

 Open access • Journal Article • DOI:10.1080/02680939.2018.1445294

A critical examination of Teach for Bangladesh's Facebook page: 'Social-mediatisation' of global education reforms in the 'post-truth' era — [Source link](#)

Rino Wiseman Adhikary, Bob Lingard, Ian Hardy

Institutions: University of Queensland

Published on: 01 Mar 2018 - Journal of Education Policy (Routledge)

Topics: Social media, Mediatisation and Global education

Related papers:

- [Teaching Other People's Children, Elsewhere, for a While: The Rhetoric of a Travelling Educational Reform.](#)
- [Examining 'digital disruption' as problem and purpose in Australian education policy](#)
- [Language policy literacy for language teachers: How important is it?](#)
- [From Teach For America to Teach For China: Global Teacher Education Reform and Equity in Education](#)
- [Redefining Public Policy Education through an Exploratory Digital Curriculum: Singapore's Statecraft X](#)

Share this paper:    

View more about this paper here: <https://typeset.io/papers/a-critical-examination-of-teach-for-bangladesh-s-facebook-2bzyjgg72x>



A critical examination of Teach for Bangladesh's Facebook page: 'Social-mediatisation' of global education reforms in the 'post-truth' era

Rino Wiseman Adhikary, Bob Lingard & Ian Hardy

To cite this article: Rino Wiseman Adhikary, Bob Lingard & Ian Hardy (2018): A critical examination of Teach for Bangladesh's Facebook page: 'Social-mediatisation' of global education reforms in the 'post-truth' era, Journal of Education Policy, DOI: [10.1080/02680939.2018.1445294](https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2018.1445294)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2018.1445294>



Published online: 01 Mar 2018.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



A critical examination of *Teach for Bangladesh's* Facebook page: 'Social-mediatisation' of global education reforms in the 'post-truth' era

Rino Wiseman Adhikary , Bob Lingard  and Ian Hardy 

School of Education, The University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia

ABSTRACT

In this paper, we examine how *Teach for Bangladesh (TfB)* has utilised Facebook since 2012 in its effort to extend its policy influence and message to young Bangladeshi graduates and local population. We reveal this as an example of how Facebook has become a powerful new platform for *policy mediatisation*. This is also a developing world-example of a [global] policy rewritten [locally] as audio-video bytes. Our analyses reveal three ways in which *TfB* sought to influence these graduates, but also the local government and public, via Facebook. First, it created opportunities for recurrent reading, hearing and seeing the policy in practice as animated by 'stars', 'spectacles', 'glamour' and 'statistics', all of which regularise a sense of heroic bodily feeling-as-vernacularisation. Secondly, it sought to inform and reshape the *social imaginary* and associated problem imagination of the graduates and locals to whom this message was directed. And thirdly, it involved what might be described as a 'post-truth' way of engagement via the excessive use of emotional stimulus, manifesting an understanding of the affective aspect of policy. We have used a combination of *social network analysis*, *content analysis* and *videological analysis* in establishing our argument.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 19 September 2017
Accepted 22 February 2018

KEYWORDS

Teach for Bangladesh; social-mediatisation; policy as audio-video bytes; social imaginary; vernacularisation; post-truth

The medium is the message. *Any understanding of social and cultural change is impossible without a knowledge of the way media work as environments.* All media are extensions of some human faculty – psychic or physical.

(McLuhan, Fiore, and Agel 1996, 26) (Emphasis added)

1. Introduction

Policy-making and enactment, particularly in education, have now become a global field of contestation. Here actors and interests rooted in multiple scales and spaces and a variety of institutions make use of innovative governance structures and high-tech informational infrastructures to be competitive, effective and successful. Even as nation-states and their policy gatekeepers continue to hold considerable power and authority over local systemic and

dissemination structures, global (education) policies and their equally global policy networks manifest significant popular influence at the local level through open-ended media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, YouTube, organisational blogs and official websites. In general, but more acutely in relation to electoral politics and public policy, this algorithmic web-based media environment and its altering psychic influence upon human comprehension and political decision-making have been critiqued in recent years. This critique was mounted particularly in light of such 'disruptive' political events as 'Brexit' and the ascendancy of the Trump Presidency. It is now increasingly observed and acknowledged that public politics and policy can be influenced and polarised to a considerable degree by the impact of globally disseminated information. Some have argued we are now in the age of 'post-truth' mentality, where, to a large degree, emotions have become the defining features of collective political decisions (see for example; Fukuyama 2016; Goff 2016; Grayling 2016; Keyes 2004; Sismondo 2017; Suiter 2016). Related, Berlant (2011, 226) and Massumi (2002, 1–45) have argued, for example, that public spheres (including policies) are always 'affect worlds'.

In the context of 'post-truth politics', this article seeks to examine one case of mediatisation of a global/ised teacher education policy called *Teach for All/America (TfAll/A)* in a developing country – Bangladesh. The Bangladesh version of *TfAll/A* is *Teach for Bangladesh (TfB)*. *TfB* is currently registered as an NGO that aims to change the primary education system of the country by locally implementing *TfAll/A*'s policy idea (see Adhikary and Lingard 2017). The last few years have produced a sizable number of peer reviewed research works that have studied these *Teach for...* organisations, their manifestations, their functions and often evaluation of outcomes; yet no studies can be found examining the way they reach local publics' comprehension in developing country contexts, and particularly through the usage of modern media infrastructures. Little attention has been devoted to the semantic and discursive construction of the contents that flow through the mediascapes that characterise such local mediatisation of global policies in these contexts. Furthermore, to date, studies of the mediatisation of education policy have tended to focus on print rather than new social media (Lingard and Rawolle 2004). In this paper, we problematise the processes and content of 'social mediatisation' through which *TfB* seeks to influence national teacher education policy, and cultivate public acceptance of such influence. Our analysis draws upon a tool-box (Ball 2009) of relevant conceptual resources that include 'mediatisation of policy' (Fairclough 2000), policy 'vernacularisation' (Appadurai 1996), 'social imaginary' (Taylor 2004) and notions of a 'post-truth' politics (Keyes 2004).

In this paper we have accepted that the work of *TfB* is policy work. Policy in education has commonly been defined as referring to more than policy texts to include policy processes from agenda setting through text production to policy practices and sometimes evaluation (Ball 1994; Taylor et al. 1997). Today, of course, policy and policy processes are no longer constituted simply within nations. Rather, there are also global processes and private and international actors involved (Ball 2012), as a global form of network governance has emerged (Ball and Junemann 2012). We see the work of *TfB* as a policy intervention in the governance of primary education in Bangladesh with a goal of affecting the provision of teacher education. Additionally, *TfB* seeks to train and provide future leaders who will lead the change in primary education through policy innovations. Our focus in the paper is on how *TfB* has made specific use of digital and web media to make their programmatic practices attractive and meaningful to local audiences, particularly young graduates and their parents, the education Ministry and also a broader public. We see this as policy work.

Here we are drawing on Ozga's (2000, 33) broad and ecumenical definition of policy as any 'vehicle or medium for carrying and transmitting a policy message'. We note here *TfB*'s media work complements and vernacularises specific policy proposals that have been borrowed from *TfA* and which have been accepted by the associated Ministry to be institutionalised (Adhikary and Lingard 2017). These policy proposals now have been enacted in some Bangladeshi schools. Our focus in this paper is on the mediatisation of these proposals.

In what follows, we first describe *Teach for All*, *Teach for Bangladesh* and their relationships. Next, we unpack the conceptual resources that will guide our analysis. We then undertake a 'social network analysis' of the digital footprint of *TfB*'s Facebook page as an example of the (social) mediatisation of policy. This is to map the sources of *TfB* posts, and their global spread and nature. We then perform a content analysis of those posts in light of the vernacular ways in which this initiative is broached, the nature of the imaginary it seeks to bring into being, and the nature of the politics informing such an approach. Similarly, we then carry out a 'videological analysis' (Koh 2009) of one recruitment video of *TfB* – called 'Change our nation'. Again, the goal here is to understand how a process of policy vernacularisation is at work, how emotions are cultivated, and also how a very particular social imaginary has been evoked in the video. These three elements are grounded in a political project that constitutes external 'globalized' policy discourses as necessary vehicles for localized reform – in this case in relation to primary education in Bangladesh.

2. *Teach for All* and *Teach for Bangladesh*

Currently having offices in New York, Washington DC, London and Hong Kong (*TfAll*, Join Our Staff 2017), *Teach for All* is a global organisation pivotal to a network of '*Teach for...*' and '*Teach First...*' organisations run nationally in 40 countries (*TfAll*, Our network and impact 2017). This networked organisation is governed by a board of members consisting of leading personnel from global corporations and organizations such as DHL, Business in the Community, Rolls-Royce plc, Boston Consulting Group, UNESCO, OECD, Emerging Markets Private Equity Association, VISA inc, and ROSC global (*TfAll*, Board 2017). *TfAll* is funded by 59 giant global corporations, family foundations and corporate philanthropists of which some prominent names are Carnegie Corporation of New York, Deutsche Post DHL Group, Walton Family Foundation, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, ExxonMobil, The George Lucas Family Foundation, IKEA foundation, and Western Union (*TfAll*, Supporters 2017). Led and funded by global market actors and interests, *TfAll* is considered a neoliberal initiative (Au and Ferrare 2015; Friedrich 2014; Friedrich, Walter, and Colmenares 2015; Labaree 2010; Smart et al. 2009; Straubhaar and Friedrich 2015).

Teach for All seeks to foster growth by ensuring the impact of its approach implemented in partnering national sites. *Teach for Bangladesh* is one such national site. *TfB* was formed in the USA as a Limited Liabilities Company in the state of Virginia in 2012 and subsequently afforded non-profit status. The first phase of funding for *TfB* operations in Bangladesh came from a local NGO cum Business Conglomerate, namely BRAC (Building Resources Across Communities). Currently in its second phase, *TfB* is funded by *Porticus Global*, which is a corporate family foundation that seeks to promote social entrepreneurial values and agendas at local country sites (*Porticus Global* 2017). Like all other *Teach for All* network partners and following *Teach for America*'s teacher education reform model, *TfB* recruits fresh 'meritorious' graduates and in the Bangladeshi context only places them into government

primary schools¹ as paid teachers for two years in low income catchments. These teachers are also projected as the future leaders of the nation considering their academic merits and other criteria set by the *TfB* recruitment team. Described as fellows, these teachers are simultaneously given corporate-based leadership training conducted by globally mobile *TfA/All* alumni or local multinational corporation leaders. Unlike government teachers, *TfB* fellows are not required to undergo any teacher certification assessment. The organisation believes that the Bangladesh government needs to prioritise teacher education and teacher salaries in the latter's commitment to meet international goals like quality education for all. It works to set itself as an example that should be followed by the government and NGOs alike and thus 'scaled up' to the national level.

