

Words of Power:

THE ADOPTION AND CONTESTATION OF THE 'GOOD
GOVERNANCE' CONCEPT AS A DEVELOPMENT
FRAMEWORK IN THE WORLD BANK, 1989-2000.

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Summary

This master thesis presents an alternative narrative on the concept of good governance in the period 1989 - 2000. By opening up the black box that is the World Bank through using automated text analysis techniques on all documents published by the Bank in the period, the research focusses on the internal mechanisms that formed meanings behind the concept. Employing theories of contextual meaning, the four distinct meanings of good governance were identified. Three meanings can be traced back towards different interpretations of development, while the fourth represents a context in which the World Bank operates most often.

The research shows that good governance constituted as a mode for policy innovation within the World Bank, away from market-oriented development knowledge towards poverty alleviation. Even though all four meanings of good governance were present from the start, their usage represents struggles in power relations between the World Bank's management, executive directors, and staff. Unlike other secondary literature, this thesis underwrites the importance of institutional constraints and aspirations in the formulation of development knowledge.

By not approaching the Bank as a unitary actor, the clash of conflicting interests and conviction within the institution have been exposed. In this analysis, the often touted the depoliticising language of the World Bank does not constitute as a rhetorical tool aimed outward but is rather a symptom of policy innovation within an institutional discourse. Concretely, the staff's language was not formed by the constraints in the form of the Articles of Agreement but by the market-oriented orientations imposed by higher management during the 1980s. In the same manner, it can be concluded that in the period 1993 – 1996, the management attempted to steer the meaning of the concept towards a more political interpretation of development. This was most likely done in reaction to external pressure. With its four meanings and vague definition, good governance was the encompassing concept that gave a name to this development within the Bank. The reason why good governance was used in the period of 1989 – 2000 can be found in the recognisability of the concept and the broadness of its meaning, allowing anyone to use aspects of the concept to fit their agenda.

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List of Abbreviations

Country Assistance Strategy	CAS
Data frequency matrix	dfm
Document variables	docvar
International Bank of Reconstruction and Development	IBRD
International Development Association	IDA
Natural Language Processing	NLP
Structural Adjustment Program	SAP
United Nations	UN
United Nations Development Program	UNDP
World Bank	WB

'[Ideas], unless outward circumstances conspire with them, have in general no very rapid or immediate efficiency on human affairs.'

-John Stuart Mill¹

1. Introduction

By the first years of the 1990s, capitalism began to cement its power globally. With the sudden and unexpected collapse of the Soviet Union and the consequential dissolution of communism, capitalism's main contender for ideological hegemony in the world had been defeated. The world system was set to be formed by the tenets of the Washington Consensus, which can be condensed to open markets, private enterprise, and tight fiscal policy. The development of nations was to be governed by the economic fundamentals of capitalism. However, as the cement dried, cracks began to appear.

Other voices spoke up within the World Bank (WB), touting the importance of institutions and politics in the development of nations. As one of the Washington-based institutions that belonged to the core of the Consensus, the WB had previously completely disregarded anything that was not fiscal or trade economics. Under the influence of the neoliberals in the monetarist era of the 1980s, the institution had moved away from its earlier orientation of poverty alleviation, insofar that it had even closed its public management department. Yet, from 1992 onwards, development was no longer the sole domain of economics when the World Bank defined governance 'as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development.'² Thus, the concept of *good governance* entered the arena. The curiosity 'good governance' is the focal point of this master thesis which aims to find an answer to the question *why did the World Bank use the concept of good governance in the period 1989-2000?*

¹ John Stuart Mill, 'The Claims of Labour', *Edinburgh Review* (1845), p. 503.

² Geert Bouckaert and Steven Van de Walle, 'Comparing Measures of Citizen Trust and User Satisfaction as Indicators of "Good Governance": Difficulties in Linking Trust and Satisfaction Indicators', *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 69, no. 3 (2003): 329–343, 330.

1.1 Historiography

According to secondary literature, the importance of the good governance as a concept of economic development theory cannot be understated. In his premature eulogy of good governance, Martin Doornbos describes it as the new leading concept that was at its height in the early 1990s.³ According to Laura Zanotti, good governance became central in the United Nations (UN) debate on development in 1997, with the new Secretary-General Kofi Annan.⁴ And played the World Bank ‘a central role in elaborating the notion of Good Governance as the political rationale for international organisations in the 1990s.’⁵ Ved Nanda calls it the development mantra of the 1990s, a fashion for which the World Bank has led the charge.⁶ To David Lewis, good governance, together with neoliberalism, is the new policy agenda ‘that took root’ during the 1990s.⁷ While Claire Mercer, on the other hand, puts it in the centre of the Banks strategy for Africa ever since the first report mentioned it in 1989.⁸ Derick Brinkerhoff & Arthur Goldsmith describe it as the backbone for the democratisation process, quoting the United Kingdom (UK) Department for International Development stating that ‘[good] governance is not a luxury’.⁹ Yet, to Jolle Demmers, good governance was the tactic that strengthened the spread of global neoliberalism through the crisis of the 1990s.¹⁰ As diverse these differing opinions on the concept are, they share the commonality of ascribing a role of singular importance to good governance. The actual meaning of the concept is less clear.

³ Martin Doornbos, “‘Good Governance’: The Rise and Decline of a Policy Metaphor?”, *The Journal of Development Studies* 37, no. 6 (1 August 2001): 93–108, <https://doi.org/10.1080/713601084>, 95.

⁴ Laura Zanotti, ‘Governmentalizing the Post–Cold War International Regime: The UN Debate on Democratization and Good Governance’, *Alternatives* 30, no. 4 (2005): 461–487, 469.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 468.

⁶ Ved P. Nanda, ‘The “Good Governance” Concept Revisited’, *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 603, no. 1 (1 January 2006): 269–83, 469.

⁷ David Lewis, ‘On the Difficulty of Studying “Civil Society”’: Reflections on NGOs, State and Democracy in Bangladesh’, *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 38, no. 3 (2004): 299–322.

⁸ Claire Mercer, ‘Performing Partnership: Civil Society and the Illusions of Good Governance in Tanzania’, *Political Geography* 22, no. 7 (1 September 2003): 741–63, 747.

⁹ Derick W. Brinkerhoff and Arthur A. Goldsmith, ‘Institutional Dualism and International Development: A Revisionist Interpretation of Good Governance’, *Administration & Society* 37, no. 2 (May 2005): 199–224, 201.

¹⁰ Jolle Demmers et al., *Good Governance in the Era of Global Neoliberalism : Conflict and Depolitisation in Latin America, Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa* (London ; Routledge, 2004), 16.

The situation can be exemplified by Brian Smith's statement that 'good governance is government plus something else.'¹¹ In 1997, the World Bank elaborated on its 1992 definition by providing six dimensions of good governance:¹²

'[1] *Voice and accountability*: respect for political rights and civil liberties, public participation in the process of electing policy makers, independence of media, accountability and transparency of government decisions. [2] *Political instability and violence*: political and social tension and unrest, instability of government. [3] *Government effectiveness*: stability, predictability and efficiency of governmental decisions. [4] *Regulatory burden*: burden on business via quantitative regulations, price controls and other interventions into the economy. [5] *Rule of law*: respect for law and order, predictability and effectiveness of judiciary system, enforceability of contracts. [6] *Graft*: corruption, that is, the acceptance of money for providing extra-legal favors.'¹³

When testing in how far these indicators served as a determining factor for debt forgiveness in the period 1989-1998, the economist Eric Neumayer concludes that only the indicators *voice and accountability* and *regulatory burden* were of a significant influence.¹⁴ This seems to confirm the statements of other scholars, such as Rod Alence and Elizabeth Ashworth. They write that, in reality, a highly publicised aspect of good governance, such a democratisation or anti-corruption, were of no real importance to the World Bank.¹⁵ In this line of reasoning, good governance is regarded as a rhetorical tool that serves to placate critics while providing a façade for the implementation of less savoury policies.

The inconsistency in the Bank's use of good governance raises more doubt as to what it is exactly. Nanda put forward that there was no clarity to what the concept might mean because it is in reality just a justification for aid which was given on undeclared political grounds. This way

¹¹ Brian C. Smith, *Good Governance and Development* (Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3.

¹² Claire Mercer, 'Performing Partnership', 747; Daniel Kaufman, Aart Kraay, and Pablo Zoido-Lobaton, 'Governance Matters', *World Bank Policy Research Paper*, October 1999, 1–60, 1-3; Eric Neumayer, 'Is Good Governance Rewarded? A Cross-National Analysis of Debt Forgiveness', *World Development* 30, no. 6 (1 June 2002): 913–30, 917.

¹³ Neumayer, 'Is Good Governance Rewarded?', 917. Emphasises added.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 920.

¹⁵ Rod Alence, 'Political Institutions and Developmental Governance in Sub-Saharan Africa', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 42, no. 2 (June 2004): 163–87, 164 & 167. Elizabeth Ashworth, *The Global Political Economy and Post-1989 Change: The Place of the Central European Transition* (Springer, 2000) 178.

Western neoliberal structures were imposed on recipient countries while the tension between the economic and political aspects of the concept are glossed over.¹⁶ Contrastingly, Matt Andrews sees good governance as ‘the path to development, one best way model of good or effective government around which all countries should converge.’¹⁷ However, he concedes that the policy advice is too much and too broad to implement at once.¹⁸ Which indicates another type of vagueness, namely one rooted in ideological and wishful thinking.

In an attempt to create clarity on the subject, Jolle Demmers articulates three different views on good governance as a tactic for development. The first and foremost is what Demmers calls the ‘managerial and technocratic view’, which focusses on *economic instrumentality*. By focussing on efficient authority and accountability, the state can create a sound economic climate.¹⁹ As a continuation of the dominant ideology of the 1980s, the state has a marginal role in development, as most of the agency is with the private sector. The state’s activities are limited to providing market stability, sound monetary and fiscal policy, and secure competition. Transparency, the rule of law, and tackling corruption are central in this view on good governance.²⁰

In the context of the international financial institutions such as the World Bank, neoliberalism is an economic and political ideology that took root in the 1980s and sees development as a mainly economic problem in which the state should play a limited role. The forces of the global market serve as a mode for the development of new industries as firms from developed countries seek cheaper labour and resources.²¹ In short, wealth was expected to trickle down from the rich West towards the Rest, which would then increase the global living standards and create new export markets. Much like in Demmers’ first view on good governance, the state’s role in all this is providing macroeconomic stability through prudent fiscal policy and create access to the global market by removing tariffs.

In what Demmers identifies as the *socioeconomic* view on development, the focus is on

¹⁶ Ved P. Nanda, ‘The “Good Governance” Concept Revisited’, *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 603, no. 1 (1 January 2006): 269–83, 273 -275.

¹⁷ Matt Andrews, ‘Good Government Means Different Things in Different Countries’, *Governance* 23, no. 1 (1 January 2010): 7–35, 2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁹ Demmers and Et Al., *Good Governance in the Era of Global Neoliberalism*, 2-3.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

²¹ Demmers and Et Al., *Good Governance in the Era of Global Neoliberalism*, 18-19; O’Brien and Williams, *Global Political Economy*, 294; Richard Robison, *The Neoliberal Revolution: Forging the Market State* (Springer, 2006).

effective public institutions that deal with the poor and poverty. Thus poverty alleviation re-emerges as a policy goal. In this second view, it is seen as important that the poor, as the object of development, are included in shaping the process.²² This view belonged mainly to the United Nations Development Program's (UNDP), mode of good governance, which was later adopted by the whole UN.²³

The third view is political – or as Zanotti calls it – *reflexive government*.²⁴ By focussing on institutional change fostering Human Rights and democracy, social change will happen which in turn leads to economic development.²⁵ Therefore, this last view is associated with the separation of power, an independent judicial system, and freedom of organisation. Furthermore, free speech, free press, free elections in a multi-party system, and the existence of civil society.²⁶

Contrastingly, Smith divides good governance into two approaches. On the one hand, governance is about politics. It regards itself with the exercise of power and authority, the management of countries' affairs, the relationship between the rulers and the ruled, their interests and rights, and the conflicts that stem from these.²⁷ On the other, governance is about government. In this case, Smith states, it is technical and managerial. This usage 'implies government that is democratically organised within a democratic political culture and with an efficient administrative organisation, plus the right policies, particularly in the economic sphere. Good governance thus requires policy reform as well as the reform of governmental organizations and institutions.²⁸ Here, civil society plays a big role as donors, such as the Bank or Western states, became to rely on their support in encouraging political accountability, legitimacy, transparency, and participation.²⁹ It leaves to be answered how distinct the concrete realities of these two approaches actually are but there is clear indication that they differ in either discourse or rhetoric.

Smith's and Demmers' definitions of good governance differ from conventional approaches as they are not monolithic. For Smith, good governance exists in two forms that are constant over the whole period, although these can appear simultaneously. Demmers' three views are more specific and allow for changes in the actors' views. According to Demmers, within the

²² Ibid., 471.

²³ Zanotti, 'Governmentalizing the Post-Cold War International Regime', 470.

²⁴ Ibid., 471.

²⁵ Laura Zanotti, 'Governmentalizing the Post-Cold War International Regime', 55.

²⁶ Demmers, *Good Governance in the Era of Global Neoliberalism*, 2-3.

²⁷ Smith, *Good Governance and Development*, 5-6.

²⁸ Ibid., 4.

²⁹ Mercer, 'Performing Partnership', 747.

Bank, the interpretation of good governance changed from economic instrumentality to socioeconomic when James Wolfensohn became the institution's president in 1995.³⁰

Defining and classifying good governance is further complicated due to the fact that different actors adhere to different approaches while adopting parts of others or even changing their approach completely.³¹ Although they attempt to illuminate different aspects of good governance, it is questionable whether the scholars who aim to classify good governance in this manner adequately fulfil that goal. Moreover, the vagueness of all these definitions might be a tactic. Doornbos argues that the concept is intentionally 'elastic: rather than constituting a concept in its own right, is more like a flexible carrier which can be used to convey varying combinations of messages or consignments, though largely remaining within the same general trade specialisation'.³² One of the sub-questions this master thesis must therefore answer is *what is the meaning of the concept of good governance as it was used by the World Bank in the period 1989-2000?*

Another sub-question that must be answered is *when and how came the concept of good governance into use by the World Bank?* With regards to particular dates and documents, literature tracks the origin of the concept to two different sources. The first one is the 1989 review of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) of Sub-Saharan Africa. Mercer writes that the 'governance approach' has been central in World Bank policy for Africa ever since.³³ Demmers identifies the same source as the origin and states that the authors of the World Bank report concluded that the structural adjustments failed because of a lack of 'good governance' in the recipient countries. Moreover, the leaders and bureaucrats, who were supposed to implement the World Bank policies, were also those who stood to lose the most from the SAP and therefore blocked its implementation.³⁴

The second option is a 1992 publication of papers presented at the World Bank's 1991 Annual Development Economics conference.³⁵ According to Doornbos, it is here that the new term, unexpectedly, came up for the first time. According to him, it had not been used in the decade

³⁰ Demmers, *Good Governance in the Era of Global Neoliberalism*, 5.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

³² M. Doornbos, "'Good Governance': The Rise and Decline of a Policy Metaphor?", 95.

³³ Mercer, "Performing Partnership", 747.

³⁴ Demmers, et al., *Good Governance in the Era of Global Neoliberalism*, 4.

³⁵ Nanda, 'The "Good Governance" Concept Revisited', 272.

before.³⁶ With the end of the Cold War, the support for authoritarian anti-communist regimes was no-longer a priority, thus human rights became more important. As Doornbos writes, ‘[a] new chapter on political conditionality was being opened, it required a suitable conceptual framework enabling and justifying such intervention.’³⁷

Although not identifying any specific document or date, Smith provides a list of five political developments that, together, prompted donors to adopt the political conditionalities of good governance. First, he mentions the end of the Cold War as well, the disappearing of strategic priorities made it possible to focus on political and economic liberalization. Second, by 1990, democratisation was already spreading to other parts of the world. These indigenous pro-democracy groups did not only provide legitimacy to Western pro-democracy policies but also criticised development strategies that lacked them. Third, there was a political pressure at the domestic level of the donor countries. Political conditionalities had public support and the old system was perceived as ineffective. Moreover, governments started to present their measures as improvements to the quality of governance instead of serving their own strategic interests. Fourth, Smith identifies a perceived failure of the structural adjustments for which weak recipient governments are to blame. These structural adjustments he calls first generations conditionalities, whereas the second generation conditionalities include good governance, human rights, and democracy. Finally, Smith writes that international donors started to recognise that aid can undermine good governance. With countries increasingly relying on aid, government accountability decreases and corruption increases.³⁸

Whereas the first four developments are based on external factors, the fifth development describes an internal shift, namely a shift in thinking within the bureaucracy of the donor countries. This narrative exists for the World Bank as well, where employees recognized that structures do not suffice and concluded that institutions matter for development. Jan Nederveen Pieterse places this shift from structuralism towards institutional accounts as part of a broader context that depicts a shift within the social sciences of the early 1990s.³⁹ Even then it is remarkable that, after years of advising on strictly economic matters, the World Bank suddenly turned to *governance*. More so, as critics objected that the Bank circumvents its own Articles of Agreement by framing the

³⁶ Doornbos, “‘Good Governance’, 93.

³⁷ Doornbos, “Good Governance”, 97.

³⁸ Brian C. Smith, *Good Governance and Development*, 2-3.

³⁹ Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Development Theory* (SAGE, 2010), 187.

political issues about institutions as technical and managerial concerns. In 1990, James Ferguson first articulated this critique by calling into attention the depoliticising effect of IMF and World Bank intervention.⁴⁰ As the curiosity of the case is the internal shift, this master thesis primary focus is on finding an explanation thereof. This explanation will provide an answer to the sub-question *when and how was a meaning of good governance conceived, contested, or adopted by a particular group within the World Bank?* Thus, in addition, the question of *what are the different meanings of good governance?* must be answered.

Good governance first took root either in 1989 in a review of failing structural adjustments in sub-Saharan Africa or in 1991/1992 in a context of increased political possibilities due to the fall of communism. As multiple interpretations of good governance exist, it is not enough to identify when the concept was first used but also which of its interpretations were used. Jolle Demmers provides three views on good governance, *economic instrumentality* (1), *socioeconomic* (2), and *reflexive government* (3). Yet, there is a gap in the secondary literature when it comes to examining how the concept is used within the World Bank. Contrastingly, this master thesis will focus on the use of good governance by the Bank's staff and analyse what kind of meaning of the concept they adhere to.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

In analysing the conception, contestation and adoption of the *good governance* concept within the World Bank this thesis rests on three theoretical pillars, which will be elaborated on in the following part. The first theory being about power *within* institutions and the role of epistemic communities, with a particular focus on the World Bank. The second theory describes how concepts are conceived, contested and adopted. While finally turning to a theory of meaning, in order to identify the meanings of a concept within their semantic context.

