

‘Educational Hegemony’ in the Global Education Policy Market: An Analysis of the Outbound Strategy Adopted by Four National Education Research Institutes*

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1. Introduction

In an open letter to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in May 2014, about 100 prominent educational researchers called for halting the next round of the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), a survey to evaluate achievement levels of OECD students.⁽¹⁾ The researchers expressed concerns that PISA would result in “short-term fixes” to educational policies that could have a negative impact on education worldwide. In response, a PISA representative countered that there is nothing to suggest this and that, on the contrary, international comparisons would open up “a wider range of policy options.”⁽²⁾ The conflict between the concerns raised by academics and educators, on the one hand, and the OECD, on the other, raises questions as to who should be held responsible for impacts associated with the secondary use of research findings.

There has been an upsurge in the market for transnational consulting in the field of education, with educational policies becoming a commodity trade (Spring, 2010). The analysis of standardized assessments has facilitated the comparison and analysis of cost-effectiveness in strategies aimed at improving educational outcomes (Levin et al., 2000), ushering in

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an era in which it is possible to “buy” higher scores.⁽³⁾ Management decisions involving issues such as the allocation of teaching staff, degree of school autonomy, and class and learning methods are mobilized to improve assessment scores and rain down piecemeal on schools in the guise of evidence-based policy (Ball, 2012). Meyer and Benavot argue that, in a context where accountability reigns over capacity building (Fullan, 2011) and important policies are decided by intellectuals outside their area of expertise, PISA has become a global standard that has seeped into individual nations’ educational content (Sato, 2015), forming an “isomorphism” (Meyer & Benavot, 2013) within educational policies and systems.

The problem is insufficient bridging of methodological research into assessment design, implementation, and data analysis on the one hand, and research analyzing policy utilization on the other, as well as the lack of a research domain that considers assessment outcomes as currency. A similar issue is found in comparative research into educational systems; despite the remarkable changes that have taken place, research on the practical utilization of research results has only recently begun. Issues such as standardized assessments, education policy comparisons, and the problem of international influence have been debated separately until now, but within what has been identified as a shift to a “New Paradigm” (Auld & Morris, 2013), there is a need for analysis as to how these various elements function together as a whole.

2. Objectives and Implications of this Article

Given the reality in which education policy is traded across national borders, the goal of this article is to highlight the structural problems that accompany nations participating in the market as actors (see, Galtung, 1969).

Researchers critical of neoliberal reforms regard globalization as a

setback for the nation-state. For example, in analyzing the evolution of the feminist movement, Fraser (2013) argued that following the Cold War, a rise in multinational corporations and supranational and international organizations, along with an evolving global economy and growing recognition of global-scale issues such as global warming, international terrorism, and the plight of refugees, led to the nation-state losing its representative status. Applying this theory to education, Lingard noted that under globalization, the state relinquished many of its functions and capacities (such as policy research and human resource development) or outsourced them to the private sector.⁽⁴⁾ Lawn (2013) characterizes this a “systemless system,” which he said opens up opportunities for the education industry to gain entry into the education policy field.

However, this series of changes not only created a setback for the nation-state but could also be viewed as having conferred a new position on it by expanding its roles. Ball (2012) argues that private sector participation in the education field changed the modes of political processes and communities and established a new form of network governance, referring to these changes broadly as a “global education policy.” This paper claims that in advanced nations, government-affiliated educational research institutions participate as enthusiastic actors in the “global education policy market” in which the global education policy referenced in Ball (2012) and Rizvi & Lingard (2010) is circulated through means such as teacher training contracts and consulting projects. Additionally, this paper seeks to draw attention to the problem of “hegemony,” a term that appears in Gramsci (1975/2013), born of the asymmetrical relationship between developed and developing countries engaged in trading educational outcomes for economic resources.

Behind this phenomenon lies the privatization of public institutions undertaken by nations as part of a trend toward easing regulations in pursuit of smaller governments. Public education programs, formerly provided by

national governments, have been transferred, in part, to the private sector, beyond the reach of voter accountability. The private sector, having received such outsourcing of public services (e.g., Burch, 2009), has attempted to transform what was once in the public domain into profitable markets (Au & Ferrare, 2015). Harvey characterizes neoliberalist capital movement “accumulation by dispossession” (Harvey, 2004, p. 74), which is defined as a process by which assets stolen from the public are functionally accumulated by the wealthy elite.