A recent study (Adhikary and Lingard 2017) has provided an (network) ethnographic account of *TfB*, its origins, objectives, works and some critical reflections on future courses and implications. As an extension of that recent work, but also to avoid redundancy, in this section we have focused more on the *TfB-TfAll/A* relationship. This recent study of *TfB* has reported how the organisation is more than a local NGO, and is a part of a global teacher education reform policy network (*Teach for All/America*); in this sense, it represents an embryonic phase of global philanthropic and network governance (Ball and Junemann 2012), particularly within the teacher education policy landscape of Bangladesh. *TfB* itself is a working policy in the sense that it currently works as a micro-policy unit seeded within government structures, but is strongly intended to reform the government practices and perceptions associated with primary teacher education in Bangladesh. According to its founder, *TfB* works hard as a 'pressure point' to make government and others follow its footprints through future reform policies and associated innovations in educational service provision.

3. Mediatisation of global policies: social imaginary, vernacularisation and post-truth

This section develops the conceptual framing of the paper to understand the circulatory processes and affective technologies through which a global policy (e.g. in education, here *TfAll/A*) semantically reaches its target audience – particularly in the rising context of 'post-truth politics'. We now will illustrate some key conceptual themes relevant to our analysis. These are 'mediatisation of policies' (Fairclough 2000), 'globalisation and modernity as social imaginary' (Taylor 2004), 'global policies as vernacular mediatisation' (Appadurai 1996) and 'post-truth politics' (Keyes 2004). We explore these conceptual themes in relation to three questions: In this age of globalisation, how do people imagine society and position their individual selves when it comes to collective decision and action? What role can media play in the determination of collective action? And, how does the emerging 'post-truth reality' implicate the mediatisation of global education policy in light of the first two questions? The answers to these questions constitute the analytical framework of this paper.

3.1. Mediatisation of policy and politics

The earliest literature on mediatisation of large scale policies appeared in the contemporary UK policy context at the turn of the millennium. Critically describing the dismantling of the Keynesian welfare system through managed uses of media, Fairclough (2000) analytically presented a phenomenon called 'media spin', where 'presentation became more important

than policy' and 'rhetoric more important than substance' (Fairclough 2000, vii). Governing policy through 'media spin' appeared as the persistent 'monitoring and manipulating' of the way policy issues were presented in the media making sure that the right and favourable language was used. This essentially meant the recurrent use of a selective set of words, terms and ideas, what Fairclough calls 'overwording'.

Fairclough (2000) argues that political analysis should place substantial emphasis on the mediatisation of policy with a focus on the use of language, particularly the rhetorical formulation of the issue in question. This is mainly because political differences have always been constituted primarily as differences in language (Fairclough 2000, 3). The use of language has become even more central to the persuasion of specific policies as globalisation and the associated socio-political changes have altered the relationship between politics, governance and mass-media. In fact, political events, argues Fairclough (2000, 3), have assumed the face of media events. Related, Lingard and Rawolle (2004) argued that policy release actually became synonymous with media release. Thus, mediatisation of politics and policy transforms political figures as media personalities. The language of the presentation, continues Fairclough (2000), becomes promotional rather than dialogical and discourages debate. However, there are clearly discernible stages through which a policy is mediatised.

For example, first, the policy is carefully 'stage managed', where the policy advocate appears in a series of media events (talk shows, interviews, etc.) (Fairclough 2000, 12). This ground preparing phase is accompanied by various forms of press releases. The management of this process is basically the management of language, whereby a *summative account* of the reform is circulated, accompanied by extremely selective articulation of the issue and solutions with chosen wording, rhetoric, oratory style and gestures capable of attracting consensus (Fairclough 2000, 12). These publications and media content are 'monological and univocal'. Although the textual policy expressions have a confined circle of direct readers, the mediatisation is intended for the greater public, who tend not to read about politics and will more likely listen to audio and visually mediatised versions of policy content. These policies usually address the society in question in the first-person plural, for example: our nation, our system etc., which helps to create some unity between the writer and the reader of such mediatised texts. The proposed programmatic solutions are hailed positively, and the existing system is prefixed recurrently by various negative adjectives, thus demanding change. This is the discursive work of policy.

3.2. Mediatisation of global education policy: a conceptual rethinking

In the domain of education policy studies, use of media has been one focus. For example, researchers have analysed media as the emerging curriculum for resentment-based identity formation (McCarthy and Dimitriadis 2000), mobilisation of policy agendas through media using specific texts and discourses (Blackmore and Thorpe 2003; Baroutsis and Lingard 2017), or newspapers' use of statistics and the construction of pro-policy reality in support of neo-liberal test-centric education policies (Stack 2006). Other researchers in this field analyse production of selective stories to pursue policy agendas (Blackmore and Thomson 2004), and systematic media packaging of specific policy agendas through media management using an advertisement model (Franklin 2004). Research attention is sometimes upon strategic policy spin as a means of public impression management (Gewirtz, Dickson, and Power 2004), or on public pedagogy work of hired autonomous

policy commentators as a means of uncritical mediatisation of education policy (Hattam, Prosser, and Brady 2009). While some researchers have often questioned the authorised voices, discursive construction, and articulation of vision in education policy mediation (Pina 2007), others have analysed mediatisation practices within the education policy field and various cross-field effects (Lingard and Rawolle 2004; Rawolle 2005, 2010).

This body of research emphasizes the communicational practices, discursive construction and field dynamics of policy mediatisation. The 'education policy-media' nexus is usually focused on specific national circumstances and related governments' mediatisation practices. However, a growing number of global educational policy reforms are now being implemented in different national contexts through NGO programmes and social entrepreneurial interventions. *TfB*, our case, is an example of such an approach. These exogenous policy networks are usually globally nested but locally active; and, *inter alia*, make use of equally global networks of media infrastructure (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, blogs, websites etc.) to effectively relay their policy message to foster local public acceptance. Stories, news and media artefacts from varied and globally dispersed sources typically constitute the content of such media work.

Studying media-education policy relationships focusing on these global organisations requires conceptual tools that enable understandings of the construction of audience subjectivity within the scope of the policy problem as simultaneously global and local. These conceptual tools are also useful for understanding the ways alternative imaginations of modes and modalities of being – a particular kind of policy imagination – are utilised. However, and at the same time, it is also necessary to account for the seemingly increasing influence of what has been described as 'post-truth politics', where emotions are recalibrated through a web-based algorithmic media environment oriented towards achieving a particular kind of populist public consensus (Rolfe 2016). Post-truth politics accept the affective character of contemporary politics and policies (Berlant 2005; Massumi 2002).

In the context of globalisation, the education policy environment is increasingly becoming global (Rizvi and Lingard 2010). This global policy environment is now driven by fast relational movements of new media, advanced technology, knowledge, ideas, entrepreneurial people, and finances (Appadurai 1996). Some authors see this as an emerging 'topological environment' of policy (Amin 2002; Ball 2014; Massey 1994). Related, Hepp and Hasebrink (2018, 16–19) coin the concept of 'deep mediatization' to denote a globalising situation of social life characterised by 'fast growing spread of technologically based [digital] media' and the 'shaping' impact of the same on 'different social domains'. Here they are referring to the digitalisation of contemporary media and the way such media collects data on users. These authors have demonstrated the pervasive strength of deep mediatisation, which involves 'mediatised worlds' and 'mediatised way of life' (Hepp and Hasebrink 2018, 19). In this situation, and in relation to policy, the traditional journalistic field is being challenged by modern information structures (e.g. Facebook, YouTube, etc.), and the associated non-professional forms of journalism. Some prominent scholars in the field of media studies equate this context to 'a crisis in journalism' (Turner 2016, 2; also see, Curran 2010; McChesney 2007). Considering these changes, the media-education policy link must be rethought in light of demands that globalisation puts on both education policy and media. Most of the relevant literature on mediatisation of policy mentioned at the outset of this section, has focused on the print mediatisation of education policy, whereas here we focus on the social mediatisation of policy.

3.3. Globalisation, social imaginary and media in the post-truth era

Charles Taylor in his 2004 book *Modern Social Imaginaries* has provided some theoretical insights into how we might understand the notion of multiple and competing modernities. He views modernity primarily as a 'social imaginary', and argues that modern lives and collective socio-political action need to be understood in terms of 'divergent social imaginaries' (Taylor 2004, 2). The social imaginary, contends this philosopher, is the result of imaginative sense-making that enables collective endorsement of practices of society based upon a constructed logic of social enclosure. A social imaginary, explains Taylor (2004), refers to,

The ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations. (Taylor 2004, 23)

The essential point of a social imaginary is that people imagine their surroundings and express them through 'images, stories and legends' (Taylor 2004, 23). This imaginary is usually shared by a large group of people. It is this shared imaginary, which enables the 'common understandings', which in turn shape 'common practices' generating a 'widely shared sense of legitimacy' (Taylor 2004, 23). The social imaginary plays out in the determination of collective action depending on two simultaneous mental processes. There are both 'factual' and 'normative' threads of thinking here. That is, we construct a mental picture of 'how things usually go', which is interwoven with an awareness of 'how they ought to go' (Taylor 2004, 24). The second process gives us the judgmental sense over social action, providing us the awareness of 'what missteps would invalidate the social practice' (Taylor 2004, 24). This implies an obvious and unavoidable link between a social imaginary and social policy.

Logically, the concept of 'social imaginary' offers insights into the possible reasons behind the ubiquity and importance of mediatised images, stories and legends in contemporary global media projections, *inter alia*, in relation to policy work. We will investigate these elements in *TfB*'s media practices to chart the extent to which *TfB* media usage seeks to construct a particular social imaginary within the target audience. We seek understandings of probable impacts that these media usages can have in re-programming social life and social action by reshaping popular problem imagination. In the sense that policies are specific and planned social actions that 'fix social problems', and also that they require collective imagination of possible 'alternative futures' in governing social problems (Bacchi 2009, 254), the examination of (socially) mediatised alternatives is of critical importance.