An analysis of the World Bank's organisational structure serves to show that a formal structure has an influence on power relations. At its higher levels, a power competition plays out between the Board of Governors, representing the individual member states, the Executive Directors,

⁴⁰ Galit Sarfaty, *Values in Translation: Human Rights and the Culture of the World Bank* (Stanford University Press, 2012), 59.

representing the collection of member states, and the management of the Bank in the form of the World Bank President. Officially, the governors, followed by the directors, hold the most power within the World Bank. Robert O'Brien and Marc Williams, therefore, state that the power of the Bank's president is limited by formal constraints.⁴¹ Yet structurally, the balance of power is skewed towards the president and his staff. While the governors meet once a year and the directors do so every one or two weeks, the president is tasked with the daily management of the Bank. Moreover, the president is entitled to serve up to twelve years, in contrast to the directors who have a limited term of two years.⁴² Thus, according to Galit Sarfaty, the formal constraints to the president's power have little effect because there is a difference in time horizons compared to the directors. This gives the president the opportunity to circumvent the formal limitations on his power by making small, multiple policy changes drawn out over the terms of consecutive directors.⁴³ Susan Park and Antje Vetterlein see this as the example of a classical principal-agent problem, the outcome of which leads to a lot of institutional autonomy to the World Bank management.⁴⁴ Amongst scholars, there is thus no consensus on the power relations within the Bank's leadership.

Next, to the power relations on the higher and institution-state level, Sarfaty describes a second set of power competition within the Bank's bureaucracy. The existing formal and informal structures of incentives and conduct, socialise the staff into patterns of behaviour.⁴⁵ Simultaneously, the staff is subjected to a construction of meaning through an institutional discourse. Vivian Schmidt states, that institutions are 'no neutral structures of incentives but carriers of ideas and "collective memories"'.⁴⁶ An institution like the World Bank changing its core orientation is, therefore, no small feat. Still, within the Bank, the institutional discourse was shaped by economics discipline. Their rationale and language became leading in the Bank's thinking and communication. Scholars trained in other disciplines had to adopt its terms and epistemic structures to achieve a perceived validity for their work.⁴⁷ As such, the power of the staff

⁴¹ Robert O'Brien and Marc Williams, *Global Political Economy: Evolution and Dynamics* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 335.

⁴² Sarfaty, *Values in Translation*, 16.

⁴³ Sarfaty, *Values in Translation*, 51 – 53.

⁴⁴ Susan Park and Antje Vetterlein, *Owning Development: Creating Policy Norms in the IMF and the World Bank* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 11.

⁴⁵ Sarfaty, *Values in Translation*, 8.

⁴⁶ Vivian A. Schmidt, 'Taking Ideas and Discourse Seriously: Explaining Change through Discursive Institutionalism as the Fourth "New Institutionalism"', *European Political Science Review* 2, no. 01 (March 2010): 1, 4-9.

⁴⁷ Sarfaty, *Values in Translation*, 92.

is channelled and constrained by the structure of the bureaucratic organisation and the existing knowledge regimes.

Opening up the black box that is the bureaucracy of the World Bank shows that, within, there are different groups holding different perceptions and regimes of knowledge.⁴⁸ Much in line with Max Weber's description of 'expert communities', Peter Haas conceptualizes the epistemic community as a transnational 'network of professionals with recognised expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue-area.'⁴⁹ From the position of the expert, members of knowledge-communities influence ideas and exercise power on international bargaining.⁵⁰ However, together with Emanuel Adler, Haas states that epistemic communities do not control, but that their approach is instrumental. '[Epistemic] communities should not be mistaken for a hegemonic actor that is the source of political and moral direction and moral direction in society'.⁵¹ Which means that their role is rather one of policy coordination.

Approaching the World Bank in that manner serves to break with the perception of uniformity. David Kennedy describes how politicians, businessmen, bureaucrats, and scholars express their own conviction while contesting those of others during the annual synod of global capitalism in Davos. This is what he describes as a struggle about expertise and knowledge. Thus he shows that the neoliberalism and its ascribed orthodoxy are less uniform and continuous than often presumed.⁵² In the case of the Bank, Sarfaty states that the rationalities and knowledge regimes of the different epistemic communities clash on subjects such as the primacy of economics or human rights, and neoliberalism against social democracy.⁵³ When the Bank adopts or constructs a new norm or idea, this is the result of a competition and negotiation between the different epistemic communities within.⁵⁴ Due to an organisational structure that divides the Bank

⁴⁸ Park and Vetterlein, *Owning Development*, 7 - 12.

⁴⁹ Emanuel Adler and Peter M. Haas, 'Conclusion: Epistemic Communities, World Order, and the Creation of a Reflective Research Program', *International Organization* 46, no. 01 (December 1992): 367, 371; Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (University of California Press, 1978).

⁵⁰ O'Brien and Williams, *Global Political Economy: Evolution and Dynamics*, 376.

⁵¹ Adler and Haas, 'Conclusion', 371.

⁵² David Kennedy, *A World of Struggle: How Power, Law, and Expertise Shape Global Political Economy* (Princeton University Press, 2016), 55 - 60.

⁵³ Sarfaty, *Values in Translation*, 8 - 10.

⁵⁴ Park and Vetterlein, *Owning Development*, 12.

along thematic lines, the influence of a community on a division or department can be very pronounced, shaping its language and epistemic structure.⁵⁵

Within the study of international relations, constructivist theory assumes that actors behave in a way that corresponds to the perception they have of themselves or with the role that is prescribed to them. This means that an actor that is attributed to be neoliberal will act according to the neoliberal ideology. Adopting theory and techniques from the social sciences, constructivist theorists employ the study of discourse.⁵⁶ In this tradition, it is accepted that language represents an expression of power. Or as Foucault expresses it, '[once] knowledge can be analyzed in terms of region, domain, implantation, displacement, transposition, one is able to capture the process by which knowledge functions as a form of power and disseminates the effects of power.'⁵⁷ Thus 'knowledge is created in, and contingent on, specific socio-political, historical, and economic circumstances.'⁵⁸ This leads to an approach in which texts are analysed to identify expressions of power.

In 1989 Peter Hall applied constructivist theory to the political economy in the seminal work 'The Political Power of Economic Ideas'. Therein he discusses the spread and application of Keynesianism in various western governments. He concludes that ideologies change the political arena they enter but also that their adoption concepts must relate to the economic and political problems of the day. In that sense vagueness and ambiguousness is an advantage as people will interpret the concept as resulting from their existing stock of knowledge.⁵⁹ Hall states that 'Keynes ideas provided a language to actors with a certain goal.'⁶⁰ Yet by using certain aspects of Keynesianism actors bound themselves to other aspects as well.⁶¹

Good governance can be seen as a specific expression of expert language. This master thesis adopts the approach of *concept chains* to analyse the related discourse. This approach offers

⁵⁵ Sarfaty, *Values in Translation*, 79.

⁵⁶ Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, Oxford Handbooks of Political Science (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 310-312.

⁵⁷ Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Elden, eds., *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography* (Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 177.

⁵⁸ Lyla Mehta, 'The World Bank and Its Emerging Knowledge Empire', *Human Organization* 60, no. 2 (1 June 2001): 189-96,190

⁵⁹ Peter A. Hall, *The Political Power of Economic Ideas: Keynesianism Across Nations* (Princeton University Press, 1989), 367-369.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 366.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 367.

the methods to examine how the meaning and connotation of the concept changed through time and context. Introduced by Ronald Stade in an article on global governance, the concept chain approach rests on Reinhart Koselleck's *Begriffsgeschichte* in the sense that political concepts change in meaning over time. Analysing concept such as revolution, liberty and government over a period of more than 200 years, Koselleck and other conceptual historians published massive dictionaries for political concepts in more than three languages.⁶²

The concept chains approach differs on three crucial points with *Begriffsgeschichte*. While Koselleck's focus was on the long-term change in the meaning of political concepts, Stade's approach allows for a much smaller time scale. Reducing the periodization from centuries to a decennium. Secondly, the chains have an identifiable conception and thus a *sender*. With this, the conception of a political concept can be attributed to a specific goal, which Stade calls cultural engineering. Finally, the approach includes a contestation of a political concept down the chain.⁶³ This contestation can lead to a change of direction or *bifurcation* of the concept. However, the contestation might be unintentional and 'may be predetermined by already carved out riverbeds.'⁶⁴

Incidentally, these ideas find their parallels in Haas' conceptualisation of the power of epistemic communities, which he describes as learning. In his theory, 'learning is a process that has to do more with politics than with science, turning the study of political process into a question about *who learns what, when, to whose benefit, and why*.'⁶⁵ What he describes here is a construction of meaning, which he embeds in an evolutionary process of policy formation. Where failed ideas become 'shelved', rather than 'extinct', yet with time diminishing the likelihood of their perceived usefulness.⁶⁶ Which is much like the more contemporary IRT concept of the 'lock-in effect'.

Policy evolution through learning has four primary steps, by which the influence of an epistemic community is institutionalised by means of socialisation. The first step is *policy innovation*, in which an epistemic community frames 'the range of political controversy

⁶² Ernst Müller and Falko Schmieder, *Begriffsgeschichte und historische Semantik: Ein kritisches Kompendium* (Suhrkamp Verlag, 2016); Mark Bevir, *Begriffsgeschichte, Diskursgeschichte, Metapherngeschichte* (Wallstein Verlag, 2002).

⁶³ Ronald Stade, 'Emergent Concept Chains and Scenarios of Depoliticization: The Case of Global Governance as a Future Past', in *Anthropology Now and Next: Essays in Honor of Ulf Hannerz*, 2014, 205–400, 212-213.

⁶⁴ Stade, 'Emergent Concept Chains and Scenarios of Depoliticization', 218.

⁶⁵ Adler and Haas, 'Conclusion'. 370. Emphasises in original text.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 372.

surrounding an issue.⁶⁷ This is followed by defining the actor's interest and setting standards. The second step is one of *policy diffusion*, as epistemic communities are not insular but rather actively engaged in a wider system and their ideas gain influence through communication. The main means of conferral are conferences, publications and workshops. The system that is analysed in this investigation is the World Bank bureaucracy which's communication is represented by documents published. The third step is *policy selection*, which means that even though epistemic communities create realities they are not the only actors. Through socialisation and the use of advice, policymakers are influenced by political factors and related considerations, such as the decision maker's unfamiliarity with an issue. For example, for the World Bank, the interpretation of the Articles of Agreements form a political factor that limits the opportunities for policy evolution. The fourth step is *policy persistence*, which means that ideas and policies that are institutionalised can gain the status of orthodoxy.⁶⁸ This was most evident within the World Bank with the primacy of the economic rationale.

The difference between Stadel and Haas is most pronounced in the agency of the initiator of a new concept. By introducing the idea of cultural engineering, Stadel assumes an identifiable initiator who has extensive power over the future use of the concept. Whereas the initiator in Haas' conceptualisation quickly gets crowded out by others who use and thus influence the meaning of a concept out, if she was visible at all.

The final theory that is of importance for this investigation is one that describes how the meaning of a term can be identified. In computational linguistics, word embedding is based on the intuition that words with similar meanings often occur near each other in texts.⁶⁹ Through statistical analysis, the 'nearness' can be expressed in numbers. A visualisation of these numbers will show different groups clustering together. This is the so-called semantic space in the meaning of a word that is embedded or in other words, the co-occurrence cluster thus represents the context of a term.⁷⁰ Conceptualising the analysis of a context, it can be described on four levels. These are the global context of a term, the topical context, the context of a document and the context of a

⁶⁷ Ibid., 372.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 372 – 384.

⁶⁹ Daniel Jurafsky et al., *Speech and Language Processing* (Pearson Education, 2014).

⁷⁰ Michael N. Jones and Douglas J. K. Mewhort, 'Representing Word Meaning and Order Information in a Composite Holographic Lexicon.', *Psychological Review* 114, no. 1 (2007): 1–37, 18 - 24.

sentence. For this investigation, the global context of the term good governance was laid out in this introduction, when the secondary literature on good governance was discussed. The topical concept of good governance will be analysed in chapter three, where the analysis will focus on what the World Bank meant when writing on the concept in the period 1989-2000. Finally, the third level, the context of documents, will follow in chapter four. There, documents will be clustered in an attempt to find the different contextual meanings of the term. The fourth and last level of context will not be investigated on the account of the added complexity its incorporation would bring.⁷¹

Combining these three theories into one conceptualisation, this investigation will approach the documents of the World Bank as representations of the policy evolution in the period 1989-2000. Identifying the co-occurrence for good governance in the topical level as well the multiple clusters in the document level will identify the emergent concept chain. Here, Stade's theory will be integrated into Haas' the four steps of policy evolution: *innovation, diffusion, selection* and *persistence*. From there, the investigation will turn to the question of whether these meanings can be linked to identifiable epistemic communities within the World Bank bureaucracy and under which circumstances these communities successfully exerted their power on the learning process.

1.3 Sources and Methodology

Whereas secondary literature mainly approaches good governance as a result of external factors, this master thesis will primarily focus on the internal factors that shaped the concept. Therefore, the number of World Bank documents analysed differs greatly from that of other investigations into the subject, which up to now, has been quite limited. With the exception of some articles examining a specific event in relation to good governance, the literature is almost solely based on research into the initial two World Bank Documents and a small number key documents such as World Bank Development Reports. The analyses within this master thesis will be based on all 36,729 English World Bank documents from the period 1986-2000. The period for the primary sources has thus been extended by three years before the first noted occurrence of good governance and ends with the end of the Clinton era and the global adoption of the UN Millennium Goals.

⁷¹ Niladri Sekhar Dash, 'Context and Contextual Word Meaning', *SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics* 5, no. 2 (December 2008): 20–31, 21 - 25.

After discussing how meaning, knowledge, and power are represented and constructed within the text, this thesis moves to the methodology through which these relations can be analysed. Natural Language Processing (NLP) is a discipline of data science that aims to expose the patterns within unstructured data. Basically, unstructured data is all data that is not organised and defined by, for example, a table. All textual sources are unstructured data, as this data does not consist of defined variables. Contrastingly, all data collected on, taxi service, Uber's rides are structured data: with information on its drivers, pick-up and drop-off locations, and the driving time represented as clearly defined variables. However, NLP is an approach that allows textual data to be represented as structured data, to quantify the qualitative. In the case of this master thesis, terms will be extracted from documents and sentences as well as their relation to each other. With the increasing digitisation of sources, NLP offers a great opportunity for historical research. However, its novelty makes that the field lacks any established methodology or best practices for historical research. In order to fill this gap, this master thesis has applied NLP techniques in a novel way and adds to methodological innovation. The following part will discuss the nature of the used sources and the basic techniques for interacting with these. It will offer an introduction to NLP, a basis which the more complicated analysis can build upon.

As indicated, one of the novelties of this research is that it will be based on all documents that the World Bank produced in the period 1986-01-01 to 2000-12-31, 43,728 documents in total. These can be accessed through the application programming interface (API) offered on the World Bank Archival Web page.⁷² Setting a query on the period 01-01-1986 to 31-12-2000 provides a link to a data frame listing one document per row. In most rows, a link to an online text file is given. When this is not provided, the file is most likely yet to be disclosed, as the disclosure date is missing as well. 38,310 documents the documents were disclosed and contained a link. By extracting the available links and seeding them into a downloading script, the documents were automatically retrieved. In this process, 59 documents were lost as their links did not refer to an active webpage. In total, the downloading process led to the successful retrieval of 38,249 documents or .87 of the total documents listed in the World Bank data frame.

Scripts are a collection of code lines that facilitate the interaction between programmer and computer, in the scope of the research all scripts are written in the programming language R. For

⁷² 'World Bank Search - WDS API', accessed 26 June 2018, <http://search.worldbank.org/api/v2/wds>.

reproducibility, the script starts with information about the R version and the environment that it was made in. Each time the scripts starts with a new session, the programming environment is cleaned completely to ensure that nothing but the desired data and libraries are running. Libraries consist of pre-designed packages of R code that are freely downloadable from the Comprehensive R Archive Network (CRAN).⁷³ So-called R packages are available for almost every imaginable aspect of data science and come with online documentation. Within programming packages are used as these contained pre-written and verified snippets of code in the form of functions, which then can be selected and applied according to the discretion of the programmer. The primary package used in this investigation is Quanteda, a comprehensive NLP package with a detailed documentation of its functions.⁷⁴

The documents are then loaded into a data frame, a two-dimensional table consisting out of rows and columns.⁷⁵ Each row in the data frame consists out of one document and it entails the full text of the document plus the metadata.⁷⁶ At this stage, there is the download link and document code. During the next steps, additional metadata will be added to each document row. This is done by loading the document list and merging it with the data frame containing the text. The resulting data frame consists of 38,249 rows with texts with their respective metadata or document variables (docvar). At this stage, each row has 66 docvars, including the text itself. The first docvar that is used stipulates the text document's language, as only English language texts will be analysed. Even though it would be possible to analyse texts from other languages as well, it would result in a much more complicated method. Due to this selection, 2033 non-English documents are disregarded. As is shown in Figure 1.1, the number of documents increases substantially in the later part of the period with the median in 1995, which is well after the mean. The highest publication rates are in 1999 (3825), 1998 (3745), and 1997 (3589).

⁷³ 'The Comprehensive R Archive Network', accessed 8 June 2018, <https://cran.r-project.org/>.

