such as "honesty, fair-play, patriotism, love and bravery" (p. 21). This indicates that the teaching of values is clear, intentional and explicit throughout the unit. Within this particular unit, students are actively engaged in activities that require them to identify and discuss both positive and negative values. Figure 7.32 provides an example of one such activity:

Resource 1b: List of values to match poster

Resource 1b

Positive traits: *Honesty, loyalty, self-control, compassion, tolerance, firmness, respect, responsibility, bravery, kindness, sacrifice.*

Negative traits: *Treachery, cowardice, greed, lust, disobedience, pride, dishonesty, intolerance, cunning.*

(ORELT Module 5, unit 2, p. 27)

Figure 7.32 **'Examples of'** **teaching values.**

As this activity demonstrates, the list of positive and negative values has been pre-defined and clearly establishes the appropriate rules of social order. This is further reinforced by the assessment activity at the conclusion of this unit. Interestingly, there are limited specific

assessment activities in the ORELT modules, yet the assessment of values is one of these activities. This is shown in the following excerpt:

Assessment

- Which of the following positive life values were your students able to bring out as they worked through the activities in this unit? Mention the literary text, characters and events that brought out the following values:
  - Honesty
  - Hard work
  - Truthfulness
  - Purity

Figure 7.33 **Assessment of values.**

(ORELT Module 5, unit 2, p. 26)

The assessment of values is of particular interest for two reasons. Firstly, evaluation provides a key to what counts as knowledge. The assessment of values indicates the underlying importance of the transmission of such knowledge and further accentuates the underlying purpose of these modules. Secondly, questions regarding 'whose values?' and 'who decides?' is central to this examination of values in the ORELT modules. While it is noted that some activities in this unit encourage students to identify values in their own local context, there are predetermined and prescribed core values that are explicitly taught and assessed.

7.5.3 Beliefs

There are several central beliefs that shape the rules of social discourse in the ORELT modules. While these beliefs are not explicitly stated, they present themselves as reoccurring patterns of acceptable thought, acceptable ways of thinking or acceptable ways of behaving or acting throughout the modules. These are often presented through multimedia video clips and reinforced through specific teaching activities where the visual and spoken belief becomes enacted through the pedagogic process. This analysis revealed two underlying beliefs: Westernisation and urbanisation. The following section explores these beliefs in further depth, with a selection of examples used to illustrate how each of these belief systems are embedded within the ORELT modules.

7.5.3.1   Westernisation

There is a consistent and persistent emphasis throughout these modules on the reinforcement of Western norms. For example, the accompanying video clips portray African men and women enacting typical North American customs, traditions and colloquialisms in an African setting (Commonwealth of Learning, 2012c). In addition to this, voiceovers have been used to record North American accents on top of the actors' African accents, suggesting that North American accents are preferred over African accents. Other examples include teaching activities that draw on western customs, traditions and pastimes (see Figure 7.34 and 7.35):

Resource 2b: Matching task on invitations

Resource 2b

Invitation to...	Text of invitation
River cruise	I would like to invite you and your family to my son's wedding reception on Sunday, 26 December, at the Mayfair Hotel. The reception is at 9:00 p.m., and will be followed by a fireworks show at the riverside.
Dinner	Hey, guys, how about the four of us meeting in the cafeteria at noon tomorrow? It's been ages since we met, and I really need to share my good news with you!
Broadway play	Linda, are you free this Friday evening? I thought it would be nice to take the evening cruise down the Thames together!
Wedding	Jenny, I've got two tickets for Broadway next Saturday. *Vampire's Boots* is playing and I'd love to watch it with you.
Share good news	We'd be delighted to have your and Lincoln's company at dinner at our bungalow tomorrow night. Please join us for cocktails at 8:00 p.m.

Figure 7.34 **'Example of' that normalise Western culture.**

(ORELT Module 6, unit 2, p. 26)

Resource 2: Working with everyday events

Resource 2

Worksheet

a Look at these activities. Which of these do you do regularly?
  i swim
  ii watch English movies
  iii eat Chinese food
  iv listen to music
  v wake up at 6:00 a.m.
  vi take a bath with warm water
  vii wear Western outfits
  viii go for a walk

b Which of the above activities do you do?
  i every day
  ii once a week
  iii every evening
  iv only at night
  v sometimes

c Activities that are repeated very often are called **regular activities**. Share one of your regular activities with a partner. For example:
  I wear Western outfits once a week for my salsa class.

Figure 7.35 '**Example of' activities that promote Western 'everyday events'.**

(ORELT Module 6, unit 1, p. 13)

In both examples, western culture's, values and ideals are presented as the established norm and the cultural benchmark through which students are subtly socialised. This signals a subtle yet persistent emphasis on the socialisation of Western norms throughout the ORELT modules. Earlier in this thesis, Ngyugen et al. (2009) drew attention to "educational neo-colonialism" (p. 109) which is described as the continuation of the colonial encounter through the prevalence of western paradigms that shape and influence educational thinking in non-Western countries. This suggests that the prevalence of a Western world-view in the ORELT modules may influence the thinking of students in low-income countries by working to rescript the "mental universe of the colonised" (Thiongʼo, 1986, p. 16). Thus, as a Commonwealth organisation engaged in facilitating pedagogical change in its former colonies, this finding raises questions about COL's agenda behind the implementation of Western beliefs in their ORELT modules. The implications of this finding will be revisited in chapter eight and discussed in greater depth.

7.5.3.2 Urbanisation

Alongside Westernisation, a further belief that is evident throughout the modules is that of urbanisation. Urbanisation refers to the migration of actors from rural to urban areas. A recent UNESCO education report, *Rethinking education* (UNESCO, 2015), addresses concerns that rapid and poorly planned urbanisation in many low-income countries can lead to environmental, social, economic and political vulnerability. It argues "sustainable urbanisation has become one of the most pressing challenges facing the global community in the twenty-first century" (p. 22). In light of these concerns, this analysis found that urbanisation was subtly, yet persistently reinforced throughout these modules by seeding the belief that it is necessary to migrate to urban centres or emigrate to international cities in order to access appropriate career options. Figure 7.36 provides an example of this:

Figure 7.36 'References to' urbanisation in the ORELT modules.

(ORELT Module 1, unit 2, p. 28)

In this example, the hometown is presented as a constricting environment while "working in a distance place" (p. 28) is upheld as the preferable life option. This notion of international migration is further reinforced in module six, as shown in this following resource transcript:

Resource 1: Exchanging information

Resource 1

Transcript

Schoolmates Nicholas and Maria meet by chance at a popular café in the city after several years.

Maria:	Oh... hi! Aren't you Nicholas?
Nicholas:	Yeah. It's Maria, isn't it? My goodness, you've changed so much I wouldn't have recognised you! It's been... say... five years, right?
Maria:	Mmm... So what are you doing these days?
Nicholas:	Studying for my degree in architecture. I'm planning to join my father's firm after college. What about you? Still following your doctor dream?
Maria:	Oh no... I gave that up!
Nicholas:	Really? But I remember you always announcing how you'd become a doctor and serve the poor...
Maria:	Forget it... let's go and have a drink... Come on, I'll treat you to a large chocolate shake!
Nicholas:	Maria, what's wrong?
Maria:	Nothing much... Dad lost his business and I lost my chance... a medical degree is so very expensive here... and that's only the first reason...
Nicholas:	What's the second?
Maria:	My family wants me to get married and not waste five years studying for a degree I won't need.
Nicholas:	That's terrible! Come to my country... things are much better there... and you can still study medicine....

Figure 7.37 **'Examples of' urbanisation in the ORELT modules.**

(ORELT Module 6, unit 1, pp.12–13) [Emphasis added]

This transcript subtly reinforces that "things are much better' (p. 13) in other countries and international migration for study purposes is a better alternative. This message reinforces the 'brain drain' that is currently experienced in many low-income countries (Geber, 2013; Okeke, 2013). This phenomenon, which sees highly skilled labour leave low-income countries to pursue study and work opportunities abroad, has resulted in middle- and upper-income countries gaining financially from skilled labour at the detriment of low-income countries who have struggled to fill such positions within their own workforce (Geber, 2013). These modules

seed the belief that international migration is a beneficial individual option yet the collective outcome of such belief may drain the development of human capital from low-income countries.

7.6   Chapter summary

To conclude, this analysis has sought to examine instances of moral discourse in the ORELT modules in order to understand to what extent this discourse facilitates the socialisation of students in low-income countries. As this chapter has shown, moral discourse is evident throughout the ORELT modules, with comparatively more *examples of* activities to support its implementation than examples that support the implementation of LCE. This not only indicates that there is a strong emphasis on moral discourse throughout these modules, but it also affirms Bernstein's (2000a) argument that regulative discourse is the dominant discourse in these ORELT modules. Therefore, instructional discourse, which is aimed at facilitating the implementation of LCE, is governed by an objective to socialise students. Understanding the purposes of this socialisation and the agenda that such socialisation serves requires revisiting the key findings from this analysis of regulative discourse.

