

Project introduction:

Transnational Dynamics in Quality Assurance and Evaluation Politics of Basic Education in Brazil, China and Russia (BCR)

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Economics 28.11.2017



BCR

<http://tinyurl.com/BCRFIN>

In preparation...

- Kauko, Jaakko, Risto Rinne & Tuomas Takala (Eds). 2018. *Politics of Quality in Education: A Comparative Study on Brazil, China, and Russia*. Routledge.

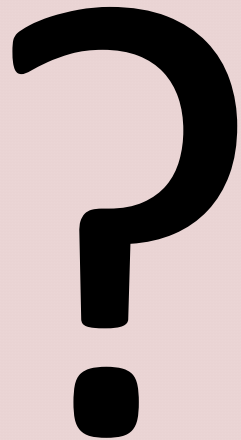
Transnational Dynamics in Quality Assurance and Evaluation Politics of Basic Education in Brazil, China and Russia (BCR)

	Brazil	China	Russia
Research teams	Assoc. Prof Jaakko Kauko Dr Vera G. Centeno Dr Helena Candido Iris Santos	Prof Risto Rinne Dr Johanna Kallo Zhou Xingguo Olli Suominen	Prof Tuomas Takala Dr Nelli Piattoeva Galina Gurova Anna Medvedeva
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Collaborating Professors	Prof Eneida Shiroma Federal University of Santa Catarina, Brazil	Ass. Prof Liu Min Beijing Normal University, China	Prof Viktor Bolotov Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia

Project consortium research objective

- To explore how the intertwinements of local, national and global levels construct the dynamics in quality assurance and evaluation (QAE) politics and practice in the case countries.

Quality



Quality assurance and evaluation (QAE)

- Student assessment and testing
- Programme and policy evaluation
- School personnel and institutional evaluation
- Accreditation, curriculum evaluation
- Self-evaluation
- Quality development and assurance
- Inspection
- Auditing
- (see Kellaghan et al 2003)

Research data (interview N=200; interviewee N=278)

Data	BR	CN*	RU
International level interviews (interviewees)	7	6	2
National level interviews (interviewees)	26	12	18
Subnational level interviews (interviewees)	18	3	8
Local level interviews (interviewees)	13	2	3
School level interviews (interviewees)	28	7	47
Types of observations conducted	School, subnational & local government	School, public events	School, public events
Documentary data	↙	↙	↙
Review	↙	↙	↙

Comparative Analytics of Dynamics in Education Politics (CADEP)

1. Political situation: What is opportune in a specific socio-historical and transnational situation?

2. Political possibilities: What are the political possibilities in the prevailing discourses?

3. Politicking: How the political space is used?

Drawing on topology of politics (Palonen 2003; 2006) and analysis of the policy process (Kingdon, 2003; Baumgartner & Jones, 2009; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993) following Kauko, Corvalán, Simola & Carrasco (2015), and Simola, Kauko, Varjo, Kalalahti and Sahlström (2017)

Main results of the comparative project

Quality assurance and evaluation:

- has become the objective for education instead of quality,
- is a means to control the provision of education and to further other goals than education,
- both destabilises and reorganises actor roles.