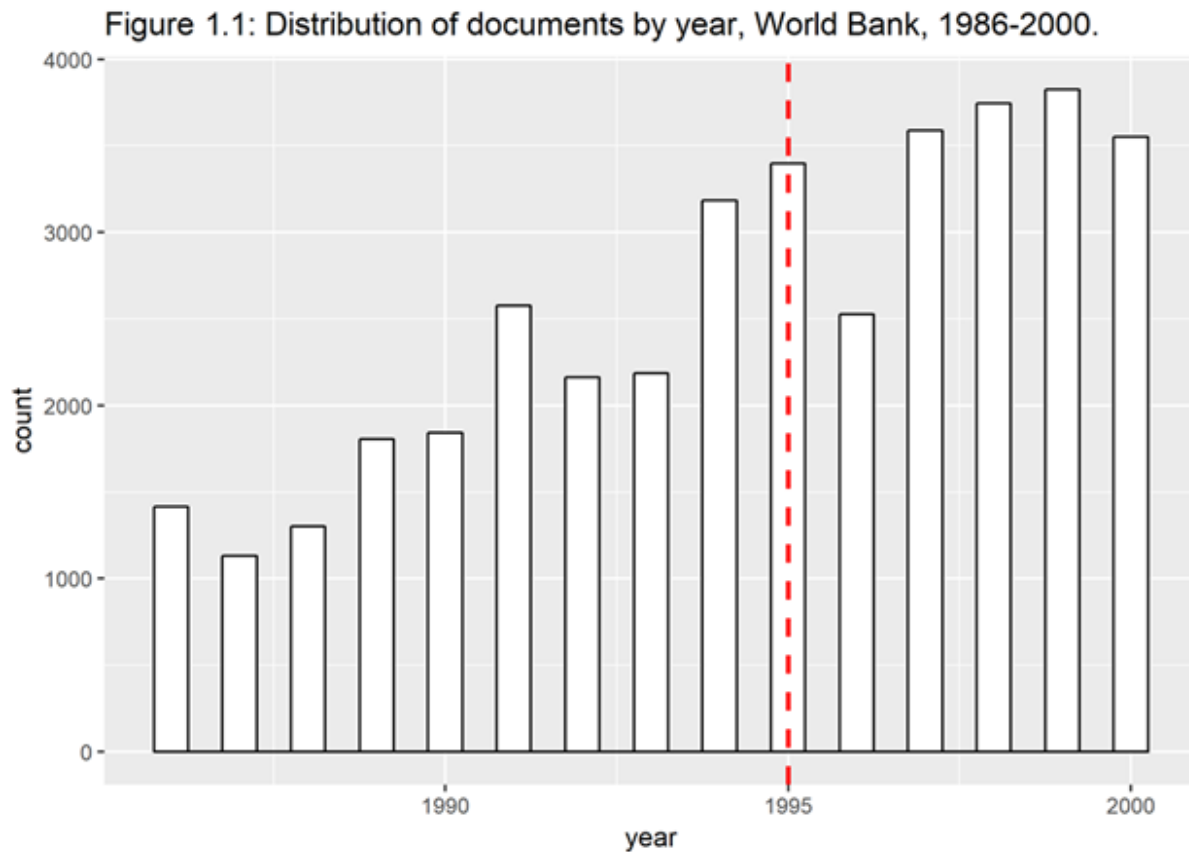
⁷⁴ Kenneth Benoit, 'Package "Quanteda" (Quantitative Analysis of Textual Data, 7 March 2018). 'Quanteda Tutorials :: Tutorials for Quanteda', accessed 8 June 2018, <https://tutorials.quanteda.io/>.

⁷⁵ 'Script 1 · Issue #1 · MelSchickel/WorldBank', GitHub, accessed 29 August 2018, <https://github.com/MelSchickel/WorldBank/issues/1>.

⁷⁶ Metadata is all data that describes the data itself. All the references within these footnotes contain metadata on the publications they refer to.

Table 1.1: World Bank document, 1986 - 2000

	n Documents	Prop.
Listed	43,728	1
Disclosed	38,310	.87
Downloaded	38,249	.87
English	36,219	.83



Source: Own Calculations.

1.4 Conclusion

The central question of this master thesis is thus *why did the World Bank use the concept of good governance in the period 1989-2000?* Explanations within the secondary literature focus mostly on external factors that influenced the World Bank interpretation and application of good governance. Moreover, most definitions are monolithic as well unchanging and thus ahistorical. An exception to this are Demmers' three views on good governance: *economic instrumentality* (1),

socioeconomic (2), and *reflexive government* (3). Even then, a rigorous analysis of how these views are formed and applied is lacking. Most often, only the same miniscule selection of the immense collection of World Bank documents is analysed. This master thesis will use all 36,219 WB documents from the period 1986 – 2000, to pry open the Bank's lid and examine the working of the bureaucratic machinery inside. It will follow, the different concept chains from policy innovation, to diffusion, selection, and perhaps persistence. The power mechanisms within the World Bank will be laid to bare as different actors adopt and contest the meaning of good governance.

In chapter three, the topical context of good governance will be explored. Concretely, the total usage of good governance will be analysed by highlighting; which terms it co-occurs with; when it first occurs and how its occurrence progresses; in what kind of documents it occurs at a given time. This chapter will thus answer the questions *what is the topical meaning of the concept of good governance as it was used by the World Bank in the period 1989-2000?* and *when and how was the concept of good governance used by the World Bank?*

The different contextual meanings of good governance are examined in chapter four. They will be determined by clustering high co-occurrence terms around good governance, thus answering the question of *what are the different meanings of good governance?* Then, these clusters will be applied to the documents to find *when and how was a meaning of good governance conceived, contested, or adopted by a particular group within the World Bank?*

2. A short History of the World Bank and Development

Rationales

The context of any situation is formed by its past. This limits the options an actor can choose or even think of. This means that the institutional history of the World Bank sets the basis from which good governance emerged. The following chapter will lay out the history of the World Bank and, simultaneously, give an overview of the main ideas and ideologies that informed development theory. It will elaborate on earlier mentioned aspects such as the importance of the Articles of Agreement, the development state, neoliberalism and the Washington Consensus. It will also provide a glimpse of how the World Bank perceives itself and what is accepted as development knowledge and what is not.

2.1 The World Bank's initial Years, 1945 – 1960s

The establishment of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the World Bank's predecessor, played a secondary role at the Bretton Woods Conference in July 1944. At the conference, the base of the post-war global economic infrastructure was set out. The centre stage was taken by the more important International Monetary Fund (IMF), while the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development was established on behalf of the United States and regarded as a fancy.⁷⁷ What started out as a small international institution with a limited agenda and short programmes for lending money to countries with little means, grew up to become one of the cornerstones of the global economic and financial system.⁷⁸

In the transformative decades after its creation, the World Bank Group became an institution that sets the international norms for development economics. During the 1990s, five different agencies carried out the responsibilities of the Bank. First, through the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, the Bank provided loans and development assistance to middle income and creditworthy developing countries. Second, the International Development Association (IDA) offered long-term, zero interest loans to low-income countries. With the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) and, the International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID), as the other three

⁷⁷ David A. Phillips, *Reforming the World Bank: Twenty Years of Trial - and Error* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 4.

⁷⁸ Ashworth, *The Global Political Economy and Post-1989 Change*, 47-48.

agencies, the Bank played on a pivotal role in organising and facilitating private and public international investment.⁷⁹

Initially, the World Bank provided short and safe loans. As the funds available through the Marshall plan diminished the need for loans within Europe, the Bank concentrated its programmes on the rest of the world. Loans given by the World Bank were earmarked for the kinds of project that would generate enough income for the recipient countries to pay them back. Among those were, for example, the construction of infrastructure, ports, and power plants.⁸⁰ Both donor and recipient countries had a vested interest in creating an apolitical and seemingly neutral financial institution that was able to serve sovereign states. The recipient countries needed access to development funds while the donor countries, who provided the funds for the organisation, were careful to shy away from any implications of neo-colonialism.⁸¹

The dominant political economic theory of that time, Keynesianism, stated that the state had an active role in development, by means of a guided national economy. Furthermore, development theory was heavily influenced by Rostow's *stages of economic growth-model*, in which he showed that economic take-off must be led by the development of key economic sectors.⁸² Based on the idea of a comparative advantage this model offered an alternative to the apparently successful communist approach of autarky and self-reliance. With the rapid industrialisation of the Soviet Union as a prime example, the communist ideology promised poor countries a roadmap to economic development by ways of national planning.

Contrastingly, the western model heralded the transformative opportunities of international trade. Early in the eighteenth century, David Ricardo had made the observation that international trade gave nations the opportunity to specialise in their most productive sectors. This led twentieth-century economists to the conclusion that poor countries could join the effective global market by developing key-sectors for export. Although far from being communist, the approach championed by the World Bank was based on extensive national planning which required both political will and innovation in the underdeveloped countries.⁸³

⁷⁹ O'Brien and Williams, *Global Political Economy*, 331.

⁸⁰ Eric Toussaint, *The World Bank: A Critical Primer* (Pluto Press, 2008), 20.

⁸¹ Sarfaty, *Values in Translation*, 4.

⁸² Pieterse, *Development Theory*, 181.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 181; O'Brien and Williams, *Global Political Economy*, 323.

2.2 Changing Conditions, the 1970s

The neat picture of a constant economic growth rate and full employment, induced by Keynesian economics and national planning, came to an end with the energy crises of the 1970s. The effect of the energy crisis was twofold. On the one hand, the price increase of crude oil hit the developing countries particularly hard, as their economic development was excessively oil dependent. On the other hand, the energy crisis showed how vulnerable the global economy was to cartels of resource-exporting countries, such as the OPEC.⁸⁴

In this same decade, two changes were introduced that would play crucial roles in the power relations to come. By forming the Group of 27, the unaligned developing countries brought the third world voice into the IMF and the World Bank. Due to an internal voting structure that was based on the amount of donations into the Bank, the donor countries had a constant formal majority that could only be challenged by a united front of recipient countries. The Group of 27 is also seen as a statement of neutrality as the Bank arguably served as a tool of alignment in the duality of the Cold War.⁸⁵

From the 1970s on, the World Bank moved its primary focus from reconstruction and development to poverty alleviation, which was captured under the *basic needs* program.⁸⁶ This meant that it expanded its portfolio into other sectors such as health, education, rural development, and agriculture.⁸⁷ For the World Bank, this shift towards basic needs and poverty alleviation was beneficial in twofold. First, it had secured a new justification for its existence, which had become jeopardised with the finalization of post-war reconstruction. Second, by expanding its reach beyond fiscal and macroeconomic considerations into new domains of social intervention, the Bank had substantially increased its power within the global political-economic system.⁸⁸

Around the same time, the IMF started to increasingly impose conditionalities within their adjustment programmes on the African continent.⁸⁹ Although the possibility of conditional lending appears in the Fund's as well as the Bank's Articles of Agreement, these same Articles 'prohibit the interference in political affairs of members' and 'limit to non-political considerations those factors

⁸⁴ Margaret Garritsen De Vries and International Monetary Fund Staff, *The IMF in a Changing World, 1945-85* (International Monetary Fund, 1986), 183.

⁸⁵ O'Brien and Williams, *Global Political Economy*, 325.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 325.

⁸⁷ Sarfaty, *Values in Translation*, 4.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁸⁹ Ashworth, *The Global Political Economy and Post-1989 Change*, 25.

that the Bank can consider granting loans'.⁹⁰ This combination of possibility and restriction within the articles has led to what multiple scholars, in retrospect, describe as a process of depoliticisation, in which both the Fund and the Bank increasingly start to describe political problems as technical or managerial and thus infringe on the sovereignty of its receiving member states.⁹¹ It was in the context of this shift that most of the criticism on the World Bank substantiated. In adherence to the Articles of Agreements, the Bank had operated under a blanket of neutrality that had served the donor and recipient countries well. The recipient needed to fear far-reaching interventions in its domestic politics while the donors built and maintained their sphere of influence. By this time, however, critics began to question the Bank's neutrality by pointing out the political nature of the conditionalities. Something which would come to force in the good governance-era.

2.4 A new Answer to Crises, 1980s

The changes in global power relations induced by the energy crisis laid the groundwork for the next crisis to come. The increased revenue on oil had made the, mainly Middle-Eastern, OPEC countries rich. A major part of the resulting wealth was invested as capital into Latin American developing countries via U.S.-American banks and the foreign reserves in the Eurodollar market. The debt ratio for those developing countries increased substantially due to new privately owned debt. In 1982, Mexico defaulted on its debt and it was the first sovereign state to do so, since the Second World War. Judging from the balance sheets of many other Latin America states, it was clear that Mexico would not be the last. This prompted a wide withdrawal of private investments and loans to developing states, leading to the start of the Latin American debt crises.⁹²

Incidentally, the countries with the biggest debt were the champions of the developmental state model, such as Brazil. Following the lessons of the previous decennia, these states had created a model which combined Rostow's model with autarky. Tariff walls were set up to protect domestic key sectors, which were simultaneously propped up with subsidies. The hope was that after a while these sectors would mature and be able to compete in the global market.

Using the crisis as an example to discredit this development model, new-right leaders such

⁹⁰ Art 4 sect 10; Art. 3 Sec 5(b).

⁹¹ Demmers and Et Al., *Good Governance in the Era of Global Neoliberalism*, 13. Sarfaty, *Values in Translation*, 4; Stade, 'Emergent Concept Chains and Scenarios of Depoliticization: The Case of Global Governance as a Future Past', 218.

⁹² Vries and Staff, *The IMF in a Changing World, 1945-85*, 183.

as Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan stood at the helm of ideological movements that regarded the development state as harmful. Following the ideas of Friedrich Hayek and the Chicago School of Economics, they believed that an active state stifled private incentives and would automatically lead to tyranny.⁹³ Within the political economic framework of these so-called neoliberals, development economics was no longer regarded as a special case. As was the case prior to the era of basic-needs, growth became again the prime objective of development, yet the required knowledge and agency were to be found within the market. The state's task was limited to providing monetary stability by fiscal means.⁹⁴

Already immediately after his election victory, US President Reagan steered towards a deterioration of the relationship with the World Bank. Exemplified by the US undersecretary for treasurer investigating into socialist tendencies of the Ban on the grounds of public sector funding. For the first time since achieving hegemonic power, a US administration openly preferred bilateralism over the multilateralism of its state system.⁹⁵ With the appointment of World Bank president Tom Claussen, the former president of the Bank of America, in 1981 the old development economics within the Bank came to an end. According to João Pereira, practically no public declarations nor internal documents referred to poverty reduction from thereon.⁹⁶ Thus the monetarists heralded the end of the basic needs-era of World Bank poverty alleviation and replaced it with tactics of neoliberal structural adjustment. The first period of which is in hindsight regarded as a widespread disaster.⁹⁷ For example, from 1984 on, most of the loans provided by the IDA to sub-Saharan and Latin American states went to refurbish old debts. Under Claussen, internal debate on this *poverty trap* got stifled, debt forgiveness and the social cost of the SAPs became taboo.⁹⁸

The hegemonic power of neoliberalism was so absolute within the international financial institutions that they not only perceived it as the most viable option for the political economy but rather the sole rationale. However, this was far from the truth. During the 1980s, the Indian scholar Amartya Sen developed his theory that put the development of human capacity and freedom

⁹³ O'Brien and Williams, *Global Political Economy*, 383.

⁹⁴ Pieterse, *Development Theory*, 182.

⁹⁵ João Márcio Mendes Pereira, 'The World Bank and the Political Construction of Structural Adjustment Programs in the 1980s', *Revista Brasileira de História* 33, no. 65 (2013): 359–81, 360 - 361..

⁹⁶ Ibid, 361 & 368.

⁹⁷ Sanjaya Lall, 'Structural Adjustment and African Industry', *WORLD DEVELOPMENT*, n.d., 2019 -2031, 2019; O'Brien and Williams, *Global Political Economy*, 333 .

⁹⁸ Pereira, 'The World Bank and the Political Construction of Structural Adjustment Programs in the 1980s', 368.

forward as the leading rationale.⁹⁹ Moreover, the 'Asian Tigers' formed a contemporary contrast to the failing Latin American states. The relevance of this is captured in the discussion on the nature of the East Asian success story. To this day, the discussion has yet to wane in both relevancy and intensity but one of its key moments was during the 1980s. It pitted the proponents of the protectionist national capitalists against the Ricardian proponents of free-markets, both groups based their analyses on Rostow's model. However, where the national capitalist emphasized the importance of state policies that protected and nurtured domestic industries, the latter stressed the alignment with global markets and export-oriented growth. Both claimed the Asian Tigers as case studies for successful policies.¹⁰⁰ Yet, little of this discussion took place within the World Bank. Under the heavy hand of Vice-President for Development Economics and Research (VP DER) Anne Krueger, the economic research field was reoriented to follow neoclassical fundamentals. A first change occurred when Stanley Fisher replaced Krueger as chief economist in July 1986, slowly, the first publication began to discuss the social costs of the SAPs.¹⁰¹

Notwithstanding, the Bank's reorientation towards neoliberalism seemed complete when, in 1989, a World Bank Development Report for the first time praised international financial deregulation as a tool for economic development.¹⁰² Literature ascribes a simplicity and universality to the neoliberal ideology that serves as the primary explanatory factors for its allure as a theory for economic development. The Fund's and the Bank's policy advice for structural adjustments were so consistent during the 1980s that, in 1989, John Williamson condensed them into a ten points plan. The result of this articulation was the Washington Consensus, which became as much a focal point for its harshest critics as well as a guideline for its proponents.¹⁰³ To reach the desired level of economic development a state only had to perform structural reforms related to fiscal policy discipline; reduction of public spending form subsidies; tax reform; market-determined interest rates; competitive exchange rates; trade liberalisation; liberalisation of inward FDI; privatisation of state enterprises; deregulation; legal security for property rights.¹⁰⁴ Or as

⁹⁹ Pieterse, *Development Theory*, 181.

¹⁰⁰ O'Brien and Williams, *Global Political Economy*, 317-318.

¹⁰¹ Pereira, 'The World Bank and the Political Construction of Structural Adjustment Programs in the 1980s', 369 - 371.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 374.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 383.

¹⁰⁴ John Williamson, "What Washington Means by Policy Reform," 7-20.

others put it, ‘stabilize, privatize and liberalize.’¹⁰⁵

2.4 Conclusion

In less than fifty years, the World Bank transformed itself from a relatively unimportant actor within the political economy of the Western Bloc to one of the leading institutions of the global economic structure. In those years the central policy aim of the Bank changed from macroeconomic growth induced by infrastructure investment to poverty alleviation, and back to the protection of growth by monetary prudence. In those years, the World Bank followed conventional wisdom on development economics and thereby validating it for broader use. An example would be Rostow’s stages of economic growth in contrast to the communist approach of nationalist planning. As the Bank took on a more central place in the global political economy its influence began to grow. In the 1980s, this accumulated to what later would be called the Washington Consensus. Along with the IMF and the US Treasury, the Bank stood at the basis of this ten-point policy framework of neoliberal adjustments for developing nations. However, the reorientation of the Bank towards neoliberalism was the result of intense pressure by a few donor states and a complete change of senior management. Even then, secondary literature indicates that within the Bank other voices had to be suppressed.

¹⁰⁵ Alma MO Trinidad, “Goodbye Washington Consensus, Hello Washington Confusion? A Review of the World Bank’s Economic Growth in the 1990s: Learning from a Decade of Reform,” *Journal of Economic Literature* 44, no. 4 (2006): 973– 987, 973.

3. The World Bank and Good Governance in the 1990s

In the same year that Williamson proclaimed the Consensus, heresy blossomed within the World Bank. Bank employees that worked in the field noticed that the structural adjustments of their programmes did not bear the desired results. The 1989 report of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) of Sub-Saharan Africa concluded that the program failed because of a lack of good governance in the recipient countries. Within the recipient countries, it was the powerful who stood to lose the most from the World Bank policies and therefore blocked the implementation of the SAP.¹⁰⁶ According to the literature, the next reference to good governance, and the importance of institutional factors, is in 1991/1992 with a 1992 publication of papers presented at the World Bank's 1991 Annual Development Economics conference.¹⁰⁷ In these papers, the World Bank defined governance 'as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development.'¹⁰⁸ Formulating a more concrete definition proves to be difficult for both the Bank and academics specialised in the subject. In the following chapter, NLP techniques will be employed in order to find when and by whom good governance was used in the sources. This analysis will lead to a topical meaning of good governance as it identifies to which terms it is connected and to which it is not.