The findings from this analysis have drawn attention to the values and beliefs that are embedded within these modules. Understanding how these beliefs and values work to socialise students requires returning to key questions that were posed previously in this chapter. That is, 'whose values and beliefs are emphasised in the ORELT modules?" and 'for what purpose do the impartation of these values and beliefs serve?' As this analysis has shown, these modules have promoted values such as honesty, purity, truthfulness and hard work. By returning to the earlier findings in chapters five and six, which showed how neoliberal globalisation has influenced an adaptation of LCE, it is evident how the propagation of these values in the ORELT modules also seek to advance the socialisation of actors into this neoliberal agenda. For example, socialising actors to be honest, truthful and hard working produces a workforce that is compliant, productive and efficient. Such qualities are particularly desirable to the neoliberal agenda when combined with the socialisation of underlying beliefs such as urbanisation and westernisation. By socialising actors in low-income countries into Western culture, this ensures that actors possess the necessary *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1974, 1990; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) to fulfil the human capital requirements of multinational corporations.

Multinational corporations can fulfil their requirements by accessing a global labour market at cost price. Accordingly, by seeding the belief that actors in low-income countries should move to urban centres or emigrate internationally, this further socialises actors to remain mobile in order to serve the changing demands of the global marketplace. Through the explicit teaching of beliefs and values, the ORELT modules facilitate the socialisation of students in low-income countries into this neoliberal agenda. These findings reveal how this neoliberal ideology works as an organising principle of social life within the pedagogic field.

Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusion: Moment of Outcome

Robertson and Dale (2015) explain that the purpose of the education ensemble is to provide a framework to 'crack open' common sense understandings of educational phenomena. With this in mind, the purpose of this chapter is to discuss the key findings that have been identified in chapters five, six and seven and to consider what these findings reveal about who benefits from the globalisation of LCE through open education. This chapter seeks to examine the *moment of outcome* by investigating the wider economic, cultural and political outcomes from the globalisation of this phenomenon by responding to the question: *To what ends and in whose interests does the globalisation of learner-cented education occur, and what are the cultural, political and economic consequences?* This chapter argues that the recontextualisation of LCE within this open education context acts as a guise to transform the axis of power and control within the global education landscape, contributing to the mobilisation of the neoliberal and neo-colonial ideologies. Seven key findings have been revealed through this analysis, which support this understanding. Each of these key findings address a particular moment within the education ensemble, demonstrating that this analysis has uncovered assumptions at each level within this ensemble. These findings are:

1) That the ORELT modules place limited emphasis on learning
2) That the ORELT modules hide the reproduction of teacher-centred pedagogy
3) That the ORELT modules support the socialisation of students in low-income countries into a neoliberal agenda
4) That COL's open education programmes facilitate a learner-centric adaptation of LCE that promotes the globalisation of neoliberal ideologies
5) That the production of COL's open education programmes creates the potential for Teacher Education Institutions to be governed beyond borders, thus contributing to the global rescaling of the governance of teachers
6) That COL's open education programmes support a shift in governance away from the state to centralised sources of global power
7) That COL's open education initiatives facilitates a new form of neo-colonialism

Each of these seven findings will be sequentially explored throughout this discussion.

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8.1 Moment of educational practice:

8.1.1 *Finding 1: The ORELT modules place limited emphasis on learning*

Robertson and Dale (2015) argue that learning should be the centrepiece of the education ensemble; however, this study has exposed that learning is secondary to the emancipatory and preparation narratives that have driven the justification of LCE in COL's policies and programmes. Chapter six's thematic analysis of Schweisfurth's (2013a) justificatory narratives and chapter seven's thematic analysis of Schweisfurth's (2013a) minimum standards for LCE demonstrate that cognitive development is given minimal consideration in both the pedagogic field and the official field. Little emphasis is therefore given to the substance of learning.

As Brodie et al. (2002) caution, teacher-centred pedagogy is hard to shift and attempts to implement LCE can result in teachers enacting the form of LCE practices without supporting the substance of learning. Schweisfurth (2015b) reiterates these concerns by arguing that "ready-made prescriptions", "teacher-proof textbooks" and "teacher education which scripts lessons" (p. 261) lack the contextually relevant substance that supports effective learning. Nykiel-Herbert (2004) agrees by saying that learner-centred pedagogy can become a "destructive weapon" (p. 262) if teachers are not supported with the conceptual knowledge and understandings which are essential for its successful implementation. This analysis of the ORELT modules has uncovered a similar prescription-style approach to teacher education. While this study did not explore the extent to which teachers 'follow the script' or utilise agency to enact their own pedagogical variations of the modules, what is well-documented in the literature is that 'teacher-proof' pedagogical packages are prone to reproducing the form of LCE without the substance of learning (Altinyelken, 2010; Carney, 2003b; Di Biase, 2015; Lewin & Stuart, 2003; 2009; Nykiel-Herbert, 2004; Shah & Quinn, 2014; 2013b; Sriprakash, 2009; Tabulawa, 2009; Woo & Simmons, 2008). Therefore, attempts to reduce pedagogy in these ORELT modules to a series of curriculum transactions and activity-based tasks limits the likelihood that teachers will be supported to facilitate the core business of learning within their classrooms.

What is alarming about these findings is that this recontextualised notion of learner-centredness that has been applied to the open education context fails to place the learning relationship at the centre of the teaching programme. Learner-centred pedagogy rest on the centrality of the learner in the teacher-student relationship (Dewey, 1916; Vygotsky, 1980) yet this open education context appears to have shifted the focus of this relationship away from learning. Chapter two drew attention to the importance that Vygotsky (1980) placed on the role of teachers adjusting their pedagogical approach to cater for the needs of learners. However, the pre-scripted nature of the ORELT modules not only provides few opportunities for teachers to adjust their own pedagogical approach to suit the needs of learners, but there is minimal guidance to support teachers to do so. Furthermore, teachers are themselves recipients of a standardised, online programme that removes them from a pedagogic relationship that adjusts the delivery of knowledge to suit their own learning needs. By removing the physical presence of an educator, these findings demonstrate how this approach to open education has detached learning from the centre of this pedagogic relationship.

While these findings are concerning, they add to a small body of literature that has also raised alarms about the nature of pedagogic communication in open education programmes. Simpson (2013a) maintains that open education has confused teaching with learning and has favoured the provision of resources over facilitating pedagogic communication that promotes learning. Simpson argues that e-learning pays little attention to whether content has been learned and, because of this, such a phenomenon should be referred to as 'e-teaching' rather than 'e-learning'. Simpson's concerns support the findings in this study which have also shown that the ORELT modules have provided a platform for e-teaching with little focus on e-learning. However, this study goes further by using Bernstein's (1990) pedagogic coding to demonstrate why open education is limited in its abilities to facilitate a pedagogic relationship that places learning at the centre. This study has gone some way in demonstrating why open education has contributed to what Simpson (2013a) refers to as a "distance education deficit" (p. 105) and challenges the assumption that wider accessibility to this form of open education will enhance the quality of teaching and learning.

8.1.2   *Finding 2: The ORELT modules hide the reproduction of teacher-centred pedagogy*

COL's assertion that the ORELT modules support a quality alternative to face-to-face teacher education has been disputed by the findings of this study. Chapter seven's thematic analysis of the ORELT modules has shown that the manifestation of LCE presented in the ORELT modules does not achieve what Schweisfurth (2013b) considers to be minimum standards for LCE. This, in conjunction with the analysis of Bernstein's pedagogic coding, reveals that the ORELT modules hide a pedagogic relationship that is strongly classified and framed. This conflicts with Schweisfurth's (2013b) definition of LCE which is defined as a "pedagogical approach that gives learners, and demands from them, *a relatively high level of active control over the content and process of learning* [emphasis added]" (p. 20). This analysis has shown that the 'what' and 'how' of learning is largely controlled by module writers, which provides few opportunities for curricular content to be "shaped by learners' needs, capacities and interests" (Schweisfurth, 2013a, p. 20). While the relaxed pacing rules give the impression that open education facilitates LCE, this analysis has shown that learning is externally controlled, giving few opportunities for teachers and their students to have active control over the content and process of learning. This finding appears to confirm Tyler's (2001) earlier predictions that the digital environment would "de-privilege pedagogic activity" (p. 348) and reduce education to "commodified packages of information" (p. 349). This thesis has added voice to Tyler's concerns by revealing how this "de-privileging of pedagogy activity" (p. 348) has been facilitated in the open education context and how this has centralised control over the content and process of learning. This finding demonstrates that the ORELT modules facilitate the reproduction of teacher-centred pedagogical practices that are hidden within a learner-centred design.