3.4. Media, imagination and vernacularisation of global policies

Arjun Appadurai in his 1996 book *Modernity at Large* has written extensively about the role that global media play in the construction of our social imagination in the context of globalisation. His emphasis is on media and diaspora and their joint influence on the '*work of the imagination*' (emphasis original) as central elements of modern (global) subjectivity (Appadurai 1996, 3). He argues that the field of mass mediatisation has been profoundly transformed and visibly enlarged by new electronic technologies offering unforeseen 'resources and disciplines' that constitute 'imagined selves' and 'imagined worlds' (3). Oral, visual and auditory mediation have now heightened influence upon this socio-individual imagination more so than traditional print media did earlier. In the context of globalisation,

writes Appadurai (1996), electronic media now efficiently enable ‘telescoping of news into audio-video bytes’ (3). Traditional visual entertainment spaces (e.g. cinema) now have been superseded by more ‘private’ and globally nested audio-visual services (e.g. YouTube, Facebook, etc.). And most noticeably, this new mediational environment and content tend to be attuned with an open-ended affinity towards ‘glamour, cosmopolitanism and the new’ (Appadurai 1996, 3). In fact, highlights Appadurai (1996), this new media-imagination nexus now potentially interrogates, destabilizes and even alters our social contextual literacies – in Taylor’s terms, our ‘social imaginary’. This global media environment has become synesthetic and thus more forceful, as we now not only read but also hear and visualise content (Appadurai 1996, 104).

Policy mediation in this context, which is simultaneously global/ising, imagination reliant, and often glamourising, has experienced consequential transformations. For example, almost every national leader now runs official Facebook or Twitter accounts, regularly posting everyday activities with instant links to Instagram photos and YouTube videos. We see heated public deliberations and debates on Twitter over both global and national issues with popular participation amongst myriad jurisdictions. We behold the mediated global call for a new era of technology driven governance of social problems from Silicon Valley billionaires. Therefore, social media need to be viewed as policy steering platforms capable of touching the popular social imaginary, subjectivity and problem thinking. Appadurai’s concept of ‘vernacular globalisation’ is particularly relevant here to reach a deeper insight into mediatisation of global policy in the age of globalisation. The concept refers to the ways that globalised ideas flow and touch down in particular vernacularised ways in specific contexts.

Appadurai contends that in many countries the ‘developmental mega-rhetoric’ of global policies are:

... often punctuated, interrogated, and domesticated by the *micronarratives* of film, television, music, and other expressive forms [currently Facebook, Twitter, etc.], which allow modernity to be *rewritten* [locally] more as *vernacular globalisation* and less as a concession to large-scale national and international policies. (Appadurai 1996, 10). (Emphasis added)

Vernacularisation, here, is the process through which certain practices (Appadurai’s example was cricket in India) are rendered meaningful, attractive and even heroic to certain audiences through media by creating regular opportunities for reading, hearing and seeing the practices (Appadurai 1996, 104). The practice then becomes ‘larger than life’ in the public imagination as it is internalised and fantasized. What makes it unavoidably attractive, explains Appadurai (1996, 104), is the projection of the practice through or in association with ‘stars’, ‘spectacles’, and ‘glamour of world tests and international intrigue’ (104). The local cultural and vernacular (linguistic) rendering of these mediatised contents brings the practice close to everyday life. Eventually the mediatised stories of stars, large amounts of information, associated terminology and statistics generate a localised but original set of ‘linguistic and pictorial competence’ amongst a broader public (Appadurai 1996, 103). Appadurai speaks of a constructed ‘lore’, or mythology, that enables ‘vernacular pragmatics and a sense of lived physical competence’ (103). Below, we search for these elements in *TfB* media practices and examine them closely.

3.5. *The post-truth turn, global media and policy*

Perhaps, in recent time, mediatisation has taken on an affective aura particularly in the fields of policy and politics. The 2016 Oxford Dictionary word of the year, ‘post-truth,’ explains a situation where emotion has become the most important factor in defining the link between public decisions on policy and politics and the activities of media, particularly social and news media. Suiter (2016, 25) describes this as a state of ‘policy blunders on austerity, war and globalisation’ augmented by ‘hybrid media and a political system dominated by reality TV, social media and filter bubbles.’ According to Suiter, within this post-truth environment, truth has simply become a matter of mere confident assertion. Edmans (2017) notes that the posting of provocative stories and their public endorsement without fact checking constitutes an environment of ‘confirmation bias.’ He further argues that a true story even can be misleading and irrelevant, as a fact cannot be data, and data cannot be representative evidence.

Sale (2017) talks about how data have been used in an advertising fashion, telling compelling stories pursuing agenda relating to anonymous but powerful elites. The scientific community, she contends, has been slow to respond to this changing situation. Patrikarakos (2017) points to the predominant use of female pictures, videos and photo links to effectively gain trust of the audience as post-truth forms of mediatisation. In the context of what he calls ‘post-democracy,’ Crouch (2004) links the post-truth phenomenon to the adoption of an ‘advertising industry model of political communication.’ He argues that post-democracy is a political condition that continually cedes power to the corporate elites and business lobbies, whereby public debates and deliberations over policy and politics (e.g. election) are tightly controlled by rival teams of media professionals and political experts, leaving the public to passively choose from the fewest options made persuasively available by the former to the latter (Crouch 2004, 4). This has caused the public to turn from traditional media and look to social media as an alternative, contributing to what has been described as the post-truth turn.

However, Grayling (2016) attributes the rise of post-truth reality to the social media rupture and the empowering feeling that people sense while publicly expressing opinions with global visibility. According to Grayling, this has opened up a vast space for persuasion by the tinturing of truth through emotional polemics and rhetorical ploys. Further describing this context, Fukuyama (2016) talks of the gradual and technology induced decrease of authority or decline of institutions that have traditionally defined our social life. In the field of media, lying has taken on different shades and degrees of meaning. In his 2004 book *The Post Truth Era*, Ralph Keyes has explained ‘post-truthfulness’ as a result of ‘alt[ernative] ethics’, where speakers ‘misspeak’, ‘exaggerate’, ‘pretend’ and ‘exercise poor judgment’, and thereby sheer ‘deception’ becomes ‘spin’ (Keyes 2004, 13). In the process, the communicator ‘massages truth’, ‘sweetens it’ and tells ‘the truth improved’ (14). In line with this characterisation of the ‘post-truth’, we will examine whether and how *TfB*’s social media practices bear marks of this alarming new ‘reality’.

4. *Mediatisation of TfAII/A policy through social media*

In this section, first we looked into the media practices (4.1.) that introduced *TfB* to the Bangladeshi audience to show how these practices exemplify policy mediatisation. Marking

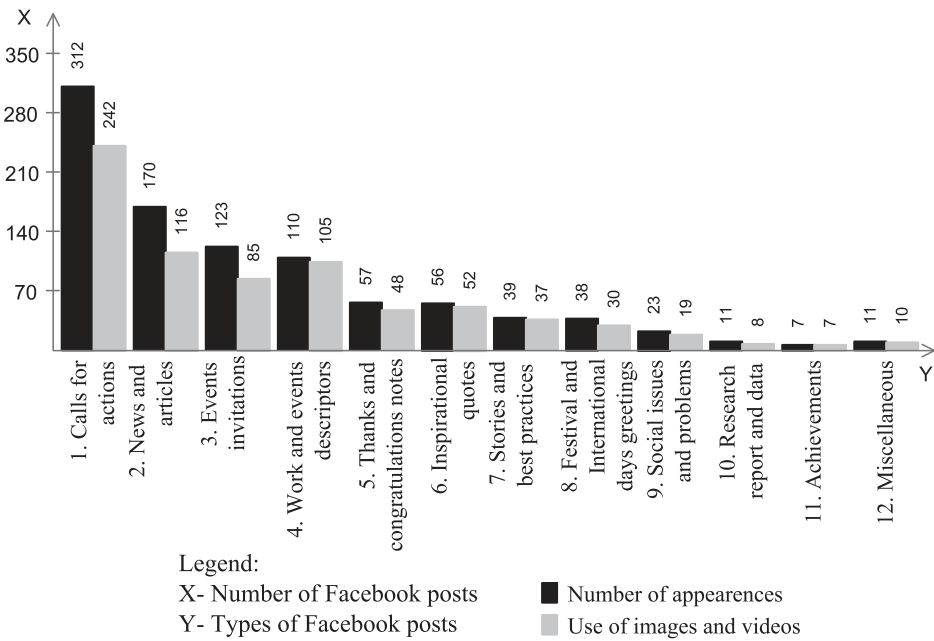


Figure 2. Identified categories of *Tfb*'s official Facebook posts.

4.1. *Tfb*'s mediatisation of *TfAll* model: policy as audio-video bytes

Before delving into the area of language and presentation, we concentrate on how *Tfb*'s policy reform was 'stage managed' (Fairclough 2000) from the very beginning. Through extensive internet browsing, we found that during the initial phase the *Tfb* founder started appearing on television talk shows (1 December 2013), where she was telling the story of how *Tfb* was formulated, her personal struggles to found *Tfb*, and how the educational inequalities at that time in Bangladesh needed an initiative like *Tfb*. Professionally crafted videos presenting promotional short speeches from the *Tfb* founder and officials (17 March 2015), high profile international figures (2013), country ambassadors (29 September 2014), corporate heads and national NGO leaders (18 April 2014) were saved in YouTube and then 'tweeted' and 'Facebook posted'. Modern cartoon animations (27 May 2014) were utilised to render the *Tfb* policy message straightforward and catchy. Professionally crafted promotional videos featuring recruitment advertisement (3 December 2013), scripted emotional drama (9 April 2017), *Tfb*'s Winter Academy (21 December 2013), *Tfb* leadership team (1 January 2017), classroom practices, field visits (16 April 2014), speeches (24 August 2016) and events (10 August 2015) constitute the array of videographic circulations through Facebook. These videos mimic the practices of corporate brand advertising in every aspect of the genre – from the use of music and emotional cues to the televisual construction of the same. These are specific examples of global policy 're-written' as audio-video bytes.

We observed that these videos are emotionally charged, professionally produced using modern televisual techniques, utilising catchy western music, and are promotional in nature. In the next section, we will examine one such video to exemplify this claim. We note that *Tfb*'s media work is actively constructed in English, indicative and reflective of the intended audience. All the hyperlinks cited here were active as of 26 August 2017. However, since the

beginning and at regular intervals, selective local English news dailies started publishing *TfB* and its founder's stories. We will identify those stories in the latter part of this section. These news-daily mediated contents were also regularly posted and tweeted by *TfB* social media administrators. These news items promotionally report *TfB*-fellows' stories, events, achievements and major initiatives. For example, consider these catchy titles from the most influential and credible English news daily in Bangladesh, 'Change the face of education' (2 June 2013), 'For the youth, by the youth' (17 July 2015), 'Mentoring the future leaders' (14 August 2015), 'A thought becomes an idea' (3 November 2015), and 'Changing lives of one another' (7 August 2015).

