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Qualities of Education in a Globalised World

Diane Brook Napier (Ed.)











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Qualities of Education in a Globalised World

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Qualities of Education in a Globalised World

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I offer a heartfelt thank-you to all of the contributors to this volume for their dedication and scholarly fervour, for working so diligently to refine their respective contributions, incorporating editorial feedback and the detailed constructive feedback from the external reviewers. The chapter contributors enabled the assembly of a variety of theoretical, methodological and conceptual perspectives in cases that offer rich insights into the complex issues underlying the volume theme of *Qualities of Education in a Globalised World*. I believe that these contributions offer the scholarly field of comparative and international education new and significant insights from cases in several world regions. Collectively, the questions that the chapter authors raise, and the studies and perspectives they report, enrich our understanding of the importance of doing systematic research; of respecting local contextual factors and traditions; and of recognizing trends, events, and influences that impact education and societies worldwide in the search for attaining true quality education.

We all owe a major debt of gratitude to the external reviewers who offered careful critique and constructive feedback in multiple rounds of truly valuable contributions to the final product. Several of these reviewers worked on more than one manuscript; all invested substantial effort in returning feedback that elevated the level of quality in each manuscript. Thank you to reviewers Angeline Barrett, Ashley Carr, David Chapman, Dingyong Hon, Lesley Graybeal, Joanna Greer Koch, James Gurney, Terry Lovat, John Napier, Kiymet Selvi, Lucia Tramonte, Arjen Vos, and J. Douglas Willms. I am particularly grateful to the main editors and their staff at Sense Publishers, Michel Lockhart and Peter de Liefde, who took responsibility for the book production process. I would like to express my appreciation to Allan Pitman and Suzanne Majhanovich, who are the senior editors for the volume series emanating from the World Congresses: I appreciated the opportunity to work with

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PREFACE

In this volume, the introductory chapter provides an overview of the issues pertaining to quality of education, as perspective for the remaining chapters that were originally presented as papers in the XIV World Congress of Comparative Education Societies held in June 2010 in Istanbul, Turkey under the Congress theme of *Borders, Bordering and New Possibilities for Education*. In general the chapters address the issues related to this broad theme of the Congress, and within *Thematic Group 04: Demystifying Quality in Education,* but the collection also includes selected relevant papers from other Thematic Groups. Collectively, the chapters reveal ways in which borders and barriers are transcended through struggles to attain quality in education in a wide variety of forms within the context of a globalised world. The chapters are organized in sequence to offer comparative insights on quality issues such as in the use of standardised assessments within and across countries and on different levels, and with historical context for the research and situations under examination. The collection offers a more thorough understanding of contemporary challenges and dilemmas with regard to qualities of education.

dbn

DIANE BROOK NAPIER

1. QUALITIES OF EDUCATION

A Diversity of Perspectives and Cases, Worldwide

INTRODUCTION

Conceptions of the quality of education are as old as education itself. All education seeks to achieve some form or version of quality even if the objectives of education range from those promoting development and amelioration of societal conditions, to those aiming to improve the capacities of individuals and groups, to those seeking to use education as an instrument of subjugation or control. In other words, quality is a highly complex concept, open to many interpretations and operationalisations. Quality, per se, defies simple definition.

This volume is an integrated collection of writings highlighting this complexity, and many of the myriad dimensions of quality in education. The purpose of this opening chapter is to set the stage for the chapters to follow, providing an exploration of dimensions of quality in education, with some historical and theoretical perspective and with reference to research in comparative and international education, followed by a brief preview of the sequence of chapters to follow. Some of these chapters report on research that reveals significant issues in education related to quality and the implications for equality and equity; other chapters are reflective pieces that articulate ideas for injecting quality into the education and training system of a given country or in a given content or curriculum area. Still others speak to the issues involved in countries striving to participate in the global system of international comparisons of student assessment or Large Scale Assessments (LSAs), buying into the notion that through assessment it is possible to identify needs to reform and improve the education system, but the research reveals the dilemmas accompanying participation in LSAs and other standardized assessments including consideration of exactly how such assessments really do or do not shed light on quality of education depending on how the data are used. Several the cases in this volume offer compelling evidence that teachers' roles and contextual factors are of crucial importance in understanding the health, quality, and productiveness or efficiency of a given education system. Collectively the authors also reveal the extent to which paying attention to educational "quality according to the numbers" has in reality become a global phenomenon. Accordingly, globalisation influences are pervasive in this collection of writings. Indeed it is interesting to note the degree to which—in almost all cases–one observes elements of the global patterns of education including but not limited to:

D. B. Napier (Ed.), Qualities of Education in a Globalised World, 1–17.

the priority subjects of mathematics, science, technology and English; objectives-based curriculum development; content area standards; testing, accountability and efficiency via systematic assessment and evaluation; competition among countries, cross-national comparisons of achievement, and desire to be on par with international trends; teacher- and teacher training issues; equity, diversity, and democratisation needs; education policy linked to economic development and labor market needs; links between educational development and construction of the state; policy-practice issues in the implementation of quality measures and all reform; and demands for quality education via alternate routes outside of the conventional education systems (see Wiseman & Baker, 2005 for a synthesis of the broad global trends). Similarly, the chapters speak to many interesting twists and turns in the "dialectic of the global and the local" in revealing how the global imperatives and the preoccupations with current priorities play out within countries, either at the whole-system level and/or at lower levels in their systems such as in districts, communities and schools.

Some of the cases allow us to see how easily "quality" has become a fashionable buzzword, easier to promulgate than to really implement in a meaningful way. Collectively, the authors in this volume offer us a rich panorama of views on the broad issues of qualities of education in a globalised world. They reveal that quality is indeed a complex and multifaceted notion; that its conception, implementation, measurement/assessment, and validity are highly varied, often subjective and multiply influenced undertakings; and that through comparative education research employing a variety of perspectives and methodologies we gain greater understanding of the struggles to improve and modernize education in different countries and settings. In the following discussion, I offer an overview of the rich variety of quality education dimensions and issues that emerge in this collection of writings.

FORMS AND DIMENSIONS OF QUALITY

Within the notion of *quality* there exists a myriad of conceptualizations, forms, variations, and interpretations related to formal educational objectives and desired outcomes–as well as to ideological positions, agendas and contextual factors. In most general terms one can consider "*quality as or quality for…*" to take many forms in education, including but not limited to, learning outcomes (in a wide array of forms, subject areas, skills, values, etc.); student performance measured by scores on tests; rankings of countries according to scores on international studies of student performance; curriculum reform or enhancement with idealized notions and values/content/skills as well as teacher qualities; null curriculum and hidden curriculum, and their implications for quality of the curriculum and students' learning; whole-system reform and modernization; job relevance with skills acquisition and employment; and addressing local cultural, community, and students' needs (or failing to do this). In these instances quality efforts look to the achievement of desirable outcomes, the attainment of ends—with some of these being inputs and others being outputs if one is thinking in terms of a linear factory model system.

Alternatively q*uality* might be considered in terms of other dimensions such as quality of the learning environment; quality of life in general; quality of the students themselves; quality of teachers and their pedagogical effectiveness; and quality of the context in the home, school, community, and society as to whether or not the context/s is/are conducive to positive learning and productive outcomes. These dimensions can be ephemeral, subjective, and hard to measure, yet they might be overriding factors responsible for the actual realities of what students learn, how effective an educational delivery system is, and what whole-system or individual desired outcomes are achieved. So, can one ignore context? Clearly the answer to this last question is no, that context and other factors beyond the numbers are increasingly recognized as crucial to understand if one is to really understand why a level of quality education does or does not exist in a given place or situation. In this volume, the importance of considering cultural and contextual factors is a pervasive message across the chapters.

Quality might also be subverted or inverted in terms of how education is denied or mangled. Consider the notorious example of the Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953 in apartheid South Africa–a deliberate policy for maintaining subjugation of Africans by confining their education to learning minimal content and skills and thereby limiting their capabilities for employment to inferior jobs (for a summary description of this policy, see Mandela 1994, pp. 144-147; Hartshorne, 1992, pp. 66-68). Mandela called the Bantu Education Act "intellectual 'baasskap,' a way of institutionalizing inferiority" (1994, p. 145) with 'baasskap' being the Afrikaans equivalent of mastership or domination. An earlier historical example was in colonial India, where the British policy under the Raj limited "native" education for similar purposes to serve the colonial masters, but to learn English for this subservient role. The famous speech by Lord Macauley in 1835 was to set the tone for substandard quality, minimal education of colonised peoples in India and across the entire British Empire (Macauley, 1835; see also Ashcroft et al., pp. 371-373 on colonial education in general). Readers might wish to ponder these historical examples of subverted "quality" when they read the case of education in Ukrainian orphanages (see Korhz, this volume). There are also large issues to consider related to policy versus practice, and ideal versus real, that emerge in the writings in this volume, wherein several authors point out the need to investigate the realities in schools or real understanding of what is needed to implement well-intentioned reforms. Their policy-practice insights contribute to a growing body of research literature on implementation in general but specifically on issues related to quality (see Brook Napier, 2005 for a global overview of research on these issues in developing countries, with relevance for the quality discussion here).

Still further, when seeking to understand dimensions of quality in education, one has to consider the many implications of striving for quality education, framed in questions such as the following. Who decides what constitutes quality, what forms it must take, how to provide for it, and at what levels? Whose interests are really being served in the endeavours linked to quality? What hidden agendas, biases and prejudices

lie beneath? These considerations draw attention to the issues of prejudice, power and control, and also the overarching structural and administrative arrangements in a given system that have implications for how quality education might be addressed (see Bray, 2013 for an overview of centralization/decentralization issues). In the field of comparative and international education, these ideas were among the powerful ingredients in the evolution of new methodologies and perspectives for research, drawing attention to the need for asking critical questions about the motives of education, whose interests were being served, and–by extension–about the actual quality of education and the importance of contextual factors (for an overview of the evolution of traditions in the field, see Lee, Napier & Manzon, 2014). Still more questions come to mind. What is the sacrifice or price paid, if any? What are the opportunity costs and compromises? Moreover, how do people access quality education? Is it only through regular educational delivery systems such as public education and private schools, or is it accessed and demanded through alternative means (such as private tutoring) and why are these channels used as opposed to relying on the regular schools? How can one separate quality of education measured in real numbers from the context/s in which those numbers were attained, and from the motivations and driving forces behind the performance? These are among the many questions that the authors highlight when pondering the conundrum of "quality of education".

GLOBALISATION INFLUENCES AND THE DIALECTIC OF THE GLOBAL AND THE LOCAL

Globalization influences on education have been widely documented and researched. For instance Wiseman and Baker (2005) provided a comprehensive overview of global trends in education policy by the end of the twentieth century, and there are numerous collections of globalization and education policy research (see for example, Cowen, 2006; Zajda, 2005; Zajda, Daun, & Saha 2009; Zajda & Rust, 2009; and Zajda & Freeman, 2010). From a theoretical standpoint, the "dialectic of the global and the local" is a notion that has become prominent in the field of comparative and international education in recent years. It facilitates understanding of the interplay between global trends and influences with levels of implementation and interaction in countries, regions, communities, and even in individual classrooms—so at all levels from macro level (global/continental/ national) through the meso level (intermediate, often regional/provincial) to the micro level (local area/community/school/classroom). Arnove (2013, pp.1-25) provided a clear account of how important it is to consider this global-to-local scheme, to investigate the processes as they unfold from top-level downward, how contextual and other factors result in varied interpretations and modifications of imposed or imported ideas and systems, but how global influences cannot be ignored in the investigation of educational realities within any country or context. The concept of creolisation is also pertinent here with regard to conceptions of quality of education, in terms of how

ideas and packages of reform are mitigated and modified during implementation, sometimes resulting in forms remarkably different from the original forms or ideas. For examples of research employing this perspective see Brook Napier (2003) and other cases in Anderson-Levitt (2003). The writings in this volume illustrate well the degree to which global awareness of *quality education needs* has pervaded education in many countries, with varying degrees of success. Research on globalization and educational reform in many countries has revealed a suite of universal issues in educational reform such as a lack of or insufficient teacher support and training, mismatch between students' needs and curriculum and testing systems, lack of hard data to really ascertain effectiveness of a given endeavour, and factors blocking implementation of well-intentioned reforms. All of these have implications for the actual quality of education.

The chapters in this volume highlight many of these issues and questions, providing a rich array of insights into the many dimensions of quality, how to measure it, how it can be interpreted (or misinterpreted), how it emerges in earnest efforts to improve and modernize education in particular countries, and how global influences and patterns of activity including LSAs have pervasive influence on what quality education means. As a precursor to considerations of the contributing chapters in this volume, a brief account of the global shifts in thinking about education in the broadest sense is warranted, next.

EDUCATION FOR ALL, EDUCATION FOR QUALITY, EDUCATION FOR GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

It has become commonplace for scholars to reference the Education for All (EFA) (United Nations, 2007a) commitment to the ideal of providing basic education to all school-age children worldwide by the target year of 2015, wherein education is promulgated as a basic human right. EFA Goal 6 speaks to the need for ensuring quality in all aspects of education. Considering the worldwide exportation of the system of mass education that was developed in eighteenth-century France and sometimes referred to as the Napoleonic system, McGinn & Cummings (1997) offered an account of how mass public education as a system spread worldwide, largely during the colonial era. Within this centralized, standardized system, elements of quality and oversight came to be institutionalized early on in the process, in the form of reporting, assessments, and oversight, for instance in the provision for oversight by an Inspector-General, and with "selectivity of both teachers and students to ensure a high level of quality" (p. 16). When the era of empires waned during the middle decades of the twentieth century, access to education (sometimes called quantitative expansion) became a primary goal of post-colonial development in nearly all newly independent states since indigenous and local people had been denied equal access to education or to quality education that would allow employment in decent jobs. Western versions of education transplanted into non-Western contexts and countries came under scrutiny, since predominantly Western forms of schooling and education came to be dominant

worldwide (McGinn & Cummings, 1997). There is a rich literature of research on post-colonial educational reform, addressing a range of issues in this story about the forerunners of EFA, which was an outgrowth of awareness of how far there was still to go in the process of providing access to schooling on a global scale. Similarly, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (United Nations, 2007b) included targets for increasing primary education participation and enhancing literacy levels as well as providing for greater levels of education for girls. The MDGs also contained measurable targets, placing heavy emphasis on rectifying the global imbalances contained in education as well as in other spheres of life, with the developing nations (particularly those in Africa) having the highest levels of disadvantage to be addressed. Similarly the dire need for addressing the global imbalance in provision of quality education with regard to technology and development needs was highlighted in the 2007 report on the least-developed countries (United Nations, 2007c).

Among the many challenges that emerged in this history of mass education and expansion of schooling was the dilemma of *quantity versus quality*, with quantity referring to numbers of students in a given system, participation rates, progression rates, and universal education attainment. The risk was that for the sake of quantitative expansion, standards would be sacrificed, so quality was important to ensure. A shift added this more concerted focus on "education for quality" as an imperative in its own right and it was sometimes called quantitative reform. This two-stage pattern of reform was commonplace in newly independent post-colonial states wherein the top priority was to expand the system and provide access to legions of children previously denied schooling, followed by attention to curriculum reform and other varieties of qualitative reform including provision for cultural identity (for an overview of these trends in post-colonial countries see Brook Napier, 2010, and illustrations in Napier & Majhanovich, 2013).

Protracted concerns about education for quality came in wake-up calls in the 1960s-1980s. In the United States for example, the launching of Sputnik by the Soviets in 1957 and the Nation at Risk Report of 1983—the landmark critical report on the status of American schools and the "rising tide of mediocrity" in American education–were among the prime instigators of crisis thinking related to quality of education. Berliner & Biddle (1995, pp. 139-140) described this as the start of the "manufactured crisis" in American education since the hype was politically motivated and slanted. However, real concerns over quality spread to other countries with the realization that simple access to education and taken-for-granted assumptions about its virtues were insufficient. Sometimes called the testing and standards movement, the growing preoccupation with upgrading quality via standards and testing, accountability and using numbers/rankings, has become an established dominant feature of educational research and practice in general and of comparative and international education research in particular. The movement for adopting content area standards, particularly in the priority subjects (mathematics, science, technology, English) was an integral part of this awakening to the imperative of focusing on quality. Wiseman & Baker (2005) showed this to be one of several

major trends worldwide in the emergent global education system. The cross-national comparisons endeavour intensified when large-scale assessments (LSAs) came to dominate from the mid 1990s onwards as the primary manner in which many people and whole countries saw an authoritative way to assess quality in a given education system, taking scores on LSAs as indicative of the overall quality of that country's education system with benchmarking allowing for tracking trends. Efficiency, accountability and international competition fed by data in so-called league tables were other cousins in this new family. Quality measured and shown in numbers afforded "legitimate" evidence that could be used to improve, assess, punish, and diagnose. Public opinion fed this trend too, since numbers and rankings seemed credible and politicians were easily seduced, seeing the political ammunition contained in seemingly credible rankings and scores of performance.

What emerged by the end of the twentieth-century was this juggernaut of activity using quantitative data, fueled by the work of macro-regional organizations such as the Organization for Economic and Cooperation Development (OECD), the European Commission and national agencies worldwide. The full extent of how pervasive this has become is seen in the continuing release of scholarly works on data in education, on the power of LSAs to influence educational improvements within national policies. Some examples here include Lawn (2013), a collection of writings on the rise of data in education systems, and Meyer & Benavot (2013) who questioned the emergent dominance of the OECD PISA international assessment system as an institution-building force in global educational governance. Meyer & Benavot argued against the established presumption that the quality of a given nation's school system can be evaluated through a standardized international assessment that ignores the world's vast cultural and institutional diversity, and by extension contextual factors. Similarly, Levin (2012) offered blunt critical commentary on the widely held notion of "world class schools" referring to schools in which pupils earn very high scores on international tests such as PISA or TIMSS. Levin was one of the growing body of scholars mounting a critique of the neoliberal tradition, pointing out the slim evidence of connection between educational attainment and economic outcomes and the lack of consideration of "values, interpersonal and intrapersonal skills and capabilities that affect the quality and productivity of the labour force" (Levin, 2012, p 269). In another example Brook Napier (2009) reported on South Africa's participation in TIMSS, PIRLS and IEA Civic Education studies, seeking to be globally competitive at the cost of addressing dire internal needs. The demoralizing effects of placing last in the global rankings and the harsh lessons in South Africa have parallels with the case of Kyrgyzstan's participation in PISA (see Shamatov on Kyrgyzstan; also Galczynski, Becker and Peters in this volume). Suffice to say that many have begun to warn of the risks of worldwide educational standardization closely tied to neoliberal ideology and economic efficiency, that there is an opportunity cost of preparing students for independent thinking and civic participation, and there might be more compelling need to attend to internal needs in a country rather than compete in the global arena.

As noted previously, contextual factors are of great importance in considerations of quality education. Cowen (2006); Crossley (2009, 2010); Lee, Napier and Manzon (2014) and others have pointed to lengthy tradition of noting the importance of context. The implications for considering quality of education in its many dimensions are that only considering the numbers—measures of quality in quantitative data and rankings–can mask key factors that contribute to a given educational reality. Within comparative education research it became integral to incorporate contextual understanding in research designs of comparative studies (see the renditions in Bray, Adamson and Mason, 2014).

As the global education system emerged, the dialectics of globalisation ideologies and patterns of borrowing ideas and systems from the superpowers (particularly from the United States, Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Japan) became endemic. Cowen (2006), Steiner-Khamsi (2004), Phillips & Ochs (2004) have been among the foremost scholars in comparative education who warned against cavalier adoption of globalization ideologies and practices related to them such as international benchmarking linked to LSAs and national government interest in them to inform policy, and importation of packages of educational reform from the United States and other countries. These scholars articulated the processes of "externalization" and importation or borrowing of ideas and systems that are transplanted into or onto other countries, often with little regard for the contextual mismatches since the recipient countries were all-too-often developing countries with markedly different historical and cultural contexts. Such scholars argued for re-contextualization and internalization as necessary ingredients for truly context-relevant appropriate implementation of policies in recipient countries. Within this there are the ingredients of quality to be considered. Then the issue arose of how to measure all forms of actual quality, according to whose standards and purposes, how useful or context-relevant education is as an indicator of quality, how desirable certain forms or ingredients are (such as content forms, versus skills and values) in a given curriculum, how to develop and support teachers in the implementation of curriculum and in adopting new methods designed for quality, and whether or not global or prominent "models" of curriculum or assessment (for instance) are really suited to a given local culture and context with its specialized needs. Tensions between internal needs and external influences are a common theme in the stories of educational reform heavily coloured by imported ideas but compromised in implementation by the local demands and needs. Varieties of these tensions emerge in the chapters to follow.

A further shift has occurred most recently, advancing the EFA and the subsequent focus on Education for Quality, to the commitment to Education for Global Citizenship. The United Nations Secretary-General, Ban Ki-Moon, announced the Global Education First Initiative (GEFI) in September 2012, "rallying a broad spectrum of world leaders and advocates, GEFI aims to raise the political profile of education, inspire new partnerships and mobilize additional funding to deliver on the promise of Education for All."

The Secretary-General argued that "when we put Education First, we can reduce poverty and hunger, end wasted potential– and look forward to stronger and better societies for all." (GEFI, 2012). The five-year initiative focuses on three priority areas:

1. **Put every child in school**. Education is a human right. Yet advances in education have not benefited everyone equally, leaving some 57 million children out of school. Barriers to school enrollment and completion must be removed.
2. **Improve the quality of learning**. An estimated 250 million are not able to read, write or count, whether they have been to school or not. Urgent action is needed to ensure children have the skills they need to thrive in life and work.
3. **Foster global citizenship**. Education must be transformative, cultivating respect for the world and each other. It should provide children with the understanding they need to cooperate in resolving the interconnected challenges of the 21st Century.

Irina Bokova, UNESCO Director-General, described the significance of this new initiative as follows.

> This is the first time that a United Nations Secretary-General has made education a priority. It is an historic decision that recognizes the power of education to transform lives and build more sustainable, peaceful and prosperous societies. I am proud that the Secretary-General turned to UNESCO to play a lead role in shaping this Initiative and taking it forward. (Bokova, 2012, quoted in GEFI, 2012).

Torres (2013) offered a useful capsule of reflections on the GEFI with its focus on fostering global citizenship in education, going beyond mere access and acquisition, or even quality education, but extending to education that results in action, participation and agency in a conception of quality-education that includes so-called twentieth-century skills and involvement in global citizenship. Torres pointed out that "to be feasible and successful, such an ambitious project of global citizenship needs serious theoretical refinements"… further that this initiative "must be framed as a new common sense in education." The GEFI remains to be operationalised and made concrete. As one of the leading scholars involved in the ensuing rounds of negotiation and consultation to advance the GEFI, Torres also noted that

> ..it is a project that will be negotiated in the globalized environments of the world system and international organizations. These negotiations involve a constant dialectical interplay of national, state or provincial, regional and municipal governments, in addition to the ecology of the Local heavily compounded with the presence of national and transnational social movements.

Clearly, the GEFI is a significant development relevant to the focus of this volume as it updates the long term evolution of considerations regarding quality education; it reflects the ongoing imperative to consider education and quality on all levels of focus from the most global down to the most local; it incorporates respect for including dimensions of education in the affective domain not just the cognitive

domain; and certainly it points away from over-reliance on narrow assessments and concrete scores in priority subject areas.

As Torres (2013) noted in the conclusion of his reflections, many have been engaged in neoliberal critiques and conversations about global citizenship for some years, particularly in the last two decades. The GEFI was announced after the research and writing of the cases in this volume. However, what is most interesting is to see that the authors here do speak to the very issues that are now contained in the GEFI, just as they echo the ongoing neoliberal critiques and calls for reconsiderations of the full range of quality dimensions in an education system or setting, and on all levels. But by the same token, several of the cases reveal that there is serious and true merit in the LSAs and in other standardized assessments since if the data contained therein are used wisely and appropriately, standardized assessments can have diagnostic utility and they can provide insights for directions of positive educational change.

CASES AND PERSPECTIVES ON QUALITY OF EDUCATION

Following the exploration of quality dimensions presented above, the collection of writings in the remaining chapters of this volume form an integrated set of cases that elucidate dimensions of the quality education story. Together, the cases contain rich illustrations of the patterns, trends, issues and dilemmas, and the global-to-local flows of influences and interactions. A preview of the chapters follows.

Mariusz Galczynski opens the sequence, focusing on LSAs and the issues of their use and interpretation. He considers the four major LSAs that have become so established as authoritative systems of quantitative data on student performance: PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS and ICCS. In this meta-analysis Galczynski argues for utility in using the data contained in LSAs beyond the conventional scrutiny of the data and rankings. He demonstrating ways to overcome the limitations of the standardized assessments (or rather the limitations of narrow interpretations and use of their data) to provide meaningful insights such as by cumulating the findings across assessment types and across years, and by investigating what the data actually say about teachers and their roles in enabling students to perform well or otherwise. Galczynski argues strongly in support of teachers, that investing in teachers and teacher quality are desirable strategies to boost students' performance and therefore also national performance on the LSAs. Galczynski provides a comprehensive articulation of the argument that LSAs need not be considered narrow assessments pegged to an increasingly unpopular neoliberal agenda: instead they do provide a wealth of data that can inform the larger cause of promoting quality education if other factors such as teachers' roles are brought into clearer focus.

Four country cases follow Galczynski's chapter. First, Duishon Shamatov presents a compelling account of educational realities and reforms in Kyrgyzstan in relation to participation in PISA in 2006 and 2009, in a case in which quality education has been defined as performance on international student assessments. Kyrgyzstan was the first country in post-Soviet Central Asia to participate in PISA. A placing of

last among all participating countries produced in Kyrgyzstan a bevy of reactions, both official and unofficial. Shamatov reports on his research, uncovering the lessons learned from participating in PISA contained in the factors that influenced the comparatively poor performance of Kyrgyz students in PISA. The experience produced insights on current economic and political realities within the country, and needs in many areas including: more systematic curriculum reform for aligning Kyrgyz curriculum with international standards, changes in workload for teachers, reducing shortages of textbooks and teaching materials, school funding and lack of autonomy issues, urban-rural differences in performance and educational quality, international aid projects with varying benefit or impact, and teacher-administrator relations. Shamatov argues that systematic reform at the Ministry/national level, with appropriate implementation to the local level, is necessary to capitalize on the learning experiences and insights obtained from the Kyrgyz experience in PISA, and that all efforts should be made to re-engage with PISA in 2015. Finally, this case also sheds interesting light on the country's motivation for participating in PISA, aside from equating score performance with quality, that Kyrgyzstan was keen to participate in PISA to attract donor aid. The "shaming role" of poor performance produced a wake-up call to action: a compelling illustration of how LSAs can prompt needed change in a given education system.

Fernanda da Rosa Becker provides a second country case, reporting on the comprehensive system of assessments developed in Brazil from the 1990s onward as part of a larger national reform and development program incorporating principles and practices of administrative decentralization, public management and a measure of local autonomy in a still centralised system. Becker presents an account of the very sophisticated and multi-layered system of assessments developed in Brazil, in what emerges as an earnest effort to produce a Brazilian system in keeping with international priorities as well as with Latin American regional systems and educational reform priorities. The stepwise progression from local, national, regional to international dimensions in the Brazilian case demonstrates well the address of many issues regarding quality enumerated earlier in this chapter. This country case is also interesting since Brazil was the only country in Latin America to participate in all rounds of PISA, while also developing an internal assessment system. Becker shows how the large-scale assessment system in Brazil came into being, and within the Brazilian context. She provides details of how, through systematic use of assessments such as SAEB and Prova Brasil, it has been possible to develop a system of diagnostic measures to assess needs and to measure progress in a country with considerable diversity within and across regions. Becker concludes with commentary on the lessons learned in Brazil, that implementation issues need to be addressed for full effectiveness of the system, and that ongoing investigation is needed to fully understand the array of factors influencing students' performance, including and perhaps especially the roles of teachers and administrators.

Julie Peters provides a comparison case of two countries, considering the issues of using standardized assessments to assess Native Americans in Canada and the

United States. Peters brings to the fore the issue of educational quality and suitability of using standardized assessments with Indigenous pupils in schools that face the dual challenge of not only preparing the students for competitiveness in mainstream society but also for transmission of the indigenous culture and history. She describes the difficulties encountered in BIE schools in the United States within the context of the high-stakes testing and NCLB environment, in comparison with a somewhat more positive experience in Canada. What emerges from this comparative case in Peters' research is the fact of mismatch between the tests themselves—and their manner of use—and the students taking them, yet also that standardized assessments have utility as diagnostic tools to assist in developing strategies for meeting these students' needs. Peters points out that it is important to develop ways to overcome the negative dimensions of the testing culture, and the preoccupation with standards and rankings. What is needed is to further the movement to reconceptualise assessment in a culturally appropriate and relevant way for these student populations. This movement has been underway for some years already, such as in Alaska and in the Navajo Nation in the United States, and in the policies and programs in Canada for First Nations schools.

Ilhan Gunbayi shifts the focus to considering a particular content and skills area, in the case of vocational education and training in Turkey linked to European and international standards. Vocational education has enjoyed a revival in status and recognition in recent years, with much emphasis placed on quality as relevance for employment and economic development. Gunbayi describes how Turkey undertook a comprehensive program for strengthening vocational education and training to meet its own labor market needs but also to position Turkey better in the larger region in Europe, and globally. The SVET project is at the centre of this chapter. Gunbayi lays out its features that were the subject of much debate over the relationship between education and labor market, about the power interplays among central, provincial and local authorities, and about job and career prospects for VET graduates. This is also a prime case for considering how Turkey undertook the tasks, deliberately keeping European Union macro-regional and global VET standards and priorities in mind. The dialectic of the global and the local is clearly evident in the case. Gunbayi reports on research investigating how the SVET project has indeed impacted enrollments in vocational programs in Turkey, and he argues that the Turkish project could serve as a model for other countries seeking to develop their own VET programs to boost capacity, enhance workplace relevant education and employment, and contribute to national economic development. Gunbayi concludes with the caution that the SVET program has not yet contributed to the country's perhaps idealistic high of wanting 65% of high school students enrolled in VET programs, and he comments on the fact that still more research is needed to follow up on VET graduates to ascertain whether or not their careers followed suit. However, regarding quality and relevance, the SVET project in Turkey is another valuable example of a country systematically embarking on upgrading quality education, with an eye on standards and priorities at the regional and global levels.

Next, two chapters offer models for developing a quality education system incorporating not only content and skills as usual, but also contextual factors and values as well as "ideal" ingredients for true quality education. Joana Freitas, Idalina Martins, Luciana Mesquita, and Nilza Costa offer a model from Portugal. Following this, Samuel Gento and Raúl Gonzaléz offer a view from Spain. These authors address notions of values and citizenship that were to be contained within the GEFI in 2012. A preview of these two chapters follows.

Freitas et al. present to us a set of reflections from Portugal based on the experiences of the authors as educators, also on the current efforts in Portugal to infuse quality assurance mechanisms in education. Here we see determined thinking on what forms quality might take, what the role of preschool and primary school teachers is in promoting quality education as a foundation for all subsequent levels of schooling, and also what the political decision makers consider to be the "ideal teacher" for achieving quality instruction learning. To preface their presentation on these questions, Freitas and colleagues articulate their thoughts on a conceptualization of quality related to Bronfenbrenner's ecological model, adapting his model to incorporate various levels in the education system from local to global. The authors ruminate on a set of quality referentials or key ingredients, measured in both internal evaluation and external evaluation mechanisms. They present Portuguese legislation that set forth a national curriculum and framework for teacher training. Following this they offer a very insightful account of the profile of the "ideal educational professional" from the official standpoint, and the issues therein regarding how teachers are supposed to live up to this ideal, in reality. Freitas and colleagues present ingredients in the ideal profile that reveal the recognition of values alongside content knowledge, skills development, and reflective practice. The display echoes widely recognized desirable ingredients for teachers and quality teaching, worldwide. The case is also significant in illustrating the adaptation of a British early childhood education model to the Portuguese context, including the idea of developing partnerships between teachers and trainers to improve the quality of early grades education. These authors conclude that more investigation of ingredients in these partnerships ought to be considered, for understanding and incorporating the views of teachers, researchers and policy makers when it comes to establishing a valid and reliable conception of quality, and of the "ideal educational professional" who would provide for quality education in the foundational early grades.

In similar vein, Samuel Gento and Raúl González offer a view from Spain, presenting a proposal for an axiological basis for designing a quality curriculum, with values acquisition being the primary basis rather than being secondary to knowledge acquisition as is conventional in contemporary curriculum development. These authors provide a detailed and thoughtful articulation of the nature and types of values and of their respective potential roles within a quality curriculum, but also in terms of possibilities for outcomes or products of a quality education. Gento and González consider Spain in comparative context; they report on research tallying the attention given to values in the views on curriculum conceptions by

educators in a range of other countries. The research findings indicated a widespread interest in according values a central place in the curriculum. Hence, in this case, the consideration of quality education takes a markedly pointed slant in favour of according equal prominence to values which are not frequently not measured or considered in standardized assessments. The authors frame their arguments using international literature, but more particularly they draw on Spanish scholars which adds further value to the case, as was so in the other country cases previewed already. Considering values as the "authentic product of education" is at the heart of the argument here, providing a fresh take on the quality debate.

The next two chapters turn to the overriding importance of local culture and community contextual factors, as well as students' needs. First, Rhiannon Williams presents the case of early childhood education in the Philippines; while secondly Alla Korzh presents a contrary case, of education in orphanages in Ukraine, in which so-called quality takes on striking negative forms in the insular context of learning environments isolated from the country and world outside.

Williams presents her research on local Filipino practices of Bayanihan and Dagyaw (which include the values of respect, cooperation, and collaboration) and the importance of incorporating local cultural practices and beliefs into all schooling in a given community, but particularly into early childhood education and development. Williams shares with us the views of local educators and community members about insiders' views on the important ingredients in a quality education for children within the local cultural and community context. For instance, the Filipino community members and stakeholders provide insights on how they share and value knowledge, how different stakeholders conceive of quality and essential ingredients in schooling, and what different roles teachers play in providing for quality education at the early childhood level. Williams frames her account against the backdrop of global imperatives for improving early childhood education and for creating nurturing conditions for growth and development, so the case brings into sharp focus the juxtaposition of external-global and internal-local perspectives. Williams concludes that the challenge in the local cultural contexts in the Philippines is for finding ways to bridge local conceptions of quality and to further develop the leadership within the community to enact early childhood democratic spaces and work toward achieving the visions of culturally relevant quality education.

Alla Korzh contributes a stark example of subverted and insular quality education, in orphanage schools in Ukraine. This case stands out in the volume collection as a contrary example of "quality" with a powerful message. Korzh reports on her research in two Ukrainian orphanages, wherein the learning environment exists in isolation. Orphans in these institutions are delivered a contrived–dare one say inverted or subverted form of "quality" education–divorced from any influence of standards, priorities, imperatives and trends in the country outside and in the world beyond. Korzh displays for the reader examples and illustrations of the educational environment and the inferior quality of education that the orphan students receive. She shares evidence of the manner in which many if not most teachers and

administrators justify unchallenging instruction and busy-work as being acceptable for their students, for whom their expectations are consistently low. Korzh shows how the isolated internal reality and micro-level context of these orphanage schools are the overriding factors, maintained by personnel who also fail to nurture caring relationships with their students and who fall short of challenging their students to achieve higher levels of learning. Korzh does acknowledge that some teachers showed caring and positive interactions with their students, but that "soft caring" in itself was a disservice to students when it took forms such as inflating grades out of sympathy for students who were then disadvantaged if they did go into higher education because they had no skills to cope. Substandard education took many forms including top-down instruction, lecture, copying from books and watching movies, lack of homework, and frequent cancelation of classes–instead of engaging students in challenging learning experiences. Korzh argues that these students were robbed of their right to better quality education, and that their schooling failed to prepare them for meaningful participation in society in adult life. The global preoccupation with standards and assessments, idealized notions of "global citizenship", and even the Ukraine agenda for developing and modernizing education, are very far removed from this story of inverted "quality education". Korzh contributes a valuable case of a learning environment and context that is tantamount to a sacrifice zone with regard to quality education.

Finally, in the capstone chapter, Mark Bray and Magda Nutsa Kobakhidze offer a completely different view into quality education in the growing worldwide shadow education system outside regular public and private schools. They report on the manner in which parents and families are not prepared to rely on conventional routes of education to obtain quality–instead they resort to payment for enhanced and remedial learning experiences. This chapter reminds us that debates over quality education cannot be confined to preoccupations with LSAs, global dominance of quantitative assessment systems, or even considerations of contextual factors in shaping internal educational quality, that intensely personal family and community motivations drive demand for- and therefore supply of- quality education that is separate to- but still connected with-all of the conventional delivery systems and mechanisms for measuring quality. The authors present data on a range of countries worldwide to show the prevalence of private tutoring worldwide. They offer commentary on the aspects of drivers of demand for tutoring, the forms of supply, and the issues and contradictions between these. Further, they demonstrate how, within the contemporary global attention given to measuring quality of education through examination scores and rankings on international assessments, private tutoring maintains three important functions. These are first, tutoring compensates for poor quality schooling; second it offers enrichment for better educational outcomes in an increasingly competitive world; and third, increasingly private tutoring is actually becoming a substitute for regular schooling rather than just a shadow. Within this phenomenon of private tutoring that is becoming an ever-more prevalent route to access quality education, there is the worrisome element that those who can or

who are willing to pay for it will likely obtain access to quality education for their children, while those who cannot pay will be left behind in the competition, adding to the already massive inequities and imbalances that exist in education everywhere and that compromise quality of education.

The contributors to this volume widen our understanding of the complexity of quality, of the wide variety of dimensions to consider in truly understanding quality of education. The variety of cases and views on quality contained in this collection draw attention to the need for caution in making comfortable judgments about what is necessary to assure quality education, or what forms of quality education can be relied on to remain static over time.

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2. DEVELOPING CLEARER SNAPSHOTS OF EDUCATIONAL QUALITY THROUGH THE LENS OF INTERNATIONAL LARGE-SCALE ASSESSMENTS

A Meta-interpretation of PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS, and ICCS

INTRODUCTION

At the annual meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) in 2010, Gita Steiner-Khamsi opened her Presidential Address by discussing the revival of comparison as methodology. She pointed out that, under the presumption that the local context is reflective of the regional and, ultimately, the global contexts, contemporary research trends in international comparative education have largely been devoted to development studies, area studies, and single nation studies. While *comparative* research had been incontrovertibly equated with *cross-national* research from the early nineteenth century to the mid twentieth century, a narrower focus was applied to the field as the latter term became evocative of a reductionist view of the world that saw nations as clearly distinguishable, homogenized entities. This premise "tended to ignore the manifold relations of influence, filiation, interference, or interdependency which have, to varying degrees, always been in existence between historically concrete units of analysis" (Schriewer, 2006, p. 321). Accordingly, in consideration of whether the modern hesitation to compare multiple countries, contexts, and cases undermined the *international* and *comparative* components of the field's moniker, Steiner-Khamsi continued her address by asking if a nation-state could, at all, be deemed a useful unit of analysis. We can hope to find the answer to her question only by looking at international comparative education through the "globalization optique" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2010, p. 336)—the lens that acknowledges the integrative and aterritorial processes of the world's cultures, societies, and economies as they are occurring today**.**

Over the past two decades, perhaps no factors have been as inextricably linked to considerations of educational quality and to the externalization of educational policies and reforms as the league tables resulting from large-scale international studies by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). Sensationalized by the media in nearly every nation across the globe (Steiner-Khamsi, 2003), the results of the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and the IEA Trends in International Mathematics and Science

D. B. Napier (Ed.), Qualities of Education in a Globalised World, 19–42.

Study (TIMSS)—and to a lesser extent its Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) and International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS)—have been reported to the public and to policymakers in the form of rankings which depict how one's home country measures up to the rest of the world in terms of quality of education. As noted in Table 1, these standardized assessments of literacy in mathematics (PISA, TIMSS), science (PISA, TIMSS), reading (PISA, PIRLS), and civic and citizenship education (ICCS) have now been administered in multiple cycles to the world's elementary and secondary school students. As of 2012, over one hundred countries had participated in at least one of these four large scale assessments, hereinafter referred to as LSAs.

As a segue from her inquiry into what makes up international comparative education, Steiner-Khamsi devoted the second half of her 2010 Presidential Address to discussing what happens as the result of international comparative education. Particularly in our globalized world, there is an exchange of educational ideas that transpires in conjunction with the politics and economics of policy borrowing and lending. There must occur a moment, then, when policymakers make references outside of themselves, when a concept or reform from one country resonates in a way that begs for it to be borrowed in another country or on another continent; Schriewer (1989) described this as the act of externalization. Certainly, externalization might best be explained by the desire for high quality teaching and learning practices, which we refer to as educational effectiveness. Creemers (2006) explained that notion of educational effectiveness has spurred the development of theories and theoretical models on multiple levels: "an individual student level, the classroom teaching-learning level, the school level, and a contextual level, the level of the system where the national policies are formulated and which might have an effect on the schools and classrooms" (p. 500). Additionally, at the uppermost level of analysis—the international level—studies of educational effectiveness need to go beyond the differences from one classroom to another or one school to another, to investigate the differences from one country to another (Creemers, 2006). Thus, if we are ever to understand externalization in education as a response to contemporary globalization forces, we are obligated to return to comparison in units of nation-states—yet we must at the same time be certain to avoid the propensity towards reductionism by acknowledging the limitations of such comparisons.

Political reactions to global rankings, which were released for the first time in 1995 through TIMSS and a few years later through PISA, PIRLS, and the IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) (the predecessor to ICCS), have run the gamut from glorification—as in Japan after TIMSS and in the United Kingdom after PISA—to scandalization—as in the United States after TIMSS and in Germany after PISA (Steiner-Khamsi, 2003). Whatever the response, these LSAs that target student populations in vastly different nations have contributed to externalization in two ways: (1) on the basis of the purported scientific rationality that justifies these cross-national studies as valid measures of educational effectiveness within each participating nation, and (2) in reference to the importation and exportation of

Table 1. Comparison of Four International LSAs[1]

Sponsoring organization	*Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)*	*International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA)*		
Assessment	**PISA** Programme for International Student Assessment	**TIMSS** Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study	**PIRLS** Progress in International Reading Literacy Study	**ICCS** International Civic and Citizenship Education Study
Target content areas	Reading Mathematics Science	Mathematics Science	Reading	Civics
Target student population	15-year-olds	Grade 4 Grade 8	Grade 4	Grade 8
Rationale for target student population	To review the extent to which students nearing the end of compulsory education in most OECD countries have acquired essential knowledge and skills for full participation in modern societies	To provide information about relative progress across grades as the cohort of Grade 4 students advances to Grade 8, in alignment with each cycle of assessment	To monitor children's development at the point when they have already learned to read and are transitioning to read for the purpose of learning	To investigate how young people nearing the end of secondary education (the stage of schooling with the greatest similarity in organisational contexts across countries) are prepared to undertake their roles as citizens
Administration frequency	3-year cycle	4-year cycle	5-year cycle	9-year cycle
Completed administrations	2000 2003 2006 2009 2012	1995 1999 2003 2007 2011	2001 2006 2011 2016 49	1971[2] 1999[2] 2009
Next administration	2015	2015		2016
Number of countries participating in most recently completed administration[3]	64	63		38

educational policies between countries identified as top-ranking or low-ranking in these studies (Steiner-Khamsi, 2003). Moreover, as by-products of globalisation, PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS, and ICCS have undoubtedly affirmed their relevance to international comparative education, as "the 'need' to test or assess student populations is spreading as a taken-for-granted assumption" (Kamens & McNeely, 2010, p. 6).

As long as large-scale assessment remains prominent in the field of comparative education and continues to exert significant influence over educational policy, stakeholders in educational systems must strive to interpret the results of studies like those conducted by the OECD and IEA as accurately and as critically as possible. In this chapter, I argue that a *meta-interpretation* of PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS, and ICCS is necessary in order to obtain the clearest possible picture of educational quality through the otherwise unfocused lens of international LSAs. While each individual LSA offers us a snapshot of educational quality, meta-interpretation generates a composite image that more faithfully reflects the educational effectiveness of countries' school systems. Rather than drawing over-generalized conclusions about students' abilities based on test performance at just one age or grade level, meta-interpretation of international LSAs yields less (yet still) generalized estimates of educational quality by taking into account all grade levels tested, as well as all content areas tested. Admittedly, while certain methodological and epistemological limitations of LSAs may persist as barriers, meaningful insights may indeed be gleaned through meta-interpretation. To illustrate this, I dedicate the discussion at the end of this chapter to what international LSAs reveal about teachers. Although teachers are not the test takers themselves, much research literature explores how teacher quality affects student achievement and how teachers are held accountable for their students' performance on standardized tests. My meta-interpretation of PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS, and ICCS examines this relationship more closely—by drawing parallels between the countries that perform best on international LSAs and the professional status of teachers in those countries. In doing so, I posit that policymakers in countries that want to perform better should direct their attention to the "best practices" that safeguard teachers' professional status by validating the importance of their work.

SNAPSHOTS OF EDUCATIONAL QUALITY

Although too often ignored by policymakers and the media, the limitations of LSAs have been well documented in educational research. While PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS, and ICCS avoid many of the pitfalls of global higher education rankings in producing their league tables, international LSAs have garnered their own share of conceptual, methodological, and ethical criticisms. However, published studies in international comparative education have remained mindful of these assessments' limitations. Scholars in the field have acknowledged that, despite amassing a myriad of achievement and demographic statistics, international LSA data sets are not

collected as part of a longitudinal research design (Creemers, 2006; Perry, 2009); they cannot distinguish which of the countless differences in school systems from one nation to another might account for differences in overall results (White & Smith, 2005); they cannot be used to verify the existence of causal relationships between variables (Cheung & Chan, 2008; Perry, 2009); and they gloss over the significance of the cultures and contexts represented in their target populations (Crossley, 2008; Perry, 2009). Beyond this, LSAs cannot pinpoint how various internal and contextual factors, from students' intrinsic motivation to teachers' professional status to physical features of school buildings, influence student performance. White and Smith (2005) also noted that data gathered through international LSAs could only be meaningfully interpreted (in inferential statistical analysis) for those countries with participation rates of over 85%, or sampling bias would otherwise "generate Type I errors (i.e. 'discovering' relationships that are due to sampling bias) as Type II errors (i.e. not detecting relationships that actually exist because of sampling bias)" (p. 108).