Although alarming, this finding is not unique. It adds to a growing body of development research that has also shed light on the false promises of pedagogic renewal within low-income countries and the challenge this has brought to the much-bandied notion of quality education (Barrett, 2007; Hoadley, 2008; Sriprakash, 2011). In particular, Sriprakash (2011) found that the child-centred rhetoric that framed the 'Joyful Learning' programme in Karnataka, India hid unchallenged control of knowledge acquisition. Sriprakash's caution about pedagogical reform packages masking the reproducing of teacher control also resonates with the findings of this study. As well as this, Player-Koro's (2013) research on the use of ICT to facilitate pedagogical change in pre-service teacher education in Sweden found that

ICT "seemed to operate as relay in the reproduction of traditional ways of teaching and learning" (p. 26). This shows that online methodologies can reproduce visible or teacher-centred pedagogic practices, despite intentions to provide innovative practice and a learner-centred experience.

Bernstein (2000) points out the importance of critically considering why curriculum delivery is strongly classified by asking 'whose interest is the apartness of things?' (p. 11). In this case, COL has endorsed a strongly classified English curriculum. For many teachers and students in low-income nations, English is their second language and while research acknowledges the use of the mother tongue and, in particular, contextual relevance to support second language acquisition(Samuelson & Warshauer, 2010), these support structures are noticeably absent from these ORELT modules. It would appear that these modules divorce the teaching of English from the necessary contextual understandings that would support the acquisition of a second language. Bernstein (2000a) drew attention to the way that the transmission of knowledge is interrupted as curriculum content moves away from local knowledge. With such a dislocation in localised knowledge, the extent to which the targeted recipients – teachers and students located in low-income countries – will acquire the intended English proficiency is questionable. Those deemed to be more successful in acquiring English competence based on engagement with these modules are likely to be students and teachers who are already English speakers. In other words, the cultural elite. Thus, these strongly classified English modules are likely to reproduce existing educational inequalities rather than challenge them.

This finding is particularly disconcerting, given the impression communicated in COL's discursive statements and policy documents that the ORELT modules aim to support teachers to be both recipients of, and implementers of, a learner-centred approach. This rhetoric shelters the reality that these modules are little more than an online textbook that creates a cost-effective mechanism for training teachers (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015h). In other words, the very concern about poor teacher quality that was used to instigate a global exodus from teacher-centred pedagogy has been reinstated under a different guise. Sheltered behind a technological smokescreen, the ORELT modules have quietly enabled the continuation of teacher-centred pedagogic practices, which Bernstein (1971, 2000a) argues amplifies the reproduction of social inequality and educational failure for those deemed to be in need of supporting.

8.2 Moment of education politics:

8.2.1 *Finding 3: The ORELT modules support the socialisation of students in low-income countries into a neoliberal agenda*

As chapter seven revealed, the ORELT modules actively reinforce values and beliefs to socialise students within low-income countries. Bernstein (2000a) argued that moral discourse always stakes claim to the regulation of social order. This analysis showed that values, such as honesty, hard work and truthfulness, and beliefs, such as westernisation and urbanisation, were repeatedly emphasised throughout the modules. Understanding who decides on these values and beliefs enables the underlying purpose for this socialisation to be determined. There are two possible alternatives for determining who decides on these values, behaviours and attitudes in the ORELT modules: 1) that moral discourse has been unintentionally implemented by the module writers, or 2) it has been intentionally implemented to fulfil a wider ideological purpose. Both of these possibilities need to be explored and critically discussed.

The likelihood that the modules' writers have written their own beliefs, values and attitudes into the ORELT modules is high. Apple (1993) argues that textbooks are not neutral resources, as they carry dominant ideological views and perspectives that are frequently held and reproduced by textbook authors. Woo and Simmons (2008) bring a similar critical perspective to the use of international educational consultants to write textbooks. They argue that such process can lead to the re-enactment of the "colonial unconscious" (p. 294) by viewing the consultant and donor organisation as the 'modern' and the receiving country as the 'recipient of modernisation'. Based on their consultancy experiences in Afghanistan, the authors noted that their own efforts to avoid a neo-colonialist stance faulted as they "invariably became implicated through the discourse and practices of the project" (p. 294). The findings from Woo and Simmons' study supports the possibility that the beliefs and values of the ORELT module writers have been 'written into' the ORELT modules. Despite the fact that the modules were predominately written and reviewed by academics in low-income nations, it is possible that these academics have been educated in Western universities and, therefore, relay Western beliefs and values. Their own behaviours and attitudes as educated and socially elite members of their culture undoubtedly frame the perspective from which they write. They may perceive education as a tool for creating modern citizens (Robertson, 2007b) and consequently see that their role as writers is to move actors in low-income countries from traditional to modern

principles of social organisation. It is possible that the underlying moral discourse in the ORELT modules may be directly related to the relaying of values, beliefs and attitudes that are carried by the module writers.

A further possible reason why moral discourse is evident in the ORELT modules relates to the prospect that the indoctrination of these values, behaviours and attitudes fulfils a wider ideological purpose. Woo and Simmons (2008) found that their involvement in a project in Afghanistan carried its own neo-colonial agenda. Despite concerted efforts to resist, they found that they became increasingly drawn into relaying these neo-colonial ideologies. This shows how programmes and projects carry ideologies that have the capacity to influence the actions of others. By using the Structural Relational Approach (SRA) as an analytic tool, this research has identified how COL has utilised its own agency to develop programmes and initiatives that have been influnced by wider structures. By considering documents as agents, these findings have shown how these structural influences have been relayed through digital documents, enabling neoliberal ideologies to be carried through the pedagogic device in COL's open education programmes. While this affirms Woo and Simmons' (2008) findings that programmes and projects carry ideologies, this research has gone further to demonstrate how digital documents carry ideologies that can influence the actions of actors, despite geographical separation from the project site. Because of this, the ORELT modules' writers may have been implicated "through the discourse and practices of the project" (Woo & Simmons, 2008, p. 294) despite their own physical separation from it. The strong evidence of moral discourse throughout the ORELT modules reveals how neoliberalism fulfils a socialising agenda by working through COL's practices, policies and discourse to influence the perspectives, beliefs and values of COL's module writers.

As chapter seven suggests, these particular values, behaviours and beliefs are important for socialising students into a neoliberal project that is intent on rescripting the fundamental nature of social identity (Apple, 2006; Hargreaves, 2003; Harrison, 2010; Mayo, 2015; Robertson, 2007b). As Harrison (2010) concludes, "neoliberalism is not an economic doctrine, it is a social doctrine – social engineering based on a certain understanding of the economy" (p. 60). As this study has shown, values, such as honesty, hard work and truthfulness, alongside beliefs, such as westernisation and urbanisation, are reinforced in these modules to socialise students into a global marketplace. Robertson (2007b) points out that in order for the

neoliberal agenda to advance, "labour needs to be willing, healthy and socially-behaved" (p. 10) in order for markets to invest. Such a marketplace is not only dominated by the prevalence of spoken English and western values, but these global marketplaces often strategically reside in the economic hubs of large global cities. Seeding the idea of urban migration alongside the indoctrination of western values ultimately prepares students in low-income countries for their integration into the global workforce. This study adds to the body of knowledge by demonstrating how neoliberal globalisation works as a cultural ideology to re-establish and reorganise cultural life. Apple (2006) foresees that it is only through challenging the power relations that produce and reproduce these rescripted identities that such social engineering can be confronted.

Apple (1993) draws attention to the message systems that are embedded within text and suggests that these messages "set the canons of truthfulness and … help recreate a major reference point for what knowledge, culture, belief and morality really *are*" (p. 49). These "canons of truthfulness" (p. 49) have been established within the ORELT modules which prepares students for a global workforce that requires them to follow procedural orders, have good spoken English and be productive and transportable. This regulative discourse may seek to socialise students into a new global working class that serves the intererests of the global elite. Drawing on Bernstein's (2001) theorising of a Totally Pedagogised Society, this thesis suggests that these skills are more likely to serve the needs of a working-class labour market in a global knowledge economy. This is particularly pertinent if this labour market is geared towards short-terminism where short-term labour can be contracted at low-cost to facilitate the advancement of the latest form of knowledge (Xavier & Xavier, 2003). In this way, the ORELT modules enable both teachers and students to be what Tyler (2001) refers to as consumers of knowledge, rather than producers of knowledge. This shows how pedagogy plays a pivotal role in creating social identities to facilitate a global social order. By reproducing teacher-centred pedagogic principles within a learner-centred veil, Hartley (2003) argues that teacher-centred pedagogy will continue to produce "generic workers" who are "warehoused" as opposed to "educated" (p. 84) and will ensure the production of passive citizens rather than social actors. Rather than supporting countries to be freed from the clutches of "poverty, misery and violence" (Commonwealth of Learning, 2003a, p. 7), this study shows how pedagogy plays an important role in establishing, socialising and legitimating actors into a global social order.

Importantly, this finding raises awareness about how pedagogic communication in the open education context can reproduce inequalities. Research in open education has tended to focus on the modalities used in open education and how such methods transmit knowledge. Because of this, no known research has carried out an internal analysis of how pedagogic practice shapes conscousness in open education. This research has engaged in an internal analysis of the structure of pedagogic discourse in COL's programmes and policies to reveal how pedagogic practice can be used to socialise consciousness. This not only challenges assumptions about the neutrality of pedagogic practice in open education, but it also identifies how globalising processes are facilitated through pedagogic practice.