We did not find any daily-news item that had critically and thoroughly examined *TfB* as a global (neo-liberal) policy in itself. Rather, all of these news items view *TfB* as a local educational initiative for poor children and putatively portray it as a definite good for the society in implied or explicit terms. However, we found a saviour discourse consisting of 'youth leadership', 'youth movement', 'change', 'impact' and 'inequity'. This discourse is expressed in a very co-ordinated manner from identical daily news sources. We also noticed the construction of binaries in the articulation of content. For example, youth as opposed to non-youth, a failing system in contrast with an anticipated better future, impact on the face of systemic sterility, and existing educational issues versus practised solutions. We will detail this further later. These news artefacts make it clear that since the very beginning and to date, *TfB* policy has been continually mediated (Fairclough 2000) through stage management, univocal presentation and promotional news content production and circulation. However, all the media items mentioned above were relayed at regular intervals through official Facebook posts.

This is also akin to what, using a Bourdieusian analytics, refer to as circular circulation, and cross-field effects. It is evident that logics from journalistic fields and the field of educational programming have intermingled. For example, repeated circulation of the same content in different ways by different news agencies has been imitated by *TfB* through its Facebook practices. What these authors describe, after Bourdieu, as 'permanent or structural amnesia' is also marked here in the sense that none of the news articles has presented *TfB* in relation to the history, structure and real needs of primary education in Bangladesh. *TfB* has suddenly appeared on the scene as a 'global star'. However, a most important finding to date is the fact that global policy (e.g. *TfB*) is continually being rewritten more in audio-video bytes than for paper-based media. describe this process of 'media constructions as de facto policy', where policy release assumes the mode of media release. Given this context, we will now look into the everyday social media practices of *Teach for Bangladesh* to examine how they link to a specific process of policy vernacularisation (Appadurai 1996).

4.2. Mapping *TfB*'s digital footprint

TfB has been active regularly on its official Facebook profile since day one. It uses this platform to continually circulate carefully chosen and often repetitive content relevant and supportive of its policy objectives. We have mapped the network of sources of contents to understand the global nature of *TfB*'s media thinking and its implication for the local social policy imagination. We have constructed a typology and a simple yet illustrative picture of *TfB*-media content on Facebook (see Figure 1). The goal here is to see the trends in posted content, and then the way these bear elements of vernacularisation.

First, we have captured all the posts from *TfB*'s official and public Facebook profile into the NVivo platform by using NCapture.² Then, we have identified all the domain names and their frequency of appearance. On a Cytoscape³ platform, we have placed these domains as nodes and have assigned numerical values in relation to their number of appearances (see Figure 1). A very telling typology emerged, which is presented in the above Figure.

We have identified six (6) types of domain sources from where contents were chosen by *TfB*. These are: news media, I/NGOs and policy think-tanks, global video sharing services, 'Teach for' network sites, online magazines, and blogs and others. It was interesting to find that forty (40) news media domains surfaced as the highest number of web locations sourcing *TfB* Facebook links. And most interestingly 'thedailystar.com', a local news daily in English, appeared with the highest frequency in this category, at 52 times. *TfB* news, achievements and promotional articles are published from this national news outlet – *The Daily Star*. All the news items cited in the earlier section were from this agency. Besides this, we also noticed that a large portion of these news media domains are dedicated media sharing platforms from the global corporate world. Youtbe.com appeared as one of the most frequent sources showing *TfB*'s heavy reliance on videographic methods of content dissemination.

This led us to perform a videological analysis of *TfB*'s most representative recruitment video (see 4.4). The idea of crafting a video for recruitment purposes is the first of its kind particularly for an employer in Bangladesh. However, the news organisations that corresponded to *TfB* content choices cut across continents. We also noticed the reliance on Anglophone sources, particularly from the USA and the UK. This domain orientation and its versatility represent a global media infrastructure powerful enough to make a global policy concept compelling and credible for any local audience. International organisations, like the UN, UNESCO or WHO, seem to add force to this persuasion. Eight 'Teach for' domains point at the univocal and networked nature of the policy mediatisation effort. We also noted the use of global magazines such as Forbes Magazine.

One important difference between what *TfB* presents through Facebook and presentations by government teacher education institutions lies in the former's articulation of a saviour discourse or a salvation narrative. Popkewitz (1991) has studied the historical development of such narratives and the role they play in relation to education. He argues that beginning as a purely religious concept, 'salvation' became historically 'secularised' and shifted its focus from 'sin' to 'people's work on earth and the governing of society' (Popkewitz 1991, 34). Viewing it as a 'curriculum' for governing both teachers and their students, Popkewitz, Pereyra, and Franklin (2001, 17) maintain that these salvation stories 'produce a collective authority, that places diverse people, languages, and prior customs into a seemingly seamless whole, that of a nation-state.' This argument resonates with the case of *TfB*, as the salvation narrative is coming from a global epistemic community (*TfAll/A* and the corporate philanthropic funders) and their local interlocutors (*TfB* and its founder), but focusing on nation building. However, these deliberate choices of content for Facebook from specific web-domains invite deeper analysis of the content, persuasive techniques and presentation of the associated posts. This was particularly evident in the construction of particular 'spectacular' imaginaries in relation to those constructed through the discourse of *TfB*.

4.3. Vernacularisation of *TfB* policy: an emotional tale of stardom, stories and superheroes

Here, we argue that *TfB*'s Facebook practices further explain what Appadurai (1996) terms as policy 'vernacularisation', however, in ways that also correspond to the post-truth context of policy and politics. We have printed all the NCaptured 957 Facebook posts made official by *TfB* from its inception until August 9, 2017. We then printed and manually coded them. Twelve categories of postings emerged as exhibited in Figure 2 below. We noticed the presence of professionally edited videos and messaged pictures in 79.31% of the 957 posts distributed across all the twelve posts categories (see Figure 2). It is to be noted that posts with pictures yield 10 times greater attention and responses on social media than those without (Balm 2014). Studying recent web-based journalistic practices, Patrikarakos (2017) argues that creating the visual effect through pictures, particularly those of/with female participants, gives the audience a sense of trustworthiness.

We have also noted, as we carried out the first round of skimming and sorting, that more than 86% of all the 957 posts were accompanied by some element of an emotional cue articulated through presentation of pictures, videos, quotes, stories and rhetoric in varied combinations. This reliance on emotional appeal is at the heart of the post-truth reality and the associated affective politics discussed earlier. The content may not be outright lies, but the very use of emotional appeal points to one 'truth' or a conducive set of 'truths' promoted in relation to possible others. The bare minimal presence of research represented in the above Figure further reinforces the post-truth claim. The typology provided in Figure 2 also charts exemplary categories of information that were used to localise a global policy agenda semantically through Facebook.

However, to understand more deeply how presentation, affect, rhetoric and discourse work in the process of policy vernacularisation, we will now examine in more detail the 'Call for actions' theme, and the associated 312 posts. By doing so, and in line with Appadurai's (1996) argument, we seek to understand how *TfB*'s work and objectives have been rearticulated in those posts as 'practice' (Appadurai 1996); practice, both in terms of intended meaning and attractiveness. We reveal, as can also be easily inferred from 'Table 1' below, that the 'Call for action' posts potentially invoke an imagination of heroic attributes that projects a vision 'larger than life' (Appadurai 1996). We also show, how the 'stars', 'spectacles', and 'glamour of world tests and international intrigue' (Appadurai 1996) are projected in those posts. Studying the 312 'Call for action' posts, we found that only 15 of them were emotionally neutral and conveyed the message in a more traditional and simple-informational manner. The remaining 95.19% of the 'Call for action' posts were replete with emotional persuasion.

The many different types of emotional persuasion techniques prevalent in the 'Call for action' posts included and often combined, for example, messaged selfies and glamorous photos of *TfB* fellows (2.02% of all 'Call for action' posts), videographic or picture-based self-narrated stories of *TfB* and network fellows (13.46% of all 'Call for action' posts), profoundly emotional quotes with pictures (5.05% of all 'Call for action' posts), and specific rhetoric and discourses (79.47% of all 'Call for action' posts). We will focus our discussion below on the last and largest category of 'rhetoric and discourse', which has been summed up in Table 1. Table 1 (see above) gives categorised examples of the use of different discourses and rhetoric prevalent in 79.47% of 'Call for action' posts that used discourses and rhetoric

Table 1. Six categories of discourses and associated rhetorical examples from 'Call for action' posts.

Discourses	Examples of associated rhetoric
(a) self-investment linked to nation building and self-sacrifice (8.05% out of 79.47% of 'Call for action' posts that primarily used rhetoric and discourse)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Invest in yourself; reinvest in Bangladesh! • Join the movement to end educational disparity once and for all in our nation • Our Indian neighbours have undergone a lot of progress in reforming their public schools. Bangladesh too can achieve this growth if our young, passionate leaders step up and take charge to bring real change to the nation. Take action now ... • [Now] is your opportunity to invest in yourself while making a difference in the lives of others • Join the fellowship and give back to Bangladesh • Find out why high-achieving college graduates in the U.S. are giving up opportunities on Wall Street [sacrifice] and competing for the honour of teaching in a classroom. Do you have what it takes to teach for Bangladesh? Which path will you choose?
(b) provocative close-ended rhetorical question (2.11% out of 79.47% of 'Call for action' posts that primarily used rhetoric and discourse)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If not you, then who? If not now, then when? • Will you lead the change our education system needs? • Remember that one meaningful thing you've always wanted to do- but haven't done yet? Time to take action! Make an impact. <p>Join ...</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are you a smart, energetic, outgoing and organised university student? Do you enjoy organising events and motivating others? You may be who we are looking for as a <i>TfB</i> Campus Ambassador • Are you smart, out-going and driven? Do you have lots of friends and enjoy making new ones? Are you organised and good at managing your time? (If you are studying internationally) are you connected to the Bangladeshi community on your campus? Then apply to be ...
(c) motivation to superiority and challenge (3.81% out of 79.47% of 'Call for action' posts that primarily used rhetoric and discourse)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Teach for Bangladesh Fellowship is not for the faint of heart. It is for those who are invigorated by the thought of a challenge • The Teach for Bangladesh Fellowship is for go-getters and initiative takers • The challenge is to ensure all children in Bangladesh will have the chance to have an excellent education. It is possible. Are you ready for the challenge? • Everyday millions of children in Bangladesh are held back from meeting their highest potential simply because their families cannot afford to give them the opportunity. We believe that this reality is unacceptable. We also believe that this generation of Bangladeshis has the opportunity to change the status quo • Change the status quo • This is a call to action for a generation who thinks • Calling all passionate 'social-injustice' warriors • NASA engineers sign up for <i>Teach for America</i> and reflect on the difference between the two: 'As an engineer, I dealt with very complex design problems, but before I decided how to solve them, I had a chance to think, research, and reflect for hours, days, or even weeks. I also had many opportunities to consult colleagues for advice before making any decisions. As a teacher, I have seconds to decide how to solve several problems at once, for hours at a time, without any real break, and with no other adults in the room to support them. There are days of teaching that make a day in the office seem like a vacation.' Think you are up for the challenge? Submit your application to <i>Teach for Bangladesh</i> by January 7!

