Laboring to Relate: Neoliberalism, Embodied Policy, and Network Dynamics

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Bourdieu (1986) observes that the existence of a network of connections is not given, rather it is "the product of endless effort" required "in order to produce and reproduce lasting, useful relationships that can secure material or symbolic profits" (p. 90).

This paper builds on previous research (Ball, 2012, Ball & Junemann, 2012) to explore some aspects of the embodiment of policy. I draw on Larner and Laurie's (2010) work on technocratic expertise and how, as she puts it, "privatisation ideas and practices are transferred in embodied forms," and in particular her argument "that this has significant implications for how privatisation is globalized" (p. 218). Concomitantly, I respond to McFarlane's (2009) assertion that we need to pay much greater attention to the labor of policy work (Gale, 2003). From these starting points, the paper focuses on the "multiple actors, multiple geographies and multiple translations involved in the processes of policy transfer" (Larner & Laurie, 2010, p. 225) and, more generally, how these actors play a part in the neoliberalization of education or, to paraphrase Rankin (2003), in "anchoring neoliberalism" (p. 709).

I begin and end with discussions of research concepts, research method, and their interrelation: that is, policy networks, policy ethnography, and policy mobility. The central section is mainly devoted to a presentation of various data to adumbrate one part of a global education policy network with a focus on India (and the Indian Education Reform Movement [IERM]) and on one network participant.

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INTRODUCTION

Larner and Laurie's (2010) paper explored the relationship between neoliberalism and expertise, or what is sometimes called "techno-politics." They say:

> It is crucial to our argument to recognise that the diverse experts who become "travelling technocrats," whether from the global north or south … are not simply policymakers and technical experts who are trained in elite institutions, then fan across the globe imposing policy recipes as if politics didn't exist and places didn't matter …. Relatedly, experts are increasingly moving between private, public and third sector organisations, and between local, national and international institutions, reshaping these accordingly. (p. 219)

With a focus on New Zealand telecoms and British water privatizations, Larner and Laurie consider the perspectives and biographies of a small group of ex-public sector engineers who embark upon global careers subsequent to the privatization of their "home" employment.

> To develop our analysis of travelling engineers we drew initially on our earlier research data (which included diverse documentary sources and extensive interviews with engineers), complementing and updating this with the publicly available industry documents, such as government promotional statements, company marketing material, and "public biographies" such as engineer's Curricula Vitas that are now widely available on the internet. (p. 220)

Larner and Laurie's analysis also outlines some of the complexities of *glocalization*—the interplay of global *forms* (in their case privatization) with local circumstances. In relation to this, McFarlane (2009) argues we should be attending much more in our analyses of policy to "the labour of assembling and reassembling sociomaterial practices that are diffuse, tangled and contingent" (p. 562), or, in other words, to "actually existing neoliberalism" (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). This involves both giving attention to the labor of policy actors and thinking differently about the labor of policy researchers—how we research policy (see below).

In this paper, I will attempt something similar to what Larner and Laurie did with a finer focus and more specific attention to the work of disseminating, legitimizing, and reassembling neoliberal imaginaries in one locality—India—but in relation to and as part of a *global education policy community*. By starting from one *glocal* actor, Ramya Venkataraman (RV) (until recently Leader of McKinsey & Company's Education Practice in India) and her network relations (see Figure 1) and network activities, I document and explore some of the work that goes into the recontextualization of neoliberal policy and the mobilization of a local epistemic community around neoliberal policy ideas. As Larner and Laurie suggest (2010), it is important to recognize that "embodied experts may include 'middling' actors, as well as the hegemonic institutions and actors, and NGOs and transnational social movements, who feature in most existing accounts" (p. 224).