Some critics have expressed concern over the cultural equivalence of test items (Bonderup Dohn, 2007; Perry, 2009), but both the OECD and the IEA publicly release extensive supplemental documents that explain the processes of selecting and editing the content which appears on the actual tests (Foy & Kennedy, 2008; Foy & Olson, 2009; OECD, 2006)—and the amount of time and energy dedicated to ensuring the cultural sensitivity and equity of the test items justifies why these assessments are administered in cycles that are multiple years apart. In a critique of PISA test items in particular, Bonderup Dohn (2007) argued that the assessment "fails on the most basic methodological issue of all, namely whether the methodology chosen constitutes an adequate operationalization of the question of inquiry" (p. 2). However, in a too literal interpretation of the study's claim to assess "knowledge and skills for life," her insistence that PISA results are only "*relatively* valid assessments of 'knowledge and skills of students in assessment situations'" (p. 2) unfairly discounts the fact that the tests attempt to measure students' competency in mathematics, science, and reading literacy through items which require the application of content knowledge to problem-solving situations that are ontologically plausible for as many of the test takers as possible, no matter which country they hail from. Her interpretation also denies the reality that test-taking ability itself *is* a "skill for life," particularly as many of these students will likely participate in other standardized, high-stakes exams (e.g., SAT, GRE, LSAT, MCAT, TOEFL, etc.) in their academic or professional futures.

From an entirely opposite epistemological position, believing that international LSAs carry the potential for researchers to make meaningful comparisons of educational systems in different nations, we may want to instead consider Creemers' (2006) reminder that, because of "a shortage of rational models from which researchers can build theory" (p. 502), further generation and testing of theories around global comparisons are needed if the relationships between the variables measured in these studies are to be explained and reforms for improving educational effectiveness are to be promoted. At this point, we must return to our discussion of externalization to realize that there is a danger, then, in how the global rankings of

PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS, and ICCS are interpreted by policymakers. Although these international LSAs do not promote branding—unlike the university rankings that drive "public and private 'edupreneurs' [to] compete aggressively for international and domestic customers by appealing to brand name, brand loyalty, culture, location, scale, price, end use and/or immigration opportunities for students and their families" (Kelsey, 2008, p. 242)—they do contribute to the globalization of education through externalization. Grounded in the power dynamics of the international market, the structures of educational systems are reshaped as school administrators and government officials, aligned with corporate foundations and supranational institutions, invoke rankings as the basis for changes in educational policies and funding (Torres & Schugurensky, 2002).

Thus, it is crucial to think critically about the externalization of educational policy and practice. In response to the German reform projects that appeared as a result of the nation's "PISA shock" after the first cycle results were announced, Pongratz (2006) thoroughly scrutinized the *normalization* process of such international assessments and probed their perceived functions as neutral instruments of scientific objectivity. Pongratz explained how PISA establishes its own standard of normality (although his argument is equally applicable to TIMSS, PIRLS, and ICCS):

> PISA does not test norms defined in advance, but concentrates on statistically averaged values: those being tested lie on a continuum between "normal" and "abnormal"… This shows how the PISA test strategically couples diagnostic inquiry with normalizing selection. Whatever the test results represent, they lead to correcting (self-) practices, to incessant "care for the self," to continual "deciphering of the self." In this sense one could also say that PISA is—like all tests—a "truth machine," that does not simply bring to the surface an already existing, hidden but not yet known truth, it actually produces the "truth" concerning the tested person…Although one's own position in the quality ranking is always only relative to one's competitors, the push for improved performance never stops. Everyone occupies simultaneously and to the same extent the role of the competition judge and contestant, the winner and the loser, the self-entrepreneur and the serf (p. 480-481)

Through this normalization, countries take on the position of the generalized "other" as they aspire towards an artificial benchmark of educational effectiveness, sometimes called the "international standard" or "best practices" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2010). This should be avoided so that the "images of other educational systems, conveyed by the PISA rankings and amplified by mass media, [do not] become a cultural repository with which desires and fantasies about education are articulated in different national contexts" (Takayama, 2010, p. 58).

Moreover, the power that emanates from global education rankings is the power to precisely define what knowledge is. If this most valuable form of knowledge is seen as cascading down from those nations at the top of the rankings, then those nations automatically set the standard for what is perceived to be quality. The nations that rank as the best are validated in their practices of knowledge-production, and so lower-ranking nations will try to emulate those practices. In keeping with this line of

thought, "all the education systems in the world are and should be on the same path to 'modernization'—which seems to mean rationalized by current Western thinking as to content, methods, and governance" (Klees, 2002, p. 453). The real issue at stake here is of comparison versus comparability, as in all educational research, (Leimu, 2004), which begs the question of whether countries should be compared to one another at all. This again highlights the threat that, if nations view and reform their internal schooling systems through the "prisms of perceived education systems in other places" (Takayama, 2010, p. 58), then lower ranking nations discount the merits of their own domestic types of knowledge-production. Subsequently, in order to avoid the malfeasance of higher education rankings, success in PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS, and ICCS must not come "at a cost in terms of accepting the orthodoxies of others instead of pursuing particular institutional missions linked to the particular priorities of the local community" (West, 2009, p. 9).

Most importantly, it is crucial to understand that each international LSA only offers a snapshot of any country's educational system–one that is panoramic in scope, but grainy in resolution and failing to capture the entire subject in its frame. Whereas PISA and TIMSS (if not also PIRLS and ICCS) have had significant effects on *all* aspects of educational systems—through policies that affect *all* students and *all* teachers at *all* grade levels in *all* subject areas—each international LSA effectually draws generalized conclusions about the knowledge and skills of students in an entire country based on a narrow section of curricular content through the performance of an even narrower age demographic. Referring again to Table 1, international LSAs target between one to three content areas and usually at only one age/grade level. This is problematic because after each assessment's findings have been released, countries' rankings are touted by policymakers and media as justification for either policy lionization (e.g., Japan after TIMSS 1995) or reform (e.g., Germany after PISA 2000) (Steiner-Khamsi, 2003). However, most countries do not participate in all of the international LSAs discussed, and even those that do participate in all of them do not necessarily perform consistently across them. For instance, Italy, which took part in the most recent administrations of PISA, PIRLS, and ICCS as well as TIMSS at both fourth and eighth grade levels, sometimes performed above the international average and sometimes below it, even within the same content area: Italian fourth graders scored above average in mathematics on TIMSS in 2007, while their eighth grade counterparts scored below average; fourth graders also scored above average in science on TIMSS 2007, but Italian 15-year-olds scored below average in science on PISA in 2009; the same relationship was evident in the above average performance of fourth graders on PIRLS in 2006 and below average performance of 15-year-olds in reading on PISA 2009. If one examined a particular LSA on its own (as opposed to a meta-interpretation of all four), one could draw an entirely different set of conclusions about the Italian school system than that which has been illustrated here through the contrast of declining student achievement from earlier to later years of schooling. The point here is that the underdeveloped snapshot of educational quality offered by each individual LSA came into much sharper focus

only through comparison of multiple student populations (in terms of age/grade level) across multiple recently-administered assessments in multiple content areas, even though the countries that participated in each LSA were not always the same. One could argue that comparing one LSA snapshot of educational quality to another does not make either snapshot any clearer per se, but it does make an impression of educational quality easier to discern. In the same way that grainy images taken by a traffic surveillance camera, for example, may be ill-defined on their own, a composite of images taken at the same intersection but from different angles creates a multidimensional portrait of a scene, which then makes aspects of each individual image easier to "make out" or identify. This kind of meta-interpretation (Weed, 2005) will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter, but the emergent trend of declining performance among Italian students as they progress through schooling elucidates how a better picture of a national educational system's quality can be captured through the lens of international LSAs.

OVERCOMING LIMITATIONS OF LSAS TO GAIN MEANINGFUL INSIGHTS

Notwithstanding the well-documented limitations of international LSAs—even according to the organizations that sponsor them (OECD, 2006; Foy & Kennedy, 2008; Foy & Olson, 2009; Brese et al., 2011)—there exists more than enough potential for such assessments to contribute meaningfully in the context of international comparative education. The data accumulated through these studies have been used to point out disparities within countries' own borders: for example, in terms of computer access available to students living in different regions of Russia (Karpenko, Bershadskaia, & Voznesenskaia, 2009), or the incredible gap in reading literacy between German students of divergent socioeconomic backgrounds (Pongrantz, 2006). On a cross-national level, PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS, and ICCS provide invaluable data sets for the secondary analysis of myriad factors relevant to educational effectiveness (Creemers, 2006; Rutkowski et al., 2010). This has allowed researchers to draw conclusions about the educational systems in multiple countries, on topics ranging from gender gaps in tertiary education (McDaniel, 2010) to teacher shortages and inadequacies (White & Smith, 2005) to vocational pursuits and economic growth factors (Cheung & Chan, 2008). And as long as governments and policymakers continue to invest considerably into the administrations of and results from international LSAs—to enhance the quality of existing policies, to set measurable and achievable policy targets, and to review the delivery of education in schools (Schliecher, 2010)–they will serve as the vehicles driving educational change.

Meanwhile, few scholars would argue that countries that perform exceedingly well on large-scale international assessments are unable to offer at least some potent insights into educational effectiveness. This is exemplified by Germany's selective borrowing of educational ideas on reading literacy from higher ranked countries including Finland, Canada, and New Zealand (Steiner-Khamsi, 2003). Finland

in particular represents the epitome of PISA success, becoming a focal point in academic (and non-academic) writings worldwide. Tjeldvoll (2009) listed equity and market economy as two factors accounting for Finnish educational success, but stressed that these principles could be better incorporated to the nation's system of higher education. On the other hand, Simola (2005) explained that "the Finnish miracle of PISA" could not be accounted for unless social, cultural, institutional, and historical factors were considered, e.g., its late process of industrialization from an agricultural to an industrial, and later post-industrial, society after World War II. Yet perhaps most interestingly, many scholars have credited teachers and the status of the teaching profession in Finland as the greatest contribution to the achievement of its students (Bassett, 2008; Schleicher & Stewart, 2008; Simola, 2005; Takayama, 2010). Schleicher (2010) offered particularly astute insight into how international LSAs have influenced education research:

> Some contend that international benchmarking encourages an undesirable process of degrading cultural and educational diversity among institutions and education systems, but the opposite can be argued as well: In the dark, all institutions and education systems look the same and it is comparative benchmarking that can shed light on differences on which reform efforts can then capitalise. Who took notice of how Finland, Canada, or Japan run their education systems before PISA revealed the success of these education systems, in terms of the quality, equity, and coherence of learning outcomes? (p.500)

CUMULATING FINDINGS ACROSS INTERNATIONAL LSAS THROUGH META-INTERPRETATION

In order to develop clearer snapshots of educational quality through the lens of international LSAs, I invoke the method of meta-interpretation (Weed, 2005), essentially a version of meta-analysis that breaks free of the constraints intrinsic to quantitative research. As in meta-analysis, I cumulate findings across studies (Hunter, Schmidt, & Jackson, 1982) that target a similar population, collect data through similar procedures, and address the same substantive issue in order to derive a cumulative social scientific knowledge (Wolf, 1986). In the same way that best-evidence synthesis focuses on the "best evidence" available to draw a narrative out of it (Slavin, 1986), I use the student achievement data available from the most recent administrations of PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS, and ICCS for secondary analysis (see Table 2). Once the results of future assessment cycles are made publicly available, these data will need to be updated (note that the results of TIMSS 2011, PIRLS 2011, and PISA 2012 had yet not been released at the time of writing this chapter).

This approach is a meta-interpretation of international LSAs because the focus is on meaning in context (Weed, 2005), in which it is understood that the limitations of LSAs are not compounded by cumulating multiple studies but rather are reduced by looking at the "big picture" of what the studies, together, reveal about educational

Table 2. Student Achievement Scores[4] for Countries Participating in the Most Recent Administrations[5] of Four International Large-Scale Assessments (LSAs)

	Mathematics			*Science*			*Reading*		*Civics*
	TIMSS Gr. 4 2007	*TIMSS Gr. 8 2007*	*PISA 2009*	*TIMSS Gr. 4 2007*	*TIMSS Gr. 8 2007*	*PISA 2009*	*PIRLS 2006*	*PISA 2009*	*ICCS 2009*
Chinese Taipei	576 (1.7)	598 (4.5)	543 (3.4)	557 (2.0)	561 (3.7)	520 (2.6)	535 (2.0)	495 (2.6)	559 (2.4)
Italy	507 (3.1)	480 (3.0)	483 (1.9)	535 (3.2)	495 (2.8)	489 (1.8)	551 (2.9)	486 (1.6)	531 (3.3)
Lithuania	530 (2.4)	506 (2.3)	477 (2.6)	514 (2.4)	519 (2.5)	491 (2.9)	537 (1.6)	468 (2.4)	505 (2.8)
Norway	473 (2.5)	469 (2.0)	498 (2.4)	477 (3.5)	487 (2.2)	500 (2.6)	498 (2.6)	503 (2.6)	515 (3.4)
Russian Federation	544 (4.9)	512 (4.1)	468 (3.3)	546 (4.8)	530 (3.9)	478 (3.3)	565 (3.4)	459 (3.3)	506 (3.8)
Slovenia	502 (1.8)	501 (2.1)	501 (1.2)	518 (1.9)	538 (2.2)	512 (1.1)	522 (2.1)	483 (1.0)	516 (2.7)
Sweden	503 (2.5)	491 (2.3)	494 (2.9)	525 (2.9)	511 (2.6)	495 (2.7)	549 (2.3)	497 (2.9)	537 (3.1)

quality in particular countries. In addition, this is an ideographic approach that excludes specific criteria (countries that did not participate in all four international LSAs) and that reinterprets the raw data for synthesis (Weed, 2005).

Thus, Table 3 shows a meta-interpretive league table of student achievement scores, following the guidelines advocated by Salmi and Saroyan (2007) to compare similar programs or institutions (i.e., the seven countries that participated in all four international LSAs) by utilizing a range of indicators or measures (i.e., the four LSAs grouped by their targeted content areas) and specifying what the resulting comparative rankings actually measure (i.e., the comparative achievement of students in these countries). Here, in examining the comparative rankings of student achievement for the seven countries participating in the most-recent administrations of PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS, and ICCS (Chinese Taipei, Italy, Lithuania, Norway, Russian Federation, Slovenia, and Sweden) it would be hard to argue that any one country has an ideal educational system, or at least not to the extent that incontestably justifies the borrowing or lending of educational policies. A case could perhaps be made for championing the educational model in Chinese Taipei, which ranks comparatively higher than the other six countries in nearly all the LSAs, but at the same time one would need to question why this model produces comparatively weaker achievement in reading. Moreover, one could invoke Kohn's (1989) hypothesis, that "the most efficient strategy in searching for an explanation is to focus on what is structurally similar in the countries being compared, not on the often divergent historical processes that produced these social-structural similarities" (p. 716). This would challenge whether the educational model of Chinese Taipei, which is so structurally dissimilar from the other Western countries, could actually offer any meaningful insight as to why student achievement in the other countries was comparatively lower. Instead, it might be preferable to focus on comparing two structurally similar countries, Sweden and Norway, to ask why the former performed better across IEA studies while the latter performed better in the OECD PISA. Or we might take our meta-interpretation even further to consider how illusory rankings can be, noting that the average achievement scores for students from these two countries in PISA 2009 are actually within the reported margin of error. It is worthwhile to note that meta-interpretation of international LSAs almost exclusively limits the feasibility of comparison to countries identified as "high income economies" by the World Bank (2013), "advanced economies" by the International Monetary Fund (2012), and "very high" on the United Nations Development Program's Human Development Index (2013); such restriction in cross-national comparison not only echoes Kohn, but also more respectfully addresses the place of context in comparative education (Crossley, 2009).

The presentation in Table 4 moves away from rankings but continues the meta-interpretation of international LSA data. Focusing in on three of the countries that participated in all four studies, I compare student achievement in Chinese Taipei, Italy, and Norway, not specifically to any other countries but rather to the scale average scores determined by the OECD and the IEA for their respective LSAs. While

Table 3. Comparative Rankings of Student Achievement Scores[4] for Countries Participating in the Most Recent Administrations[5] of Four International Large-Scale Assessments (LSAs)

	Math			*Science*			*Reading*		*Civics*	*Combined*	
	TIMSS Gr. 4 2007	*TIMSS Gr. 8 2007*	*PISA 2009*	*TIMSS Gr. 4 2007*	*TIMSS Gr. 8 2007*	*PISA 2009*	*PIRLS 2006*	*PISA 2009*	*ICCS 2009*	*Avg. Rank*	*Weighted Avg. Rank[6]*
Chinese Taipei	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	3	1	1.667	**1.750**
Sweden	5	5	4	4	5	4	3	2	2	3.778	**3.375**
Italy	4	6	5	3	6	6	2	4	3	4.333	**4.000**
Slovenia	6	4	2	5	2	2	6	5	4	4.000	**4.125**
Russian Federation	2	2	7	2	3	7	1	7	6	4.111	**4.461**
Norway	7	7	3	7	7	3	7	1	5	5.222	**5.083**
Lithuania	3	3	6	6	4	5	4	6	7	4.889	**5.250**

it is important to remember that each LSA involved different country participation, it is easy to see how students in Chinese Taipei generally performed better their Italian peers, who in turn performed generally better than their Norwegian counterparts. While this is not true in the case of every international LSA in every content area, the meta-interpretation enables much more insight regarding comparative educational quality between nations than through any one LSA alone.

Table 4. Student Achievement in Comparison to Scale Average Scores[7] for Select Countries Participating in the Most Recent Administrations[5] of Four International Large-Scale Assessments (LSAs)

	Mathematics			*Science*			*Reading*		*Civics*
	TIMSS Gr. 4 2007	*TIMSS Gr. 8 2007*	*PISA 2009*	*TIMSS Gr. 4 2007*	*TIMSS Gr. 8 2007*	*PISA 2009*	*PIRLS 2006*	*PISA 2009*	*ICCS 2009*
Chinese Taipei	▲	▲	▲	△	▲	▲	▲	—	▲
Italy	▲	△	—	△	—	△	▲	△	▲
Norway	▲	△	△	△	△	—	—	▲	▲

▲ = *achievement significantly higher than scale average*
— = *achievement neither significantly higher nor lower than scale average*
△ = *achievement significantly lower than scale average*

Although one must not forget that the lens of international LSAs only captures a certain kind of impression of educational quality among nations around the globe–and that any kind of international comparison relies on generalisation and blindness to the heterogeneity found in all levels of educational systems–the "depth of field" in these studies still provides rich data worthy of examination.

WHAT INTERNATIONAL LSAS REVEAL ABOUT TEACHERS

Although international LSAs measure student performance, research on assessment and accountability relies on the assumption that teachers can or might greatly influence student performance. In the past, researchers created models of educational effectiveness that integrated findings from studies on school effectiveness and teacher effectiveness, in order to acknowledge the multilevel structure of educational systems "where schools are nested in contexts, classrooms are nested in schools, and students are nested in classrooms or teachers" (Creemers, 2006, p. 505). In doing so, these researchers simultaneously tapped into organisational theories as well as theories of learning. Therefore, extending this line of thinking suggests that successful models of educational effectiveness on the global scale certainly must also acknowledge multiple levels, but research in international comparative research thus far has attempted to do this without giving enough consideration to teachers

themselves. Global and national educational policy reforms have identified teachers as a major factor in increasing learning and quality, but they have effectively diminished the power and independence of teachers instead of placing emphasis on their own learning and skills (Tatto, 2006).

If anything, the rankings from international LSAs should direct attention and autonomy back towards teachers. Table 5 shows the performance of the three countries discussed earlier (Chinese Taipei, Italy, and Norway) and incorporates information about teacher salaries from the IEA's Teacher Education and Development Study in Mathematics (TEDS-M) (Carnoy et al., 2009). Whereas previously we compared the test scores of Taiwanese, Italian, and Norwegian students to the international scale average of each LSA, here we consider how often the selected countries' student achievement ranked within the top ten of participating countries. Again, the pattern emerges that Chinese Taipei performed comparatively better than Italy and Norway across the four assessments. However, with the juxtaposition of teacher salary information, one might also speculate how the status of the teaching profession parallels student achievement since Taiwanese teachers earn higher salaries than their Italian and especially Norwegian counterparts. The intention here is not to claim a correlation between teacher salary and student performance, let alone causation, but what emerges is that the meta-interpretation of international LSAs may encourage researchers to reposition their locus of comparison for future secondary data analysis and more validly to explore the relationship between these two variables.

In any case, studies focused on the countries positioned at the top of PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS, and ICCS league tables have confirmed that teacher quality makes a difference for educational effectiveness, since the best-performing nations augment the status of teaching as a profession by being restrictive and selective about who becomes a teacher and by offering compensation equitable to other professions requiring formal qualification (see Table 6). Irrefutably, "school system success… hinges on getting the right people to become teachers, helping them learn to teach, and crafting a system that ensures every child will get access

To the teaching he [or she] needs" (Keller, 2007, p. 8). In Finland, entrance requirements for teacher education programs are rigorous. For instance, only 10% to 15% of applicants for teaching jobs in primary school education programs are accepted, and most teachers hold master's degrees (Carnoy et al., 2009). While teachers with graduate degrees earn considerably less than scientists and engineers with similar credentials (Carnoy et al., 2009), Finnish teachers retain a relatively strong professional identity that allows them to be secure in their traditional roles and encourages pupils to be responsive to their teachers' authoritative positions (Simola, 2005). The Finnish educational system is able to "get the best teachers" and "get the best out of teachers" (Bassett, 2008; Sahlberg, 2011), but it is also important to point out that administrative supervision of teachers and evaluation of teaching standards is virtually nonexistent, or at least "minimal by international standards" in Finland (Simola, 2005). Finland's success in PISA and ICCS underscores the point

Table 5. Comparison of Teacher Salaries and Student Achievement[4] for Select Countries Participating in the Most Recent Administrations[5] of Four International Large-Scale Assessments (LSAs)

		Top 10 Rankings in International LSAs				
Country	*Salaries of Teachers and Mathematics-Oriented Professionals Compared*[8]	*PISA 2009*	*TIMSS Gr. 4 2007*	*TIMSS Gr. 8 2007*	*PIRLS 2006*	*ICCS 2009*
Chinese Taipei	Teachers are well paid. Female teachers with a Bachelor's degree earn about the same as scientists and non-scientists. Male teachers earn somewhat less than competing professionals. Both male and female teachers made gains relative to others between 1997 and 2004.	**5th** MAT	**2nd** SCI **3rd** MAT	**1st** MAT **2nd** SCI		**4th**
Italy	Italian female teachers with university degrees are relatively well paid compared to personnel in the science professions, but male teachers earn less than engineers and scientists. Overall, net salaries in all these professions are not high.		**10th** SCI		**8th**	**10th**
Norway	Teacher salaries are lower than those of scientists and considerably lower than those of engineers. The salary gap for male teachers is higher than it is for females.					

Table 6. Comparison of Teacher Salaries and Student Achievement[4] for High-Performing Countries Participating in the Most Recent Administrations[5] of Four International Large-Scale Assessments (LSAs)

		Top 10 Rankings in International LSAs				
Country	*Salaries of Teachers and Mathematics-Oriented Professionals Compared*[8]	*PISA 2009*	*TIMSS Gr. 4 2007*	*TIMSS Gr. 8 2007*	*PIRLS 2006*	*ICCS 2009*
Chinese Taipei	Teachers are well paid. Female teachers with a Bachelor's degree earn about the same as scientists and non-scientists. Male teachers earn somewhat less than competing professionals. Both male and female teachers made gains relative to others between 1997 and 2004.	**5th** MAT	**2nd** SCI **3rd** MAT	**1st** MAT **2nd** SCI		**4th**
Finland	Teachers with a Bachelor's degree earn similar salaries to scientists and engineers, but teachers with Master's degrees earn considerably less than scientists and engineers, and they earn somewhat less than all other occupations requiring graduate degrees. This situation is particularly true for male teachers.	**2nd** SCI **3rd** REA **6th** MAT				**1st**
Hong Kong SAR[4]	Teachers are relatively well paid. Teachers with mathematics/science degrees earn as much as mathematics and science professionals. There was some decline in relative teacher salary position from 1996 to 2001.	**3rd** MAT **3rd** SCI **4th** REA	**1st** MAT **3rd** SCI	**4th** MAT **9th** SCI	**2nd**	

Continued

Table 6. Continued

		Top 10 Rankings in International LSAs				
Country	*Salaries of Teachers and Mathematics-Oriented Professionals Compared*[8]	*PISA 2009*	*TIMSS Gr. 4 2007*	*TIMSS Gr. 8 2007*	*PIRLS 2006*	*ICCS 2009*
Korea	It seems that secondary mathematics teachers earn as much or more than do scientists and engineers with Bachelor's degrees. Primary school teachers earned somewhat less in 1996. Relative salaries changed little between 1996 and 2004. Teachers with a Master's degree earn less than employees in competing professions.	**2nd** REA **4th** MAT **6th** SCI		**2nd** MAT **4th** SCI		**3rd**
Singapore	Both male and female teachers appear to be paid less than accountants or engineers, but the differences are not great. The Ministry of Education periodically reviews the salary package for education officers and attempts to keep it competitive with what peers with similar qualifications and backgrounds earn in the private sector.	**2nd** MAT **4th** SCI **5th** REA	**1st** SCI **2nd** MAT	**1st** SCI **3rd** MAT	**4th**	

that nations in which schools have substantial control over budgeting and hiring perform remarkably well on large-scale assessments (Schleicher & Stewart, 2008).

Yet Finland is not the only country that can credit its teachers and its societal respect of the teaching profession for the high student achievement in international LSAs. For further evidence one need only look at the consistently high performers of Singapore, Hong Kong, Korea, and as already discussed, Chinese Taipei. In Singapore, teachers earn only slightly less than accountants or engineers, and the Ministry of Education regularly reviews education salary packages to keep them competitive with salaries of comparable professions (Carnoy et al., 2009).

Singaporean teachers are recruited from the top 30% of their high school graduates; they receive financial support for initial training; and they participate in 100 hours of required professional development each year (Schliecher & Stewart, 2008). All of these factors may contribute to Singapore's astonishing teacher retention rate, which hovers between 97% and 98% annually (Carnoy et al., 2009). Likewise, in Chinese Taipei, teacher education programs exhibit very competitive admissions and teachers are generally well paid (Carnoy et al., 2009). In Hong Kong, relative teacher salaries declined from 1996 to 2001, but teachers currently remain well paid, earning as much as their degreed peers in mathematics and science fields (Carnoy et al., 2009). A recent study of Hong Kong secondary students' perspectives towards education careers (Lai, Chan, Ko, & So, 2005) corroborated a positive perception of teacher salary, although it also "provided clear empirical evidence confirming the generally held perception that the teaching profession does not attract young people with high academic standards" (p. 165). Finally, and perhaps most remarkably, Korean secondary mathematics teachers actually outearn scientists and engineers with undergraduate degrees (Carnoy et al., 2009).

At this point, it becomes hard to ignore the fact that countries whose students flourish on international LSAs invest in the teaching profession, subsequently providing financial security for teachers and fostering esteem for the teachers' work. In most cases, these countries' educational systems benefit from highly qualified teachers who were academically successful students themselves. According to Tatto (2006) "even those individuals with advanced degrees in the subjects that they aspire to teach need preparation in order to communicate what they know to their students." Most relevant to the argument developed in this paper, Tatto added that "conversely preparation by itself cannot substitute for content knowledge" (p. 238). If educational effectiveness means that students know both the basics of a particular subject and how to think critically and creatively in applying this knowledge to problem solving in novel situations, then teachers labeled as "highly qualified" need to have this knowledge themselves, as well as the ability to communicate it to and embed it in their students. This point has been illustrated in education literature that noted how students' performances on standardized tests did not necessarily later translate to great teaching, although it did serve as a robust predictor of whether teachers could produce academic gains (Beatty, 2008). "In other words, teachers need to do well on PISA standards as well as TIMSS standards" (Bybee & Stage, 2005, p. 73); an analogous argument might be made for PIRLS and ICCS standards too. In another example, Brook Napier (2009) found that a key factor in South Africa's dismal performance on IEA Civic Education studies, PIRLS, and particularly TIMSS was that teachers knew little or nothing about the studies–and that in training workshops many of the teachers could not demonstrate the skills and knowledge needed for successful completion of many test items from TIMSS. The windfall of the requirement that teachers themselves might need to be high achievers on LSAs is that every participating nation in these assessments already has a student population with the potential to carry over academic achievement into high quality

teaching, as the percentages of students who perform at the highest proficiency levels of these assessments "do not vary widely across countries" (Perry, 2009, p. 86). The challenge that remains, ultimately, is finding ways to attract these "best and brightest" students to careers in education.

CONCLUSION

All in all, a meta-interpretation of international LSAs demands a reorientation of how education stakeholders—including policymakers, assessment experts and other researchers, school administrators, teachers, and parents—interpret student achievement results. An image of educational quality may indeed be reflected through the lens of LSAs, but the snapshots represented by each individual LSA offer limited perspective into the complexity of national school systems. Thus, it is crucial to consider LSA results both in terms of internal contexts—that is, within a given country, at multiple levels, down to the local level of teacher-student interactions—and relational contexts—as in which countries might be meaningfully compared, how much and what kind of data is necessary to legitimate such comparisons, how spurious correlations might be avoided, and how hidden dimension might be illuminated. The goal of this chapter is precisely to advocate for meta-interpretation as a model of international comparison, one that acknowledges the shortcomings in drawing conclusions about educational quality in any country from quantitative measures of student performance at just one grade level or in one subject area. By extension, meta-interpretation warns against drawing conclusions about the teachers of these students, whose influence over student performance is both compounded and refracted due to various innumerable factors.

While international LSAs and global league tables of educational systems certainly have their limitations, they should be utilized not in the precarious externalization of educational policies and practices intended to enhance educational effectiveness, but in the championing of the contributions of teachers and the teaching profession to the globalised world. Present educational policy is "too much focused on teacher training and the incentives and barriers to that," and policymakers must realize that "teaching must be seen as an attractive and financially rewarding career" to improve retention and to attract high-quality students to the profession in the long term (Huat See, 2004, p. 225). Otherwise, high-performing students will continue to self-select themselves out of teaching and commit to other careers. If teaching were to become more appealing for a given nation's best and brightest students, then many of the representation issues in education might begin to be worked out as well, as men (see Mulholland & Hansen, 2003), gifted women (see Whatley, 1998), and also individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds (see Gordon, 1994; 2000) would discover greater satisfaction in the profession. Indeed, it is impossible to separate the performances of students on international LSAs from the educational effectiveness of their teachers. In a knowledge economy, "education is increasingly defined as the state's central means for controlling the unpredictable future in the volatile global economy" (Takayama,

2010, p. 59). Thus, investing in teacher quality is the best bet for producing high national achievement, even if does not necessarily narrow the achievement gap among high and low achieving students (Akiba, LeTendre & Scriber, 2007, pp. 381-382). As the nations which have outperformed the rest of the world on PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS, and ICCS suggest, teachers really do make the difference.

NOTES

[1] Adapted from Martin et al., 2008; Mullis et al., 2007; Mullis et al., 2008; Mullis, Martin, Minnich, Drucker, et al., 2012; Mullis, Martin, Minnich, Stanco, et al., 2012; OECD, 2010; and Schulz et al., 2010.

[2] ICCS 2009 builds on two earlier studies conducted by IEA: The IEA Study of Civic Education (part of the Six Subject Survey) in 1971 and The IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) in 1999 (Schulz et al., 2010).

[3] The OECD and IEA identify participants with distinct education systems as countries; therefore, the number of participating countries (as published in OECD and IEA reports) may include both countries and systems within countries.

[4] Achievement scores are scaled separately for each international LSA and are not necessarily intended for direct comparison between assessments. Standard error is listed in parentheses.

[5] Adapted from Martin et al., 2008; Mullis et al., 2007; Mullis et al., 2008; OECD, 2010; and Schulz et al., 2010.

[5] Weighted average rank is calculated by giving equal weight to student achievement in each content area assessed, so that the number of assessments targeting a particular content area does not disproportionately affect a country's performance across all content areas.

[6] Achievement scores are scaled separately for each international LSA and are not necessarily intended for direct comparison between assessments.

[7] Adapted from Carnoy et al., 2009.

[8] Although Hong Kong did participate in the 2009 administration of ICCS, sampling requirements were not met; based on the sample that was obtained, it would rank 5th overall in terms of student achievement.

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3. EDUCATION QUALITY IN KYRGYZSTAN AND THE PROGRAMME FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ASSESSMENT (PISA)

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the quality of education in Kyrgyzstan, with quality defined as outcomes in international student assessments. I also explore the impact of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2006 and 2009 (Schleicher 2009; Shamatov & Sainazarov, 2010) on the quality of secondary education in Kyrgyzstan. In 2006, Kyrgyzstan, along with other 56 other countries participated in PISA. Kyrgyzstan was the first country in post-Soviet Central Asia to enter the PISA competition. In 2009, students of Kyrgyzstan took part in PISA again. The results of both PISA competitions demonstrated that Kyrgyzstan's 15 year-old students performed extremely poorly, with Kyrgyzstan placing last among all participating countries. To date, there are no in-depth studies examining the results and impact of the PISA test on the quality of secondary education in Kyrgyzstan. Based on a series of semi-structured interviews and document analysis conducted in 2009 and 2010, I describe what lessons were learned from the PISA experience and whether the process had any significant impact on the quality of education in Kyrgyzstan.

CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

After the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, Kyrgyzstan began experiencing serious problems in the field of education (DeYoung, 2004; Shamatov & Niyozov, 2010). Preschool enrolment declined catastrophically during the 1990s. Out of 1,604 preschool institutions existing in 1991, only 416 remained by 2000 (DeYoung, 2004), and overall preschool enrolment in Central Asia was only 14% in 1999 (Open Society Institute, 2002). According to Ministry of Education and Science (MoES) statistics in 2009–2010, there were 2,134 public schools in Kyrgyzstan:1,379 were Kyrgyz-medium schools, 162 were Russian-medium schools, 137 were Uzbek-medium schools, and seven were Tajik-medium schools. Four hundred and forty nine schools had two or more languages of instruction (Interview, staff of Ministry of Education and Science, July 5th, 2009).

Some 83.6% of the population of Kyrgyzstan completed secondary education in 1993; this decreased to 76.4% in 1996, and further to 69% in 1999 (DeYoung, 2002). The gap between the quality of education offered in urban and rural schools became

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evident. Moreover, there are 73 private schools in Kyrgyzstan (Interview, staff of Ministry of Education and Science, July 5th, 2009) mostly located in urban areas where wealthy families can afford to pay school fees (Open Society Institute, 2002). However, in reality only a small fraction of people can afford quality education for their children. Children from rural and mountain schools normally receive poor quality education. They are also frequently distracted by agricultural work and other family responsibilities (Open Society Institute, 2002). Thus, since the break-up of the USSR, the Kyrgyz public and the education community have raised concerns about the dramatic decline in the quality of education in the country.

PROGRAMME FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ASSESSMENT (PISA)

The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is an international standardised test allowing for comparative assessments of 15 year-old students. OECD members and partners participate in the PISA process to assess the comparative quality and condition of their education systems.

PISA also highlights components of participating countries' education systems, and offers recommendations to improve education quality. PISA assessments started in 1998 and they take place in three-yearly cycles with one study area heavily focused in each cycle: reading literacy in 2000; mathematics literacy in 2003; science literacy in 2006; and reading literacy again in 2009. Educational authorities pay serious attention to PISA results because they provide objective and reliable data about education quality, and they highlight both strengths and weakness of education systems (Figazzolo, 2009; Shamatov & Sainazarov 2010). Based on PISA results, many countries have launched educational reforms to improve education delivery quality and the system in general. For example, French President Sarkozy launched school reform under the 2007 *Révision Générale des Politiques Publiques* (general revision of public policies) using PISA 2006 results to support educational reform in France. Similarly, German Education Ministers launched major educational reforms under the "Seven Action Areas" programme to improve education and learning, based on the PISA 2000 and 2003 results (Figazzolo, 2009). These examples demonstrate the impact of PISA beyond simply testing whether students have acquired predefined knowledge and skills from school curricula or not. However, there are several limitations to the PISA process. PISA cannot reflect a complete picture of a school system, nor in-depth information about education and education quality; certain skills and competencies cannot be assessed with standardised tests. Practitioners caution that a focus on standardised tests can negatively impact the classroom experience. When a state pays too much attention to testing, introducing more measurement and national testing mechanisms based on the PISA model and methodology, this can lead to fundamental changes in teaching and learning (Figazzolo, 2009).

In 2006, students in Kyrgyzstan participated in PISA for the first time, and again in 2009. In 2012 Kyrgyzstan did not participate in PISA. According to the officials

from the MoES (email communication from March 4th, 2013), this was a political decision as the Minister of Education and Science did not want Kyrgyzstan scoring the last among the participating countries once again.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

To study the impact of PISA on education quality in Kyrgyzstan, I adopted a qualitative research design (Merriam, 1998). I collected data between 2009 and 2012, mainly using semi-structured interviews and document analysis (Bell, 2005; Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995). I used purposeful sampling (Miles & Huberman, 1994) to gain the maximum possible data from expert respondents about the impact of the PISA on education in Kyrgyzstan. Respondents to semi-structured interviews included representatives of the MoES of Kyrgyzstan, the Public Advisory Council of MoES, the Kyrgyz Academy of Education (KAE), international development organisations, public and private universities, school administrators and teachers, and community members and students. In total, I interviewed 30 people, who were selected on a volunteer basis (Cohen & Manion, 1997; Glesne, 1999). I employed document analysis (Bell, 2005) to obtain data in for my research questions. Data sources here included documents and reports of the MoES, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) reports on PISA 2006 and PISA 2009, and the Center for Educational Assessment and Teaching Methods (CEATM); stories and reports in the mass media; and other materials. To address the issues of reliability and validity of the data collected from interviews and document analysis, I used verification and triangulation strategies including member checks and cross checking to obtain auditability for the data.

PISA RESULTS AND RESEARCH FINDINGS

Performance of students of Kyrgyzstan in PISA 2006

In 2006, Kyrgyzstan participated in PISA for the first time, one of 30 OECD member countries and 27 partner countries and economies who participated. Around 400,000 students were randomly selected to participate in PISA, representing about 20 million 15 year-old students from the 57 participating countries. Representative samples of between 3,500 and 50,000 15-year-old students were drawn in each country. PISA 2006 focused on student competency in science.

The decision for Kyrgyzstan to participate in PISA for the first time was made in 2005 by the then Minister of Education and Science of Kyrgyzstan, with encouragement and financial support of the Rural Education Project (REP) of the World Bank (WB), aiming to improve learning and learning conditions in primary and secondary education in Kyrgyzstan. A local REP consultant commented,

> We hesitated for a long time to go with PISA. We thought as an international test, there would be test questions which were comfortable for French children, for example, and

> not for our kids. We then reviewed all PISA documents, and had discussions with other consultants about how test items of PISA are developed. We learned that PISA test items undergo very thorough examination and review and are adapted to each country specifically. There should be no shocking questions to any student from any part of the world. Only when all participating countries say: "Yes, this suits our country", PISA test items are approved. (Interview, April 3, 2010).

According to a specialist in the MoES of Kyrgyzstan, "Everyone was excited to participate and see the results of PISA. It could be a tool to demonstrate the state of education in our country, which area of the education system is not performing well, and how bad or good the system is in comparison with other countries" (Interview, April 10, 2010). The REP consultant added, "It was important to know, not only where Kyrgyzstan stood but, why we stood where we stood, and what should be done so that we could move forward" (Interview, April 3, 2010).

The MoES identified the following objectives for Kyrgyzstan's participation in PISA 2006 (Shamatov & Sainazarov 2010):

- To assess the educational achievement of Kyrgyzstan's students with a modern and international assessment tool;
- To define what place Kyrgyzstan occupies in the world in terms of the level of preparedness of 15 year old schoolchildren for adult life; and
- To analyse the results of research and propose recommendations and ways of school development and improvement.

The PISA 2006 in Kyrgyzstan was conducted by the Center for Educational Assessment and Teaching Methods (CEATM), with financial support from the REP. CEATM is an independent testing organisation in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, founded by the American Councils for International Education with United States Agency for International Development funding (see www.testing.kg) add to list. Around 6,000 students from 201 schools were randomly selected to participate in the test that was conducted in Kyrgyz, Russian and Uzbek languages.

The PISA 2006 results were first presented on February 7th of 2008 at an event attended by MoES officials, representatives from the President's Administration, members of the Kyrgyz parliament (*Jogorku Kenesh*), representatives of international organisations and other stakeholders (Shamatov & Sainazarov 2010). The results showed that Kyrgyz 15 year-old students performed extremely poorly; Kyrgyzstan placed last among the 57 participating countries and economies.

Finland performed highest in science (563 points on the average student score of 500). Chinese Taipei (549), Finland (548), Hong Kong-China (547) and South Korea (547) performed highest in mathematics; and Korea performed highest in reading (556)**.** Students from Kyrgyzstan achieved a mean score of 322 points in science, 311 points in mathematics and 285 points in reading, the lowest scores among the participating countries and economies. Even among other post-Soviet countries (including Estonia, Russia and Armenia), Kyrgyzstan's results were

poor. Only 13.6% of Kyrgyzstan's participants were able to carry out a basic level of tasks in science, 11.7% in reading and 11.8% in mathematics. Over 85% did not score even the basic level of the PISA scale, meaning that a great majority of students could not demonstrate the science competencies that would enable them to participate actively in life situations related to science and technology (OECD, 2007). The science performance scales were constructed so that the average student score in OECD countries is 500 points. In PISA 2006, about two-thirds of students scored between 400 and 600 points (i.e., a standard deviation equal to 100 points).

The PISA 2006 results provided solid evidence of the terrible state of secondary education in Kyrgyzstan. A specialist from the Kyrgyz Academy of Education (KAE) stated, "On one hand, the PISA result was shameful for us, but on the other, it was very useful because we were able to know the education quality in Kyrgyzstan according to the international standards. The poor result made all of us seriously think about our education system." (Interview, June 26, 2009).

The REP specialist commented,

> We knew the education quality was declining, but we did not have the exact picture of what was bad and how bad it was. The PISA results gave us documentary evidence as to where our position was. This is very significant evidence which no one can deny or ignore. Education ministers come and go, but these documents remain. (Interview, April 3, 2010)

Some government officials of the Kyrgyz Republic reacted strongly when the PISA results were made public; some members of parliament questioned the validity of the PISA study, especially its sampling procedure. According to them, only good schools were supposed to participate in PISA competition.

Performance of Students of Kyrgyzstan in PISA 2009

In 2009, Kyrgyzstan participated in PISA again, in a total 65 countries and economies competing in both main and additional competitions of PISA. The main focus of PISA 2009 was reading literacy, defined as "understanding, using, reflecting on and engaging with written texts, in order to achieve one's goals, to develop one's knowledge and potential, and to participate in society" (CEATM report, 2011, p.17), thereby assessing the ability of students to understand and use written texts, and develop ideas about the reading material. As in 2008, PISA assessment in Kyrgyzstan was conducted by the CEATM with financial support from the REP. This time, 4,986 fifteen year-olds from 173 educational institutions took part in the test, proportionally representing urban and rural settings.

Once again, the test results placed Kyrgyzstan last among all the participating countries and economies. The highest scores were attained by students of Shanghai-China (556), South Korea (539), Finland (536), Hong Kong-China (533),

Singapore (526), Canada (524), New Zealand (521) and Japan (520). The mean score of students from Kyrgyzstan was only 314. In Kyrgyzstan, as many as 83.2% percent of students fell below the minimal standard (Level 2) in reading; 86.6% fell below in mathematics and 82% fell below in science, indicating that students at this level cannot productively and effectively participate in real life situations. Conversely, only 16.8% of students reached Level 2 or above in reading, 13.4% in mathematics and 18% in science.

Once again, there were immediate reactions in all circles, particularly the mass media. However, it is important to note that there were significant improvements in Kyrgyzstan's scores from PISA 2006 to PISA 2009. In reading literacy, the mean score improved from 285 to 313, in mathematics from 311 to 330, and in science from 322 to 330. Additionally, while 11.8% of students reached the minimal standard in reading in 2006, 16.6% attained it in 2009; in mathematics, 10.6% reached the minimal standard in 2006 and 13.1% attained it in 2009; and in science, 13.6% reached the minimal standard in 2006 and 18.3% attained it in 2009. However, these improvements were overshadowed by Kyrgyzstan's last place in both PISA 2006 and PISA 2009.

Impact of the PISA Results in Kyrgyzstan

The PISA 2006 results increased awareness of the state of education quality in Kyrgyzstan, while PISA 2009 results further confirmed that the education quality in Kyrgyzstan needed urgent improvement. Government and education authorities started using the PISA results as a reference point in forums and meetings. The REP Country Coordinator observed: "In all strategic and programme documents they [government] now include questions about PISA related to content of education, methodology and resources" (Interview, April 3, 2010). The poor results of PISA 2006 also gave education officials an opportunity to strategically gain support from international development agencies. However, Silova and Steiner-Khamsi (2009) reported that "Ministries of education also had to familiarise themselves with the new philosophy of aid; it was necessary to emphasize needs, not accomplishments. They had to convey a graphic sense of educational crisis to attract external funding" (p.14). Thus, the government education officials "learned to belittle their own accomplishments and instead emphasize how far their system lagged behind other countries (Silova & Steiner-Khamsi, 2009, p.14).

Thus, the PISA 2006 and 2009 results impacted efforts to improve education quality. In some cases, the results catalised new actions, in others they strengthened already existing efforts. Below are examples of how the PISA results had a direct impact. Some are examples of initiatives being changed in response to PISA, while others are examples of government responses using PISA to lobby for more funds from international donors.

Factors Explaining Low Performance of Kyrgyz Students

While the international community of practice uses PISA results as evidence to support policy dialogue on education and benchmarking, it is important to note the co-relationship with the GDP per capita of a participating country with the educational performance, especially for a low-income economy. In this context, the disappointing performance of Kyrgyzstan in PISA 2006 and 2009 should not be a surprise given its current level of per capita GDP of US$800, which is similar to a low-income economy in Africa or Latin America. Kyrgyzstan had the lowest real gross domestic product among all PISA countries, which was US$ 1994 in 2007 (according to Schleicher, 2000). The majority of the participants of PISA are OECD countries. PISA results showed that students representing countries with higher GDP generally score higher. However, this does not mean that low GDP countries cannot score highly in PISA, for example according to Schleicher (2010), in Shanghai-China GDP was US$ 5430, which was relatively low among values in most PISA 2009 countries, nevertheless, Shanghai-China scored first in all three subject areas, i.e., reading, mathematics and science literacy. Similarly, Kyrgyzstan could also perform far better even with the current socio-economic conditions in the country, if the education reforms are implemented systematically and thoughtfully.