8.3 Moment of the politics of education:

8.3.1 *Finding 4: That COL's open education programme facilitates the recontextualisation of LCE to promote the globalisation of neoliberal ideologies*

This study reveals that COL's open education programme facilitates the recontextualisation of LCE to promote the globalisation of neoliberal ideologies. While chapter six's analysis of the pedagogic device provides insight into how pedagogic discourse is produced, recontextualised and reproduced in COL's open education programmes, Bernstein's (2000a) notion of recontextualisation demonstrates how pedagogic discourse acquires new interpretation as it moves between different fields in open education. Chapter six showed how pedagogic discourse takes on new meaning as it transfers between COL's official field and its pedagogic field and how actors in each of these fields reshape this pedagogic discourse as a result of their own changing relationships with each other. Open education has facilitated a learner-centric adaptation of LCE, which has redesigned the nature of learning and teaching, providing access for neoliberal ideology to rescript pedagogic identity and reshape the fabric of social life.

This research has shown how the recontextualisation of LCE in open education has subtly reconfigured what it means to learn and teach. This learner-centric adaptation of LCE works to change the nature of pedagogic relationships by reframing teaching as a 'customer service' and learning as a process of self-selecting 'learning products' to satisfy individual learning styles. Such findings echo Robertson's (2007a) earlier concerns that "personalised learning is the new buzzword" (p. 15). Robertson also raised concerns that this has resulted in

international agencies deploying "learning experience[s] ordered over the internet and packaged up 'just for me'" (p. 15). This research provides a clear case of how COL has capitalised on the notion of personalised learning to create the impression of a learner-centred experience. The central difference in this recontextualisation of LCE is that this learner-centric adaptation legitimates the removal of social interaction between teacher and students — the very social context that Vygotsky (1980) argued is central to learning. Because of this, this study has identified that learner-centricity centres solely around the learners' perceptions of their own learning needs and their ability to select learning products that match these perceived needs. This contrasts with learner-centred education, which places emphasis on the role of the teacher in identifying the learning needs of learners and scaffolding learning experiences to address these learning needs in a way that promotes active engagement in the learning process (Brodie et al., 2002; Nykiel-Herbert, 2004; Schweisfurth, 2013a, 2015b).

As chapter two indicated, the term learner-centricity has received very little attention in academic literature and has frequently been used interchangeably with learner-centredness. Wong's (2012) application of learner-centricity to describe the "individual seamless learner" (p. 19) goes some way to support the findings of this study, which has also drawn alignment between the individualised nature of learner-centricity and lifelong learning discourse. However, this research has gone much further to identify the fundamental differences between learner-centric pedagogy and learner-centred pedagogy by exposing how learner-centric pedagogy carries an ideological purpose that takes on new meaning when applied to the open education context. This research brings a critical voice to the small body of knowledge that has studied learner-centric pedagogy in the open education context and has identified distinct differences between the pedagogical approaches. Such a finding challenges the assumptions that learner-centric and learner-centred pedagogy can be used interchangably.

This research has also uncovered how this recontextualisation of LCE serves as a socialising function of neoliberal globalisation. While *Finding 3* discussed how the regulative discourse in the ORELT modules socialises students into a moral code, chapter six's analysis of the pedagogic device showed how the recontextualisation of LCE fundamentally changes pedagogic identity. By transforming what it means to learn and be a learner, the pedagogic identity of LCE has also been transformed as it has taken on new meaning in the open education context. Bernstein and Solomon (1999) cautioned that any pedagogic change works

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to alter pedagogic identity and consequently opens the door for reprogramming how learners think, act and behave. Furthermore, Tyler's (2001) fear that "de-authoring" (p. 348) pedagogic communication would reduce institutions to become "providers of individualised commodities" (p. 348) raises questions about COL's role in the recontextualisation of LCE. Through the dislocation and relocation of pedagogic discourse within COL's open education programmes, Bernstein's notion of recontextualisation has revealed how open education provides the perfect vehicle to facilitate this reshaping of pedagogic identity. Returning to Peters' (2008) earlier observation that the open education movement was initially established as both a political and psychological experiment, we can see how such an experiment has indeed resulted in a rescripting of pedagogic identity that has served a social purpose to fundamentally change the nature of learning. The question that needs to be asked is why and for what purpose this shaping of identity serves.

Responding to this question requires returning to Robertson's (2007a) concern that neoliberalism has transformed not only how we think but also how we think about the fundamental nature of what teachers and learners do. Altering pedagogic identity through open education has enabled neoliberalism to begin to fulfill its social agenda by transforming how we think. This aligns with Dhalstrom and Lemma's (2008) argument that education plays an important, invisible role in creating 'market-adjusted individuals' (p. 30). Their suggestion that market-adjusted individuals can be treated as a market commodity and be reprogrammed to learn new skills and knowledge in order to meet supply and demand goes some way in explaining why the recontextulisation of LCE is necessary to transport these neoliberal ideologies into low-income countries. Carter's (2010) suggestion that the establishment of world standards in education are essential for ensuring that all countries are engaged in globalisation as a global economic development makes sense when considered in light of the findings of this study. As chapter six's analysis of the evaluative rule demonstrated, COL has taken a role in establishing Quality Indicators (QI) for teacher education and distance education and this standardisation of teaching practice ensures that Teacher Education Institutions implement this learner-centric adaptation of LCE. This shows how COL has played a part in establishing global standards, indicators and rankings that enable education to "work like a market" (Carter, 2010, p. 228). Furthermore, this also draws attention to how the learner-centric adaptation of LCE enables the socialisation of teachers and the students they teach into a "market-adjusted individual" (Dhalstrom & Lemma, 2008, p. 30).

The place of open education in the globalisation of these neoliberal ideologies is significant. Unlike previous curriculum reforms that have seen a change in pedagogic code accompanied by the importation of international consultants and Western experts (Dhalstrom & Lemma, 2008; Mtika & Gates, 2010; Nykiel-Herbert, 2004; O'Sullivan, 2010; Woo & Simmons, 2008), open education creates an invisible physical space for the transportation of neoliberal ideologies straight into the bloodstream of the education enterprise. The invisible face of open education makes it both attractive and effective to the neoliberal project as it engenders a seemingly neutral and emancipatory means to transmit change in pedagogic identity.

As Dhalstrom and Lemma (2008) explain, neoliberal processes "have a treacherous face validity" (p. 40) by appearing to promote freedom, which makes them extremely difficult to detect. Robertson (2007b) goes further to expose neoliberal's internal contradiction by the way it offers freedom yet tightens the "shackles of control" (p. 15). In this study this concern is evident in the way that the strong emancipatory and preparatory narrative in COL's official field creates the appearance of promoting freedom and prosperity while discretely advancing the cultural agenda of the neoliberal project. This supports Peters' (2008, 2009) claim that the open movement is part of a wider societal shift towards freedom and democracy while also working as a "paradigm of social production in the knowledge economy" (Peters, 2008, p. 10). Peters' (2009) observations that the open movement has provided an "alternative educational globalisation [that is] not wedded to existing neoliberal forms" (p. 203) affirms the findings of this study which has shown how neoliberal globalisation has worked through the pedagogic device to redefine consciousness and act as an organising principle of social life. This affirms Harrison's (2010) earlier argument, that neoliberalism is a "social doctrine" (p. 60) and is concerned with "social engineering based on a certain understanding of the economy" (p. 60). This research provides a clear example of how open education facilitates the recontextualisation of LCE to promote the globalisation of neoliberial ideologies into low-income countries.

It is also important to acknowledge that COL's programmes and policies do not sit in isolation. Chapter five provided an understanding of the way that COL interacts within the field of global education and how wider forces influence COL's strategic responses on this field. Consequently, this learner-centric adaptation of LCE and its transportation through open education is one piece in a much larger neoliberal puzzle. Tabulawa (2003) first alerted us to

the hidden agenda of LCE and the role that international aid organisations play in using this pedagogy to ensure the "penetration of capitalist ideology in[to] periphery states" (p. 10). Tabulawa also concluded that LCE was being used to rescript pedagogic identity to "alter modes of thought" (p. 10) so that actors in periphery states would have the same view of reality as those in the core states. He maintained that this was a necessary precursor to ensure the success of the neoliberal regime. LCE has consequently been referred to as the neoliberal "pedagogy-of-choice for the spread of its doctrine" (Carter, 2010, p. 228).

COL's role in the globalisation of LCE needs to be understood within the context of this much broader neoliberal project. Chapter five's analysis of COL's strategic partners has shown how neoliberal ideologies have governed economic, political and cultural conditions within the field of global education which have, in turn, influenced COL's responses within this field. This not only demonstrates how neoliberalism has structured the field of global education through the establishment of certain economic, political and cultural conditions, but it also demonstrates how COL's own strategic responses have been responsible for further advancing the socialising agenda of this neoliberal project in low-income countries. This shows how both the Structural Relational Approach (Hay, 2002; Jessop, 2005) and the Critical Cultural Political Economy of Education (Robertson & Dale, 2015) have been valuable in identifying COL's interactions with other key actors and how COL has used its own agency to transform the way in which these neoliberal ideologies are spread. Robertson's (2012b) argument that the analysis of global education policy needs to go beyond the theorising of global as an exogenous notion that acts upon the shaping of endogenous or local education policymaking has been addressed in this study. By applying analytic tools that have enabled the role of agents and their agency to be considered, this research has examined how both structure and agency have worked within the field of global education to transform the way in which neoliberal ideologies are advanced and reproduced.