(Continued)



Table 1. (Continued).

Discourses	Examples of associated rhetoric
(d) of super-heroism and extra-human abilities (4.23% out of 79.47% of 'Call for action' posts that primarily used rhetoric and discourse)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apply for <i>TfB</i> and unleash your superpower • You have the power to make dreams come true • Not all superheroes wear capes • Do you have what it takes to be a superhero for 50 young lives? • Watch this heart-warming video from the classroom of <i>Teach for India</i> Fellow Nirali Vasisht. Will you be one of the 'superheroes' who leads the movement for educational equity in Bangladesh? Only 6 days left to turn in your application. What are you waiting for?
(e) responsibility to change, impact and reform the inequitable education system as a movement (33.47% out of 79.47% of 'Call for action' posts that primarily used rhetoric and discourse)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Be part of the movement that is committed to rid Bangladesh of education inequity • Be part of the movement that is breaking down barriers to limitless aspirations across classrooms in Bangladesh • Join the movement, sharing the love of imagination across classrooms in Bangladesh • Join the movement of leaders shifting paradigm, transforming lives • Reform the education system in Bangladesh from inside and outside classrooms. Apply ... • Join the movement to change labels from 'at-risk' to 'at-promise' • Join this incredible global network
(f) tele-market-like count-down effect (48.30% out of 79.47% of 'Call for action' posts that primarily used rhetoric and discourse)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 30 min to close the application call. (posted regularly) • You will be notified if you have been selected as a <i>Semi-Finalist</i> in 2–3 weeks • 6 h left. Apply now. If not you, then who? If not now, then when? Deadline Sep 7 • Less than 2 h until applications close for the 2018 Teach for Bangladesh Fellowship. We can't wait to read your applications!

as primary means of persuasion. Six categories of discourses emerged as we manually coded these 79.47% of 'Call for action' posts that fell into the 'rhetoric and discourse' sub-category. These six sub-categories and representative examples are provided in Table 1.

Thus, marking the key role of discourses and rhetoric in the 'call for action' posts six categories of discourses emerged (see Table 1). These were: (a) self-investment linked to nation building and self-sacrifice (8.05%); (b) provocative close ended rhetorical questions (2.11%); (c) motivation to superiority and challenge (3.81%), (d) of super-heroism and extra-human abilities (4.23%), (e) responsibility to change, impact and reform the inequitable education system as a movement (33.47%), and (f) repeated deadline alerts with a tele-market-like count-down effect (48.30%). Please note here that these percentages are of the 'Call for action' posts that particularly used discourse and rhetoric as the principal means of persuasion (79.47% of all the 'Call for action' posts).

These discursive devices and rhetorical ploys are deployed almost always with flashy photos, repetitive slogans, self-narrated stories, YouTube videos, emotional quotes framed into photos, and a call for dreaming with a global world-view. Loaded phrases like 'passionate social justice warriors', 'visionary dreamers', 'campus ambassadors', 'powerful movement', 'life changing', 'stellar university students', 'thrilled to ...', 'awesome', 'superheroes', 'exceptionally brilliant', 'stands out from the crowds', 'unleashing superpower', 'go getters' and the like constitute the gladiatorum vocabulary that presuppose and prefix the *TfB* participants and applicants. It is indeed a land of dreams, superheroes and fairy tales. The following two posts (Figure 3) provide appropriate examples that define this projected social imaginary of heroism. Please also note the difference in number of clicked 'likes' (1.8 k vs. 42 'likes') vis-à-vis gender difference, as portrayed in the posts.

To retell the story in short, the *TfB* fellowship has been presented as something superior and heroic, in some cases, even compared with employment at NASA! It has then been associated with the moral discourse of nation building, but in this case, using business logic and the language of self-investment. The fellows have been presented through professionally



Figure 3. Posts explanatory to *TfB*'s projected social imaginary.

crafted media content as brilliant, lovely, superior, sacrificing and heroic. And finally, the schooling context of Bangladesh has been defined as problem-laden, linking the same with a moral narrative of responsibility to ‘our youth’. This is also somewhat akin to what Shamir (2008) describes as the ‘moralisation of the market’ and ‘marketisation of morality’. Indeed, this is a complete social imaginary, as it not only portrays how social life should be for the youth, but also how it sets parameters for what should be done and not done to achieve these ends (Taylor 2004). It also positions that social imaginary as heroic and a moral imperative. But most importantly, in line with Appadurai (1996), opportunities for regularly hearing, reading and seeing the ‘practice’ with all the ‘stars,’ ‘spectacles,’ ‘glamour’ and ‘statistics’ have been constructed.

The pictures and the language also point to certain forms of physical gestures and sensations particular to *TfB* practices. For example, the *TfB* fellows usually do not use claps to applaud the children they teach. Instead, they have been trained to use ‘finger snapping’ as a distinctive marker of their proud culture. All these powerfully constitute the ‘linguistic and pictorial competences’ that Appadurai points to as core processes of vernacularisation. This is indeed an example of policy vernacularisation through social media usage. To further elaborate these insights, we now look into one specific video that represents *TfB*’s central policy message. We seek to explore in greater detail how specific projections/imaginaries are constructed through specific media as part of this broader tapestry, revealing how globalized policy discourses ‘touch down’ in vernacular ways.

4.4. Analysing ‘Change our nation’

This section provides a *videological* analysis of *TfB*’s most representative promotional video ‘Change our nation’ that calls for fresh Bangladeshi graduates and young professionals to join a movement for changing the country. It is a two minute fifty-nine second video professionally crafted by Maverick Studios Bangladesh, which is a partner of *Teach for All* (Maverick Studios Bangladesh 2017). In analysing the video, first we have identified all the instances of emotional rhetoric and their types. Lehman’s (1991, 186) list of rhetorical devices of ‘Emotional Appeal’ has been used for this purpose. The heavy use of such rhetorical devices (see Table 3) highlighted the ‘post-truth’ element in the video. Next, we have used Koh’s (2009, 290–293) ‘videological method’ of policy analysis that examines design aspects, particularly in relation to audio-visual presentation of policy. We look into the very design and making of the video to identify the elements of *vernacularisation* operative within ‘Change our nation’. Below is a transcript of the video with time stamped sequences, background song lyrics, textual caption and description of visual content.

We begin by identifying in the video the acute presence of what Lanham (1991, 186, 187) refers to as rhetorical devices of emotional appeal (RDEA). Lehman (1991, 186) identified ‘patterns’ in the use of persuasive language and put these patterns into broad categories, one being that of ‘emotional appeal’. These patterns are usable for ‘rhetorical and stylistic inquiry of all sorts’ (Lanham 1991, ix). We have used these rhetoric identifiers as various forms of ‘emotional appeal’, and have sought to reveal how many instances of them were present in ‘Change our nation’. In the short three-minute video, fourteen instances of such use of emotional appeal were evident (see Table 3 matching with Table 2). This heavy use of affective rhetoric highlights the central characteristic of a post-truth reality.

Table 2. Sequence distribution of promotional video 'Change our nation'.

Sequences	Seconds	Background/lyric	Textual captions	Visual contents
1. Problematisation				
	0.00–0.04	Silence	–	Set in front of a government primary school, the camera moves from the bottom to the top of a flagpole revealing a static Bangladesh flag
	0.05–0.20	Instrumental introduction to the song	In Bangladesh, the quality of a child's education is largely determined at birth	Children in blue uniform talk, run, walk around, play and smile in the school playground
	0.21–0.27	The whole world's broke and it ain't worth fixing	17 million, the number of primary school students in Bangladesh (Top right corner in big black fonts)	Female children sitting in a classroom look at the blackboard
	0.28–0.35	It's time to start all over, make a new beginning	8 million will drop out before finishing class 5 (appears slowly in two lines in between children in seated rows on the floor)	Female children disappear from the classroom as the caption progresses
	0.36–0.43	There's too much pain, too much suffering	15 million will drop out before class 12 Ever wonder what will happen to all these children?	Large face of a female sitting child stares with agitated big eyes
2. Solution				
	0.44–0.51	Let's resolve to start all over make a new beginning	Our country needs guidance Our country needs inspiration	A poor boy sitting agitated and working as a welder (in faded discolour)
	0.52–0.59	Now don't get me wrong I love life and living	Our country needs LEADERS	A poor boy sleeps beside the road A day labourer boy in rugged T-shirt hits a piece of steel in a forge with a heavy hammer (in faded discolour)
			Our country needs you	The hazy close shot of a begging girl counting money fades in
3. Individual call for action				
	1.00–1.06	But when you wake up and look around at everything that's going down, All wrong	What if you had the opportunity to be the change this country needs? (white on black)	A poor boy collecting from garbage faces the camera and leaves the scene Two graduates in academic regalia doing a 'Hi-5'
	1.07–1.14	You see we need to change it now, this world with too few happy endings	This year thousands of talented students will graduate university	The two graduates holding their certificates rolled in their hands run down the stairs of the university

(Continued)



Table 2. (Continued).

Sequences	Seconds	Background/lyric	Textual captions	Visual contents
4. Rationalisation through moralisation				
	1.14–1.23	We can resolve to start all over make a new beginning	Most will choose a traditional path to success But few will embark on a journey to change the country	The first caption slowly appears leading to the second caption in white on black
	1.24–1.41	Start all over (4 times)		Two young graduates trying to wake up from bed in the morning
	1.41–1.49	We can break the cycle We can break the chain		Wake up and wash their face and hands They get dressed, watch the time, take their bag and head out in two juxtaposed frames
	1.50–1.55	We can start all over – In the new beginning		Both walk in respective simultaneous video frames; the man on the left enters into a <i>T/B</i> classroom and the man on the right enters into a corporate office
	1.55–2.03	We can learn, we can teach We can share the myths the dream the prayer	What if your first job	The young man on the left continues teaching in a classroom with female children
	2.03–2.07	The notion that we can do better	WAS TO CHANGE OUR NATION	The person on the right person sits working on laptop in his office and is finally screened out
	2.08–2.17	Change our lives and paths, Create a new world		The face of a girl with big eyes moves as if she is thinking A girl with inquisitive eyes raises her index finger answering something Another girl in a scarfed face traces a love-heart figure using fingers Consecutively five girls' faces are shown who smile
5. Conclusion	2.18–2.30	And Start all over Start all over (3 times)	2 YEARS OF YOUR LIFE COULD CHANGE THE REST OF THEIRS	Children running, clapping, jumping, laughing in a hazy frame Video closes, black screen appears

We next turn to the videological analysis of ‘Change our nation’. Videological analysis as a method of policy analysis has not yet become a common practice (see for example, Koh 2009; Lingard and Sellar 2014). Analyses in Singaporean (Koh 2009) and Scottish contexts (Lingard and Sellar 2014) reveal how specific policies have been crafted into short videos using professional techniques to foster public acceptance and sell a policy message. The uniqueness of this method in relation to other forms of video analyses lies in its focus on the technical aspects of professional video making – the creation of a particular televisual flow. The *foci* of analysis here are: (a) the person talking (speaker), (b) the framing of identity, place and space, and (c) editing (suturing television flow). The narrative content (rhetoric and discourses) then becomes only one important part of the whole focus of analysis. Here the attention is not on ‘visual conduct [of the participants] in general’ or ‘on interaction in particular’ or even ‘on the audio-visual aspects of people in action’ (Knoblauch, Schnettler, and Raab 2012, 11); rather, the focus is on how the video was professionally made to convey a policy message to the public through deliberate ‘choices of visual design that have wider implications on the [audiences’] practices of looking’ (Koh 2009, 285).