Curriculum Reform. One of the main educational areas that needed to be changed as a result of PISA assessment related to the educational standards and programmes. The PISA 2006 and 2009 reports recommended curriculum of Kyrgyzstan needed to be aligned with international standards and to focus on modern skills and competencies at higher proficiency levels (Briller, 2009). The REP Country Coordinator stated, "Curriculum is at the heart of everything, and all other reform initiatives are linked to curriculum reform. So, we are trying to change our curriculum according to international standards" (Interview, April 3, 2010). The REP assessment specialist stated: "Our teachers mostly teach to develop rote memorisation and retelling. But the PISA asks questions like 'Why? How do you use this formula? How does this formula work in real life?'" (Interview, April 3, 2010.) A specialist from CEATM added,

> Our children cannot apply their knowledge in real life situations. For example, there was a question in the PISA test asking where you should put a torch in order to get maximum lighting in the room, which requires knowledge of physics. Most students from Kyrgyzstan could not answer the question correctly.

However, curricular reforms were already underway when the PISA 2006 results became public. Then, a new national curriculum framework was spearheaded by the Soros Foundation, Kyrgyzstan in 2010. While the Asian Development Bank's Second Education Project (ADB SEP) had also been working on development of subject-based curricula about the same time independently. Both curriculum reform initiatives by the Soros Foundation and SEP of ADB attempted to shift from content-

based to competency-based curriculum. Competency is defined as the integrated ability of a person to apply different elements of knowledge, skills and abilities in real life situations. The main goal of this approach is for children to be able to use their school knowledge in real or close to real-life situations. An education specialist at the Soros Foundation commented:

> The curriculum framework is a main document in education, and all documents should follow it. It describes goals and objectives of education at different levels, means to achieve those goals, including methodology of teaching and structure of the of the education system. (Interview, July 28, 2009.)

Subject based curricula of SEP ADB for primary grades one to four are already developed and approved, and subject curricula for grades five to nine are still being developed. These curricula aim to develop student competencies and include innovative teaching methods (SEP Specialist, Interview, April 3, 2010).

The results also provided clarity on where Kyrgyzstan stood internationally, and curriculum developers use the lessons and recommendations of PISA reports in their work. After the PISA 2006 results were announced, the MoES strongly supported the curriculum reform, and pushed to expedite the process of curriculum development, one step in the long process towards improving standards and quality in education.

> If we complete the development of curriculum framework tomorrow, then the day after tomorrow, we will write textbooks according to new curriculum, and then train teachers accordingly. We will develop resources, and then, after we teach for five years, it will be necessary to participate in PISA and see the real outcome; the pluses and minuses of this new curriculum. Thus, it will take about ten years before we see some significant changes. (Education Specialist, Soros Foundation of Kyrgyzstan, July 28, 2009)

Unfortunately, these initial curricular initiatives were occurring without much coordination and consultation, with an unfortunate disconnect between those who were developing the new curricula (curriculum framework and subject curriculum) and those who would ultimately implement it. Also, the body under the MoES responsible for curriculum development, educational standards, content and textbooks–the Kyrgyz Academy of Education–was left out of the curriculum development reforms, especially by the subject curriculum reform of SEP ADB. According to the co-chair of Public Advisory Council to the MoES, "SEP staff members worked closely with so called self-selected 'innovative' educators from Bishkek and ignored the Kyrgyz Academy of Education (KAE), and thus, they developed their own subject curriculum for Grades 1 to 4, and understandably the KAE acted with resentment" (Interview, December 10th of 2012). A representative of KAE said (interview, December 21, 2012),

> SEP mostly selected their own people from Bishkek schools and organized seminars for them in Issyk-Kul to imitate the participation of teachers and educators community in curriculum development, but instead just wasted money, and worked very poorly, but

> then at the end when the project was coming to an end, they had to come to KAE so that we approve their 'poorly developed subject curriculum.

Thus, despite the good intentions, curriculum reforms have not been successful to-date. The curriculum change process needs reexamination. An initial proposal for change can come internally from the MoES or externally from a donor agency such as ADB. Upon approval by the Ministry, the change is legislated and passed down through the *oblast* and *rayon* administrative levels until it reaches schools. However, there is usually very little input from teachers–the implementers of the new curriculum. Curriculum reform, inaccessible to teachers and other practitioners, is vulnerable to interpretation and manipulation. It is necessary to engage teachers in conceptualising curriculum and education standards and developing useful curriculum materials. Thus, PISA results pointed out at the need for curricular reform, however, there was a lack of coordinated effort and capacity for executing systemic and holistic curriculum reform in Kyrgyzstan.

Reduction of Education Load. According to analysis of the PISA results (CEATM, 2011), overloaded learning time negatively affected Kyrgyz student performance. Kyrgyz students spent the longest amount of time in lessons, among all students in PISA 2006. After the break-up of the USSR, new subjects were added to an already long list of subjects (Shamatov, 2010). The annual educational load for 15 years-old students in Kyrgyzstan in 2006 was 1,190 hours, while students in Finland clocked only 855 hours. As Steiner-Khamsi et al. (2007, p.23) wrote "The breadth of knowledge required is overwhelming as is the limited amount of time in which teachers have to cover it. This also assumes that children attend school every day and that teachers also attend regularly." However, longer contact hours for regular classes do not necessarily guarantee quality education. Recently, the KAE has been working to consolidate and reduce existing subjects (Steiner-Khamsi et al., 2007). It is also worth mentioning that the consolidation and reduction of education load are being greeted with resentment by educators who are going to be personally affected by the changes. Teachers who teach particular subjects are resentful because they would end up teaching less hours and thus get less salary if their subject hours are reduced.

While reducing the amount of education load may be a positive step forward, just reducing the number of hours does not solve the problem. The next step is to ensure that the reduced amount of time is used efficiently, effectively and qualitatively. Extracurricular activities, such as science clubs, fairs, competitions and excursions also positively affect students' performance and should be scheduled.

*Teacher shortages***.** Shortages and inadequate quality of teaching personnel were significant factors contributing to the poor PISA performance of students from Kyrgyzstan. "About 25% of students from schools participating in PISA did not take one science classes in academic year of 2004-2005. Only 3% of students studied at

schools where there were no vacancies for science teachers, and 72% of vacancies were filled by teachers of other subject areas" (CEATM report, 2008). This result provides alarming insight into the availability of qualified and quality teachers in just one subject area in Kyrgyz schools.

According to the MoES specialist, teacher shortages remained between 3,000 and 4,000 each year from 2002 to 2007 (Shamatov & Joldoshalieva, 2010; Shamatov 2013). Additionally, the percentage of young teachers entering the profession fell by 60% in 2005 and 35% in 2007. Many who do begin teaching do not remain in schools very long due to professional and socio-economic difficulties (Shamatov, 2013; Shamatov, 2005). According to data collected by district education office staff in 2007, schools lost 32% of foreign language teachers, 27-28% of Russian language teachers, 27-28% of computer science teachers, 15% of history teachers, 15% of biology teachers, 12% of primary grade teachers and 12% of mathematics teachers (USAID, 2009).

To address the teacher shortage, the Kyrgyz Government is trying to attract and retain young teachers. In 2004, the government introduced a new project called "Deposit for Young Teachers" in 2004 (Shamatov 2005) and 200 beginning teachers were contracted. In addition to their salaries, they were credited 2000 som a month (US$1 = 48 Kyrgyz som in September 2013), for a total of 76,000 som each, to be withdrawn only after completing their three-year contracts that obligated them to work at village schools to which they were assigned. Officials hoped that retaining these young teachers at village schools would lead to their adaptation and continued commitment to teaching at the same schools. Additionally, with the help of international donor agencies, the MoES has been attempting to introduce teacher salary reforms to give teachers significantly higher salaries, however, this initiative has also received mixed reactions.

Ineffective teaching methods. Ineffective teaching approaches were also commonly believed to be a reason for the poor PISA results, and linked to poor systems of pre- and in-service training for teachers and the lack of consistent and motivational teacher evaluation systems. Most teaching was reported to be poor and not aligned with modern pedagogical theories and practices, according to the specialist from KAE who observed:

> More than 70% of teachers in Kyrgyzstan are doing their job routinely or with inertia. They just come to work, pretend to be teaching and then leave. Teachers only cover the daily plans which are developed by the Ministry of Education. Only about 5% of teachers update their knowledge. Students do not like the way their teachers teach because what they teach often has no relevance to students' daily lives. (Interview, June 25, 2009)

It is essential to improve the quality of teaching by using more effective teaching methods and materials. Even though the competency-based approach to teaching and student assessment is inscribed in the current curriculum framework, it remains to be implemented in practice. Many international development agencies are

assisting local education authorities to provide effective *in-service* teacher education by introducing elements of student centred and interactive teaching methods. Most of these development agencies have used poor results of PISA 2006 and 2009 as a rationale for their intervention or aid projects.

However, *pre-service* teacher education has been neglected as Silova and Steiner-Khamsi (2009, p.32) argued,

> Large donors considered teachers to be a 'lost generation,' not [worth investing in]…. Intervention in the "future generation," that is, in students at pre-service teacher education was also considered off limits for large donors, for two reasons: first, higher-education reform is not a priority of international aid; and second, there is too much "wastage" in teacher education, given that fewer than half of the graduates in teacher education ever enter the teaching profession.

In this context, only the USAID "Sapattuu Bilim" project (2007-2012) worked effectively in pre-service teacher education for the first time. As Tate et al. (2011) reported, the "Sapattuu Bilim" project had attempted to make a contribution to the reform of pre-service teacher education in Kyrgyzstan, albeit in selected institutions, by working on capacity development, introducing innovative interactive teaching methods, and revising methodology course materials and standards. If more reform initiatives of this type are promoted at pre-service teacher education, it is possible that Kyrgyzstan would acquire better-qualified teachers who could work effectively in schools.

Shortage and poor quality of textbooks and other resources. Respondents reported that insufficient quantities of textbooks and teaching materials, especially in Kyrgyz language, and the poor quality of available materials were commonly led to poor quality education and the poor PISA results. The current policy of the MoES is to provide free textbooks for all grades of secondary education (grades 1-11). In reality, there is not enough money for full provision, and shortages are acute especially in grades 6, 7 and 8 and in Kyrgyz-language schools.sentence moved According to the

National Statistics Committee (2008), only 17% of Kyrgyz-medium schools received about 50% of their textbooks, and only 18% received more than 80% of their textbooks. Over 30% of Russian-medium schools received less than 50% of their textbooks, and only 24% of Russian-medium schools received more than 80% of their textbooks.

The poor quality of textbooks is attributed to the textbook development and publication procedure. Currently, one institution, the KAE, is responsible for developing requirements for writing and approving textbooks. This monopoly on textbook development has contributed to the low quality of textbooks. Additionally, textbooks are often developed by authors who work at KAE and textbooks are approved by KAE specialists, leading to a conflict of interest. According to an education official from Jalal-Abad (interview, March 4th of 2011), the textbooks are usually overly theoretical and difficult for both teachers and students to use.

Teachers and other practitioners are usually excluded from processes of curriculum and textbook development. Piloting of textbooks, often does not happen, so feedback from teachers about the quality of new textbooks and their classroom relevance is not sought.

The Second Education Project of ADB worked on subject curriculum reform (mentioned earlier), also attempted to introduce new procedures for textbook development. According to their initiative, tender for textbook manuscripts was announced in the summer of 2010, and funds were committed for printing textbooks for primary grades in 2011. In 2009 a short-lived small "Unit for Textbook Preparation and Publication" was established to open textbook authorship by holding competitions for authors and subjecting their manuscripts to unbiased expert council evaluations. The Unit was dissolved before it could fully start with its work. Unfortunately, personnel in the Unit could not work productively with Kyrgyz Academy of Education, and there were no formal connections between the Unit and the KAE, although the Unit was set up to take over the KAE's role in approving textbooks. Understandably, KAE rejected this change.

The PISA 2006 survey also examined levels of school resources and found that compared to schools in other OECD countries, schools in Kyrgyzstan have very low levels of material resources (OECD, 2007). There are significant relationships between the level of material resources and overall performance. Over 90% of school directors surveyed for PISA 2006 referred to the lack of, or low quality of, physical and material resources such as laboratories, textbooks, computers, Internet access, libraries, audio-visual facilities and other tools as contributing to poor quality of education. Government education officials have started using the PISA 2006 and 2009 recommendations to gain support and more resources from donor agencies.

Lack of school autonomy and financial reform. Respondents of PISA surveys also cited a lack of school autonomy as a reason for the poor PISA results. Poor results in PISA 2006 and 2009 were often used as arguments for poor quality of education caused by poor and inflexible financing systems, and thus reforms in school financing have been promoted. The ability of school administrators to develop and manage their budget, formulate school curriculum, and adjust school management to compete with other schools has been severely limited by a centralised system that continues to mirror the system established during Soviet times.

Traditional budget allocation processes were retained from the Soviet period, with each school formulating its budget estimate using norms based on inputs (such as the number of classes, teaching hours, the square metres of school property, and previous budget allocations) rather than on outputs. Schools submitted estimates to the municipal administration where proposals were reviewed against actual resource availability. Usually, the actual budget received was much less than the submitted budget. This procedure limited school directors' autonomy in making allocative choices based on the particular needs of each school. There was no incentive for schools to economise, since the school was unlikely to benefit from the savings.

School budgets were sometimes cut by the amount saved during the previous year. Indeed, there was more incentive for schools to inflate their needs just to get basic needs covered.

From 2005, as part of decentralisation reform, state funds were allocated to village governments to distribute money to schools. Despite this, the budget allocation process, which involves bargaining and centralised discretion, remains non-transparent, unpredictable, and cumbersome. It does not address long-term strategic issues, resulting in an inflexible and inefficient use of scarce resources (Briller, 2009).

To address the issues raised above, per capita school financing, the MoES, with support from the WB and USAID, began piloting per capita finance at schools to increase "cost effectiveness and efficiency by decentralising education finance, including financial autonomy at school level by introducing per capita financing, and by enhancing social accountability and participation" (Silova & Steiner-Khamsi, 2009, p. 19). It is a tool to address equity and efficiency in resource allocation with direct bearing on quality. Nevertheless, if teachers receive more money under per capita financing, and if schools can use the saved money more effectively, the common expectation is that the quality of education may improve. The per capita funding system prioritizes school autonomy, allowing schools to make allocative choices in their budgets, according to their individual needs.

Now, the MoES faces difficulty in whether or not to implement the per capita funding scheme countrywide. There is an issue of engaging stakeholders and the general public in a more effective manner to manage the misperceptions, there are also issues with the scheme regarding local capacity to implement. Limited evaluation done on the pilot projects operating from 2006 to 2011 provided no solid evidence and public awareness as to why all schools of Kyrgyzstan should shift to per capita financing. I believe the main reason for failure to learn lessons from these pilot projects so far is there was no solid empirical research to demonstrate how it works in the context of Kyrgyzstan, what the benefits are for teachers and schools and the quality of education, and how the specific contextual challenges in Kyrgyzstan. There is no convincing argument especially for how small remote mountain schools may operate under per capita financing. As a result, some opponents of per capita financing, especially human rights activists in some non-government organizations, argue that per capita financing is a "western intervention" that may cause more damage than good in the education system of Kyrgyzstan. They argue particularly that small and remote schools would suffer most; that some would even be closed because they would not be able to enroll sufficient students to obtain enough funding from the government allocations.

I believe that the problem here is not because of the per capita idea itself, as it had been piloted in Kyrgyzstan. The respondents in my research also stated that most of the local actors who piloted per capita financing in Kyrgyzstan were not necessarily specialists in education, but in finance. Thus, they could not provide convincing arguments and evidence of the both financing and educational benefits of the per

capita financing, and these ideas were thus not disseminated to the government and the general public to-date.

Equity Issues. The PISA 2006 results highlighted existing issues related to equity and access to quality education. Students at private and elite urban schools of Kyrgyzstan showed significantly better performance in PISA 2006 than their rural counterparts. The higher social and economic status of students in schools impacted literacy levels, and the PISA test results.

Since the break-up of the USSR, which in theory promoted egalitarian principles, issues of equity have become less pronounced. Although Soviet education espoused equality and uniformity, many scholars argue that, contrary to official doctrine, Soviet schooling was never really monolithic or egalitarian. Besides clear disparities between Russian- and non-Russian-medium schools, status differences existed between urban and rural schools and between schools with an emphasis on English or mathematics (Niyozov, 2001; Sutherland, 1999). Korth and Schulter (2003) observed that nowadays Russian-medium schools continue to offer a better standard of education than schools taught in Kyrgyz and other local languages. Russian-medium schools continue to enjoy high prestige and are attended by children of different linguistic backgrounds, while Kyrgyz-medium schools are attended exclusively by ethnic Kyrgyz children (Korth & Schulter, 2003).

Post-Soviet education policy officially endorsed the diversification of schools, resulting in the creation of "new type" schools, which further stratified Kyrgyz society. A small number of parents can now afford to choose quality education for their children (Shamatov, 2013).

PISA 2006 confirmed the huge gap between the quality of education offered at urban and rural schools. Unfortunately, this gap is increasing; some urban schools are becoming stronger, while the majority of rural and mountain schools are deteriorating. In the large majority of rural, semi-rural and mountain schools teachers still emphasise facts and memorisation, but the PISA test assesses higher-order thinking and the application of knowledge in real life. The following figure shows PISA 2006 performance in science based on school location (urban and rural) in several selected countries. Figure 1 shows a clear progression in performance from rural to urban areas in Kyrgyzstan, indicating a huge disparity in the quality of education. Students from rural schools scored only 300, while those in Bishkek scored 430; a difference of 130. Kyrgyzstan is represented as the lowest and steepest line in the graph. This was the largest difference among the nine UNICEF education development programme countries. Only Bulgaria seems to have large disparity while large city-village differences in the comparison countries range around 20-70 points only.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The results of the PISA 2006 were shocking, and PISA 2009 further confirmed that the education quality in Kyrgyzstan is very low. However, the dismal performance

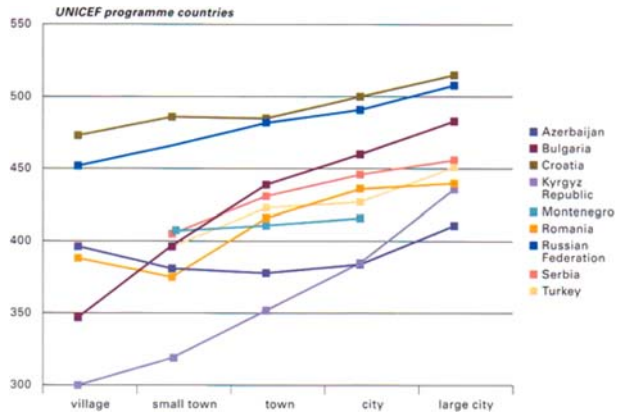

Figure 1. Mean science performance of schools by location, PISA 2006 (UNICEF 2009).

also inspired self-reflection in the Kyrgyz education system. Administrators and educators are now increasingly involved in advocacy and policymaking. The PISA 2006 and 2009 results shaped public opinion via the mass media, and education policy debates have been impacted. While policymakers initiated reforms in education before the PISA 2006 and 2009 findings, they are now legitimising their recommendations and actions with the PISA results.

Reforms and setbacks following PISA 2006 and 2009 are impacted by broader contextual issues. There is a lack of strong local capacity of education experts and policy makers. Reforms are implemented sporadically with various planning agencies and implementing bodies that do not communicate. Most reform initiatives and documents are conceptualised and designed by international agencies. "Education system reforms have been driven primarily by the agendas and procedures of the funding and technical assistance agencies," with the result that reforms are imposed externally rather than initiated internally (Silova & Steiner-Khamsi, 2009, p. 10). Since independence, Kyrgyzstan has seen a myriad of international education assistance projects. Silova and Steiner-Khamsi (2009, p.60) observed that education reforms are often imposed from outside or voluntarily adopted out of fear of falling behind internationally. From the early 1990s, different international agencies (UN, World Bank, IMF, EBRD, ADB, OSCE), foreign agencies (USAID, JICA, CIDA, TOCA, GTZ, DANIDA), private foundations and philanthropists (OSI, Soros Foundation, Aga Khan Foundation) and international non-government organisations (Save the children, Mercy Corps, Academy of Educational Development, CARE) have been working actively in the field of education. These organisations are now assisting the MoES to conduct major education reform, using the results and lessons learned from PISA 2006 and 2009. Reforms fall within in a range of areas including curriculum, introduction of standards and outcome-based education, student-centred

learning, decentralisation of education finance and governance, and standardisation of student assessment.

Regarding the impact of PISA, it certainly played a role of shaming first, then providing a wake-up call for action. Two points are noteworthy: (i) secondary analyses were done after 2010 on the results of both 2006 and 2009 to identify the key determinants of poor performance with the help of World Bank consultants and staff. Unfortunately, the reports were prepared in English only, not translated into Kyrgyz and Russian, remaining mostly accessible to the international actors and a limited number of local actors working with international agencies. Footnote inserted into text; (ii) Perhaps not a direct result of the analysis of PISA but at least indirectly, the results prompted the formulation of an action plan to address the key challenges in improving learning from expanding access to pre-school through 11 years of basic schooling. These are eminent in the government's new strategy, most recently in the Education Development Strategy 2012-2020 (MOES, 2011).

While the contributions of donor and other international agencies are much needed, there is often dissonance between the discourse of donors and local needs. It is still unclear whether international initiatives truly reflect local needs and bring about sustainable improvements. Additionally, different components of education, such as the overall curriculum framework, subject-specific curriculum, assessment, teacher training and textbook development are being worked on by different agencies who often operate in isolation with little or no communication. There is no effective coordination between all the international and national institutions working on the educational sector. A KAE specialist argued:

> It is true that there are many international organisations working on the education sector, but the problem is that in most cases they choose the education issues and problems for their project themselves without asking the MoES for suggestions. Sometimes, they repeat already implemented projects. Unfortunately, the MoES also does not actively suggest educational issues. (Interview, June 25, 2009).

There is often a lack of systematic, well-coordinated effort (REP Assessment Specialist, April 3, 2010). In fact, there is often overlap and duplication. Most reform initiatives are not institutionalised, indicating a lack of sustainability (Steiner-Khamsi et al., 2007). Systemic change in the education system is only possible when all stakeholders–both national and international–coordinate their activities and when the initiatives focus on strengthening institutions and sustainability.

There is a change in donor behavior through a process of taking a sector-wide approach, putting the government in a driver's seat, and more importantly building capacity for self-sustaining policies informed by evidence and international experience. However, due to low capacity of government education actors, the donors still end up mostly leading, if not dictating, the education reforms in the country.

CONCLUSIONS

Developing new standards and curriculum, reducing education loads, modernising school infrastructure and equipment, improving teaching standards and performance, and introducing per capita financing were some of the reforms that received new impetus from the results and lessons of the PISA 2006 and 2009 experience for Kyrgyzstan. The results provided further proof that the national standard of education has to improve and there is a need for significant changes in curriculum and teaching methodologies. Some changes are now being implemented by the MoES, with the support of international donor agencies. PISA has been a driving force for reforms, however, within current economic constraints, it is difficult to expect drastic changes. The MoES has been using the PISA results to gain support from international donor agencies. The PISA data have also been used by different actors in the educational debate to support their various positions.

The PISA results demonstrated that there is a significant gap between the quality of education offered at Kyrgyz urban and rural schools. Unfortunately, this gap is not decreasing but increasing. For example, a key reason that Finland scored its top position in PISA 2006 is the fact that it has a strong secondary school system across the country, and there is no divide between quality of education in urban and rural settings. Almost all students in Finland have access to quality education. As a matter of public policy, the Kyrgyz government needs to address this increasing and invest to improve education quality in rural schools so the gap is reduced (Shamatov & Sainazarov, 2010).

PISA 2006 and 2009 provided a reliable and objective assessment of education quality and they can effectively strengthen messages for reform to government authorities and other stakeholders of education. The test results showed that the majority of Kyrgyz students cannot apply their knowledge and skills in real life situations. They have little understanding of concepts and they mostly memorised concepts and facts. This is dangerous for the country's future: if school students do not develop critical and analytical thinking and problem solving skills, and cannot use their knowledge in real life, they will become citizens who are unprepared to address the issues and challenges in a dramatically changing world. The PISA results were a wake-up call that has already, and can further, strengthen education reform efforts in Kyrgyzstan, as long as that reform is carried out in a systematic and well-coordinated way.

Fullan and Miles (1992), analysing the history of successful and unsuccessful reforms, asserted that most reforms fail because those who push for change do not involve all stakeholders, fail to recognize the complexity of their problems, and adopt superficial and quick solutions. Moreover, failure to institutionalise an innovation results in the failure of many reforms. To truly build on the results of PISA 2006 and 2009 and initiate the necessary changes, reforms in the education system of Kyrgyzstan must be systematic and sustainable, and based on the inputs of all stakeholders. It is also unfortunate that Kyrgyzstan decided not to participate in

PISA 2012, afraid that they get the last position again. However, what could be more important is to learn from the poor results and attempt to improve the education quality in comparison with international standards. Scholars and educators need to actively advocate for reengaging with PISA in the future, for example in PISA 2015. By participating in PISA competitions, it is necessary for scholars and educators to search for the most successful education approaches used in the world practice, track changes in literacy level of the Kyrgyzstan students, assess factors effecting learning outcomes and effectiveness, and elaborate recommendations and strategies to reform Kyrgyzstan's education system.

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NOTES

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4. LARGE - SCALE ASSESSMENTS AND QUALITY IN BASIC EDUCATION

The Brazilian Perspective

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the 1990s, Brazil passed State Reforms that gave rise to practices of so-called new public management. This new management model had as principles the focus on citizens and the search for effectiveness in a context of limited resources, which gave local managers more autonomy. In education, the reform process focused on the quality of education, not only the teaching process but also the final result of this, represented in student learning and based on the idea that it was necessary to change the institutional and organizational design of educational systems in Brazil. One of the main arguments that supported this idea was the traditional administration's low record of accountability for results. Accordingly, new accountability mechanisms were created as well as new systems of assessment, information gathering and monitoring so that it was possible to measure and track the performance of school systems across the country. The push for accountability in education formed just one part of the broader movement of public management, as a concept for social change. The new accountability mechanisms were considered to be essential to achieve the goal of legitimizing the governmental policies to create a new democratic society and to continue in the advance towards reconstructing the State (CLAD, 2000). Moreover, decentralisation programs were usually designed to improve efficiency, accountability and responsiveness in education service provision. They were also meant to encourage local participation in order to meet local demands that sometimes cannot be implemented only by the central government due to the geographical size of the country and significant regional variations.

In this chapter, I present an analysis of one aspect of the broader education policy reform in Brazil, namely the use of large-scale assessments. I situate the Brazilian case in the Latin American and/or the Ibero-American regional contexts as pertinent. The chapter is divided into five sections of which the first is a brief consideration of the context; in the second I provide an overview of the historical development of large-scale educational monitoring in Brazil, and thirdly an examination of the Brazilian experience at national level. In the fourth section I examine the experience in the international context. Finally, I draw conclusions about the case of Brazil regarding quality of education reforms and the role of large-scale assessments. I

D. B. Napier (Ed.), Qualities of Education in a Globalised World, 63–81.

argue that in Brazil the national reform policies for reforming education to improve quality and accountability is a proactive effort to use assessments as a vehicle for upgrading quality in education.

THE CONTEXT

Brazil has a federal system in three government levels: federal government, states (27) and municipalities (5560). The duties concerning education provision are defined by the Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988 (Brasil, 1988), in which administrative competences or functions in the area of education are divided according to the minimum percentage of public revenue to be used for the funding of public education, as follows: 18% of the budget at the federal or the Union level; and 25% of the revenue from taxes of the States and Municipalities. The administration competences apportioned across the three levels of government are presented on Table 1. As shown, early childhood education is offered for children from 0-5 years (nursery and pre K); elementary education 6-14 years (from 1 th to 8th grade); high school years 15-17 (from 9th to 12th grade). Since 2013, compulsory education consists of the period from Pre-K to High School (4-17 years). Before this change, the compulsory period was from 6 to 14 years (only elementary education – 1st to 8th grade).

Table 1. Legal Competences and Apportionment of Educational Responsibility

	Municipalities	*States*	*Federal Government*
Early Childhood Education (0-5 years)	Responsible for guaranteeing supply to meet demand as this is not a compulsory level of education	Technical and funding cooperation with municipalities	Technical and funding cooperation with municipalities
Elementary Education (6- 14 years)	To guarantee delivery in collaboration with the States	To guarantee delivery in collaboration with the Municipalities (LDB, art. 10)	Technical and funding cooperation, seeking to guarantee the equalization of educational opportunities
High School Education (15 -17 years)	Offered only after meeting the demand of the previous levels	To guarantee delivery.	

Source: Brazilian Federal Constitution and LDB (law and guidelines of the Brazilian Educational System 1996).

The historical context of Brazilian education is important to consider in relation to the international context. One of the first models of accountability in education to be developed was the English model, as in the British 'Education Reform Act' in

1988 (see www.legislation.gov.uk). This led to the centralisation of the curriculum and creation of assessment systems but gradually allowed schools more freedom to manage received funds. The main idea was to strengthen the learning process without disregarding the role played by the teacher, while creating an evaluative model to meet the demand for accountability. Several countries followed this model, including Brazil, to collect and publish statistics that reflected their respective education systems. Subsequently many countries installed systems of national assessment, particularly after researchers indicated that in relation to the time spent in school, children were learning very little and because many countries, including Brazil, were faced with the challenge of expanding the system while ensuring that quality also improved, or that quality was not sacrificed in the expanded system. The argument was that the more detailed information on the educational system's final product obtained, the more effective measures could be taken to improve quality overall.

LARGE-SCALE EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENTS: THE REGIONAL CONTEXT

The Ibero-American Organization (Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos - OEI), defines 'assessment' as a systemic process of gathering data that allows one to draw conclusions about a particular object of analysis, in comparison to a set of criteria established for a particular purpose (OEI, 2008). Based on this definition, to obtain a complete evaluation process there exist sets of actions and processes that must be performed such as: establishing the object of analysis (what to evaluate); finding a target audience (whom to focus on); developing tools to gather information and defining criteria for analysis (how to evaluate); collecting data; analysing collected information; and subsequently drawing up a report with the evaluation results.

Ferrer (2006) outlined the desirable conditions necessary for a country to have a rating system, focusing on the Latin American context. First, the purposes of assessments and the use of collected material should be discussed beforehand in order that the exams and the methodology being developed meet these principles. Second, the measuring instruments must be related to the goals and objectives of cognitive development outlined by the country. Therefore, there should be goals that are known to everyone including teachers, principals, and society in general. Ferrer also emphasised the necessity of making decisions regarding if the goal is to evaluate the system and who the institutions or the actors individually will be, before choosing the evaluative model. Furthermore, he recommended that all instruments must be validated prior to the assessment itself, such as in conducting a pilot evaluation.

An important and often-used argument against the implementation of evaluation systems relates to funding, i.e. the cost for a country to carry out these exams (Saus, 2003). IAIES (2003) stated that the costs of assessment systems are clearer than its benefits. In contrast, Wolff (2007) examined the cases of Chile, Colombia, Honduras, Peru and Uruguay, focusing on data from census assessments in Chile

and Colombia; sample assessments in Honduras, Uruguay, Colombia, and Peru; and international (sample) assessments in Chile, Colombia and Peru. Although there were undoubtedly marked differences in costs between each country, the author reported that in implementing evaluation systems, no costs reached a value above 0.3% of the educational budget of the assessed levels of schooling. Assessments therefore might be recognised as amongst the least expensive innovations of educational reform.

Currently, 16 countries in Latin America conduct census- or international sample-assessments. Chile, Mexico, Colombia and Brazil regularly assess students in selected grades. El Salvador and Guatemala have also recently started this process. The results of these evaluations are applied differently in the varied countries. In Chile and Mexico, for example, the results of the students have an impact on teacher salaries and potential for career advances.

The National Basic Education Evaluation System (Sistema de Avaliação da Educação Básica, SAEB) was the first Brazilian initiative designed to explore in depth, the inadequacies and problems of the educational system, guiding governmental policies aimed precisely at improving the quality of education (Ministry of Education and Culture [MEC], 2001). SAEB was created in 1990, initially only as a set of guidelines. Only in 1996 was it accorded a more strategic role, joining forces with a set of policies directly aimed at improving the quality of education at all levels. Under the National Educational Bases and Guidelines Law of 1996, the SAEB made it possible to identify the problems of education and their regional differences through data and indicators that grant educational agents and society a concrete vision of the outcomes of teaching and learning processes and the conditions under which they are developed.

The rationale for developing national assessments in Brazil was similar to that in most other countries that chose the familiar path. National assessments can serve as a tool for schools, administrators and other professionals to rethink their work or function solely as mere classifications that offer little improvement to the quality of schools. If the assessment is designed as a control mechanism or ignored, (either by teachers, managers or the people responsible for teacher training), then undoubtedly it offers little improvement to education. The assessment therefore, should not be seen as an end in itself, rather as a tool to correct directions and to look towards the future. It is crucial to ensure that based on the information provided by an assessment, instruments that contribute substantially to solving the serious social problems that affect the school-aged population are created and put into practice.

In Brazil, as elsewhere, it was necessary to bridge the gap between evaluation and action. It is not sufficient however, to merely inform or initiate a process of reflection based on the inadequacies or problems of a school, without utilizing the necessary resources to overcome such issues. The assessment process would remain passive in its reflective or observatory stance rather than providing the necessary structure to implement vital reform. The Brazilian struggle in building a figurative bridge had parallels within the educational assessment system reports in other countries. In

African countries, Kellaghan & Greaney (2004) reported the huge gap between what the assessments demand from teachers and the teachers' understanding of their role in the assessment process. Another point they emphasized was the issue of political will, as without crucial governmental support potential recommendations that can be made based on gathered data will simply not be implemented.

A decade-long evaluation of educational assessments in Latin America over the 1990s revealed that teachers saw the evaluation mechanisms as a form of pressure rather than as an input to improve the quality of education. For this reason, the results became instruments of public policy and the impact on education in schools was very low (Tedesco, 2003). Teachers may have agreed with the basic concept of assessment, but many criticized the way in which the system was implemented. (IAIES, 2003) Clearly it may well be a difficult task to ensure that all teachers have the expected understanding of the goals, or that they are equipped to develop strategies to achieve them. It is essential that this be done.

The clear definition of what is expected and what are the possibilities of usage of the assessments must be provided in order to prevent distortions as curriculum reduction. Becker (2012) discussed the creation of the National System of Educational Assessment (SAEB and Prova Brasil) and its relation to the curriculum. This research focused on analysis of selected assessments, reference matrices and case studies in local education systems. The findings were that the contributions and changes occurred from the curriculum-evaluation perspective and not from the evaluation-curriculum perspective as expected. In Brazil there is not only one curriculum, there are some orientations in order to have a pattern in all the levels but the school networks have autonomy in order to fix some content related to their local reality. So, the national exams only evaluate the minimum expected to every child to learn in each level despite their region or community of origin. The assessment process is not supposed to induce changes in the subjects that are taught. But, the research showed that some schools are reducing their curriculum in order to focus on what is assessed. In this sense, this process must be planned and monitored in order not to promote curriculum reduction, diversity loss in elementary school, as well as other distortions.

NATIONAL ASSESSMENTS OF BASIC EDUCATION IN BRAZIL

In Brazil, a quite sophisticated system of national assessments came to be introduced from 1990 onwards. As mentioned previously, the first large-scale assessment of basic education in Brazil was the SAEB. Coordinated by the National Institute of Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira (INEP), the system was first implemented in 1990. The exam has a sample character and currently evaluates students in 4th and 8th grades of Elementary School and 3rd grade of Secondary Education. In the first two editions (1990 and 1993) it assessed students in 1st, 3rd, 5th and 7th grades of Elementary School. The samples are representative of all federal states (in 1990 25 states took part in the study: in 1993, there were 26)

Besides measuring school performance, SAEB collects data on the students (on socio-economic, cultural and school indicators), school principals (profile and management practices), teachers (both students' profiles and teaching practices) and on the schools' infrastructure (number of rooms, equipment and facilities). The analysis of SAEB research results allows the continued monitoring of students' evolving performance as well as consideration of the diverse factors that affect the quality and effectiveness of the education provided in schools, enabling the definition of actions to correct the identified distortions and to improve the practices and results reported by schools. SAEB continues to improve, both from the methodological point of view as well as in procedures, operations and outreach. The first survey, conducted in 1990, evaluated only public elementary schools, assessing Portuguese Language, Mathematics and Science areas.

In 1995, there was a concern about the possibility of comparative data, which prompted a change in procedure. The assessments that then followed began instead to focus on the end of each cycle of study, i.e. the 4th and 8th grades of elementary school (or 5th and 9th years) and the 3rd grade of secondary education (final year). More contemporary 'Construction' and 'Analysis of Items' techniques were introduced and the classical test models were replaced by the 'Item Response Theory' and the model of 'Matrix Sampling of Items'. Operational changes also occurred. For instance, the administering of the evaluations was outsourced, while initially the Ministry administered them directly; and thereafter the scope was expanded to include all public education networks (federal, state and municipal) and private schools. Additionally, evaluations at the Secondary Education level were also incorporated in grade 12.

In 1997, new areas were assessed: students in grade 12 at the Secondary Education took tests in Physics, Chemistry and Biology. This edition of SAEB delivered yet another novelty: Reference Matrices. The Reference Matrices preparation began with wide consultation on the content taught in Brazilian schools, as there is no National Curriculum, aggregating the analysis of teachers, researchers and experts in all areas assessed. The same model was applied in SAEB 1999, which introduced History and Geography evaluations.

In the 2001 edition, a new consultation of teachers and other education specialists and consequently the Curricular Reference Matrix underwent an upgrade. The SAEB 2001 Reference Matrices gathered the content to be assessed in each subject and grade, specifying the expertise and skills expected of students. There was great concern about internal articulation between descriptors and items of exams, with a view to coherence and consistency so that it was possible to assess more accurately the learning actually attained by pupils and what knowledge they were lacking in each conclusive stage of each cycle of education (INEP, 2001)

In 2003 the exam was once again altered. Aspiring to better comprehend the educational phenomena affected by interventions of all kinds, the SAEB 2003 entered new areas of interest. A new set of variables was introduced to the questionnaires, to obtain information that could shed light on new aspects about the study's targeted

population and, to a certain extent, to understand whether or not such aspects interfered in the learning process. Thereby the questionnaires began to include items eliciting data on factors such as the violence in schools and the subjectivity of the teacher.

Franco (2001) argued that it is difficult to offer explanation about the factors that influence student learning through data collected by SAEB because the each student is only tested once. According to him, the measure of proficiency is the result of student learning over many years and cannot be explained in light of the recent past. It would be necessary to have a double measure of proficiency, based on the previous measure, in order to filter the student learning accurately and to obtain rest-retest reliability. Franco identified this problem as the main limitation of SAEB.

Prova Brasil and IDEB

There was a significant change in the assessment of schools from the year 2005 when the Prova Brasil examination began to be applied. The new examination has adopted the same reference matrices as SAEB but there are some differences: Prova Brasil focuses on public schools in urban areas evaluating students in the 4th and 8th grades of elementary school. And unlike SAEB, which is a sampling test, Prova Brasil is universal.

Prova Brasil evaluates all students in Portuguese and Mathematics whereas, up to 2005, SAEB was administered only in a sample of schools. Each school chose a few classes to be assessed at random and in each selected class, half of the students took Mathematics tests and the other half took Portuguese. Due to its census characteristics, Prova Brasil enables average performance results for Brazil as a whole, for regions, units of the federation, municipalities and participating schools. In contrast, SAEB's sampling results could not be measured by each individual municipality or participating school.

By focusing on the use of the results of SAEB, Cotta (2001) indicated the difficulty of analyzing the performance of students of a particular state, since there was no way to separate the influence of state policy from the initiatives of municipal managers and the actions within the school. Clearly, the state manager does not have governance over all actions that affect the quality of Education. This paradoxical situation prevented the users of SAEB assessment information to relate to its results for diagnostic purposes and allowed public manages to avoid being accountable to society. In contrast, Prova Brasil offers the possibility to do analysis at a municipal level or even to measure the performance of each school individually, which addresses the dilemma previously indentified in SAEB. The accountability of teachers, managers and even students themselves measured by their performance can only occur with universal evaluation results that are widely available and that can be calculated by each school. Therefore Prova Brasil is an assessment that generates accountability.

In 2005, Prova Brasil was carried out in 5,387 municipalities of all units of the Federation and evaluated 3,392.880 students attending 4th and 8th grades of Elementary School, divided into 125,852 classes of 40,962 schools in urban areas (INEP, 2007) In 2007, Prova Brasil and SAEB were again applied. Both using the same methodology, they were administered together in this year as complementary assessments. After 2005 Prova Brasil was expanded to also include rural public schools in the 2009 edition. The last edition, in 2011, was carried out in 55,924 schools in all the 27 Units of the Federation.

From the data collected it is possible to evaluate schools and districts to identify places that really need improvement in education. Thus, the MEC and the state and municipal departments of education may define actions aimed at improving the quality of education and the reduction of inequalities in order to direct their financial and technical resources to areas identified as priorities.

Besides Prova Brasil, the creation of the Basic Education Development Index (*Indice de Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica* - IDEB) in 2007 should be highlighted (Fernandes, 2007). The index was created to provide the means to enable the monitoring of schools with low student performance. An educational system that systematically criticizes its students, and that prompts them to leave school before completion is not desirable. Nor is it satisfactory if the students pass each grade until graduation but then leave school without acquiring the appropriate level of knowledge (Fernandes, 2007). Thus it was necessary to set up an indicator that would combine the information about the students' performance with the school flow (promotion, repetition and dropout). The index calculation is done through a combination of standard grades of Prova Brasil (indicator of proficiency) and the average rate of approval of the students (indicator of student flow). Prova Brasil provides data not only for Brazil and units of the Federation but also for each municipality and participating school. This way, IDEB can be calculated by state, municipality or even by school for a comprehensive national picture.

The calculation of IDEB follows a simple formula, the test scores on Portuguese and Mathematics are standardized on a scale of 0.00 (zero) to 10.00 (ten). After this it is multiplied by the average rate of approval, as a percentage, which varies from 0 (zero) to 100 (one hundred). Thus, there was a proposed path for each unit in order to reach its goal. As the trajectories are different for each unit considered, efforts will also be different. The construction of the targets was carried out through the development of a logistic function taking into account the initial parameters observed in 2005 and the convergence of IDEBs of all units in 2095, focusing on the possibility of "promoting equity" in the projection horizon. Moreover, IDEB is part of the Development Plan for Education (*Plano de Desenvolvimento da Educação* - PDE), a government plan that sets goals for the nation, states, counties and schools. These goals were calculated by considering the stage of educational development in which the unit (school, county and state) existed in 2005. As part of PDE, IDEB result is used as criteria to ensure that schools are given priority to receive technical and financial assistance through the School Development Plan (PDE – School).

PDE-School is a management tool that helps the school to perform their work better by focusing its energy and making sure that its team works to achieve the same goals and evaluate and adjust its direction in response to a changing environment (ECM, 2005). Ergo, schools with low IDEB have priority attention. Thus, IDEB is currently the main performance indicator of basic education, used in various programs of MEC and in some local programs. For this reason it is important for municipalities to have IDEB. As Prova Brasil is a component of the index, to take part in this assessment becomes essential for their participation in federal programs. The results of Prova Brasil therefore acquire a role that goes far beyond the function of being an instrument in the process of educational assessment, an element that allows a broader view on the educational system, comparisons between schools in the same network and even between networks. Because of the importance acquired by Prova Brasil, too much value has been given to its result in order to analyze the possible contribution to the quality of education (Becker and Assis, 2013).

As noted previously there is a need to establish a link between evaluation and action, the lack of unity among participants of the educational system and models for dissemination of exam results. In Brazil, the obstacles to be overcome are no different. Franco (2001) addressed the issue of dissemination and use of results and highlighted the need to bridge the gap between them. He suggested the use of pedagogical examples as an alternative, to disseminate examples in complex subjects or topics to illustrate and pedagogical alternatives that could be transformed into printed materials for teachers. Another criticism concerning the dissemination of the results is related to the overflow of complex techniques when presenting the evaluation information to the general public in simple graphics rather than in the modelling processes and the statistics utilized. Cotta (2001) argued that the main reason why the evaluation generally does not correspond to the expectations it generates is a presumption that the conditions for the use of such information are given. According to Cotta it is precisely the opposite: evaluation is an activity that by its very nature requires the conditions for the use of the information given, otherwise the effort is pointless.

Horta Neto (2007) investigated the use of SAEB results by schools and departments of the Federal District. From the reports collected, he noted that to discuss the performance of students while building on objective information is a process that still faces resistance from school personnel. According to the author, even those who used the data collected focused on the improvement of student performance alone, but disregarded other school factors that might be behind this performance.

Perreli and Rezende (2011) analyzed the application of external evaluations in the city of Campo Grande and one of the questions they investigated was how teachers became aware of the results of Prova Brasil. Most teachers that were interviewed reported that the process was explained superficially, and that meetings with directors were restricted to presentation of results and comparisons between schools in the network. Pereira and Mori (2011) analyzed the same question in Paraná State schools and the teachers interviewed said they had access to the results through the

material sent by INEP and discussions held by the Regional Center of Education. As demonstrated in this discussion, it is evident that based on the experience of other countries, in Brazil too the challenge lies in using the assessment data to make an effective change in the classroom and not merely to use it as a diagnostic tool or even as component of an index.

Provinha Brasil

Provinha Brasil (assessment of literacy skills) started in the first half of 2008. It is a test designed to assess skills related to the process of becoming literate and to prevent children from reaching the end of the first cycle of basic education (at the end of grade 5th) without mastery of writing and reading. It is not a mandatory test and only municipalities that volunteer are assessed. So it is a diagnostic assessment of literacy levels of children enrolled in the second year of schooling of Brazilian public schools (grade 2). This assessment takes place in two stages, one at the beginning and another at the end of the school year. The application in different periods enables teachers and educational managers to carry out a more precise diagnosis that allows knowing what was aggregated in children's learning in terms of reading skills within the study period. With this assessment, the MEC aims to provide public administrators and teachers in their networks with info about the literacy level of students, right at the beginning of the learning process, thus interventions aimed at correcting possible deficiencies presented in the area of literacy may be implemented (MEC, 2008). As a diagnostic evaluation carried out and corrected by teachers themselves, Provinha Brasil is expected to have a greater impact on classroom practices. From the information obtained, managers and teachers are able to intervene more effectively in the literacy process by increasing the chances that all children up to eight years of age is able to read and write, as one of the goals set at the Education Development Plan.