Selection of recent publications

- Centeno, V.G., Kauko, J. & Candido, H. (2017). Quality Assurance and Evaluation through Brazilian lenses: an exploration into the validity of umbrella concepts. *Comparative Education*.
- Gurova, G., & Piattoeva, N. (forthcoming) A post-Soviet audit culture: changing practices and subjectivities of school teachers in a Russian region. In Carvalho L.-M., Levasseur L., Liu M., Normand R., Oliveira A. (eds) *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession. Global and Comparative Perspectives*,/ Dordrecht, Springer.
- Kauko, J., Centeno, V.G., Candido, H., Shiroma, E. & Klutas A. (2016). The emergence of quality assessment in Brazilian basic education. *European Educational Research Journal*, 15(5), 558-579.
- Minina, E., Piattoeva, N., Centeno, V.G., Zhou. X. & Candido, H. H. D. (forthcoming) Transnational policy borrowing and national interpretations of educational quality in Russia, China, and Brazil. In Iveta Silova & Maia Chankseliani (eds.) *Comparing Post-Socialist Transformations: Education in Eastern Europe and Former Soviet Union*. Oxford Studies in Comparative Education. Oxford, U.K.: Symposium Books.
- Piattoeva, N. & Gurova, G. (in press). Domesticating international assessments in Russia: historical grievances, national values, scientific rationality and education modernization. In Cristina Alarcon and Martin Lawn (eds.) "Student Assessment Cultures in historical perspective".
- Suominen, O., Kallo, J., Rinne, R. & Fan, Y. (2017). Subtle convergences: Locating similarities between Chinese educational reforms and global quality assurance and evaluation trends. *Quality Assurance in Education*, 25 (2), 146-160.
- Takala, T., Kauko, J., Rinne, R. & Kallo, J. (forthcoming). One Size for All? - Policy Advice of the World Bank and the OECD on Quality Assurance and Evaluation of School Education in Russia, Brazil and China. In A. W. Wiseman and P. M. Davidson (Eds) *Cross-Nationally Comparative, Evidence-based Educational Policymaking and Reform*. Bingley: Emerald.

**Participation of
Brazil, China, and Russia in
International Large-Scale Assessments:
Reasons to Participate and
Changes Produced**

Vera G. Centeno (vera.centeno@uta.fi)

N. Piattoeva, G. Gurova, X. Zhou, and O. Suominen

Aims in this presentation

- Analyse the Brazilian, Chinese and Russian reasons for participating in LSAs
- Provide insights into the changes produced
- Illustrate with a snapshot of NLSAs data circulation in Brazil, China and Russia
- Contribute to ongoing discussions about the impact of LSAs on education policy and practices

Sources for this presentation

- National level interviews
- Documents
- Reviews of the literature

Focus: Key Stakeholders

- Politicians \ Policy-makers
- Scholars \ Experts

Participation in ILSAs: What do We Know?

Analysis of the literature:

- Reasons and purposes, uses and changes are merged
- But countries' initial participation is well documented:
 - Reasons are usually straightforwardly stated by policy-makers and experts alike
 - Implicit-explicit rationales most frequently coincide
 - Similar reasons for early and newcomers, although they play out differently according to countries' socio-historical, educational and political background

Participation in ILSAs: What do We Want to Know?

Two different sets of questions:

Why do countries decide to participate in ILSAs?

- ∅ What are the reasons for countries' participation?
 - What was the domestic situation?
 - What purposes did it serve?

Why do countries (willingly) continue to participate in ILSAs?

- ∅ What are the reasons for countries' participation?
 - How do actors make sense of their country's participation in ILSAs?
 - What are the changes produced?

Why have B C R decided to participate in ILSAs?

– Assessment of the educational situation

B C R

– Capacity building in education evaluation

B C R

– Evidence-based policy

B C R

– Funding & Aid

Brazil and Russia (e.g. WB projects)

– Inputs for national educational reforms and quality indicators

B C R

– International integration

B C R

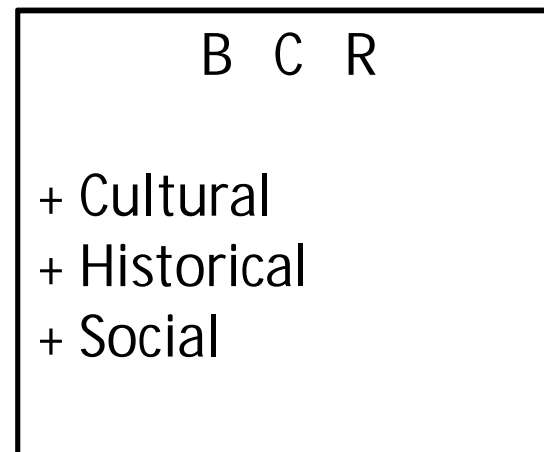
Same reasons despite time gap and country's profile
B C R reasons match those reported in the literature

Why do countries continue to willingly participate in ILSAs?