8.3.2 *Finding 5: That COL's open education programmes create the potential for Teacher Education Institutions to be governed beyond borders, thus contributing to the global rescaling of the governance of teachers*

The recontextualisation of pedagogic discourse has significant implications for the governance of teachers. As chapter six revealed, the learner-centric adaptation of LCE rejects the need for

educators by reframing pre-service teachers as independent, self-directed consumers that require 'customer support', rather than carefully scaffolded learning development, to respond to their individualised learning needs. This significant shift in the pedagogic identity of learning and teaching has been coupled with a subtle redefinition of the role of teachers. By changing the nature of what it means to learn and teach, this learner-centric adapatation of LCE has ultimately legitimated the removal of teachers from this pedagogic relationship.

As chapter six revealed, the pedagogic discourse in COL's official field problematised teachers as being "inadequate" (Mishra, 2007, p. 9) and unable to cope with the demands of a technology-driven society. Teachers are presented as unable to compete with the "enrich[ed] learning experiences" (Mishra, 2007, p. 9) that open education could provide. This analysis has shown how this recontextualisation of LCE has legitimated teachers to be removed from the pedagogical equation. This supports Robertson's (2005) earlier concerns about the agenda behind the OECD's drive to advance lifelong learning. As she cautioned, the push for independent and self-directed learning through digital technology masks the underlying neoliberal agenda to promote "learning that is independent of the gatekeepers of knowledge — teachers" (Robertson, 2005, p. 162). Robertson's (2012a) main argument that teachers serve as a threat to the development of the knowledge economy, is validated when considered in light of the findings of this research. While Robertson's (2005, 2012a) research exposed the intention to remove teachers as part of a wider neoliberal agenda, this research has gone further to show how the recontextualisation of LCE in open education plays a leading role in quietly transforming the foundations of learning to covertly enable the removal of teachers.

As chapter six revealed, the problematisation of teachers in low-income countries has enabled open education to be positioned as the answer to claims of perpetual failure by teachers and Teacher Education Institutions in low-income countries. Robertson (2013) refers to this assault on teachers as the unfolding "villain and 'hero' policy drama" (p. 3) whereby, on the one hand, teachers are blamed for educational failure, yet on the other, charged with the insurmountable task of rectifying the country's economic woes. This has consequently opened the door for open education to be positioned as the 'hero' by replacing teachers with a digital saviour. Furthermore, the problematisation of the education crisis has been extended to the national level, with COL noting the inability for governments to cope with the size of the quality education crisis (Menon et al., 2007). This has enabled COL to provide an answer to this crisis

by facilitating open education programmes to replace face-to-face teacher education programmes. In other words, by problematising teacher education and by positioning open education as a 'hero', COL has gained greater access to the governance of this pedagogic space.

However, the changing global landscape of state-provided Initial Teacher Education means that this 'villian and hero policy drama' (Robertson, 2013, p. 3) is in no way isolated to COL's involvement in open education. Robertson (2012a) argues that key global actors such as the World Bank and the OECD have been strong voices in problematising the quality crisis in the teaching profession in order to 'colonise the field of symbolic control over teacher policy' (p. 5). As chapter five's analysis of COL's strategic partners has shown, COL's own policy responses have been influenced by OECD and World Bank's policy. COL's problematisation of teachers and Initial Teacher Education therefore reflects the influence of OECD and World Bank policy discourse on COL's own policy responses. Not only does this bring understanding to COL's own strategic actions, but it also draws attention to the way that the problematisation of teachers and teacher education has facilitated a shift in the global governance of teachers away from nation states to development organisations. By declaring a crisis of quality, development organisation have been able to gain increasing control of this pedagogic space (Carter, 2010; Dhalstrom & Lemma, 2008; Robertson, 2012a, 2013; Tabulawa, 2013a). This shows how COL is one of many development organisations whose involvement in teacher education has etched away at the governance structure of state-based education and has facilitated a shift in power and control.

What is significant is that this transference of power and control has remained largely hidden, simply because open education lacks a visible human presence. Colonisation of the pedagogic space has become less likely to spot given that its very presence cannot be physically seen. The findings of this study reveal that the education of teachers and, consequently, the pedagogic identity that shapes their own teaching practice is no longer limited to the borders of the nation-state. Open education provides the necessary vehicle to transfer the control of teacher education beyond national borders and provide an effective way of relaying a new pedagogic code. Put simply, open education enables education to be delivered without schools or teachers by non-state actors (Dale & Robertson, 2007). Given Robertson's (2012a) argument that teachers are seen as a significant hindrance to outworking of the knowledge

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economy, this research has shown how open education provides another mechanism for removing the barriers on the globalisation of neoliberal ideologies.

This rescaling of power and control in teacher education has opening doors for all levels of education to be governed from abroad. COL already provides ODL secondary education as part of its Open Schools initiative (Kanwar & Ferreira, 2015); however, in its most recent *2015—2021* strategic plan (Commonwealth of Learning, 2015f), COL has signalled that it is a priority to expand open education programmes for secondary and primary school students in "marginalised communities" (p. 26). By doing so, COL will have direct control of how knowledge is taught to millions of children in the poorest regions of the world. Not only will this accelerate the reconfiguration of pedagogic identity through the learner-centric adaptation of LCE, it has the potential to redefine the global governance of teachers' labour. With open education providing the necessary mechanisms to teach from afar, this means that secondary education in low-income countries can be facilitated by COL's open education programmes. Robertson's (2012a) concerns that IGOs have laid out an underlying agenda to support a centralised global governance of teachers is evident when considered in relation to the findings of this study. Not only has COL taken a role in agenda-setting for teacher education in low-income countries of the Commonwealth, but the Open School initiatives has begun a process of transferring control of pedagogic communication from teachers within their local context to global centres of power.

Robertson (2013) draws attention to this changing relationship between state governments and international agencies in education and questioned how to best understand this shifting pedagogic relationship within the context of globalisation. While the Structural Relational Approach (Hay, 2002; Jessop, 2005) has been valuable in providing a nuanced understanding of the interactions between actors and COL's strategic responses to these, Robertson's (2013) conceptualisation of global governance as a pedagogical relationship is particularly useful in understanding this transference of governance from nation state to international agencies. As chapter five's analysis of COL's strategic partners demonstrated, the subtle shifts in COL's relationship with key players occurred as COL responded to changing economic, political and social agendas and new partnerships with the private sector. Robertson (2013) concludes that the form and nature of educational governance has consequences for the social relations and identities of actors at all levels of this pedagogic relationship. By conceptualising governance

as a pedagogic relationship, this shows how governance of teacher education can be increasingly transferred from the nation-state to the global entities through mechanisms such as open education.

8.4   Moment of outcome

8.4.1   *Finding 6: That COL's open education programmes support a shift in governance away from the state to centralised sources of global power*

Finding 6 builds on the previous discussion to explore the *moment of outcome* (Robertson & Dale, 2015) by identifying *who benefits from the globalisation of LCE through open education.* This case study has revealed that COL's open education programmes support a subtle shift in the governance of teacher education away from low-income Commonwealth states to COL. An eagle-eye view of globalisation from above (Singh et al., 2005) is valuable for identifying how key global actors benefit from this rescaling of power through the pedagogic space. Understanding this global shift in governance requires close consideration of the rise of private-public partnerships, particularly in education.

Dale and Robertson have continually raised concerns about the rise of supranational organisations, their partnership with the private sector and their increasing involvement in both the governance of education (Dale & Robertson, 2007; Robertson, 2007a, 2012a). In particular, Robertson (2007b) drew attention to the subtle shift in both the labour of education and its governance as a result of the increased involvement of supranational organisations delinking the concentration of state power and spreading this across a range of global to local scales. This case study has not only demonstrated the complex interwoven network of multilateral, bilateral and private partnerships that COL has developed, it also accentuates how COL is one actor in a much larger education ensemble. This goes some way towards comprehending the collective symbolic force of this concealed global governance agenda and the way that open education has been a vehicle to facilitate the rescripting of pedagogic identity that reestablishes a global social order. This case study has provided a rich description of how an IGO operates at a global scale to delink national governments from having sole power and authority over local forms of education.