In a series of studies with colleagues (Junemann, Ball, & Santori, 2015; Olmedo, Bailey, & Ball, 2013; Santori, Ball, & Junemann, 2016), I have begun to explore some of the global interdependences and mobilities of policies and policy actors, focusing in particular on the role of businesses and philanthropy in education policy, deploying the trope of a *global policy network* as an analytical and representational device. This has involved a mapping and representation of
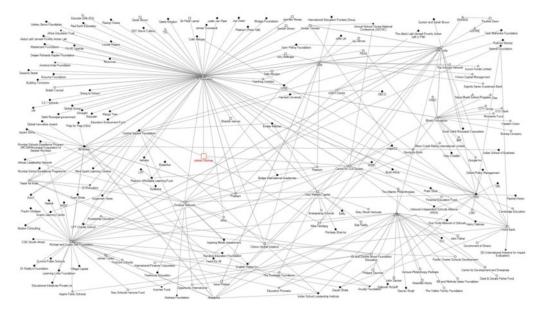
FIGURE 1   Indian Education Reform Movement.

a "global education policy field" (Lingard & Rawolle, 2011; Lingard & Sellar, 2014), and, in relation to this, the development of *network ethnography* as a method—a hybrid and adapted version of social network analysis (Hogan, 2015). The argument here is that a network is both a *method* for the analysis of educational reform and governance, and a *representation of active social relations and of sites of social and policy activity*.

The network addressed here consists of complex, enduring, and evolving connections between people, objects, and technologies across multiple and distant spaces and times. It is a set of relations that are constantly made and remade within the processual relations that constitute them (Massey, 2005). That is to say, networks such as this are always *under construction*; "always in the process of being made … never finished; never closed" (Massey, 2005, p. 9). Policy networks are then a set of interconnected policy spaces that are virtual and real, distant and intimate, formal and informal, ideological and social, vibrant and sometimes fragile.

Intersecting and overlapping network relations and interactions amplify the process of reform and its constituent discourses and technologies are "held in place" by "chains of on-going effort" (Fenwick, 2009, p. 104). They are "the chains, circuits, networks, webs, and translations in and through which policy and its associated discourses and ideologies are made mobile and mutable" (McCann & Ward, 2012, p. 43).

Policy networks are not just a set of connections between sites, but also represent a history of effort and various forms of materiality and performance. This facilitates the reassembling and disassembling, dispersion and transformation (McFarlane, 2009, p. 566) of global forms and policy technologies. In other words, "Sites in translocal assemblages have more depth than the notion of 'node' or 'point' suggests (as connoted by network)" (McFarlane, 2009, p. 562).

TABLE 1
Research Interviews: The Indian Education Reform Movement

Organization	Interview participant
McKinsey	Ramya Venkataraman
Ark (India)	Amitav Virmani
Centre for Civil Society	Prath Shah
Azim Premji Foundation	Anurag Behar
Akanksha Foundation	Vandana Goyal
STIReducation	Sharath Jeevan, James Townsend
Teach for India	Tomos Davies
Going to School	Lisa Heydlauff
Central Square Foundation	Ashish Dhawan
Villgro	Kavita Rajagopalan
Michael and Susan Dell Foundation	Prachi Windlass
Pearson Affordable Learning Fund	Ember Melcher, Sir Michael Barber

The portrayal and analysis of these complex, translocal, evolving and multimedia social relations requires an appropriate method of research. "Network ethnography" (see Ball, 2012) seems best suited. Network ethnography is an assemblage of research tactics and techniques that engages with the organization and processes of network relations. It involves a combination of *mapping, visiting, and questioning* and as Marcus (1995) puts it, "following" policy. This following is both virtual (through the Internet and social media) and face-to-face (interviews with network actors and attendance at network events). It involves following people and "things" (like blended learning, assessment, public–private partnerships [PPPs], as well as metaphors, plots, lives and conflicts, and "money" [Ball 2012; Junemann et al., 2015; Santori et al., 2016]). It involves close attention to organizations and actors within the global education policy field (and their movement), to the chains, paths and connections that join up these actors, and to "situations" and events in which policy knowledge is mobilized and assembled. These entities include not only the "whos" and "whats," but also the "wheres" (and "whens") of policy—the places and events in which the past, present, and potential futures of education coexist (McCann & Ward, 2012, p. 48). The "wheres," as McCann and Ward (2012) put it, imply both "following policies and 'studying through' the sites and situations of policymaking" (p. 42). The "who" delves into the work of the policy actors, specifically "how policy actors circulate policies among cities, how they draw on circulating policy knowledge and how and for whom they put these engagements to use as they assemble their own 'local' policies" (McCann & Ward, 2012, p. 42). All of this requires "staying close to practice" (McCann & Ward, 2012, p. 45). As a result, network ethnographers or "global ethnographers … become the living embodiment of the processes we are studying" (Burawoy, 2000, p. 4). As researchers we travel, we attend, we meet, we network—in order to research networks. Our practice is homologous with the networks we research.