This article presents detailed case studies of educational research institutions in four countries to examine the activities of nations as actors in the international market. The Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER), Centraal Instituut voor Toetsontwikkeling (Cito) in the Netherlands, and Deutsche Institut für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung (DIPF) in Germany are all central to PISA’s administration and are leaders in opening international markets using large-scale international assessments. The article also focuses on Singapore’s National Institute of Education (NIE), which, against the backdrop of its strong PISA performance, has developed education consulting projects in conjunction with the central government. In a fact-finding survey conducted between 2012 and 2015, when staff at various research institutes were asked to identify their rivals, these institutions were the most frequently mentioned and could therefore be considered the main market players.

3. Behavior of Educational Research Institutes in the Global Education Policy Market

This section provides an outline of the positions held by the aforementioned government-affiliated educational research institutions as PISA representatives for their respective countries and their relationship with the governments of their respective countries. It also provides an

overview of their organizations, the timing of their entry into the international marketplace, the countries and regions they target, and their market development strategies.

3-1. Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER)

ACER plays a central role in PISA’s administration as a representative institution in the PISA international consortium, in addition to being an educational research institute that represents Australia in matters such as conducting domestic surveys. Established in 1930 as a non-profit organization, ACER does not receive direct financial support from the government. Its income comes from research, projects, and service contracts, including projects commissioned by the government. Additionally, the ACER director until 1998 was Barry McGaw, who served as the Director for Education at the OECD from 1998–2005, after which he was appointed chairman of the board of directors for the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA).⁽⁵⁾ ACARA is a government agency under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education and Department of Employment and Workplace Relations.⁽⁶⁾ Considering that ACER was entrusted by ACARA to administer the National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN), one could argue that it assumes substantive governmental functions. In addition to domestic offices in Melbourne, Adelaide, Brisbane, Perth, and Sydney, ACER maintains overseas offices in Dubai, Jakarta, London, and New Delhi, which has approximately 380 employees. The 2012 annual report states that ACER conducted consulting, seminars, and research surveys, mainly related to assessments, in countries such as Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Bangladesh, Zimbabwe, Spain, Colombia, New Zealand, and South Africa (ACER, 2014). McGuckian (2014) states that ACER also participated in the development of national assessment reviews and monitoring systems in Chile, Portugal, Pakistan, Mexico, Ethiopia, India, and Armenia.

Additionally, it provides support to the governments of the Solomon Islands, Samoa, and Papua New Guinea in the form of Australian government-funded international programs, while supporting Vietnam through the ACER Foundation. While the scale of each of these projects is unclear, there are some that would appear to involve considerable amount of money, such as can be ascertained from the announcement in 2004 of a “multi-million dollar” contract for a pilot project with the UAE.⁽⁷⁾ ACER expanded the scope of its work to partner with educational institutions when it concluded a strategic partnership in September 2014, also in the UAE, with the purpose of moving toward cooperation with universities in the areas of assessment, evaluation, and professional development.

3-2. The Netherlands’ Centraal Instituut voor Toetsontwikkeling (Cito)

Cito began as a private research institute inspired by the Educational Testing Service (ETS) in the United States. It was reorganized as a public central research institute after receiving funding in 1968 from the Dutch government. Cito was privatized in 1999 and currently employs approximately 700 staff members. As a member of the PISA international consortium, it plays a key role, primarily revolving around item development. Since 1976, Cito has implemented the national educational standardized test (Cito Test), which is administered at the conclusion of primary school. Since 2014, the adoption of student monitoring systems and the implementation of a primary school leavers attainment test have been required by law.⁽⁸⁾ Although schools are free to elect a provider, 97% of schools use Cito services for student monitoring, and 85% for attainment test implementation (Scheerens et al., 2012; Okumura, 2013; Nusche et al., 2014), meaning that Cito fulfills a supplementary role to that of the government. Cito began undertaking international projects along with its privatization, breaking into the international marketplace, launching offices in Germany, the United States, and Turkey in 2004.⁽⁹⁾ Cito accepts orders