The increased power and control that supranational organisations have gained in the education space has significant ramifications in the economic arena. Robertson (2005, 2007b, 2012a) has continually referred to the alignment between global governance and economic agendas in her theorising of the global governance agenda. Linking these two elements together provides a much more comprehensive and critical understanding of the interplay between the political and economic elements of the education ensemble. Robertson (2007a) draws attention to the emerging interest of 'large transnational ICT firms' (p. 12) in creating "virtual education and training space" (p. 12) and argues that this is underpinned by their agenda to enhance profits. Chapter five's analysis of COL's strategic partners made it evident how the transference of the global governance of education to IGO's lays the foundations to both accelerate and safeguard the flow of symbolic capital to these supranational organisations. In other words, she maintains that the increase of public-private-partnerships between supranational organisations and multinational corporations has an underlying agenda of enhancing profitability for multinational corporations. This draws attention to the question of who seeks to benefit from this rescaling of the global governance of teachers.

As demonstrated and discussed in chapter five, COL's partnership with the Hewlett Foundation has enabled COL to obtain significant funding to advance specific projects such as the 'Fostering Governmental Support for Open Educational Resources Internationally' initiative. This targeted funding ensured that significant time and human resources were redirected away from other initiatives in order to respond to this monetary grant. This demonstrates the power of the private sector in being able to manipulate programmes, processes and resources to serve its own interests. As Robertson (2007a) cautions, the involvement of large transnational ICT firms in education "is tied to its own need to generate profits and to shape the conditions that give rise to profitability" (p. 12). Robertson, Mundy, Verger, and Menashy (2012) argue that some private sector partners "will manipulate the partnership relationships to maximise profits without regard for the social and environmental costs" (p. 50). By ensuring that learning resources will be made globally available on an online repository, IT companies, such as Hewlett Packard, will undoubtedly reap financial rewards, particularly given that these charitable efforts extend into low-income countries where the market for ICT products and services is still emerging. This makes low-income countries a ripe target for exploitation.

Dale and Robertson (2007) also raise concerns about the fact that these public-private partnerships provide an effective means of depoliticising educational endeavours. Because these partnerships have enabled some policies and programmes to take place within the private sector, this shadows the funders of IGOs from the same transparency and scrutiny that might normally be expected if these endeavours were to be initiated solely within the public arena. The notion of 'partnership' can consequently hide the increasing power that for-profit multinational corporations have in directing educational decision-making, and hence not only becoming "providers of infrastructures but also … shapers of ideas about the world" (Robertson, 2007a, p. 12). This again illustrates how the political economy works in tandem to strengthen networks of power.

This discussion about global governance provides a complex and ever-changing picture of an inter-related network of partnerships. Unlike World Systems Theory (Wallerstein, 2004) that conceives that the world order is dominated by core countries who exploit countries on the periphery, this research has added to the growing body of literature that demonstrates how globalisation is rapidly shifting governance away from national governments to global centres of power (Dale & Robertson, 2007; Robertson, 2007a; Robertson et al., 2012). Unlike core countries who hold the balance of power and economic resource, neoliberal globalisation has favoured the rise of supranational organisations as the key global actors from the ruling class, with social actors at the 'periphery' being those who can, at best, be contracted into what Bernstein (2001) refers to as short-terminism or short-term employment to meet the constantly changing skills and knowledge base that is demanded by the ever-evolving labour market. At worst, these actors may fail to gain any sustained employment in such a cut-throat and rapidly changing labour market that is at the constant whim of the ever-changing consumer needs. Such dichotomy exacerbates, rather than rectifies, social and economic inequalities on a global scale. While these inequalities are not restricted to certain countries, low-income countries tend to be over-represented in indexes of inequality (Robertson, 2007b; Stiglitz, 2006). Popkewitz and Rizvi (2009) suggest that the dynamics of political, cultural, economic and technological changes mean that global patterns are constantly changing, creating new hierarchies, new divisions and new inequalities. Therefore, the role of COL in the globalisation of LCE through open education is a small piece in a much larger and more complex, interwoven and constantly changing puzzle that is argued to facilitate the centralisation of governance to supranational organisations.

8.4.2 *Finding 7: That COL's open education programmes facilitate a new form of neo-colonialism*

Finding seven continues to build on the previous findings to discuss the *moment of outcome* (Robertson & Dale, 2015) by identifying *who benefits from the globalisation of LCE through open education.* The findings have revealed that the globalisation of LCE through open education has enabled COL to regain symbolic control of the low-income Commonwealth countries that were previously under colonial rule. Tikly (2004) claimed that globalisation has facilitated a "new form of western imperialism" (p. 173) evident in the assimilation of low-income countries into a regime of global governance. As this discussion will show, COL's open education initiatives serve to reintegrate former Commonwealth colonies into this global governance regime.

This study has demonstrated how COL's open education programmes facilitate what McEwan (2009) refers to as "inequitable international trade and geopolitical relations" (p. 18). This research has drawn attention to the political, economic and cultural inequalities that have been reproduced as a result of the recontextualisation of LCE through open education. This suggests that the Commonwealth legacy continues to dominate its former colonies through the rescripting of the "mental universe of the colonised" (Thiong'o, 1986, p. 16). However, there are some key differences in the nature of this neo-colonial rule. While Tabulawa (2003) raised concerns about LCE being a carrier for neo-colonial ideologies, his concerns rested on the belief that LCE has been disguised as a form of Westernisation that has been imposed upon low-income countries through the guise of Western aid. However, the argument throughout this thesis has been that the globalisation of LCE is not an exogenous process that has acted upon low-income nations. Rather, it has argued that the globalisation of LCE is facilitated by an interrelationship of global actors who strategically respond to the wider economic, political and cultural conditions that structure the global field of education. Because of this, this thesis brings an alternative perspective to the way that LCE has aided the advancement of neo-colonial ideologies.

By facilitating the divorcing of educational governance from national governments, COL has facilitated a new form of neo-colonial power that is no longer held by dominant nations. As

this thesis has shown, a small selection of global elite actors have utilised the IGO structure to navigate COL into outworking aspects of this neo-colonial rule. Tikly (2004) confirms that this new imperialism has seen power shift from nation states to supranational corporations through global financial markets, technology and the global labour market, making clear 'winners' and 'losers' in this recalibrated field. He highlights the excessive power that the global elite have in influencing policy agendas in nation states. In this study, COL's partnership with the Hewlett Foundation showed how the global elite have gained political, economic and cultural advantage as a result of COL regaining symbolic control of its former colonial states. Neoliberal globalisation has consequently played a pivotal role in aiding this new form of neo-colonial power. By working as an organising principle of political, economic and cultural life, neoliberal ideologies have reshaped the global governance of education and, in doing so, have redesigned the cultural scripts that organise social life. Neoliberal globalisation has consequently ushered in a new form of neo-colonialism that has capitalised on the nuanced interrelationships between global partners to enable the global elite to take advantage of the recolonisation of this pedagogic space.

While Tabulawa (2013a) notes that in the past, colonial rule was acquired by gunfire and warfare, what is alarming about this form of neo-colonialism is that it is hidden. It remains unseen and undetected behind the neutrality of digital technology and the implementation of quality pedagogy. While concern has been raised about the neo-colonial practices and mindsets embedded within textbooks and distributed by international aid organisations (Tabulawa, 2003; Tikly, 2004; Woo & Simmons, 2008), little research has considered the use of open education as a carrier of these neo-colonial ideologies. This study has consequently added to our understanding of neo-colonialism by showing how open education has legitimated new forms of global power relations that are hidden through the rescripting of pedagogic identity.

To conclude, Nkrumah (1965) insightfully noted that "aid … to a neo-colonial State is merely a revolving credit, paid by the neo-colonial master, passing through the neo-colonial state and returning to the neo-colonial master in the form of increased profits" (p. xv). Education aid has provided an avenue for the global elite to utilise the Commonwealth IGO structure to resume its exploitation of former colonies, thus enabling the reproduction of hegemonic power structures (Crewe & Harrison, 1998; Eriksson Baaz, 2005; Escobar, 2012; Nordtveit, 2010).

Schweisfurth (2011) raised the question of whether LCE "should … be rejected as a form of imperialism, or embraced as a potential liberator" (p. 429). Rather than fulfilling a liberating function, this research has shown that the globalisation of LCE through open education has factilitated a new way for neo-colonial ideologies to be reproduced.

8.5 Critical Cultural Political Economy

Returning to the Critical, Cultural, Political Economy of Education (CCPEE) theoretical approach that has underpinned this research (Robertson & Dale, 2015), the following section will discuss how a CCPEE framework has enabled this research to unmask economic, political and cultural agendas that are hidden within the pedagogic device. This section argues that this notion of an education ensemble only goes some way towards explaining the complexity and multiplicity of relationships, agency and social reproduction that interplay within the global field of education. It suggests that reordering and reconceptualising the education moments may be necessary in order to adequately challenge assumptions about the nature of globalising processes.

