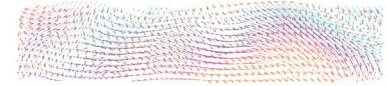


GOVERNING THE SCHOOL BY TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS: THE OECD PISA POLICY ADVISOR NETWORK IN THE GLOBAL FIELD OF POWER

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Motivation

The OECD is one of the key players in global education policy advice and part of a edu-business network. This network comprises of companies, philanthropies, consulting agencies and think tanks profiting from educational governance reforms and large-scale testing. Governments, in turn, rely on expertise provided by this transnational network to apply educational reforms (Addey, 2017; Niemann and Martens, 2018; Wilkins et al., 2019). We investigate the embeddedness of the OECD and layer dependencies with a multilayer network and map the OECD policy advisor network that enables it to influence national educational reforms.

Theoretical Framework

The OECD and its collaborators possess different forms of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1985, 1998). These forms comprise expertise in consulting, scientific, political and bureaucratic capital. However, since the OECD and its collaborators are situated within different fields, the forms of symbolic capital are directed to other fields in order to establish collaborations and to exert influence. Additionally, these actors possess huge volumes of economic capital, social capital (collaborations between the OECD, Pearson, McKinsey etc.) and cultural capital (knowledge on educational governance and educational research) (Bourdieu, 1973). These volumes enable the OECD to span the boundaries of different fields (Aldrich and Herker, 1977; Williams, 2013). We assume that transnational boundary spanners such as the OECD have the ability to coordinate different types of symbolic capital. Coordinating different types of expertise provides the OECD with the leverage to impact the agency of governments to apply educational reforms (Lingard, 2013; Schmidt-Wellenburg, 2017).

Methods & Data

We constructed a two-layer network of the OECD and its collaboration on the organizational and the individual level. We collected data on official collaboration using an iterative web search beginning at the OECD website and proceeding to the collaborators' websites. We used official documents and board memberships of the OECD and neighboring organizations to gather data on individual links spanning the organizational boundary of the OECD and different types of expertise linked on individual level. Furthermore, we included data on academic collaboration stemming from the expert papers provided by the OECD. By doing so, we capture the availability of academic capital necessary for providing expertise for educational reforms. While the first type of linkage is used to reconstruct official collaborations among organizations in the global policy advisor network (layer 1), the latter two are used to investigate individual collaborations (layer 2). We used multilayer exponential random graph models to calculate the ability of the OECD to span the borders of different fields and to coordinate different types of expertise.

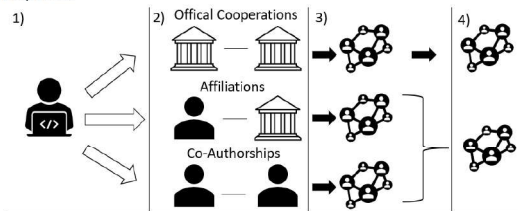


Fig. 1: Sampling process for the creation of the multilayer network structure. 1) Collection of websites, reports and biographies; 2) Building of Networks: Bipartite Mapping; 4) Building of Network Layers

Results

Layer 1						
Field	N	Minimum	Median	Mean	Maximum	Skew
Academic	552	0	12.34	0	222	3.83
Educational	14	0	9.36	0	72	1.97
Bureaucratic	313	0	4.44	0	72	3.30
Consulting	51	0	17.14	0	160	2.59
Philanthropy	205	0	8.59	0	76	2.25
Cultural	29	0	19.10	0	108	1.32
Military	9	0	2.67	0	24	2.07
OECD	8	0	10.50	0	84	1.86
Economic	338	0	22.99	0	458	5.62
Political	135	0	1.56	0	60	5.92
Professional	142	0	8.15	0	76	2.11

Layer 2						
Field	N	Minimum	Median	Mean	Maximum	Skew
Academic	552	0	1.29	0	128	13.02
Educational	14	0	1.5	1	7	1.41
Bureaucratic	313	0	1.85	1	169	15.43
Consulting	51	0	5.92	0	156	5.28
Philanthropy	205	0	1.07	0	55	12.46
Cultural	29	0	0.59	0	3	1.38
Military	9	0	0.78	1	1	-1.12
OECD	8	0	1.75	0	14	1.86
Economic	338	0	1.46	0	119	13.51
Political	135	0	1.22	0	91	10.72
Professional	142	0	1.27	0.5	41	8.63