3.1 The Topical Meaning of Good Governance

The first step in finding the meaning of the concept of good governance is investigating what is different about the documents in which it was used, compared to documents in which it was not.¹⁰⁹ Within the 'total corpus', there are 946 documents that mention the term good governance at least once, which from now on will be called the 'good governance corpus'.¹¹⁰ By creating a sample

¹⁰⁶ Jolle Demmers, et al., *Good Governance in the Era of Global Neoliberalism : Conflict and Depolitisation in Latin America, Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa* (London ; Routledge, 2004), 4; Claire Mercer, "Performing Partnership: Civil Society and the Illusions of Good Governance in Tanzania," *Political Geography* 22, no. 7 (September 1, 2003): 741–63, 747.

¹⁰⁷ Ved P. Nanda, 'The "Good Governance" Concept Revisited', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 603, no. 1 (1 January 2006): 269–83, 272.

¹⁰⁸ Geert Bouckaert and Steven Van de Walle, 'Comparing Measures of Citizen Trust and User Satisfaction as Indicators of "Good Governance": Difficulties in Linking Trust and Satisfaction Indicators', *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 69, no. 3 (2003): 329–343, 330.

¹⁰⁹ To prevent that the term good governance is unintentionally split in the two words good and governance every occurrence has been combined to good_governance.

¹¹⁰ A corpus is the standard format in which a body of documents is saved for NLP application. Thus it can be compared to the physical world's archive, as there is a logic in its collection.

containing 10.000 documents of the total corpus and combining this with the good governance corpus, the ‘key corpus’ has been formed.

The newly formed key corpus contains 10.946 documents and is named after the NLP technique for which it will be used. The *keyness* technique carries out a statistical test that compares the frequency of a term within one corpus against the expected frequency based on the combined corpus.¹¹¹ Within the *quanteda* package, there is the option to choose from different kinds of test, such as the Pearson’s chi²-test or the log-likelihood. The chi²-test being the standard for this approach has been selected. The Pearson’s chi²-test evaluates how likely it is that an observed difference between sets arises by chance. A test of independence is performed on each term related to the two corpora, which results in a score that describes the relationship between the term and the corpus.¹¹² The score represents the keyness of the term for the corpus.¹¹³ A term with both a positive chi² value and a p-value of 0 can thus be interpreted as belonging to the topical meaning of good governance, which is the second of the four levels of context as described in the theoretical framework.

As described, the first step was to combine the good governance corpus with a sample corpus. This newly formed key corpus is then transformed into a data frequency matrix (dfm). Within a dfm, the occurrence of an element is listed per document. Each row represents a document and the columns show the occurrence of an element. Because a dfm for a whole corpus will get too large, the dfm has to be pruned. In this process, all English stop words, numbers, punctuation, and symbols within the corpus text have been removed from the dfm. This means that some meaning is lost when terms consist out of more than one word. Expressed as a dfm, the previous two sentences would be:

Table 3.1: Example dfm.

dfm	whole	corpus	large	pruned	process	english	stop	words	numbers	punctuation	symbols	removed
A	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

¹¹¹ Bennoit, ‘Package “Quanteda”’.

¹¹² ‘Chi-Square Test of Independence’, Statistics Solutions (blog), accessed 06 April 2018, <https://www.statisticssolutions.com/non-parametric-analysis-chi-square/>.

¹¹³ ‘Understanding Keyness – The Grammar Lab’, accessed 26 February 2018, <http://www.thegrammarlab.com/?p=193>

By representing each document as a row in a dfm, statistical analysis can be performed on the content of the corpus. The documents within a corpus get divided and compared on the basis of a document variable, which is in the case a 'True' or 'False' variable on the occurrence of 'good_governance'. This resulted in two term lists, one describing the topical meaning of good governance and the other is its polar opposite. The good governance list contains 7349 words, the first 180 of which are listed in Appendix I.

This list has been pruned manually to remove noise, such as senseless combinations or cut-off words. But also all references to geographical locations (Cambodia or African) and very common words (much or also), because these do not add to the direct meaning of the concept and would distort measurements later on. Arguably, references to geographical locations could add to the context of good governance, for example when it was conceived specifically for the African region. However, this would also be identified by incorporating the metadata on regions and regional departments. The same has been applied to the second term list in Appendix I, these are words that have a negative chi²-value and thus represent what good governance is not about. Finally, to ensure that the lists are an adequate representation, this part of the analysis has been repeated three times with three different sized samples. The correlation between the three falls within 0.986 to 1, therefore it can be assumed that using a sample instead of the full corpus has no significant impact on the results.

The key terms that set apart good governance documents from the total corpus are to a great extent comparable with those that are described in secondary literature. The topical context of good governance is thus formed by terms such as poverty, growth, and development, as well as corruption, accountability, and transparency, or political, civil, and decentralization. These are all aspect of good governance as described by scholars such as Jolle Demmers or Brain Smith. An aspect that is clearly present in the term list, yet glossed over in literature is the aspect of demilitarisation and post-conflict. Omitting this aspect from their focus, scholars apparently regard demilitarisation as either unimportant or so common that it does not need mentioning.

Many of the countries in which the World Bank was active were in the midst of or recovering from civil war. In such cases, the military is a source of unrest and insecurity as well as a substantive drain on the national budget, with Angola in sub-Saharan Africa and Cambodia in South East Asia as examples. Furthermore, rulers often have to please an extensive patrimonial

system within the military, which leads to nepotism and graft.¹¹⁴ The importance of which is highlighted by the inclusion of *Political Instability and Violence* as second of the six dimensions that the World Bank lists as indicators for good governance. Therefore, it is even more striking that none of the secondary literature's definitions includes this aspect of good governance.

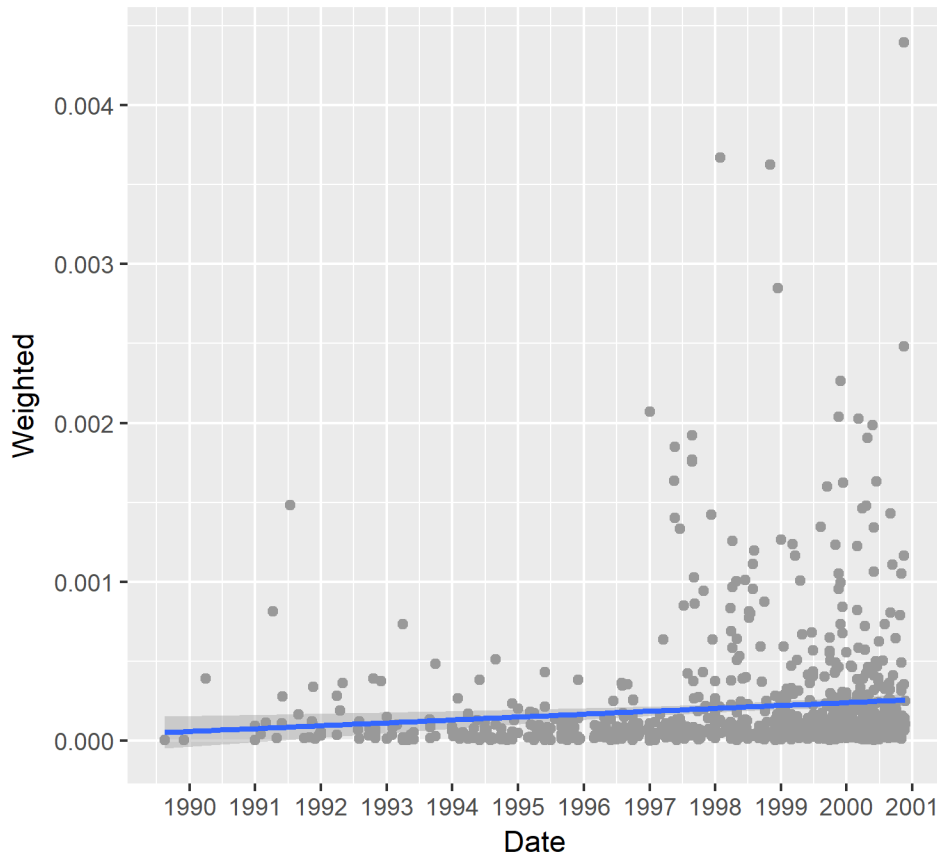
The terms with an extremely negative chi²-value are mainly terms used in contracts such as borrower, section, and agreement, as well as term depicting infrastructures such as plant, irrigation, and highway, or natural resources such as oil, gas, and wood. The latter two aspects were for a long time the core orientations of the World Bank and even after the Bank broadened its focus infrastructure development remained a central position in the Bank's projects. Moreover, this indicates that good governance is sparsely used in these contexts even though the subject is not intrinsically exclusive of considerations on development, corruption or transparency. Indeed, this is the first indication of a difference in socialisation within in the Bank's bureaucracy as certain vocabulary and their knowledge regimes are not included in one of the core orientations.

3.2 The Usage of Good Governance

The topical context of good governance is not only expressed through the terms with which it occurs but also the sort of documents it occurs in. For instance, the terms in the abovementioned lists already indicated that the topical context of good governance does not encompass subjects such as infrastructure and natural-resources or even contracts. However, the same can be done with a higher precision by analysing the metadata provided with each document. This data contains when, by whom, and for what purpose a document was written.

¹¹⁴ Rod Alence, 'Political Institutions and Developmental Governance in Sub-Saharan Africa', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 42, no. 2 (June 2004): 163–87, 164 -166.

Figure 3.2: Distribution of Good Governance Corpus World Bank, 1986-2000.



Source: Own Calculations.

Figure 3.1 depicts the distribution of good governance documents from 1989 to 2000. Each point represents a document containing the term good governance at least once and is positioned on the horizontal axis by its document date, and the number of occurrences of the term divided by the total number of words on the vertical. The corpus of good governance documents is skewed to the right even more than the total corpus is. The third quarter is placed two years and the median even four years later than for the total corpus, in 1997 (Table 3.2). This means that, both absolutely as well as relatively, the usage of the term increases in the later part of the period. In most of the 946 documents the term occurs only once, yet some receive a very high score with counts of up to sixty times per document (Table 3.2). From this observation can be drawn that the term was first conceived in 1989 as part of a policy innovation and that it took almost eight years before it was

widely used within the Bank. The period can be divided into three equal parts, from 1989 to 1992, 1993 to 1996, and 1997 to 2000.¹¹⁵

	Min.	1st Qu.	Median	Mean	3rd Qu.	Max.
Date	15/08/1989	01/03/1997	31/01/1999	26/04/1998	31/01/2000	21/11/2000
Score	1.000	1.000	1.000	2.629	2.000	60.000

Source: Own Calculations.

Period One: 1989 -1992

In the first period, the term occurs in 40 documents. Although this is a low number, it is substantially more than the just two documents that have been identified in secondary literature: the 1989 review of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) of Sub-Saharan Africa and the 1992 publication of papers presented at the World Bank's 1991 Annual Development Economics conference.¹¹⁶ This proves that in this initial period the term was more widely used than previously assumed. These documents are mostly classified as Board Documents, which are either transcripts of board meetings or reports to the board written by research and policy staff. The second largest group are the working papers. The relevant sectors of discussion are mostly Economic Policy (.56) and many topics are either on Poverty Reduction (.17) or Finance and Financial Sector Development (.17). Within both the working papers and the board documents, most documents discuss either the African Region (.44) or the so-called World Region (.66).

These observations lead to a number of conclusions on the usage of good governance in the years 1989-1992. From the onset, the term is used by both the research staff as well as the Executive Directors. The first time the management uses the term is in a Memorandum by the president on health in Zambia in 1992. Seeing that that many of the documents are Board Reports in which staff presents new development knowledge and policy innovation directly to the Executive Directors, this indicates that these two groups led a process of innovation in policy on

¹¹⁵ It is important to note that this division is preconceived and purely based on practicalities, therefore it does not intentionally coincide with any events or developments that have been discussed in the previous chapters.

¹¹⁶ Demmers, et al., *Good Governance in the Era of Global Neoliberalism*, 4; Mercer, "Performing Partnership", 747; Nanda, 'The "Good Governance" Concept Revisited', 272.

which the management had little influence. This is not surprising, given that ever since the 1980s the World Bank management had a strong neoliberal inclination and discouraged any policy research that was non-market based.

A distinct and sender or steering epistemic community cannot be identified from the metadata of the first period, as the relevant sectors are broadly divided and the topics are too vague to build a conclusion on. However, finding Poverty Reduction among the relevant sectors in which good governance is mentioned is a surprise. Even though these documents date from 1991 onwards, it indicates that the neoliberal influences of Claussen and Krueger did not last. Another remarkable feature is that, for the document variable *owner*, the majority is either the ECR Transition Unit (ECRTU) or Policy and Operations (SECPO). This observation, however, is of little use as neither the World Bank webpage nor secondary literature mentions or defines these two groups. Although the texts of the SECPO documents indicate that its main orientation is the implementation and review of development knowledge in World Bank programmes. This underwrites the assumption that the inception of the good governance concept was, indeed, within the staff of the Bank.

As to the region, the analysis confirms some of the conclusions within secondary literature, namely that concept of good governance was developed in the context of Africa. Except for the general World Region, no other region is mentioned in the metadata of the first 40 documents. With titles that include *capacity building*, *participatory development*, and *sustainable growth* the documents on Africa do, indeed, indicate that the staff came to the conclusion that institutions matter.¹¹⁷

Period Two: 1993 – 1996

From 1993 to 1996 the term occurs in 178 documents. Once again the Board Reports appear prominently among the metadata, next to Working Papers, Publications, and Research Papers.¹¹⁸ Although still present, the Transcripts decrease in significance while Newsletters appear more often. Still, the occurrence of good governance is most correlated with Board Documents and

¹¹⁷ Brian C. Smith, *Good Governance and Development*, 2-3.

¹¹⁸ $p \leq .005$.

Publication & Research, while Economic & Sector Work and Project Documents both exhibit a negative correlation.¹¹⁹

The most occurring sector is still Economic Policy (.23), yet both Public Administration (.15) and Multisector (.11) experienced an absolute and relative increase. In total good governance expanded from seven into twenty sectors. The number of relevant topics increased as well, from 22 to 71, with Poverty Reduction (.17), Finance and Financial Sector Development (.16), and Health, Nutrition and Population (.11) occurring most often. However, the lack of a significant correlation for any of these metadata values indicates that this follows a general trend within the World Bank documents. The same development of increased variation is visible in the administrative regions, in contrast to the first period all regions are mentioned at least once. Although Africa (.35) and the World (.26) are still leading, followed by Europe & Central Asia (.09) and Latin America & Caribbean (.09). While the region Europe & Central Asia lacks a significant correlation, the Latin America & Caribbean region shows a slightly negative one. This indicates that, even though the share of these kinds of documents increased within the good governance corpus, within the total corpus there are many more documents on these regions that do not mention the good governance.

Although Figure 3.1 shows that the real push happens in the third period, it is safe to say that a stage of policy diffusion already did set in during the period 1993 – 1996. The term good governance is used more widely in the World Bank, mostly in relation to research on increasingly different sectors and topics. The occurrence of the term with regards to administrative regions reflects those areas in which the Bank was most active. In 1992, the Bank and the IMF began with the biggest task in the history of their existence, the incorporation of the former Soviet Bloc into the Western capitalist system. Still entranced by the market fundamentalism of the Washington Consensus, the IMF and the World Bank prescribed a *shock therapy*, which entailed the rapid privatisation and commodification of public institutions. Their convictions strengthened by the triumph of capitalism, Elizabeth Ashworth writes, the ‘policy advisors’ imposed the conditionalities without any regard for the domestic population.¹²⁰ For the first time, the institution’s staff had the authority to not only give advice on economic matters of the state

¹¹⁹ $p \leq .05$.

¹²⁰ Ashworth, *The Global Political Economy and Post-1989 Change*, 37-46.

apparatus but also on public and private institutions.¹²¹ Much like the structural adjustments in Africa and Latin America during the 1980s, the shock therapy failed in Eastern Europe immensely. When reviewing this episode the World Bank concluded the policies had led to a major increase in corruption, graft and inequality because countries lacked proper domestic institutions, thus had harmed the economies of the post-Soviet countries.¹²²

The faith in the Washington Consensus was lost, even more, when Mexico experienced a new crisis. Mexico was the poster child of the IMF and World Bank: a country that had made the transition from autarky towards an open market success story. In 1994, however, the country was once more in need of loan assistance.¹²³ At that time, Paul Krugman wrote an article calling in to question the primacy of the Washington Consensus in which he suggested that the Mexican crisis marked the beginning of its end. ‘Trade liberalisation and other moves to free markets are almost surely good things, but the idea that they will generate a growth take-off represents a hope rather than a well-founded expectation.’¹²⁴ In light of these events, it is interesting to note that good governance starts to appear in the documents on the Latin American administrative region, most likely as a result of failing policies.

Another noteworthy observation is the fact that, on October 1st 1996, the World Bank president James Wolfensohn used good governance in his Annual Meeting Address to the Board of Governors. One year earlier, Wolfensohn had been appointed as the new president of the World Bank. On June 1st, 1995, the former Australian national with an apparent aversion towards economists took office and immediately began an overhaul within the Bank. Already in July 1995, the shift in direction was visible as a report on *The Multilateral Debt Facility* contained groundbreaking proposals on reducing debts of the most indebted poor countries. According to Pender, this document and the proposals therein, represented a strategic move by the Bank to ‘reintegrate itself to be at the forefront of development initiatives, thereby contributing to a relegitimization of World Bank intervention.’¹²⁵ From Wolfensohn’s appointment onwards, the World Bank began to

¹²¹ Ibid, 2.

¹²² Weaver, *Hypocrisy Trap*, 97.

¹²³ John Pender, ‘From “Structural Adjustment” to “Comprehensive Development Framework”: Conditionality Transformed?’, *Third World Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (June 2001): 397–411, 401.

¹²⁴ Paul Krugman, ‘Dutch Tulips and Emerging Markets: Another Bubble Bursts’, *Foreign Affairs*, 1 July 1995, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/1995-07-01/dutch-tulips-and-emerging-markets-another-bubble-bursts>.

