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### The contested and complex nature of the use of assessment data in decision-making processes: questioning the assumptions of policy



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# Assumptions about the use of assessment data in traditional approaches to policy



# Questioning assumptions from a complex and interdisciplinary perspective



Bowe, Ball, & Gold (1992)

### An interdisciplinary research programme (2015-2020)

#### THE PROGRAMME

To develop a systemic, historical and interdisciplinary model of analysis of education policy, in line with the concept of new governance, in order to address education policy from its complexity as a process.

#### THE PROJECT

To understand the process of construction of education policy in Chile, taking SIMCE as a case, from an interdisciplinary perspective.

#### QUESTIONS

- What are the main actors and their interactions in the definition of policy in SIMCE and the discourses they sustain in connection to the test?
- Who speaks and who is spoken for or (re)presented in policy texts in SIMCE?
- What processes of interpretation, translation and resistance occur in school communities when enacting the SIMCE policy?
- How is the policy around SIMCE constructed and produced, considering the network of actors involved in the whole process, their interactions and the discourses that circulate between them?

#### MULTIDISCIPLINARY TRAM

Extensive team meetings to integrate findings. FINNOGRAPHY

SOCIOLOGY

PEDAGOGY

EDITORIALS AND NEWS

COMMUNICATION

AND MEDIA

STUDIES

LINGUISTIC

BACKGROUND

#### POLICY TEXTS

- El Mercurio and La Tercera.
- Timeframe: 2000 2014.
- Total sample: 200 texts.
- Framing analysis and CDA.

- Experts, legal and policy-user documents.
- Timeframe: 1988 2014.
- Initial scanning of a sample of 272 texts.
  - Sub-sample of 7 texts for detailed CDA.
  - Semi-stuctured interviews with key policy actors.

#### **ETHNOGRAPHIC** WORK

- Three vulnerable schools, different performance levels.
  - Observation registers, interviews and more informal observations, with emphasis on the process around taking SIMCE in October 2015.

# The case: The system for measurement of quality in education (SIMCE)

**Context:** transformation of education into a market-based system (neo-liberal ideology during the dictatorship of Pinochet)



Created in 1988

Legally instituted in 1990 by the Organic Law for Education (*Leyes de Amarre*)

#### **INITIAL AIMS**

- Informing the school market with an indicator of quality that facilitated parental choice and competition for student enrollment between schools.
- Informing policy through its results.



Growing body of evidence about negative consequences

Accumulation of purposes, increasing frequency, more areas being assessed, increasing incentives/consequences through result-related policies.

1992: administered by the Ministry of Education

2012: administered by the Agency for Quality

## **SOME FINDINGS**

## Assumptions about the use of assessment data in policy texts

#### 1988

External standardised assessment systems have a crucial role in the improvement of quality in education, they are necessary and their impact must be constantly improved.

These systems provide information that:

- enables actors who are responsible for results to improve teaching and education quality.
- helps parents to make informed decisions about the school they chose for their children.

In order to generate responsibility in connection to results, the right incentives and consequences must be promoted (competition between schools through a voucher system and funding-related decisions).

> These systems are scientifically valid and reliable, they have high credibility and a long-standing trajectory, which legitimates their use. Comparability in time is crucial and technical quality must be constantly improved.

They focus the efforts of actors on learning as established by the curriculum.





2014



#### MAIN THESES ABOUT SIMCE IN POLICY TEXTS IN TIME

1988	1992	1999	2000	2003	2010	2015
Modernisation	Current	SIMCE is a	SIMCE is an	SIMCE needs	In the	SIMCE is a
of education	measures	necessary	opportunity to	improvement	institutional	good
requires a	have not had	assessment	know what is	in order to	design	assessment
systematic	the expected	system but it	not being	intensify its	oriented to	system but it
programme of	impact on	needs	achieved, it	use and its	ensuring	needs
assessment of	improving	improvement	shows	contribution	quality in	improvement
education	school	in order to be	learning	to the	education	s in the use of
management.	achievement	able to	weaknesses in	improvement	under	its data for its
	and equity,	accomplish its	order to	of quality in	discussion,	contribution
	and they	aim of	address them.	education.	standardised	to the
	should be	improving			tests are the	improvement
	improved in	quality in			best quality	of quality in
	order to	education.			proxy.	education to
	achieve this					increase.
	aim.					

# Strategies: «positivisation»



Aspects that are portrayed as negative by school communities and some researchers are presented as positive.