Actors make sense of their country's participation in ILSAs by evoking 7 types of arguments

In the literature:

- Economic
- Educational
- Political
- Technical



Economic Arguments

- Competitiveness (economic growth)

(Brazil) China (Russia)

~~— Funding & Aid~~

~~— Inputs for vocational/professional training~~

- Inputs for forecasting economic growth & individual well-being

Russia

Educational Arguments

ILSAs provide inspiration, guidelines & benchmarks:

- Curriculum improvement
- Learning improvement
- Monitoring the overall quality of the educational system
- Performance/results improvement
- Teaching/learning material & methods improvement
- ~~- Teachers training improvement~~

B C R

- Pedagogical Innovation

(Brazil) China (Russia)

Political Arguments

ILSAs serve the purposes of:

- Accountability & evidence for policy
- ~~- International relations purposes~~
- ~~- Legitimation (existing reforms)~~
- Leverage (new/other reforms)

B C R

- Regulatory tool
- Resources mobilization
- Stakeholders mobilization

China and Russia

(Brazil and) China

Brazil and China

- Belonging to international leadership: development & progress
Political symbolic value

B C R

Technical Arguments

- Domestic capacity building in education evaluation
- Individual or sector-related professional development

B C R

- Research development
- Networks' development

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China and Russia

Cultural Arguments

Express actors' perception that ILSAs reflect, or are in line with:

- National values
- National traditions

China and Russia

Historical Arguments

Actors refer them to make sense of, and support, countries' participation in ILSAs

- Breaking with previous political legacies
- Response to historical professional unfairness

(B) C R

- Tradition in participating and cherishing international comparisons

Russia

Social Arguments

These arguments are at the intersection of education, society, political and technical considerations

Countries' participation in ILSAs (e.g. PISA):

- Informs about school 'socialization function'

Russia

- Enables closer relation between school and pupils' daily life

Brazil

- Provide insights into issues of (in)equality

China

Variations in B C R argumentations

- Cultural and historical arguments play a role in China & Russia, but not particularly in Brazil
- Economic arguments play an important role in China, but only secondary in Russia, and even less in Brazil
- Technical arguments are important in B C R, but are more stressed in China and Russia
- Political arguments are similarly important in B C R, though variations according to countries' profile
- Social arguments are present but little detailed in B C R
- Educational arguments are the most emphasized in B C R , and have a particular centrality in China

B C R Participation in ILSAs

- Support for participation is driven by diverse motivations
- The versatility of ILSAs seems to explain the willingness to keep participating
- Constellations of arguments mirror:
 - Countries' own socio-historical and educational context
 - Duration of participation in ILSAs (early vs. recent)
 - NLSAs' stage of development
 - Degree and form of 'interaction' between ILSAs and NLSAs

Changes Produced in B C R

▸ Key change: implementation of robust NLSAs

SNAPSHOT: Chapter 6 – The politics of National Large Scale Assessments between data production, availability and use (Piattoeva, Centeno, Suominen, Rinne)

Focus:

Brazilian **SAEB** (Evaluation System of Basic Education)

Chinese **NAEB** (National Assessment of Education Quality)

Russian **USE** (Unified State Examination)

- Vital sources of information for national policymaking
- Produced and used as quality evaluation tools
- Aim at making data comparable across space and time

NLSAs: SAEB & NAEB & USE

Carry the same political goals and expectations:

- 1) Produce evidence for better policy and better understanding of the state of education in the country
- 2) Close policy implementation gap
- 3) Manage education quality

Production: Parallels in B C R

Concerns about the objectivity and reliability of data collection

- It is performed by actors external to the evaluation agencies

Brazil and Russia
- Actors have varying degrees of professional interest and commitment to the process

Brazil and Russia
- Actors who are then evaluated on the basis of these data

(China?)