¹²⁵ Pender, ‘From “Structural Adjustment” to “Comprehensive Development Framework”’, 42 - 43.

actively engage with NGOs.¹²⁶ However, critics state that by differentiating between ‘reasonable’ and ‘unreasonable’ NGOs, this new focus on engagement constituted to a divide and rule tactic.¹²⁷

Wolfensohn became president against the backdrop of a substantive World Bank legitimacy crisis. Previous to the crises caused by misguided advice and mismanagement, a report written by the Portfolio Management Task Force highlighted the alarming state of the Bank’s project realisations. In 1992, a task force under former vice-president Wapenhans had laid bare that the number of projects judged as being unsatisfactory at completion had increased from fifteen per cent in 1981 to 37.5 per cent in 1991. Moreover, it stated that, among these, twenty per cent of the projects had major problems.¹²⁸ The UN Commission for Africa (UNCA) already noted in the late-1980s that the World Bank’s Washington Consensus-based structural adjustment programmes were failing. Yet, unlike the UNCA, the World Bank did not blame its policies but rather blamed bad implementation, thus shifting the blame to the recipient countries.¹²⁹ The overrepresentation of newsletters among the good governance documents of this period could be a first indication of what multiple scholars call a public relations campaign initiated by Wolfensohn.¹³⁰

Period Three: 1997 – 2000

The bulk of the documents containing good governance, 443, were written in the period 1997-2000. Within the third period, the statistical chance that a good governance document is a Board Report decreases.¹³¹ Contrastingly, the likelihood that it is an Executive’s Directors Statement increased significantly, which is on par with the Working Papers.¹³² So even while the Board Reports decreases in relevance, the actors connected to this document type stay active in on the discussion on good governance through other types.

The biggest change is the increase in Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) documents.¹³³ A CAS is a work plan designed by World Bank staff to guide programmes in a recipient country and

¹²⁶ Ibid, 43.

¹²⁷ Walden Bello and Shalmali Guttal, ‘The Limits of Reform: The Wolfensohn Era at the World Bank’, *Race & Class* 47, no. 3 (January 2006): 68–81, 69.

¹²⁸ Weaver, *Hypocrisy Trap*, 412.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 97.

¹³⁰ Teresa Kramarz and Bessma Momani, ‘The World Bank as Knowledge Bank: Analyzing the Limits of a Legitimate Global Knowledge Actor: World Bank as Knowledge Bank’, *Review of Policy Research* 30, no. 4 (July 2013): 409–31, 420; Walden Bello and Shalmali Guttal, ‘The Limits of Reform’, 74 -76.

¹³¹ $p \leq .05$, up from $p \leq .005$.

¹³² $p \leq .001$.

¹³³ $p \leq .05$.

describes all planned operations in that country for the next two to three years. Its inclusion is the only indication that ideas and knowledge about good governance reached into areas of concrete policy advice.

Another change is that Multisectors (.29) makes up the biggest share, followed by Economic Policy (.17) and Public Administration (.14), yet except for Economic Policy, none of these is statistically relevant. Poverty Reduction (.24) is still the most common topic however it has to share its position with more than double as many other topics, the biggest of which are Finance and Financial Sector Development (.13) and Health, Nutrition and Population (.09). Neither of which show any statistic relevance which is in contrast to Education and Transportation that are both positively correlated.

Africa (.27) stays the most discussed region for good governance documents, followed by the World (.21).¹³⁴ Curiously, both the regions East Asia & Pacific (.12) and Europe & Central Asia (.09) increase in their share. Yet Europe & Central Asia shows no statistical significance, which implies that there are a lot of documents good governance not related in regards to these regions as well.¹³⁵ The same is the case for Latin America & Caribbean (.11), but not for South Asia for which the number of documents within in the period is small while showing a positive correlation. Among the individual authors on good governance James D. Wolfensohn is the most prolific, having seven documents on his name whereas others have at most two.

The biggest difference between the second and the third period is the increase of CAS documents that include good governance. Where in the period 1992 – 1996, 1.7 per cent of the good governance documents were a CAS document, this number increased to 7.2 per cent in the period 1997 – 2000. Together with the Project Appraisal (.05) and Project Information (.03) documents, these represent a substantiation of the idea of good governance that makes up more than fifteen per cent of all the good governance documents. This change coincides with, and thus may be the result of, a fundamental overhaul of the World Bank that began with the *Strategic Compact*. This four-pillar plan was aimed at changing both the practice of the World Bank by changing its bureaucratic organisation. The first pillar was decentralisation, with the aim of making the Bank less inward focussed and more oriented on country-specific policy advice rather than blueprint models. This was to be done by putting more staff members in the field, in recipient

¹³⁴ $p \leq .001$ & $p \leq .005$.

¹³⁵ $p \leq .005$.

countries, and putting a larger share of the budget into the hands of country directors. Thus the Bank would increase its direct contact with borrowing countries and local NGOs.¹³⁶

The second pillar was aimed at reducing the share of traditional projects such as infrastructure and realigning the focus on social, environmental and governance issues. Increasing the contact between different departments of the Bank was to foster new and interdisciplinary research for development ideas which were translated into concrete policies by the newly introduced ‘thematic networks’. These were focussed on Environmental and Socially Sustainable Development (ESSD), Human Development, Finance and Private Sector Infrastructure, and Poverty Reduction and Economic Management (PREM)¹³⁷

The third pillar was a rebranding of the World Bank as the ‘Knowledge Bank’. The Bank was to take a central role in creating knowledge on development, rather than being a purely lending institution. With increasing competition from private lenders and other institutions or governments, the Bank’s influence became more dependent on the power of its ideas rather than on the scope of its lending capabilities. Wolfensohn envisioned a Global Development Network in which the World Bank and its thematic network would actively engage with scholars and NGOs.¹³⁸ Kramarz & Momani write that in reality, the results were meagre. Not only did the interaction with scholars and NGOs fail to materialise, internal knowledge sharing did not live up to expectations either.¹³⁹ Yet, the analysis of the documents hints at something different. Foremost that the total number of World Bank documents does increase drastically, even more so the share of documents that contain the term good governance. Among these are documents with a very high salience, like Executive Director Statements and speeches and publications by president Wolfensohn. Finally, the fact that the share of Working Papers surpasses the share of Board Reports indicated that the Bank became more outward looking. Indeed, secondary literature on the concept of good governance refers to a great extent to World Bank publications of this later period.

‘To wrap it up together’, as Weaver puts it, the World Bank’s bureaucracy was reorganised into a matrix system.¹⁴⁰ This new system had been designed by externally hired consultants from Harvard University and was supposed to increase internal knowledge sharing and service towards

¹³⁶ Weaver, *Hypocrisy Trap*, 149.

¹³⁷ Weaver, *Hypocrisy Trap*, 150.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 150.

¹³⁹ Kramarz and Momani, ‘The World Bank as Knowledge Bank’, 419.

¹⁴⁰ Weaver, *Hypocrisy Trap*, 150.

the recipient countries. The World Bank staff had been divided between two major divisions. The Network Division was based in Washington and created new development ideas and knowledge. What used to be the central point within the Bank's organisation, was now divided over the four thematic groups and formally put into the service of the Operation Division. The Operation Division was mainly based in the field, where it helped with the implementation of policy advice.¹⁴¹ Therefore, it was both divided by thematic group and regional division. Those are the earlier mentioned, 'Africa Region', 'South Asia Region', 'East Asia and Pacific Region', 'Europe and Central Asia Region', and the 'Latin America and the Caribbean Region' in addition to the 'Middle East and North Africa Region'. In this manner, researchers in the network division had multiple supervisors, within their own thematic group of the Network and in the Operation Division's regional offices.¹⁴² Together with the reallocation of administrative funds into the hands of the country directors, the result was that the Network had to 'sell' its ideas to Operation and that there were strong incentives against promoting unfavourable policy ideas.¹⁴³

The increase in documents on the regions East Asia & Pacific and Europe & Central Asia, plus the positive correlation with South Asia, are most likely the result of the East Asian financial crisis of 1997 – 1998. The crisis started in Thailand and caused tremors far beyond the region, for example in the Russian Federation. Under the guidance of the Washington Consensus developing countries had liberalised their financial markets. According to James Boughton, this helped to generate the 'Asian Miracle' by providing private sector capital.¹⁴⁴ In many countries, the financial sector lacked regulation. For instance, in Thailand, the IMF noted that there was a risk in the practices of 'finance companies' in Thailand which borrowed short-term in external markets in currencies such as the dollar or yen and provided long-term loans in baht. Which places the cause of the crisis on government oversight.¹⁴⁵ Others, however, lay the guild firmly at feet of the Fund and the Bank as they had been pushing for almost fifteen years for those policies that had created the environment for these crises.¹⁴⁶ Disregarding the guild question, the East Asian financial crises are widely touted as the event that caused the definite collapse of market fundamentalism as the

¹⁴¹ Sarfaty, *Values in Translation*, 149.

¹⁴² Ibid, 149.

¹⁴³ Weaver, *Hypocrisy Trap*, 25.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 7.

¹⁴⁵ Boughton, *Tearing down Walls: The International Monetary Fund, 1990-1999*, 499-502.

¹⁴⁶ Kanishka Jayasuriya and Kevin Hewison, 'The Antipolitics of Good Governance: From Global Social Policy to a Global Populism?', *Critical Asian Studies* 36, no. 4 (December 2004): 571–90, 580 - 581.

hegemonic rationale within the global political economy. They resulted in a change in thinking on neoliberalism and the role of the state, thus enabling the fall of the Washington Consensus.¹⁴⁷

3.3 Conclusion

Within the topic of the World Bank during the period 1989 – 2000, the context of good governance is formed by terms such as poverty, growth, and development, as well as corruption, accountability, and transparency, or political, civil, and decentralization. The good governance term list contains only single words, yet these can clearly be linked to terms like civil society, poverty reduction and basic needs. The keyness method has thus extracted many of the terms that secondary literature identified as being connected to the concept of good governance. Moreover, by means of this natural language processing technique, it was possible to highlight the importance of political instability and violence in the topical context, a dimension for which the secondary literature has had little regard. Contrastingly, the words with an extremely negative chi²-value, which thus are not connected to good governance, can mainly expect to be found in the context of contracts, infrastructure and natural resource extraction. This indicates a strong divide within the World Bank as all three of these are major components of the Bank's operations.

The policy innovation toward good governance took place in the sector of Economic Policy in the administrative region World and Africa. This observation corresponds with secondary literature that places the origin of good governance in the context of failing policies in sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, it is apparent that in the beginning research and policy staff circumvented higher management as, initially, the concept was mainly used in reports toward the board of executive directors. The inception of the concept happened thus within the ranks of the World Bank bureaucracy.

Thereafter the concept became more widely used, if only slightly. Its spread into the Europe & Central Asia region can be explained as a delayed result of the integration of the post-Soviet countries. Which means that in 1992, the first year of the WB operations in that region, good governance was not a relevant consideration. Shortly afterwards, in 1994, a crisis occurred once more in Mexico, which explains the rise in good governance documents for that region. The time lag between World Bank activities in a region and the occurrence of good governance in related

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 571.

documents indicates that the concept is used as a secondary measure. This could have two explanations. First, policy advices connected to good governance were regarded as inadequate primary reactions to crises. Second, the failure of primary reactions to crisis enabled a break with orthodoxy and the introduction of the good governance framework. The observation that the concept was mainly applied in a region that had experienced a crisis and not across the board, appears to underwrite the second explanation. An actual wider adoption of good governance within the World Bank appears to coincide with president Wolfensohn's use of the concept, which indicated an endorsement by the management.

With the statistically relevant occurrence in Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) documents, the concept was put to use in concrete policy advices and thus became reality in the latter period. Clearly, Wolfensohn's reorganisation increased the spread of the concept throughout the whole organisation. With mentions in highly salient documents and a more outward-looking World Bank, good governance became also more used outside the organisation, as has been drawn from secondary literature.

4. The Different Meanings of Good Governance

Within Adler & Haas' theory on policy evolution, diffusion is followed by selection. Actors thus adopt various aspect of a concept or policy as fits their preconditions. Hall describes the same process when discussing how policymakers in different countries implemented different aspect and interpretations of Keynesianism. As laid out in the introduction, this is similar to Stadel's bifurcation, a point where the *concept chain* splits due to the contestation by already present constraints. Concretely, these theories are based on the assumption that the different meanings of a concept are formed by the contexts it exists in and that actors have the agency to create and influence contexts. Following these theories, it should be possible to identify these diverse concept chains or meanings by extracting the document context of good governance. In addition, a metadata analysis will serve to discuss where and why splits occur and under which circumstances a specific chain gets selected.

4.1 Hierarchical Clusters

The first set of clusters of meaning is determined through hierarchical clustering. This statistical method is used in natural language processing to group terms according to similarity. The similarity is expressed in the distance between terms in a selection of documents. Which means that terms that occur together more often in documents get assigned a higher similarity.¹⁴⁸ In the example sentence “Because a dfm for a whole corpus will get too large, the dfm has to be pruned. In this process, all English stop words, numbers, punctuation, and symbols within the corpus text have been removed from the dfm.”, ‘english’ has a higher similarity with ‘process’, than with ‘pruned’. Moreover, ‘whole’ has a lower similarity with ‘dfm’ than ‘corpus’ has but has a higher similarity than ‘stop’.

Table 4.1: Example DFM.

	dfm	whole	corpus	large	pruned	process	english	stop	words	numbers	punctuation	symbols	removed
A	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

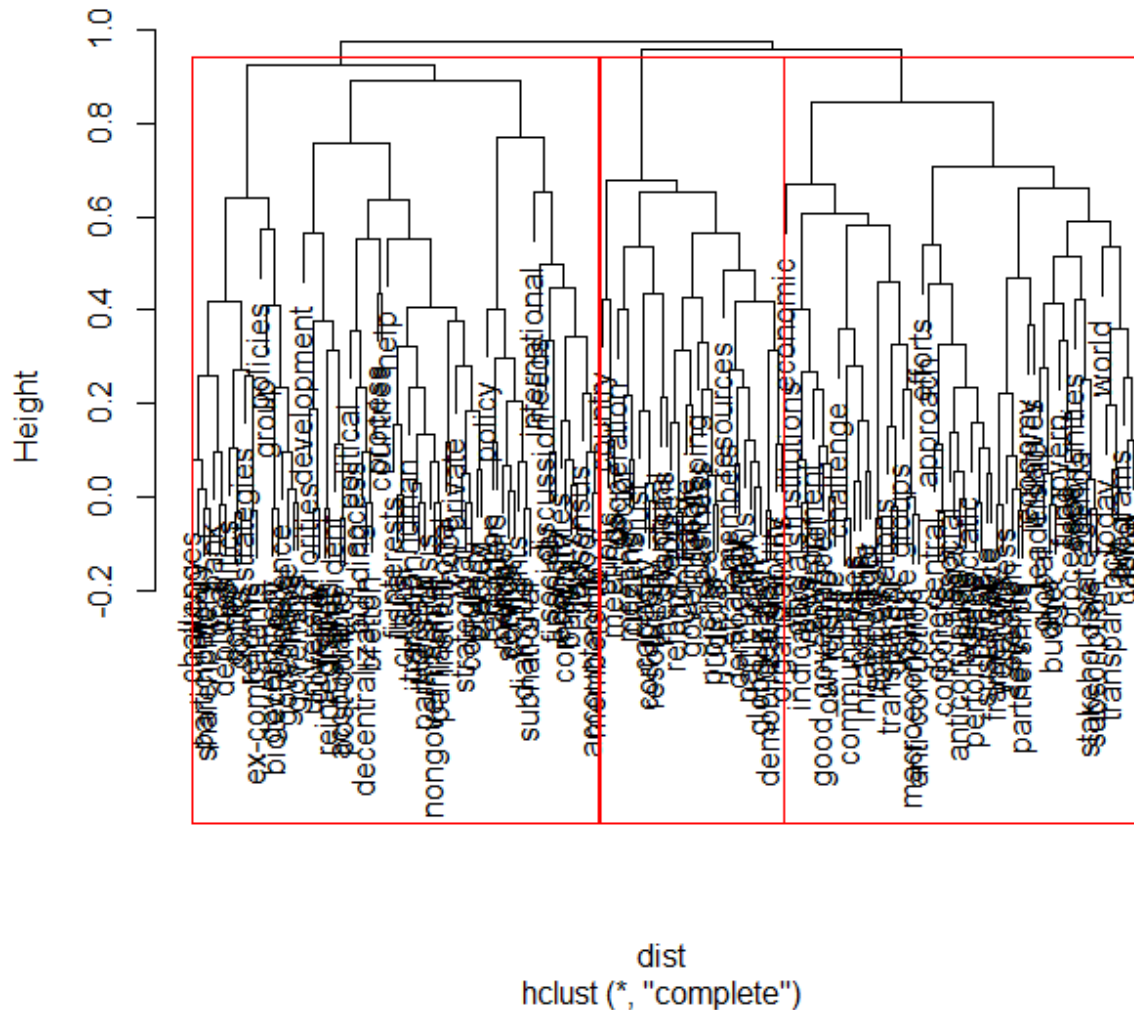
¹⁴⁸ Ofir Pele and Michael Werman, ‘The Quadratic-Chi Histogram Distance Family’, in *Computer Vision – ECCV 2010*, Lecture Notes in Computer Science (European Conference on Computer Vision, Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg, 2010), 749–62, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-15552-9_54.

This way the terms in the list for the topical context that has been established in the previous chapter, are clustered according to their similarity within the good governance corpus. Unlike with other clustering methods, in hierarchical clustering, a term can only belong to a single cluster. Initially, each term is separate in its one cluster and in each following step terms are clustered to their nearest partners, until all terms are within a single cluster. This is visualised in a dendrogram (Figure 4.1) in which the height of two branches joining represents the similarity between two clusters. As is the practice with hierarchical clustering, the different clusters have been identified based on a visual interpretation of the dendrogram.¹⁴⁹ Resulting in the selection of three distinct co-occurrence clusters, which are highlighted in red.

The lists of the terms per cluster can be found in Appendix II: Clusters. However, the lists are not interpretable as forming contextual clusters of clear and singular meaning. Quite the contrary, in each of the three lists certain terms can be found that adhere to different dimensions of good governance. An explanation for this is based on the manner in which hierarchical clustering works. By stepwise clustering on similarity over the multitude of documents within the corpus, the technique primarily identifies the use of terms. Apparently, in this case, the similarities represented a shared vocabulary rather than contexts.

¹⁴⁹ ‘What Does the Dendrogram Show, or What Is Correlation Analysis?’, accessed 12 June 2018, <http://www.nonlinear.com/support/progenesis/comet/faq/v2.0/dendrogram.aspx>; ‘California Soil Resource Lab :: A Graphical Explanation of How to Interpret a Dendrogram’, accessed 12 June 2018, <https://casoilresource.lawr.ucdavis.edu/blog/graphical-explanation-how-interpret-dendrogram/>.

Figure 4.1: Cluster Dendrogram Good Governance Corpus, World Bank, 1986 - 2000.



Source: Own Calculation.