for consulting projects in the five areas of assessments, curriculum development, educational innovation, research, and training, and has since worked in countries including Azerbaijan, the Czech Republic, Georgia, Greece, Hungary, Macedonia, Malaysia, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Slovenia, South Africa, and Tanzania. Cito partners primarily with government agencies but does not limit itself to cabinet-level ministries and agencies.⁽¹⁰⁾ A distinctive feature of Cito is that much of its funding comes from third-party sources, such as World Bank, with the majority presumably originating from projects associated with Education for All (EFA). Cito also provided services to the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation between 2003 and 2005. These projects involved consulting on efficient and appropriate approaches for operating and maintaining item banks, including assistance with test problem editing and test data analysis, aimed at improving the quality of national tests.⁽¹¹⁾

3-3. Deutsche Institut für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung (DIPF)

In Germany, DIPF has developed international consulting projects that use knowhow related to assessments.⁽¹²⁾ DIPF excels in developing computer-based assessment systems and participates in PISA’s international consortium. DIPF was founded in 1950–1951, with close links to the United States occupation forces in Germany, the Hessen state government, and the city of Frankfurt. Federal and state governments joined its administration beginning in 1977, and in 1990, it became a member of the Leibniz Association, continuing to play a vital role as the public face of educational research in Germany. Owing to this historical background, one-third of DIPF’s operational budget comes from the central government and one-third from the state, with the remainder provided by international and domestic research funding. DIPF itself operates as a non-profit organization; however, in 2012, it launched the for-profit spin-off corporation TBA21.⁽¹³⁾

TBA21 was established by a group that participated in the

development of a questionnaire survey at the PISA 2009 International Consortium. During this period, several staff members who were involved with the response to the German “PISA shock” began to play an intense role at the international level as well. Additionally, a priority research program related to the Program for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC), which has been conducted for seven years by the National Science Foundation, announced plans to earmark strategic funds for entering the international marketplace. However, since DIPF has not been legally constituted as a corporation, it is imperative to form a private company specializing in providing assessments. At this point, DIPF, in consultation with the Leibniz Association, retained 25% of its stock and established TBA21, using a model of loaning out staff.⁽¹⁴⁾

TBA21 maintains branches and subsidiaries in Sweden, Hungary (Budapest and Szeged locations), New Zealand, and Los Angeles and provides knowhow related to the use of technology in the development and administration of assessments.

3-4. Singapore’s National Institute of Education (NIE)

NIE is a Singapore government-run institute established at Nanyang Technological University as an independent body to oversee teacher education and training. The chairman and vice chairman of the NIE Council (governing body) comprise secretaries and those of similar status at the Ministry of Education. To monetize its research achievements, NIE established the for-profit corporation NIE International in 2009. The parties responsible for the launch of NIE International were the NIE chief and General Manager. A consulting project started by them in 2003 under an organization called the External Programme Office (EPO) was NIE International’s predecessor. Multiple competitors already existed when the NIE undertook the EPO project, including ACER, but the founders acknowledged that NIE was the only party operating in the education export

business within Singapore.

Currently, NIE International leverages Singapore’s ethnic and religious diversity, and has ties with Middle Eastern countries to provide consulting aimed at educational reforms in Bahrain, the UAE, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, Oman, and ASEAN countries, generating annual sales of approximately SGD 9.2 million.

NIE International has always claimed to have a national interest when conducting consulting work. Accordingly, when travelling abroad, its staff members are accompanied by representatives from Singaporean corporations. In the case of a request for vocational training, for example, in an area that the NIE does not handle, Singapore’s polytechnic may be invited to join. NIE International terms this “the internationalization of Singaporean education.” During an interview, Dr. Goh Chor Boon likened NIE International to “a salesman,” stating that “NIE International is actually a company that was formed to export Singapore’s education expertise to the world.”⁽¹⁵⁾

NIE International does not deploy academic staff but rather dispatches NIE researchers to individual projects as consultants. Inquiries come from around the world regarding services such as teacher education and school leadership development, and training is being expanded into the fields of assessment, educational psychology, and school culture research. Many countries that contact NIE International are seeking insights into how Singapore achieved success in such a short period. NIE International does not have one-size-fits-all products, but customizes programs to meet the needs of individual projects.