The National Secondary Education Examination ENEM

The National Secondary Education Examination (*Exame Nacional do Ensino Médio* [ENEM]) was established in 1999. The tests assess skills and abilities developed by students at the end of Basic Education, which consists of Elementary School and Secondary Education, through grade 12. The goal is to gauge whether a student is prepared to face the challenges of modern life as a citizen and be able to make autonomous decisions during university or in the labour market. The first edition of ENEM was attended by just over 157,000 students. In 2012 the number of students who took the test almost reached 6 million.

Like SAEB, ENEM uses standardized procedures of construction of measuring instruments, collecting and processing data, falling in the category of large-scale assessments. However, the objective of this examination is to provide feedback to Secondary Education graduates on their knowledge and skills. The ENEM is not designed to serve as an instrument of public policy formulation (Cotta, 2001).

However, generalizations cannot be made about Secondary Education students from the data collected. In addition, the survey is voluntary and therefore there is a random and representative sample of the target population. So, ENEM may be considered as a service to the citizen because the result of the test allows the individual to assess the cultural and intellectual value added by their education and based on this information, plan their career path and continue their studies.

Since 2009 it has also been used as a mechanism of selection for admission to higher education, the use of the results for access to higher education can occur as a single phase selection or combined with higher education institutions' own selection processes. ENEM results are also used as selection criteria for awarding grants to the University for All Program (ProUni) and in other admissions selection processes of private institutions of higher education. ProUni was instituted in 2005 with the purpose of granting full and partial scholarships in undergraduate courses in private institutions of higher education. There was a need to connect the expansion and access to quality. In this sense, ProUni links the granting of scholarships to students of private institutions to the performance index obtained through the national system of evaluation (ENEM), forcing adherence to the system as well as changing relations between public and private. The institutions that join the program provide scholarships in exchange for the exemption of Income Tax and Contribution to Social Security. There is a set of characteristics that makes a candidate eligible for a scholarship: having completed high school education in a public school, having completed high school at a private institution with full scholarship, to have special needs or be a professor of public basic education that it is seeking additional training in their undergraduate or Pedagogy. In the latter case, it is not necessary to prove household income per capita. In this sense the ProUni program contributes to the democratization of access to federal universities, to academic mobility and it works to induce the restructuring of the high school curriculum.

In this section I presented the main national assessments of basic education. In the next section I discuss the implementation of international assessments and I offer a brief history of Brazil's participation in these cross-national assessments.

INTERNATIONAL ASSESSMENTS OF BASIC EDUCATION

A number of developing countries simultaneously introduced national and international large-scale assessments. International assessments measure the product of several educational systems concurrently and one of their greatest advantages is the potential for technical cooperation in an area that requires constant methodological upgrade and the possibility to carry out a comparative analysis of different countries' systems. Participating in international exams is not financially prohibitive and can offer value, as long as the results are enforced to reform the curriculum and to develop teacher training programs (Wolff, 2007). Before undergoing international exams, the country must set its specific objectives in order to obtain the desired feedback.

The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) has conducted cross-national comparative research since 1958. This organization carried out the first cross-national study, which assessed the quality of education in twelve countries by testing the same subject matter in all participating countries simultaneously. Brazil was invited to take part in the first major initiative in this field, in the project *World Education Indicator (*WEI) established by UNESCO/OCDE (UNESCO-UIS, 2008). WEI does not assess students with standardised exams. It is a statistical collection with indicators that allow for diagnoses and comparison between the participating countries. Up to this time, Brazil's involvement in cross-national comparisons had been limited to sending partial information to UNESCO's educational statistics directory. According to Castro (2000), the main benefit received by Brazil was in acquiring the methodology to produce internationally comparable indicators.

In 2002 WEI had a programme focusing on issues in financing education, in which 18 countries were assessed. Brazil was placed fifteenth, considering its expenditure per student in basic education. It was calculated that teaching and management salaries consumed 81.9% of the educational budget. The report concluded that although Brazil has been investing in the expansion of Secondary Education while experiencing a decline of school-aged population, unlike the WEI countries, the challenge faced is how a lower investment may still make an impact on educational reform (OECD/UNESCO, 2002).

In the years 2005, 2007 and 2008, Brazil again participated in the WEI programme. In 2007 WEI assessed the general education of 19 countries to measure their achievements following the previous assessment. The 2008 edition was a thematic study that collected data from 2005 to 2007 in 11 countries and its goal was to understand and monitor the factors shaping quality and equity in primary schools. In this manner, it examined the background characteristics of pupils, demographic characteristics, characteristics of teachers and school heads, school resources and conditions, instructional time, school management; as well as teaching and learning styles in the classroom (UNESCO – UIS, 2008).

The analysis of school resources showed that while most schools in Brazil have access to running water, electricity and computer supplies, out of all countries surveyed, Brazil ranked lowest in its access to first aid in the event of an emergency. The report concluded that primary education enrolment was universalised in all participating countries. However, some of these countries presented problems with student flow. Brazil had the highest rate of repeaters and alongside Paraguay shared the highest rate of least qualified teachers and the fewest teaching hours per year. Nevertheless, analysis of education financing showed that Brazil had the fourth highest educational expenditure per pupil. It is therefore possible to conclude that despite Brazil's high educational budget, its investments lacked results in terms of quality of education. Following its participation in the first edition of WEI, Brazil was included in *Education at a Glance,* an annual report that presents educational indicators of countries who are members of the OCDE and participating countries of the WEI programme (as of 1998) (OCDE, 2002).

Moreover, the Summit of the Americas launched a platform focused on the Evaluation and Educational Indicators plan of action, approved in 1997. This initiative provided the optimum conditions for the developing experience of the Latin American Laboratory for Assessment of the Quality of Education (*Laboratorio Latinoamericano de Evaluacion de la calidad de la educación* [LLECE] by the initiative of the UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (OREALC- UNESCO, 2008). The first cross-national comparative study assessed 13 local countries. The tests carried out by PERCE (*Primeiro Estudo Regional Comparativo Explicativo*, the First Regional Comparative and Explanatory Study) aimed to evaluate the performance of students in third and fourth grades of primary school in the areas of Language and Mathematics. The Brazilian students' learning was measured by tests developed by the OREALC team and adapted to the situation in Brazil. Besides the tests, questionnaires were also used to assess pupils, parents, teachers and school heads with the aim of identifying factors associated with school performance.

The results of the language assessment of PERCE were divided according to reading level and geographic location of schools. Along these lines, the reading levels were classified into literal reading, literal reading through paraphrase and inferential reading, and geographic location classified as "megacity", urban and rural. A minimum percentage of students that should achieve a satisfactory level for each reading level was set. The Brazilian students attending schools located in urban areas achieved the minimum percentage in the three reading levels. However, pupils in rural areas achieved below the minimum expected at all reading levels.

Castro (2000) stated that in a cross-national comparative survey on student performance it is important to examine which variables most strongly correlate with the performance achieved by students. The results of multivariate analysis of the data form PERCE showed that for all countries, three factors were significantly associated with student performance because of heterogeneity: the literacy rate in the country; school resources; and the educational level of the students' parents.

After the PERCE assessment, LLECE developed the Second Regional Comparative Explanatory Study (*Segundo Estudo Regional Comparativo e Explicativo* [SERCE]). This survey evaluated the performance of students in the 3rd and 6th grades of elementary school in the subjects of Mathematics, Language and Science in Latin American and the Caribbean. Besides the evaluation of learning, SERCE used questionnaires to collect information on students and their families, teachers and schools, in order to identify and gain insight into the factors had the strongest impact on student learning and performance. According to OREALC-UNESCO (2008), the two tests conducted by LLECE were complementary, but it was not possible to compare the results because SERCE featured improvements such as exams with matrix design, which allowed the evaluation of a wider range of content.

SITEAL (*Sistema de Informacion Tendencias Educativas en America Latina)* is other important initiative that provides databases comparing features of education

and trends in Latin American countries from early childhood levels through other levels of education, and including atlases of data and reference information, and evaluation systems, in the regional cooperation system (SITEAL, 2013).

In addition to the regional undertakings discussed above, Brazil's participation in PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) coordinated by OECD should be emphasized. PISA is an international assessment of skills and knowledge of 15 year olds, aiming to assess the extent to which students near the end of compulsory education have acquired knowledge and skills essential for effective participation in society (INEP, 2001). The first edition of the test occurred in 2000 with 32 countries participating. The survey was designed as a cyclic programme in three rounds of performance evaluation within a period of 9 years. The subjects to be assessed were reading in the first cycle, mathematics in the 2003 cycle and science in the 2006 cycle. In 2009 a new evaluation cycle began and once more the focus was on reading.

Brazil is the only South American country to participate in all editions of PISA to date. In 2003, Brazil and Uruguay were assessed. It was not until the 2006 study that more countries in South America took part in the programme, including Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Brazil and Uruguay. In the Brazilian case, the results were still quite limited in regard to basic education in the 1990s. Table 2 shows the Brazil results in the various Pisa editions.

Table 2- Pisa Results

BRAZIL	*Pisa 2000*	*Pisa 2003*	*Pisa 2006*	*Pisa 2009*	*Pisa 2012*
Participants	4.893	4.452	9.295	20.127	18.589
Reading	396	403	393	412	410
Mathematics	334	356	370	386	391
Science	375	390	390	405	405

Source: INEP (2013))

There was an impasse in the first four or five years, with grade repetition leading to school delay and dropouts before the completion of the eight grades of elementary school. Only 30% of students obtained their elementary school certificate. Against this perspective, Brazil's voluntary participation in the PISA study has had several important meanings, besides the actual results. Castro (2001) highlighted the very decision to voluntarily take part in a survey in which students are evaluated in all developed countries and few if any developing countries. The use of age as a selection criterion for the evaluation can be a drawback when assessing students from different systems in the same study. In OCDE countries, there is virtually no school delay and therefore samples can be defined by age. In the case of PISA, the target population is students of around 15 years old. In OCDE countries, nearly all students of this

age group are attending the same grades of Secondary Education However, South American countries belong to a group of educational systems with serious problems of student flow including dropouts and grade repetition. This imbalance generates a problem of data interpretation since many students have not reached the grades in which a great part of the content would have been taught. Therefore these students are expected to answer questions beyond their educational level. Another point to be emphasized is the testing model itself. In PISA, students receive texts that typically refer to real situations. According to PISA's National Report (INEP, 2001), Brazilian students tend to skim the text and answer for what they think it should be saying and not what is actually written. Consequently it is significant that Brazil dared to participate in PISA despite these issues of disadvantage and difference. While the importance of having an external indicator of educational achievement in order to enable international comparison was recognised, nevertheless in this context, it was a political decision rather than one with a pedagogical purpose.

As in the case of national exams, there are several studies in the literature that assess the impact of these assessments in educational systems. The international exams have come a long way to develop indicators and methods for comparing the quality of education, but there is still a long distance to be covered so that the information produced is used to implement new approaches in schools. Most of the data produced are used in policy formulation with no direct affect in the classroom (Kellaghan & Greaney, 2004).

In similar vein, Nzomo & Makuwa (2006) evaluated the impact of the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Education Quality (SACMEQ) in Namibia and Kenya. In these countries SACMEQ identified some shortcomings in the system, such as the high number of absences of students in Kenya and regional disparities of educational provision in Namibia. The study showed that in Kenya the results of national assessments were very different from SACMEQ's results in terms of proficiency. This meant that the government carried out workshops with educators and educational managers and this led to a revision of the national evaluation. Therefore there was also an impact in the classroom as teachers set out to prepare students according to the new criteria for proficiency. Nzomo & Makuwa (2006) and Kelleghan & Greaney (1996) were among the scholars who pointed out that developing countries struggling to address multiple needs might be better to focus on regional assessments such as SACMEQ in which internal conditions and contextual factors are considered, rather than attempt to compete in the huge cross-national studies like PISA designed primarily for post-industrial states (see also Brook Napier, 2009, on South Africa's disastrous experience in TIMSS).

By contrast, Linnakylä (2006) showed the impact of PISA in Finland. The results of Finnish students in PISA were considered excellent and taken as a reference point for countries worldwide. Like Kenya, the cross-national study results differed from the national evaluation. However, for Finland the international results were more satisfactory than the national. According to Linnakylä, the Finnish government announced the results of the two evaluations simultaneously and gave more

emphasis to the national assessment. A plan was made to improve the educational indicators that were not satisfactory. While the government was concerned about the unsatisfactory indicator, newspapers around the world extolled education in Finland. As in the case of Kenya, there was a review of the national system evaluation criteria with the goal of having similar results to the international evaluation.

In Brazil there is a similarity between ENEM and PISA results where reading proficiency is concerned. The level of achievement is similar. But like in most countries studied, the results of international exams are used at a federal level and not by school systems. The participation in PISA is important to have a way to compare Brazil and the other participating countries. Moreover, the IDEB goals were established considering the OECD countries' performance in PISA. Nevertheless, the Brazilian participation in this exam is more politically oriented than it was a way to provide feedback to our education networks.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Education policy reform in Brazil had different aspects from the administrative decentralization and creation of new funds allocated to the set of goals for student performance. Among the new mechanisms for monitoring and data collection are large-scale assessments. As described in this chapter, through examinations such as Prova Brasil and SAEB it was possible to have an expanded diagnosis of the educational realities in the country in a comprehensive suite of assessment types and levels. Despite the great diversity of content and curricula, the focus of the foremost assessment, Prova Brasil, is on basic skills, those that any student who attends this school level must learn. This more accurate diagnosis enabled the creation of IDEB, establishing performance goals for each public school and made the government programs had a more robust indicator of the reality of school in order to act in areas diagnosed with low performance.

Thus, in terms of management, large scale assessments have proven to be a powerful tool for monitoring the quality of education in Brazil. However, they can offer more. There is possibility to use the results to review teaching practices in order to have a direct impact in the classroom and to use the results not only as a monitoring tool but also as an instrument of change on a wider scale. A simple diagnosis may not be enough to change an ingrained situation. Despite Brazil's improvement in data collection and evaluative systems, it is still necessary to build mechanisms to ensure that the results are applied by managers and teachers in order to boost the quality of education offered in the classroom and at the individual school level.

In this regard, Brazil still has a long way to go. There is still a lack of information from teachers, including information on the realities of their possible resistance to embracing the insights from assessments, and there is therefore little use of the valuable information generated by the diagnoses to encourage changes in pedagogy and other pertinent factors at the classroom level. There is a corresponding lack of

information on other in-school factors such as teacher-administrator relations and the pressures placed on teachers by administrators, parents, and other sources. It is time to move from diagnosis to action. There are sufficient indicators for the promotion of education with quality. It is high time Brazil started combining efforts among the various sectors of society to accomplish this challenge.

Finally, considerable effort has been expended in all levels of government in Brazil, focusing on quality promotion through assessment, new indicators and information provision. However, there are distortions during the implementation of these mechanisms and measures that must be corrected in order to accomplish the ultimate goals of improving educational provision in Brazil to increase effectiveness, promote autonomy, and further democratic participation, as presented at the beginning of this chapter.

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5. PROMOTING QUALITY THROUGH ASSESSMENT?

Standardised Testing and Indigenous Schools in Canada and the United States

INTRODUCTION

In response to concerns about declining educational quality and the need to compete in the global economic arena, many countries have turned to standardised testing to lead education reform efforts. The rationale is that standardised testing can improve student learning by providing data that can be used to measure student performance, hold schools and districts accountable for results, and inform education policy and programming (NCLB Act, 2001; Phelps, 2005; Popham et al., 1985). Critics argue that using standardised testing to guide education reform is misguided at best, and at its worst has many negative consequences for students, teachers and schools (Kohn, 2000; McNeil, 2000). Further, some critics of reform have argued that the very concerns about declining educational quality and global competitiveness that have precipitated the reforms are a "manufactured crisis" (Berliner & Biddle, 1995, p. 127).

While there is a large body of research and commentary on the impact of standardised testing in public schools, far less attention has been paid to the effects of standardised testing on Indigenous educational institutions. Indigenous schools are unique in that they are tasked with providing all of the skills necessary to succeed in mainstream society, while also transmitting the culture and history necessary to develop a strong Indigenous identity. In this chapter I aim to extend the dialogue on standardised testing in Indigenous schools by examining the Canadian and United States contexts.

The term "Indigenous" is used here to refer to the First Peoples of Canada and the United States of America. For the United States context, the term "American Indian" is used and when referring to the Canadian context the terms "Aboriginal" or "First Nations" are used. In Canada, the term "Aboriginal" refers to the three distinct groups that are considered the First Peoples of Canada: First Nations, Métis, and Inuit. Given the diversity among these three groups, I present research related to First Nations schools only as First Nations schools are the closest comparative equivalent to tribal schools in the United States.

The Canadian and American contexts are appropriate for comparison as both have unique but similar histories of colonizing the Indigenous populations. Both

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countries have used schooling as a tool of assimilation, operating residential schools in which children were removed from their homes and prevented from speaking their language, wearing traditional dress, or practicing their culture. Further, Indigenous peoples in both countries currently experience similar education outcomes, including alarmingly high rates of high school dropouts and low rates of university completion (Aud, KewalRamani & Frohlich, 2011; FNIGC, 2012; Mendelson, 2006). However, Indigenous peoples in both countries have resisted assimilative efforts, fighting for self-determination and control over the education of their children.

I begin by providing a brief overview of the Indigenous educational contexts and the use of standardised testing in Canada and the United States. Drawing on available evidence, I then examine the Indigenous schools' experiences with standardised assessment in each country. I conclude by suggesting what can be learned from these experiences.

INDIGENOUS EDUCATION IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

In Canada, First Nations peoples' right to education is enshrined in treaties that were negotiated between the Crown and Indigenous peoples in the late 19th to early 20th centuries, and affirmed in the *Indian Act* (Carr-Stewart, 2001). Under current practice, Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC) provides funding to First Nations communities for education, including the operation of schools on-reserve. Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada was previously called the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (INAC).

Currently, there are approximately 520 federally funded First Nations schools on-reserve in Canada. Of about 120,000 students normally resident on-reserve, approximately 70,000 (60%) attend school on reserve (Assembly of First Nations, 2010). The schools are locally controlled within each community, although many have joined together to develop regional management organizations for the delivery of higher-level services (Binda & Lall, 2013). AANDC expects that each school will follow the relevant provincial curriculum and provincial education standards regarding teacher qualifications and graduation requirements.

Currently, all provinces and territories in Canada have some form of standardised testing in literacy and mathematics in both elementary and secondary schools, although the grades tested and the content of the tests vary. While First Nations students in public schools must write provincial assessments, on-reserve band-operated schools are not required to administer these tests, except for schools in the province of Alberta. However, here, a number of Indigenous schools have chosen to do so (Bell et al., 2004). Further, in 2008 AANDC earmarked new education dollars for a proposal-based program, the *First Nation Student Success Program,* which requires that provincial standardized assessments be administered as a condition of the funding. The program guidelines specify that "at a minimum, schools will participate in their respective provincial standard testing process" (INAC, 2008, p.5). Thus, the federal government is now encouraging First Nations

communities to implement provincial standardized assessment systems in their schools.

In the United States, the federal government has a trust relationship in American Indian education that has been formalized through legislation and court decisions. The Bureau of Indian Education (BIE) is the federal body responsible for Indigenous education. There are currently 184 BIE funded elementary and secondary schools across 23 states serving 49,100 students, 126 of which are tribally controlled with the remaining 57 operated by the BIE (Bureau of Indian Education, 2012c). However, the vast majority of Indigenous youth in the United States, about 90%, attend public schools. This is largely a result of a policy shift in the 1930's in which the federal government transferred schooling of Indigenous youth to state public schools. The Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 enabled the Bureau of Indian Affairs to contract with states for the provision of education for Indigenous peoples (Reyhner & Eder, 2005). BIE schools primarily serve Indigenous youth in isolated areas and of these many are children from disrupted homes.

Over the past few decades, the United States has been moving increasingly towards the use of testing as an accountability mechanism, an assessment of student, school, district and state performance, and a way of standardising school curriculum. Through the *Goals 2000: The Educate America Act* (1994) and the *Improving America's Schools Act* (1994), states were required to implement new content standards and assessment systems. The standardized testing regime was strengthened with the *No Child Left Behind Act* (NCLB, 2001) that mandated that administration of standardized tests in reading, math, and science in all states. Previously, states often administered different tests to students who performed at a lower level. A key change under this Act was that that all students within a state, including students in the 184 BIE administered schools, now took the same test. Annual state assessment plans and results are reported to the Secretary of Education and annual report cards for individual districts and schools are released to the public.

Initially the BIE was to develop its own assessment system and targets, but this was later revised so that Bureau schools must now adopt their state's standards. Individual tribal school boards could develop alternative progress standards, but these had to be approved by the Secretary of Education (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 2005). In 2011, the Department of Education announced that State educational agencies (SEA) could request flexibility related to specific provisions of NCLB, in exchange for "rigorous and comprehensive rigorous and comprehensive State-developed plans designed to improve educational outcomes for all students, close achievement gaps, increase equity, and improve the quality of instruction" (U. S. Department of Education, 2012) However, it appears that the BIE was once again attempting to develop its own accountability system. In 2012 the BIE submitted an Elementary and Secondary Education (ESEA) flexibility request to the Department of Education outlining a plan for a unified accountability system for all BIE schools (Bureau of Indian Education, 2012c). As of January 2013, the request was still under review.

STANDARDISED TESTING: CRITICISMS AND DEFENSES

The expansion of standardised testing in elementary and secondary schools in many countries during the past two decades has set off a firestorm of debate about the quality and worth of such assessments and the accountability they impose. Academic literature on standardised testing has been overwhelmingly negative, with testing largely regarded as part of a neo-liberal shift in education policy (see for instance Apple, 2006; Graham & Neu, 2004; Lipman, 2006). Testing is seen as paving the way for free-market approaches to education, as it provides the comparative data essential for consumers to make decisions in an education marketplace. School and district level test scores allow parents to compare school performance and move their children accordingly, turning education into a commodity that can be bought and sold (Apple, 2006). Arguably, this can increase competition among schools, and it pits groups against each other as blame for failure is shifted among teachers, students, parents and schools (Lipman, 2006).

At the classroom level, a common criticism of standardised testing is that it leads educators to teach to the test (Aydeniz & Southerland, 2012; Mehrens & Kaminski, 1989; Neil, 2003; Wright, 2002). One aspect of teaching to the test is the narrowing of curriculum if an excessive amount of time is spent preparing students to take the test in priority subjects at the expense of subjects such as physical education, music, art and social studies which may not be tested on standardised assessments (Shepard & Dougherty, 1991). According to Wright (2002), teachers in Southern California reported that high-stakes testing has turned teaching to the test into an all-day endeavour, with little to no time available for art, music or physical education.

For individual students anywhere, standardised testing can be a significant source of stress and anxiety (Ginicola & Saccoccio, 2008). Reay & Williams (1999) conducted interviews and focus groups with a class of ten to eleven year olds in London, England, and found that all of the students they interviewed experienced fear and anxiety in relation to the British National Curriculum tests. Triplett & Barksdale (2005) conducted drawing and writing exercises with 225 American elementary school students, concluding that the children overwhelmingly experienced negative emotions in relation to high-stakes testing. However, Mulvenon et al. (2005) argued that the prevalence of test anxiety is overstated, and that it is often misrepresented in the literature.

Test anxiety has also been linked to performance, with high-anxiety students performing more poorly on standardised tests than on other tests (Hill & Wigfield, 1984). Kohn (2000) argued that for many students their anxiety in the testing environment prevents them from demonstrating their understanding of the material; therefore their scores do not reflect their actual knowledge; and the higher the stakes attached to the test, the greater the stress for the test-takers, setting up anxious students to fail.

Some argue that standardised testing also has adverse psychological effects on teachers, particularly when there are high stakes attached. Jones et al. (1999)

surveyed 470 teachers in North Carolina. They found that 77% of the teachers felt that morale was lower, and 76% reported that their jobs were more stressful than before the introduction of high-stakes standardised testing. In a longitudinal study of fourth and fifth-grade teachers, Valli & Buese (2007) also found that teachers experienced high stress levels due to the high-stakes demands of NCLB. Numerous authors have pointed out that these negative feelings can hinder teachers' job performance, and have voiced concern that the increased stress and frustration could lead many teachers to leave the teaching profession (Jones et al., 1999; Kohn, 2000; Nieto, 2009; Santoro, 2011; Stiggins, 1999; Valli & Buese, 2007).

The comparisons across schools that often accompany standardized testing are also seen as problematic (Canadian Teacher's Federation, 2003a; 2003b; FairTest, 1995; Forbes, 2000; Fox, 2001). Different schools have different human and financial resources available to them, and public comparisons and rankings of schools based on standardized test scores generally ignore these factors. In Canada, Ungerleider (2006) reported that as much as 70% of the variation in student test scores is due to factors beyond a school's control, such as student, family and community level factors. Johnson (2008) produced a report on British Columbia schools' standardised test results that incorporated socio-economic status into the rankings.

The relationship between test scores and student characteristics, such as class, ethnicity, and language, is the focus of much criticism of testing in the literature. Scholars and practitioners have contended that standardised testing is fundamentally biased against low socioeconomic status and minority students (Altshuler & Schmautz, 2006; Bordeaux, 1995; Deyhle, 1986; Froese-Germain, 1999; Kohn, 2000; Sacks, 1999). Green & Griffore (1980) argued that American standardised tests are not objective and value-free, that they are designed for- and validated against white, middle class cultural values and experiences, thereby discriminating against students of colour. Deyhle (1986) demonstrated this for Navajo students compared to Anglo students. Shields (1997) provided an example of how test items can be culturally biased, citing a test question focusing on family relationships that stated "Who is the son of your aunt?" with uncle, cousin and brother given as answer options. According to dominant Anglo-European norms "cousin" was the correct answer, but Navajo fifth graders all selected "brother," the term used to refer to all relatives of the same generation. In an Alberta example, a school official noted that the provincial achievement tests often reference objects or concepts, such as an escalator or a city block, that are unfamiliar to many First Nations students living in remote areas (Goddard, 2002).

Different learning styles may also impact a student's ability to perform well on a standardised test. Standardised tests with a common format and time limit can ignore differences among students who may not all learn and recall knowledge in the same way, or at the same speed (Sacks, 1999). As Marks & Coll (2007) and Pewewardy (2002) noted, Indigenous students often have unique learning styles, including more observational, visual, and holistic learning. Thus, paper and pencil tests that fragment knowledge into multiple-choice questions may be incompatible with their learning styles.

Language skills are also correlated with test outcomes (Brescia & Fortune, 1988; Tremblay, Ross & Berthelot, 2001). Students for whom English is not their first language, or who speak a different dialect, are known to be at a disadvantage in standardised tests conducted in Standard English (Fox & LaFontaine, 1995). While certain test questions may be designed to assess English language proficiency, language too often plays a role in the ability of linguistic minority students to interpret and answer correctly test questions that are designed to assess other content areas (O'Connor, 1989).

For Indigenous students, the cultural and language biases inherent in standardised tests that are designed for use in mainstream educational institutions can result in poor test scores regardless of the students' level of knowledge of the core concepts and the ideas being tested. This raises the concern that Indigenous students may score lower on standardised tests due to cultural mismatch rather than to a lack of knowledge or basic skills.

A final concern is assimilation and forced integration. This is a complex issue. The existence of a test that is common across large populations implies that the content of the test has actually been taught, and that the school curriculum addresses the test need, and there is pressure to conform to the dominant methods of teaching (Canadian Teacher's Federation, 2003b). This raises questions about the ability of schools to maintain cultures and traditions among Indigenous peoples, and about Indigenous control of education (Bordeaux, 1995; Castagno & Brayboy, 2008). In the struggle for control of education, for Indigenous peoples in Canada and the United States, mandated external assessment systems can be seen as interfering with the right to self-determination.

While the academic literature on standardised testing has been overwhelmingly negative, there are also proponents of standardised testing such as Phelps (2009) who argued that critics ignore a large body of evidence that demonstrates the utility of standardised assessments. These studies show how well designed standardised tests can be used effectively by teachers, parents and school administrators to improve the education of students. Nonetheless, there is thin commentary in the literature on the question of benefits for Aboriginal students in particular.

According to testing proponents, standardised testing can be used as a diagnostic tool. Test results can point out areas where districts, schools, or classes are doing particularly well. Best practices that contribute to success in the content area can be identified and disseminated widely. Testing can also point to areas where districts, schools, or classes are not achieving the desired results, and here the test results can identify a problem to be addressed, but as Buly and Valencia (2002) showed, a failing score on a standardised test can be due to many different underlying reasons.

Standardised tests can also be used as a diagnostic tool at the individual level. Rudman (1987) noted that while the information available from standardised tests is obviously limited, coupled with data from other sources, such as teachers' independent assessments, tests can provide useful information to help teachers determine specific areas of need for students. Thus, standardised tests can only be

used as an effective diagnostic tool if the test content reflects school curriculum, the teachers have a clear understanding of how to interpret and use test results, and the limitations and the value of these results are widely understood by administrators, teachers, parents and students (Rudman, 1987).

Building on the use of testing as a diagnostic tool, once a diagnosis has been made test data can be used to motivate and measure change. In a study of the use of Ontario provincial standardised exams, Wideman (2002) showed that when teachers are encouraged to use test results as data to inform their own practice and to improve students' learning outcomes, the tests come to be understood as a strong catalyst for change. Testing can be used to track trends over time, at the individual, school, regional or national levels to refine education programming and policy and to identify successful strategies as Cizek (2001) argued.

Proponents assert that standardised testing can also motivate students and encourage parental involvement. According to Natriello and Dornbusch (1984), when students are held to higher standards through testing it generally leads to higher class attendance and increased student effort. Roderick and Engel (2001) reported similarly in a study of the impact of high-stakes testing on student motivation in Chicago public schools. Bishop (1995) found that external examinations can challenge students to do their best and encourage them to become more actively engaged in the learning process.

However, Campbell and Levin (2009) cautioned that if test data are to be used effectively, educators need to develop their "assessment literacy". Understanding how to access, analyze and apply data is a necessary prerequisite to using test data for improving educational instruction and programming. Earl & Katz (2006) showed that scepticism about data among teachers is often due to mistrust or fear of evaluation and a lack of training.

Resource allocation is a more controversial use for standardised testing. Ideas and models vary on how this can occur. For example, Popham (2001) suggested that testing data could be used to allocate supplemental resources to low-performing schools for professional development, new educational materials, or for the development of educational programs to improve performance. This could be especially useful for Indigenous schools in Canada and the United States, which are chronically underfunded (Assembly of First Nations, 2006; Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, 2011; U.S. Department of Education et al., 2011). Alternatively, supplemental funding could be allocated to those schools that show improvement as an incentive for further improved performance. This method, however, is likely to be fraught with many of the problems of high-stakes testing discussed earlier, such as creating excessive pressure on students and teachers to raise scores, promoting teaching to the test, and withholding funds from those schools that are most in need of additional resources.

Regarding Indigenous education in particular, First Nations groups in Canada have argued that standardised testing results can help to provide basic data about how First Nations students are faring, to promote dialogue and action. The

argument is that there is a serious lack of data on First Nations students' educational performance, in part because First Nations schools are not given the resources to administer widespread assessment. This is a significant concern because it limits chances for critical dialogue about Aboriginal education. The Northern Aboriginal Education Circle (2003), a group of educators in provincial and First Nations schools in Northern Ontario, encourages First Nations schools in Ontario to participate in provincial testing so that educators can develop a baseline of how students are performing, targets can be set for improvements, and schools that are doing well can share best practices.

One of the strongest advocates of the use of assessment systems for improving Aboriginal education has been Chief Nathan Mathew of the North Thompson Indian Band in British Columbia. Chief Mathew believes that the data provided by standardised testing can be a valuable tool in communicating needs to government bodies, educational authorities, parents and the public (Bell et al., 2004). He argued that only in knowing how students are faring in different areas can meaningful dialogue about improving education for Aboriginal students take place.

THE UNITED STATES EXPERIENCE

While there are relatively few studies that reliably assess the impact of the standardised testing regime under NCLB specifically for American Indian and Alaska Native students, a few studies that have been published offer insights. Patrick (2008) conducted a case study of the pseudonymous Warrior Elementary School, a primarily Navajo school, examining the impact of NCLB legislation on the school community. Warrior Elementary School had not met Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) for three consecutive years and was facing school closure or restructuring in which all teachers would lose their positions. This created immense stress for teachers and it led to high teacher turnover. Patrick also found that in an effort to meet the state requirements, teachers had resorted to assimilationist teaching practices, focusing on test preparation at the expense of language and cultural programming.

Garcia (2008) analyzed state-level achievement data in Arizona to compare the achievement rates of American Indian students with other groups of students, prior to- and since the introduction of NCLB. He reported mixed results. The scores of American Indian students improved under NCLB, but he attributed most of this progress to a one-time change in the assessments that was accompanied by a large spike in test scores. He also found that the gap in performance between American Indian and White students had widened in some grades and subjects since NCLB (grade 8 mathematics and grade 3 reading) but it had been closing in others (grade 5 mathematics and grade 8 reading).

In a five-year, multi-site study of Native language programs the finding was clearer, that NCLB was curtailing the ability of schools to provide Native language instruction. One school in particular had implemented a bilingual, bicultural literacy program and had shown improvements in both English and Native language

proficiency. After failing to meet AYP, the school's bilingual program funding ended and the school had to implement an NCLB-mandated English phonics program which a veteran teacher described as "not real teaching" (Romero-Little et al., 2007: 614). Further, the researchers reported that standardised test scores actually declined post-NCLB (McCarty, 2009; Romero-Little et al., 2007).

While lack of resources and strict timelines have prevented many tribal schools from developing their own culturally relevant assessment systems, the Alaska Native Knowledge Network (1998) was the American pioneer in implementing cultural standards alongside academic content standards. Developed prior to the implementation of NCLB, the cultural standards provide a way for schools to assess the extent to which they are meeting the cultural needs of students as well as preparing these students to be competitive in mainstream society. The standards have been widely commended for being comprehensive, democratic, and locally adaptive (Battiste, 2002; Castagno & Brayboy, 2008).

The most wide-ranging report on the impact of NCLB on American Indian and Alaska Native students and educators was produced by the National Indian Education Association (NIEA) (Beaulieu, Sparks & Alonzo, 2005). In a series of hearings and consultation sessions involving American Indian and Alaska Native educators, administrators, leaders, parents and students, the majority of witnesses believed that greater accountability among schools and districts was a positive aspect of the NCLB, but they did not believe that the legislation was having the desired effect. Many felt that the legislation was actually leaving American Indian children behind. A key problem was that mandated assessment was not accompanied by adequate funding. This meant that districts and schools may have poor testing scores, but were not provided with the resources to improve performance (Beaulieu, Sparks & Alonzo, 2005). The under-funding also led schools to focus their existing resources on teaching to the test at the expense of liberal arts and Native language and cultural programming. Witnesses also described how high stakes attached to assessment results and the pressure to achieve the mandated AYP had created a climate in which students and teachers felt blamed for poor results, leading to higher dropout rates and higher teacher turnover. Concern was also voiced over the focus on annual school results, as opposed to individual student improvement. Finally, many argued that the NCLB is far too rigid, constructed without consultation with Native American peoples (Beaulieu, Sparks & Alonzo, 2005).

Regardless, one positive result of NCLB discussed in this report was the increased data on the performance of Native American students (Beaulieu, Sparks & Alonzo, 2005). Under NCLB, the BIE must now publish a Bureau-wide annual report card and individual report cards for each BIE school that provide detailed information about students' test performance in language arts, reading and mathematics, and average daily attendance rates, graduation rates and dropout rates. Student data are documented by gender and by Special Education and Limited English Proficiency groups. Assessment data summarized in the BIE Report Cards reveal

no improvement in the scores of American Indian and Alaska Native children since NCLB was introduced. In the eight years from the 2003/2004 school year (the first year in which the majority of BIE schools used their state assessment system) to the 2010/2011 school year, the number of students performing at the Proficient or Advanced levels in the Language Arts dropped from 47.19% to 35.46% and there were negligible changes in both reading and mathematics (38.40% to 41.37% and 34.79% to 32.81%, respectively) (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 2005; Bureau of Indian Education, 2012a). Scoring below Proficient level is considered failing. Recent National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) data also show a lack of improvement since 2000 (NCES, 2012). In addition, 83 out of 184 BIE funded schools, or 45.1% of the total, were under "restructuring" status in the 2010/2011 school year (Bureau of Indian Education, 2012b). "Restructuring," the most severe consequence outlined in NCLB, requires that schools choose one of five options: reopen as a public charter school, replace school staff and administration, contract an external agency to operate the school, turn over operations of the school to the state, or carry out another form of major restructuring.

The high-stakes testing regime ushered in by NCLB in the United States has been widely criticized in the context of *all* schools, but it provides additional insight into the dangers of mandated, high-stakes assessment systems for Indigenous schools. The practices of publishing individual school test results, mandating specific increases in achievement, expecting large results in a short amount of time, and tying results to high-stakes penalties are seen by many to be having inordinate negative consequences for Indigenous schools in the United States. Further, compulsory testing coupled with inadequate funding has challenged the ability of BIE schools to support cultural and special needs programs, sacrificing crucial dimensions of culturally relevant quality education for Indigenous students. There are some exceptional examples, for example in Arizona the Navajo Nation is developing innovative cultural standards for students, in which quality education and culturally relevant content are provided to Navajo students despite the schools' adherence to the NCLB mandates (Navajo Nation, 2013).

THE CANADIAN EXPERIENCE

There has been even less research on the impact of standardised testing on Indigenous schools in the Canadian context. One of the few sources of information is a report entitled *Sharing our Success: Ten Case Studies in Aboriginal Schooling* on

two on-reserve schools that chose to administer provincial standardised exams. Educators in these schools were said to have positive attitudes towards provincial standardided testing, believing that it provided them with useful information about their students (Bell et al., 2004). This study showed that the schools communicated the results of the testing to teachers and parents and used the data to guide educational decisions. At the same time, both of these schools also provided high quality cultural and language education.

A second source of information is a case study of an Indigenous school in Ontario that chose to implement the Ontario provincial assessment system known as Education Quality and Accountability Office (EQAO) tests (see appendix in White, Peters & Beavon, 2009). While small in scope, the study shed some light on the experience of standardised testing in the Canadian context. A main benefit of administering the provincial standardised testing was that it gave the school administration hard data recognized by provincial and federal authorities to demonstrate the school's needs. This data were used to show that the school required extra support services and to lobby for additional educational resources. The school administration stated that the year-by-year results also provided a mechanism to demonstrate the improvement that the extra resources were making, which in turn helped to garner further resources and funding.

Many teachers in this study also argued that using provincial standardised tests had improved their classroom instruction techniques and strategies, related to professional development that accompanied the testing and through the process of learning about the testing. Teachers also noted that since implementing EQAO, learning had become more integrated in that basic skill development was included in all subject areas, for instance in including reading and writing strategies in subject areas such as science, social studies and drama.

Administering EQAO was also said to provide direction and goals to both individual staff members and to the school as a whole. Many teachers used the test results diagnostically for student needs and for improving instruction, more likely looking at the schools' overall results and using these to focus on areas where students had done poorly. At the school level, this had been translated into division-wide long-term literacy planning in the primary grades, a key area where EQAO had shown students were struggling. A number of teachers noted that they would like to see even more done with the test results in terms of school and division-wide strategizing and planning. Other positive benefits noted by teachers included increased communication and resource sharing with the local provincial school board, and better assurance for parents that their children were gaining the skills necessary to enter the mainstream provincial high school after grade 8, since as is the case in many First Nations communities, there was no high school in this community.

Conversely, the study also revealed familiar concerns about the school's use of the EQAO testing. First, the majority of teachers stated that a desire for students to score well on the testing led to increased focus on subject content that teachers knew would be covered on the exam such as that for students in grades 3 and 6 administered in May. Second, teachers who had observed students taking the EQAO exams noted that some students experienced test-taking, but many teachers pointed out that this was not specific to the EQAO exam. Third, teachers disagreed on the cultural appropriateness of EQAO tests for their students. Some felt that recent improvements in the test had removed any concern about cultural bias, others stated that the wording of certain questions and the format of the test itself can disadvantage First Nations learners.

Problematic test questions contained references to aspects of urban living, or to ethnically diverse names. Almost all teachers who talked about biased test questions did agree that this was not solely a concern for First Nations students, rather it was a socioeconomic or urban/rural issue. Since they also noted that there were typically only a couple of problematic questions in any given year, perhaps test bias such as this did not unduly influence the results. Participants who felt that there was some cultural bias in the EQAO assessments did not feel that the testing should be stopped for this reason, nor that it was creating cultural bias in their own teaching practices. A number of teachers argued that the way in which they teach the core content needs to be culturally relevant, that testing does not have to determine how students are taught the content on a daily basis. They reported adapting the curriculum and teaching it in a culturally relevant way appropriate for their students.

In terms of cultural bias in the format of the exam itself, it was noted that First Nations students often demonstrate their knowledge better in hands-on activities and by exploring and finding answers as opposed to the paper and pencil format of EQAO. Thus, many felt there was indeed a disconnect between the *format* of a large scale standardised assessment and the learning styles of the students.

While neither the Ontario government or AANDC publishes Indigenous schools' test results, the Fraser Institute, a conservative think tank, publishes an annual *School Report Card* for elementary and secondary schools in Ontario (Fraser Institute, 2013). At the time the case study described above was conducted, the report ranked all schools in Ontario based on their EQAO results, including the few First Nations schools that administer the testing. Despite increases in their scores, the study school had consistently placed quite low in the Fraser report rankings. Local media often published these results, bringing negative attention to the community. The rankings led both parents and band council to question the quality of the education being provided at that school and some felt that it was discouraging for both teachers and students to see their school ranked poorly compared to other schools in Ontario.

WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM THESE EXPERIENCES?

Under NCLB in the United States the practices of striving for accountability, efficiency, and competitiveness in school performance as the route to enhancing quality have generated controversy and criticism regarding impacts on all schools but in particular the practices have revealed negative consequences for Indigenous schools. Compulsory testing coupled with inadequate funding has created problems for BIE schools, as they find their ability to support cultural and special needs programs challenged. Lack of resources and strict timelines have also prevented most tribal schools from developing their own culturally relevant assessment systems, undermining tribal sovereignty. While there are positive examples, such as in the case of the Alaska Native Knowledge Network and in some innovative Indigenous schools, the American experience raises important concerns about quality education for Indigenous students, and offers interesting comparisons with the Canadian case.

Thus far, the experience of Indigenous schools in Canada with standardised testing appears to be more positive. This can be related to the differences in implementation of standardised testing in the two countries. With the exception of Alberta, First Nations schools are given the choice of whether to implement the provincial standardised exam. There are no mandated yearly targets and there are no mandated stakes or penalties attached to the testing as there are in the United States. Schools are largely free to use the results as they wish.

It is clear that many unintended negative consequences can ensue when testing is conceived as having high-stakes, such as being tied to funding; being used for student streaming, promotion and retention; being used to publicly rank schools; or carrying strong punitive measures for schools and teachers. Advocates of standardised assessment for Indigenous schools recognise the problems with these forms of testing, but they also point to approaches that can be used by teachers, parents and administrators that can make these tests only one instructional and diagnostic tool among many (Bell et al., 2004; Shields, 1997).

If standardised testing is to be understood and used as a valuable instructional tool, it is clear that it cannot be thought of as a panacea, nor as the definitive determinant of a student's academic performance, nor as the primary means to enhance quality. Rather, it must be understood as one measure among many that can provide useful information regarding students' skills and progress at the individual, school and regional levels while remaining aware of the limitations. Testing always provides only a snapshot of a particular point in time, with numerous factors impacting students' performance on any given day. Cultural and language bias are also real concerns given that testing is typically constructed based on white, middle class norms. Further, Indigenous schools and First Nations schools–and their communities–must consider whether the skills tested on externally developed assessments are in line with the skills and knowledge they desire for their students, and that students desire for themselves as Binda & Lall (2013) argued. Ensuring that administrators, teachers, students and parents have a clear understanding of both the limitations and the potential uses of assessment results is vital to using testing as valuable educational tool (Shields, 1997).

Standardised testing in Indigenous schools is sure to continue to be a contentious issue. Alongside critiques in the scholarly literature, there is far less said about the real use and need that Indigenous educators and community leaders do see for this type of assessment. As First Nations groups have pointed out, test results can provide much needed data about the academic performance of First Nations students that can be used to highlight inequities in the system, bring attention to funding inadequacies, and act as a catalyst for critical dialogue and change.

More research is needed into cases in which Indigenous communities are using standardised testing in ways that can overcome the negative dimensions of the testing culture, and if or how they are developing their own content standards and assessment systems. Thankfully, there are examples of communities doing just this. In the United States, the Navajo Nation is developing innovative cultural standards for

students (Navajo Nation, 2013), and in Canada the Indigenous Education Coalition is working with Western University to reconceptualise assessment approaches in culturally appropriate ways (Assembly of First Nations, 2012). Dissemination of promising practices to spread the benefit is another imperative. While there needs to be continued vigilance about the impact of the use of standardised testing on the ability of Indigenous peoples to exert control over their educational systems and the ways in which testing is used in Indigenous schools, it may be beneficial to consider assessment as a tool of empowerment for Indigenous peoples and to create standards and assessments that reflect this approach.

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6. INCREASING THE QUALITY AND ATTRACTIVENESS OF VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL SECONDARY EDUCATION AND YOUTH EMPLOYMENT RATE IN TURKEY

The Project for Strengthening Vocational Education and Training (SVET)

INTRODUCTION

It is widely recognized that accelerating globalisation and developments in information and communication technology (ICT) present young people today with more life choices and opportunities than ever before. In order to help young people to benefit from those choices and opportunities, secondary-level education systems need to focus on enabling them to develop into productive, responsible individuals who are well equipped for life and work in today's technology and information based knowledge society (UNESCO, 2005).

Recently, vocational education has become one of the primary policy focus areas of governments in industrialised- and postindustrial-, and developing countries alike (Simsek & Yildirim, 2000). Globalisation of the economy, increasing international competition, changes in demographic development and in labor market needs are giving rise to a need for new strategies in education and training policy. Indeed, economic development depends a great deal on adapting vocational education and training (VET) systems to meet the social and economic demands of a given country. For this reason many countries now stress the need to place a greater emphasis on VET in the years to come by highlighting the importance of providing attractive, qualified training programs and continuing-training opportunities in order to enhance employability and occupational mobility; designing VET programs to conform more closely to the realities and needs in practice; orienting VET more closely to the requirements of the employment system and the corresponding labor market needs; and preparing young people for degrees which comply with high standards while opening up forward-looking employment prospects (BIBB, 2004). In this chapter, I discuss efforts in Turkey since 2000 to increase the quality and attractiveness of vocational and technical secondary education, and I consider whether the government's goal of a substantially higher proportion of students pursuing the vocational track is reachable.