Russia

Availability: Contrasts in B C R

Data remains limited

China and Russia

- To the relevant NAEQ staff and to the very high levels at the Ministry of Education

Ø National and county-single 'information' provided to the county government

- To the federal and local authorities, educational institutions and organizations involved in the USE

Ø Average scores publically available

Data is not restricted

Brazil

Uses: Similarities in B C R

Brazil

- No consequential political use, and the subnational governments have very little capacity to use it
- Links between data and classroom activities are major challenge

China

- Data interpretation and employment in practical solutions are problematic
- Policy makers choose the information that back up their political agenda

Russia

- Local administration criticized by a lack of intellectual investment and preference for quick fixes
- National level analytical support supplanted by increase in the volumes of data distributed

LSAs impact on educational policies and practices

Ø NLSAs data is not easily integrated into the practices of relevant actors

Ø Its circulation is full of frictions

Ø The classic image of evidence-based policy is challenged

Ø To put data to work, whether at the level of policy-making, or in the context of school and classrooms, is not as straightforward as envisaged in the political project

Relevant Publications

Centeno, V.G., Kauko, J. & Candido, H. (2017). Quality Assurance and Evaluation through Brazilian lenses: an exploration into the validity of umbrella concepts. *Comparative Education*.

Gurova, G., Piattoeva, N., & Takala, T. (2015). Quality of Education and Its Evaluation: An Analysis of the Russian Academic Discussion. *European Education*, 47 (4), 346–364.

Kauko, J., Centeno, V.G., Candido, H., Shiroma, E. & Klutas A. (2016). The emergence of quality assessment in Brazilian basic education. *European Educational Research Journal*, 15(5), 558-579.

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Suominen, O., Kallio, J., Rinne, R. & Fan, Y. (2017). Subtle convergences: Locating similarities between Chinese educational reforms and global quality assurance and evaluation trends. *Quality Assurance in Education*, 25 (2), 146-160.

Zhou, X. et al. (submitted). Educational Assessment, Evaluation, and Accountability: Trajectory of reforms to education supervision in contemporary China.

Book:

Politics of Quality in Education: a comparative study on Brazil, China and Russia (Eds. Kauko, Rinne, Takala). Routledge.

Chapter 3: "Historical Paths to Shared Interest in Quality Assurance and Evaluation" (Suominen, Centeno, Gurova, Kallio, Zhou)

Chapter 5: "Changing expertise and the state" (Rinne, Zhou, Kauko, Normand, Medvedeva, Santos)

Chapter 6: "The politics of National Large Scale Assessments between data production, availability and use". (Piatteva, Centeno, Suominen, Risto)



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**Reforms of Chinese education in
the context of global trends
in quality assurance and evaluation:
reflections on the past, present and future**

Johanna Kallo
Olli Suominen

Content of the presentation

The presentation

- I. analyses the relationship between global quality assurance and evaluation trends and Chinese educational reforms.
- II. discusses the future views of quality assurance and evaluation in Chinese education from perspectives of critical futures research.

The research for the both articles was conducted as a part of a larger research project titled "Transnational Dynamics of Quality Assurance and Evaluation Politics of Basic Education in Brazil China and Russia" (Academy of Finland, 2014-2017).

Relationship between global quality assurance and evaluation trends and Chinese educational reforms

Publication: Suominen, O. , J. Kallo, Y. Fan & R. Rinne. 2016. Subtle convergence? Locating similarities between Chinese educational reforms and global quality assurance and evaluation trends. *Quality Assurance in Education* 25(2), 146-160.

Method: Partially integrative literature review

Approach: Bennett's (1991) review on policy convergences, with special focus on policy content and instruments.

What was compared: overlaps and discrepancies between the trends in global quality assurance and evaluation and those evidenced in Chinese basic education

Baseline for comparison: Central and interconnected characteristics of quality assurance and evaluation (Simola, Rinne, Varjo and Kauko, 2013)

History of Chinese education system and Introduction of Quality Education in China

- The Chinese education system has been strongly influenced and shaped by Chinese cultural and intellectual traditions, especially Confucianism.
- School administration has been based on top-down governance and accountability measured via student examination scores.
- The education system was severely disrupted during the Cultural Revolution.
- Deng Xiaoping's modernization program which begun in the late 1970s aimed at rebuilding the education system as an instrument of national rejuvenation.
- After quantitative targets were achieved, the focus turned increasingly into qualitative targets.
- This resulted in the introduction of *Quality Education* and its increased prominence since 1990s.