The case of network ethnography in this paper has involved deep and extensive Internet searches (focused on actors, organizations, events) and attention to related social media, blogs, podcasts, Twitter, and documents; interviews with nodal actors within the network (14 were undertaken—see Table 1); and attendance at network events, for example, WISE (Dohar), SANKALP (Mumbai), PALF meetings (Johannesburg and London), and the mEducation Al-

liance Symposium (Washington). These data are used both to map the global education policy network, of which the IERM is a part, and as the basis for an analysis of the dynamics and labor of networking (Ball, 2012).

Policy Actors

The starting point for this piece of analysis is one node, one point in the global education policy community, one person: Ramya Venkataraman.

Ramya recently received a "global entrepreneurship award" in McKinsey for building the firm's education practice in India. She continues to be an advisor to McKinsey but now heads a third sector organization CENTA (see below). Ramya has driven several pioneering and landscape-shaping on-the-ground efforts in both school education and skills. She has also contributed to policies, authored a few publications, informally guided young organizations, and is a member of a few significant education committees in India. Ramya holds a B.Tech. from IIT Delhi and an MBA from IIM Calcutta, and has received prestigious awards for leadership at both institutes (http://www.zoominfo.com/p/Ramya-Venkataraman/1842534289).

Ramya Venkataraman might be described as a "mover and shaker" (Williams, 2002)—someone who has the ability to connect and ensure cooperation within and across different networks by sharing common goals and combining resources. She also manages "within inter-organisational theatres," accumulating considerable network capital as she moves between sectors (Williams, p. 104). This is evident in the network (see Figure 1) and the activities and relationships adumbrated in Table 2.

Ramya has had a number of roles with and has participated in private, public, and third sector organizations. There is an epistemic coherence and convergence within these roles and relationships focused on reform, enterprise, and the participation of new actors in education policy and service delivery (see Table 1). This analysis will focus on three points: on relationships, activities, and discourse. The key relationships addressed here are those signaled in the interviews conducted for the research project—the organizations and people (see Table 1) who constitute the self-styled IERM.

As for the local policy relations involved in her world, Ramya Venkataraman explained:

> I absolutely see myself as part of an Indian education reform movement. I think we all are reasonably networked with each other and we keep involving each other on various things that we are doing. You can say it's a loose network, which is serving as a movement. I think we still have some way to go in terms of really synergizing and creating a movement out of it.

In India there is a burgeoning set of organizations and events engaged in the activities of education reform (Tables 1 and 2 offer a glimpse of this). Ramya Venkataraman is a participant in this as an agent, speaker, writer[1] and advocate for change (see below for an account of some of these roles and some of the organizations with which she is involved)—putting certain forms of

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[1] She has contributed to McKinsey's global publications, "How the World's Most Improved School Systems Keep Getting Better" (2010) and "Education to Employment: Designing a System That Works" (2012), and is the lead author of "Designing Philanthropy for Impact: Giving to the Biggest Gaps in India" (2013).