Fig. 2: Degree Distribution

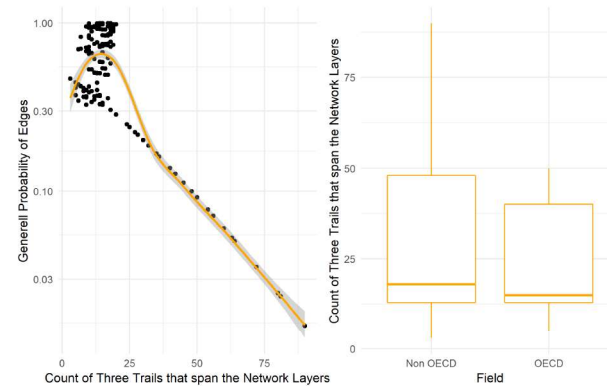


Fig. 3: The probability between fields in the supranetwork according to number of three trail crosslayer-connections. Estimates are based on a multiplex ergm with the parameters: Edges Layer 1, Edges Layer 2, Nodecount Layer 1, Nodecount Layer 2, Thretrail Crosslayer. The Average Marginal Effect of the number of crosslayer-connections is -0.0069605 with $\Delta SE = 0.00111620$ and is moderated by the Nodecount parameters with a proportion of 16.3%. As displayed in the plot with less smoothing, higher levels of crosslayer connection support node connectivity until a certain point with following exponential shrinkage. Such structure indicate a negative effect of high dependency (> 25 trails) on outlier connections in the regard to network positioning. In comparison to other fields actors of the OECD show a high frequency of having the "right" amount of crosslayer connections when looking at the connections probability for all possible dyads.

Results

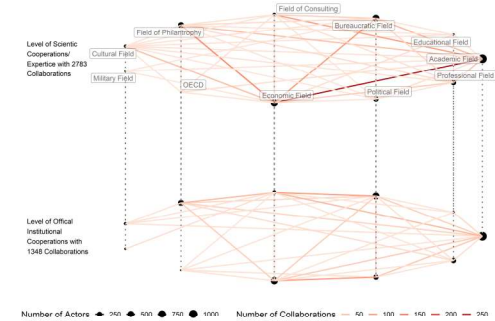


Fig. 4: Multilayer supragraph representation of collaboration structures in the OECD PISA policy advisor network

Discussion

On field level, we observe differences in the connectiveness of the academic, bureaucratic and economic field (fig. 4). This is especially true for official collaborations on layer 1. Connections between academia, economic actors, bureaucracy and consulting are especially numerous. However, considering we included the OECD with eight organizational units, our findings suggest the OECD to be a platform of exchange in expertise among different fields (fig. 2). Additionally, the results of the analysis with multilayer exponential random graph models display the distribution of labor between the different layers of the network and fields in a way that crosslayer connections are positively connoted until a certain level of dependency. Here actors of the OECD seem to hit the right ratio to preserve dominance.

Conclusion

Our results hint at a division of labor with the OECD as hub that is able to translate between different sorts of expertise. Furthermore, we see that the OECD depends on collaboration on both individual and organizational level to gather the expertise necessary to influence educational reforms.

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Governing the School by Transnational Networks: The OECD PISA Policy Advisor Network in the Global Field of Power

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The OECD is one of the key players in global education policy advice, informing education governance reforms around the globe with the PISA test. At the same time, it is part of the edu-business network comprised of companies, philanthropies, consulting agencies and think tanks profiting from educational governance reforms and large-scale testing. In order to exert influence on national educational reforms, different types of complementary expertise and collaborations between different types of actors must be coordinated. In our poster presentation, we analyze this form of collaboration between different actors emerged around the OECD's PISA-tests. For this purpose, we make use of a combination of Habitus-Field Theory and Social Network Theory. Analytical, we utilize three types of field-crossing social capital: Direct accessibility of (scientific and other) expertise e.g. in form of policy papers, indirect access to expertise and legitimation by personal interlocks, and official collaboration among actors on organizational level. Empirically, we apply our concepts to a two-level network analysis for a network with 2727 actors to investigate the embeddedness of the OECD in different social fields and the global field of power. The first layer is based on official collaborations among organizational actors situated in different sectors of the field of power. The second layer comprises of individual collaborations such as scientific cooperation, board interlocks and multiple affiliations. For the analysis, it was examined for the individual layers to what extent structural differences between the individual fields can be found. In addition, Multilayer ERGMs were used to examine the influence of field-crossing social capital on the composition of the overall network. Our findings indicate that the OECD draws on experts and actors located in different fields to exert influence on national educational reforms. Finally, the global network of policy advisors is able to coordinate the different forms of expertise by installing a system of patronage, consisting of a small number of key players and large numbers of organizations and individuals that are needed to set education reforms in motion.