Regarding specifics as to how it conducts its consulting business, if an order to work on a curriculum development project is received from the Middle East, NIE International staff first visit the client country and conduct a diagnostic study of its education system. Next, they analyze the strengths and weaknesses of the system and create a report. Subsequently, NIE

International creates a proposal to provide the required assistance in the form of a three-week teacher training course and consults with the client to design the details of its curriculum development. Participants who complete the training receive a certificate of completion issued by NIE.

4. Analysis and Discussion

Based on the case studies mentioned above, this section identifies habitat isolation in geographical areas and competition among the countries to which the four organizations export their services, and provides an analysis of structural problems in the multilateral relations among export and import countries.

4-1. The Rise of the Global Education Policy Market

A theme common to the four government-affiliated educational research institutions is that they serve as representatives of their countries and have government resources invested in them. Additionally, each provides consulting and other services related to education policies, assessments, and teacher training for fees to governments in the Middle East, Asia, Eastern Europe, and Africa. In this sense, these institutions can be considered actors in the global education policy market in the same manner as private corporations.

However, the extent to which this occurs varies. For example, in terms of the extent of their for-profit activities, institutions such as DIPF engage mainly in non-profit activities and maintain low key for-profit projects. Some like Cito focus on activities that are strongly akin to EFA-affiliated education assistance, while others such as NIE International clearly promote educational export and monetization.

4-2. Habitat Isolation and Competition in Client Regions

Figure 1 illustrates the target areas for ACER, Cito, DIPF, and NIE International’s consulting projects. From this map, it can be understood that there is a rough differentiation in terms of the region that an organization serves. For example, Cito’s business is centered around Eastern Europe and Russia, while NIE International has made advances in Southeast Asia and the Middle East. One of the reasons for this segregation is that ACER and Cito provide services using development assistance funds from third parties such as international organizations, and funds from organizations such as EFA are mainly directed at bilateral ties.

Institutions other than the four discussed here perform similar types of policy consulting in this market, including private for-profit corporations such as Pearson Co., private non-profit organizations and consulting companies such as ETS, and higher education institutions such as the University of London’s Institute of Education (IOE). IOE supports the establishment of schools in Yemen and provides consultations in Bulgaria.⁽¹⁶⁾ Geographically, a trend can be observed among actors dividing clients among themselves, as in the case of Cito moving into the area surrounding IOE client Bulgaria.

However, in areas such as the Middle East, India, and the ASEAN region, competition among two or more actors can be observed. Considering the case of ACER’s project in the UAE, it is evident that some Middle Eastern countries are investing an enormous amount of money to purchase consulting services from abroad; in such cases, clients may contract with several research institutions to meet project demand.