Figures 4.2 - 4.4 represent the usage of the three clusters during the period, both within the total corpus as well as the good governance corpus. Within these figures, two lines are included. The LOESS is red, this is a regression line in which the linearity of the regression has been relaxed to fit it according to the distribution of the scatterplot.¹⁵⁰ Due to the complexity of the calculation,

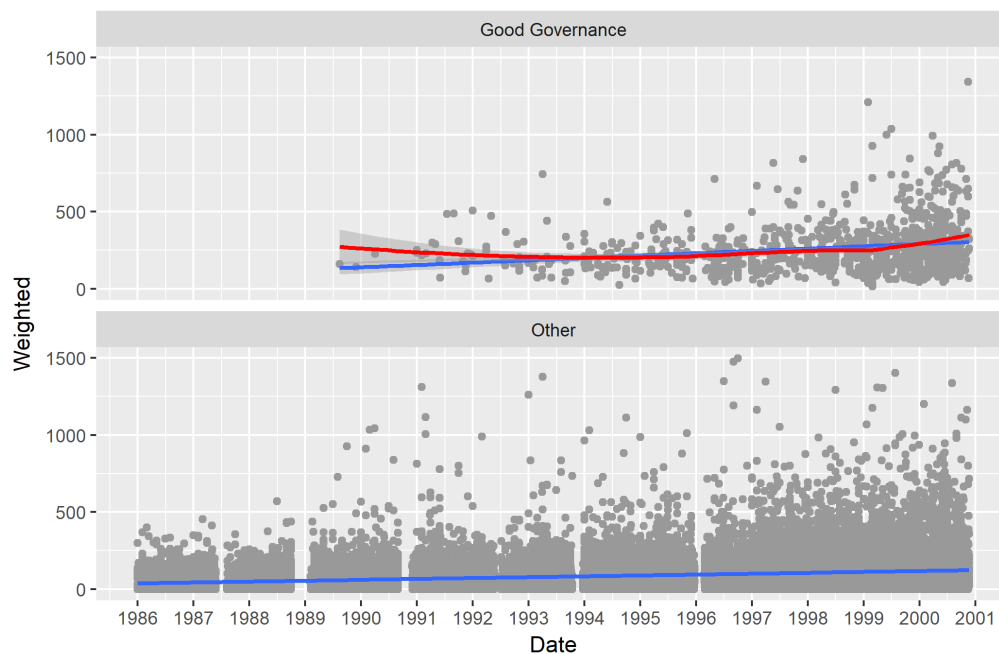
¹⁵⁰ 'LOESS Curve Fitting (Local Regression) - StatsDirect', accessed 26 July 2018, https://www.statsdirect.com/help/content/nonparametric_methods/loess.htm; 'What Is Loess Regression?', The DO Loop, accessed 26 July 2018, <https://blogs.sas.com/content/iml/2016/10/17/what-is-loess-regression.html>.

this was only possible for the smaller good governance corpus, therefore the standard linear regression line (LM) has been added in blue.

Except for a few high scoring documents, the terms within the first cluster were mainly used in the later part of the period. Especially in the final the three years the loess-line rises sharply. The lm-line that represents the use within the total corpus rises steadily throughout the period. In contrast to the second cluster, which decreases in use within the good governance corpus and to a lesser extent in the total corpus. This process is actually even more pronounced considering that the amount of documents within either of the corpora is skewed to the right. For the third and last cluster, the loess and the lm lines show contrary trends. Whereas the use of the respective terms decreases within the good governance corpus, it increases slightly in the total corpus.

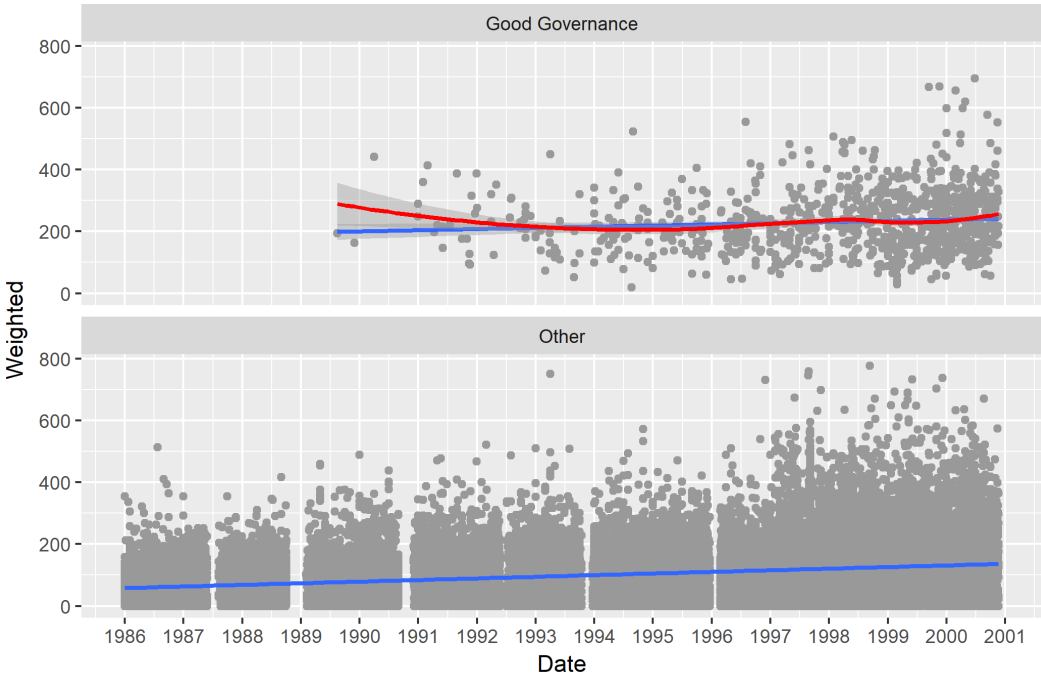
The implications of these observations are that the vocabulary within the good governance documents becomes less diverse, while the vocabulary within in total corpus becomes more diverse. This indicates that in the later part of the period the words used to the describe the different meanings of good governance documents reached a stage of persistence, while within the total World Bank documents there was a process of diffusion. However, these observations provide no indications as to what the different meanings of good governance are.

Figure 4.2: Distribution of First Cluster - Weighted, World Bank, 1986 - 2000.



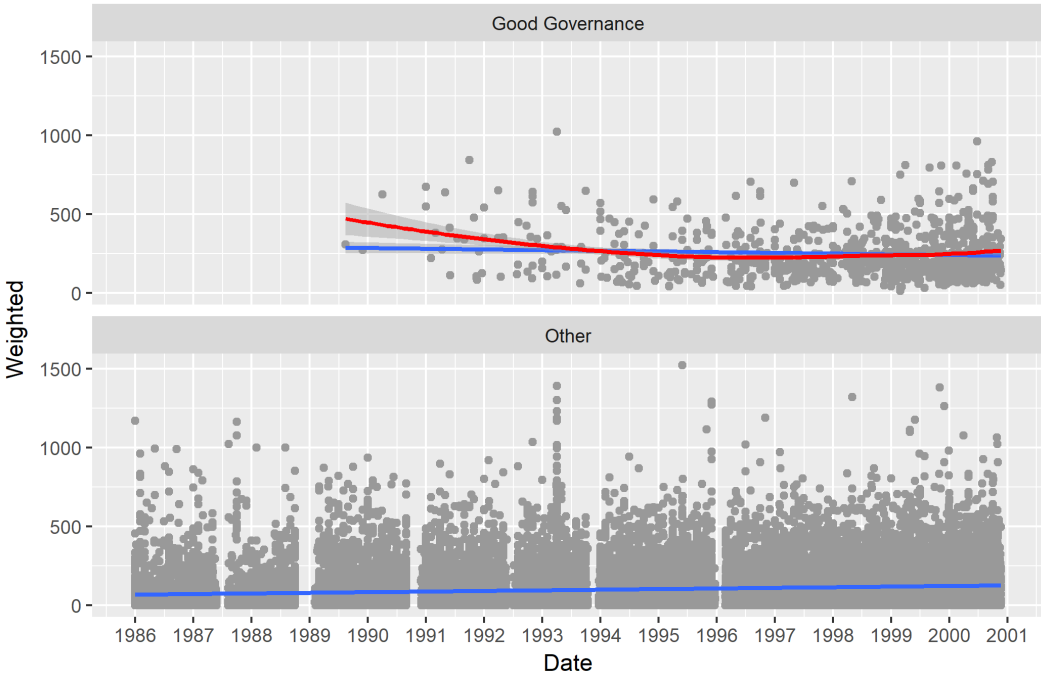
Source: Own calculations.

Figure 4.3: Distribution of Second Cluster - Weighted, World Bank, 1986 - 2000.



Source: Own calculations.

Figure 4.4: Distribution of Third Cluster - Weighted, World Bank, 1986 - 2000.



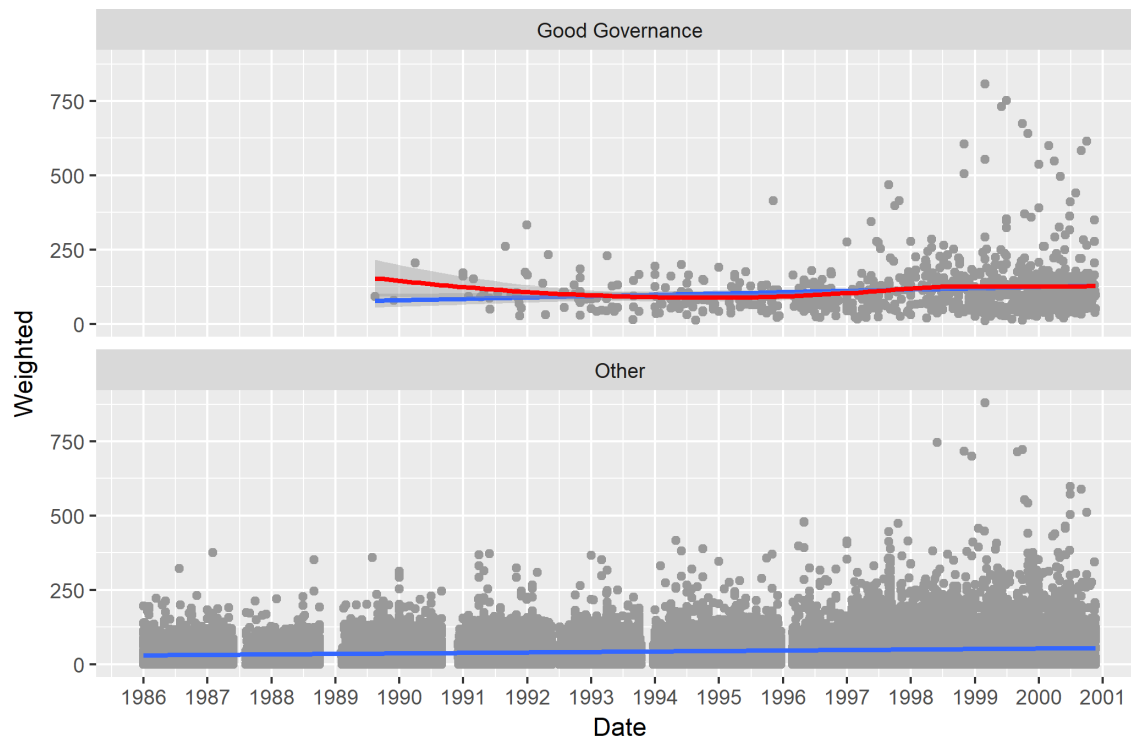
Source: Own calculations.

4.2 The four Meanings of Good Governance 1989 - 2000

Interpreting the collection of terms within the hierarchical cluster proved to be difficult as the terms in each cluster describe a wide variety of contexts. Therefore a second approach has been tested. Within this approach, a second set of clusters was established that follow Demmers' interpretation of good governance to a great extent. The column *group* in the key term list (Table I.1) indicates for each term whether it belongs to *economic instrumentality* (1), *socioeconomic* (2), *reflexive government* (3), *political instability and violence* (4), *non-defined* (0). As noted earlier, secondary literature fails to consider the political instability and violence as an important aspect in regards to good governance, even though the World Bank states that it is a central dimension of the concept. Just as before, the term lists have been applied to the good governance corpus and the total corpus without the good governance documents.

Figures 4.5 – 4.8 show the distribution of the terms over the documents within the period. The first thing that is noticeable is the relative flatness of the both the LM as well as the LOESS lines. Whereas the previous figures showed distinct trends and fluctuations, the difference in these graphs is less pronounced. Most likely, this is due to what is measured. The hierarchical clusters are words representing vocabulary, while these dimensions are words representing topics. This would mean, that while the manner in which the World Bank expresses itself changes, the content of its expressions are constant. If that is true then the meaning of good governance did not change throughout the 1990s, because each meaning had been present since its initial years.

Figure 4.5: Distribution of Economic Instrumentality - Weighted, World Bank, 1986 - 2000.



Source: Own calculations.

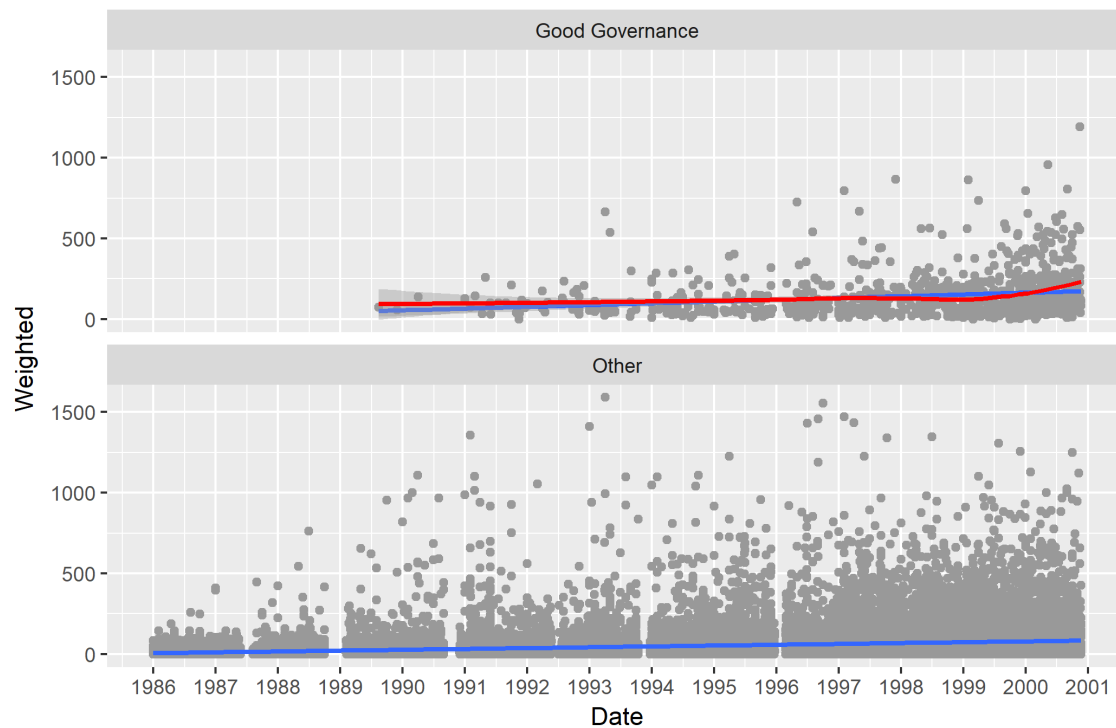
The *economic instrumentality* interpretation of good governance is based on the assumption that the private sector is the most important driver of development. This is strongly connected to the neoliberal view on development that came into prominence during the 1980s with the SAPs in Africa and Latin America. According to Sarfaty and Smith, good governance came first into use in the context of the failing SAPs in sub-Saharan Africa. They both state the World Bank staff came to realise that structural adjustments alone would not suffice on their own, as institutions were vital to making these adjustments work.¹⁵¹ This is exactly what economic instrumentality entails. Paired with terms like corruption, crisis, fiscal, and transparency, it describes the dimension of good governance that ascribes the state with the task of creating a favourable business environment. Therefore it is not surprising that economic instrumentality has the strongest presence in the first period (1989 – 1992). Thus it underwrites Demmers' observation that this dimension was the initial interpretation of good governance within the Bank (Figure 4.5).¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ Sarfaty, *Values in Translation*, 5; Smith, *Good Governance and Development*, 2 - 3.

¹⁵² Demmers and Et Al., *Good Governance in the Era of Global Neoliberalism*, 4 -5.

What is surprising, is the immediate decrease of economic instrumentality that continues until 1995. More so, the use of economic instrumentality within the documents that do not contain the term good governance stay almost constant during the whole period from 1986 – 2000. This indicates that, in the beginning, the discussions on good governance were on the same topics as most of the Bank’s documents, only to be reoriented on something different almost immediately. Then, from 1996 onwards, the aspect of economic instrumentality became more important again within the good governance documents.

Figure 4.6: Distribution of Socioeconomic - Weighted, World Bank, 1986 - 2000.



Source: Own calculations.

Demmers writes that the World Bank shifted from dimensions by gradually adopting the *socioeconomic* interpretation in 1994 – 1997 annual reports. The idea that development should serve to reduce poverty is central within this dimension. Even though secondary literature on good governance presents this as a new approach, it actually constitutes a reorientation towards issues that were considered to be the Bank’s core tasks during the basic needs-era. As was discussed in chapter two, during the height of the neoliberal era of the World Bank, the management actively suppressed research and policy innovation into this direction. Most likely, this is why the LM and

the LOESS lines divert strongly at the beginning of the period. The first two documents, which were written in 1989, score relatively low while at the beginning of the 1990s most document score relatively high. Among the words within the key terms list, the socioeconomic dimension can be exemplified by words like poverty, social, inclusion, and needs.

The measurement of words connected to the socioeconomic shows a slight but gradual increase throughout the whole period that is broken off due to a sudden drop around 1997, whereafter it increases rapidly in 1999 (Figure 4.6). This indicates that the shift did not happen as Demmers describes it, at least not in regard to all of the good governance documents. An external explanation for that occurrence might again be found in the East Asian financial crises of 1997 – 1998. Secondary literature notes that the Bank’s initial reaction to the crisis was ascribing policies that were aimed to combat fiscal imbalance, reach macroeconomic stability and improve corporate supervision by means of transparency and anti-graft.¹⁵³ Yet, when the crisis had passed the World Bank changed its approach by focusing on empowerment and the creation of social safety nets. Explanations for this change came from a sudden realisation that the Bank had failed the poor to a Weberian approach for managing conflict by placating them.¹⁵⁴ Another explanation would be the appointment of Joseph Stiglitz as the World Bank’s chief economist, the vocal critic of the Washington Consensus who joined the Bank in 1997, just after the crisis in Thailand had begun.¹⁵⁵ In a 1998 lecture, Stiglitz stated that once the Washington Consensus had fallen, new World Bank policy should be aimed at poverty alleviation.¹⁵⁶ As figure 4.6 shows, this assertion became reality once the crises had died down.