TABLE 2
Ramya Venkataraman—Network Participation

Participation	Organization Description
Unconvention—Villgro Awards (Jury)	Villgro is one of India's oldest and foremost social enterprise incubators that funds, mentors, and incubates early-stage, innovation-based social enterprises that impact the lives of India's poor. Established by Villgro in 2009, Unconvention is a platform that offers a combination of initiatives focused on inspiring, discovering, and nurturing social enterprises that have the potential for high impact on the lives of the poor in India.
Nand and Jeet Khemka Foundation (Podcast)	An Indian public charitable trust established in 2005 involved in the key areas of climate change, social entrepreneurship, and school-based leadership development with values. Seeks to build key pillars of strategic philanthropy. Their flagship Life Skills and Leadership Program focuses on embedding a leadership culture into the school curriculum.
InspirED 2014 (Speaker)	An educational conference that brings together people with varied backgrounds with one common goal: to end educational inequity. Participants include students, schoolteachers, school leaders, head masters, teacher trainers, entrepreneurs, government officials, corporate CSR heads, and other influencers. InspirEd is run by Teach For India, a nonprofit organization and nationwide movement striving to bridge the educational inequity gap for all children in the country.
Global Education and Skills Forum (Speaker, 2015 Ideaslab: Designing the Future of the Teaching Profession)	Attracts leaders in business, finance, government, public policy, academia, philanthropy.
Centre for Teacher Accreditation (CENTA) (Founder Director & CEO)	Aims to recognize outstanding efforts and performance among teachers.
School of Tomorrow Conference 2012/2013—(Speaker)	School Choice Campaign (SCC) is a policy initiative of the Centre for Civil Society to ensure that all children receive whatever sort of quality education they choose. SCC believes that an education system can be called truly successful when it is flexible enough to cater to each student as an individual.
XSEED Education (Conference Speaker—"Schools of Tomorrow")	An educational approach developed by iDiscoveri, India. As a complete academic solution for schools, it raises student performance and builds the quality of teaching inside classrooms.
Inclusive Media for Change (IM4Change)(Writer)	Highlights for public concern and action the issues of livelihoods, agriculture, and inclusive development through better and sharper media coverage.
Pratham (Fundraiser)	Established in 1994 with the initial support of UNICEF. The Pratham Movement is an inspiring coalition of corporate leaders, academic professionals, the Indian government, and the international community.

TABLE 2
(Continued)

Participation	Organization Description
McKinsey (Education Lead, Writer, Consultant)	Serves a wide range of education clients spanning school systems, vocational, and university education. Supports clients on multiyear journeys to improve education system performance with a focus on building the capabilities of system and school leaders to have the skills and support they need to deliver substantial and lasting improvements in student success.
StirEducation (Advisory Board Member)	A social enterprise based in England, incubated by ARK, with the aim to build a movement of teacher changemakers who develop innovative micro-solutions ("micro-innovations"), implement effective practices, and influence peers and policy makers—all to improve children's learning.
Kaizen & INSEAD Education Symposium (Moderator)	Kaizen is a private equity firm focused on investing with a distinct focus on companies and entrepreneurs who have the potential to lead their domains. INSEAD is one of the world's leading and largest graduate business schools.
India School Leadership Institute (Academy Faculty Member)	Seeks to eliminate educational inequality in India by creating a pipeline of high-performing leaders that will lead the nation's schools into a new era of excellence.
GlobalTeacherPrize.com event at Global Education and Skills Forum (Attendee, 2015)	An annual one million dollar award from the Varkey Foundation given to a super-special teacher.
FutureForum Roundtables (Speaker—Realizing Quality Education at Scale)	A networking event related to Ashoka.

policy knowledge to use through relationships, activities, and discourse. She has contributed to a wide variety of events—some of the "wheres" of policy, involving a variety of organizations, (philanthropic, business, third sector, and sometimes government).

Each of these organizations share a discourse, to different extents, which relates together social enterprise, strategic philanthropy, leadership and partnership, and concerns around equity and opportunity. These are all evident in the focus of events in which Venkataraman participates and the missions of organizations with which she works.

Connecting, Cooperating, Sharing, and Combining

The events outlined in Table 2 are moments of *meetingness* when network members from a range of backgrounds come together, where stories are told, visions are shared, arguments are reiterated, new relations and commitments are made, partnerships are forged, and where "a form of 'buzz' (is) generated by the co-presence of policy makers and practitioners from a range of different contexts" (Cook & Ward, 2012, p. 150). These are also points within an informational infrastructure,

TABLE 3
Extracts from Ramya Venkataraman's Writing and Presentations

A.   Access to and enrollment in school education in India have grown significantly in the last two decades, to over 90% now. This should be celebrated. Quality, however, remains a serious challenge. Pratham's Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) 2013 shows 53% of class 5 children in rural India cannot read class 2 text. Two Indian states participating in the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2011 ranked second to last and third to last of 74 countries and states globally.
(http://www.livemint.com/Opinion/RDm6cey8mczcZNjsYr1ZKL/An-agenda-for-school-education.html)