The *speaker* of ‘Change our nation’ is not a person who directly speaks throughout the clip. Rather, the video is narrated very artfully and in an implied fashion through a re-rendering of selective stanzas from the song ‘New Beginning’ from Tracy Chapman’s 1994-US-bestseller album of the same name. The song-voice evokes a rhythmic flow of a powerful emotional concern for the world’s ‘brokenness’, ‘too much pain ... suffering’ and ‘all wrong’ that culminates gradually into a call for a ‘new beginning’. The vocal appeal is that of a sage with a synoptic view of the world conjuring a prophetic moral imperative. The prepositions ‘you’ (denoting the local audience that needs to be activated) and ‘I’ (the global voice making the call) are finally brought together as ‘we’, who are morally obligated to work for the new beginning. What we see here is an emotionally constructed effort to direct the audience’s thinking in terms of the global. The intended communication outcome is to create, using semiotic resources, a *re-presentation* of a specific (problem laden) version of the world, which is a model of ‘reality without reality’ – a ‘hyper reality’, a ‘simulacrum’ (Baudrillard 1983, 2). This is where the social imaginary is evoked.

This construction of reality in video designing is foregrounded through what Lyotard describes as the identification of ‘lack of reality’ [in the audience’s understanding] in reality followed by an ‘invention of other realities’ (Koh 2009, 286; Lyotard 1984, 77). This simulacrum technique of video making is actually a way of visualising an intended reality rather

Table 3. Identified rhetorical devices of emotional appeal in ‘Change our nation’.

RDEA	Meaning	Sequence/Seconds
<i>Anacoenosis</i>	Asking the opinion of one’s readers	4/1.55–2.07
<i>Anticategoria</i>	Mutual accusation or recrimination	1/0.36–0.43
<i>Argumentum ad misericordiam</i>	Appeal to the mercy of the hearers	1/0.00–0.43
<i>Commiseratio</i>	Evoking pity in the audience	5/2.18–2.30
		1/0.36–0.43
<i>Exuscitatio</i>	Emotional utterance that seeks to move readers to like feelings	5/2.18–2.30
		2/0.52–0.59
<i>Indignatio</i>	Arousing the audience’s scorn and indignation	4/1.14–1.23
<i>Mempsis</i>	Complaining against injuries and pleading for help	1/0.36–0.51
		2/0.52–0.59
<i>Paraenesis</i>	Warning of impending evil	1/0.36–0.43
<i>Pathopoeia</i>	Arousing passion	4/2.03–2.07
<i>Pro trope</i>	Exhorting audience to action by threats/promises	2–4/0.52–2.07

than representing the existing reality. When expressed through music, this becomes even stronger as it creates what Simon Frith (1986, 65) calls 'Emotional Reality', an intensification of the emotional significance of a scene by arousing a particular 'mood or atmosphere'. Therefore, the social imaginary activated by the video is wrapped up within and constructed through this emotional hyper reality that marries the global to the local. Then, a 'textual' narrator (through captions) enters the scene, which is also highly emotional, and exhibits a very local tenor. As shown in the identified sequences in Table 2, the only evidence based rationalisation (through unsourced predictive data) is found in sequence-1, while the remaining four sequences are oriented by strong emotional persuasion (see Table 2).

The video's *framing of identity, place and space* contrast with the song's hyperreality. The American song represents the global in its mode and content, whereas the characters, places and space are solely Bangladeshi. For example, all of the five sequences with their respective scenes, corresponding cuts and intended transitions project a Bangladeshi reality. The problem space is purely national, the identities are Bangladeshi, and the places are Bangladeshi government schools, street sides and university campuses. What we see here is an interplay between two worlds – the audio and the visual denoting respectively the global *hyper reality* and the local *projected reality*. The former creates emotional invocations of a global unison and a global call for action, while the latter channels the emotional force into/through specific local identities and places (Bangladeshi graduates, primary school children and deprived children). Throughout the video this ambiguous but infused global-local identity dilemma is predominant. This creation of a global-local relational discord is facilitated by 'music-induced arousal and pleasure' that positively affects viewer affiliation (Dubé, Chebat, and Morin 1995, 305). This is indeed a hybridisation of identity, place and space where the local is enmeshed with the global. Given that visual mediation is never 'culturally innocent' (Turner 1999, 180), the aforementioned construction of reality through two parallel voices is instrumental to *vernacularisation*. It uses emotional semiotics to connect the local with the global, where the call is coming from the global (the 'head') and actions are required of the local (the 'hand').

Editing is a post-production activity (Fiske 2007, 22) reliant on the editor's motivation (2007, 26). This activity demands pertinent choices of sliced clips to be juxtaposed or trans-linked that connect spaces and times linking themes and moods (Koh 2009, 292; Turner 1999). The aim is to catch the audience within a 'seamless' (Turner 1999, 180) flow effect – the television flow (Koh 2009, 292). This effect is achieved in the *TfB* video through five clearly identifiable *sequences* (as outlined in Table 2): (1) *problematization* (forecasting increased dropout rates in Bangladesh government primary schools using predictive statistics without reference), (2) *offering broader solutions* (leaders and guidance needed for the country), (3) *individual call for action* (invoking a choice for graduates to engage in a *TfB* trajectory as opposed to a traditional job leading to professional success), (4) *Rationalisation through moralisation* (changing the nation as leaders has more value than other paths), and (5) *conclusion* (Emotional call for application). This is clearly an audio-visual making of a 'complete policy' as the *TfB* model has been presented as a solution to the projected problem of educational inequity (Bacchi 2009).

The respective *scenes* cut and put into the *sequences* have been juxtaposed using different shot techniques enabling professional 'suturing' – the act of threading the parts into a continuous meaning-making flow (Fiske 2007, 28). The video uses and places different shot techniques to produce cognitive emphasis, triggering some intended emotion and meaning

in the viewer. For example, in sequence 3–4 (1.00–2.03) two fresh graduates are introduced in one slow motion ‘hi-5’ scene that makes way to a *double/parallel frame* juxtaposing their professional orientation/roles – one going into the *TfB* classroom for teaching, the other into a corporate office. The viewer is oriented towards the former as the ‘preferred’ option. This is an example of what has been described as the ‘myth effect’, the cognitive impact of which is to breach cross-cultural boundaries (Lévi-Strauss 1955, 440; Turner 1999, 83). This myth effect is achieved by creating ‘binary oppositions’ or ‘two-term-conflicts’, because human cognition tends to understand the world through mentally constructing ‘mutually exclusive categories’ (Turner 1999, 83). This creates a sort of mythical villain-hero dualism in the audience’s mind, finally leading to a mental affinity with the hero.

The whole video is scaffolded by these kinds of deliberative editing practices. For example, we see projected binaries between: (a) the present broken state of public education and the predicted *TfB* salvation situation (sequence-1), (b) between changing the nation and being a traditional professional (sequence-3), (c) between traditional path to success and that of the *TfB* path, (d) between doing better and doing as is done now, (e) between traditional teaching and leading-teaching, and finally (f) between the world as it is ‘now’, and the anticipated ‘new’ world. This rendering of a particular practice as unavoidably attractive to the audience through staging a mythical protagonist-antagonist dualism to showcase *TfB* is what constitutes the vernacular effect. The emotional galvanising further augments the projected social imaginary that blurs the imaginative boundary between the global and the local and potentially connects the global ideational to the local operational. In all of these, deficiency and inequity are the features of the present and the local, while perfection and providence are represented by the future, and voiced by and through the global. However, what makes this relevant to the current time is the element of post-truth emotional sweetening. Unlike the past, policy texts now can be re-written into audio-video bytes and can be presented with varying degrees of emotion to achieve intended purposes. This is policy spin designed and put into practice through social media; what we are calling the social mediatisation of policy.

5. Conclusion

The emergence of *TfB* in Bangladesh is connected to decades-long, externally funded structural adjustment programmes linked to the pressures of globalisation and responses to internationally agreed development goals. These macro structural reforms have changed the governance of primary education in ways that now provide a policy environment conducive to global entrepreneurial involvement by groups such as *TfB* (Adhikary and Lingard 2017). Using Bacchi’s (2009) policy analytics and Ball’s (2012, 2013) research on philanthropic governance, Adhikary and Lingard (2017) have demonstrated how *TfB* is a travelling policy that has been locally institutionalised within the government structures that govern primary education (Directorate of Primary Education) and NGO involvement in Bangladesh (NGO Bureau). According to these authors, *TfB* is a policy in three interrelated senses. First, it is a part and extension of an exogenous global policy localised in Bangladesh. Secondly, it is an expression of path dependent macro reforms that now allow global philanthropic actors to participate within the primary education subsector. Thirdly, and perhaps most significantly, it has been designed and implemented as an imperative innovation in teacher education that is by default meant for nationwide upscaling in future– and is in this sense, a policy-in-the-making.

In this context, the focus of the paper was to demonstrate how *TfB*'s policy content was re-written through social media, videos and photos. We have argued that *TfB*'s media work is policy work complementary to the programmatic policy proposals put to the relevant ministry by *TfB* and this sits in the confusing and epistemologically problematic context of post-truth politics. We focused on how the policy content was rendered meaningful for the target audience (Bangladeshi graduates, their parents, Ministry and the local populace); this is vernacularisation. *TfB* sought popular acceptance by making official use of global social media platforms in relation to which the government of Bangladesh has limited expertise and control. *TfB* not only mediated its policy content, but also used the social media platform for continual social mediation of its policy in a time of 'deep mediation'. *TfB*'s claim of changing the whole education system for the better is something that invites critical attention. Such scrutiny is essential, given *TfB* seeks to transform public education in ways that could potentially inhibit latter's democratic role and the democratic framing of policy.