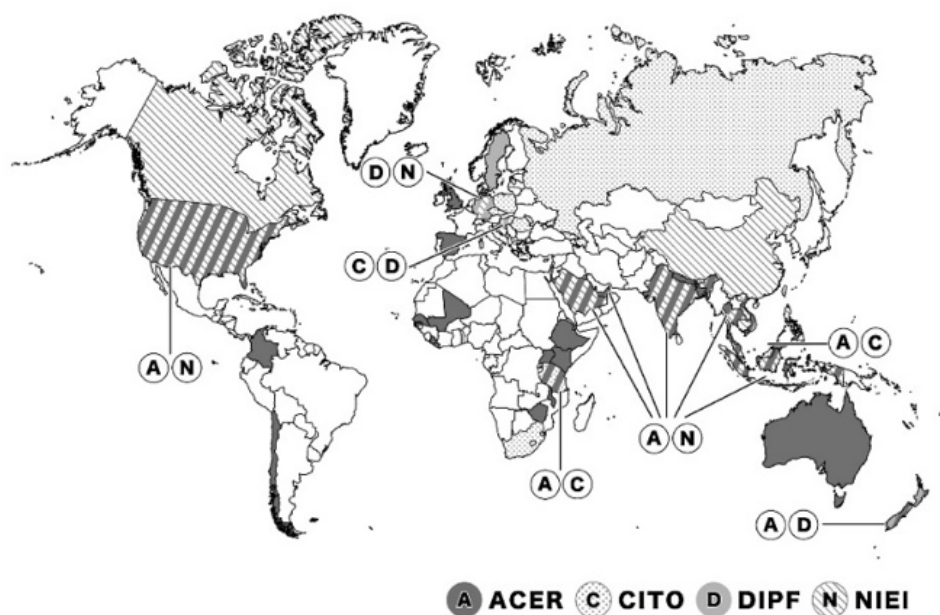


Figure 1. Client regions for the transnational educational consulting business

4-3. The Emergence of Hegemony through the Global Education Policy Market

Figure 2 plots the positions of exporting and importing countries in the global education policy market with per-capita GDP from 2012 on the vertical axis as an economic indicator and PISA 2012 mathematics scores on the horizontal axis as an indicator of academic ability. This graph shows the four countries in the upper right quadrant—Australia, the Netherlands, Germany, and Singapore—to be in an advantageous position both economically and academically. Meanwhile, apart from outlier Qatar, the majority of importing countries lie in the lower left quadrant of the graph, indicating that they are at a disadvantage both economically and academically.

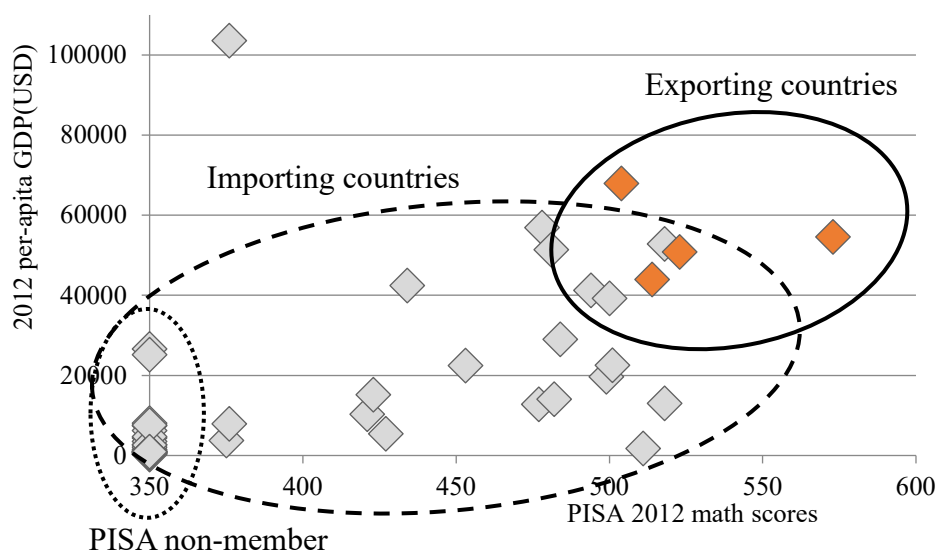


Figure 2. Economic and academic circumstances in countries that participate in the global education policy market.

Created by the Author from OECD (2014) and International Monetary Fund (2015) data

Comparing policy borrowing and transplant, on the one hand, with the buying and selling of education policy, on the other, in the former case, the recipient country has agency and pursues policy borrowing or transplant owing to circumstances or reasons of its own (Takekuma, 2016). Furthermore, when borrowing or transplant is conducted free of cost or with funds provided by a third party, the quality of education in the recipient country improves, upholding the effectiveness of such transactions as a means of correcting international disparities. Moreover, if one adopts the interpretation that the OECD's promotion and expansion of PISA's influence led to the emergence of "global governance as a consequence" (Ninomiya et al., 2009), the motivation among various actors would be to "reconfigure the norm and build a new system by which to tackle global problems that cannot be solved by state actors alone in a collaborative way, by joining together with non-state actors in the global market and global civil society"

(Mori, 2002, pp. 4–5). Regarding PISA’s significance, the OECD conceives of developing a common framework that places the exporting and receiving side in parallel, as is clear from the statement “with the globalization of education, the importance of basing comparisons of education in the various countries of the world on a common framework has gained recognition” (National Institute for Educational Policy Research (Japan) [NIER], 2013, p. 52).