D. B. Napier (Ed.), Qualities of Education in a Globalised World, 101–116.

It might be argued that technological developments provide the greatest contribution for the development of countries. The training of skilful human-power that can convert new technologies into production is of distinct importance. At this point, it has been said that "due to Turkey's economic structure with many small and medium-sized companies, the traditional distance between school-based VET and the labor market and an apprenticeship system that also lacked sufficient practical work experience, VET in its different forms could often not provide young people with useful skills and competences" (Barabasch & Petrick, 2012). Table 1 shows student enrollment distributions in general education and vocational secondary education in selected European countries. Of the countries included, all except Turkey, Denmark and France show a majority of students enrolled in upper secondary studies in VET as opposed to general education programs, while the European Union (EU) average is skewed toward an almost-even split. The prevalence of enrollment in vocational programs in Europe is a reflection of the contemporary importance of VET for meeting students' needs as well as societal needs. Consequently, the importance of VET is a significant ingredient in the larger consideration of what constitutes a "quality education" with emphasis placed on practical utility and relevance for employment and development.

Table 1. Distribution of Enrolment to Upper Secondary Students in Some European (Eurostat, 2012).

Country	*General*	*Vocational*
Austria (AT)	22.7	77.3
Belgium (BE)	35.7	64.3
Denmark (DK)	52.7	47.3
Finland (FI)	31.2	68.8
France (FR)	55.8	44.2
Germany (DE)	46.8	53.2
Italy (IT)	41.0	59.0
Netherlands (NL)	32.9	67.1
Norway (NO)	45.9	54.1
Switzerland (CH)	34.5	65.5
Turkey (TR)	59.2	40.8
EU 27 Average	50.4	49.6

In Turkey, the basic problem for vocational education is the student in terms of his/her needs and also in terms of how students access high school education of one kind or another. In Turkey, there are four main types of high schools: Science High Schools, Anatolian High Schools, public high schools and vocational schools.

Admission to Science High Schools is competitive by government examination, and applicants must have good grades following their basic compulsory education through junior high school level. Science High Schools are the most prestigious and the most difficult to enter of all high schools in Turkey, with admission based on superior performance on the government entrance examinations. Students attend for four years and study a broad science curriculum and foreign languages. Anatolian High Schools also select students by the government entrance examination and applicants must have completed their basic compulsory education without repeating any year. However less prestigious they are than Science High Schools, Anatolian High Schools offer a similar four-year program. Public high schools are those in which any students who have taken the government entrance exam have a right to be enrolled. Vocational High Schools take various forms, consisting of Vocational and Technical High Schools, Trade and Tourism High Schools, Religious High Schools, Special Education High Schools and Medical and Health High Schools. Collectively, the vocational high schools are schools with focused programs aiming at training and educating students for employment. Vocational high schools are the least prestigious of the high school types, and the easiest to enter. Any students who have graduated from junior high school and have not been admitted to other prestigious schools have a right to attend vocational high schools. (Dogan, Oruncak & Gunbayi, 2002; MEB [Milli Egitim Bakanligi], 2012)

Vocational school graduates have several disadvantages relative to general secondary education graduates. Firstly, because of their concentrated vocational training, they tend to be less prepared for the academically-oriented university entrance exam. Secondly, the university entrance formula, which gives greater weight to students' performance when they are applying to study in a related field, reduces the likelihood that vocational graduates could enter into a four-year university program because, by definition, none is directly related to a vocational field. And thirdly, while vocational graduates are provided with direct access to tertiary education (without consideration of their score at the university entrance exam), their choice of discipline is limited to the specific field they studied in their secondary vocational school" (Katsu & Vorkink et al., 2005).

Thus, there are relatively few students who attend vocational high schools through choice or who have been selected on some definite criteria. The reasons for selection into these schools in order of importance are: insufficient scores or points for entrance to classical high schools; economic disadvantage of the family; decisions and guidance by the family and acquaintances; desire to join economic life and to work; and guidance under some specific criteria by both the primary school staff and the family. Consequently, vocational school education carries with it an issue of stigma or lesser status to some degree, but vocational schools in Turkey as in other countries are also the schools attempting to meet specialized demands of needy students.

On the other hand, in some job categories such as catering, real estate, and surveying the workers are people who did not attend vocational schools in Turkey, unqualified people. But in the near future, it is hoped that technicians who graduated from vocational schools will be the workers in these occupations. A student who studies in a vocational school must know that he/she will have a good job, earn more money, and live a good life conditions after finishing the vocational school successfully (Yavuz, 2003). Besides, according to a State Planning Organization (SPO) report, as a result of both the lack of integration of programs between vocational schools in higher education and vocational and technical secondary education institutions, and the inability to update the vocational and technical education programs according to the demands of the labor market, employment rates for vocational and technical education graduates cannot be increased. Thereby, the demand for vocational education decreases (SPO, 2006). Recently, reflecting the contemporary emphasis on the importance of quality vocational education, there have been many projects either initiated or completed successfully to increase the quality and attractiveness of VET secondary schools and to increase youth employment rates in the Turkish economy. One of those completed projects in 2007 was that of "The Project for Strengthening Vocational Education and Training (SVET)" which was expected to make for a stronger VET system supported by a National Qualification System with national and international credibility. The primary focus of this chapter is on the SVET project as an exemplar of the effort to upgrade VET and to reaffirm the importance of quality education in vocations rather than just in traditional academic education programs.

INCREASING THE QUALITY AND ATTRACTIVENESS OF VET AND THE PROJECT FOR STRENGTHENING VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING (SVET)

An agreement for a project aimed at improving vocational education and training in Turkey was signed by the EU on January 20, 2000. It was also signed by the Turkish Ministry of National Education, the Treasury under-Secretariat, and the Vocational and Small-Scale Industry Improvement Foundation (MEKSA) [Mesleki Egitim ve Kucuk Sanayi Destekleme Valdi] in July 2000. The project was started in 2002, with a total cost of €58,200,000 of which the EU Contribution was € 51,000,000. The project term was 5 years. Its aim was to promote competitiveness among Turkish entrepreneurs and prepare them for the EU market by improving the conditions of vocational training in Turkey in line with the demands of the Turkish private sector ([Milli Egitim Bakanligi] MEB, 2001) .

The SVET five-year project resulting from the agreement signed between the European Commission and the Government of Turkey was noteworthy in that it aimed to strengthen Turkey's VET system from within the country, rather than imposing an alien structure. However, Turkey's international trade, its political ambitions for joining the EU, and its promotion of domestic and international investments gave the project an urgent international dimension. This also implied

that Turkey had to harness all its economic resources, and also that a degree of decentralization was inevitable since much of the country's industrial and economic activities were regionally based.

Any effective vocational education and training system depends on its congruence with the dynamic forces of the labor market and its respect for the culture it serves in a given country. The dynamics of the labor market depend on the needs of industry and commerce (i.e. the demand side which is often–but by no means always–definable at a more centralized level) and the availability of trained individuals (i.e. the supply side, definable at a more local level) to meet these demands in their current form and adapt to them in their future form. The SVET project in Turkey took this reasoning into account, in aiming to also upgrade the quality of the educational experience in this sub-sector. The Project focused on a total of 145 pilot institutions in 30 provinces with the desired ultimate outcome being full national implementation.

The SVET project found itself at the centre of debates about the relationship (actual and desired) between labor and education; about central, provincial and local responsibilities; and about the likely career path of the VET graduates. The project staff conducted workshops and studies and held interviews and meetings in a determined effort to gather and understand as much relevant information as they could, to inform the project and decisions of the Turkish decision-makers. However, the project staff also continued to provide access for the decision-makers to current international VET activities and recent decentralization experiences. The final outcome of the project was expected to be a strong VET system supported by a National Qualification System in Turkey, one with national and international credibility that was competitive with- and measurable against the EU standards ([Mesleki ve Teknik Egitimin Guclendirilmesi Projesi] MEGEP/SVET, 2008). Within the framework of the project, various activities were conducted ranging from developing training standards and VET modules to training school principals, teachers as well as students and establishing VET Information Centers. More than 5000 modules developed within the framework of SVET resulted in a wind of change in all the vocational education institutions (Balci, 2007). In this regard the SVET project is interesting as an example of innovation efforts for quality inside the country, but responsive to- and influenced by regional and international priorities. In the project's five sub-areas, to be discussed next, the international influences are quite perceptible. Hence the case sheds light on the manner in which Turkey participates in the emergent global education system and particularly with regard to efforts for enhancing a form of "quality education" that is also directly relevant to internal needs for individuals and the labor market.

The project was carried out in five sub-areas: development of training standards aiming to adapt VET standards to international as well as national, regional and local requirements; revision of the existing curricula aiming to transform VET from a teacher-oriented approach to the learner-centered approach; creation of Vocational and Technical Education Regions supporting the graduates of vocational

and technical secondary schools to have access to two-year colleges of technology, two year vocational and technical higher education institutions within a given region; creation of the Vocational and Technical Secondary Education Graduates Monitoring Project supplying reliable and accurate data about outputs/graduates of the vocational education system; and the Institute for National Vocational Qualifications responsible for establishing a common quality assurance framework and common principles for validation of non-formal learning. These five sub-areas of the project are described next.

Development of Training Standards

In order to strengthen the VET system in Turkey the main strategy was to build on the existing national arrangements and contribute to their ability to adapt to an international context. Thus VET qualifications had to be internationally transparent; address international as well as national, regional and local requirements; and VET teaching and training institutions and their programs had to be of international quality, both to retain students and to attract others from states that were trading partners. In VET teacher training institutions, teachers had a particular problem in keeping up with latest developments, as did the examiners/assessors. The longer they were in teaching and out of industry, the more they faced the danger of becoming out-of-date. With VET, the advances came from technology or industry, at national or international levels. Therefore there was no point in having new occupational standards, and new training standards derived from them, if the teaching institutions were unable to deliver the corresponding service. Training and support of the teachers was crucial for the success of the SVET project. Multiple forms of training activities were organized as part of SVET. School and training centre principals and teachers attended curriculum and module development trainings as well as dissemination trainings. Some 14,772 teachers of formal and non-formal VET institutions as well as general high schools in the project's 30 pilot provinces including their sub-provinces participated in the dissemination training activities. Overall, 23,443 people participated in the training activities organized within the framework of the project. The project provided the pilot institutions with the opportunity to cooperate and exchange knowledge with similar institutions established in the EU. Accordingly, 1,452 people including school and training centre managers, teachers, students and social partners visited 100 partner institutions (Balci, 2007).

With the SVET project a new decision had to be made, different from the existing systems, for the utilization of a common basis for the development of training standards for vocational education and training. This resulted in a general framework for the formulation of training standards for the VET system in Turkey. Experience from micro or local level projects showed whether the existing VET structure could respond to international requirements or if it had to be adapted. Once the main national classification was accepted for each professional branch, a medium

was created whereby the occupational standards would be transferred into training standards for operationalization. The common terms used in this transfer were the "competencies" connected to occupational standards and acquired in the reformed VET system. A special vocational training standards (VTS) workgroup was formed with participation from social partners and the VET system at large to undertake this dimension of the project. Some examples of these competencies and skills areas include automatic command, electronics, computers, aircraft maintenance, electronic cooling and air conditioning, communication and information technologies, textiles, real estate, and hospitality and food technology. They reflect labour market demands in terms of competencies by offering high employment potential and opportunities to ensure maximum labor market relevance.

The VTS workgroup started by drafting a training standards framework containing requirements and guidelines for VTS. The outcome was a national classification system with a justification of the selected framework, to be presented in a small conference where social partners, occupational branches and the occupational standards commission were presented. These standards were framed with reference to international standards in the vocational education area.

For the micro projects, analyses were carried out to identify the needs of assistance in the development and formulation of the competencies that would serve as final objectives for VET. For those micro projects where the occupational standards were not available, the local occupational branch was invited to participate in the curriculum development groups. This group developed the competencies that would be used as the basis for the occupational standards and the VTS. All outcomes of the workgroup in terms of competencies and curriculum were shared with METARGEM [Mesleki ve Teknik Egitim Arastırma ve Gelistirme Merkezi] (Vocational and Technical Education Research and Development Centre), this being the central administration of all curriculum development products (MEGEP/SVET [Mesleki ve Teknik Egitimin Guclendirilmesi Projesi],2008). Consequently, the expectation was to adapt VET standards to international as well as national, regional and local requirements in order to make graduates' vocational skills reflect both employment conditions and industry standards for employment positions in the first instance, and in the second instance to also update VET system to match needs and industry standards at local, regional, national and international levels. Thus the SVET project attempted to be a multi-level, integrated approach to upgrading VET quality and substance, with measurable and defendable standards and structure in the familiar language and terminology of "quality" that has become globally prevalent.

Revision of the Existing Curricula

Prior to the SVET project the vocational education and training system in Turkey did not apply any training standards system, which posed an obstacle for developing proper curricula. Many of the curriculum-related documents that were analyzed to inform the project were found to serve an administrative purpose but they contained

limited or unclear descriptions of objectives, they did not identify levels to be achieved, they embodied a 'teacher-oriented' approach, and what they advocated did not have any flexibility. The content was often a list of topics to be taught without any indication of levels required at the start and the level to be achieved upon completion. Guidelines for assessment of students were lacking, and the technology mentioned was often out of date. Teachers working with the curricula complained about the weak guiding principles for the teaching and learning process, and the lack of flexibility to meet local demands.

Within the SVET project the approach for curriculum development was as follows: the objectives in terms of competencies were derived from occupational standards; the starting situation of students, legislation, infrastructure and teachers were given; the educational process in the learning environment, including teaching methods and materials were specified; and in the assessment and certification details, the objectives and the NQS (National Quality Standards) were mentioned and referenced. Some examples of the objectives in the project curricula include: enabling comparisons of qualifications, establishing quality standards and improving the quality of learning conditions in occupations such as motor vehicles, ships and aircrafts, aircraft maintenance; building and civil engineering, construction technology; textiles, clothes, footwear and leather, clothing production technology; and hotel, restaurant and catering, hospitality services. Different curricula were designed for various purposes and levels, such as national curricula, sector curricula, school curricula, and subject curricula. To guide this process of development two working groups were formed: a National Curriculum Policy group focusing on policy issues relevant for curriculum development and training standards, and a National Development Working group concentrating on development of the training standards and for assisting in curriculum development in the micro projects. This latter group was METARGEM [Mesleki ve Teknik Egitim Arastırma ve Gelistirme Merkezi], serving as the national coordinating centre. Both groups were assisted through training programs/workshops guaranteeing a standardized approach to curriculum development and the modular approach. The overall approach for the development of the curricula was twofold: bottom-up and top-down, while allowing the process of cross-fertilization to take place.

At the micro project level, training was also organized for the staff involved in curriculum development; including staff from the pilot institutions, as well as participation from the social partners, and some resource persons. The curriculum developed at the micro project level could be very specific and thus restricted to the local level; however it could also act as a trigger for dissemination at regional or national level. This meant that a feedback mechanism would operate through the National Development Working group.

The changing role of teachers/trainers was addressed through a trainer-training program which would address issues such as transitioning to a learner-centered approach, and strategies for organizing a learning environment for students. In an early stage of the implementation phase, competence-based learning was addressed

through a specific training program firstly for curriculum developers and later for trainers at the micro project level in schools. Publications describing the different aspects of the process of revising curricula were published for specific audiences, in order to complete the process of curriculum revision and to increase the sustainability of the outcomes (MEGEP/SVET, 2008) [Mesleki ve Teknik Egitimin Guclendirilmesi Projesi].

Hence, as an outcome of the SVET project, due to the revision of the existing curricula of VET secondary schools, all programs in VET secondary schools were expected to become competency-based and to address international as well as national occupational competency task lists as the basis for up-to-date curricula.

Vocational and Technical Education Regions

In Turkey, higher education includes all the educational institutions which are based on secondary education, and which provide at least two years of higher education. Universities offer either 2 or 4-year education programs. In Turkey there are 106 state and 65 private universities (total 171) and 4,353,542 (1,812,231 in open education) students enrolled, of whom 2,342,533 were males and 1,978,343 were females in 2011-2012 academic year. The students who are VET secondary school graduates have a right to pursue university-level vocational studies in a two-year undergraduate education. As a result of the 2012 University exam 280,874 students had a right to go on to vocational study in university and total number of students in two year technical and vocational schools was 1,033, 203 (OSYM- The National Student Selection and Placement Centre [Ogrenci Secme ve Yerlestirme Merkezi], 2012).

Vocational and technical education regions were established in 2002 to implement the provisions entitling the graduates of vocational and technical secondary schools to have access to two-year colleges of technology, two-year vocational and technical higher education institutions, to continue further programs in their field of study or to follow the closest equivalent programs without taking the university entrance exam. A vocational and technical education region consisted of one or more two-year colleges of technology and vocational-technical institutions at secondary level which shared interrelated curricula. Some 81 regions were established, one in each of the 81 provinces. Implementation of vocational and technical education regions was intended to increase the attractiveness and accessibility of vocational training at the secondary school level as well as increasing effective use of resources by sharing the facilities of secondary vocational schools with two-year higher education institutions (Karip, Pepin & Volkers, 2005). Thus, the establishment of vocational and technical education regions was expected to increase the enrolment rate to VET secondary schools since the aim of this establishment was to support VET graduates to continue tertiary education programs in their field of study without taking the university entrance exam.

The Vocational and Technical Secondary Education Graduates Monitoring Project

Development of vocational education policies to increase quality and attractiveness of vocational education required reliable and accurate data about outputs or graduates of the vocational education system. This component is often missing from reform and improvement projects, so its inclusion in the SVET Project is noteworthy Thus, the Vocational and Technical Secondary Education Graduates Monitoring Project was started in 2005. This Project has established a database to follow graduates from vocational and technical secondary schools from 2001 to the present. This database has provided information on employment status, the match between training received in school and the skills needed with the workplace and work performance ratings. This information was used to strengthen the link between vocational training and the work place and to develop more effective and efficient education and training (Karip, Pepin & Volkers, 2005), which also enabled comparisons of the output efficiency between school graduates and labor market demand.

Institute for National Vocational Qualifications

Programs prepared in this planned educational quality improvement model benefited from the vocational standards set by the Turkish Employment Institute, the Turkish Standardization Institute, and the Vocational Standards Commission. A legislative proposal to establish the Institute for National Vocational Qualifications was prepared. The institute was responsible for establishing a common quality assurance framework and common principles for validation of non-formal learning. Vocational qualifications/ standards were developed for 250 vocations. This legislation mandated the Ministry of National Education in cooperation with the Ministry of Labor and other related parties to adopt these standards and to align vocational curricula with these standards within 180 days of approval of the legislation (Karip, Pepin & Volkers, 2005). In addition, SVET's Labor Market Team aimed to correspond to communicational needs by labor market and skill analysis, occupational and educational standards, and job and career consulting services. As a result of the sector and labor market analysis conducted during the period 2004-2005, 65 occupational standards regarding 576 occupations were developed. Labor analysis experts of the Labor Market Team also organized occupational standards development training sessions for members of sector organizations (Balcı, 2007). This component of the SVET project is another noteworthy example of Turkey's participation in the global system of standards-driven operation linked to qualifications, content area performance, and labor market or occupational needs.

DISCUSSION

Under the EU program 'Strengthening Vocational Education and Training' (SVET), a reform was introduced in Turkey in 2002 to increase the system's flexibility and to open pathways between general, technical and vocational education. Accordingly,

following the initial pilot phase, common curricula began to be implemented in the academic year 2004/2005 in year 9 in 65 pilot upper secondary VET schools and 40 upper secondary general schools. In June 2005, the Ministry of Education decided to mainstream the outcomes of the SVET program, to extend the program nationally. Secondary education was extended to four years and a common 9th grade was introduced as an orientation year for both general and VET schools (Schmid, 2006). Despite the constraints, the government's goal during the last 25 years has been to have a substantially higher proportion of students pursuing the vocational track. Indeed, the government established the ideal target for vocational enrolments as a 65 percent share of total secondary enrolments, in contrast to the fairly constant 35 percent of students who had elected to attend vocational schools over the last decade (Katsu et al., 2005).

In Turkey, in general secondary schools are slightly out of touch with labor market needs as they see their objective as preparing students for university entrance. On the other hand, Table 2 indicates that vocational secondary schools in Turkey are also not doing much better than those of general secondary schools and tertiary education schools in preparing students for the world of work (Katsu et al., 2005). As can be inferred from Table 2, according to State Planning Organization (SPO) and Turkish Statistical Institute (TSI), unemployment rates are highest among persons with a secondary educational background no matter what type-vocational or general-they possessed, while 2012 unemployment statistics by educational level show some change. The unemployment rate for vocational education graduates is still high: it was 10.8 % in 2000; it increased to 11.59 % in 2005 and to 14.8% in 2009; but then it decreased to 10.1% in 2012. Hence, the unemployment rate of 2012 for vocational education graduates is promising in terms of lower unemployment rates compared to previous years and the same unemployment rate of those level of faculty or university graduates with the rate of 10.1%, which means that vocational secondary schools in Turkey have recently started to do a little much better than general secondary schools and tertiary education schools in preparing students for the world of work. "While higher education has been the most attractive option in Turkey for a long time, rising unemployment rates for university graduates and improvements in VET quality might have contributed to a recent rise in participation in secondary VET" (Smawfield et al., 2009), which, in turn, is likely to lead to a decrease at unemployment rates for vocational education graduates.

Table 2. Unemployed persons by educational status [15 age+]

Level of education	*2000*	*2005*	*2009*	*2012*
General High School	18.23%	15.82%	22.4%	11.8%
Vocational high school	10.08%	12.31%	18.5%	10.1%
Faculty or university	9.61%	11.59%	14.8%	10.1%

Source: SPO (2006); TSI (2006), TSI (2009), TSI (2012)

Even though difficulties are experienced in finding mid-level workers in the occupational areas required by the economy, the unemployment rate of vocational education graduates is still high compared to general high school graduates. The latter rate increased from 10.08 % in 2000 to 12.31 % in 2005 and 18.5 in 2009 but decreased to 10.1% in 2012 due to the development in economy in Turkey. Vocational education remains with the appearance of disadvantaged status. This situation resulted from the fact that students with high cognitive skills do not prefer vocational education, the vocational education system is not of a nature to meet the requirements of the labor market, the current vocational education programs are not updated in collaboration with all the stakeholders, and there is lack of equipment and insufficient qualified education personnel.

The EU SVET project was trying to address this problem, and ISKUR [İs Kurumu] (Turkish Employment Organization) should pay much attention to the progress within the SVET project in order to ensure maximum labor market relevance of the vocational education and training courses provided. Responsiveness to local labor market needs is a key issue in this process, and enhancing the influence of the local social partners in the process might strengthen this (ISKUR, 2005). Similarly, the European Training Foundation (ETF) 2010 Turkey country note contains the statement that a special role should be given to social partners to raise the quality of VET in Turkey, and that "Social partners' awareness of the need to invest in education and training is a very important asset of the country. The challenge is to transform this awareness into concrete cooperation actions. The key challenges are developing a qualitatively attractive work placement/apprenticeship system closely related to the formal education systems, and in building up assessment and certification practice" (ETF, 2010). Thus, the success of the project requires that state bodies responsible for either VET or the labor market should be in permanent contact with each other and have an open mind towards their social partners. This tripartite contact should be explored and institutionalized at national, regional and provincial level (Rolla, Altın, & Ulker, 2006).

Additionally, the attractiveness and efficiency of VET is especially based on its ability to match the skills, knowledge and competencies delivered by the VET system with the requirements of the labor market and the world of work (BIBB, 2004). The training of individuals in accordance with the quality and standardization set by vocational training and the sector is dependent on the educational offerings. Therefore, the educational programs should reflect these standards and quality. At international level the quality and integrity of education is preserved by the education standards adopted at the country level. The standard of each occupation must be determined and education programs which aim to meet these standards must be prepared and implemented. Thus, graduates of these schools will have the qualities that the business world need. The employment possibilities and qualities required by the profession should be provided and further supported by vocational career guidance. There is an interaction between the educational system and developments in the economic sector. In today's world, when technological developments and

communication means are taken into consideration, the existence of industries depends mostly on the competitiveness of business enterprises. Business enterprises must keep up with innovations and adopt alternations in a short time. In order to do so, they need high quality productive power. Thus, vocational and technical schools and business enterprises must work collaboratively. The initial aim of this collaboration should be to close the gap in terms of skills and abilities of the output as well as to improve the productivity and efficiency of the existing system (Erhun, 2003). In other words, to train the work force in VET in accordance with international up-to-date standards is inevitable, which was what the SVET project aimed to achieve.

To sum up, several major projects financed through the World Bank and the European Commission have taken place in Turkey, including the SVET project. They have had a major impact on the reforms of the VET system in Turkey. This impact has been confirmed in a recent evaluation report of the SVET project in February 2009. These projects initiated a wider institutional reform, transformed institutional culture, and resulted in the involvement of social partners within VET. There is raised status of VET in Turkey and a greater awareness for the importance of good quality VET, involving employers and employee organizations (CINOP Center for the Innovation of Vocational Training and Adult Education, 2012). After SVET, new projects orienting VET closer to the requirements of the employment system and the corresponding labor market needs and increasing quality and attractiveness of VET have been carried out. Among these were the "Human Resources Development through Vocational Education and Training Project" (HRD-VET) (2008-2010) aiming to reduce unemployment and poverty by promoting the development and competitiveness of Small to Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs) in Turkey's Eastern and South-Eastern regions of Turkey through the participation of a qualified and skilled labor force (IKMEP/HRDVET [Insan Kaynaklarinin Mesleki Egitim Yoluyla Gelistirilmesi Projesi], 2010) and the Project of "Improving the Quality of Vocational Education and Training in Turkey" aiming to realize multi-directional activities under the title of Quality education and Communication in order to reach to a up-to-date, qualified, measurable, sustainable vocational and technical education which would meet the needs of business world and students and to carry vocational education in Turkey to a quality assurance system (METEK [Mesleki ve Teknik Eğitimin Kalitesinin Gelistirilmesi Projesi] 2012). The SVET impact evaluation report of 2009 also highlighted other broader successes including: successful introduction of a new modular, competences-based, modern curriculum; establishment of the Vocational Qualification Authority and the legal framework; a 3-year secondary VET program extended to a 4-year secondary VET program; increased understanding of labor market needs and greater institutionalization of labor market analysis to inform education and training; occupational standards and related capacity were developed, including increasing European Qualifications Framework comparability; increased capacity in other forms such as in gaining and managing grant and other forms of project funding; and overall greater awareness

and application of European (and internationally recognized) best practices (CINOP, 2012).

According to the ETF 2010 Turkey country note, "Although reforms have progressed in the field of education, there are still a lot of. With the steady increase of student flows into secondary education the pressure on the labor market and higher education to provide opportunity for the graduates will increase. Given a bottleneck in the capacities at universities and low attractiveness of the post-secondary VET (MYOs [Meslek Yüksek Okullari]- or two year vocational graduate schools) it is vital to develop a common strategy for the diversification of higher education opportunities which would meet the needs of the labor market. Providing a perspective at higher education level can also boost the status of secondary VET and lead to higher participation than the current 35% of all secondary education students (ETF, 2010)".

CONCLUSION

Taking into consideration the student enrollment distributions in general education and vocational secondary education in Turkey, the verdict is a mixed one. In 1998 the majority of students in upper secondary studies were in general programs, at 65% of the total, with 35% in vocational education (OECD, 1998). In 2002, 63% were in general- and 37% in vocational programs (OECD, 2005), in 2005, 58% in general- and 42% in vocational (OECD, 2007), and in 2009, 63% were in general- and 37% in vocational programs (OECD, 2009, MEB, 2009), 57 in general and 43 in vocational (MEB, 2012). The OECD and MEB statistics show that there has been considerable increase in enrolment to VET in Turkey for ten years. In Turkey important progress has been made as shown by the steady increase in net enrolments in secondary education from around 40% in 2000 to 65% (boys 67.6%, girls 62.2%) in 2009-2010. In 2012 a strong increase of more than 20% of students was observed in VET, which is 43% against 57% of students that follow general secondary education (ETF, 2012).

Nevertheless, the enrolment rate in VET has not yet reached the target noted in the 9th Development Plan (2007-2013), which stated that the 65 % of the students are to be enrolled to the VET and the remaining part is to attend the general education (SPO-State Planning Organization [Devlet Planlama Teskilati], 2006). Besides, if policies to increase the quality and attractiveness of VET are put into action and new projects like SVET orienting VET closer to the requirements of the employment system and the corresponding labor market needs such as "Human Resources Development through Vocational Education and Training Project" and Improving the Quality of Vocational Education and Training in Turkey are started and carried out effectively, it is expected or hoped that VET in Turkey will be selected by 65 % of the students at high school level, in near future when taken unemployment rate of 10.1 % of faculty or university graduates which is the same as those of vocational high school graduates into consideration, as the higher education level

does not mean the more employment opportunities in Turkey. The target of 65% in VET enrollment is perhaps idealistic as few countries could be able to show such rapid VET enrollment increase. However, the successes associated with SVET and other programs in Turkey, described in this chapter, are not to be diminished. Since vocational education and training as a subsector of education has suffered a long history of second-level status compared to academic or general education, and the contemporary thrust of educational reform is for enhancing quality and accountability, the Turkish case represents a model for other countries interested in boosting capacity, enhancing workplace relevant education and employment, and contributing to national economic development. SVET as a project sheds light on vocational dimensions of quality linked to relevance, in the larger debate over quality education by any measure.

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7. FOR A SYSTEMIC APPROACH TO QUALITY IN EDUCATION

The Role of Early Childhood Educators and Teachers, and Views of Political Decision Makers in Portugal

INTRODUCTION

Quality is a difficult construct to conceptualize. It does not mean, however, that it should be avoided or considered a sacred word in the field of education. Today, worldwide, the achievement of quality is a requirement that professionals are faced with when they think about the social purposes of school education, students' success and teachers' performance. In this chapter we offer reflections on the quality in education to show the multiple dimensions and forms that *quality* may assume. We discuss topics connected to the role of cultural issues, relativity, plurality and intersubjectivity that can intersect with the notion of quality at different levels of education from preschool level to secondary education. We also include references to contexts and actors as relevant to our discussion of quality and the primary frame of reference for our arguments is our local country context–of Portuguese educational policy and practice. The reflections we present are focused on the overall essential question "*What does it mean to enhance quality in education?*" The answers we propose come from a systemic reading on the concept of quality, followed by a discussion about professional profiles of excellence outlined by some policies devised beyond classrooms.

In taking this approach, we aim to achieve a systemic understanding of the construction of the notion of *quality* focusing on the actors and on the negotiation processes as represented in a multi-level educational adaptation of an ecological model representing realities and processes. Based on this framework and on the implicit complexity of the conceptual field, our reflections and argument address two main points. First, we focus on a specific domain and schooling level regarding the promotion of quality: preschool teachers and primary school teachers' professional performance. Hence the first main sub-question we address in this chapter is: *What is the role of preschool teachers and primary school teachers in the promotion of quality in education?* We focus on this beginning-level of schooling as the crucial beginning stage and the foundation on which all levels of quality education should be built.

D. B. Napier (Ed.), Qualities of Education in a Globalised World, 117–130.

Secondly, we consider a sub-question centered on a selection of different points of view involved in the overall question about quality, i.e. *What is the political decision makers' point of view?* For the Portuguese context, we present this according to a regulation – the Decree Law no. 240 of 30th August (2001) – and to a project from the National Department for Innovation and Curriculum Development – Developing Quality in Partnerships [*Desenvolvendo a Qualidade em Parcerias* (DQP)] (Bertram & Pascal, 2009).

In the first part of this chapter, we present a systemic conceptualisation of quality, addressing our essential question regarding quality and its promotion or enhancement. In the second part of the chapter, to illustrate the systematic approach, we discuss the profile of "the ideal educational professional" teacher/educator of excellence according to criteria pertaining to quality in official documents and in policy makers' views outside classrooms in Portugal. We conclude with a discussion of the issues pertaining to measuring "quality" according to the quality criteria and profile ingredients in addition to factors that are based in reality and practice, in the context of the teacher's classroom and the school.

TOWARDS A SYSTEMIC APPROACH OF QUALITY IN EDUCATION

The significance of the concept of quality is undeniable nowadays. However, the varied use of this concept in different situations and in different contexts has paradoxically reinforced its complex, variable and contextualized character. After all, speeches about quality are built under particular forms of conceiving and evaluating reality that orientate criteria and therefore different notions of quality (see for instance Moss, 2005; Oliveira-Formosinho & Araújo, 2004).

In education, references to the concept of quality can be found in a plethora of discussions embracing a form of requirement related what is considered "*success in schooling*". Common to all these discussions is the notion of process regulation according to an *ideal student,* an *ideal teacher*, and an *ideal school*. In this context, quality is a feature that defines and targets the situation of the real student, the real teacher and the real school depending on what is taken as ideal. This broad understanding reinforces the conceptual framework of the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) that defines quality as a "[d] egree to which a set of inherent characteristics fulfills requirements" (ISO 9000-2000). As an operational concept, it also brings to light its close relationship with performance issues and student achievement, which can explain why quality is subject to debate when one talks about school rankings, teacher assessment and test results, such as in the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development – OECD, 2013) as one example of the array of international comparisons of student achievement, equated with educational quality and framed in terms of global priorities and standards.

Bearing in mind what might be considered ideal education, there are values, above all, that guide referentials of quality. Beyond dinner table discussions (Wang, 2013), policies behind curriculum development and education funding, teacher education, educational research, and other arenas all have a part in the construction of a vision about what an ideal education is supposed to be. However, it is important to understand these referentials as local constructs without forgetting the wider context in which these referentials exist. In other words, and paraphrasing Pascal and Bertram (1999), it is important to conceive quality as a concept orientated by values and influenced by the way they are negotiated among all participants and by the way referentials interact with the values of the environment to which they belong, i.e. school, community, students, families, governmental departments, the press, and society.

Based on these premises, a systemic approach to quality can be useful, guided by contextualisation, wherein each source of referentials of quality can be conceived in dialog with others in a given field of influence and in a given context. For example, a legal document or policy that establishes stipulations about quality in the classroom would have a richer analysis and more validity if it was developed according to each real classroom, where there are teachers and students who have their own conceptions of quality, each real school that registers its own vision of quality in educative projects and other curricular documents; and so on. Therefore, the sum of referentials of quality valid to a specific classroom does not finish in official documents. Nevertheless, an analysis of such a legal document is valuable since it is an expression of what should be taken into account when one talks about quality in a context and situation broader than a specific classroom.

As a result, a systemic perspective brings to light a process of negotiation that can support the local foundation of referentials of quality. In addition to teachers' conceptions, other factors (for example students' expectations parents' and the community's aspirations) also feature in the negotiation process that culminates in a specific conception of what education of quality in a particular context can be. Although these kinds of referentials clearly have some effect on local-level constructions of quality, some of them have a wider field of influence than others and some of them can be more locally controlled than others.

Thus, employing some concepts taken from the bio-ecological perspective of human development according to the model of Bronfenbrenner (1979; 2005), it is possible to establish a framework to understand quality as an ongoing dialectic among different actors, in different contexts, and on different levels, as shown in Figure 1. Figure 1 illustrates the dynamics of the referentials that appear in a vast social system of ruling values about education and quality in a specific time and space –the **macrosystem**. This might be seen as the global or macro-level and also the country level. Referents at this top level are progressively translated into more specific contextual levels – the **exosystem** and the **microsystem**.

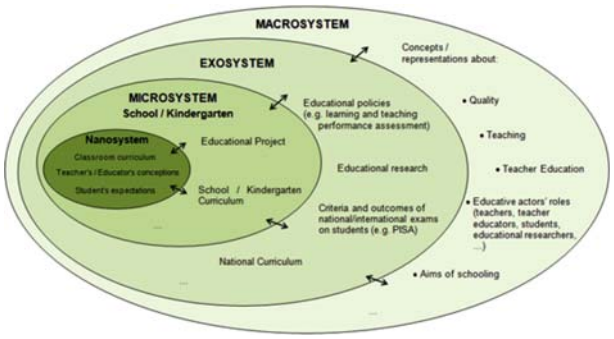

Figure 1: Quality referents from a bio-ecological perspective.

The exosystem is exemplified by legal norms and national-level policies or directives issued by governmental institutions such as from the Ministry of Education in Portugal and many other countries with centralized education systems, and in countries with systems with combinations of centralized – and decentralized control – also perhaps at the sub-national level in provinces, states and districts sometimes referred to as the intermediate meso-level – and other requisitions that come from policies with a wider field of influence than the single context of a specific school or kindergarten. The **microsystem** in our case is represented by a school institution or a kindergarten – the *locus* of local policies and where real choices are made in function of a specific context. Finally, it is still possible to talk about a **nanosystem** represented by a given classroom, where quality assumptions coming from the outside issues are mediated by teachers' and students' conceptions of what is actually valuable in education. This scheme of thinking parallels other conceptions of educational policy and practice research, for instance in the "dialectic of the global and the local" explicated by Arnove (2013, pp.1-25), a theoretical notion also incorporating a series of levels from global to local, with contextual factors being an important component.

Avoiding a single top-down perspective, it is remarkable that the sum of ruling values that constitute the macrosystem and the external policies that characterize the exosystem may also be influenced by what happens in the micro and nanosystems. From an ecological perspective, the interaction among the different contexts is seen as mutual and interactive rather than only one directional.

The dynamics of the negotiated conceptualization of quality tend to reinforce the principles of a participative and inclusive approach, which seems to correspond to what Oliveira-Formosinho & Araújo (2004) and Oliveira-Formosinho (2009b) designated as a *participative paradigm.* This means that different actors are involved in the process of definition of the quality criteria: school community (teachers, students, families...); local community; community of researchers; decision makers; and others such as the global and international influences and pressures to conform to "standard" ideas governing quality education. Accordingly, the quality concept

can be understood as a construction process with collective participation (Bertram & Pascal, 2009; Demo, 2002; Oliveira-Formosinho & Formosinho, 2012). Therefore, gathering several criteria for its definition and referring to the Portuguese case, Bairrão (1998) emphasized political policy, physical and social characteristics of a given context, characteristics of the professionals, curriculum and research results.

A systemic view on the conceptualization of quality in education also implies the recognition of the historical, contextual and on-going character of the concept. Looking for relations between human development and social constructions about quality, it is possible to find in the macrosystem permanent dynamics of changes that imply constant negotiation at the other levels. Representing the collective imagination, the culture shared by a certain community or group in a specific time and space (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the macrosystem stands as a structure in constant movement, development and transformation – resulting in the volatility of the construction processes of the concept of quality: "[the] quality and the lack of it coexist in complex situations, but both are always dynamic and temporary and, therefore, susceptible to change" (Sá-Chaves, 2007, p.25). In summary, the achievement of a concept of quality is updated through transitory negotiations among different points of view about a common topic. From this perspective, a systematic notion of quality assumes the following key ideas: relativity, negotiation, incompleteness, adaptability and reconstruction. Hence, promoting and improving quality in education means understanding different perspectives and objectives of the educational actors on different levels to find the convergence points in the negotiation process, even if these are transitory.

Next in this chapter, we present and analyze one of these perspectives: that of the political decision makers. Specifically, we focus on the idealized profile of the professional performance of teachers and educators. In keeping with the previous discussion of Figure 1, the official idealized profile is one of the exosystemic and macrosystemic issues and pressures that teachers/educators face in the current Portuguese context, namely in the definition of criteria to assess their performance and in the conclusions drawn by administrative superiors regarding quality education these teachers deliver, possibly divorced from the teachers' local context.

THE IDEAL EDUCATIONAL PROFESSIONAL ACCORDING TO THE POLITICAL DECISION MAKERS IN PORTUGAL

Bearing in mind our systemic reading on the social construction of the concept of quality in education, we consider that an analysis of policies recorded in legal documents allows a broader comprehension of some exosystemic (and also macrosystemic) issues addressed to schools and educational professionals. Therefore, in this section we present and discuss two educational policy instruments that portray the rise of some educational quality criteria in Portugal concerning teaching practice: the Decree Law no. 240/2001, which sets the general profile of teacher's and educators' professional performance, and Project Developing Quality

in Partnerships (DQP), that intendeds to inject referentials of quality assessment into Early Childhood Education.

Decree Law no. 240/2001 of 30th August

As a consequence of the first implementation of the reorganization process of basic education or primary school curriculum (Decree Law no. 6/2001 of 18th January), decision makers in Portugal decided to reevaluate the profile of performance of education professionals – referring to the practitioners from preschool education level to the end of basic education (at 9th grade). In accordance with Decree-Law No. 6/2001 of 18th January, the national curriculum of basic education is centralized (guidance top-down) and organized into three learning cycles: 1st cycle (first four grades), 2nd cycle (5th and 6th grades) and 3rd cycle (7th, 8th and 9th grades). At the end of each learning cycle, all students take national exams (external evaluation) in the subjects of Mathematics and Portuguese. Teachers have a restricted degree of autonomy in curriculum development. Subsequently, the Decree Law no. 240/2001 of 30th August drew up the general profile of professional performance of the nursery education professionals, basic education and high school teachers.

This decree law aims to be itself as a guiding framework both for the organization of pre-service teaching courses (which confer professional qualification for teaching) and for accreditation of such courses. Besides, it draws the framework of the evaluation of teaching performance. Such evaluation is annual until the moment that teacher integrates the teaching career. Later it is multiannual, i.e., it depends of the duration, in years, of each one of the ten steps in which the teaching career is structured.

In this process, two dimensions are considered: an internal and an external one. Internal evaluation focuses the participation in school and community relations, continuing education and professional development and is carried out by the school principal. The external evaluation of teaching performance focuses on the dimension scientific and pedagogical, takes place in the classroom and is carried out by an external evaluator (senior professional that teaches the same subject area).

Based on the Decree Law no. 240/2001, Table 1 presents the four dimensions - and respective referentials of quality - underlying the conduct of these ideal professionals. These dimensions are also guidelines on organization and accreditation of initial teacher training courses in Portuguese universities and colleges of education. Initial teacher education in Portugal, after Bologna Process (The European Higher Education Area, 2013), is completed in a course that confers a professional master degree in specific areas of teaching (according to Decree Law no. 43/2007 of 22nd February, which institutes the Legal Regime of Teachers' Professional Qualification).

Given these dimensions and referentials, the teacher's role is embodied primarily in the promotion of learning, framed according to three main sets of factors: i) a curriculum designed as a set of diverse learning outcomes and which is defined as a

Table 1. Dimensions of the overall profile of ideal teaching performance

Dimensions	*Quality, "Ideal" Referentials*
Professional, social and ethical	The teacher promotes curricular learning, basing his [sic.] professional practice on a specific knowledge resulting from the production and use of integrated knowledge in specific actions of the same practice, socially and ethically situated.
Development of teaching and learning	The teacher promotes curricular learning, within a quality pedagogical relation, integrating know-how of the areas it is based on, according to criteria of scientific and methodological rigour.
Participation in school and relationships with the community	The teacher carries out his [sic.] professional activity, in an integrated way, within the different dimensions of the school, as an educational institution, and within the community context in which it operates.
Professional development throughout life	The teacher assumes his [sic.] training as an essential element of the professional practice, building it from the needs and achievements made aware, through the analysis of problematic pedagogical practice, reflection based on the construction of the profession and finding support in research, in cooperation with other professionals.

(Source: Decree Law no. 240/2001 of 30th August)

negotiated social construction and as a temporary nature, ii) an education policy, and iii) and high quality pedagogical relation.

With this framework, the teaching process is perceived as a social and cultural practice, ethically positioned, for which specific knowledge and scientific and methodological rigor converge. Furthermore, to pursue the ideal form of teaching performance these are also necessary: i) professional knowledge; ii) research results; and iii) discussions and reflections among peers.

The school, in the context of this officially decreed perspective, is conceived as the *locus* of the teacher action and, simultaneously, as an institution responsible for ensuring a set of learning outcomes embodied in a *curriculum* (which then fits each education level, each context, every group, every child / student). Meanwhile, the same document includes analyses of the inclusive and transversal teaching performance towards teaching contexts and extra-school contexts and co-existing

relations in the interface of both, to ensure a comprehensive education of the student in a democratic citizenship perspective.

The training of the educators is seen as a continuing process about their practices and experiences. Thus, teachers' professional development is expected to be an ongoing, critical, and reflective process, supported by collaborative and research-based dynamics, i.e. covering the diversity of these contexts and the convergences and divergences of national and international realities.

Given these considerations, the profile of the "ideal" education professional in Portugal introduces a teacher/educator who, reflecting on his/her practices, adjusts them permanently and makes the necessary changes based both on sustained research criteria made in the field of education and on the diversity of national and international realities. Therefore, self-involvement, shared responsibility, reflexivity and constant questioning about the justifications and implications of its actions are attributes ascribed to the educator as a professional who enables quality improvement in education. The policy-makers' construction of the "ideal" teacher, equated with quality education, is most interesting from the perspective of the model presented in Figure 1, since the ingredients in the profile are starkly reminiscent of desirable ingredients in educational reform and research-based ideas about teacher practice that are advocated on a global scale within the emergent global education system linked to addressing content knowledge, skills development, and reflective practice (for an overview, see Baker & Wiseman, 2005). However, the dimensions and referents are significant in regards to the focus also on values, collaboration and interaction with peers.

DQP Project - Developing Quality in Partnerships

At the level of preschool education, there are a number of studies aimed at supporting teachers' professional development and their performance in context, and promoting the development of *meaningful practices* (as outlined in the Decree Law no. 240/200 of 30th August) that benefit and ensure children's learning and development. This concern arose as a result of several scientific studies that showed that early experiences assume a central role in development (Lamb, Bornstein & Teti, 2002). This leads to a great responsibility placed on the practitioner and increasing importance of his/her performance when conducting effective development of the child.

In Portugal, the General Directorate for Innovation and Curriculum Development (DGIDC) (nowadays simply termed the General Directorate for Education) developed studies of both theoretical and practical nature which, according to Oliveira-Formosinho (2009b, p.5), value the importance of the "[...] promotion of quality and curriculum development in Preschool Education".

New documents emerged from these studies to support the professional practice of preschool teachers including the following: *Developing Quality in Partnerships* - the "DQP manual" (Bertram & Pascal, 2009); publications that exemplify the use of this manual and its application in different contexts, including 15 study cases

produced in the national network and in several educational contexts (Monge, 2009; Novo & Mesquita-Pires, 2009); and narratives of project work carried out in kindergartens where they sought the applicability of various assessment tools that integrate the DQP (for instance Oliveira-Formosinho, Andrade, & Gambôa, 2009; Oliveira-Formosinho, Costa, & Azevedo, 2009).