We have demonstrated how *TfB* has utilised traditional forms of media (TV channel, News Papers etc.) in ways that characterise policy mediation. What makes this interesting and related to globalisation is the regular reorganisation and archiving of those traditional media contents and their affective re-presentation on Facebook, including through a multitude of associated hyperlinks. We have also shown how by identifying and mapping the global sources of hyperlinks, we can capture a picture of the types of organisations and actors who endorse, source, support or circulate the global policy under consideration. This exemplifies an emerging change in the infrastructure of policy dissemination, where local governments may not have control over such circulatory processes and content, depending on the government's position within the digital and developmental spectrum. These new modes of policy dissemination accommodate and produce cultures, politics, perspectives, ideas and imaginations that are increasingly cosmopolitan, globally glamorous, emotionally propulsive and most affectively 'new' to local audiences. These can work as a powerful medium to facilitate globalisation from above and below, for better or for worse.

Regular production of professional videos, Photoshopped high quality images, and animated characters for Facebook demonstrates how the organisation has taken the global social media platform seriously. All these crafted contents are not mere Facebook posts. Rather, they animate and meaningfully present a globalised policy now in practice locally. They seek to trigger a global social imaginary within youthful minds. They naturalise certain ideas and vocabulary that are rooted in the global market (invest, impact). The way music, glamour, humour, visual techniques, global content, and most enticingly emotions are used in *TfB*'s Facebook artefacts seamlessly resembles the work of American corporate advertisements. In this case, Facebook has provided a platform for unrestricted and un-umpired (but also targeted) global-local policy knowledge mobility and dissemination. In the process, the thin line between formal and informal, between fact and manufactured projection, between emotion and reasoning, and between the global and the local, have become hazier and almost elided.

The extensive use of emotional cues coupled with the propensity to stylise and present policy content through professional artistry signal a new mode and mentality for policy dissemination – potentially a whole new paradigm. We note that NGOs in Bangladesh are now creating similar Facebook pages, and professionally crafted audio-visual content is gradually becoming common-place. Here, we see an emerging media environment reliant on social media coverage, as much as it is explanatory/evidence of various forms of 'post-truth'

reality. Apparently, in this new emerging global environment, what appears to matter most is the currency that a proposition or phenomenon achieves in terms of how many people liked or visibly engaged with it, regardless of their national and cultural orientation. Nonetheless, the receptive side of influence here is still the national, and the local. Related, *TfB* uses a saviour discourse that underpins such affective media practices and seeks to empower and activate a circuit of global actors and their local associates in the act of governance; this occurs alongside processes of disempowering others who experientially, historically and culturally belong to the local system.

Bangladesh is a country that became independent in 1971, signifying a journey towards a secular social democratic state (Government of Bangladesh 1972). The four bedrocks of the country's constitution were nationalism, socialism, democracy and secularism, yet it must be acknowledged that these remain aspirations. The colonial past and the inherited educational management structures and bureaucratic practices have framed the cultural beliefs and assumptions that guide popular expectations of schooling. Consequently, the government is still imagined by the public as the responsible provider of education. It is also the case that deficiencies along multiple dimensions in social services have long blemished people's welfarist expectations and rights to education in Bangladesh. However, despite mounting influences and performative pressures of globalisation, 'teaching' is still culturally perceived as more of a socio-moral undertaking and as a revered profession, where teachers are not expected to be leaders, but are often considered as creators of foundations for future leaders through their teaching. Philanthropy is commonly perceived more in terms of humanism and altruism, and not in investment terms.

In these senses, *TfB* brings into existence a curious culture and associated beliefs and assumptions around heavily mediated conceptions of teaching and philanthropy. This is where the post-truth nature of *TfB*'s mediatisation efforts becomes insightful. Consequently, and while it is a matter of research to understand if such initiatives and associated policies are 'good' or 'bad', and while there may be circumstances where such policies might enable good for society, we would suggest the necessity for caution in relation to more neoliberal approaches to educational policy in developing countries, such as Bangladesh. In developing settings, such initiatives have the potential to further exacerbate inequalities, with the most egregious outcomes for those in poor communities, who pin their hopes on education for alleviation of poverty, and development more broadly.

For these reasons, research for understanding the emerging (social) media-education (policy) nexus deserves special attention, particularly in an increasingly 'post-truth' and globalising context. First of all, this emergent situation demands development of methods and techniques appropriate to understand the sociology, psychology, moral foundations and technological formulations of such practices (Breiter and Hepp 2018). This will then help to understand what such practices mean for the production and outcomes of both education and public policy more broadly. Research can also provide an understanding of the negotiations and accommodations that accept or unsuccessfully resist such practices at the individual level. Identity and subjectivity of both teachers and students are areas that need to be explored in the context of social-mediatisation as the container of 'global-local' and 'their-our' dilemmas.

The imagined global uniformity and the isomorphic reform practices that *TfB* mediatises can also be investigated from a post-colonial perspective. Such practices can be interrogated by using critical lenses of democratic citizenship, social justice, and human rights, given

that these constructs are highly context-bound and culture-sensitive. Most importantly, how children and their teachers understand and process the post-truth element of current media practices is an area that can provide directions in relation to what education can or should do to positively influence such practices. However, the central point here is not to delimit, but to open up possible avenues of reflection as globalisation of education and education policy continue apace. We need to continue to ‘deparochialise’ the educational policy research imagination (cf. Appadurai 2001, 15), cultivating theories and perspectives from the developing world to better understand the wins, dynamics and losses that attend globalisation and global (social) mediatisation processes in education policy.

Notes

1. *TfB* also provides Fellow teachers to some social entrepreneurial schools established by likeminded social entrepreneurs (e.g. *Jaago Foundation*) (see Adhikary and Lingard 2017). But the ultimate goal is to work within the public education system to reform government schools. Unlike all other ‘*Teach for ...*’ programmes, *TfB* at this point has only focused on primary education.
2. NCapture is a free web browser extension, developed by QSR International software company, that enables a researcher to gather material from the web to import into NVivo.
3. Cytoscape is an open source software platform for visualising complex networks and integrating these with any type of attribute data.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Funding

This research received support through an ‘Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship’ provided by the University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia.

Notes on contributors

Rino Wiseman Adhikary is a PhD researcher at the University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia. His area of research is global policy governance in education. He holds an MA (Education) in Lifelong Learning from the *Danish School of Education, Aarhus University, Copenhagen, Denmark*; an European MA in Lifelong Learning Policy and Management from the *University of Deusto, Bilbao, Spain*; and an MA in English from *Khulna University, Bangladesh*. His articles have appeared in journals such as *Comparative Education, Policy Futures in Education* and *KEDI Journal of Education Policy*.

Bob Lingard is a Professorial Research Fellow in the School of Education at The University of Queensland. His most recent books include *Globalizing Educational Accountability* (Routledge, 2016) and *Politics, Policies and Pedagogies in Education* (Routledge, 2014). He is Editor of the book series, *Key Ideas and Education* (Routledge, New York) and of the journal, *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*.

Ian Hardy is Senior Lecturer and Australia Research Council Future Fellow at the School of Education, The University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia. Dr Hardy researches and teaches educational policy and practice, with a particular focus upon teachers’ learning under current policy conditions. He is author of *The politics of teacher professional development: Policy, research and practice* (New York: Routledge, 2012), and is currently researching the nature of teachers’ learning in relation to curricula

policy practices, and globalized educational reform discourses in Australia, Canada, Finland, Sweden and the United States.

ORCID

Rino Wiseman Adhikary  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-9676-6515>

Bob Lingard  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-4101-9985>

Ian Hardy  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8124-8766>

References

- Adhikary, Rino Wiseman, and Bob Lingard. 2017. "A Critical Policy Analysis of 'Teach for Bangladesh': A Travelling Policy Touches Down." *Comparative Education*, August, 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050068.2017.1360567>.
- Amin, Ash. 2002. "Spatialities of Globalisation." *Environment and Planning A* 34 (3): 385–399. doi:10.1068/a3439.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Public Worlds, v. 1. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 2001. *Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination*. In *Globalization*. Duke University Press. <http://read.dukeupress.edu/content/9780822383215/9780822383215>.
- Au, Wayne, and Joseph J. Ferrare. 2015. "Introduction: Neoliberalism, Social Networks, and the New Governance of Education." In *Mapping Corporate Education Reform: Power and Policy Networks in the Neoliberal State*, edited by Wayne Au and Joseph J. Ferrare, 1–22. Critical Social Thought. New York: Routledge.
- Bacchi, Carol Lee. 2009. *Analysing Policy: What's the Problem Represented to Be? Frenchs Forest*. Frenchs Forest: Pearson.
- Ball, Stephen J. 1994. *Education Reform: A Critical and Post-structural Approach*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Ball, Stephen J. 2009. "Privatising Education, Privatising Education Policy, Privatising Educational Research: Network Governance and the 'Competition State'." *Journal of Education Policy* 24 (1): 83–99. doi:10.1080/02680930802419474.
- Ball, Stephen J. 2012. *Global Education Inc.: New Policy Networks and the Neo-liberal Imaginary*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Ball, Stephen J. 2013. *The Education Debate*. 2nd ed. Bristol: Policy.
- Ball, Stephen J. 2014. *Foucault, Power, and Education*. New York: Routledge.
- Ball, Stephen J., and Carolina Junemann. 2012. *Networks, New Governance and Education*. Policy Press. <http://policypress.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.1332/policypress/9781847429803.001.0001/upso-9781847429803>.
- Balm, James. 2014. "The Power of Pictures. How We Can Use Images to Promote and Communicate Science." Research Blog. BioMed Central Blog, August 11. <https://blogs.biomedcentral.com/bmcblog/2014/08/11/the-power-of-pictures-how-we-can-use-images-to-promote-and-communicate-science/>.
- Baroutsis, Aspa, and Bob Lingard. 2017. "Counting and Comparing School Performance: An Analysis of PISA in Australia, 2000–2014." *Journal of Education Policy* 32 (4): 432–449.
- Baudrillard, Jean. 1983. *Simulations*. Foreign Agents Series. New York City: Semiotext(e), Inc.
- Berlant, Lauren Gail. 2005. "The Epistemology of State Emotion." In *Dissent in Dangerous Times*, edited by Austin Sarat, 46–79. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. <http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=3414738>.
- Berlant, Lauren Gail. 2011. *Cruel Optimism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Blackmore, Jill, and Pat Thomson. 2004. "Just 'Good and Bad News'? Disciplinary Imaginaries of Head Teachers in Australian and English Print Media." *Journal of Education Policy* 19 (3): 301–320. doi:10.1080/0268093042000207638.