B.   Measurement of outcomes in a school system has never been easy but assessment of student learning is something that we find to be quite central to all high-performing school systems and increasingly in many other school systems around the world.
Assess conceptual learning through an independent agency annually and celebrate improvement: India should test a sample of students in classes 3, 5, and 8, across government and private schools, for their understanding of concepts. Although these should be low stakes for the student (no pass or fail), they could give the system valuable feedback for improvement, help design initiatives, and provide performance transparency.
(http://www.livemint.com/Opinion/RDm6cey8mczcZNjsYr1ZKL/An-agenda-for-school-education.html)

C.   Accelerate the use of technology for education: Technology can play several roles in education—interactive and customized learning models, increased reach of high- quality teachers in distance mode, tools for supporting teachers and principals, and administrative tools for efficiency.
(http://www.livemint.com/Opinion/RDm6cey8mczcZNjsYr1ZKL/An-agenda-for-school-education.html)

D.   Studies by McKinsey & Co., OECD, and Wallace Foundation all report that school leadership is one of the most critical factors for student success. If school leadership is a major barrier to the success of our schools, India School Leadership Institute seeks to overcome this challenge by fostering a pipeline of excellent school leaders. Our goal is to set the gold standard for school leadership training in India.
(http://www.educationinnovations.org/blog/india-school-leadership-institute-our-journey-so-far)

E.   Having identified the sector they wish to address and the prevailing gap in that sector, donors should apply their own "theory of change" to the problem at hand. Over time, we advise Indian donors to ensure that at least 30 to 40% of their portfolios are dedicated to more indirect interventions that can drive larger scale, more sustainable change. Finally, irrespective of the type of intervention, donors should build in relevant success factors early.
(http://voices.mckinseyonsociety.com/india-philanthropy-impact/)

G.   We see three or four possible kinds of roles for the private sector if you are talking about school system reform at scale.

H.   One, there are several organizations that are gradually becoming specialists in aspects such as teacher training, headmaster training, assessment of student learning.
Second, we also find entities who can run high-quality schools in an end-to-end manner.
Third, there is probably a role of designing and managing a system transformation in an end-to-end manner.
Four, foundations, corporates, multilaterals, donors can play a "catalytic role" in system improvement and system transformation. These private entities can be performance-managed through third-party tests of learning. Experience of charter schools in the United States, the UK, South Africa, and Pakistan show that quality selection and evaluation norms are critical. (MINT,
http://www.livemint.com/Opinion/RDm6cey8mczcZNjsYr1ZKL/An-agenda-for-school-education.html?utm_source=copy)

I.   Ramya touched upon common success factors (such as funding, selection, autonomy, and outcome evaluation) to make PPPs work in India, and showed that they are in clear consistency with international examples. She also shared the example of Mumbai School Excellence Programme (SEP), which is a unique partnership between the government bodies (Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, Maharashtra SCERT, and Text Book Bureau), partnering with private and nongovernment education players (Naandi Foundation, Save the Children, Kaivalya Education Foundation, and Educational Initiatives) with external funding and governance (from UNICEF and Michael and Susan Dell Foundation) and programme design and management (McKinsey and Company) support.
(http://schoolchoice.in/scnc2013/event-report.pdf)

TABLE 3
(Continued)

J.	Question: "Will decentralization really work?"—Ravi Shanker, participant from Tamil Nadu
	A. "Take the example of the New York City school reforms."—Ramya Venkataraman
	(http://schoolchoice.in/scnc2013/event-report.pdf)
K.	Although school education is largely a state government subject, the center can do a lot to create an enabling environment for government and private entities, ensure accountability, and shape flagship programs.
	Leverage private expertise to run high-quality government schools that can be examples and resources for the system: Incentivize and encourage state governments to run, say, at least 20% of government schools in the next five years in public–private partnership mode, combining government infrastructure with select private management bringing their teachers, principal, and methodologies.
	(http://www.livemint.com/Opinion/RDm6cey8mczcZNjsYr1ZKL/An-agenda-for-school-education.html)

international in reach, made up of "institutions, organizations, and technologies that, in various ways, frame and package knowledge about best policy practices … and cutting-edge ideas and then present that information to specific audiences" (McCann, 2008, p. 894). For speakers and participants such as Ramya Venkataraman "their place on the stage relies on their ability (and that of the organizers) to situate them within widely accepted and acknowledged successful examples" (Cook & Ward, 2012, p. 140).