Convergences and divergencies between global trends in QAE and reforms in chinese Basic Education - findings

- *Important notion: There are no one-to-one agreements in meaning of terms or expressions in the Chinese language and terms provided by Simola et al. (2013)*

MECHANISMS OF CONTROL THAT PROMOTE VISIBILITY

Simola et al. (2013): A salient feature of global QAE trends is the establishment of inspection and monitoring systems with pervasive quality assurance regulations, policies of sanctions and rewards based on assessment data.

In China:

- School inspections and monitoring systems were instituted and gradually expanded since the 1980s.
- Supervision is divided into administrative and educational inspection.
- The system for National Assessment of Education Quality (NAEQ) runs parallel with the dudao system and has been influenced by the OECD PISA.

Ranking and classification

Simola et al. 2013. Another salient feature of global QAE trends is reporting school and system performance through ranking and classification mechanisms.

In China:

- Basic education policies appears to be in fact geared less rather than more testing.
- Notwithstanding this, the emphasis on quality education has not obliterated the cultural tradition of relying on classification and ranking based on students' pass and advancement rates.
- The attitude towards large-scale international assessments like the PISA is welcomed in China's testing discourse.

Marketisation and choice

Simola et. Al (2013): A large sector of independent schools and a strive for individualisation and excellence is also a salient feature of global QAE trends. To enhance marketisation, higher levels of local accountability, parental choice and large assessment enterprises for monitoring have become a central part of the global QAE agenda

In China,

- Some trends of marketisation are identifiable, such as a variety people-run (minban) schools and increased parental choice.
- However, the true scale of the privatisation of basic education is hard to estimate because the role of the so-called people-run (minban) schools is exceedingly ambiguous.
- Third-sector evaluation enterprises are yet to develop in China

Summary of findings and turning to the future...

Reforms of the Chinese education system converge with global QAE trends in many ways, albeit differences exist as well.

- School inspections and monitoring systems were instituted and gradually expanded in china.
- Although the the trend in China appears to be heading towards less rahter than more testing, the Chinese education culture still relies heavily on the notion that students' examination performance and pass rates are the foremost indicators of education quality.
- It is also evident that Chinese basic education system is becoming more market-oriented but the status of the private schools remains ambiguous

How does the future of QAE in China look like? Is China moving towards a globalist approach or will it choose another direction? How did the actors interviewed to our study perceive the future of QAE?

Alternative views of the future of quality assurance and evaluation in China

Publication: Kallo, J., T. Takala, V. Centeno & O. Suominen. 2018. Alternative views of the future of quality assurance and evaluation. In Kauko, J., R. Rinne & T. Takala (Eds.) *Politics of Quality in Education: A Comparative Study on Brazil, China and Russia*. Routledge.

Aim: to analyse actors views concerning the future of quality assurance and evaluation of education in China

Data/ Methods: typological analysis of interviews with national level policy actors, national plans for education and other documents