Meanwhile, the behavior of educational institutions within the global education policy market can be characterized by a proactive attitude on the seller’s side. The relationship between the export and import sides is structured such that the academically-superior country provides education policy knowhow in return, which requires compensation from the poorer country so that there is an exchange of academic results for economic resources. Such an exchange is in line with market mechanisms and carries the expectation that each actor will make a rational choice based on supply and demand to reach a consensus. However, since the majority of importing countries are not OECD member-nations and do not participate in the PISA Governing Board, they are unable to influence the discussion of things such as assessment frameworks, selection and definition of competencies, or educational achievement rankings. Consequently, the asset being traded (educational achievement) is priced unilaterally by the exporting side, and the rules governing supply and demand adjustments do not operate fairly. Therefore, there is the risk that a country that is already in an advantageous position will maintain its position.

This is one form of what Gramsci (1975/2013) pointed to as the “hegemony” that is born of the asymmetrical relationship “between the intellectual and the non-intellectual classes, the rulers and the ruled, the elite and their imitators, the leaders and the followers, the avant-garde and the bourgeois” (p. 76), so that “every relationship is inevitably an educational relationship that is realized not only within a nation, among the various

powers that constitute its people, but also in the international sphere, between national and continental civilizations” (ibid., p. 76). Moreover, when we see this in light of Arrighi’s comments that “when a dominating nation that stands in a position of superiority *guides its entire national system* in a direction that is not only for its own profit, but so that dominated nations can also profit, true hegemony is born,” and that “the power of hegemonic nations is not only the coercion that comes from domination, but the commingling of coercion and *consent*; in other words it relies on the voluntary acceptance of control by the dominated country itself” (Arrighi trans. Akita, 2012, p. 317; emphasis in original), it is possible to arrive at the analysis that “true hegemony” exists through a structure of voluntary control by which advanced nations coerces developing nations into adopting assessment frameworks that have been created by themselves, while using the principles of supply and demand as a foundation by which to gain the developing nation’s consent.

PISA and other large-scale international assessments are vital indicators of value in the global education policy market. The number of low- and middle-income nations participating in large-scale international assessments has been increasing since the 1970s, and it has been noted that this growth has been driven by technical and financial support from advanced nations (Lockheed, 2013). For instance, the OECD has provided installation support through the PISA for Development projects in Ecuador, Guatemala, Senegal, Zambia, Colombia, and Paraguay with the purpose of supporting evidence-based policymaking.⁽¹⁷⁾ ACER, Cito, and DIPF’s international consulting services, by providing assessment development and administrative expertise, can also promote the participation of developing nations in large-scale international assessments. Furthermore, the rise in international assessments encourages the spread of national tests in developing countries, and it has been argued that new participating countries tend to increasingly depend on the policies of international organizations

(Kamens & Benavot, 2011). It can also be said that the dissemination of the concept of “evidence-based policymaking” seen in PISA’s “common framework” and PISA for Development serves as proof of the superiority of countries like the Netherlands, Australia, and Singapore, thereby becoming a tool by which to open new markets.

5. Conclusion

This article examines case studies of government-affiliated educational research institutions in four countries to elucidate the realities of the global education policy market. Additionally, the article identified large-scale international assessments, such as PISA, as factoring heavily in the creation of a market for policy consulting offered by advanced nations aimed at developing countries. Furthermore, it has been argued that this phenomenon gives rise to educational hegemony.

The buying and selling of education policies can be observed in cases other than the educational research institutes considered in this article. For example, returning to around 2010, Finland’s Ministry of Education and Culture formulated an export strategy for Finnish-style education, establishing Finnish-style schools in Qatar and Abu Dhabi, and dispatching Finnish teachers. Japan, too, has launched efforts to make education export a reality, with the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology setting up an office in Cairo and announcing the launch of activities aimed at the export of “Japanese-style education.”⁽¹⁸⁾ In each of the four countries presented as case studies in this article, as well as in the case of Finland, foreign strategy is built upon the status of affiliated organizations and independent corporations that officially do not have direct government ties. However, in terms of funding sources, organizational origins, and their positions as public institutions that represent their countries, these organizations function in a way that complements the role

of their governments. The public–private relationship has garnered attention under the new governance system; going forward, the role of the government as an actor should also be questioned. As part of this inquiry, governments of exporting nations face governance issues, such as sorting out the role of education as a public service versus as a revenue source, or even as a hegemonic apparatus, and securing fairness and justice in the market.