- Blackmore, Jill, and Stephen Thorpe. 2003. "Media/ting Change: The Print Media's Role in Mediating Education Policy in a Period of Radical Reform in Victoria, Australia." *Journal of Education Policy* 18 (6): 577–595. doi:10.1080/0268093032000145854.
- Breiter, Andreas, and Andreas Hepp. 2018. "The Complexity of Datafication: Putting Digital Traces in Context." In *Communicative Figurations: Transforming Communications in Times of Deep Mediatization*, edited by Andreas Hepp, Andreas Breiter and Uwe Hasebrink, 6–37. Germany: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Crouch, Colin. 2004. *Post-democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Curran, James. 2010. "The Future of Journalism." *Journalism Studies* 11 (4): 464–476. doi:10.1080/14616701003722444.
- Dubé, Laurette, Jean-Charles Chebat, and Sylvie Morin. 1995. "The Effects of Background Music On Consumers' Desire to Affiliate in Buyer-seller Interactions." *Psychology and Marketing* 12 (4): 305–319. doi:10.1002/mar.4220120407.
- Edmans, Alex. 2017. "From Post-truth to Pro-truth | Alex Edmans | TEDxLondonBusinessSchool." June 20. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eUvp5L8yRPQ>.
- Fairclough, Norman. 2000. *New Labour, New Language?*. London: Routledge. <http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=165902>.
- Fiske, John. 2007. *Television Culture*. Repr. Media Studies. London: Routledge.
- Franklin, Bob. 2004. "Education, Education and Indoctrination! Packaging Politics and the Three 'Rs'" *Journal of Education Policy* 19 (3): 255–270. doi:10.1080/0268093042000207601.
- Friedrich, Daniel S. 2014. "Global Microlending in Education Reform: Enseñá por Argentina and the Neoliberalization of the Grassroots." *Comparative Education Review* 58 (2): 296–321. doi:10.1086/675412.
- Friedrich, Daniel S., Mia Walter, and Erica Colmenares. 2015. "Making All Children Count: Teach For All and the Universalizing Appeal of Data." *Education Policy Analysis Archives* 23: 48 doi:10.14507/epaa.v23.1797.
- Frith, Simon. 1986. "Hearing Secret Harmonies." In *High Theory/Low Culture: Analysing Popular Television and Film*, edited by Colin MacCabe, 53–70. New York: St. Martin's.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2016. The Post-truth Society YouTube. Stanford. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MzezEaOT7aw>.
- Gewirtz, Sharon, Marny Dickson, and Sally Power. 2004. "Unravelling a 'Spun' Policy: A Case Study of the Constitutive Role of 'Spin' in the Education Policy Process." *Journal of Education Policy* 19 (3): 321–342. doi:10.1080/0268093042000207647.
- Goff, Brent. 2016. *The Post-truth Era & Fake News*. Interview. *Brent Goff Reports*. Deutsche Welle. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OT9TxDYvVLo>.
- Government of Bangladesh. 1972. "1972 Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh." *International Relations and Security Network: Primary Resources in International Affairs (PRIA)*. Zurich: ISN ETH. <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/research/bangladesh-constitution.pdf>.
- Grayling, A. C. 2016. Why "post-truth" is word of the year 2016! Sky News. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sCRI-K4VWGc>.
- Hattam, Robert, Brenton Prosser, and Kathy Brady. 2009. "Revolution or Backlash? The Mediatization of Education Policy in Australia." *Critical Studies in Education* 50 (2): 159–172. doi:10.1080/17508480902859433.
- Hepp, Andreas, and Uwe Hasebrink. 2018. "Researching Transforming Communications in Times of Deep Mediatization: A Figurational Perspective." In *Communicative Figurations: Transforming Communications in Times of Deep Mediatization*, edited by Andreas Hepp, Andreas Breiter and Uwe Hasebrink, 6–37. Germany: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Keyes, Ralph. 2004. *The Post-truth Era: Dishonesty and Deception in Contemporary Life*. 1st ed. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Knoblauch, Hubert, Bernt Schnettler, and Jürgen Raab. 2012. "Introduction: Video-analysis. Methodological Aspects of Interpretive Audiovisual Analysis in Social Research." In *Video Analysis: Methodology and Methods; Qualitative Audiovisual Data Analysis in Sociology*, edited by Hubert Knoblauch, Hans-Georg Soeffner, Jürgen Raab, and Bernt Schnettler 3rd ed., 9–28. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.

- Koh, Aaron. 2009. "The Visualization of Education Policy: A Videological Analysis of Learning Journey." *Journal of Education Policy* 24 (3): 283–315. doi:10.1080/02680930802669946.
- Labaree, D. 2010. "Teach for America and Teacher Ed: Heads They Win, Tails We Lose." *Journal of Teacher Education* 61 (1–2): 48–55. doi:10.1177/0022487109347317.
- Lanham, Richard A. 1991. *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms*. 2nd ed. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1955. "The Structural Study of Myth." *The Journal of American Folklore* 68 (270): 428–444. doi:10.2307/536768.
- Lingard, Bob, and Sam Sellar. 2014. "The OECD and the Expansion of PISA: New Global Modes of Governance in Education." *Scottish Educational Review* 46 (1): 5–18
- Lingard, Bob, and Shaun Rawolle. 2004. "Mediatizing Educational Policy: The Journalistic Field, Science Policy, and Cross-field Effects." *Journal of Education Policy* 19 (3): 361–380.
- Lyotard, Jean-François. 1984. *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Theory and History of Literature, v. 10. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Massey, Doreen B. 1994. "A Global Sense of Place." In *Space, Place, and Gender*, edited by, 147–155. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Massumi, Brian. 2002. *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation*. Post-contemporary Interventions. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Maverick Studios Bangladesh. 2017. "Maverick Studios | Teach for Bangladesh." *Teach for Bangladesh* (blog). <http://www.maverickbd.com/portfolio/teach-for-bangladesh/>.
- McCarthy, Cameron, and Greg Dimitriadis. 2000. "Governmentality and the Sociology of Education: Media, Educational Policy and the Politics of Resentment." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 21 (2): 169–185. doi:10.1080/713655350.
- McChesney, Robert Waterman. 2007. *Communication Revolution: Critical Junctures and the Future of Media*. New York: New Press. Distributed by W. W. Norton & Co.
- McLuhan, Marshall, Quentin Fiore, and Jerome Agel. 1996. *The Medium Is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects*. San Francisco, CA: HardWired.
- Ozga, Jennifer. 2000. *Policy Research in Educational Settings: Contested Terrain*. Doing Qualitative Research in Educational Settings. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Patrikarakos, David. 2017. "From Post-truth to Pro-truth | Alex Edmans | TEDxLondonBusinessSchool." June 23. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VeXCU8cjllw>.
- Pina, Ana. 2007. "The Press and the Mediatizing of Educational Policies". *Sisifo. Educational Sciences Journal, Knowledge, Policy-making and Public Action.* *Education* 4 (4): 101–110.
- Popkewitz, Thomas S. 1991. *A Political Sociology of Educational Reform: Power/Knowledge in Teaching, Teacher Education, and Research*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Popkewitz, Thomas S., Miguel A. Pereyra, and Barry M. Franklin. 2001. "History, the Problem of Knowledge, and the New Cultural History of Schooling." In *Cultural History and Education: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Schooling*, edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz, Barry M. Franklin and Miguel A. Pereyra, 3–44. New York: Routledge Falmer.
- Porticus Global. 2017. "Porticus – FAQ." <https://www.porticus.com/en/faq-global>.
- Rawolle, Shaun. 2005. "Cross-field Effects and Temporary Social Fields: A Case Study of the Mediatization of Recent Australian Knowledge Economy Policies." *Journal of Education Policy* 20 (6): 705–724. doi:10.1080/02680930500238622.
- Rawolle, Shaun. 2010. "Understanding the Mediatization of Educational Policy as Practice." *Critical Studies in Education* 51 (1): 21–39.
- Rizvi, Fazal, and Bob Lingard. 2010. *Globalizing Education Policy*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Rolfe, Mark John. 2016. *The Reinvention of Populist Rhetoric in The Digital Age*. 1st ed. 2017. Rhetoric, Politics and Society. Puchong: Springer Singapore.
- Sale, Claire. 2017. "From Post-truth to Pro-truth | Alex Edmans | TEDxLondonBusinessSchool." August 3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=INf0WvnSCI0>.
- Shamir, Ronen. 2008. "The age of Responsibilization: On Market-embedded Morality." *Economy and Society* 37 (1): 1–19. doi:10.1080/03085140701760833.
- Sismondo, Sergio. 2017. "Post-truth?" *Social Studies of Science* 47(1):3–6. doi:10.1177/0306312717692076.
- Smart, Sarah, Merryn Hutchings, Uvanney Maylor, Heather Mendick, and Ian Menter. 2009. "Processes of Middle-class Reproduction in a Graduate Employment Scheme." *Journal of Education and Work* 22 (1): 35–53. doi:10.1080/13639080802709661.

- Stack, Michelle. 2006. "Testing, Testing, Read All about It: Canadian Press Coverage of the PISA Results." *Canadian Journal of Education* 29 (1): 49–69.
- Straubhaar, Rolf, and Daniel Friedrich. 2015. "Theorizing and Documenting the Spread of Teach for All and Its Impact on Global Education Reform." *Education Policy Analysis Archives* 23 (44): 1–6. doi: 10.14507/epaa.v23.2055.
- Suiter, Jane. 2016. "Post-truth Politics." *Political Insight* 7 (3): 25–27. doi:10.1177/2041905816680417.
- Taylor, Charles. 2004. *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Public Planet Books. Durham, NC: Duke University Press .
- Taylor, Sandra, Fazal Rizvi, Bob Lingard, and Miriam Henry. 1997. *Educational Policy and the Politics of Change*. London: Routledge.
- TfAll, Board. 2017. "Http://Teachforall.Org/En/about/Board." Text. *Teach for All*. <http://teachforall.org/en/about/board>.
- TfAll, Join Our Staff. 2017. "Join Our Staff" Text. *Teach for All*. <http://teachforall.org/en/join-our-staff>.
- TfAll, Our network and impact. 2017. "Our Network and Impact." Text. Our Network and Impact. <http://teachforall.org/en/our-network-impact>.
- TfAll, Supporters. 2017. "Http://Teachforall.Org/En/about/Supporters." Text. *Teach for All*. <http://teachforall.org/en/about/supporters>.
- Turner, Graeme. 1999. *Film as Social Practice*. London: Routledge. <http://site.ebrary.com/id/10054595>.
- Turner, Graeme. 2016. *Re-inventing the Media*. London: Routledge.