These events and people and infrastructural elements of the policy network such as websites, podcasts, e-mail circulation lists, and associated publications all have their place and role in what Cook and Ward (2012) call "policy pipelines." Through transnational policy pipelines pass both tacit knowledge and knowledge in more codified forms, and "learning acquired through participation in trans-urban policy pipelines dissipates through the different 'local' clusters of practitioners and policy makers"—this is what Cook and Ward (2012, p. 141) call "spill-over." In part, this "spill-over" takes the form of assumptions, arguments, and assertions that work together as a discursive ensemble to construct a rationale for reform.

Policy Stories and a Discursive Ensemble

Within Ramya Venkataraman's writing and presentations, there is the deployment and reiteration of a particular *discursive ensemble*, a set of tightly interrelated and interdependent concepts, ideas, and arguments addressed to educational reform (see Table 3). The ensemble joins up a set of arguments, assertions, and assumptions, in relation to the state and its alternative, that serve as a rationale for the processes of reform of education. The elements of this ensemble are both local and specific as well as generic and global. They are reiterated at almost all of the nodes in the global policy network—almost every website or network event rehearses and deploys them. Although they are articulated and recombined in different ways and given different degrees of emphasis, they have a coherence which underpins network membership. As Marsh and Smith (2000, p. 6) put it, "networks involve the institutionalization of beliefs, values, cultures and particular forms of behaviour." These are made up not simply of pragmatic relations, but also constitute moral and epistemic communities.

The ensemble takes as its starting point the failures of the state, and a state of crisis in education (A)—the assertion that the government schools are ineffective and unfair. This starting point is the basis for a set of linked arguments: the replacement of bureaucracy by enterprise, through PPPs (I) and/or forms of private provision (H/G); and the need for assessment (as a way of measuring and managing the system) (B); the deployment of IT, that is, assessment software and big databases (C); at the institutional level the strategic role of leadership skills and sensibilities in driving change and raising quality (D) and to leverage for change from outside agencies, in particular from strategic philanthropy (E). The private sector is given a privileged role in all of this as agents of change and of innovation (F) through direct forms of private provision (H). Leadership, partnerships and assessment are offered as practices that "work"—for which there is evidence or stories of success in other places (J). The state then reappears in a different form (K) as a *competition state* (Jessop, 2002), which facilitates, contracts, sets targets, and monitors—that makes and regulates markets.

Embedded and represented in these arguments is a version of neoliberal rationality and its "state phobia" as Foucault (2010) calls it, in relation to the "old" state. Over and against this, the *competition state* is imagined as lean and frugal. Bureaucracy is displaced, innovation and creativity are "released" through the participation of business and civil society actors, and inter-related opportunities are created for reform and for profit and for "worldmaking." The elements of a new *policy ecosystem* are outlined here—practices, organizations, infrastructure, and incentives that enable a market in state work. All of this is a reworking, or perhaps even an erasure, of the boundaries of state, economy, and civil society.

This rationality and its mobilization and advocacy are also realized and demonstrated in socio-material practices, which are enacted in and through network relationships. Public–private partnerships are excellent examples because they are a kind of assemblage of actors, organizations, and techniques that create and activate relationships. Ramya Venkataraman and McKinsey (India) have been active participants and partners in a variety of PPP initiatives. For example, they have participated in both the Mumbai School Excellence Programme (with Akanksha, MSDF, UNICEF, and the Mumbai Corporation) and in the South Delhi School Excellence Programme (with ARK, Bharti, Centre for Civil Society, Central Square Foundation, The Tech Mahindra Foundation, South Delhi Municipal Corporation). Both of these PPPs involve nonstate actors who take over state schools, loosely modeled on and directly informed by the U.S. charter school and English Academies programs.