«(...) to imprint a sense of urgency for improving the levels of learning in basic areas favours that schools focus their efforts in a sustained manner.» (SIMCE Committee 2014, p. 7)

> "(...) I would say it is chaotic at some points. The stress is too much." (Rosa School Teacher)

"I am worried that my (...) new colleagues, the young ones, won't have a job, because you know that a school with bad results can even be closed" (Nova School teacher)

"(...) well, they sort of tell you off. The Directorate of Education calls us, arranges a meeting with us with their charts per school. Then it is like discouraging. If one has lowered, (...) One feels horrible. Because one tries to do one's best." (Rosa School teachers)

## Strategies: (:: Naturalisation/neutralisation/depoliticisation

2

To present a specific policy/political context for an assessment system as a given, as naturally emerging and, therefore, neutral and potentially unchangeable.

«Since 1980, the succesive governments of Chile have (...) introduced multiple large-scale education reforms. In fact, Chile has turned into one of the most mentioned countries as an example of innovative reforms in education. Among the most important reforms are: (i) the decentralisation of state education administration through municipalities; (ii) a change in the funding system towards a grant per student, or voucher, for private and municipal schools; (iii) the implementation of performance-based bonuses for teachers; and (iv) the introductin of compensatory programmes for low-performing schools. (World Bank, 2007, p. 9)

#### «1. A system framed in a long-standing assessment tradition

(...) The origins of SIMCE go back to the 1960s, when in 1968 the first National Test is taken, aimed at measuring the learning achievemente of Year 8 students. (...) In 1988 SIMCE was enacted, a system aimed initially at assessing school performance and the quality of education in Years 4 and 8 of all schools of the country.» (Bravo, 2011, p. 191)

### Strategies: Responsabilisation of the Other

3

When something is presented as negative, it is portrayed as the responsability of someone else outside the assessment system, generally users of data.

«There is a gap in teacher education that makes it difficult for teachers to understand and use measurement results, as the analysis of national and international measurement systems is a subject not sufficiently addressed in initial teacher education and professional development programmes.» (SIMCE Committee, 2003, pp. 11-12)

> «Its is important to highlight that the main problems and challenges that were identified by the Committee refer to the uses given to SIMCE by education policy, by the media and schools and to the effects of those uses, rather than the type of instruments of the information that is provided.» (SIMCE Committee, 2014, p. 9)



## Strategies: Responsabilisation of the Other

«(...) the diagnosis that is being given through SIMCE... [is] worrying due to what occurrs inside the classrooom. We are with children that have real difficulties and we are being measured by a system that measures all in a general way.» (Sur School Teacher)

«[the school] prepares with fanfare to receive the examiners (...) It all ends up being a show.» (Sur School Teacher)

«The thing is that when results are bad we are questioned but the only thing that the local authority does is <<Who is the teacher responsible for SIMCE>>» (Rosa School Teacher)

«We receive any child with any kind of difficulty (...) Then that is the problem, that in this school they receive any child and that makes it impossible for us to increase SIMCE» (Sur School Teacher)



## Strategies: delegitimisation



4

Perspectives that oppose the views of the main voice in discourse are presented as less legitimate.

#### Presenting resistance in negative terms:

"(...) the attempt of boycott to the test is absurd, as it goes against themselves and their own schools"; "(...) "it is a mechanism that provides parents with useful information in the election of the school for their children; in the same vein, it is used as a factor in the provision of performance-related funding"; "Students must recognise that actions of this sort are counter-productive" (Editorial from La Tercera, referring to students' resistance to SIMCE)

#### **Resistance = minority:**

"very specific cases", "expressed by minority sectors" (Editorial from La Tercera, referring to students' resistance to SIMCE) "There is also <u>a cohort</u> of detractors who state that these assessments are often unfair and have the power of degrading teaching. <u>For many</u>, standardised and transparent assessments are a fundamental tool in improving the quality of education." (Expert document, 1999) Strategies: use as a framing device to justify policies



- Mientras colegios municipalizados registraron 238 puntos en lenguaje en 1996 y 1999, en matemáticas bajaron de 245 a 239 puntos. Planteles privados elevaron sus rendimientos.
- Ministra Aylwin dio nuevas acciones para mejorar la enseñanza, pero reconoció falencias en calidad e inequidad en el sistema.
- Magisterio acusó de fracaso en el sector a los gobiernos de la Concertación, especialmente en la reforma. Realidad de los colegios. (C 6)

#### Cuartos básicos: Test Simce revela estancamiento de la educación

Matemáticas registró una baja general, en especial en sectores más pobres, esfumando, quizás, las metas del Gobierno para 2005.

2003

Ministra Jiménez admite que la educación está estancada tras entregar resultados del Simce

2008

Prueba reveló que 40% de los alumnos de 4° Básico tienen un nivel deficitario de aprendizaje y provienen del sector socioeconómico <sup>5</sup> Expertos coincidieror en la visión de la ministra y sostienen que el Acuerdo de Educación debería mejorar el actual empantanamiento.