Even then, the change within the World Bank was not as drastic as this narrative implies. The constant presence of extreme outliers for the total corpus shows that the socioeconomic interpretation had a substantive number of proponents within the Bank from 1988 on. In addition, the trajectory of the LM line indicates that the socioeconomic interpretation of development was on the rise throughout the whole period.

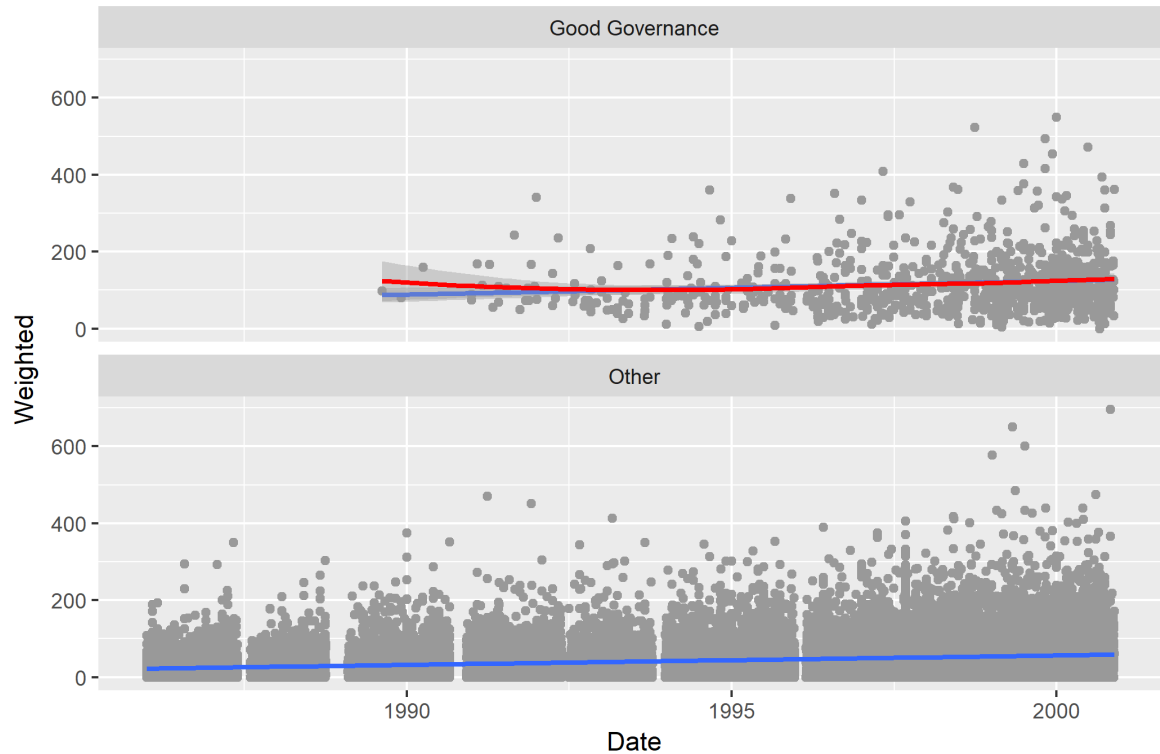
¹⁵³ O’Brien and Williams, *Global Political Economy*, 333.

¹⁵⁴ Jayasuriya and Hewison, ‘The Antipolitics of Good Governance’, 571 -574.

¹⁵⁵ Sarah Babb, ‘The Washington Consensus as Transnational Policy Paradigm: Its Origins, Trajectory and Likely Successor’, *Review of International Political Economy* 20, no. 2 (April 2013): 268–97, 288.

¹⁵⁶ John Pender, ‘From “Structural Adjustment” to “Comprehensive Development Framework”: Conditionality Transformed?’, *Third World Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (June 2001): 397–411, 403.

Figure 4.7: Distribution of Reflexive Government - Weighted, World Bank, 1986-2000



Source: Own calculations.

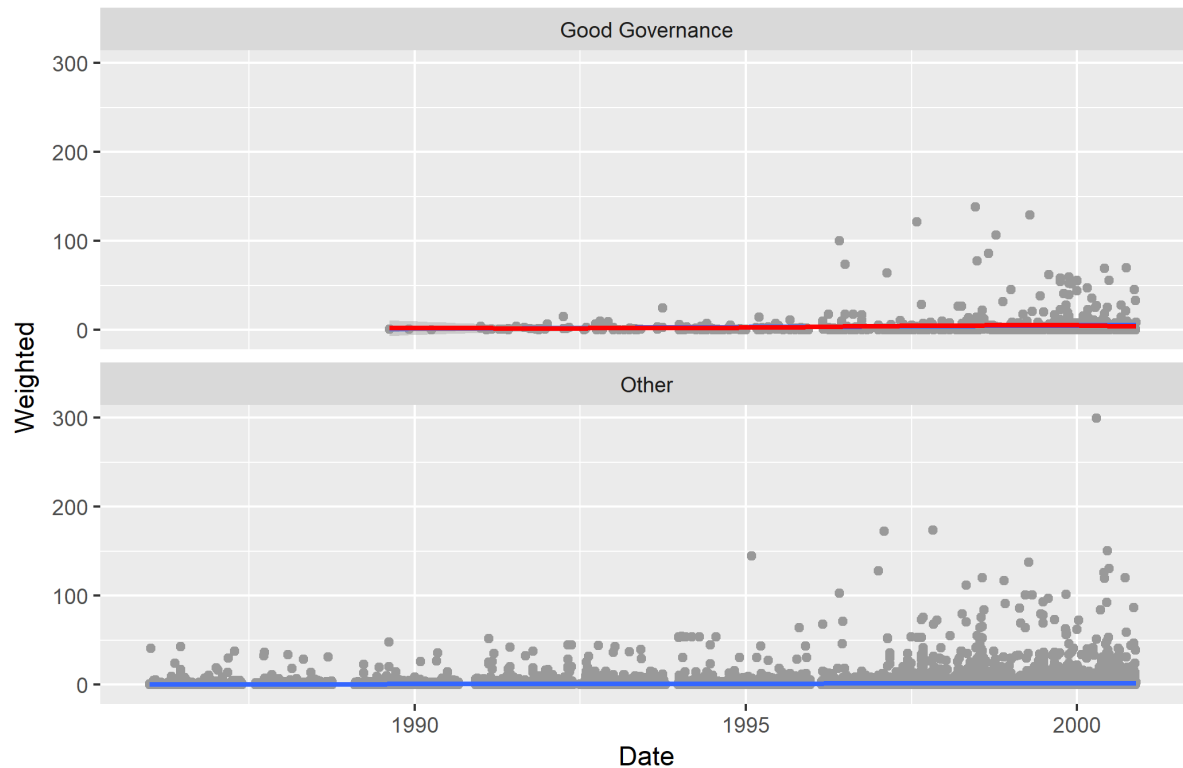
The third interpretation that Demmers describes is that of the reflexive government. As the name suggests, its aim is to make the state apparatus more adaptive to the population's needs. Human rights, civil society, democratisation and decentralisation are essential aspects of this dimension.¹⁵⁷ Within the term list, this is exemplified through words like democracy, rights, society, and civil. Their presence in the good governance documents is almost constant, while they increase slightly in use within the total number of documents. The dimension of reflexive government was thus present in the Bank's interpretation of good governance from the onset, which then gradually spread to other World Bank documents as well.

Interestingly enough, with its focus on human rights, fair elections and civil society, the reflexive government is the interpretation many of the Bank's critics adhered to at the time. Their critique accumulated in the '50 Years Is Enough'-campaign of the early 1990s, which had set as

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 4 – 5.

its goal the abolishment of the World Bank by 1995. Clearly, they did not succeed in their goal and it seems that their campaign had little impact on the Bank's orientation.

Figure 4.5: Distribution of Violence Dimension - Weighted, World Bank, 1986-2000



Source: Own calculations.

Finally, overlooked by most of the secondary literature, is the dimension of *Political instability and Violence*. The World Bank stipulated it as one of six dimensions of good governance and the analysis reveals that it played a small but constant role within both the good governance documents as well as the whole corpus of World Bank documents. The predecessor institution of the World Bank was specifically tasked with reconstructing war-torn countries and the Bank adhered to this legacy by being active in post-conflict areas throughout its whole history. This begs the question why most scholars had no attention for this aspect while, simultaneously, highlights the subjectivity of researches. Especially in discussions that have a high salience within academic disciplines, scholars are no distant observers but actors as members of epistemic communities that influence norms and meaning.

4.3 The Usage of the four Meanings of Good Governance

As described in the introduction, each document is included with a wide variety of metadata. For the following part of the analysis, the effect of the occurrence of the different meanings of good governance is determined for any value in the variables *document type*, *sector*, *historical topic*, *administrative region*, and *owner*. This is achieved through multiple linear models in which the weighted score is the independent variable against the dependent variables of the metadata. These are expressed in binary form, for example, this means that a document can either be of the document type ‘annual report’ or not.¹⁵⁸ This way it has been established whether, within the good governance corpus and a given period, there is a correlation between the occurrence of specific metadata variable and the weighted score of the different meanings of good governance.¹⁵⁹ This can be seen in the Tables III.1 - III.3 in Appendix III, the green colours represent a positive correlation and the red colours a negative, moreover, darker colours represent a stronger correlation than lighter colours. The correlation has thus colour coded in six hues, from dark green to light green and from light red to dark red. The correlation between the weighted score of good governance and specific metadata variable for the total corpus has been added as a comparison.¹⁶⁰

Period One: 1989 – 1992

Within this first period documents that mention good governance were most likely to be Board Reports, Transcripts and Working Papers. The primary meaning of the concept was interpreted through economic instrumentality, which had been the main rationale within the World Bank ever since the start of the neoliberal era. Among the good governance documents of this period, there is a high number of Policy Research Working Papers, Working Papers and Board Reports that follow this interpretation. This implies that mainly the research staff was rather conservative in its application and interpretation of the good governance concept. The high correlation between a high score in socioeconomic interpretation and Transcripts show that the directors adhered to a more social meaning of good governance. Considering the active suppression of dissident voices under chief economist Krueger, it is not surprising that the economic instrumentality interpretation

¹⁵⁸ T. J. Hastie, *Statistical Models in S* (Routledge, 2017), 421 - 480.

¹⁵⁹ All $p \leq .05$.

¹⁶⁰ All $p \leq .001$.

was most dominant. In this first period, the dimension of political instability and violence is widely spread throughout the different types of document. Whereas the reflexive government was used in the first good governance document stemming from the president's office, the 1992 memorandum on Zambia by World Bank president Lewis Preston.

The topic of the memorandum was Public Administration, which made this an abnormality for good governance documents within the period, considering that these were negatively correlated. Which means that it is statistically unlikely that any document that contains the term good governance in this period is on the topic of public administration. Most good governance documents are the World region, yet the Africa region strongly correlates with economic instrumentality, socioeconomic, and reflexive government.

While, within the total corpus, there is no significant correlation between the occurrence of good governance and any of the metadata 'owner', there are telling correlations within the good governance corpus. Both the Office of the Chief Economist as well as the Office of the President correlate positively with the economic instrumentality interpretation. Contrastingly, Policy & Operations correlates with the socioeconomic interpretation of good governance. This is another indication that the research department of the World Bank was relatively more conservative in its interpretation of good governance.

Period Two: 1993 – 1996

Good governance becomes more widely used during the second period and to a great extent in documents oriented towards the public, such as newsletters and publications. In the first years of his presidency, James Wolfensohn led an extensive media campaign to improve the World Bank's image. The fact that the term good governance is used more frequently in public documents in those years makes it apparent that the concept was indeed used as a tool for public relations management. Noteworthy is the observation that the meaning of good governance in these documents mainly follows the reflexive government interpretation of the concept. It thus seems that the '50 Years is Enough'-campaign had an impact after all, albeit mostly limited to PR related documents.

The shift in the meaning of good governance within Annual Reports of which Demmers writes cannot be confirmed by this analysis. Though the occurrence of good governance correlates slightly with this kind of documents, economic instrumentality is the most present even as it is

followed by socioeconomic interpretation. That economic instrumentality is still the most widely spread interpretation is exemplified by its significant correlation with a wide variety of historical topics. For instance, Poverty Reduction has a significant correlation with economic instrumentality and not with socioeconomic, something which would not be assumed through intuition.

Almost all of the sectors meanings of good governance correlate strongly with Economic Policy. The few documents that are on the sector Environment follow the economic instrumentality and not the socioeconomic interpretation. The latter also has a strong negative correlation with the sector public administration. This indicates that the term is still primarily used in its conservative meaning.

While good governance does not correlate significantly with Europe & Central Asia, the documents that focus on that administrative region are statistically less likely to contain the socioeconomic interpretation. This indicates that aspects like poverty reduction or inclusion of the poor were even less of a priority for the World Bank's operations in the post-Soviet countries. This supports Ashworth's accusation that there was little regard for the population in the years after the prescribed *shock therapy* in Eastern European countries.¹⁶¹

Period Three: 1997 – 2000

The increased use of the concept of good governance clearly led to a stage of policy selection within the World Bank. In the third period, the use of the different meanings of good governance becomes more pronounced in the various metadata variables. The term also gets mentioned less in Board Reports. This indicates that it is no longer primarily a concept that is used by researchers and executive directors but has become a key concept within the World Bank. With Information Notice and Executive Director Statements, good governance still correlates significantly with external document types. The economic instrumentality meaning has a high occurrence within work stemming from researchers, as expressed by a high correlation with the Working Papers. Therefore it is surprising that the socioeconomic and reflexive government interpretation score so high with Economic Policy and many other sectors. In addition, it is within in the variables for sectors and historical topics that the process of selection is most visible. There is an indication that the various groups within the Bank adhere to specific interpretations of good governance.

¹⁶¹ Ashworth, *The Global Political Economy and Post-1989 Change*, 37-46.

The clear correlation between a meaning of good governance and topics it intuitively belongs to does not only prove its increased diffusion and selection but also that the methodology is successful in identifying relevant topics per specific meaning of good governance. The political instability and violence dimension correlate most strongly with Conflict and Development, just as the reflexive government interpretation does. Governance, Law & Development, Public Sector Development and Social Development all correlate with words expressing this meaning of good governance. While Social Development scores equally on reflexive government and socioeconomic interpretation. The latter meaning can also be found most often in relation to the topics Social Protection, Poverty Reduction, Health Nutrition & Population, and, maybe a bit surprising, Financial Sector. Also surprising is that the words related to the economic instrumentality interpretation correlate most strongly with Social Development, in addition to Public Sector Development and also Private Sector Development which is more intuitive.

The East Asian financial crisis had its visible effect on development thinking within the World Bank. Unlike with other crises, the meaning of good governance that follows the socioeconomic interpretation correlates positively with the relevant administrative region. This confirms the earlier made observation that the rise of this meaning of good governance is connected to an increased focus on social safety nets and inclusion in the wake of the crises in East Asia.

Finally, within the document variable of owner, names and abbreviations of the newly formed thematic networks correlate with specific meanings of good governance. For instance, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management (PREM) Front Office correlates with the economic instrumentality, while an undefined division of PREM correlates slightly with the dimension of political instability and violence.¹⁶² Overall it is noteworthy that, of all meanings, political instability and violence exhibits the most significant correlation in this last period after lacking any statistical relevance in the previous two periods. An explanation would be that as good governance becomes more widely used, it also starts to appear in very specific documents. Moreover, Figure 4.5 already showed that this meaning is increasingly used in the last period.

¹⁶² Weaver, *Hypocrisy Trap*, 150.

4.4 Conclusion

The change in terms that co-occur with good governance constitutes a development in vocabulary rather than an actual evolution in contextual meaning. The different semantic spaces around good governance that have been identified by hierarchical clustering, did not hint at a different subject. Yet, once applied to the corpus they show that there were indeed developments in the way there was written on good governance. Thus the clusters do not represent different meaning but different vocabularies.

To analyse the use of the different meanings of good governance the three interpretations of Demmers (*economic instrumentality, socioeconomic, reflexive government*) were used with in addition the dimension of *political stability and violence*. In this manner, the statistical relevance of various metadata variables has been determined. Although it was not possible to link developments in the use of the different meanings of good governance to the influence of specific epistemic communities, the analysis did show how the usage of good governance was representative for the conflicting power relations within the Bank.

Good governance originated within the World Bank as an innovation by policy and research staff. During the first years (1989 – 1992) it could mainly be found in documents related staff and executive directors. The initial meaning of the concept followed the market oriented, economic instrumentality, view of development most strongly. Yet, all other meanings of good governance were present to a certain extent from the onset on. Moreover, a number of documents score substantially high on the meaning of good governance that followed the poverty oriented, socioeconomic, view on development. This means that, from the beginning, the concept of good governance had multiple meanings.

When good governance became used more extensively in the second period (1993 – 1996), this was to great amount in public documents such as newsletters and publication. In these documents, the meaning of the concept that followed the political, reflexive government, interpretation of development was significantly more present. The same can be observed in documents related to the management of the World Bank, which indicates that there was an attempt to steer the meaning of the concept towards this interpretation.

Due to the method by which the documents receive a score it is not possible to deduct which meaning of good governance becomes most dominant in the end. However, the usage of the socioeconomic interpretation increases substantially in the final years. In addition, the results of

the lm-model show that in the third period (1997 – 2000) usage of good governance becomes more diverse. The great number of high correlation indicate that after the concept spread throughout the Bank, different groups began to adhere to specific meanings.

Finally, in chapter three it was shown that there is a positive correlation between the usage of good governance and the Bank's activity post-crisis. In the context of the East Asian financial crisis the World Bank's policy made a substantial shift towards the socioeconomic interpretation of development. This confirms the earlier made observation that the rise of this meaning of good governance is connected to an increased focus on social safety nets and inclusion in the wake of the crises in East Asia. Proof for secondary literature statements that attribute this shift to the newly appointed World Bank chief economist Stiglitz could not be found in the scope of this analysis.

5. Concluding Chapter

The concept of good governance occupied many minds and a large number of hearts. It was not long after good governance's conception in 1989 that its first opponents decried its existence. Alarmed critics stated that this vague concept enabled the World Bank to impede on the sovereignty of recipient countries. Although the normative, as well as positive debate, on this subject, is extensive, no consensus has been reached on what good governance exactly means or why the World Bank took the concept into use. Moreover, practically all publications on the subject are a-historic, meaning the concept is approached as being monolithic and unchanging, there is little regard for the historical context of the World Bank, and conclusions are based on a small number of primary sources. Furthermore, most publications focus primarily on external factors and approach the Bank as a single actor. By employing natural language processing techniques, the black box that is the World Bank has been opened. Innovative computational methods made it possible to statistically analyse the content of all 36,219 documents that the World Bank has published in the period of 1986 to 2000. This led to some novel insights.