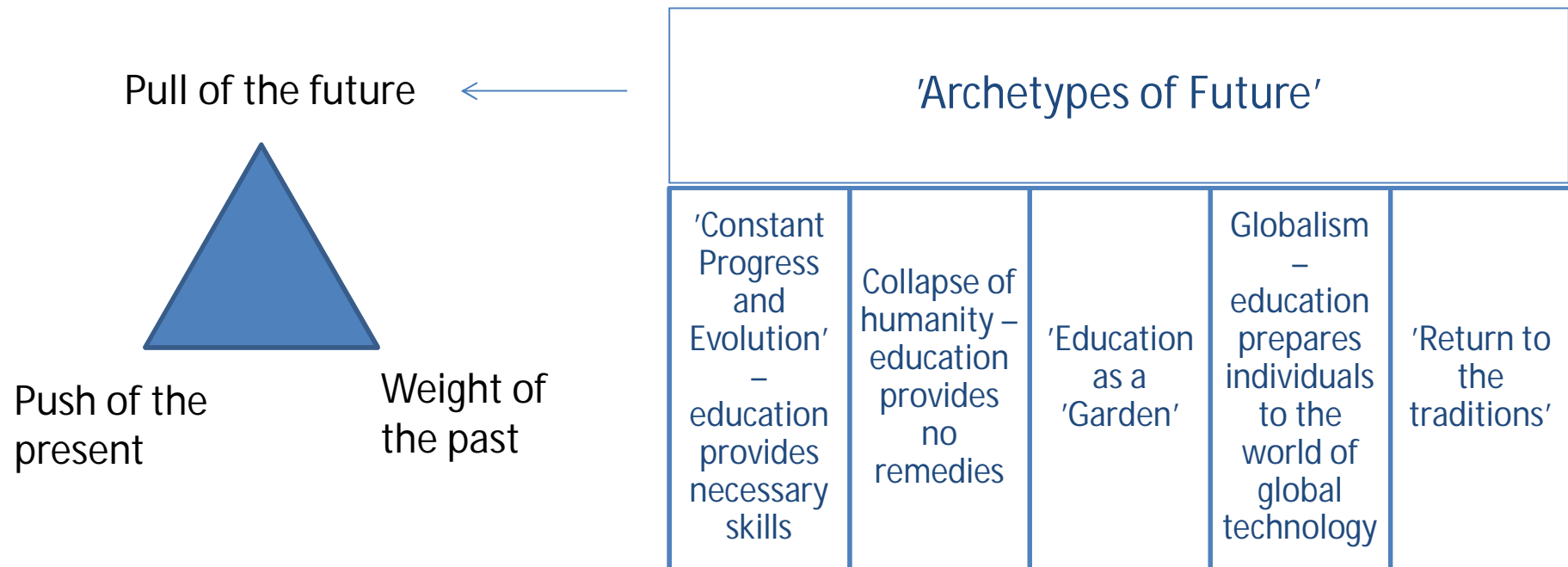
Approach: Critical futures studies; Futures triangle and archetypes (Inyatullah 2008)

Masini (1993): the views of the future and time are strongly linked to the cultures and traditions surrounding them.

Milojevic (2005): future as a 'heterotopy'

Approach

Inayatullah (2008) theory of “futures triangle” and his five archetypal images of the future and the position of education in these images have informed the analysis



Perceptions of future in China

- Since the late 1970s, China has sought modernization of the country without abandoning the one party political system. Modernization, prosperity, reduction of regional disparities and safeguarding the social cohesion have guided the future thinking
- Currently, China is seen to stand at a crossroads; on one hand, public approach towards the future is seen generally optimistic; on the other hand, there is deepening disappointment with future prospects due to slower economic growth and growing unemployment
- 'China Dream' is an official vision, which claims the return of China to its natural position as one of the world's leading states. This vision differs significantly from the previous harmonious visions of Chinese State.
- 'China Dream' vs. 'Chinese Dream'

Perceptions of the future of QAE in China (documents)

- Education, together with science and technology, has become the key means for China to restore the country to the leading position globally.
- Education as 'a means to rejuvenating the nation'
- Outline of China's National Plan for Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development (2010-2020) emphasises quality and equality:
 - Ø Quality of education should be improved through a number of measures by reducing students' workload, raising qualification level of teachers, developing rigorous practices for the recruitment of teachers and developing assessments of quality of education further, among other measures
 - Ø Mechanisms shall be set up for effective supervision at all levels; schools are stipulated to cooperate "with legislatures at all levels in supervision and inspection of education law enforcement, and with the personnel sent by law-enforcement agencies on supervision visits" (Outline 2010-2020, p. 43).
 - Ø PISA study provided information for the preparation of the Outline

Perceptions of the future of QAE in China (experts)

Actors interviewed for this study expressed both optimism....

- China's economic and technological development provides the necessary resource to ensure the implementation of evidence-based reforms in education and training.
- Some interviewees put much trust on the National Assessment of Education Quality (NAEQ); this assessment is believed to enhance the monitoring of not only the teaching and learning process but also the results, which is essentially a control of quality.

...as well as moderate critique concerning the future reforms of education and QAE.

- Some interviewees noted that the lack of independent evaluation authorities and the lack of expertise of the supervisors slow down the development of quality education.
- Several factors that may slow down the implementation of future reforms of QAE were mentioned, such as the challenges related to the decentralization of education administration and separation of the supervision system from the educational administration.