The DQP originated in 1993 in England where it was called EEL - *Effective Early Learning*. Its creators, Pascal and Bertram (1999; 2001), intended it to be a methodology for assessing and improving the quality of learning in preschool education. Subsequently, the model was adopted by Portugal and adapted to the Portuguese context as the DQP, developed by a team of researchers and preschool teachers who sought to study the applicability of the referential in educational contexts.

Oliveira-Formosinho (2009b, p. 5), the scientific coordinator of this project, indicated that this pedagogical model "constitutes an important tool to support reflection on educators' performance," which, according to us, can sustain a more conscious, dynamic and purposeful quality professional performance. The DQP was created to assist educators with self-assessment and the improvement of the quality of preschool educational contexts. It is assumed as a referential of quality assessment, in a limited contextual paradigm, whose focus is the assessment of the learning outcomes of the children and adults. The DQP allows the evaluation and improvement of the opportunities and of the quality of the children's learning and encourages the implementation of collaborative, systematic and rigorous self-assessment processes in the kindergartens. Finally, this document aims to support preschool teachers in improving their practices and it assumes itself as a way of reflecting on quality collaboratively (Folque, 2012; Oliveira-Formosinho, 2009a).

There are five structural axis in the DQP project: i) *quality concept* (polysemic concept understood by considering the contextual paradigm), ii) *the democratic approach to evaluation* (trying to develop an evaluation culture that favours a democratic approach, a shared assessment process and dialogue), iii) *levels of activity and their theoretical framework* (based on pre-eminent theoretical insights that support the term quality, including Piaget, Vygotsky and Laevers, it is intended to operate in context, focusing on processes and achievements), iv) *research methodology* (it requires cycles of research–collaborative action and processes of change), and v) *operationalisation* (with tools that allow the assessment of the starting point and progressive acquisition) (Oliveira-Formosinho, 2009a).

According to the DQP, the understanding and development of quality considers a framework of reference, namely, ten dimensions of quality: Aims and Objectives; Curriculum / Learning Experiences; Teaching and Learning Strategies; Planning, Evaluation and Registration; Personnel; Educational Area; Relationships and Interactions; Equal Opportunities; Participation of Family and Community; and Monitoring and Evaluation. Collectively, understanding and continually improving these dimensions means investing in a democratic approach to education.

It should be emphasized that the DQP manual largely values group work. Oliveira-Formosinho (2009a) stressed that the partnerships are sources of integrated learning that enrich all participants. This model also goes against the trend for bureaucratic pedagogy, here understood as unofficial pedagogy based on normative compliance, i.e., one that paralyzes cumulative processes of participative construction (Oliveira-Formosinho, 2009a) and that leads to a ready-to-wear, one-size-fits-all curriculum, apart from a participative paradigm perceived as necessary in education (Formosinho, 2007; Oliveira-Formosinho & Formosinho, 2012).

Several investigations carried out in Portugal within the DQP (Araújo, 2012; Azevedo, 2009; Monge, 2009; Novo & Mesquita-Pires, 2009; Vasconcelos, 2009) described in detail why it is important for educators to be aware of the intentions of their educational intervention practices. These studies also clarified that educators need to hold well-reasoned holistic knowledge, grounded in three areas: beliefs / values, actions / practices and knowledge / theories (Oliveira-Formosinho, 2007). Moreover, they enlightened the reason why it is important to assess the ten dimensions of quality mentioned above.

Monge's case study (2009) entitled "Da intencionalidade à concretização: o contributo formativo da escala do empenhamento do adulto" (From intent to implementation: the training contribution of the adult's commitment scale) pointed out the need for educators to develop intentionally determined and reflected practices. The same study, as well as Novo and Mesquita-Pires', clarified the importance of considering the adult's interaction styles as a way to improve quality, since these carry "direct implication for the performance and achievement levels, in the meaning and nature of learning" (2009, p.74). Novo and Mesquita-Pires's study (2009) also showed that, while it is true that educators try to provide the child with opportunities to communicate his/her ideas and opinions, these ideas and opinions are not always considered in the professional's educational proposals.

Several studies (for instance, Araújo, 2012; Monge, 2009; Novo & Mesquita-Pires, 2009; Oliveira-Formosinho, 2009b; Pascal & Bertram, 1999) also revealed that the interaction styles are a central variable of educational intervention, since they are closely related to the educator's daily pedagogy practices. Furthermore, it is also important to observe and evaluate the styles because it is accepted that mediation closely influences the participation and involvement of the child, as well as his exercise of agency (Monge, 2009; Pascal & Bertram 1999).

In addition, the research findings emphasized that interaction styles influence the organization of the educational environments, the learning opportunities provided to children, as well as the educator's own professional development. In this context, the determining role of the quality of the educator's educational intervention in the quality of the child's learning is recognised.

Oliveira-Formosinho (2002), in earlier studies framed in a socio-constructivist perspective, had already stated that it is essential to understand interaction within the learning processes and the professional development processes. According to the author, it is the interaction that supports the construction of the child's knowledge.

This construction is supported by sensitivity, stimulation and autonomy – dimensions of the adult's commitment scale in terms of what the adult gives the child (or not) as Laevers (1994) noted. In later studies, Oliveira-Formosinho also argued that the interaction supports a democratic participation, i.e., provides educational practices which recognize the child's competence and his/her right to participate (Oliveira-Formosinho & Formosinho, 2012).

The DQP project was publicly launched in 2009 and currently it is being disseminated to gather feedback and input about strategies that can foster DQP development in preschool contexts in Portugal. However, to date, many educators have not yet become familiar with the project and the model. Others, in spite of having already had access to it, seek training in order to learn how to operationalise project as a resource that helps and supports teachers' professional performance, it promotes development of the quality of context and of teachers' practices, but also the effective development of children.

Educators are not required to follow this evaluation assessment tool, either partially or entirely. The DQP manual aims at being a support for reflection and for the promotion of more aware and rich educational interventions in terms of children's learning. The manual can be used by a team of professionals from the same institution, and individually by a single educator in his/her activity room.

Recently, several organizations, namely the APEI – Associação de Profissionais de Educação de Infância (Professional Association of Early Childhood Educators) and the Associação Criança (Child Association) (Oliveira-Formosinho & Formosinho, 2012), have sought to promote training courses in this area, particularly teaching dynamics focused on tools that integrate the DQP manual. Examples of these include training in the use of an observation sheet of the involvement of the child; an observation sheet of the adult's commitment; and an observation sheet of the educational opportunities. It is understood that this is not only a way to evaluate the quality of the teacher-child and child-child interaction, but also a way to understand what educational experiences and opportunities for initiative are provided to children and what kind of impact they have on the children's learning.

It is remarkable that the dynamics fostered around the DQP project aim to engage the professionals in a path of a more democratic, meaningful and interactive evaluation and quality improvement in early childhood education. The dialogs that underlie this path, effectively conducted by educators and researchers, also represent interactions among the different levels represented in Figure 1, according to these actors the roles of local policy-makers.

CONCLUSION

Addressing the Portuguese policy context, there are defined general and specific profiles of performance of the education professionals, which we understand as an expression of political dividend in guiding education principles, social and cultural

development of individuals and, ultimately, the development of the country. In this chapter, the individual cases of specific performance profiles of Preschool educators and Basic Education teachers included in the Decree Law no. 241/2001 of 30th August were focus of discussion, specifically in their expression of what constitutes an ideal teacher/educator's performance. However, far from a broad consensus on a concept of quality in education (particularly in educational professional's performance), such political speeches essentially lack evidence in practice.

An exception to this trend is embodied in initiatives such as the DQP Project in Portugal, where the promotion of partnerships in early childhood education seeks to counter a creation of quality in a top-down imposed order. The DQP Project concentrates on the micro and nanosytems in the systematic model we presented in the early part of this chapter, but it also draws on inspiration and theoretical insight from the exosystem and beyond in the macrosystem from which the ingredients in the DQP model are derived.

Hence, it is necessary to inquire the education professionals and bring them together with researchers and policy makers so that they are able to achieve consensus on the desirable ingredients in the quality of educational intervention. So, through the creation of spaces for dialog where research is at the service of understanding and improvement of the practices and professional development, it will be possible to define a concept of quality which can serve as a meaningful guideline for the current education policies. This fact highlights the relevancy of spaces of negotiation such as in the DQP project, which foster the dissemination of more evidence of quality practices, especially in instances of major public impact that are capable of reaching and mobilizing most of the actors in the educational community.

For a wider vision on the official policies for the promotion of quality in education in the Portuguese context, it would be necessary to include more dimensions than the "ideal" profile of educators and teachers. Curriculum reforms, founding policies and teachers' official career plans could be some more examples of issues involved in the construction of quality in an official discourse. In Portugal, the direct effects of such policies (especially the ones in discussion in this chapter) in the students' performance (in national examinations or in the results on international assessments such as PISA, for instance) have not yet been sufficiently measured in research, leaving these subjects to be more fully explored in the future. Further studies could also give voice to the educational professionals, in order to analyse their views on quality in education, highlighting their role as local policy makers.

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SAMUEL GENTO & RAÚL GONZÁLEZ

8. AXIOLOGICAL BASIS FOR A CURRICULUM DESIGN IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF QUALITY

A View from Spain

INTRODUCTION

In accordance with our commitment to contributing to the improvement of education, we have been working on defining a true educational product as the basis for educational curriculum design, which we consider should be conceived in terms of values. The quality of this educational product, in terms of curriculum design and as a reference for monitoring educational performance, should contribute to the quality of educational institutions. But the values promoted by education should be those that proceed from the true authentic nature of the human being, who is the real subject of education. In this chapter we offer our personal reflections on the values dimensions in curriculum and in desired educational outcomes, and we propose a reconceptualised basis for curriculum design in which epistemological dimensions in a curriculum be founded on an axiological approach, rather than the conventional approach in which knowledge acquisition is dominant and values acquisition are subservient or secondary. In the current climate of intense focus on acquisition of content knowledge and skills, of measuring quality education in relation to student performance in key subject areas, and in comparing performance across countries, we argue for a return to including attention to values acquisition as an indication of quality in education programs and systems. We draw on some literature, and we include some historical context since the importance of including values is not new, and it has resurfaced repeatedly in cycles of educational reform. While our primary frame of reference is education in Spain, we take a comparative approach, considering the attention given to values in the educational programs of different countries. We illustrate with findings from our own research in which we surveyed educators in a range of countries to ascertain the relative importance they place on values alongside other important ingredients in their respective educational programs.

THE AXIOLOGICAL BASIS OF CURRICULUM DESIGN

A critical analysis of current educational institutions reveals an urgent need for change. The important question is how to clarify the basic approach on which current educational reform should be based with regard to improving quality

D. B. Napier (Ed.), Qualities of Education in a Globalised World, 131–148.

(Burbules, 2004). It is becoming increasingly evident that education is a complex phenomenon and that there is a wide range of components and elements involved in its implementation and the results obtained (Fink, 2000; Gento, 2002). In particular we have considered the need to clarify what we mean by appropriate results or equally *what is the true product of education of quality*. In the contemporary climate of global educational reform priorities, standards, and in practices focusing on competition and cross-national comparisons of educational quality related to student performance in acquisition of content knowledge and skills in priority subject areas (see for instance Zajda & Rust, 2009; and Baker & Wiseman, 2005) there is little attention given to values inscribed in a person's dimensions. This is despite the fact that the importance of values was emphasized repeatedly in schemes for quality education. Some historical examples include John Dewey in *Democracy and Education* (1916), and the writings of Pestalozzi (1967) and Maria Montessori (1965) on principles for education programs.

The report of the OECD (in Spanish OCDE) "Schools and Quality of Teaching" offers the following consideration: "Those who are asking for greater attention to be given to results should clarify whether priority should be given to the specifically cognitive results, or whether the desired aims should equally include wider educational objectives, to embrace emotional, social, aesthetic and moral learning" (OCDE, 1991). Although the purposes of education stated in this document are not complete, they give us an opportunity to offer arguments in favor of *our own fundamental proposal for an educational curriculum design including values,* mainly when we refer to basic education (primary and secondary levels).

Today we are witnessing another round of revision in the whole concept of education, and perhaps a basic shift in approach. The hitherto relevant concern in curriculum design for giving priority to knowledge acquisition should now give way to a return to a situation that gives more importance to the specific condition of human beings (who are not simply mechanisms able to accumulate knowledge), in order to ensure their ability to survive and to guarantee their future in harmony with their environment and with their fellow humans. In this sense, Toffler asserted that "nothing must be included in a curriculum unless it can be strongly justified in terms of the future" (Toffler, 1990, p. 409).

Toffler also indicated that the today's curriculum is a relic from the past and has no meaning (p. 410). The efforts recently made in favor of the inclusion of values in study plans or curriculum designs have included "*values as transversal subjects*" to be developed through other fundamental curriculum subjects. This situation has occurred in a number of different countries, among them Spain. But the increasing demand for more extensive training in values, as a vehicle for solving the many growing problems existing in our societies today and, frequently, in our schools, is a key factor for a revision of the present situation. Reconceptualizations of quality measures as in cross-national studies of student achievement are occurring in response to recognition of other factors involved in an overall quality education experience.

With regard to this, the statement of the Mexican researcher Rolando E. Maggi Yáñez is particularly relevant: "From the curricular point of view, the current trend focuses on improving quality and education in values and attitudes, which will be introduced in accordance with the idea of universality (…). Although we consider that this idea is pertinent, we must also consider that what has been achieved so far has not given the desired results: this has led to serious shortcomings in a number of fundamental aspects of education" (Maggi, 1997, p. 230). This statement, made in reference to the Mexican context, is also applicable to other countries.

To overcome these educational shortcomings in curriculum or study plans, *our proposal turns the basic existing approach on its head*: instead of considering knowledge contents (the epistemological approach) as the dominant basis for curriculum design, to which education in values are subsequently added as transversal contents, the approach we propose is the reverse. *In other words, we propose that instead of values being subservient to knowledge contents, epistemological development should be founded on an axiological approach.* The idea is first to clarify those values that should be developed through education–as a fundamental product of the education experience–and then to implement this fundamental purpose through the use of cognitive elements proceeding from diverse areas of knowledge (Gento, 2001).

VALUES AS THE AUTHENTIC PRODUCT OF EDUCATION

The educational product, understood as the basic result of education, should be the *basis for* a curriculum design. Obviously, the specific educational product of an educational institution or program is centered on the attainment of 'education'. But this general idea involves a wide range of components that should be specified, explicitly stated and made operative, in order to facilitate the subsequent assessment of their effectiveness in attaining intended outcomes or educational products.

We consider that 'education' implies a process typical to humans, implemented through an intentional process of integration, which aims to optimize the most appropriate behavior for each individual in his/her own environment and context: this process consists of knowledge acquisition; automation of ways of behaving; and internalization of attitudes that give a person valuable qualities in general and as an individual. As a consequence, we consider education to be the integral development of a human being in all his/her dimensions and individual characteristics. This sense of integrity compels us to consider education as a product in terms of the overall development of the human being. However, the need to understand the components of this overall development forces us, first of all, to identify these components; and, then, to study their content in depth. After reflecting carefully about them and about the essential meaning of education, our conclusion is that the most important and specific contribution that education makes to the human being is the development of values (Gento, 2002, pp. 67-83).

VALUES IN EDUCATION SYSTEMS OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

In reviewing studies about frameworks for values education in educational systems of different countries, we found a most revealing contribution from UNESCO in a UNESCO report (UNESCO, 1972, quoted in Marín, 1993, p. 56). Table 1 shows a description of frameworks for values education proposed by a range of countries with different basic concepts of education; nevertheless, the report demonstrates highly interesting coincidences in the values to be promoted in these countries.

Table 1. Proposed Values to be promoted by education (UNESCO, 1972)

Values put forward	*Countries*									
	Saudi Arabia	*Austria*	*Indonesia*	*Ireland*	*China*	*Great Britain*	*Rwanda*	*Russia*	*Zambia*	*Total*
Physical	●			●	●	●	●	●	●	78%
Intellectual	●	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	89%
Moral	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	100%
Social & Practical	●	●	●	●	●	●			●	78%
Aesthetic & artistic	●						●		●	22%
Religious	●	●	●	●			●			56%

It may also be considered that "most of the universal values that will be need to be promoted throughout the twenty-first century have been inscribed, for quite a long of time, in the millenary traditions of great civilizations. They simply reflect the moral or ethical concepts and the ideal of life, of humanity, of beauty, of justice and of freedom defended by our ancestors and magnificently maintained in the treasures of thinking" (Delors, 1996, p. 287).

As educational researchers, after a conceptual analysis and a comparative study of the situation reflected in the 1972 UNESCO report and other literature, we decided that - *an up-to-date, integral concept of education should essentially promote values deriving from human dimensions*. As a consequence, we argue that the values to be promoted should be organized around the following types of formation (Table 2): physical-emotional, intellectual, moral or ethical, aesthetic, civic-social, ecological, practical or utilitarian, and religious.

An educational product of true quality should therefore aim to attain the firm development of values that correspond to the above-mentioned formative dimensions and educational areas. Nevertheless, and assuming that these are values to be promoted by a general education for every person, *each educational initiative will determine, in the end, its own axiological profile*. Accordingly, some values could be stressed or considered of less importance for the specific pupils or students

Table 2. Values to be promoted by education (Gento, 1996; 2002)

Human dimension	*Educational area*	*Values to be promoted by education*
Physical	Physical-emotional	Promotion of integrity, survival, physical function and emotional balance
Spiritual	Intellectual	Development of knowledge and conscience, intellectual attitudes and strategies
	Moral	Promotion of responsible free behavior
	Aesthetic	Perception, enjoyment and promotion of aesthetic manifestations
Socio-relational	Civic-Social-	Accommodation to configuration and functioning of human groups and their cultural manifestations
	Ecological	Respect and accommodation of human beings to their context and environment
	Practical	Development of the ability to survive and to being successfully integrated in diverse contexts
Transcendental	Religious or Supernatural	Free and responsible supreme acceptance and justification of personal and cosmic limits

to be educated in a particular educational program of a specific level (mainly of Higher Education). Later in this chapter we illustrate the relative importance placed on these values dimensions in our research findings from a survey of educators in multiple countries.

OUR PROPOSED THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR AN AXIOLOGICAL BASIS FOR CURRICULUM

The current concern for returning values to reformed curricula proceeds, to a great extent, from the current social context. Perhaps the need that is being stressed today for 'axiology' and, particularly, for values, is due to the "lack of traditional values that were previously instilled, or to the co-existence of values that are mutually contradictory, or because we are witnessing processes of change or redefinition of old values. These factors are probably determining an axiological panorama that does not provide a clear framework for the guidance of behavior in the education of human beings. Whatever the explanation, we perceive today a general lack of direction that affects all spheres of human life" (Hernando, 1998, pp. 78-79).

However, some recent reports show that education seems to lag behind current reality: "*National educational systems are invariably based on principles proceeding from beliefs that date from an era prior to the nuclear and space age*. For this reason, they are unable to offer a new model of thinking, which is required for the

well-being and survival of humanity" (Delors, 1996, pp. 263-264). This impression was also ratified by Toffler (1990, p. 416), when he wrote: "The more crucial the question of values becomes, the less prone our schools today are to consider it. It is apparently perfectly normal for millions of youngsters to go around moving haphazardly towards their future, bouncing about like unguided missiles". Further, Schmelkes asserted that "The quality we are looking to achieve as a result of basic education must be clearly understood as the ability to offer our students the mastery of basic cultural codes, to enable them to participate in democracy and citizenship, to promote the ability to solve problems and to continue learning, and to develop values and attitudes in accordance with a society that aspires to a life of quality for all its inhabitants" (Schmelkes, 1995, p.13). However, during the past two decades in the face of overwhelming focus on content and skills, and on testing and standards, the values dimension lost prominence as we noted earlier.

In order to elaborate on our general argument and to facilitate understanding of how the different human dimensions are represented in the scheme of educational areas and values to be promoted in each, we briefly describe each one of the values types according to our conceptualization of them, based on our research and on insights from the literature. Each one of these value types or categories would be specified in terms of competencies to be attained by students during the learning process and the competencies will give rise to specific skills acquired by students in an ideal set of educational products or outcomes.

Values of the Human Physical-Emotional Dimension

Physical education should be aimed at ensuring, as far as possible, the survival and physical development of each individual in the best possible conditions of integrity and successful functioning of faculties, mainly those of the body or deriving from body functions. Values of the emotional type are also considered as part of this group, because emotional manifestations always have a physical aspect. Physical education should, then, be considered as the need to take care of the human physical dimension. Other aspects which need to be included in order to develop this dimension are: psychomotor development, health education, physical fitness, safety and traffic education. Health maintenance and care will also include preventive medicine and hygiene.

The human being is a non-divisible entity and, as a consequence, cannot be separated into independently functioning parts: therefore, the physical dimension is considered as part of the whole human being. However, in order to understand and study this dimension, it needs to be defined. In the Spanish context, García Pelayo (1985) identified it as "the magnitude relating to human body". Similarly, ENCARTA (1997) considered it as "the importance given to bodily nature and constitution, as opposed to the mental, spiritual and moral one". On the other hand, Lidell (1989, p. 116) wrote in relation to the importance of the physical dimension: "We are three-

dimensional beings, made of flesh and bones, muscles and ligaments, organs, veins and arteries. All these elements form the furniture of our internal space. Only if we are present in it and learn to perceive it this way, shall we be able to transform it."

In a universal context, the importance of physical and emotional values is clear for the African leader Nelson Mandela who stated that: "I have always believed that (physical) exercise is not only a key to physical health but to peace of mind. Many times in the old days I unleashed my anger and frustration on a punching bag rather than taking it out on a comrade or even a policeman. Exercise dissipates tension, and tension is the enemy of serenity. I found out that I worked better and thought more clearly when I was in good physical condition, and so training became one of the inflexible disciplines of my life" (Mandela, 1995, p. 490).

Accordingly, we suggest that educators should promote the following basic axiological categories of physical and emotional values in order to attain an educational product of authentic quality:

- Health
- Sensory and motive functionality
- Personal hygiene
- Nutritional balance
- Balanced sexuality
- Physical and emotional stability
- Self confidence

Values of the Spiritual Dimension

Values of the spiritual dimension refer to humans as rational and intelligent beings: this dimension addresses characteristics that distinguish humans from other living beings on this planet. The term 'spiritual values' is normally used to distinguish them from material or physical values. But the classification of values we have set up focuses on these values in human relationships. One of the best conceptual frameworks for values of the human dimension can be found in the work of the Spanish philosopher J. Ortega y Gasset (1994), who included intellectual, moral and aesthetic values within his discussion of spiritual values, as we do in our proposal.

Within this basic dimension of a human being, then, we include different types of values such as: intellectual, moral and aesthetic. Education, as an integral promotion of each human being, should promote all these values, including those of the individual's own dimensions and must, then, embrace all the corresponding diverse types of education: every time according to an integral and global focus, due to the fact that a human being is an integral and unique entity.

Intellectual Values. The promotion of intellectual values can be summarized as the '*supreme striving for truth'*, through the domain of knowledge. In the area of

intellectual training, a good educational product of quality means the attainment of three fundamental formative blocks: knowledge acquisition (conceptual contents); the automation of procedures (habits and techniques of intellectual values), and internalization of attitudes towards knowledge. These attitudes constitute permanent dispositions to value, appreciate and, as a consequence, to behave in a specific intelligent way (Marín, 1993, p. 64). Here, one can see the true distinction between focus on purely an epistemological dimension or content learning, and our advocated focus on learning but also internalizing attitudes towards knowledge and learning.

The consideration of values as the central pillar of education leads us to suggest that values should be the essential nucleus, around which conceptual contents, skills and procedures should be developed. But, in order to promote these three blocks in accordance with the requirements of quality, the following three requisites must be fulfilled as Mortimore (1993, p. 29) recommended: "they must be achieved with the least possible time and effort; they must be integrated with other knowledge, procedures and attitudes; and they must be consistently promoted for sufficient time to bring about the desired effects on educated people".

Perhaps because she was closer to the total quality paradigm in education, Schmelkes offered a wider (although not complete or systematic) view of aspects to be included in intellectual training: "The relevance (of knowledge contents) cannot be understood as giving the students some 'relevant' data, that will be close to what they experience in their ordinary life outside the school. The most relevant content is the skill to understand the written language and to express it through writing, to reason, to solve problems, to analyze, to assess options and to acquire information. This implies placing stronger emphasis on skills than on knowledge contents. However, skills can be developed by contents that appeal to what students have a special interest in (Schmelkes, 1995, pp. 121-122).

Toffler also pointed out the need to focus on intellectual training that will not be restricted to knowledge acquisition, when he stated: "The schools of tomorrow should teach not only information, but how to manage it. Students must learn how to reject old ideas, how and when to substitute them. They must, in the end, learn to learn" (Toffler, 1990, p. 417).

Moral Values. The individual ability to act freely and wit responsibility–according to the behavioral principles that each one imposes on him/her–should be considered as the true dynamic core of moral education. The fundamental condition of moral behavior is freedom, and the freer the behavior is, the more moral it will be: what reduces freedom also diminishes responsibility for behavior. Not everything that can be done is morally licit: responsibility, as the compliance with moral principles and rules, is a pre-requisite for morality. We employ the position espoused by the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1827) who established a number of characteristics of

morality that have been accepted by modern philosophy. According to Kant, the moral values:

– should be absolute or unconditional, unlike other values which are conditional (on the circumstances);
– should be universally valid;
– should consider each person as an end, never as a means to achieve other aims.

However, to distinguish a moral norm from other norms is never easy: a norm only becomes moral when it commands or prohibits something that directly affects human personality in something as fundamental as life, honor or dignity. As a consequence, the promotion of moral values (accommodated to moral norms) through education will bring about a general improvement in the behavior of people who are educated in a propitious personal and social environment.

As moral values are the most profound and of obligatory kind for every human being, they should play an essential role in education. In relation to *moral training*, it is important to offer an educational product that will be suitably impregnated with such values (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia [Ministry of Education and Science], 1994, pp. 37-46). But it is necessary to respect the balance between values of social projection (such as coexistence, tolerance, respect, collaborative integration, etc.) and those of personal self-assertion (such as responsibility, self-control, effort, sacrifice, etc.).

Aesthetic Values. The diverse forms of expressing aesthetic or artistic values imply the use of different rules and elements that are combined in a specific way: this combination of rules and specific elements constitutes the 'codes' or normative construct of each artistic manifestation. This normative construct can be used as a point of departure to understand and to enjoy aesthetic works, which will be specific manifestations of beauty and of artistic creation.

But the combination of aesthetic rules and standards changes from one epoch to another. It is even possible for different individuals to have their own personal concept and interpretative frameworks for the same aesthetic work, or for individuals to use artistic standards in different ways to conceive and to create a work of art.

Artistic interpretation and creation, in other words, demand a personal and collective contribution from human beings. So, then: "The creative use of the plastic, dramatic and musical representation means the personal and innovative creation of elements integrating the codes that are present in the creative particular artistic work: this implies going further than the use other people have made of the code, and going beyond previous solutions and paths others have followed" (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia [Ministry of Education and Science], 1989, p. 150).

The following are typical manifestations of creative artistic contributions:

- *Music*, as an expression of harmony in sounds;
- Plastic expression, *or "visual arts*", manifested through painting, drawing, photography or sculpture;
- Bodily expression, manifested through *mime or pantomime*;
- Combined expression of diverse channels of communication, represented by *theatre and movies;*
- Written expression, which, when it achieves the condition of beauty, transforms itself into *literature* (theatre, poetry, novel, etc.).

The contemporary critical theorist Spivak (2012) revitalized traditional notions of aesthetic education to include a more critical post-colonial conception of aesthetic values and learning, allowing for recognition of *all* individuals' identity and potential within education and life experience, rather than just focusing on the aesthetic values of a dominant society or culture. This contemporary notion adds a twist to the long-established advocacy for aesthetic values in education, that today aesthetic education is an ultimate vehicle for achieving global justice and democracy.

Values of a Socio-Relational Dimension

Values of a socio-relational dimension refer to the human condition that helps individuals survive with their fellow human beings, within a specific atmosphere of relationship, culture and placed in a specific environment and context. The importance of values of a socio-relational dimension appears clear in Nelson Mandela´s statement (1995, p.334): "Nothing is more de-humanizing than the absence of human company." Included in the socio-relational dimension of a human being are, on the one hand, civic and ecological values and, on the other one, the need to provide the necessary training to enable individuals to achieve their goals successfully: this will be attained through the development of *practical values*.

As human beings have an inevitable social dimension and as society is their normal natural environment, values of a socio-relational dimension should necessarily be promoted by education. Although all organizations and institutions call today for the development of social and ecological education for their communities, the specific nature of a particular educational institution will require a specific treatment for this kind of education, as it relates to human beings.

Social and Civic Values. *Social education does not imply, per se, a moral attitude towards society*; but it would seem that there can be no true adjustment to the human group, nor any advancement of the group without a moral background to face the different problems that arise from the social relationships among humans of different cultures and profiles. Moral implications, however, can also be included as an integrated, essential part of any other type of education.

In general, *a human being shows an adequate social education when he/she shows respect to collective patrimony, implying rules, symbols and uses) of a specific human group and contributes to the general progress of the group.* The manifestation of respect does not imply, per se, a moral or ethical component, although, in fact, it could proceed from a moral attitude, as it is not easy to respect a rule if you are not persuaded of its morality. However, when someone, with legitimate interpretative rectitude, considers a social rule to be of questionable morality, he/she will be facing a grave dilemma, because the supreme respect for moral values calls for rejection, not acceptance of this supposedly immoral or questionably moral rule.

Although in some cases it may be difficult to distinguish social from moral education, we consider that social education, "sensu stricto", refers to an individual´s operative acceptance of the organization and operational aspects of the collective entities in which he/she is involved. In the end, *this type of education involves: the assimilation of practices, habits, and rules; a balanced adaptation to them (which will not impede any eventual critical view); and a proactive attitude that will determine participation in the promotion of human groups or social entities* (these social entities may be those in which the individual is engaged, but can also include others).

> A successful interpersonal relationship depends on the ability to understand the reference framework of the group, in its own environment. As a consequence, to attain a constructive understanding of the collective patrimony "it is necessary to maintain an inclusive social dialogue, by which individuals are able to understand diverse experiences and other viewpoints. This, not only requires a generalization of education 'for' democracy (in the sense that students need to learn typical behavior of good citizens), but education 'as' democracy, which means an education that offers students access to social understanding through the promotion of their participation and communicative interaction in pluralistic communities, of their intervention in decision making, and learning to understand multiple options (Darling-Hammond, 1997, p. 30).

Darling-Hammond's rendition of this echoes much earlier visions of education "for" and "as" democracy such as advocated by John Dewey (1916), cited previously.

It is essential to create a process of classroom interaction that will be conducive to a good relationship between teacher and the students, and among the students themselves. In order to achieve this interactive relationship, teachers should assess their own attitudes, particularly those related to the self esteem of other people, security and confidence, stimulus, recognition and respect. This initial self-assessment and firm commitment to encouraging interaction, will make it possible to promote, the civic-social values we propose here within an educational institution.

Ecological Values. Within this type of socio-ecological values, we should also include those that relate to *caring for the environment*, because the physical

environment is also a space where human beings live and with which they maintain a relationship. As educators, then, we must not ignore the individual and social connection that humans maintain with the physical space they are immersed in. Active care of the environment, as a conscious and operative attitude should be part of ecological education. This too is not a new idea, but the resurrection of environmental education and of infusing ecological values into the curriculum has gathered momentum in many countries in recent years (see for instance Gruenewald & Smith, 2008; Bowers, 1993; 2001).

Useful and Practical Values. Education should prepare individuals for their *survival and integration within their own specific life environment*. This means that the focus of education should, in the end, constitute - among other things – a practical projection for life, and include structures based on "*integrated disciplines and disciplinary contents that are related to life and work situations*" (Secretary´s Commission on Achieving Necessary Skills, 1991). While this articulation of the idea was from the USA, it has general and universal applicability.

Individuals in the education system usually seek successful academic results. An education that promotes the balanced development of practical, useful values must, therefore, include the creation of mechanisms and strategies that will also enable students to achieve levels of success in every type of value. The following are some of the common academic expectations of a practical nature: to achieve good grades (in standardized testing, in classroom-based tests, or in exit- and selection exams); academic accreditation or degrees; guarantees of access to higher levels of education; attainment of a professional degree; getting a job (in general and in the profession the student has been aiming for); enjoyment of knowledge acquisition and contact with cultural contents; development of his/her own psychological and intellectual ability; etc. (Posavac & Carey, 1989, p. 7). Apart from the legitimate desire of learners to obtain outstanding results in the education system, as in successful completion of programs of study, other personal and social expectations should be included within education for useful and practical values, such as: appropriate technical training and the suitable use of emerging technology; ability to live independently in a satisfactory way; to be able to use one's own educational level to improve one's economic situation; and training to live in ecologically suitable environments and adopting an ecologically responsible lifestyle.

Another component of usefulness that is a sub-product of education is the *behaviour* of educational subjects, as individuals and as members of collective groups, societies or people. Within this behavior, practical usefulness, as a value promoted by education, should include training individuals and groups of people to prepare them for being able to live together with their fellow students and citizens (which relates to social values) and to be enable them-–with effort and training–-to contribute to the general development of social groups in which they are immersed.

The promotion of useful and practical values must also have an influence on the *professional-work arena*. But what are the values that determine success in these areas? Although it is never easy to determine a systematized list of these values, the most frequently mentioned are the following: "Employers are constantly changing their demands regarding academic qualifications (which, in their opinion, are too focused on the acquisition of material knowledge) and they are demanding a type of competence that is a personal 'cocktail´ tailored to each individual, combining strictly academic qualifications (obtained through vocational and technical training) with social behavior, the ability to work in a team, initiative and willingness to take risks" (Delors, 1996, p. 96).

In the area of useful and practical values, the proposed change for educational institutions must imply a change from a selective system to a flexible one where the educational context offers diverse opportunities for attaining success. Such systems have emerged in several countries in the form of 'qualifications frameworks' that allow students to earn life-experience credits, and that provide students with alternative paths to schooling success (see for instance Brook, 1996 on South Africa and adaptation of Qualifications Frameworks from England, Canada and New Zealand).

Values of a Transcendental Dimension

Transcendental values refer to a person´s projection beyond his/her existence and physical or temporal limitations. In the end, the concern of the human being about what lies beyond his/her own limitations may give rise to religious or supernatural concerns, although the focus can vary from one person to another one: in the end, a human being is free to decide whether to accept reality as it is or to approach it from a particular view point.

We argue that religious feeling basically proceeds from a human being´s feeling of insecurity, of limitation, and of the desire to continue to exist. These religious values imply the acceptance that human beings are essentially limited with regard to knowing their origin, and to controlling their own life and their destiny in the universe (Spranger, 1972; Marín, R., 1998; 2001). Humanity has always wanted to relate with the Absolute (in the end, with God, designated in different ways), which gives reason to everything that surrounds us.

It is important to keep in mind that *the acceptance of religious feeling and, mainly, the adherence to a specific religion is a personal option that each individual must freely and responsibly decide for him/herself*. With this understood, and considering that the religious dimension is a true human one, education (at least in a formal sense) should offer those who voluntarily wish to have it, the opportunity to receive the religious instruction of their own choice (UNESCO, 1995). However, in practice there are different ways of facilitating the exercise of this right.

Although it might not seem acceptable for educational institutions to deny religious instruction to those who wish to receive it as part of their integral

education, in countries with lay constitutions and secular public education systems, religious education should be excluded from the curriculum. Anyhow, the education system should promote respectful attitudes towards those who profess a particular religion, even when this is not the official or the most widespread one in the social context where these people live. Similarly, a public education system must show respect towards those who do not adhere to a particular religion, towards those who practice other religions, and towards those who do not adhere to any religious beliefs at all.

When part of an educational program, religious instruction should bring people to a worldview in accordance with their own beliefs and should help them to address the great basic questions that human beings ask themselves, regarding their origin and their destiny in life and after death. In this regard, values related to religion have a distinctive character.

A widespread characteristic of religious focus is the aspiration to achieve an heroic level in the exercise of virtues. Although the supreme acceptance of this level of religious aspiration to a level of sanctity corresponds to each individual's personal decision, it seems that the balanced interpretation of supernatural phenomena events or mysteries can be, in most religions, a factor of internal stability for individuals and an ingredient to empower favorable social relationships.

RESEARCH ON VALUES DIMENSIONS WITHIN QUALITY EDUCATION

To illustrate our commitment to the idea of an axiological basis for reformed curriculum in educational programs, we report on our cross-national research (during the years 1995 to 2005) in which we surveyed educators, students, parents and other involved representatives in an array of countries to obtain their responses on the relative importance of quality components in an educational institution. Participants responding on the instruments came mostly from Secondary Education; but there were also representatives from University or Higher Education, and from Primary and even Preschool Education.

In this research on the importance given to basic components of quality of educational institutions, one of the dimensions to be ranked overall was the educational product defined as the promotion of values. In addition, we obtained data on the respondents' views of relative importance of different value types in an educational institution.

We processed the results of 3,529 questionnaires from the following Spanish or Portuguese speaking countries (Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Spain, Mexico, Portugal, Dominican Republic and Venezuela), and also from the U.S.A. We administered a scale questionnaire to a sample of teachers, administrators and other above mentioned representatives, asking them first to assess the relative importance of components and elements of quality using a rating scale from 1 = minimal importance- to 9 = maximum importance. Table 3 shows the summary of

the survey results with mean and standard deviation for the importance given to the basic components of quality in an educational institution, for respondents in each country.

Our research revealed that the second most important score was given to *values as an educational product*. This score is somehow lower than that of the most important component, which was student satisfaction. The arithmetic mean obtained in values as educational product was 7.91 (over a maximum mark of 9 points), which should be considered as very high.

Table 3. Importance of quality components in an educational institution

Components of Quality in an Educational Institution	*All participant countries*	
	Arithmetic Mean	*Standard Deviation*
Values as educational product	7.91 (2º)	1.48
Student satisfaction	7.95 (1º)	1.40
Staff satisfaction	7.58 (4º)	1.56
Impact of educational product	7.41 (6º)	1.57
Resources availability	7.39 (7º)	1.70
Planning organization	7.50 (5º)	1.71
Resources management (personal, material)	7.15 (8º)	1.79
Educational methodology	7.70 (3º)	1.65
Pedagogical leadership	6.75 (9º)	1.89

The data included in Table 3 show that, considering all the countries and participating sectors as a whole, *student satisfaction* was the component considered the most important for determining the quality of an educational institution. This component is, furthermore, the one that shows the greatest uniformity in the assessment made by all respondents across countries, showing the smallest deviation. The second in order of importance, very close to the first, corresponded to the importance of *values as an educational product*: the standard deviation was also quite low for this component (the lowest one excluding student satisfaction).

The overall findings showed a considerable degree of coincidence across participants sampled in these countries, particularly in the components considered to be the most important, although there are undoubtedly some differences among the countries participating in the research. However, apart from the importance given, in general, to values as educational product, what is the importance attributed to the specific proposed values? The results are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Importance of diverse values to be promoted by education

Values to be promoted by education	*Importance: global data (all countries)*	
	Mean	*Standard Deviation*
Physical-emotional	6.44 (5º)	1.95
Intellectual	7.86 (1º)	1.43
Moral	7.58 (2º)	1.79
Aesthetic	6.17 (6º)	1.90
Socio-ecological	7.52 (3º)	1.63
Practical	6.98 (4º)	1.79
Religious	4.76 (7º)	2.61

Table 4 shows that among the options presented to the study participants, intellectual values were considered as the most important for the quality of education. The second place was accorded to moral values. Social and environmental values, very close to the previous ones, occupied the third place. The other axiological categories all have a score of less than 7: the fourth place corresponds to practical values; below that comes physical values (in fifth place); then aesthetic values in sixth place. And, finally, the seventh and last place corresponds to religious values.

Apart from the overall data, there were some differences among the sectors and other categories of participants who participated in the survey, such as among teachers (preferring intellectual values and parents (preferring moral values). Considering assessment of values among other quality components, a large number of participants were of the opinion that *values should be considered the true essential starting point for defining a curriculum design tailored to the paradigm of quality in education.*

While we do not claim that this research accounted for all dimensions of "quality education" in the countries represented, and in this chapter we admittedly did not include consideration of the countries' education system structures, national curricula, and other features. We maintain that our research is an interesting illustration of the sentiments in favor of according values a central role, or starting point, in reforming or developing a curriculum aiming for timely, relevant quality education.

CONCLUSION

It is widely accepted that in order to achieve an education of quality in effective educational institutions and programs, it is necessary to reform education systems. The insights presented in this chapter suggest that suitable curricula tailored to the needs of today's societies should be based on authentic human dimensions, which should determine the educational areas of values to be promoted.

Empirical data obtained from representatives of school representatives involved in running educational institutions show that they considered a curriculum design

based on an axiological approach is one of the most relevant factors for the quality of educational institutions. The research findings we report also demonstrate the importance of values proposed as the core background to promote the development of competences and acquisition of knowledge contents through appropriate curricula that meet the requirements for achieving overall progress in today's societies.

Even though the UNESCO Monitoring Report on Education for All by 2015 (UNESCO, 2007) places emphasis on specific components such as literacy, years of schooling and retention and other goals, the theoretical background and the empirical data showed in this article reflect that education based on values derived from the human beings' condition should be considered as a point of departure to attain the UNESCO proposed specific objectives in balanced, democratic and proper societies of this millennium. Similarly, education based on values can be considered a desirable point of departure for attaining the Millennium Development Goals (United Nations, 2007) that include goals for improving several dimensions of "quality" education within the broader framework for a better life for all.

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9. SITUATING EARLY CHILDHOOD CARE AND DEVELOPMENT QUALITY

Local Filipino Practices of Bayanihan and Dagyaw

INTRODUCTION

Today, compared with the aims of large-scale investment in child-survival programs throughout the 1970s and 80s, the goal of Early Childhood Care and Development (ECCD) among NGOs operating in majority-world contexts is not only to promote survival but also to promote survivors' physical, intellectual, social, and emotional development (World Bank, 2004). The term "majority-world" refers to the countries in which the majority of the children live, as opposed to the "minority-world" or developed countries, in which the minority of the world's children live. The Consultative Group on Early Childhood Care and Development (2013) explains that ECCD encompasses the period of human development from prenatal stage through the transition from home or ECCD center into the early primary grades of school (prenatal – 8 years of age).

Two main factors have led to the increased interest in ECCD. First, at the institutional level it has been touted by economists and ECCD experts in the minority world as an economically sound investment. ECCD has been seen as a less controversial—some would argue an apolitical—intervention broadly aimed at reducing poverty and more specifically providing children and families with a strong foundation on which children can further their development. When one notes that 89% of children under age five in the world reside in majority-world countries, versus 3% in the United States and 8% in other minority-world nation-states, refocusing development funds for this population not only makes sense, it is seen as hugely beneficial for the survival of these millions of children, their well-being, and educational and economic prospects as well as indirectly for their communities (UNESCO, 2009).

The second factor that has received attention in the literature is that ECCD not only encompasses the young child's education but also his/her health, environment, and overall wellbeing (UNESCO, 2007). Based upon research in neuroscience, education, psychology, and medicine, ECCD links the young child's cognitive, social, emotional, and physical processes with the care (by families, communities and the nation) required to support each child's development (Consultative Group on Early Childhood Care and Development, 2013). Furthermore, many organizations hold

D. B. Napier (Ed.), Qualities of Education in a Globalised World, 149–166.

that ECCD should be a part of a range of programs that promote education together with community mobilization. Therefore, because of ECCD's broad base, it is seen in some policy arenas as a leverage point for not only funding from international donor agencies, but also for capacity building in communities. As Ball (2005) explained in her work with First Nations communities in Canada, children are viewed as the hope for the future. Further, she argued that focusing on the wellbeing of children could work as a 'hook' to attract and garner community support, commitment, and action.

As the international community seeks to invest in the creation of quality ECCD communities, in this chapter, I report on qualitative research in which I used a critical constructivist approach to understand social constructions of quality ECCD communities from those most closely invested in the process, to further engage multiple stakeholders in grappling with the complexities that exist between local, national, and international notions of quality in ECCD communities at present and in the future. This research explored local constructions of ECCD quality from perspectives in two Philippine ECCD communities. In the study, quality was not essentialised as a universal, static construct. Instead it was considered a relational concept, based upon discussions with local Filipino ECCD stakeholders. Following a presentation of theoretical and policy-related issues in the literature pertinent to this research, I discuss the manner in which I investigated ECCD in Filipino settings through an anthropological and social-justice lens to learn what a quality ECCD community looked like from the perspective of those who live within these communities. Furthermore, using Sen's capabilities approach as an evaluative lens, I considered the current feasibility of these two communities operating within locally driven constructions of quality. I address these issues in the latter part of the chapter.

SPACE FOR LOCAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF QUALITY IN ECCD

In the ECCD literature almost all writers agree that for positive changes to occur in children's well-being, quality discussions, processes, indicators, and outcomes must be at the forefront of dialogues and interventions (see for instance Cryer, 1999; Dahlberg, Moss, & Pence, 1999; Evans, 1997; Moss, 2006; Young, 2002). However, scholars disagree with regard to whom, how, and what components determine a quality ECCD community. Some scholars say that experts should determine quality indicators based upon what the research has shown to achieve the greatest success with respect to set quality outcomes (Charlesworth, 1998; Copple & Bredecamp, 2009; Cryer, 1999; Rushton, Juola-Rushton, & Larkin, 2010). However, this view assumes universal agreement on what these visions and goals should be and that knowledge of what constitutes quality ECCD communities resides primarily with experts. Critics present two main, intertwined objections to top-down, narrowly focused ECCD initiatives. The first of these addresses the issue of community engagement and social change. The second criticism points to community members as knowledgeable actors. These critiques often stem from problems that have been documented at the community level. As Carney and Bista (2009) explained,

> While scholars acknowledge the complex and contested nature of "community" and accept that participatory activities take many different forms (e.g. Bray, 2001), there is also broad agreement that educational reform must engage stakeholders if it is to have any chance of overturning historic patterns of underinvestment, low relevance, and marginal usefulness (Carney & Bista, 2009).

In other words, when initiatives do not involve individuals within the community in some manner, there is mounting evidence that program initiatives do little to alter the larger systemic issues plaguing the community (Carney & Bista, 2009; Penn, 2005). In relation to ECCD, Ball (2005) noted when there is little attention or effort to involve the very people supporting children's learning and development, the likelihood of positively changing a community's social fabric is minimal. As Ball further (2005) explained, civic engagement is generally seen as a pre-condition for social change. Moreover, many scholars and practitioners in the international-development field assert that "community participation in schooling . . . is essential for the achievement of efficient, accountable, and sustainable education" (Carney & Bista, 2009, p. 189; Bray, 2001).