8.5.1 Revisiting ontological foundations: 'Critical'

The ontological foundation on which CCPEE's conceptual grammar is based has been instrumental in enabling this research to critically analyse the relay of LCE within open education. Drawing on a critical realist ontology has positioned this research to 'break open' assumptions about pedagogy that may not be visible or readily observable. In addition to this, utilising critical theory as an epistemological foundation has revealed the relationship between knowledge and power through the globalisation of LCE. Using the Structural Relational Approach (Hay, 2002; Jessop, 2005) in conjunction with Bourdieu's field theory has enabled this relationship between structure and agency to be thoroughly examined, bringing greater clarity to the critical realist approach that has underpinned this research. This theoretical application of Bourdieu's field theory has made an important contribution to the body of knowledge by applying this notion of 'the field' to theorise the effects of globalisation on educational policy processes. By using Bourdieu's field theory in this way, this thesis has challenged concerns of presenting the field as an overly structuralist and static representation and has enabled the nuanced network of constantly changing and evolving relationships that operate within the field of global education to be identified and acknowledged. This has

enabled the interplay of structure and agency to be examined within the field of global education and it has identified how actors, such as COL, utilise agency to either reproduce or transform the structural conditions that govern this field. Therefore, this research demonstrates how the Structural Relational Approach and Bourdieu's field theory can be used concurrently to bring greater insight to the relationship between structure and agency.

Another way that critical realism has enabled this research to 'break open' the relationship between knowledge and power has been in the way that this research has examined the notion of 'digital aid'. Research on aid and development in education has tended to focus on the inter-relational processes between policy, practice and development actors; however, the provision of digital aid has been largely overlooked until now. This research has challenged the neutrality of such form of aid and has unmasked how neoliberal globalisation works through this digital aid modality to advance a global governance agenda. This research has drawn attention to COL as a provider of digital aid and has highlighted the role that COL has played in advancing the recontextualisation of this neoliberal agenda through its open education programmes. Because of this, this thesis has shone the spotlight on digital aid as a new form of aid provision and has drawn attention to the way it has been utilised to reproduce hegemonic power structures.

This research has also used the Structural Relational Approach in a unique way by conceptualising organisational and document agency which has presented a more nuanced understanding of globalisation. This study has shifted the conceptualisation of agency beyond the individual, to considering documents and organisations as agents who collectively act on their vision and mandate to transform, reproduce or challenge the influence of wider structures. Attention has been drawn to the importance of COL's strategic relationships and the underlying economic, political and cultural conditions that govern these relationships. This research has also shown how these economic, political and cultural conditions are further relayed through the intertextuality of digital documents that work to organise, instruct and transmit COL's policies, programmes and initiatives. In this sense, using a Structural Relational Approach demonstrates how organisations and documents can be structured by wider structural conditions yet also utilise agency to either reproduce or transform these conditions. This reconceptualisation of agency also shows how a richer and much more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between structuralism and agency can be

gained. This has contributed to a more nuanced understanding of globalising processes, enabling globalisation to be further understood as a complex set of dynamics that are in a constant state of flux.

A critical realist ontology has also enabled this research to use Bernstein's pedagogic theory to challenge the underlying assumptions that open education facilitates LCE. This application of Bernstein's pedagogic theories to the analysis of open education has made an important original theoretical contribution to the body of knowledge. In its conception, Bernstein's theory of pedagogic practice was designed as an analytic tool to analyse face-to-face pedagogic communication within a traditional school environment. This research acts on Tyler's (2001, 2004) suggestion to explore the pedagogic relay of knowledge in a digital environment by using a Bernsteinian lense to analyse pedagogic practice in open education. In doing so, this thesis extends the application of Bernstein's theories beyond the traditional school setting. By using Bernstein's theories in combination with Robertson and Dale's (2015) CCPEE conceptual framework, this research demonstrates how a Bernsteinian lens can be used to analyse pedagogic practices on a global scale. Thus, the ontological and epistemological foundations that have underpinned this study have facilitated a critical analysis of COL's globalisation of LCE through open education.

8.5.2   Education ensemble: Critical Cultural Political Economy

As a theoretical approach, the education ensemble and the four education moments that have guided the analysis of this ensemble has enabled this study to interrogate the cultural, political and economic agendas at a micro and macro level. Considering the cultural, political economy throughout each of these 'education moments' has positioned this research to consider the interwoven and complex relationship that each of these elements brings to a somewhat hidden pedagogic space. Considering any one of these elements in isolation would fail to reveal the complex relationship, tensions and contradictions between pedagogy, key actors, various forms of capital, power, control and socialisation. Therefore, examining the cultural, political economy in each of the four education moments reveals how these cultural, political and economic forces are not only inextricably linked, but significantly influence how education is conceived and relayed within a global sphere.

These 'educational moments' have also provided a methodological framework to investigate the research questions in a way that encouraged theorising social processes at a deeper level. Chapter five's analysis of the *moment of educational politics* examined COL's strategic relationships and how these relationships are influenced by neoliberal globalisation which has worked to transform the cultural, political and economic conditions within the global field of education. This analysis illustrates how key actors in this field have struggled to gain symbolic control of the pedagogic space, with dominant actors legitimating lifelong learning as a cultural message system to advance the neoliberal agenda. As chapter five demonstrated, lifelong learning provides the necessary cultural message system to legitimate open education as a cultural script, enabling COL to gain access to this cultural resource. This analysis proved critical in understanding the intricate interplay of power on a global scale within the development community. The *moment of educational politics* determined who defined the rules of the game and how this game is played. This macro level analysis not only provided the necessary contextual understanding, but it also peeled back layers of assumption to expose how neoliberal globalisation works through the interactions of key intergovernmental actors to establish cultural, political and economic conditions that further advance the neoliberal agenda in the field of global education.

However, as a descriptor the *moment of educational politics* does not adequately reflect the continued, interwoven and intricate relationships that are structured by the wider political, economic and cultural forces operating within this field. Rather than a singular 'moment', this analysis found that there were ongoing and interwoven moments where the struggle for global actors to gain symbolic and cultural capital led to multiple iterations of educational politics being played out. For this reason, it is proposed that the descriptor *moments of educational politics* would better reflect the continuous and interwoven nature of educational politics at this macro level. By examining the *moments of educational politics,* researchers are encouraged to pay attention to the nuanced iterations that occur within and between global actors, organisations, policies and documents. This thesis therefore proposes that *moments of educational politics* is used to accurately reflect such analysis.

Chapter six's analysis of the *moment of education politics* explored the macro relationship between official policy documents and publications in COL's official field. This analysis revealed that COL's governance of quality assurance mechanisms in teacher education has

enabled COL to legitimate knowledge transmission and gain increasing control of this digital pedagogic space. This *moment of education politics* was useful in exposing the disparity between policy and practice in the way that it revealed how the open education context facilitates the recontextualisation of LCE. However, the term *moment of education politics* is also somewhat displaced within the context of this study. While the purpose of examining the macro and micro levels of educational practice and policy was invaluable, the terminology *moment of education politics* did not accurately reflect the intention of this 'educational moment'. Alongside this, the similar wording to the *moment of the politics of education* not only enhanced the likelihood of confusion, but it also required significant description to enhance clarity and distinction between the two moments. It is therefore suggested that the *moment of education politics* be renamed as the *moments of educational relay* to clarify that this moment raises issues around the relay of power relations that are external to the moments of practice. In other words, it raises questions about the relay of power and control between policy and practice and, in doing so, identifies tensions and contradictions.

The decision to use the term *moments of educational relay* instead of *moment of educational relay* is also intentional. Rather than there being one moment where power and control is transmitted, the term *moments* is considered to better reflect the gradual and iterative way that power and control is relayed. It is in these cumulative *moments of educational relay* that power relations are believed to be discretely, yet effectively, transmitted between policy and practice. Considering only one 'moment of educational relay' would fail to identify the complex, interconnected and iterative way that power and control is relayed between policy and practice. By focusing such analysis on the relay of power relations rather than educational politics, this brings greater clarity to the analytic process and provides a more focused investigation of how power and control are relayed between macro and micro levels. This notion of *moments of educational relay* still examines educational politics, yet it does so in a much more iterative way. It is for this reason that '*moments of educational relay*' is believed to provide a more accurate descriptor for such a nuanced examination.

Chapter seven's analysis of the *moment of practice* provided greater awareness of the hidden discourse that regulates the ORELT modules. This chapter challenged the assumption that OER facilitates a learner-centred experience and drew attention to the regulative discourse that seeks to reshape pedagogic identities. This micro-level analysis demontrates how such

socialisation serves the purposes of advancing the neoliberal agenda. However, this thesis also argues that the term *moment of practice* fails to encompass the gradual and continual process in which this socialisation takes place. As with the previous moments, it is believed that the *moment of practice* is not a singular event but rather a series of ongoing episodes that discretely take place through the daily practice of teaching and learning. Rephrasing this as the *moments of practice* is believed to more adequately reflect the need to examine the iterative and ongoing nature of this micro-level process.

Finally, this chapter explored the *moment of outcome* by drawing together the key findings from this research and considering these in light of the underlying neoliberal and neo-colonial ideologies. This reveals that COL's open education programmes facilitate a shift towards centralised sites of global power, and it draws attention to the heightened role of supranational organisations in this global governance agenda. Intertwined in this understanding of the *moment of outcome* is the cultural, political economy where neoliberal and neo-colonial agendas were found to influence economic, political and cultural outcomes which favour the global elite. Therefore, each of the preceding education moments in this ensemble has enabled this research to 'crack open' assumptions regarding the benefits of the globalisation of LCE through open education.