This article focuses only on the early stages of research on the global education policy market. As a rapidly-globalizing world has led to changes in the governance system, numerous research topics remain, including ethical problems regarding nations participating in the global education policy market, the accompanying transformation in government, bilateral relationship between exporting and importing nations, and unraveling the motivations and outcomes of the importing country. Building on the research presented herein, further advances will be made on this topic.

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(1) The Guardian, “OECD and Pisa tests are damaging education worldwide-academics,” May 6, 2014.

(2) The Guardian, “PISA programme not about short-term fixes,” May 8, 2014.

(3) For example, the OECD has elucidated the correlation between teacher salaries, class size, and frequency of computer usage with grades. Some countries calculate the total amount needed for teacher salaries to reduce class size and the cost of purchasing computers for each student based on this correlation. By dividing the correlation coefficient of PISA scores by cost, it is possible to calculate the cost effectiveness of this investment (cost per point). PISA only reflects correlation, and investment will not necessarily produce higher scores. Furthermore, as Dr. Schleicher argues, certain combinations may not result in a simple correlation (Webinar with Andreas Schleicher, “PISA2012, What 15-years-olds know and what they

can do with what they know,” December 4, 2013). However, the variables differ by country, and grade-boosting strategies are bought and sold based on their ability to produce the optimal solution for each environment. GEMS Education Solutions has compared the cost effectiveness of various countries’ education policies and turned it into a commodity through its consulting business (GEMS Education Solutions, “The Efficiency Index, 2014”). Research into boosting performance and reducing disparities or comparing the effectiveness of policy instruments for examining teacher certification systems (cf. Yeh, S. S. (2011) *The Cost-Effectiveness of 22 Approaches for Raising Student Achievement*, Information Age Publishing, Inc.), has also come to have commercial value.

- (4) Bob Lingard, “Social Justice and Schooling in the Post-Westphalian Era,” Keynote at Nordic Educational Research Association (NERA)’s Annual Congress 2016, Helsinki University, March 9, 2016. (abstract: <http://blogs.helsinki.fi/nera-2016/keynote-bob-lingard/>)
- (5) http://www.acara.edu.au/the_acara_board/board_membership.html
Retrieved March 31, 2016
- (6) Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority Act 2008.
- (7) <http://www.acer.edu.au/media/article/acer-signs-multi-million-dollar-uae-test-development-contract> Retrieved March 31, 2016.
- (8) https://www.eerstekamer.nl/behandeling/20140116/publicatie_wet/document3/f=/vjggejjiv0zs.pdf Retrieved March 31, 2016.
- (9) Interview with Cito staff member (international project consultant) November 2, 2012.
- (10) http://www.cito.com/consultancy_and_training/consultancy Retrieved March 31, 2016.
- (11) http://www.cito.com/consultancy_and_training/consultancy/russia_assessment Retrieved March 31, 2016.
- (12) <http://www.dipf.de/> Retrieved March 31, 2016.

- (13) <http://www.tba21.net/history> Retrieved March 31, 2016.
- (14) Interview with DIPF staff member (International Cooperation in Education liaison office head), June 29, 2015.
- (15) Interview with NIE International General Manager/Associate Dean, July 8, 2014.
- (16) <http://www.ioe.ac.uk/consultancy.html> Retrieved March 31, 2016.
- (17) <https://www.oecd.org/pisa/aboutpisa/pisafordevelopment.htm> Retrieved March 31, 2016.
- (18) “Nihon-shiki kyouiku” yushutsu shimasu bunkashou, 16 nendo ni s hinsoshiki: bukatsu ya seisou nado, shinkyokoku niramu (Ministry of Education’s new organization for exporting “Japanese-style education”: emerging countries resent club activities and cleaning time). Nikkei online. September 16, 2015. <http://www.nikkei.com/article/DGX LZO91781390W5A910C1CR8000>