First of all, the meaning of good governance proved to be, indeed, unchanging. Through hierarchical clustering of the key terms that formed the topical context of good governance, three different clusters were identified. While the use of these clusters changed over time, they are not diverse enough in terms to constitute as representing different meanings but are rather expressions of different vocabularies. This means that while there is a change in the terms used in connection to good governance, the specific meanings they describe are present throughout the whole period. Therefore the key terms were coded according to different meanings found in secondary literature. Thus the four meanings of the concept of good governance are expressed in *economic instrumentality*, *socioeconomic*, *reflexive government*, and *political stability and violence*.

Notwithstanding these distinctions, the analysis of the documents containing the concept of good governance has shown that all four meanings were, to a certain extent, present during the period 1989 - 2000 and that, up to 1996, they appeared often simultaneously within a single document. It was only once the concept had spread throughout the World Bank that documents became more pronounced in adhering to a specific meaning of good governance. This observation supports Adler & Haas' theory on the spread of ideas or concepts, in favour of the theory of Stadel. Adler & Haas describe the process of policy evolution as one of innovation, diffusion, selection, and perseverance. A concept thus first spreads, before actors pick certain aspects of its existing

meaning to fit their context. Stade theorised that a concept bifurcates when actors contest its meaning in order to make it fit their context, thereby changing the meaning of the concept.

Initially, the World Bank policy and research staff that introduced the concept adhered mainly to the economic instrumentality interpretation of development, which followed the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism. It is therefore questionable whether the often touted depoliticising language of the World Bank constitutes as a rhetorical tool aimed outwards. Another explanation would be that it is a symptom of policy innovation within an institutional discourse. Concretely, the staff's language was not formed by the constraints formed by the Articles of Agreement but by the market-oriented orientations imposed by higher management during the 1980s. This would explain why documents with a high score for the socioeconomic interpretation start to appear while the economic instrumentality interpretation decreases.

In the period 1989 – 1992, most documents containing good governance are related to the staff or executive directors. While the staff is more likely to follow the economic instrumentality interpretation, the executive directors often adhere to the socioeconomic interpretation.

Then, in the second period (1993 – 1996), the management starts to use the concept of good governance as well, adhering to the reflexive government meaning. The same meaning correlates positively with documents that reach high publicity, which indicates an attempt to influence the meaning of the concept by the Bank's management. Contrastingly, in the bulk of the documents, the socioeconomic interpretation of the concept continues its trend of relative increase. While the economic instrumentality interpretation, strongly correlates with new specific policy areas. This indicates that in the first process of diffusion, selection is mainly on this latter interpretation. A possible explanation would be that adopting the concept is a big step already and that staff would rather adhere to orthodoxy in its meaning.

The usage of the socioeconomic meaning of good governance increased further in the years 1997 – 2000, and most rapidly after the East Asian financial crises. The general increase in the usage of good governance in the Bank's post-crisis operations indicates that the concept filled a gap that had been left open by the failure of earlier policy recommendation. Yet while Im-model showed a significant negative correlation between the socioeconomic meaning of good governance and the shock-therapy for Eastern Europe, the correlation between this interpretation of development and the East Asian financial crisis is significantly positive. As the Bank's operations during the crises received a wide interest it is reasonable that secondary literature identified this

episode as when a shift in meaning occurs. Nonetheless, this shift did not happen as every one of the four meanings of good governance had been present in the World Bank documents since the onset and the usage thereof became more specific in the latter part of the period.

Even though a final and conclusive change in meaning, policy persistence, has not been observed, the analysis has shown that the adherence to the socioeconomic meaning of good governance becomes relatively stronger throughout the period. The process from an economic instrumentality meaning of good governance to a socioeconomic meaning within one decade is remarkable. In the 1980s, the World Bank had become staunchly neoliberal as a result of changes in higher management and under pressure of neo-classical economics.

It is, therefore, telling that good governance first almost exclusively occurs within documents written by research and policy staff that are for the consideration of the executive directors, or in speeches and statements of the executive directors. This seems to validate O'Brien & William's thesis that the power within the World Bank lays with the directors, were it not that later in the period president Wolfensohn appeared to use the concept for his own agenda. Moreover, the efforts of chief economist Stiglitz are said to have been instrumental in promoting poverty reductions as the policy orientation of the World Bank. This then means that Sarfaty is right when it comes to the power within the Bank, at least to a certain extent. The observation that the president has a longer time horizon than the executive directors is correct, but the actors that appoint candidates for these positions have an even longer time horizon. The analysis of the usage of good governance within in the World Bank has thus shown that the power relations within are not static but do change.

Yet then it appears that the most power and longest time horizon lays in the hands of the World Bank staff. On the long run, the orientation towards poverty alleviation proves to be more of a return to a policy that had existed before. During the basic needs-era poverty reduction had been one of the central goals of the World Bank. Thus by the year 2000, the Bank was back on the same path it had been before the 1980s. With its four meanings and vague definition, good governance was the encompassing concept to give a name to this development within the Bank. The reason why it was used can be found in the recognisability of the concept and the broadness of its meaning, allowing anyone to use aspects of the concept to fit their agenda. Whether it was

internally to circumvent imposed orthodoxy and introduce policy innovation that went beyond the market or externally to placate calls for democratisation.

5.2 Review of the Methodology

The methodology was based on an automated discourse analysis using natural language processing proved to be well suited for historical research into an extensive amount of primary sources. It made it possible to discover hidden trends within the publications of the World Bank. Yet, maybe the biggest advantage of a computational approach is that small adjustments in the research design are actually possible and quickly applied during any stage of the research. Nonetheless, this master thesis contains a number of shortcomings, the solving these would make the findings more robust.

First of all, the metadata provided with the documents offers many insights but is not standardised. For example, historic topics sometimes appear in single entries like Education and sometimes in lists of two or more: Education, Poverty Reduction, Public Management. This makes a number of metadata variables useless for statistical analysis. With time and effort, these entries could be split into single values. This would make it possible to identify more complex relationships in relation to the adoption and contestation of concepts.

Second of all, hierarchical clustering proved not to be the best technique for finding the different meanings of good governance. The dendrogram approach includes an aspect of subjectivity on the part of the researcher that could be avoided by employing another technique. Albeit much more complex in both, application as well as theoretical underpinnings, Word Embeddings would neutralise this subjectivity.

Third of all, data representation is an important part of a well-represented research. Natural language processing makes from text an abstraction, visualising findings in such a manner that they are easily interpretable has proved to be difficult.

Fourth of all, as was shown by the LM and LOESS lines, computational analysis has its limitations and one of these is processing power. Statistical analysis of textual data easily requires four times the corpus size. A corpus like the World Bank corpus of 4.6 Gigabyte thus quickly stretches what is possible for conventional personal computers.

Finally, and most importantly, a solution has to be found to the problem of identifying whether a specific document scores higher on a certain meaning rather than another. Only then, it can be conclusively stated which particular meaning is more dominant in relation to the other.

Two recommendations to focus further research on are:

First, this master thesis has focussed solely on the World Bank. Doing so it disregarded many other actors that had an influence on the meaning of the good governance concept. For the period of 1989 – 2000 is an abundance of documents available from other international organisations such as the UN, the IMF, and the OECD. Moreover, the United States was by far the most influential actor within the political economy in the 1990s and many of its documents are published in extensive online archives. In addition, it has been shown that the academic debate on the concept has been active ever since the World Bank used it for the first time. Therefore contemporary academic publications should be included to be analysed as primary sources that influenced the meaning of good governance. Adding these actors would result in a more holistic research.

Second, with regards to the World Bank, the statistical analysis is limited to the good governance corpus. However, as is shown in the figures of chapter four, the terms are also used in documents that not contain the term good governance. A more in-depth research on this would analyse the correlation within these documents as well.

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Appendix I: Keyterms

Table I.1: Keyterms Good Governance Corpus, World Bank 1986-2000.

n	feature	chi2	group	n	feature	chi2	group	n	feature	chi2	group
1	poverty	45747	2	61	framework	5511	0	121	biotechnology	3339	0
2	countries	43318	0	62	citizens	5501	3	122	strategic	3339	0
3	corruption	42705	1	63	corporate	5332	1	123	veterans	3332	4
4	governance	42123	0	64	initiative	5181	3	124	structural	3235	0
5	world	35110	0	65	fund	5169	0	125	vision	3212	0
6	social	28196	2	66	participatory	5152	2	126	groups	3198	2
7	development	25173	0	67	reduction	5071	2	127	capacity	3140	2
8	political	22482	3	68	ex-combatants	5049	4	128	consensus	3089	0
9	governor	19095	3	69	challenge	5024	0	129	civic	3083	3
10	society	18662	3	70	gender	4969	0	130	institutional	3082	0
11	poor	18582	2	71	cultural	4768	2	131	judiciary	3064	3
12	public	17995	3	72	woods	4726	0	132	democratic	3050	3
13	economic	16993	1	73	1990s	4723	0	133	needs	3028	2
14	civil	15593	3	74	bretton	4722	0	134	today	3012	0
15	governments	15421	0	75	environment	4711	0	135	president	3009	0
16	accountability	14706	1	76	fiscal	4606	1	136	elected	2995	3
17	donors	13396	3	77	members	4591	0	137	subscription	2995	4
18	reform	13002	0	78	partners	4561	3	138	service	2949	3
19	growth	12694	1	79	globalization	4469	1	139	leadership	2940	0
20	bank	12369	0	80	anticorruption	4448	1	140	performance	2931	0
21	ngos	11846	3	81	member	4416	0	141	anti-corruption	2916	1
22	aid	11833	0	82	officials	4342	3	142	accountable	2877	1
23	decentralization	11307	1	83	rights	4300	3	143	military	2877	4
24	institutions	11258	3	84	corrupt	4293	1	144	deputies	2875	0
25	transparency	10781	1	85	resolution	4249	0	145	processes	2852	0
26	good_governance	10661	0	86	participation	4236	2	146	cooperation	2852	0
27	global	10557	0	87	justice	4203	3	147	crises	2842	0
28	people	10522	3	88	programs	4184	0	148	indicators	2836	0
29	crisis	10163	1	89	sector	4163	0	149	relief	2829	2
30	government	9589	0	90	press	4117	3	150	opportunities	2821	0
31	conflict	9223	4	91	meeting	4048	0	151	central	2799	0
32	donor	8906	0	92	resources	4047	1	152	fight	2779	4
33	policy	8430	0	93	macroeconomic	4030	1	153	politics	2766	3
34	sustainable	8363	2	94	help	3957	2	154	communities	2760	2
35	human	8320	2	95	subnational	3906	0	155	projects	2756	0
36	reforms	8140	0	96	law	3897	1	156	initiatives	2756	0
37	bank's	8039	0	97	approach	3896	0	157	economy	2750	1
38	country	7776	0	98	strategies	3876	0	158	transparent	2736	1
39	challenges	7438	0	99	support	3865	2	159	war	2707	4
40	peace	7346	4	100	rules	3863	1	160	votes	2693	3
41	partnership	7297	3	101	dialogue	3849	0	161	election	2691	3
42	efforts	7182	0	102	meetings	3835	0	162	infrastructure	2646	0
43	governors	7176	0	103	imf	3810	0	163	discussion	2646	0
44	agenda	6903	0	104	nations	3809	0	164	liberties	2632	3
45	democracy	6783	3	105	budget	3795	1	165	leaders	2630	0
46	local	6633	3	106	building	3781	0	166	state	2610	0
47	international	6520	1	107	stability	3691	1	167	debate	2602	0
48	post-conflict	6480	4	108	ngo	3662	3	168	hope	2597	0
49	strategy	6402	0	109	servants	3657	3	169	group	2581	0
50	organizations	6400	0	110	demobilization	3632	4	170	nongovernmental	2558	3
51	judicial	6191	1	111	access	3628	2	171	just	2558	3
52	developing	6163	0	112	culture	3547	3	172	interests	2529	0
53	economies	6052	0	113	mechanisms	3538	0	173	courts	2528	1
54	process	5866	0	114	membership	3533	0	174	ownership	2446	2
55	partnerships	5802	1	115	private	3506	1	175	govern	2425	0
56	policies	5722	0	116	voice	3452	1	176	business	2403	1
57	transition	5659	0	117	stakeholders	3426	1	177	parliament	2385	3
58	community	5639	3	118	capital	3425	1	178	priorities	2368	0
59	conference	5631	0	119	university	3406	1	179	shareholders	2350	1
60	reintegration	5589	4	120	legal	3344	1	180	financial	2345	1

Appendix II: Clusters

Table II.1: Cluster One, World Bank 1989 - 2000.

feature	chi2	feature	chi2
poverty	45747	participatory	5152
corruption	42705	gender	4969
governance	42123	cultural	4768
governor	19095	fiscal	4606
public	17995	resolution	4249
accountability	14706	help	3957
donors	13396	meetings	3835
growth	12694	imf	3810
ngos	11846	demobilization	3632
aid	11833	mechanisms	3538
institutions	11258	university	3406
transparency	10781	legal	3344
global	10557	structural	3235
government	9589	capacity	3140
human	8320	today	3012
country	7776	president	3009
partnership	7297	accountable	2877
governors	7176	military	2877
democracy	6783	cooperation	2852
international	6520	crises	2842
post-conflict	6480	relief	2829
strategy	6402	opportunities	2821
judicial	6191	central	2799
developing	6163	communities	2760
process	5866	projects	2756
policies	5722	transparent	2736
transition	5659	discussion	2646
conference	5631	debate	2602
reintegration	5589	interests	2529
corporate	5332	priorities	2368
		shareholders	2350

Table II.2: Cluster Two, World Bank 1989 - 2000.

feature	chi2	feature	chi2
development	25173	law	3897
economic	16993	strategies	3876
civil	15593	dialogue	3849
governments	15421	nations	3809
reform	13002	budget	3795
decentralization	11307	building	3781
people	10522	stability	3691
crisis	10163	ngo	3662
donor	8906	private	3506
policy	8430	voice	3452
sustainable	8363	stakeholders	3426
reforms	8140	capital	3425
bank's	8039	biotechnology	3339
challenges	7438	vision	3212
peace	7346	groups	3198
agenda	6903	consensus	3089
organizations	6400	civic	3083
economies	6052	democratic	3050
community	5639	needs	3028
citizens	5501	subscription	2995
initiative	5181	leadership	2940
fund	5169	performance	2931
ex-combatants	5049	anti-corruption	2916
1990s	4723	processes	2852
bretton	4722	indicators	2836
environment	4711	fight	2779
members	4591	politics	2766
globalization	4469	initiatives	2756
anticorruption	4448	economy	2750
officials	4342	votes	2693
rights	4300	infrastructure	2646
participation	4236	state	2610
justice	4203	nongovernmental	2558
programs	4184	just	2558
sector	4163	courts	2528
meeting	4048	ownership	2446
macroeconomic	4030	govern	2425
subnational	3906	parliament	2385

Table II.3: Cluster Three, World Bank 1989 - 2000.

feature	chi2	feature	chi2
countries	43318	approach	3896
world	35110	support	3865
social	28196	rules	3863
political	22482	servants	3657
society	18662	access	3628
poor	18582	culture	3547
bank	12369	membership	3533
good_governance	10661	strategic	3339
conflict	9223	veterans	3332
efforts	7182	institutional	3082
local	6633	judiciary	3064
partnerships	5802	elected	2995
framework	5511	service	2949
reduction	5071	deputies	2875
challenge	5024	war	2707
woods	4726	election	2691
partners	4561	liberties	2632
member	4416	leaders	2630
corrupt	4293	hope	2597
press	4117	group	2581
resources	4047	business	2403
		financial	2345

Appendix III: Metadata Correlation

Table III.1 : Significant Correlation Weighted & Metadat, Period 1989 - 1992.

	Good Governance	Economic Instr.	Socioeconomic	Reflexive Gov.	Pol. Stab. & Violence
Annual Report					
Board Report					
Policy Research Working Paper					
President's Report					
Publications					
Transcripts					
Working Papers					
Agriculture, Fishing & Forestry					
Economic Policy					
Education					
Enviroment					
Multisector					
Oil & Gas					
Public. Administation					
Transportation					
Africa					
World					
Policy & Operations					
Off of Sr VP Dev Econ. Chief Econ (DECVP)					
Office if the President (EXC)					

Table III.2 : Significant Correlation Weighted & Metadat, Period 1993 - 1996.					
	Good Governance	Economic Instr.	Socioeconomic	Relfexive Gov.	Pol. Stab. & Violence
Annual Report					
Board Report					
CAS					
Newsletter					
Policy Research Working Paper					
Project Completion Report					
Publications					
Transcripts					
Working Papers					
Agriculture, Fishing & Forestry					
Economic Policy					
Education					
Enviroment					
Oil & Gas					
Private Sector Development					
Public. Adm					
Social Protection					
Transportation					
Enviroment					
Health, Nutrition & Population					
Law & Development					
Macroeconomics and Economic Growth					
Poverty Reduction					
Africa					
Europe & Central Asia					
Latin America & Caribbean					
Middle East & North Africa					
South Asia					
World					
Development Committee (DCS)					
AFC					
ECR Transition Unit (ECRTU)					
Off of Sr VP Dev Econ. Chief Econ (DECVP)					
Office if the President (EXC)					
Executive Directors General (EDS)					
Financial Management Unit (SAREM)					
Infrastructure & Energy Srvs Dpt (ECSIE)					
Office of the Vice President (ECRVP)					
WBG Finance and Accounting (WFAVP)					
Publishing and Knowledge (ECRPK)					
Social Protection Sector (LCSHS)					
ATF					

Table III.3 : Significant Correlation Weighted & Metadat, Period 1997 - 2000.					
	Good Governance	Economic Instr.	Socioeconomic	Relfexive Gov.	Pol. Stab. & Violence
Annual Report					
Board Report					
CAS					
Executive Directors Statement					
Information Notice					
Journal Article					
Working Papers					
Agriculture, Fishing & Forestry					
Economic Policy					
Education					
Financial Sector					
Public. Adm					
Social Protection					
Social Development					
Transportation					
Conflict and Development					
Financial Sector					
Governance					
Health, Nutrition & Population					
Law & Development					
Poverty Reduction					
Private Sector Development					
Public Sector Development					
Social Development					
Social Protection					
Africa					
East Asia & Pacific					
Eruope & Central Asia					
South Asia					
World					
AFT Macroeconomics 4					
AFT PREM Front Office					
Central Asia Country Unit					
Conflict Prevention & Reconstruction Team					
Development Research Group DECRG					
Latin America Country Unit					
Office of the Vice President					
Policy & Operations					
Poverty Division PRMPO					
PREM					
Public Sector Governance					
Public Sector Reform & Capacity Building					
SDVPC					
Social Development Department (SDV)					