However, the difficulty with *moment of outcome* as a descriptor is that it implies that there are clear, definitive and visible outcomes for certain actors within this global field. The challenge identified in this research is that these outcomes are not readily visible, particularly because of their symbolic nature. For example, the increasing involvement of the private sector means that the anticipated economic capital generated from such investment is not only hidden within the private sector where it is sheltered from public scrutiny, but it is also difficult to attribute directly to immediate economic gain. Likewise, failure to generate economic and social advancement is easily problematised as failure of teachers, resources, programmes or even cultural barriers. Because of this, a clear cause and effect of these underlying neoliberal and neo-colonial agendas in the immediate present is extremely challenging to prove. The term *moment of outcome* may not adequately describe the symbolic nature of the 'winners' and 'losers' in this study. It is therefore proposed that *moments of exposé* be used as a descriptor to signify this final moment in the educational ensemble. The *moments of exposé* is intended to expose the assumptions and reveal the underlying ideologies that propagate the reproduction

of inequalities. It might better encompass the symbolic nature of such outcomes and the likelihood that such outcomes may not be observable in the immediate future.

As this section has detailed, it is proposed that the following descriptors are used in reference to the varying moments within the educational ensemble *moments of practice, moments of educational relay, moments of educational politics* and the *moments of exposé*. It is believed that these realisations more accurately reflect the analytically distinct 'moments' within the educational ensemble. While Robertson and Dale (2015) presented a sequential conceptualisation of these moments from the micro through to the macro levels, this research has demonstrated how these moments can be used out of sequence in a way that is best suited to investigate the phenomenon of study. This thesis argues that these moments should be used in a way that is responsive to the investigation of educational phenomena, which may involve reordering and redefining each of these moments in order to sufficiently 'crack open' the underlying assumptions that are inherent in such educational processes.

While these redefined education moments have been justified in the context of this study, these moments could also be applied in future research to investigate the globalisation of educational phenomena. For example, a vertical case study (Vavrus & Barlett, 2009) could use these educational moments to examine the implementation of LCE and how power relations are transmitted between international, national and local policy into practice in a particular educational context. The *moments of educational politics* could examine how education policy in a particular nation is influenced by wider economic, political and cultural ideologies through its positioning in the global field of education and through its network of relationships with global organisations, regional networks and bilateral partnerships. The *moments of educational relay* might consider how these economic, cultural and political ideologies are relayed through pedagogic discourse in school curricular and localised education policies. The *moments of educational practice* could investigate the implementation of LCE at a school and classroom level. Specifically, such research might examine the extent to which structural conditions are evident through the implementation of LCE and how teachers and school leaders utlise agency to either transform or reproduce these wider conditions. Finally, the *moments of expose* might draw on these key findings to identify unchallenged assumption and expose any hidden underlying ideologies. While this illustration demonstrates one way that these redefined education moments might be used, there are many more possibilities for the

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application of these moments as a way of investigating the globalisation of educational phenomena. Importantly, any application of these redefined moments is suggested to be used in a way that is responsive to the investigation of educational phenomena.

8.6   Limitations of research and future research focus

Despite efforts to engage in a rigorous study of original scholarship, this study acknowledges a number of limitations, which impacts the researcher's ability to convincingly generalise the findings of this study. Firstly, as an instrumental case study, the globalisation of LCE through open education has only been considered in the context of COL. While COL has provided a rich case to explore this phenomenon, it is necessary to consider more cases in order to gain a robust understanding of the wider economic, political and cultural agendas that influence its global reach. For this reason, a multiple case study design (Stake, 2006) may provide valuable insight into understanding these wider agendas and it may assist with understanding the manifestation of this learner-centric adaptation of LCE on a wider scale.

A significant limitation of this study is that the globalisation of LCE has only been considered from a policy and programmes perspective and, therefore, has limited understanding of how these policies and programmes are enacted. The scope of this study in combination with the limitations of time and the complexities of gaining access to the remote regional contexts has meant that the researcher was not able to interview and/or observe teachers who have implemented the ORELT modules. This additional insight would have provided a much broader understanding of the globalisation of LCE and the agency that teachers utilise in their implementation of these modules. For this reason it is recommended that future research employ a vertical case study design (Vavrus & Barlett, 2009) to ethnographically examine the micro level enactment of macro level OER policies at local, national and international levels. Such research would provide a thorough understanding of the enactment of this learner-centric adaptation of LCE and its different interpretations at each scalar level.

In a similar vein, a further limitation of this study is its over-reliance on documents as data sources. With attempts to gain access to interview participants being restricted by COL officials, this limited the researchers ability to gain greater understanding of the nuanced

perspectives, beliefs and attitudes towards the globalisation of LCE through open education held by key COL staff and module writers. Such insight would have enabled the personal perspectives of module writers to be identified and the extent to which these perspectives have influenced the writing of these modules recognised. This would help to distinguish if the moral discourse evident throughout the modules was a product of the individual writer's own personal subjectivities or whether this had been a directive as part of the wider module objectives. This would further strengthen the rigour of the research findings and bring greater clarity to the process of selecting, outsourcing and overseeing the ORELT module writing. However, this restriction on gaining access to interview participants has meant that this research has sought fresh methodological ways of using documents and new ways of conceptualising agency. Because of this, this research has demonstrated how documents can have multiple faces, thus challenging the assumption that documents are inferior to talk as a methodological tool. In this regard, this limitation has provided an avenue for seeking new methodological possibilities for the way that documents are used in social research.

However, because this research has limited understanding of the agency that teachers, teacher educators and module writers employ in their development and enactment of these modules, this has the unintended consequences of presenting a static representation of the globalisation of LCE through open education. The CCPEE framework has gone some way in conceptualising an analysis of this phenomenon from varying scalar levels; however, the complexity of constantly moving relationships across geographical networks and locations is difficult to represent without a thorough understanding of the agency that local actors utilise. It is for this reason that future research would benefit from using an ethnographic vertical case study design (Vavrus & Barlett, 2009) to counteract this unintended static representation of the globalisation of LCE through open education.

Finally, by using Bernstein's theory of pedagogic coding as an analytic tool, this also runs the risk of reducing Bernstein's theories to a reductionist analysis void of the rich nuances that his theories were intended to identify and comprehend. Sripkrash (2011) cautions that as learner-centred pedagogy can be reduced to its form without understanding of its substance, so too can Bernstein's pedagogic theory be reduced to an analytic tool that is removed from its theoretical substance. The contribution of Bernstein's pedagogic theory to this research is significant in that it has enabled a thorough exploration of the pedagogic device within the

open eduction context. However, the presentation of this analysis within the limited confines of a thesis word count poses the danger of presenting a reductionist analysis. While every effort has been made to present the findings in a more nuanced light, it is recognised that such efforts may still be seen to reduce Bernstein's theories to a formulaic analysis. It is for this reason that future research might benefit from using Legitimate Code Theory (Maton, 2014) to analyse the legitimation of pedagogical knowledge and practice. As this theory extends and integrates the theoretical approaches of both Bourdieu and Bernstein, Legitimate Code Theory provides an elaborate theoretical framework for analysing such knowedge practices. As this framework has been developed specifically for such analytic purposes, this would reduce the impression of reductionism that the analytic application of Bernstein's theories may create. Furthermore, Maton's conceptualisation of social fields as formations of both knowledge and knowers enables Legitimate Code Theory to build on Bernstein's notion of the 'gaze' to demonstrate how a canonic critique can be used to represent horizontal knowledge structures as well as cumulative knowledge building. This notion of an educational canon may be useful in future research to expose underlying symbolic knowledge structures and how these move within and between scalar levels of the education ensemble. Therefore, Legitimate Code Theory may be a valuable theoretical framework to explore the legitimation of pedagogical knowledge within open education.

8.7 Conclusion

This thesis set out to understand whose interests are served by the globalisation of LCE through open education. COL provided an insightful case through which to interrogate the cultural, political and economic consequences of the globalisation of this phenomenon. This case study has revealed that the globalisation of LCE through open education does not serve the educational interests of students and teachers in low-income countries. Rather, it has demonstrated how open education facilitates the recontextualisation of LCE to support the socialisation of actors in low-income countries into a global social order that benefits the global elite. This thesis has provided an internal analysis of the structure of pedagogic discourse which demonstrates how these ideologies are carried through pedagogic communication within the open education context to serve the interests of the global elite. This thesis has shown how the rise of neoliberal globalisation has legitimated a space for COL to gain symbolic control of pedagogic practice in open education and it has revealed how this has aided a shift in the governance of education away from national governments to supranational

organisations. Therefore, this thesis theorises that the globalisation of LCE through open education fulfils the productive and reproductive purposes of neoliberal globalisation by rescaling the governance of education to global centres of power in order to serve the interests of the global elite.

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