Increasingly Western donors are placing more emphasis on locally driven development strategies (Abdi & Cleghorn, 2005; Abagi, 2005; Kendrick & Jones, 2008; Mkosi, 2005). One reason for this shift is the failure of the "Washington consensus", a Western-oriented development policy. As Stiglitz (2002) explained, the "Washington consensus has proved neither necessary nor sufficient for successful development… (and) even when growth did occur, it was not equitably shared" (p. 20). A key word in Stiglitz's remarks is equity, for fairer and better use of human resources, social and political sustainability, and even efficiency. Equity, has become prominent in "post-Washington consensus" development strategies. These approaches encourage processes that deal simultaneously with issues of democracy, poverty alleviation, and sustainability at the local level. At their core is equitable social change, cutting across social strata. In the community-engagement literature, civic engagement is widely documented as a pre-condition for social change (Denissen, Skelton, & Kari, 2006; Freire, 1970; Kirpal, 2002). Consequently, meaningful involvement of community members is essential for understanding and building on the strengths, challenges, and goals of families and their young children. More specifically,

> community engagement is a first step towards the introduction of appropriate kinds of supports to protect inherent assets, such as mother tongue and positive cultural practices, and to improve the quality of life for young children and families (Ball & Pence, 2006, p. 24).

The second critique of top-down interventions rests on possession and definitions of knowledge: Who possesses knowledge about quality ECCD? In my research and for the purposes of this chapter, knowledge is defined in a constructivist epistemological paradigm, that knowledge is socially constructed, as an interplay or co-construction

between people and their evolving circumstances and information (Kincheloe, 2008).

The assumptions underlying top-down initiatives—universality of childhood and learning styles, linear efficiency, and scientific understanding—silence local citizens and assume that knowledge only comes from scientific studies tested through observations of the natural world in early-childhood communities. They produce constructions of quality ECCD based upon outside experts' questions and scientific observations, ignoring the individuals in the community whose knowledge and voices envision different ideas of early-childhood initiatives, notions of childhood, frameworks, or purposes within local Filipino communities (Dahlberg, Moss & Pence, 1999; Penn, 2005; Moss, 2006).

Researchers and field practitioners explain that the lack of sustainability of certain interventions is partly due to this knowledge disconnect, which negates possibilities for knowledge sharing and collaboration with community members to create quality constructions based upon mutual understanding, goals, and site-specific realities (Ball & Pence, 2006; Cleghorn & Prochner, 2010; Penn, 2005). Empirical studies of quality in ECCD have focused mainly on quality inputs, outputs, and outcomes with respect to a child's health or cognitive development (World Bank, 2004; UNICEF, 2006; Aboud, Hossain & O'Gara, 2008). While it has been argued that within majority-world contexts, individuals who support a child's growth and development are vital to sustainable community ECCD interventions, very few studies have sought to gain a deeper understanding about the values and constructions of childhood and quality ECCD from those living within majority-world ECCD communities.

THE STUDY

Theoretical Framework

The epistemological underpinnings for the study reported here resided within a critical constructivist paradigm which maintains "a perspective that is counter-hegemonic . . . as it uses the voice of the subjugated to formulate a reconstruction of the dominant" (Kincheloe, 2008, p. 15), in this case how local community stakeholders reconceptualize a quality early-childhood structure.

I used a theoretical framework based on anthropology and social-justice literature to best understand specific locally constructed knowledge and processes regarding childhood and quality ECCD. From an anthropological perspective, scholars offer that individuals in a specific time and context have socially and culturally constructed knowledge of childhood and child-rearing (Levinson & González, 1999). How quality child-rearing practices and goals for children are organized socially and culturally is the main focus of this study. Tobin (2005), an early-childhood anthropologist, argued that quality is a cultural construction and therefore "quality standards should reflect local values and concerns and not be imposed

across cultural divides" (p. 421). In general the social-justice literature focuses on inequalities, with respect to quality constructions of ECCD, Unterhalter (2009) and Cryer (1999) argued, who is involved in determining what is fair and the process by which they engage in discourse is critical to achieving equity and quality in an ECCD community. For my study I chose Sen's capabilities social justice approach (1999, 2005) to frame how social relations and structures maintain stakeholders' unequal participation in the constructions and enactment of quality and offered an evaluative lens to look at stakeholders' abilities to function in (envisioned) quality processes within their communities. These two theoretical perspectives support the objectives of this research, by providing a greater understanding of what these two communities ECCD stakeholders' value and understand about children and early education and the current and future possibilities of functioning in ways that are valuable to ECCD stakeholders.

ECCD in the Philippines: Policy Context

In fulfilling their obligation as a signatory of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1990, the Philippine government enacted Republic Act No. 6972, the Barangay-Level Total Protection of Children Act, also known as the Daycare Act (de Los Angeles-Bautista, 2004). This legislation requires all local government units (LGUs) establish a day-care center in every *barangay* (village). However, with the decentralization of basic health and social services from 1990 onwards, each local government is responsible for the management and operation of its day-care centers (UNESCO, 2003).

Convinced of the benefits of the Daycare Act, in December 2000 the Philippine government approved the Republic Act No. 8980, providing for the development of quality ECCD programs for all young children. This law is a comprehensive policy and a national system for early-childhood care and education providing broad support and promotion of the rights of children to survival, development, and to support parents in their roles as primary caregivers and as their children's first teachers (Philippine Government, 2000). Furthermore, investment in ECCD was believed to be an investment that would facilitate the Philippines achievement of Education For All (EFA) goals, in particular the EFA goal #1 that sets out that a country expand and improve comprehensive early-childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children (Jomtien, 1990). Beginning in 2011, several additional K-12 education policies addressing access and human rights have been signed into law and are starting to be implemented throughout the Philippines. In 2009, the DepED Order No. 74 addressed the linguistic discrimination that had occured in emphasizing English education through the implementation of Mother Tongue Based, Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE) (Republic of the Philippines Department of Education, 2009). In addition, the Philippines President Aquino signed into law the Enhanced Basic

Education bill (Republic Act. 10588) in the spring of 2013. This law adopted a K-12 compulsory education cycle, instead of the previous 1st grade-10 cycle, to ensure that students are prepared to go to university by the time of graduation from grade 12 (Philippine Government, 2013).

Research Methodology

Using the social-justice and anthropological theoretical frameworks, there were two overall questions for eliciting the qualitative data I collected. What stakeholder quality local practices are envisioned to achieve desired quality goals in their communities? How do current social relations within the communities enable or inhibit stakeholders' envisioned quality ECCD goals and incorporation of local practices into quality constructions?

Employing a constructivist paradigm, I used qualitative methodology with a collaborative, ethnographic focus to obtain data from focus groups and interviews. To facilitate focus group discussions and guide semi-structured interviews this research used a future-visioning process called StoryTech (Harkins & Kubik, 2006; 2010). Overall, in designing the study and choosing methodological tools I took into consideration the indirect and contextual nature of the concept of quality, allowing a critical, in-depth look at stakeholders' local constructions of a quality ECCD within two Filipino ECCD communities.

Data Collection. I collected data over a period eight months in 2008, with the help of research assistants. I focused on ECCD stakeholders from metro Manila and Antique. The study's unit of analysis was the barangay, the smallest governing unit in the Philippines. As a result of the ECCD Act 8980, the barangay in conjunction with the municipality or city is responsible for the majority of funding for early-childhood care and development Philippine Government, 2000).

The research took place in the communities of Bagumbayan, Taguig (Metro Manila) and Sibalom, Antique. The research focused on the stakeholders involved with these two areas' daycare and KBA (Kapit Bahay-Aralan/ Family day-care) programs. In the Philippines early-education and health centers are operated by the barangay, and the majority of public daycares and KBA centers operate half-day sessions for children 3–5 years old, three to five days a week. Each class may have from 15 to 40 students and one or two teachers. KBA centers are usually run in a community members' home or local church and are supported by a local NGO. These centers fill gaps in available ECCD services in some areas of these communities. Each research area had nine sets of informants as shown in Table 1.

In the study settings, parents of Sibalom and metro Manila were quite diverse in terms of educational attainment and socioeconomic status. Educational attainment ranged from sixth grade to a bachelor's degree with 2% of the participants having had some formal schooling, 35% percent high-school graduates, 42% having had some college courses, and 19% having had college degrees. Parent participant's

Table 1: Study Participants

Type of Informants	*Manila*	*Antique*
KBA Parents	7	13
KBA Teachers	8	N/A
Day-care Parents	8	10
Day-care Workers	8	13
Community Volunteers	10	15
Barangay Captain/Councilors	10	15
City Councilors	4	2
Other ECCD Advocates in the City LGU	2	2
Barangay Affairs Officer	2	
Save the Children	1	4
Day-care Children	62 (2 classrooms)	65 (2 classrooms)
Total	**115**	**139**

salaries ranged from 800 to 20,000 pesos per month (approximately US$20–$500). Day-care and KBA teacher informants came from thirteen different barangays in Sibalom and six in metro Manila. The day-care teachers, ages 21–60, had six months to 20 years of experience.

Community member informants formed the broadest, most wide-ranging group of stakeholders who were the study participants. They included ten teachers, one midwife, six either barangay nutrition specialists (BNS) or barangay health workers (BHW), two church workers, two Barangay Service Point Officer (BSPO) volunteers, two homeowners' association volunteers, and one high-school student. Community members ranged in age from 15 to 60 years old. Local government unit informants represented three levels of local government: provincial, municipal or city, and barangay. This study concentrated mostly on the barangay, but it also included key individuals at the municipal or city level since funding, support, and advocacy for children's issues are so closely linked between barangays and their municipalities or cities.

In terms of equitable participation in the research process, each stakeholder group was created based on the individuals' role within the ECCD system and facilitated by a local research associate. I was cognizant of the potential power participants within different ECCD roles wield and how this may influence their participation in the research process. Therefore, I separated all parents, day-care and KBA teachers, and community members into separate groups since it was felt by the organization I was working with that individuals would feel more comfortable and open in discussions. In addition, there were two research associates involved in all data collection and initial analysis stages of the study. Since both RAs had extensive backgrounds in

community development and community-based research and were fluent in at least three languages (Tagalog, English, and another local language) they were able to facilitate each of the stakeholder groups in a mix of languages and ways that were familiar to participants.

Story Tech Tool and Process. I used a focus-group method with a future-oriented tool, StoryTech, to direct the focus groups. I used the StoryTech tool to communicate and organize information, knowledge, and competence from a wide range of stakeholders in the focus-group method. It framed the process and way in which the questions were asked in each stakeholder group.

The process is quite similar to that of a regular focus group, but has a few unique components. This study's StoryTech process comprised the following steps: 1) design a StoryTech tool specifically for the stakeholders and contexts of early childhood in the Philippines; 2) gather a group of six to ten individuals; 3) introduce a StoryTech that relates to the group and facilitates the process of future-visioning; 4) guide individuals in the writing of visions on the specific ECCD topic being discussed; 5) lead a discussion on the group's visions. Then after the first StoryTech round 1) read and complete an initial analysis of each groups' visions; 2) develop a second StoryTech tool based upon the initial analysis; 3) facilitate second StoryTech discussion with the same group; and 4) engage group in the collective process of refining the visions presented in the second StoryTech tool.

Interviews were held with several stakeholders who, due to geography and schedule, were unable to meet in one location. The individuals interviewed in Antique were municipal officials and Save PhCO staff, and in metro Manila, barangay and city officials. The interview protocol was semi-structured, with questions mirroring as much as possible the content reflected on and co-constructed in the StoryTech sessions. However, we were only able to talk with each person once.

*Data Analysis***.** The data analysis process was loosely based on the CQR (Central Question Research) method (Yeh & Inman, 2007), organizing the data into domains, topics, core ideas, summaries, and finally cross-cutting themes. The final eight themes from the overall data set were; structure and facilities, mobilizing human agency, legislative measures and advocacy, children's health and nutrition, rationale for investing in ECCD education, collaboration, curriculum and pedagogy, and interactions. We (two research associates and myself) used these themes to reread all transcripts and individually code with a representative quote. On several occasions, the imbedded meanings in either the original Tagalog or Kinaray langauge necessitated a more nuanced explanation to convey the participant's intent accurately.

THE STUDY FINDINGS

In presenting the findings that emerged from the data analysis, the main purpose was to convey stakeholders' constructions of quality, both the principles and goals

they hold for their ECCD communities, curricula, and professional development. In this account of the research, I focus on the critical dimension of community in the findings. With the ultimate goal of improving the livelihoods for all children and families in an inclusive and equitable manner I suggest the implications that challenge international organizations to think about how they can create and support spaces that facilitate respectful dialogue across ECCD stakeholders. The names used are pseudonyms. Many of the findings are in the form of scenarios that portray the issues within the context of the research process, from the perspectives of the study participants.

Quality ECCD Community and Local Filipino Practices of Bayanihan and Dagyaw

> A child-friendly community is a place where the children are motivated and inspired to be their best, because they feel loved by their parents, and people in the community are their models of good discipline for which they learn good values that will inspire them to become responsible and disciplined citizens of the community and country. In their community, the parents are also encouraged to produce and earn more not only for the family's needs but also for the easy sharing of whatever they have for the needs of their neighbors in need is displayed (*Isa, community member, Sibalom)*.

Almost all stakeholders in Sibalom and Bagumbayan reiterated what Isa explained in the above quote; they viewed community as more than just a group of individuals, but as a collection of people who depend on one another and for whose wellbeing they are mutually responsible. Moreover, communities see a quality early-childhood education not as a process to develop the cognitive and social domains of a child, but as an engaged, integrated process to further opportunities for children and families, thereby integrating these skills and knowledge into the future vitality of the community.

The *bayanihan* and *dagyaw* derive from a still-common Filipino tradition in which community members welcome new neighbors in the barangay by gathering a group of people to carry the newcomers' homes. Today, these terms more broadly refer to the spirit of communal unity or effort to achieve a particular objective and are a process through which people join forces to work on a project for a community. Overall, the process of a *bayanihan* or *dagyaw* seeks the strengths, knowledge, and skills of many individuals to accomplish a common community goal. Furthermore, who makes decisions and how they are made are spread across the various members of the community, validating the importance of everyone's contribution (Asha, Research Assistant, personal communication, July 14, 2008).

What emerged from the findings in both Sibalom and Bagumbayan were visions of quality ECCD communities that situated their local constructions of quality in terms of local practices of *magbayanihan* or *madagyaw* (The prefix *ma* is added to dagyaw and *mag* to bayanihan to indicate "the act of"). The findings suggest local constructions of quality are collaboratively driven, and desired quality outcomes

include sharing knowledge and responsibility, mobilizing human agency, building bridges in the community, and caring for each other.

Quality Component: "We Have Experience": Sharing and Valuing Knowledge

The findings in this quality component "sharing and valuing knowledge" ECCD stakeholders presented a *bayanihan* as a platform from which to envision their communities of Sibalom and Bagumbayan, mobilizing human agency, which involves valuing individuals' knowledge and engaging in community collaboration and partnerships. Whether one is leading the process of building the new ECCD classroom or laying the foundation, each individual brings something to the process and is involved in something larger than the piece he/she contributes. Most importantly, the *bayanihan* or *dagyaw* does not assume which strengths community members may contribute to the process.

Sharing knowledge. In one of the ECCD stakeholder's *bayanihan/dagyaw* future scenarios from Sibalom, the community assembles to discuss ECCD issues. Istoy, the barangay official invites all to talk about the current problems, asks for suggestions, and then puts the achievement of the goal in the hands of the community by distributing responsibility—and thus ownership and accountability—among a broad base of citizens. As Ivy, a day-care teacher, puts it simply, "everyone is involved and [his/her] opinions sought after" (Ivy, day-care teacher, Bagumbayan).

The barangay officials' leadership is important to note as other stakeholders suggest that while their experiences may not be perceived within the more traditional roles of early education, care, and health, through a process like *magbayanihan* or *madagyaw*, a space is opened up for collaborative dialogue and problem-solving, encouraging many different individuals to offer their skills in the process.

From teachers to preachers in both of these communities, individuals discuss the knowledge they have to contribute to the success of the barangay. Noel (Community member, Egana), for example, talked about she would like to share her work experiences with others in this quality making process, including working with children of different ages. However, presently, she would not be thought of as someone to engage in a quality ECCD community. This group of ECCD stakeholder's constructions of quality within the concept of *magbayanihan* or *madagyaw* opens up the communal ECCD space to alternative resources including local ECCD stakeholders.

Valuing knowledge. In a *bayanihan* or *dagyaw*, leadership that recognizes the experiences and knowledge of others can enhance the discussion, dialogue, and outcome. Across stakeholder future scenarios, the recognition around the important knowledge that others possess that is not being used and shared in public spaces emerged as an important sub-quality component. In many of the future scenarios, the

quality component of valuing knowledge additionally required a shift in perspective among stakeholders.

One example of this emerged in a future scenario written by day-care teachers in Bagumbayan day-care teachers where they could see themselves acting differently in public spaces, for example, at a barangay-council meeting. In this scenario day-care teachers present their needs to the barangay council, which in turn offers its support for the day-care center. They talk excitedly about how they will sit in and participate in the barangay-council meetings. "We will stand up for what we believe in," states one of the more vocal day-care teachers. They envision that "barangay officials will listen intently and offer their assistance because of all the great successes of the barangay's daycare," Lucing, another day-care teacher, says.

This picture underlines two aspects of this sub-theme: the confidence of day-care teachers to act in a more public space and the recognition of their knowledge and contributions by barangay officials in a respectful equal manner. This group of teachers sees barangay-council meetings as a public space where respectful dialogue and validation of individual teachers' knowledge would take place. Ivy, a day-care teacher, makes clear that an important part of dialogue and respect for individuals' knowledge and contributions is how individuals behave with each other. Similar to Lucing, Ivy (day-care teacher, Bagumbayan) notes that in a successful barangay, people treat each other as equals. In five years, "we continue being . . . effective service provider[s] and [barangay officials and others of higher status do] not to find it difficult to think that we are equals. [We] become open-handed in interacting with each other, that we are always ready to help one another toward continued improvement of the community."

An ECCD space were power relations had been redistributed in a manner that respects each individual as one with unique, valid opinions on what comprises quality ECCD within their community. Similarly, in the scenario day-care teachers envisioned, the ECCD community identified and valued human potential, encouraged individuals to think about their role in different spaces, and share and build on each other's knowledge and experiences, all of which add to the building of an inclusive, quality ECCD community.

Quality Component: Unity of our community: Cooperation and Collaboration

> The success of the barangay lies in the unity, cooperation, and mutual help and support from all stakeholders, such as barangay officials, parents, members of the community, and even the children.
>
> —Antang, day-care teacher, Sibalom—

Sharing and valuing community members' experiences and knowledge are critical foundations upon which a *bayanihan* or *dagyaw* operate. Yet, how individuals coordinate and accomplish set goals of a *bayanihan* or *dagyaw* rest on the underlying

notions of cooperation and collaboration. Across the different stakeholder groups, several ideas create a more nuanced view of what cooperation and collaboration means for them, ranging from soliciting others' opinions on topics and discussing issues with each other to active participation in the community, effective communication, and shared responsibility.

Engaging in these aspects of *mabayanihan* or *madagyaw* redistributes individuals' roles in the ECCD quality process. Stakeholder groups, such as parents and day-care teachers, are asked what and how to accomplish a goal in concert with barangay officials, and/or ECCD experts. Collaborative leadership and an inclusive process negotiate and distribute power among ECCD stakeholders. For example, in one future parent-teacher scenario, encouraging collaboration begins by fostering partnerships through clear, respectful communication between the day-care teacher and the parents. Through amicable dialogue, the day-care teacher- Nedring, asks parents for help not only in the classroom, but also for their ideas and suggestions about potential problems. She provides a space not for the transmission of uncontested knowledge of child development, but one for discussing and sharing knowledge. Each individual partner comes as a citizen in a democratic community, one who possesses unique perspectives and bodies of knowledge that can be used in the broader education of children.

On the other hand Pedring, a barangay- official, thinks about cooperation and the sharing of ideas from a slightly different perspective, which may be influenced in part by his role as a barangay official. In his and other Sibalom officials' point of view, cooperation can be facilitated through constant discussion. In the future, "all the stakeholders should cooperate and have continuous dialogue. The people in the community gather to discuss the welfare of children" (Pedring, barangay official, Sibalom). Other stakeholder groups have visions, similar to those of Nedring and Pedring, which include gathering together and discussing issues about children, but their ideas are more specific to their particular spaces in the community.

The findings suggest that stakeholders see cooperation and collaboration as individuals being actively involved in the ECCD community and keeping an open mind as a centerpiece of their working relationships. Stakeholders' notions of cooperation focus on the community or barangay level, and these individuals in the research share the basic premise that in a successful child-friendly barangay, mutual aid and assistance increases communication and potentially creates future collaborations.

While the findings presented here illustrate a quality construction based upon local conceptions of *bayanihan* or *dagyaw*, which include the values of respect, cooperation, and collaboration, stakeholders have a large gap in understanding how to bridge local conceptions of quality and further develop the leadership within the community to enact early childhood democratic spaces and to work toward achieving the visions included in this chapter. Dialogues organized by Save the Children were taking place as I was finishing up the research in the Philippines, but ideas about which directions and types of facilitation might be needed were still in the nascent stage. These questions and areas need further attention and research.

DISCUSSION

The study reported here, ascribing to the notion that "quality" is a relative and social construction, contributes to the literature on community participation in the early-childhood education 'quality' processes. In the one particular case of two barangays in the Philippines, stakeholders engaged in a process of dialogue, discussing and negotiating what they, as a community, value as a quality ECCD community.

These two Filipino communities' visions of a quality ECCD community suggested that their ideas are based on the local practices of *bayanihan* and *dagyaw.* Values, such as care, collaboration, and valuing local individuals' knowledge, imbedded in the local practices of *bayanihan* and *dagyaw* were a part of their visions of quality and how they see the community achieving its desire for its children's futures. While some stakeholders' ideals were not very different than what exists presently in their ECCD communities, some of the locally driven ideals involved stakeholders re-negotiating current social and power relations.

As mentioned previously regarding theoretical underpinnings for the research, Sen's (1999, 2009) capabilities approach provides a framework for evaluating inequity in society and understanding how it is possible to challenge it, as in this case, the difference in ECCD stakeholders' social status and thus their contributions to constructing quality notions of ECCD. Sen's (1999, 2009) critical concepts that were useful for understanding the potential inequalities among stakeholders in the two Filipino ECCD communities of this study are the *freedom* to convert capabilities into actions, the *diversity* of social arrangements that affect freedom, and the *value* individuals place on children's education and well-being. Here I discuss the application of the social conversion factors in relation to stakeholders' visions of functioning, broadly answering whether these stakeholder groups in their particular social and institutional contexts were actually able to do the things they value and envision doing.

Stakeholders' Freedom to Participate in the Process of Change Within the Community

*Local practices of Bayanihan and Dagyaw and top-down ECCD discourses***.** What the StoryTech process highlighted in the two barangays of this study is that there are indigenous ways of knowing and working with children that are held by their members to be a necessary part of a quality community. Understanding and facilitating these local values into the process of developing quality ECCD is a phenomenon that does not necessarily align with the underlying assumptions that guide many international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) education-development programs. Rather, those projects or interventions emphasized the child's welfare separate from his/her community, relationships both present and historical, and community responsibility, thereby exacerbating the very issues current ECCD efforts attempt to resolve. As Peter Senge (2001) argued,

> until we go back to thinking about school as the totality of the environment in which a child grows up, we can expect no deep changes. Change requires a community—people living and working together assuming some common responsibility for something that is of deeper concern and interest to all of them, their children (p. 23).

While the current Filipino ECCD policies are a step in the right direction, a shift from thinking of early-childhood care and development as distinct from a community and its everyday functions and responsibility to it being an integral part of or one pathway toward mobilizing a community's human agency is essential.

Local practices of Bayanihan and Dagyaw and existent social structures and norms. The collaborative community processes, talked about in detail in the findings are similar to the notion of democratic practice, with dialogue, discussion, and cooperation as the main elements. Yet while many stakeholders envision such collaborative scenarios, for some, these ideas, values, and beliefs could potentially be threatening. For many in these barangays, the freedom to participate in democratic spaces would provide an opportunity they have never had before; for others, especially community leaders, community members valued participation could threaten the social norms and relations to which they are accustomed.

Current social structure. Currently in the two communities the freedom of opportunities for stakeholders to engage in civic activities are distributed unequally as a result of minimal structures that facilitate communication between stakeholder groups and community leaders regarding children's welfare. In addition, the current context in the Philippines yields few incentives for leaders to either engage in dialogues with the marginalized or authentically support their efforts in day-care communities. One example of current tensions and inequities in opportunities to participate in the dialogue and decision-making is the Barangay Councils on the Protection of Children (BCPC). To be considered a child-friendly barangay, community partnership structures for the protection of children must be in place. The purpose of these structures is to provide an arena for community members to discuss on a regular basis a variety of issues related to children's welfare, including quality and the day-care community. However, as NGO leaders explain in interviews with them, there are not sufficient mechanisms for ensuring these structures are operational or inclusive. At the time of data collection, Bagumbayan had a semifunctional BCPC and Sibalom did not yet have one. From what I understood, the Bagumbayan BCPC was not open to community members, but only to select stakeholder representatives.

While it is quite evident from the quality visions in this study that barangay officials are key players in achieving these aims, with the primarily top-down leadership these leaders currently employ, the collaborative and cooperative leadership structure and processes envisioned by many stakeholders is hard to imagine, despite it being more closely related to their noted local practices.

Current social norms. In the day-care teachers' scenarios presented in the findings they envision parents as a part of a community of learners, each with his/her own unique experiences, knowledge, and understandings especially when it comes to

one's child. Similarly, some community members and day-care teachers' envision themselves sharing their experiences and knowledge with community leaders. However, individuals in these two communities are often the recipients of, not the producers of, knowledge; therefore, they wield less power, currently, in shaping valued information in their environments, especially, in terms of the behavioral codes that govern public spaces such as the classroom.

In his dialogic encounter with Freire's book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), Huiskamp (2002) contended that "powerlessness is also a function of unequal control over the means of knowledge production, or what Anisur Rahman describes as 'the social power to determine what is valid or useful knowledge'" (p. 73). Therefore, what day-care or KBA teachers or parents need is not access to the predominant ways of thinking in early-childhood development, but a shift in the community's thinking about whose knowledge is valued and who decides what knowledge is important. In other words, how barangay officials, parents, community members and day-care teachers see each other's capability to act toward contributing to a quality ECCD community is critical to their ability to actually participate in local practices of *bayanihan* and *dagyaw*.

Implications for Quality ECCD Discussions and Future Research

In the research reported here, stakeholders from two locales in the Philippines participated in a process of envisioning constructions of quality in their ECCD communities. Overall, the findings from this study demonstrate idealized notions of a quality are based upon local conceptions of *bayanihan* and *dagyaw*. First, the study suggests that these notions are indeed conceptualized and articulated in a different manner, based on stakeholders' unique knowledge and perspectives.

Situating the findings in Sen's social-justice capabilities perspective, particularly the intersections of quality and equity, this study argued that each individual has a human right, the freedom to use his/her desired capabilities for achieving higher quality ECCD that improves children's well-being. Dahlberg et. al (1999) suggested that the process of making meaning does not imply constant agreement, rather a continuing dialogue among stakeholders. This study showed evidence of process freedom, as Sen argued (2009), with spaces for stakeholders to construct quality in ways that incorporate local ways of knowing, being, and acting. Hence, how does bottom-up quality relate to top-down quality (e.g., international and national ECCD policies or international discourse on ECCD) and also quality from the middle (the ideas of barangay and city leaders or national and international non-governmental organizations [NGOs])? And how are these sometimes differing notions of quality negotiated in a fair and just manner?

Specifically looking at the Filipino ECCD system and how the process of constructing quality may have implications at multiple levels, based on the findings of this study I suggest that without middle-level leaders placing equitable value upon locally constructed visions of quality ECCD, and quality from the bottom–also

purposefully facilitating the multi-directional flow of ideas, skills, and resources–the likelihood of constructions of quality reflecting local values, beliefs and rationale is minimal. Therefore, a critical shift in the way stakeholders in the middle think and talk about the forms of knowledge that emerge from the bottom is crucial to the realization of all stakeholders' ideal constructions of quality.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, while in this chapter I am not suggesting ways in which cultural projects such as ECCD democratic communities can evolve, flourish, and sustain themselves–these areas need further research–I present and discuss locally constructed visions of processes and practices that have emerged from the research and the literature on inclusive practices, which support stakeholders ideal quality ECCD community. Furthermore, this chapter does not focus on early childhood learning per-say, but the kind of nurturing, quality environment stakeholders envision within these communities as supporting the structures and leadership necessary for young children to become 'professional citizens'.

This quality community relocates the focus from the individual to the collective, and from one way of knowing to multiple ways of knowing around quality ECCD. It looks to itself for knowledge, thereby validating its unique "funds of knowledge" (Gonzalez, Moll & Amanti, 2005). Parents, day-care teachers, KapitBahay- Aralan (KBA) teachers, community members, and barangay officials all resound in their desire for well-educated children; however, just as loudly, they speak of morals, values, and respect for others. Nurturing the child as a part of the community and cognitive learning goes hand in hand.

> If programs are meant to have a lasting effect on changing and improving the condition of children and society, they must be culturally sustainable and respond to local needs and demands. Only if local communities are involved in programs and take ownership of them will ECD programs persist and continue to have the same positive effects when outside donors cease their funding (Kirpal, 2002, p. 293).

Furthermore, a sustainable process must involve not only local ownership but also a constantly evolving, self-reflecting, and viable quality child-friendly barangay. If the knowledge does not originate from those in the community, the possibilities for creating new knowledge and ECCD programs, sustainability, and desired social change are minimal. In the quest for inclusive quality improvement in majority-world contexts, to define quality in such limited, outcome-based terms often excludes those it attempts to empower, and thus is problematic when our primary goal is to foster sustainable, inclusive, quality ECCD communities. Envisioning a more collaborative community-based approach encourages children and families to learn, participate in a collective project, or a vision where they can begin to see connections to their present and future.

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10. 'ADAPTING' EDUCATION TO STUDENT NEEDS

Unchallenging Education in Ukrainian Orphanages

INTRODUCTION

International educational stakeholders–United Nations agencies, international non-governmental organizations, donor agencies, and national Ministries of Education–have committed themselves to achieving access to quality education for all, embedded in the Education for All (EFA) declaration (UNESCO, 2005) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (United Nations, 2007). Yet 57 million primary-school-age children still remain out of school, and those who have access to school continue to face educational inequalities (Piper, Dryden-Peterson & Kim, 2006; UNESCO, 2013). Access to schooling, however, cannot be the only end goal in the global campaign for Education for All. Access cannot be removed from equity in- and quality of education (Reimers, 2006). In fact, achieving all three of these goals simultaneously is paramount for ensuring that all children are enrolled in non-discriminatory, safe schools with ample learning resources and support from educators and other personnel. While Piper, Dryden-Peterson & Kim (2006) contended that educational inequalities persist in the global South, in transitioning states such as Ukraine that do have nearly universal access to primary and secondary education, marginalized children and youth still remain off the local and international radar and they face staggering educational inequalities in their local situations.

Approximately 24,000 of more than 100,000 Ukrainian full and social orphans are institutionalized in self-contained orphanages termed *internats* (in Ukrainian and Russian). Biological or full orphans are children with no living parents (State Statistics Agency of Ukraine, 2012). Social orphans, children deprived of parental care, have living parents but were abandoned by their families or they were removed from families when their parents neglected them due to alcohol or drug abuse (Artiuh et al., 2006; Balakireva et al., 2000). When Ukrainian orphans graduate from orphanages at the age of 18, most are not equipped with social skills to adapt in mainstream society, nor with adequate academic knowledge and preparation to pursue higher education. In fact, orphanage alumni are tracked into vocational schools, and upon graduating from these most of these orphans remain unemployed and homeless, ill equipped to survive in the political economy, given unemployment realities in Ukraine (Korzh, 2013a)

D. B. Napier (Ed.), Qualities of Education in a Globalised World, 167–184.

Local research conducted by the Ministry of Education and Science suggested that orphanages do not provide optimal development conditions given their secluded nature and the substandard quality of education, but the researchers did not explicate or corroborate this finding with evidence (Balakireva et al., 2000, 2010). Other research showed that orphanages lack textbooks and trained teachers and personnel to work with psychologically traumatized children (Artiuh et al., 2006). However, these examples of the limited research on orphans' experiences neglected the quality of secondary education in orphanages, and how it shapes orphans' educational experiences and future trajectories. Furthermore, the research relied solely on quantitative surveys, which runs the risk of misrepresenting youth's perspectives.

The purpose of this chapter is to document and describe the educational experiences of Ukrainian orphanage students. In particular, my qualitative research sheds light on how the substandard quality of education (manifested in unchallenging curriculum, low expectations, inquiry-free instruction, frequent canceling of classes, and grade inflation) deprives the orphans of equal secondary and post-secondary educational opportunities and how, on a daily basis, the quality of their educational experiences was compromised. The research findings contribute to the existing body of research examining qualities of education in a globalized world by illuminating the educational realities and inequalities that Ukrainian orphanage youth experience in their specific local context where the concept of "quality education" demands specialized scrutiny beyond the conventional measures of "quality".

I begin by describing the conceptual framework for the research, grounded in critical theories of social reproduction. I draw on the notion of the hidden curriculum that facilitates understanding of the educational inequalities in orphanage schools. Thereafter, I describe my qualitative multi-site case study design and methodology. I present and discuss my research findings of the unchallenging education in orphanages, which demonstrates socio-economic inequalities Ukraine's marginalized children and youth experience in orphanages. I conclude with some reflections on the conceptualization of education quality in light of my research in Ukraine.

CONCEPTUALIZING THE STUDY

Grounded in critical theory, this study draws on notion of the hidden curriculum that plays an important role in reproducing inequalities in social structures (Anyon, 1980, 1981; Apple & King, 1977; Apple, 1980-1981; Giroux, 1979, 2011; Vallance, 1983). According to these scholars, any school curriculum is dual in nature: explicit (overt, formal) and implicit (covert, informal). The explicit curriculum contains defined learning objectives, rationales, and content material. The hidden curriculum is conceptualized as the tacit teaching of social and economic norms,

values, beliefs, and expectations within and outside of the formal class content–to impart the dominant ideology that legitimizes society’s socio-economic relations. Vallance (1983) contended that elements of the hidden curriculum can be found in any educational context of student-teacher dynamic, classroom structure, and larger school structure reflecting a “microcosm of the social value system” (p. 6). The null curriculum—or what is omitted or not taught—can contribute to the inequalities perpetuated by the hidden curriculum,

Bowles and Gintis (1977, 2002) and Carnoy and Levin (1976) were among the first scholars to explore the hidden curriculum in the context of the political economy of schooling in the United States. They argued that schools imparted distinct skills and dispositions in students from different economic classes, in order to prepare them for their work roles in the labor market. Giroux (1979) and Anyon (1980, 1981) also contended that the hidden curriculum helps children internalise their labor market roles and thus perpetuates socio-economic inequalities. Giroux (1979) argued that the hidden curriculum manifests itself through tracking, social sorting, alienated learning, authoritarian teaching, and extrinsic grade rewards, with the result that schooling further mirrors the unequal power dynamic in society. Anyon (1980, 1981) found that different schools impart distinct cognitive and behavioral skills, rules, and norms based on the children’s socio-economic status. Her findings demonstrated how working-class schools foster rote learning and docility, while middle-class, “affluent,” and “executive” schools encourage creativity, independent decision-making, and analytical reasoning, thus preparing children at these different schools with the same curriculum but employing different teaching approaches designed to prepare students for distinct career ladders. These general observations about the unequal educational process of schooling are applicable to the context of my research in Ukrainian orphanages.

In her research on educational inequalities in Ireland, Lynch (1989) also found the hidden curriculum was manifested in teaching what she called “universalism” and “particularism” (p. 28). Lynch argued that universalistic qualities are embedded in many factors including schools’ provision of similar syllabi, evaluation systems, teacher training, hours and days of schooling, and school buildings and classroom settings. However, underlying this universal provision is also particularistic consumption, which entails distinct patterns of knowledge transmission, such as tracking, differentiated curricula based on gender or class, and teacher attitudes favoring hard-working students, all of which ultimately lead to social reproduction. In general, social reproduction scholars have examined the hidden curriculum as a reproductive catalyst for socio-economic inequalities, arguing that the hidden curriculum, being tacit and unacknowledged, is even more powerful than the explicit curriculum (Greene, 1983). The notion of the hidden curriculum, unequally distributed to disproportionately impact socio-economically disadvantaged children, facilitates understanding of the educational inequalities embedded in Ukrainian orphanage schools.

METHODOLOGY

The research reported here was part of a larger dissertation research study carried out in Ukraine between November 2010 and August 2011 (Korzh, 2013b). I developed a qualitative multi-site case study, designed to collect in-depth information in multiple settings (Berg, 2009; Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Yin, 2009), to examine how the orphanage system (beliefs and expectations of educators, peer relationships, curriculum and social/educational policy) shaped orphans' post-secondary education decisions and trajectories. In the study, the orphanage education system represented a case situated in two natural settings: an urban orphanage and a rural orphanage in the socio-political context of Ukraine. Within each case, I focused on 81 students and 41 educators as key participants. I used purposeful sampling to select orphanages as sites and orphans within them as study participants to obtain data as recommended by Creswell (2007) to inform my understanding of how Ukraine's orphanage system shaped orphans' post-secondary education decision-making and trajectories. I also used snowball sampling (Miles & Huberman, 1994) with some orphanage alumni who identified and referred me to peers studying in vocational schools and universities.

Methods of data collection in the study included the following: observations of daily in- and out-of-classroom activities in both orphanages in grades 10 and 11 (I observed over 130 classes of 45 minutes each); in-depth semi-structured individual and focus group interviews with 11 orphanage youths in grade 11 (6 in the urban- and 5 in the rural orphanage), 40 orphanage youths in grade 10 (20 in the urban- and 20 in the rural orphanage), 41 orphanage educators (20 on the urban- and 21 in the rural orphanage), and 30 orphanage alumni; and analysis of policy documents about Ukrainian orphans' educational and social opportunities as well as the Ministry of Education and Science publications on deinstitutionalization and foster care reform in Ukraine. In this account of my research, the participant and site names are pseudonyms.

My data analysis unfolded continuously during data collection and interpretation, following the recommendations of Johnson and Christensen (2008). Preliminary analysis began with initial memo writing, proceeded with writing analytic memos. This was followed by multiple readings of interview transcripts and observation notes (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995). I developed a system of coding to establish relationships among coding categories, topics, or themes, and I developed sub-codes or sub-categories for further analysis (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995) and I used quotes and other evidence to support coded categories of data and emergent themes (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Overall, this research produced both emic categories emerging from the raw data, and also etic categories connected to the conceptual framework and findings in the research literature (Maxwell, 2005, p. 97).

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Unchallenging Curriculum in Orphanage Schools

> Everyone knows what kind of education we’ve got here in the orphanage. It is not up to par with mainstream schools. (Interview with 11th grader Larisa, November 15, 2010)

> Of course we can’t set the same expectations for them [orphans] and demand the same from them as in mainstream schools…and of course our 5 points means 4 in a mainstream school… (Interview with the teacher and Vice-Principal, April 14, 2011)

Limited research on education in post-Soviet orphanages showed that they are socially perceived and documented as inferior to education in mainstream schools, particularly in providing fewer learning resources (Hunt, 1998). Both orphanage schools in this study were expected to deliver, at least according to national policy, the same quality education as that in mainstream secondary schools in Ukraine. For purposes of this discussion, the general structure of the education system in Ukraine is shown in Figure 1.

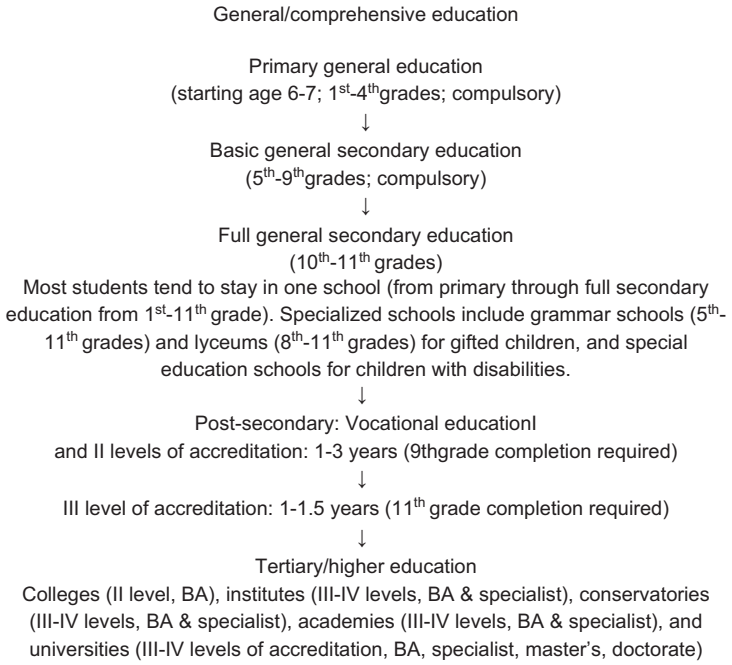

Figure 1. The Educational System of Ukraine (Source: Hellwig & Lipenkowa, 2007).

In the two sites I studied, the orphanage teachers graduated from the same pedagogical universities (teachers' colleges) with a Specialist teaching degree. They majored in such subjects as history, math, physics, chemistry and biology, languages and literatures, music, geography, physical education, and labor skills, among others. A total of 27 teachers (23 full-time) and 25 caretakers were employed in the urban orphanage in 2010-2011; 70 % of them were veteran teachers averaging 30-40 years of experience. The rural orphanage employed 26 full-time teachers and 26 caretakers. The teachers were responsible for following the national curriculum.

However, my findings revealed that the orphanage teachers held low expectations for the academic success of these students and they employed an unchallenging curriculum, evidenced by watered-down teaching and learning material, oversimplified assignments, cancellation of classes, and grade inflation. Since the majority of the orphanage teachers perceived orphans as "academically weak," "unmotivated," and "disengaged," they tended to water down the curriculum or "adapt the curriculum to students' needs." For some, curriculum adaptation was portrayed as an act of pity for the orphans' plight. Others, guided by the genetic deficit ideology, believed it was virtually impossible to foster success in most orphans due to their genetic characteristics and also due to their previous interrupted schooling. Therefore, the majority of orphanage teachers reported that they did not set high expectations for orphans' educational success nor did they enforce homework to reinforce student knowledge and skills. In addition, teachers tended to use teacher-centered instruction methods, which contributed to student disengagement from the learning process.

Lecturing and Textbook Copying. Lecturing and assigning students to copy sentences from the textbook prevailed over inquiry-based instruction, particularly in the urban orphanage. Teachers tended to lecture for 45 minutes (a full class period) in most of the classes I observed in Grades 10 and 11. In the first weeks of my observations, the teachers attempted to engage students in discussion by posing questions and calling on individual students, trying to project a positive impression about their orphanage in the presence of a visitor. For example, at the beginning of the first class I observed in Grade 11 in the rural orphanage, one of the teachers instructed: "Children, you should do your utmost best!" (Observation notes, February 23, 2011). This teacher was overcome with anxiety when she saw me in her class. She had not expected me to observe her lesson that day and unable to rehearse her instruction with students, the common practice in the Soviet and post-Soviet times when external observers came. However, lecturing and textbook copying were the norm in most classrooms. For example, Ms. Yevheniya turned a literature class into a lecture devoid of engaging discussion:

> The teacher is lecturing about Paul Verlaine. She reads out loud three of his poems and asks students which emotions they evoke. One student replies: "Sad." She nods her head and keeps on lecturing. One male student is taking a nap with his head down on

> the desk. Another student has his headset on and is playing with his cell phone. Three more male students are playing with their cell phones; one is sitting with his back turned towards the teacher. The teacher pays no attention to them. (Observation notes, March 29, 2011)

In one class I observed, the teacher Ms. Oksana assigned students to find answers to a set of questions. Students spent 45 minutes silently copying the answers from the textbook. Another teacher, Ms. Natalia, regularly employed copying as a teaching strategy suitable for orphans like Petia from Grade 11, whom she identified as "genetically deficient":

> The level [of knowledge] is really low here. When I came to this Grade 11, I was shocked. After I had taught two lessons, Petia told me: "I can't understand anything you are talking about. Let me copy sentences from the textbook, then I will be reading and writing." When I lecture, he tells me he can't handle that because his brain is melting. No wonder it's melting – he is an alcoholic intra-generationally! (Interview, January 17, 2011)

Other teachers who employed copying as an instruction tool agreed that it was an effective pedagogical strategy to engage students in "some kind of work" (Interviews, January 17, 26 & 31, 2011). This activity did not engage students in the subject matter nor did it foster their academic competencies to be applied in their post-secondary pursuits. Oksana, a student who had studied in a mainstream school before, reported that teachers "[j]ust lecture here, they don't care about going into details and explaining things to us, unlike in mainstream schools" (Interview, January 26, 2011).

Digression From Instruction. In addition to lecturing and student copying as the dominant classroom activity, some teachers frequently digressed from meaningful instruction, particularly when I was not observing classes. In her interview, a student Larisa noted enthusiastically: "Many teachers tell stories about their life; it's so exciting to listen to them!" (Interview, January 23, 2011). Orphanage alumni from another rural orphanage similarly described teachers who avoided curriculum-relevant teaching and instead engaged in idle conversations with students. Maria noted about her biology teacher: "Whenever she would come to class she would not teach, rather tell all sorts of stories about herself. When it was time to take a test, she expected us to do it, insisting she had taught us everything" (Interview, November 9, 2010). As much as such casual conversations entertained students, they did not impart the formal curriculum, but rather the hidden curriculum through articulated expectations of orphanage youth to follow in their parents' footsteps. For example, Ms. Natalia tended to digress in her teaching and projected her expectations of Petia's drinking activities:

> No instruction is happening today. The teacher and students are chatting. Oksana has her earpiece in, she is listening to music. The teacher asked students about the last night's performance. Then she turns attention to Petia and asked him if he got drunk.

> Petia is telling the teacher that he doesn't drink as much as people gossip about him. He says he will be wasted on the New Year's Eve and high school prom. This is it for today's class. (Observation notes, November 25, 2010).