Comparative summary of findings

Brazil

- 'Evolution and progress' is a main – implicit and explicit – stance in Brazilian political and social culture
- The justification of evolution and progress is most frequently tied with idealistic educational and social ideals
- 'Globalism' as conveyed by international QAE practices and policies, also gradually shapes the Brazilian imaginary China

China

- Economic growth and education as a key element of it have contributed to the projects to improve the quality of education
- The idea of education as a source for national rejuvenation reflects a nostalgia that was stated in documents
- Globalist archetype of future appears unfamiliar to Chinese context although China actively searches for best practices abroad and has lowered the threshold of cooperation with international actors.

Russia

- The State Program for Education Development in 2013-2020 outlines a comprehensive and uniform system of QAE
- Valuation of national pedagogical traditions
- Ideas for new developments; the notion of education quality embodied in international assessments, particularly PISA, is seen as providing a scientific basis for improvement of quality

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UNIVERSITY
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Reactions of schools in Russia to the changes in quality evaluation policy

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BCR project: interest in local QAE practice

CADEP: how is the political space used?

What is the local QAE policy?

How do local actors react to it?

How do they utilize it politically (= to obtain power and resources)?

What effects does it have on learning?

Case and methods

- Region: Chuvashia, city: Cheboksary. A pioneer in QAE, a developed QAE system (once a 'best practice' in Russia)
- regional, local and school documents
- 11-week observations in two public schools
- 28 semi-structured interviews (50 interviewees) from schools and local educational authorities

Theoretical framework

Local governance through quality assurance and evaluation

'Bureaucratic-professional' and 'post-bureaucratic' models of governance (Maroy, 2008)

New Public Management (Hood, 1991)

Governing at a distance (Miller & Rose, 1990)

How actors react to QAE and utilize them politically

Audit culture (Shore & Wright 2015; Strathern 2004)

Performativity (Ball 2003)

Political frame of organizational analysis (Bolman & Deal) – sources of power

Local QAE policy: in documents

- All-encompassing definition of quality (conditions, process, outcomes)
- A thorough system of actors and procedures
- 80 numerical indicators of quality
 - Average scores in GIA, number of fails in GIA
 - Grade point average
 - Results of subject Olympiads and contests
- Procedures informed by outcome-based indicators:
 - Performance-based part of salary
 - Awarding of teacher qualifications
 - Inspections
 - Teaching methods recommendations and training (as intervention)
 - Grant and project funding
 - (previously) Public ranking

Local QAE policy: as reported by actors

- a few indicators, mostly traditional
- emphasis on upbringing
- main QAE procedures:
 - Documenting and reporting all activities. “Analysis” = a report with numbers (can be fabricated)
 - Constant preparedness for audits and compliance with regulations
 - Face-to-face meetings and inspections still a major instrument
- Plenty of QAE activities at the school level

‘Internal quality control’; teachers’ self-assessment reports and personal portfolios; school self-evaluation reports; feeding data into local electronic systems. Tests for preparing students for national examinations

How local authorities utilize QAE

Evaluation for the accountability of authorities

- to demonstrate efficient work to supervising authorities and local community
- to ensure that schools successfully pass inspections by higher authorities

Evaluate to justify reward and punishment

If there are some problematic issues, they need to be identified, to be demonstrated. - And what support was offered to schools that had many problems? - Well, there were not many of them, in practice... In some, the directorate was changed, even so [harsh].

- inspections in case of low results. Possibility of sanctions
- performance-based funding and salaries
- symbolic rewards and punishments. Supervision and training for low-performing teachers.