> The work that ARK is doing in the UK is very similar to what we want to do down the road …. We now have 18 academies, with 24 en route; it'll be 50 by 2015. And the concept of privately running—education that is publicly funded is something that ARK believes it can deliver [inaudible] it's looking to India, we're also seeking a similar model in South Africa and Uganda. (Amitav Virmani, Head of ARK [India] now CEO, The Education Alliance)

> In Mumbai we've been involved from end to end in the implementation. There are also other cities and states, which we are currently in discussion with for similar programs …. the state government has taken our help to craft the program …. (Ramya Venkataraman)

Although these practices and the forms, stories, and ideas that underpin them are instantiated in a particular way in India in these examples, it is also possible to trace their movement through the

global education policy community beyond India. One can follow them through a set of relations clustered around other reform efforts, using the same ingredients in the United States and in England.

DISCUSSION

This paper focuses on some of the network and discursive labor of one "traveling technocat." Ramya Venkataraman travels across and beyond India as well as across the business, state, and third sectors, and between local, national, and international institutions. She carries with her a story made up of ideas, practices, and sensibilities that address the reform of Indian education and the Indian state, and articulates new opportunities for business and philanthropy as agents and beneficiaries of reform. She is embedded in an apparatus of relations, finance, practices, and discourse (plots and stories), "comprising variously entangled scaled agents (of different geographical reaches)" (Cook & Ward, 2012, p. 7), which moves, changes, and develops but which coheres around a neoliberal project of reform and of creative destruction. We are able to glimpse through these relations some of the work of assembling political rationalities, spatial imaginaries, calculative practices, and subjectivities that are "both *the cause and the effect* of wider transformative processes" (Cook & Ward, 2012, p. 140). Artifacts, schemes, propositions, and "programmatic" ideas move through these network relations, gaining credibility, support, and funding as they do so. These *global forms* are phenomena that are distinguished by their "capacity for decontextualization and recontextualization, abstractability and movement, across diverse social and cultural situations and spheres of life" (Ong & Collier, 2005, p. 7).

Ramya Venkataraman's engagements in the reform movement are diffuse, tangled, and contingent, she is a speaker at many sites and events that contribute to a reform assemblage that brings together various "things" and bodies, utterances, modes of expression, and regimes of signs. Such assemblages "stand in a dependent but contingent relationship to the grander problematizations …. They are a distinctive type of experimental matrix of heterogeneous elements, techniques and concepts" (Rabinow, 2003, p. 17). Here the grand problematization is neoliberalism. What is evident in Ramya's activities is the labor involved in animating the assemblage, the efforts of articulation, persuasion, exemplification, legitimation, and problematization. Concomitantly, there is the emergence of an infrastructure of organizations, a sort of shadow state (Wolch, 1990), that can incubate, disseminate, and exchange ideas—teacher certification and training, school leadership, assessment, managing and running schools—over and against the language of more traditional forms of government and support, facilitate and legitimate the activities of non-state actors. The mix of state, business, and third-sector actors and organizations within policy and governance is changed, not once and for all, but as part of a slow and steady movement from *government* to *governance*. At the same time, new kinds of careers, identities, and mobilities are forged within the processes of reform and the work of networks.

Although education policy analysis has had things to say about spaces, states, and institutions, much less attention has been devoted to the lives and labor of the people producing the changing frames, practices, and relationships through which policy work is shaped and done (see Rankin, 2003). As in Larner and Laurie's (2010) work on engineers and privatization, this account indicates the "centrality of multiple and shifting forms of expertise in the reconfiguring

of political-economic institutions, ideas and techniques" (Larner & Laurie, 2010, p 224). These "transfer agents" (Stone, 2004) "are sociologically complex actors, located in (shifting) organizational and political fields, whose identities and professional trajectories are often bound up with the policy positions and fixes they espouse" (Peck & Theodore, 2010, p. 170). That is to say, the networks are made up of "embodied geographies" and their analysis indicates how ideas travel, and orthodoxies, like neoliberalism, become consolidated.

AUTHOR BIO

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