#### Desolador panorama educacional Sence de 1 y 8<sup>th</sup> bisico resultador de la prueba Sence de 1 y 8<sup>th</sup> bisico realizada en 2009. En esta ocompletamente inefaza si biora des

las exigencias mínimas que Chile puede

plantearle. No sólo la-calidad está en deuda.

2010

Casaión huito un esfuerzo interesiste por animidichos resultatos a los aprincipadas esperados pucada nivel educativo, y el panorama que emerge de ta literzos machos más irecoju el que descansiba salos en intigies. Peros al mismo tiempo, es más demolector. Quedan en un piem y relativo agunos avances nos que a parte per estructura que mastemat es y em con partida pe promedio en d<sup>24</sup> balacio, en matemat más asignaturaras columás al esta contras asanarases. Y tales puntajes paldecen cuando se contrasta na los nivelses de logo reletivo que delos significan. Asa-

ado en lenguaje y matemá icas. La denominación d

el como "avanzado

The end of the end of

más equitativa de los mismos: ha elevado significativamente los salarios de los profesores, establecido la jornada escolar completa.

2000

#### CONSTANT STATE OF CRISIS = NEED FOR CHANGE

Need for increased accountability, economic incentives and consequences, teacher assessment

Economic provision against results (SEP Law), teacher assessment (pending) Accelerate the approval of the General Law for Education (LGE) and change teaching profession regulations Incentives against results, teaching career law, accelerate the approval of the Quality Assurance System Law

### Strategies: silencing evidence against assumptions

External standardised assessment systems have a crucial role in the improvement of quality in education.

These systems are scientifically valid and reliable, they have high credibility and a long-standing trajectory, which legitimate their use.

Useful information for school communities and parents.

They focus the efforts of actors on learning as established by the curriculum.

In order to generate responsibility in connection to results, the right incentives and consequences must be promoted. In 30 years of existence, no evidence of SIMCF's contribution to improvement

Teachers and parents are not using this information (Taut et al, 2009; SIMCE

They focus efforts in teaching to the test and mechanistic teaching , hindering more reflective and creative approaches (CIDE, 2012)

Incentives and consequences are damaging the identity and motivation of schools and teachers (Falabella, 2014) and are impoverishing students' educational experience (Flórez, 2013)



# WHOSE DATA AND FOR WHAT?: VOICES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF ASSESSMENT POLICY

#### FROM THE CONTEXT OF INFLUENCE TO THE POLICY TEXT



### Interactions and views between policy actors

«*Interviewer:* What is the role that you think teachers should have in the construction of education policy?

Interviewee: Well, the topic of teachers in Chile is quite complicated because teachers, especially primary teachers, don't know much, I mean, it is difficult that they can contribute in a very informed way to a well designed policy. I would spend all the money in the world to teach teachers well but I know is very difficult.»

(Interview with expert, policy-maker and member of private foundation)

«I think there is a weight of the technical above life, then, with all the respect I have for [name of expert in charge of the initial design of SIMCE], she only had a technical perspective, real life was not there and in real life this techique didn't work and she realised this later. But then in the Committee she had a bit, like this guided her to coordinate the Committee.»

(Interview with former member of the studies area of Chile's Teachers Union)



«I mean, I think that what one has to look at there is consequences,

not the test. If the test is well constructed and what is the aim of taking it, I mean, consequences are political decisions. Then if political deviations, how much do these political consequences impact, right? But, I mean, large-scale policies have a framework that goes beyond SIMCE anyway, right?»

(Interview with techincal expert in charge of developing SIMCE)

«Well, the Committee, in these things you normally end up summoning people who know about the topic and those are usually the ones that are convinced, so obviously the Committee didn't have a very strong position with regards to SIMCE and there were some

minority perspectives where we thought that we had reached such an extreme situation that our advice was to stop SIMCE for 3 or 4 years, rethink, redesign (...). This perspective didn't succeed (...) There I realised there was another influence in maintaining SIMCE, which is education researchers (...) For people who works from more quantitative perspectives, these thing of interrupting measurements, of not taking them every year, makes them quite upset.»

(Interview with academic expert)



### The construction of a false consensus



SOCIAL AND CITIZEN ORGANISATIONS

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

- If validity refers to interpretations and actions derived from results, can validity studies in relation to the design of assessment systems ignore actions and uses derived from policy like they were external to the test?
- Is it ethically and techically valid to use the results from a test to make decisions like the ones that characterise current intended consequences of assessment systems? (salaries, closing schools, funding allocation, school choice)
- Who is eventually using the information derived from largescale assessments in a beneficial and meaningful way?
- What changes should be made in order to promote pedagogically consistent and meaningful large-scale assessment systems?
- To what extent the dimension of participation in policy design affects the scope and type of use that is made of the information generated by assessment systems?
- Can we ignore that the intended purposes, uses and actions of an assessment system are functional to specific ideologies and to particular interests?





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