Watered-Down Instruction and Movie Time. In both orphanages I saw numerous classes in which teachers watered down the curriculum and assigned rudimentary tasks, particularly in mathematics and the hard sciences, on the basis of reasoning that "you can't expect much of these children":

> The Math teacher starts off her lesson with a definition dictation she had jotted on the blackboard and told students to copy. She proceeds with asking Marusia to read aloud a math problem and tells her to solve it on the blackboard. When Marusia realized they had solved that problem before, she replies: "But we have done it before." The teacher says to her: "It is okay, we will do it again." Thus, the Math class entailed two tasks only – writing down a definition and solving a math problem they had done before – which was well below their curriculum level. (Observation notes, February 23, 2011)

The next class involved solving the square of a cylinder, which took the entire 45 minutes:

> The Math teacher wrote down the formula on the board. Then she asked Marusia to multiply 10 by 5. She calculated it to be 15, which was indicative of her poor math skills inculcated in the previous orphanage. At the end of the class, the teacher praised students by saying: "Thank you for your work today, good job!" Then she approached me and told me: "They are golden children. We are doing our best. They can't go beyond their abilities. They behaved really well today!" (Observation notes, February 24, 2011)

This observation excerpt sheds light on the manner in which the orphanage curriculum was oversimplified for the orphanage youth, whom most educators perceived "academically weak" and thus they set low expectations for the students. The inadequate secondary education put orphans behind their grade level and hampered them in their subsequent educational attainment, particularly those orphanage youth who applied to colleges and universities.

The majority of students in both orphanages recognized the substandard education they received in orphanages compared to that one in mainstream schools they had previously experienced. Student Larisa explained:

> There is just a handful of demanding teachers. The Biology teacher makes us take notes. Otherwise, no one asks us to regurgitate the information in class, nor does anyone check our homework. The only exception is the Chemistry teacher who assigns challenging tasks and is very strict about grades. None of the teachers are like that. In Biology class, for example, we can spend the entire class copying notes. If someone has not completed it, he/she will continue doing that next class. In other classes when we write a test, it's an open notebook test. We copy from our notebooks, unlike in mainstream schools where textbooks and notebooks have to be put aside. (Interview, November 15, 2010)

A teacher, Ms. Barbara, confirmed: "They are not loaded with homework here" (Interview, January 31, 2011). Lack of homework enforcement and no ensuing punishment for failing to do homework encouraged student disengagement and did not cultivate student accountability. Oksana, a student from the urban orphanage, reported:

> If you have not done your homework, it does not matter. But if you have not done homework there [in a mainstream school], teachers will give you an F and will call your parents. There is some accountability and control there [in a mainstream school] and here [orphanage], nothing of that kind. (Interview, January 29, 2011)

Such unchallenging curriculum prevented orphanage students from acquiring sufficient knowledge for pursuing higher education. Oksana stated: "No, I don't have knowledge for higher education" (Interview, January 26, 2011). Larisa noted that orphanage education demotivated her to demonstrate her academic ability: "I slacked off. I used to be a straight A student in another school. And here I got lower grades last year" (Interview, November 15, 2010). She explained:

> My motivation level has declined. At a mainstream school I would always be assigned homework. For example, I would have to read 100 pages for the next class. Here they barely assign reading to us. And when they do, I read it only when I go to a library to check out an abridged version of a novel. I used to come home and start doing homework right away [when in a mainstream school]. And now when I come home I lie on the bed and stare at the ceiling. There is not much else to do… (Interview, November 15, 2010)

Larisa's reflections about "an easy ride" in the orphanage resonated with her peers in Grade 10, particularly with athletes who had studied in mainstream schools before. One athlete admitted: "We don't have education here. No one will receive decent education here" (Focus group interviews, December 13, 2010 and January 29, 2011). In a focus group with four Grade 10 girls, one student reported: "The curriculum in mainstream schools is much more rigorous than it is here, that is why I am not prepared to pursue higher education" (Interview, January 29, 2011). In another focus group, a female student stated: "In mainstream schools, everything is much better than here. I think it depends on teachers. In a mainstream school, teachers set high expectations" (Interview, April, 1, 2011). Boys from Grade 10 reflected:

> AK: How does the orphanage education differ from the mainstream one?
> S1: It's a piece of cake in the internat!
> S2: Teacher expectations are lower here.
> S3: Teachers set lower expectations and give easier tasks here.
> S4: They pressure you more academically in a mainstream school. (Focus group, January 30, 2011)

The instruction offered by one English teacher exemplified the unchallenging education. Not only did Ms. Rita make students copy from the textbook, she left no opportunity for the students themselves to speak in English. So it was no surprise

that none of the students in Grades 10 and 11 could construct basic sentences without glaring mistakes. The following observation note captures this dynamic:

> The teacher instructs students to open their textbooks and read aloud each sentence while she translates it. In a moment, she starts reading and translating the rest of the text. She then tells students to read the text quietly three times because "You won't read it at home anyways." Male students are spacing out, staring vacantly at the wall. (Observation notes, November 11, 2010)

A teacher, Ms. Rita, consistently oversimplified English instruction and thereby perpetuated unequal learning opportunities for the orphanage youth who might otherwise have developed basic English skills to expand their career opportunities. Ms. Rita herself strongly believed in the competitive advantage English skills offered: "English skills are needed everywhere. For example, if foreign companies invest in Ukraine, they will seek employees fluent in English" (Personal communication, November 11, 2010). Yet she set low expectations for the orphanage students and argued that it was an arduous task to bring Grade 11 up to speed because the majority of students came from other schools where English was poorly taught: "Slavik told me when he was in the other rural orphanage, their principal was the English teacher. She would come to class to assign a translation task and would leave to run errands in the orphanage. So they did not learn anything there" (Personal communication, November 11, 2010). Given these perceived obstacles, the English teacher chose an easier route and played Russian action movies for her "academically weak" class. On November 18, 2010, Ms. Rita did not let me sit in her class because, she told me: "I am sick and I have nothing to show you." That day she played a movie for the students. On another occasion, she canceled class and played a Russian movie because she claimed the construction outside interfered with her instruction (Personal communication with Larisa, November 25, 2010). The next time I came to observe her class Ms. Rita opened the door, she said to me:

> Ms. Rita: Come next time.
> AK: Are you showing them a movie?
> Ms. Rita: Yes. I had some time left at the end of class and decided to play them a movie. (Observation notes, December 7, 2010).

Although Ms. Rita's classroom was next to the principal's office, the school authority did not prohibit or penalize this teacher's approach. Showing movies entertained students and did little to further their learning of the "nuisance" foreign language. Larisa said:

> Virtually everyone makes it to English because we get to watch movies after first 10 minutes of reading something. In a mainstream school students learn new vocabulary and then reinforce it the next class. Here the teacher would read out loud and that would be the end of the class. (Interview, November 15, 2010)

Enacting an unchallenging curriculum through copying of the text provided no space for developing student subject matter competencies and creative thinking required for

post-secondary pursuits. Teachers described lecturing and note taking as necessary preparation for post-secondary education where students would be required to take copious notes daily. By failing to enact a rigorous curriculum, orphanage teachers tacitly engaged in preparing students for a stratified society, where the intellectually inferior and economically disadvantaged pursued vocational tracks and remained at the bottom of society in a cycle of social reproduction. Such a distinct curriculum packaged for a disenfranchised group of students resonated with Anyon's (1980) findings in working-class schools in the United States where education dominated by rote learning devoid of individual inquiry and freedom to make decisions reproduced social class stratification.

My findings demonstrated that the majority of teachers in these orphanage schools taught the content of the curriculum with no enthusiasm and they failed to nurture caring relationships with students. Authentic caring, a concept coined by Noddings (1984, 1992), manifested in a reciprocal relationship between teachers and students, can be the basis for learning. When a caring relationship is missing, students inevitably develop the same uncaring attitude towards schooling: "A dearth of authentic relations with teachers subtracts, or minimizes, opportunities youth have to develop and enjoy a sense of competence and mastery of the curriculum" as Valenzuela noted in a study of Mexican-American youth (1999, p. 71). These ideas resonate with my findings where the majority of youth were disengaged from the learning process, which teachers interpreted as students' "perfunctory interest in education" (Interview, April 6, 2011). Students like Larisa, Oksana, and Petia recognized their teachers' uncaring attitudes stemmed from not being accountable to orphans' parents, and noted: "Teachers have their own children, why would they care for us?" (Interview, December 10, 2010).

In contrast however, there were some examples of creative and caring teachers who took a different approach. Ms. Olena overcame the lack of classroom resources–the primary obstacle cited by teachers who chose to lecture in class–by engaging her students in dialogue and drawing on their knowledge:

> The teacher started off her class asking students questions related to natural resources Ukraine imports from its neighbors, particularly Russia. Tonia is the only student who participates in class; Marusia is reading a novel, the rest are dozing off. To remind students of the neighboring countries and Ukraine's relationship with them, the teacher draws on student knowledge by making a connection between trucks passing through their small town and Moldova. Then she goes on to probe about natural gas resources, asking students how their school is being heated in the winter and where gas comes from. (Observation notes, February 23, 2011)

Ms. Valentyna was another exception in terms of her teaching methodology. Recognizing that the students were disinterested in her subject matter, because it was not required on final examinations or entrance tests, she alternated between lecturing and discussion. She drew on student knowledge of history and current events, for example, and asked students: "What is happening in France right now as a result

of the new retirement policy? And how does that affect the public?" (Observation notes, November 1, 2010). She posed questions for reflection, such as: "In your opinion, who is more conscious of telling what's right or wrong – a physically healthy person, an alcoholic, or a drug addict? Why do you think so?" (Observation notes, November 1, 2010). She assigned independent research homework: "The teacher asks students to research terrorist attack cases on the Internet as well as in the newspapers in the library. They are asked to analyze the case, specifically how people could be saved in a terrorist attack" (Observation notes, November 8, 2010). Although Ms. Valentyna repeatedly admitted that orphanage students were apathetic about her class, she tried to foster critical and analytical thinking skills in students, suggesting her commitment to and investment in orphanage children.

Grade Inflation through Soft Caring Some teachers who did not whole-heartedly subscribe to the genetic deficit ideology remained compassionate about the orphans' experiences and they demonstrated a form of caring pedagogy. While caring is a highly contested term containing varied meanings of care within different socio-economic, cultural, and gendered contexts (Bajaj, 2009; De Jesus & Gonzalez, 2006), the orphanage teachers in my study demonstrated it through what De Jesus & Gonzalez (2006) called soft caring, displayed through these teachers' pity for orphans' plight. As a result, the teachers lowered their expectations of orphans and inflated their grades.

Some teachers used grade inflation to boost the orphans' academic self-esteem and encourage stronger performance. Grade inflation was a standard practice in both orphanages. Teachers explained how they inflated orphans' grades out of pity for the struggling youth. While grade inflation served as a promotion mechanism, it, in fact, deluded students about their own academic abilities, discouraged them from working hard to succeed, and set them up for a potential failure at the university where the orphanage 10-12 points (or an "A") actually meant 6 points (or a "C") (Interviews with teachers and students, November 2010-August 2011). Mr. Vasyliy from the rural orphanage substantiated this: "When our orphanage alumni are admitted into post-secondary educational institutions, the grades they receive here do not reflect those in vocational schools. So we are inflating grades for them" (Interview, May 12, 2011).

Teachers frequently announced grades to the class and commented on the quality of those grades. One of the rural teachers, for example, gave a male student in Grade 10 four points on the twelve-point scale, when in fact it was a zero: "I am giving you 4 points; but in reality you have earned zero points" (Observation notes, April 18, 2011). Another teacher in the urban orphanage also admitted to students that she inflated their grades: "If you were in a mainstream school, you would receive 4 points instead of 6 you are getting here" (Observation notes, January 26, 2011). Larisa from the urban orphanage reported: "If you came to class, you get 4 points. If you took notes, you get 5. And if you did some assignments in class you get 6 or 7 points" (Interview, November 15, 2010).

Teachers felt pressured to inflate grades and promote students to the next grade in order to ensure their acceptance to a vocational school or university. Ms. Myroslava admitted: "When it comes down to Grade 11, they came from other orphanages... [meaning they were academically weak]. I gave them four points at the end of the year, but it's two or three in reality. I just didn't want to spoil their GPA. Those grades are inflated" (Interview, June 6, 2011). She felt guilty for holding the youth back and she inflated their grades so that they would be accepted to vocational schools. Such grade inflation practice did not improve the academic success of orphans accepted into universities. They reportedly struggled with university rigour where higher expectations for minimum performance intimidated them, defeated their academic self-esteem, and ultimately led to significant numbers of them dropping out of the university.

Cancelation of Classes. Cancelation of classes was a common practice in both school sites. Two examples illustrate this finding:

> On January 12, 2011, only Zhenia and Slavik showed up for Geometry class. The teacher canceled the class. Following Geometry, Chemistry was canceled, as well, because the teacher was on maternity leave, and no substitute was arranged in time. The following day, two classes were canceled again.
>
> On January 21, 2011, the CMT of Grade 11 starts off the class with taking care of class management issues. Four students are present, and four are missing. The teacher does not intend to teach a class. He takes off in a few moments and does not return. Students are left in the class chatting, discussing their disco club experience. (Observation notes, 2011)

I found that canceled classes happened in the urban orphanage on a weekly basis and less frequently in the rural orphanage. Canceled classes were a particularly clear pattern for those classes the principal or vice-principal taught. Their administrative duties overshadowed their teaching responsibilities. For example, Ms. Nina, the rural orphanage administrator and teacher, curtailed her instruction on several occasions. When she had to leave class she assigned students independent work, which meant that top performing students were doing the work while the rest were playing with their cell phones, chatting, or left the classroom (Observation notes, March 31, 2011). During the last two weeks in the spring semester of 2011, Grade 11 had barely any classes and my intentions of observing classes were frequently thwarted as a result (Observation notes, May 12, 2011; May 17, 2011).

Mr. Borys, who held administrative and teacher positions in the urban orphanage, tended to cancel his classes frequently. On one occasion, on November 25, 2010 a secretary came to class to announce their class was canceled and assigned students to read a chapter in the textbook. No one read anything. Some students went to the computer room to surf the Internet. I followed Larisa and Slavik who went to the psychologist's office to watch a movie (Observation notes, November 25, 2010). I also found that the Grade 11 classroom-management teacher canceled his classes

frequently, to attend to classroom management issues. Once, he canceled his classes to make students clean the orphanage campus if they had failed to do so during out-of-the-classroom time (Observation notes, November 17, 2010; January 18, 2011; January 21, 2011).

English and German classes were canceled regularly if teachers called in sick or had to take care of their own or school related issues. Several times when I attempted to observe the German class in the urban orphanage, the teacher had to cancel the class to attend to his Grade 3 students' personal issues, which compromised his teaching in senior grades (Observation notes, February 14, 2011). Similarly, English classes in Grade 10 were canceled for three weeks: the teacher was in the middle of her final examinations at university. Her student reported: "We have not had English for three weeks. When the teacher is away, we are either sent to the computer class or we have to stay in our classroom, where we chat or wander around school" (Interview, January 24, 2011). When the English class was canceled in the rural orphanage, students were required to stay in the classroom under teacher surveillance:

> AK: So, what did you do during English class?
>
> Student: English was canceled because the teacher was sick. We didn't do anything, just horsed around or read a crossword puzzle. Another teacher was sitting in the classroom watching us, making sure we didn't run around. (Interview with a student, March 28, 2011)

While students in the rural orphanage were kept in the classroom during the canceled classes, students in the urban orphanage were kept entertained with movies or surfing the Internet. Since orphanage personnel were responsible for orphans' safety and wellbeing, movies were an efficient method of preventing them from wandering around the orphanage campus or escaping to the city.

Teachers did not find it problematic that such frequent canceling of classes led students to fall behind the curriculum with no additional catch-up classes offered to prepare them for final exams and entrance tests. Larisa expressed her discontent about gaining no knowledge in Algebra in Grade 10 because it was canceled most of the time: "When I think of Grade 10, we had fun, but we barely studied. When I think of Algebra, we had about 10 classes a year at the most!" (Interview, November 15, 2010). While canceling classes was deemed a valid excuse for the principal and vice-principal when they were tending to other duties, some teachers found low student attendance a legitimate reason for canceling classes. For example, on a day when she played a movie for Grade 11 instead of holding class, Ms. Tetiana suggested:

> Since there are only three students in class, it is not worth observing my class because there is not much work to do with three students. According to the curriculum, we were supposed to do a textual interpretation, but there is no point in doing that only with three students (Observation notes, January 10, 2011).

Similarly, on December 14, 2010, Ms. Oksana discouraged me from coming to observe her class due to low attendance, asserting: "There is nothing to observe

in Grade 11. You should go see another class. They are few today, and Grade 11 is a complete zero!" (Observation notes, December 14, 2010). Ms. Oksana was exasperated with "academically-weak" students in Grade 11 and had resisted my observations. While the teachers complained about the teaching classes with few students, even though small class size could improve education quality particularly for disadvantaged children (Hanushek, 1999), my findings suggest that these educators often avoided their professional responsibilities, thus contributing to educational inequalities their students experienced.

CONCLUSIONS

My findings suggest that the majority of urban and rural orphanage educators in the study sites delivered substandard education enacted through an unchallenging curriculum and lecture-based, top-down instruction, lack of homework enforcement, grade inflation, and frequent cancellation of classes. Copying sentences from textbooks and watching movies instead of intellectual inquiry engagement failed to nurture orphans' desire for learning and robbed them of the purported learning goals of acquiring knowledge and critical thinking and problem solving skills. Watered-down curriculum found in Ukrainian orphanages signifies what Lynch (1989) called "particularism" of the hidden curriculum. One might argue that the distinct ways in which these teachers transmitted knowledge to the orphanage youth based on their socio-economic background, and attitudes toward their teaching responsibilities, reflect how these schools engaged in reproducing social inequalities and disadvantaged education for these marginalized students.

Most teachers rationalized their "adapted" curriculum on the basis of the orphans' intellectual inferiority shaped by their genetics, never examining the impact of their individual and collective pedagogy. Holding low expectations, pitying orphans, and teaching less rather than more, the orphanage teachers contributed to what Delpit (1995) called children's intellectual atrophy. These practices deprived the orphans of their right to quality education in these orphanages and beyond, and they possibly also failed to prepare them for future educational pursuits and the realities of adult life. Such educational inequalities particularly disadvantaged those orphans who strove to be admitted to universities, but having low self-esteem about their academic potential they were inadequately prepared for academic rigor.

The case of orphanage education in Ukraine lends itself to the debate on qualities of education in a globalized world, where governments and international organizations committed to the Education for All agenda grapple with measuring and achieving quality of education. Quality is an elusive term and it cannot be reduced to student achievement typically measured only by tests. Teaching is a critical component of quality. Reimers (2006) contended that teachers' instruction and pedagogy determine the quality of education in a classroom. He argued that education quality rests in the formal curriculum through which teachers foster student competencies and capabilities that enable students to fulfill their potential

and expand their opportunities in life. I argue that in addition to including formal curriculum in the definition of education quality, the hidden curriculum, with its tacit intentions and explicitly articulated teacher expectations of and beliefs about students, provides a more nuanced understanding of the term "quality." In light of my research findings, quality of education encompasses explicit and implicit curricula (which kind of curricula and how they are enacted in and outside of the classroom); instruction (rote-learning or inquiry-based); teacher pedagogy (authoritarian versus child-centered styles); and student assessment (fair assessment or grade inflation/deflation in addition to homework enforcement), among other factors, such as class size, learning resources, and overall learning environment in a given school. It is important for researchers and policy-makers engaged in measuring quality of education to consider a holistic view of educational methods and processes embedded in a classroom and school, and contextualized in a larger socio-economic and political landscape of a country. The overriding importance of contextual factors in the Ukrainian orphanages case illustrates this well.

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11. THE GLOBAL SPREAD OF SHADOW EDUCATION

Supporting or Undermining Qualities of Education?

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the shadow education system of private supplementary tutoring, addressing the nature and implications of extra lessons in academic subjects for pupils attending primary and secondary schools. We are here only concerned with extra lessons that are provided in exchange for a fee, in contrast to lessons provided free of charge by family members, community bodies and schools as part of their regular duties. Private supplementary tutoring has become widely known as shadow education because its content mimics that of the schools: as the curriculum changes in the schools, so it changes in the shadow. Also, as the school sector expands, so does the shadow sector (Bray, 1999, 2009; Lee et al., 2009; Stevenson & Baker, 1992).

In earlier decades, shadow education was primarily associated with parts of East Asia (see e.g. Lee, 1996; Rohlen, 1980; Zeng, 1999) and perhaps South Asia (see e.g. de Silva, 1994; Hemachandra, 1982). During the present century, the phenomenon has spread globally (Bray, 2009, 2011; Lee et al., 2009; Mori & Baker, 2010). In this chapter we note some reasons for the spread in connection with relationships between shadow education and the qualities of regular schooling, and also variations in the qualities of shadow education in a range of locations.

We begin by outlining the scale and nature of shadow education in selected countries. Then we consider some of the driving forces for demand. In general, families invest in supplementary tutoring because they do not consider regular schooling adequate to meet their needs and aspirations. The question then is whether the schooling is of poor quality, or whether schooling could be described as strong but insufficient to meet all aspirations of families in the competitive environments in which they find themselves. Also relevant to this discussion, as in other chapters of this book, is what may be meant by quality (Acedo et al., 2012; Beeby, 1966; UNESCO, 2005). The most common conception of quality concerns academic achievement as measured by examinations and other tests. More broadly, UNESCO's Delors Report (1996) presented four 'pillars' for education: learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together, and learning to be. Most shadow education is about the first of these, i.e. learning to know. This observation has implications for the balances in educational provision which are maintained or shifted by shadow education.

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THE SCALE AND NATURE OF SHADOW EDUCATION

Table 1 presents data on the scale of shadow education in selected countries. The statistics are not necessarily comparable in definition or methodological rigor, but do provide an overall picture. The data show substantial enrolment rates in shadow education across all continents and in many cultures. They also show high rates both in high-income countries such as Austria and Japan and in low-income countries such as Bangladesh and Ghana.

Table 1. The Scale of Shadow Education in Selected Countries

Country	*Patterns*
Austria	A 2010 telephone survey of 2,760 households with 4,406 children found that 20% of parents paid for tutoring (AK-Wien [Abteilung Bildungspolitik], 2010, p. 6).
Bangladesh	Nath (2011) analyzed data from household surveys. He found that in 2008, 38% of primary students and 68% of secondary students were receiving tutoring. At Grade 10, over 80% received tutoring.
Brazil	Mattos (2007) noted the widespread nature of tutoring in Rio de Janeiro, and Gomes et al. (2010) provided further data on the Federal District.
Canada	Davies and Guppy (2010, pp. 111-112) reported that the number of tutoring businesses in major cities had increased between 200% and 500% during the previous three decades. A 2007 survey indicated that one third of parents had at some time hired tutors for their children.
China	A 2010 survey in Jinan found that 18.2% of 1,101 Grade 12 students were receiving tutoring in English. A parallel sample of 1,397 students indicated that 23.1% received tutoring in mathematics (Zhang, 2013, p. 8).
Egypt	An official study noted by Sobhy (2012, p. 49) indicated that 81% of households had children who received private tutoring at the secondary stage, and that the proportion was 50% at the primary stage.
England	A 2008 random telephone survey of 1,500 parents found that 12% of primary school pupils and 8% of secondary school pupils were receiving private tutoring (Peters et al., 2009, p. 2).
Georgia	A 2011 survey of 1,200 secondary school students and graduates showed that a quarter of secondary school students had received tutoring, with variations of 35% in the capital city and 19% in villages (EPPM, 2011).
Ghana	A 2008 survey of 1,020 households found that 48% were paying additional fees for private tutoring in primary education (Antonowicz et al., 2010, p. 21).
Hong Kong	A 2011/12 survey of 1,624 students found that 54% in Grade 9 and 72% in Grade 12 were receiving supplementary tutoring (Bray, 2013, p. 20).
India	Sen (2010, p. 315) stated that at the primary level in West Bengal, 57% of students were receiving private tutoring. Data from a nationwide rural survey showed rates in Grades 4-8 ranging from 3% in Chhattisgarh to 77% in Tripura (Pratham, 2011, p. 58).

Table 1. Continued

Country	*Patterns*
Japan	A 2007 survey found that juku served 16% of Grade 1 children, that this proportion rose steadily in later grades, and that it reached 65% in Grade 9. In addition, 7% of Grade 9 pupils received tutoring at home, and 15% followed correspondence courses (Japan, 2008, p. 13).
Poland	Data in 2006 from a national sample of students aged 15 indicated that 19% were receiving individual or small group tutoring, 25% were receiving supplementary courses in mathematics, and 20% were receiving supplementary courses in humanities (Safarzyńska, 2013, p. 144)
Republic of Korea	In 2008, 88% of elementary school pupils were estimated to be receiving tutoring. In middle school the proportion was 73%; and in general high school it was 61% (Kim, 2010, p. 302).
Sri Lanka	A survey reported by Suraweera (2011, p. 20) indicated that 92% of Grade 10 students and 98% Grade 12 students were receiving tutoring.

To some extent, it may be argued, the similarities of patterns across societies reflect the global spread of school systems which have a common shape and a common shadow (Mori & Baker, 2010). However, significant variations also exist. In Europe, for example, four groups may be identified (Bray, 2011, pp. 24-25):

– *Southern Europe* has particularly high rates of tutoring. In Greece, Cyprus and Malta, supplementary tutoring has been accepted for several decades as a normal fact of family life, especially for students at the secondary level.
– *Eastern Europe* had limited private tutoring prior to the political and economic transitions of the late 1980s and early 1990s, but since those transition years shadow education has greatly expanded. When the purchasing power of teachers' salaries collapsed as part of the economic restructuring, many teachers turned to tutoring as a way to secure supplementary incomes. The practice of students receiving tutoring, and of teachers providing it, has remained widespread even in countries where teachers' salaries subsequently improved.
– *Western Europe* has also had long traditions of private tutoring on a small scale. Since the turn of the century the scale of tutoring has greatly increased. It reflects the increasing competitiveness of societies in the context of greater mobility of labor and skills, and is part of the marketization of education which has become more socially acceptable.
– *Northern Europe* is least affected by the rise of private tutoring. Scandinavia seems to maintain stronger traditions of schools adequately meeting their students' needs. Certainly students in Scandinavia receive extra lessons, both to help slow learners keep up with their peers and to stretch the learning of high achievers; but much of this work is provided within the framework of public schooling rather than through a parallel system.

More widely, the dominant nature of tutoring in Bangladesh, for example, differs significantly from that in Japan. As in Eastern Europe, teachers provide much tutoring in Bangladesh–in some cases to their own students–although other tutoring is provided by commercial enterprises (Hamid et al., 2009; Sommers, 2012). In Japan few teachers provide private supplementary tutoring, and even fewer provide it to their own students since this is strictly prohibited. Thus, the bulk of shadow education in Japan is through commercial enterprises of some sort (Dierkes, 2011; OECD, 2011). In these countries and elsewhere, much tutoring is also provided by university students and perhaps even secondary students on an informal basis to earn extra pocket money.

These remarks on variations are also pertinent to the format of tutoring. While some tutoring is provided one-to-one or in small groups, other tutoring is provided in full classrooms and even in large lecture theatres. Increasingly, tutoring is also provided through the internet, some of it across national boundaries (Ventura & Jang, 2010). The format obviously shapes the nature of interaction, and thus has implications for quality and qualities.

DRIVERS OF DEMAND

As remarked above, families which invest in supplementary tutoring are in effect demonstrating that they do not consider the regular system to be adequate to meet their needs. From this observation flows the question whether this is because the schools are considered to be deficient, or whether the families accept that the schools are good but desire extra service. Different emphases may be found in different settings.

Beginning with the overall nature of schooling, the volume of shadow education is not always correlated with absolute levels of quality. Table 1 showed that shadow education is extensive in Hong Kong, Japan and the Republic of Korea, which have strong education systems with competent and dedicated teachers. At the other end of the scale (but not shown in Table 1), shadow education is modest in some countries with weak education systems such as Solomon Islands and Niger.

The post-Soviet countries fall between these two extremes in the quality of their education systems. In these countries, the expansion of private tutoring can be clearly linked to perceived decline in the quality of mainstream schooling. After the collapse of Soviet Union, these newly independent countries experienced abrupt devaluation of teachers' salaries and deterioration in schooling infrastructures. In all nine countries surveyed in a project organized by the Open Society Institute (i.e. Azerbaijan, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Lithuania, Mongolia, Poland, Slovakia, and Ukraine), students and their families viewed private tutoring as having a compensatory function for the poor quality of schooling (Silova & Bray, 2006, pp. 87-88). Among questionnaire respondents, 85% agreed or strongly agreed that "the quality of mainstream education system should be such that no one would need private tutoring" (p. 87), but 48% of school students in Georgia, for example, reported that one major reason for taking private tutoring was the low quality of

schooling (Matiashvili & Kutateladze, 2006, p. 202). Subsequent reforms in Georgia sought to raise this quality, but still in 2011 over 90% of respondents in a new survey felt that it was "necessary to take tutoring" (EPPM, 2011, p. 13).

Qualitative challenges have also arisen in some countries as a result of expansion of schooling since the early 1990s in order to achieve the international Education for All (EFA) enrollment objectives and the Millennium Development Goals (UNESCO, 2012; WCEFA, 1990; WEF, 2000). In some locations the EFA targets have required double and even triple shifts, in which two or three cohorts of pupils use school buildings during the same day and in which instructional time for individual shifts has been correspondingly truncated. The quantitative expansion has also greatly strained national teaching forces. In response to perceived and actual declines in quality, some families have chosen to enroll their children in private rather than public schools (see e.g. Oketch et al., 2010 on the case in Nairobi, Kenya), while others have remained in the public sector but have supplemented the government's provision with extra tutoring. In Cambodia, for example, teachers assert that they cannot cover the full curriculum during the double-shift school day that lasts only four hours (Brehm et al., 2012, p. 12; Dawson, 2010, p. 20). In neighboring Vietnam, a similar situation has been given implicit recognition by government regulations that have prohibited teachers from providing private tutoring to children in full-day schools but have permitted it for children in double-shift schools (Ko & Xing, 2009, p. 23). Similar challenges are evident in parts of Africa. Malawi, for example, has achieved huge expansion in primary schooling but has suffered qualitative shortcomings that are associated with an expansion of supplementary tutoring (Makuwa, 2010, p. 3; Paviot, 2010, p. 9). In West Africa, related observations have been made in Benin (Napporn & Baba-Moussa, 2013, p. 3).

These phenomena at the system level have corollaries at the school level. Parents may compare the quality of education offered by specific schools, and if they cannot transfer their children to the high-quality institutions may choose to supplement their children's education through tutoring. However, it does not always follow that children in low-quality public schools receive more tutoring than children in high-quality public schools. Indeed the opposite is more commonly the case, since the high-quality public schools have greater proportions of well-resourced families who are ambitious and supportive of their children's education.

Parents who send their children to private schools and at the same time demand private tutoring are paying twice for their children's education. One survey in West Bengal, India (Pratichi Trust, 2009, p. 6), indicated that 62% of students in private schools received private supplementary tutoring. Related data from rural Pakistan indicated that 25% of sampled students in private schools received private tutoring compared with 6% of students in government schools (South Asian Forum for Education Development, 2013, p. 71; see also Aslam & Atherton, 2012, p. 13). In the very different context of New York City, USA, over half of the parents with children in elite private schools have been reported to employ private tutors (Anderson,

2011). Thus, it seems that these parents who send their children to private schools in the hope of getting better education still do not fully trust the schools.

These observations about demand for tutoring reflect wider forces of social competition. The main reason why Japan, Hong Kong and the Republic of Korea have extensive shadow education despite their strong school systems is that families perceive education to be a route to social and economic advancement, and are anxious to keep ahead of competitors. Education in this sense is a positional good, conferring status relative to other people (Bray & Lykins, 2012, p. 68; Hollis, 1982). The forces of globalisation have increased the sense that families are no longer competing just with their neighbours in the same city and country but also with people from much further afield (Brown, 2000). In some cases globalisation brings migration and immediate visibility of competitors, but in other cases the competitors operate from their home bases through outsourcing of various kinds.

QUALITIES OF SUPPLY

While families may invest in tutoring in order to compensate for perceived shortcomings in education systems, they do not always do so with clear understanding of the qualities of the tutoring in which they are investing. In general, the tutoring industry is minimally regulated, and consumers are poorly equipped to evaluate the nature of the service (see e.g. Davis 2013). Parents commonly assess the quality of tutoring by outcomes, such as students' academic progress, and are less likely to assess the qualities of tutoring before they pay for the service. In Malaysia, Kenayathulla et al. (2013) remarked that many families believe in the efficacy of tutoring despite lack of evidence of its effectiveness. This remark could be echoed in many other settings.

Ironically, however, some families are not greatly concerned even about the visibly shaky qualities of tutoring. Thus, many families employ university and even secondary students to provide tutoring on an informal or semi-formal basis even though very few of these students have pedagogical training. The families commonly employ the students on the grounds that the young people have recently themselves successfully navigated the requirements of whatever level of education is needed by the tutees; and indeed some families consider the youth of university and secondary students to be an asset because it reduces the generational distance between tutors and tutees. Moreover, university students usually cost less than other tutors. In Belarus, for example, the hourly cost of tutoring as reported by Kiewlak-Dąbrowska (2012, p. 44) ranged from about five Euros for a student to about 20 Euros for a university professor. In addition, student-tutors in Belarus are more willing to visit tutees in their own homes, while regular teachers and professors usually require the tutees to travel to an external location (p. 48).

The companies that provide tutoring may also rely on amateurs rather than professionals. In Belgium, for example, one company proudly declared on its website (Educadomo, 2010) that its "instructional coaches" (tutors) were "all students at the

university or in other higher educational establishments" who were specializing in academic fields ranging from translation to physiotherapy. The website announced that they were selected "for their extreme human and instructional competence, as well as their skills in managing time and planning studies". However, it appears that few had professional training. "Enthusiasm to pass along knowledge to younger students" seemed to be considered a more important attribute. In neighboring France, agencies advertise their tutors as highly qualified and experienced, but in fact they are usually university students in their fourth, third and even second year (Oller & Glasman, 2013, p. 79). In Hong Kong, many of the tutoring 'kings and queens' who attract large numbers of young people do so more through their carefully-cultivated images resembling rock stars than through their pedagogical qualifications (Kwo & Bray, 2011; Sharma, 2012).

With limited regulations on tutoring practices and qualifications, the sector is very open. Holland-Johnson (2010, p. 6), writing in the US context, stated that "any person can tutor as long as she or he has both knowledge and skills to be successful"; and this remark could be echoed in almost every other country. In a UK publication entitled *How to Start a Business as a Private Tutor*, Woodward (2010, p. 13) argued that it might even be beneficial not to be a qualified teacher. He declared that "a reasonably well-educated adult is perfectly able to pass information to a child, probably better than a teacher is", and invited readers to "remember … that the last thing a child wants to see knocking at their door at night [for individual tutoring at home] is a teacher" (p. 14). For such market-oriented books, the concepts of tutoring and teaching simply imply transferring knowledge and skills from someone who knows more to someone who knows less.

Nevertheless, some tutoring companies do distinguish themselves from others by an emphasis on qualifications, and most school teachers who provide tutoring have received training of some sort–albeit more probably for full classes in regular schools than for one-to-one or small-group tutoring. Y*et al*ongside a critique of the fact that many tutors do not have pedagogic training must be the question how far pedagogic training is a guarantee of quality. Such assumptions have been challenged from time to time in the school sector (see e.g. Davies & Guppy, 2010, p. 216) and the challenges arguably have equal pertinence in the tutoring industry. Thus, although some readers might wince at the deprofessionalizing approach adopted by Holland-Johnson and Woodward as cited above, questions about training remain debatable.

Turning to a different dimension, alongside face-to-face tutoring is an increasing volume of online tutoring. Consideration of this format raises further questions about quality and qualities in the context of globalisation. Online tutoring has advantages in flexibility, and saves the time and cost of travel for both tutors and clients. It may also reduce the challenges of geographic location, since consumers with good internet connections can receive tutoring wherever they are. Such tutoring, moreover, can easily be provided across national boundaries. This permits companies in India, for example, to serve clients in the USA at much lower prices than tutors based

in USA would charge (Ventura & Jang, 2010). Moreover, internet tutors who use web cameras and instant messaging still provide direct human contact across time zones. TutorVista exemplifies the processes of globalisation not only in its mode of operation but also in its corporate structure. The company was founded in 2005 as an Indian venture, but in 2011 it was integrated into the Pearson global empire when that company purchased a 76% controlling stake (Sweney, 2011; TutorVista, 2013).

Of course the world still has a digital divide in Internet access. According to the International Telecommunication Union (2013), in developed countries 60% of the population were Internet users in 2011 compared with only 24% in developing countries. Nevertheless, Internet access is growing exponentially, and the volume of tutoring through electronic means is likely to grow with it. The online tutoring will be fuelled not only by ease of access and by price, but also by favored styles of learning. Wagner et al. (2012, p. 38) noted that many contemporary students prefer social interaction on the Internet or mobile phones over passive listening to an instructor or reading textbooks. This is especially evident in technologically advanced societies. As expressed by one Hong Kong student interviewed by the authors in 2012:

> I think the advantage of the tutorial centers [compared with schools] is that they can meet the youths' need and stay with fashion. The tutors could be contacted through online forum and Facebook. They know that contemporary youth like using the online communication. The tutors teach us on the forum and add us in the Facebook as our friends, and sometimes there are also activities to promote relationships.

This student had a different conception of quality and qualities from that held by the schools and the government; but as a consumer, the student's conception was of considerable pertinence in the marketplace.

CONFLICTS AND DISSONANCES

The above discussion shows a divergence of pedagogic approaches between schools and tutors. Perhaps even more worrying is the possibility of negative backwash from tutoring on regular schooling. This may develop in several ways, some of which arise from the tutoring companies but others of which arise from the schools.

Beginning with the latter, one domain of backwash occurs when teachers are also supplementary tutors, and this is especially problematic when the teachers provide private tutoring to the students for whom they are already responsible in regular classes. The teachers may argue that they are the most appropriate people for such work because they already know the pupils well, and know what those pupils have and have not studied in their regular lessons. However, the possibility of corruption arises in which teachers deliberately withhold curriculum content from their regular classes in order to promote demand for the private lessons. This tendency has been noted in settings as diverse as Azerbaijan (Silova & Kazimzade, 2006), Cambodia (Brehm et al., 2012; Dawson, 2009), Egypt (Sobhy, 2012) and Kenya (Odhiambo,

2009). With reference to Mauritius, a sector study (Bah-lalya, 2006, p. 75) observed that:

> the more successful teachers have also marketed their knowledge and produced textbooks that pupils are encouraged to buy as part of private tutoring. It is reported that teachers can more than double their salaries with private tutoring and the royalties earned from their books. One consequence is that the Ministry and the head teachers have little or no access to teachers after school hours for in-service, parent meetings or other related activities outside school.

In other countries, teachers are forbidden to provide private tutoring to their own students; but teachers who are also tutors of other students may still choose to put more effort into their private classes than into the regular ones from which they derive a standard income that is likely to be ongoing regardless of the quality of teaching (Brehm et al., 2012; Popa & Acedo, 2006; Silova & Bray, 2006). In a middle ground, the Malaysian government allows teachers to tutor their own students after school hours, but limits such tutoring to four hours per week (Kenayathulla, 2012). Although this policy contains some restrictions, it seems be driven more by desire to prevent teachers over-working than by the possible backwash effects on student-teacher relationships in schools.

Other forms of backwash may arise from the capacities and attitudes of the students. The Republic of Korea is known for its 'education fever' (Seth, 2002) which causes many students to attend tutorial centers late at night. The authorities are concerned that the regime of academic schooling plus academic tutoring leads to neglect of other dimensions of personal development; and school teachers are concerned that many pupils are so tired from late-evening tutoring that they sleep during the day-time classes (Kim, 2007). Moreover, excessive tutoring may also have negative effects not only on students' personal development but also on their overall academic performance. In Singapore, Cheo and Quah (2005) concluded that the returns from tutoring diminished with scale, and contributed to declining overall academic school performance.

A further dimension concerns students' attitudes towards their tutors compared with their teachers. Students who pay for private lessons may respect their tutors more than their teachers who seem to come free of charge and who are imposed on them. For example, many Hong Kong students who were interviewed by the authors in 2012 demonstrated more appreciation of their tutors than their teachers. Critical comments about teachers and positive comments about tutors included:

– "School teachers speak too fast and not so deeply and not so detailed."
– "I think school is too boring, and there are too many students. In tutorial centre, my tutors help me individually."
– "Maybe sometimes school teachers teach too fast to cope with the syllabus. However, the tutors teach us patiently if you have anything [you] do not understand".

– "My tutor can answer my questions promptly and clearly…. Some teachers just stand in front of us and say what they have to say."

These comments indicate not only the students' attitudes but also their perceptions of quality in both schools and tutoring centres.

In some societies, disdain for schooling even leads students to skip regular classes on the grounds that they can learn more from their tutors. With reference to Azerbaijan, Silova and Kazimzade (2006, p. 128) reported that, especially in the last secondary grade, many classrooms were empty because students preferred to go to tutoring than to school. Likewise in Turkey, student absenteeism in the upper grades prior to the major examinations reaches 50% (Altinyelken, 2013, p. 199). To legitimize students' absence from school, Turkish parents commonly provide false medical certificates. In India, absenteeism is evident even in primary schools (Bhattacharjea et al., 2011, p. 71). Tutors are viewed as delivering more relevant and more individualized knowledge.

On a different tack, Chou and Ching (2012, p. 168) lamented the impact of Taiwan's 'cram' schools, indicating that students "tend to lose their ability to explore knowledge due to exam-driven education". This remark highlights the impact of the tutoring content on young people. The corollary in Mauritius has been a recommendation to reform the Certificate of Primary Education examination in order to reduce "the stranglehold of private tutoring" (Bah-lalya, 2006, p. 78). One negative dimension of tutoring in Mauritius, highlighted in parliamentary debate (Mauritius, 2011, p. 3), was that primary school children commonly spend nine hours a day in schooling plus tutoring, which is even longer than the standard seven hours per day for working adults. Similarly, in Turkey Altinyelken (2013, p. 200) described childhood as "compromised" by the stress of attending both regular schools and private tutoring centres.

CONCLUSIONS

Shadow education has a complex relationship with regular schooling. Many qualities can be found in regular schooling, and likewise many qualities can be found in the shadow. The questions then are under what circumstances shadow education compensates for low quality regular schooling, and under what circumstances it makes the problems worse.

The tutoring industry has much more flexibility than regular schooling to address the needs and desires of individual students. It can use marketing strategies to attract clients through various customizations (see e.g. TutorVista, 2013) and improved Internet connectivity throughout the world supports more forms of e-tutoring. Yet few quality-related questions are currently asked about either traditional forms of tutoring or online forms. This situation permits not only considerable variability within the tutoring industry, but also considerable variability in the extent to which supplementary tutoring supports and/or undermines mainstream schooling.

Over the last few decades the school sector has become increasingly regulated by governments, in part with the objective of quality assurance. It seems likely that during the coming decades the tutoring industry will become similarly regulated. Yet within this trend lies an irony. In part, the current features of the tutoring industry are a response to the rigidities that have accompanied the regulation of schooling. Similar regulation of tutoring could squash some dimensions which are attractive to both the clients and the providers.

Nevertheless, many tutoring providers realize that provision of quality educational experiences is in their own long-term interests. As clients gain more choice among tutoring providers, the clients demand more evidence of performance and/or standardized measurements of quality. Families who feel pressured to pay existing teachers for supplementary tutoring are in a rather different environment from families faced by an array of external tutoring providers. Yet even the former situations may open up as schools and teachers face expanded competition not only from commercial activities in their own neighborhoods but also from online services. Of course competition among providers does not always raise the quality of service, in part because educational processes are very difficult to evaluate. Both teachers and tutors commonly find ways to blame the students rather than themselves when the students' performance does not match up to expectations. Nevertheless, increased transparency and improved instruments for evaluation are likely to have an impact in tutoring as much as in other domains.

Emphasizing the theme of this chapter and of the book, again links may be made to the processes of globalisation. Schooling itself is a globalised institution, in which colonisation and associated processes have disseminated standardised models of grades, classrooms, examinations, daily timetables and differentiation between term-times and vacations. The tendency to operate common models across countries and cultures has been reinforced by such enterprises as the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) (OECD, 2013) which has led to ranking of education systems according to the achievements of students tested on standardized instruments (see chapters by Shamatov and Galczynski, this volume). These forces have contributed to shadow education in two ways. First, the global model of schooling has had a global shadow, in which parents have sought ways to supplement school learning in order to raise their children's achievements in school tests; and second, the rankings have fuelled competition and general anxiety which in turn has led schools and families to seek ways to enhance student achievement including through supplementary tutoring.

Within this broad picture is of course much diversity. Even in specific cities, different families and socio-economic groups access different types of supplementary tutoring–or do not do so–because either they cannot afford it or they do not believe in its desirability. The provision within these cities ranges from amateur tutoring by young students to more professional tutoring by older adults. It also ranges from individualized one-to-one support to mass tutoring in lecture theatres. Yet this diversity of models itself has echoes in practically every city in the

world, regardless of culture and economic status. Equally, in almost every country the rural areas are less adequately served by the shadow education industry than are the urban areas.

The global tendency to measure the quality of education through examination scores, PISA rankings and other assessment tools has implications for conceptions of learning and for the roles of the tutoring industry. Much of the international literature on education and development stresses academic achievement (e.g. Wagner et al., 2012, p. 22; World Bank, 2011, p. 14). Thus Delors' (1996) first pillar of education, 'learning to know', maintains its central place in mainstream education since knowledge is easier to measure than the other three pillars: learning to do, learning to live together, and learning to be (see also, the chapter by Gento & González, this volume). Shadow education follows the same path and reinforces the tendency.

Within this framework, private tutoring maintains its two main functions of compensation for poor quality schooling and enrichment for better educational outcomes in an increasingly competitive world. Increasingly, a third function is emerging in which private tutoring becomes a substitute for regular schooling emerging in which private tutoring becomes a substitute for regular schooling rather than a shadow. In Azerbaijan, Turkey and a few other countries, private tutoring is unofficially displacing schooling when students in their last grade prefer to go to tutoring than to school lessons. The same tendency is evident at lower levels in India when students in primary schools absent themselves at least mentally and possibly physically because they feel assured of support from their tutors. In other countries, such as Thailand and the Republic of Korea, entrepreneurs in the tutoring industry wish to provide an officially recognized alternative track. If this is permitted, the industry will move further out of the shadows into a new type of relationship not only with the regular school system but also with the wider society.

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