*But evaluation can get in the way of pre-taken decisions

Evaluation as an indirect intervention

- to foster improvement in line with national priorities (e.g. self-evaluation reports)
- to stimulate work with data for reflexive thinking

How schools utilize QAE

Opportunities to obtain resources

- high performance of students as a way to secure performance-based part of salary and to obtain higher qualifications
 - attracting better teachers and students through publicizing good results
- *'virtuous circle' for high-performers and 'vicious circle' for low-performers

Enhancing reputation and influence

- reputation and visibility as a long-term strategy to attract resources and influence
- attracting powerful people to the school's informal network
- acting as 'consultants' or 'providers of best practices' in the locality

Evaluation as a school management tool

- comparison as a "natural way of thinking" and a tool to stimulate teachers and students
- monitoring quality indicators for early intervention

Teachers' perceptions of QAE policy

Students' interests vs. demonstrating performance

- teachers define quality as 'preparedness to life' (not as academic achievement)
- GIA in conflict with curriculum
- compromising between teaching and documenting results
- coaching high-achievers vs. interests of other students

Misrepresentative calculations

- many of teacher's duties not included into performance metrics
- collaborative work of teachers not taken into account
- differences in class levels of achievement disregarded
- unequal conditions for teachers of different subjects

Contradictory demands

- enforcing the right to education vs. high achievement. (Attendance of students, rather than performance, can be a major concern).
- marks as a measure of performance vs. as an instrument of teaching
- revealing problems vs. demonstrating good results
- requirement to prevent cheating in exams vs. punishment in case of fails. Fair examinations vs. giving everyone an opportunity to continue education.

Teachers' responses to the policy

“As my professor at the teachers' training university always said – you have to choose whether to sin against the children or against the ministry”

- Skepticism and disillusionment with authorities, constant vulnerability
- No open resistance: demonstrated loyalty (more than performance) is key to local influence and distribution of resources
- Formal compliance, imitation (while ignoring the policy *de facto*)
- “Not me, but other colleagues are driven by performance scores”
- “I have always strived for high performance and reputation”

 concepts of noninvolvement and normalization by A. Yurchak (1997)

- simulated support of the official ideology as a major strategy of Soviet citizens who experienced official ideological representation of social reality as largely false and at the same time immutable and omnipresent
- avoiding any active engagement with the system, either supportive or critical, “lack of interest in power”

Noninvolvement of teachers: contributes to perpetuation of the audit culture or has a potential of undermining it in the long run?

Effects on education inequality

Only 50% of students in the region proceeding to grade 10 (regional statistics)

“We are going to become a basic school only. There will be only a few comprehensive schools in the city...”

-> Student's choice or school influence? 'More students' vs. 'better students'

- Selectivity
 - Ø Ability grouping and extra hours of study (-> exacerbating inequality for students)
 - Ø Informal barriers, 'washing out'
- Manipulated choice
 - Ø urging students to choose their examination subjects early
 - Ø diagnosing -> advising parents & students on the choice of exam subjects and prospects for education continuation
 - Ø directing student's participation in contests
- Commercialization
 - Ø Paid-for contests, diagnostics, extra classes
 - Ø Tutoring

Students opting for paid-for colleges after grade 9 (-> reduction of free education for low-performing students from 11 to 9 years)

Publications

- In the project book (Kauko J., Rinne R., Takala T. (eds.) *Politics of Quality in Education: A Comparative Study on Brazil, China, and Russia*. Routledge):
Chapter 7: Gurova, Galina; Candido, Helena; Zhou, Xingguo: Effects of QAE on schools' room for action in Brazil, China and Russia.
- Gurova, Galina; Piattoeva, Nelli (forthcoming): A post-socialist perspective on audit culture: changing practices and subjectivities of school teachers in a Russian region. In Carvalho L.-M., Levasseur L., Liu M., Normand R., Oliveira A. (eds.) *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession. Global and Comparative Perspectives*. Springer.
- Gurova, Galina (forthcoming): Soviet, post-Soviet and neoliberal: Governing Russian schools through quality assurance and evaluation. *Policy Futures in Education*.
- Piattoeva, Nelli; Gurova, Galina (in press): Domesticating international assessments in Russia: historical grievances, national values, scientific rationality and education modernization. In Alarcon C. and Lawn M. (eds.) *Student Assessment Cultures in Historical Perspective*.
- Gurova, Galina; Piattoeva, Nelli; Takala, Tuomas (2015): Quality of education and its evaluation: an analysis of the Russian academic discussion. *European Education* 47 (4), 346-364.



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