



ASSESSMENT REFORM IN CHILE: A CONTESTED DISCURSIVE SPACE

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Doctor of Philosophy in Education**

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To Luis, for his support during these four years.

In memory of my dad, Pelayo. Wherever you are, your music accompanies my words.

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INTRODUCTION

The pages contained here are the product of a long itinerary of self-reflection around my engagement with the topic of assessment. The process of writing involved a permanent re-thinking around the approach to be used in my research; each reading and reviewing process involved the detection of new previously invisible tensions in the texture I was building. The interaction with academics from different areas of education research, the contact with relevant literature, the seminars and conferences in which I had the opportunity to participate as well as the conversations with practitioners and with friends interested in the topic, all led to a constant broadening of my research object and to a growing critical insight about assessment reform processes.

I am now able to critically deconstruct the initial title of my project: *Assessment reform in Chile: the relationship between policies and practices*. This title contains the perspective I had about assessment reform when I began my doctoral studies, derived from my involvement in a process of this kind, where I inadvertently “went native” (Batteson and Ball, 1995). It all began in Santiago de Chile, the place where I was born and worked at for more than 8 years, and where involvement in continuous teacher education for in-service teachers was a central part of that working experience. It is in the context of the Programme for Continuous Teacher Education of the University of Chile that I was asked in 2006 to begin working as a Spanish teachers’ tutor in the Assessment for Learning (AfL) Programme from the Ministry of Education, which had been running since 2004.

My role there, to some extent, may be considered as a privileged one, in terms of the perspective it enabled me to assume. The tutor has the advantage of interacting with all the actors involved in the process and of listening to the discourse each one has on the process and on the topic of assessment in general. This location constituted a favourable spot for

observing, contrasting and detecting fissures and fractures in the system. However, it simultaneously made my position a complex one given the involvement in the process, with the risk of supporting one voice above others and giving more emphasis to the perspective of a specific actor.

During my participation in the Assessment for Learning Programme, along with observing some of the good effects of the approach, it was possible to detect some difficulties and problematic aspects, which deserved critical analysis. There were multiple aspects of teachers practice acting against the implementation of the approach, such as: lack of time, work overload, working conditions, disagreement with other actors in the school with different views around assessment, administrative requirements of the school in relation to marking and reporting students' achievement.

Additionally, the lack of a deep understanding of the curriculum and the beliefs of teachers around assessment made it difficult for us to achieve a deep appropriation of it beyond a set of techniques or a statement of principles with no correlation in practice. We also discovered our programme was only a dot in the larger circuit of the initiatives developed by policy authorities. Schools were surrounded by multiple policy messages without knowing how to prioritise, select and make them work in a consistent way. This was specially the case in the relationship between AfL and national high-stakes assessment systems. At the end of the process there was an open question as to whether the complex conditions required for the enactment of AfL by teachers in the context of a professional development programme were replicable at a larger scale, as only this could guarantee a deeper process of engagement and appropriation of the approach. All these problems made me think there was some distinguishing feature of the field of assessment we were not taking into account. This is the question that led me to select the topic for my thesis project.

In the UK I realised that these problems were common across the globe. Each time I presented the Chilean experience before international audiences, no matter how disparate

were their cultural backgrounds, they said that was exactly the case in their countries. That made me think about the potential relevance of my research findings and the way my topic was broadening to other contexts. However, I initially addressed the question from the same standpoint as that of the vast majority of researchers on assessment policy: that is, seeking to identify common aspects of “failure” and “success” in implementation and, on that basis, the solutions to current implementation problems. Hence my initial title, situated in a problem-solving approach where my priority was to close the seemingly insurmountable gap between assessment policies and practices, spaces that I perceived as spatially and functionally distinct.

Access to literature and discussions on education policy, and more specifically on critical policy scholarship, as well as the development of my theoretical framework, led me to understand that shared “problems” could be related to something broader and more complex, which research from the field of assessment was detecting but not addressing. A basic question was missing from the assessment literature: why this direction in assessment and at this moment? Although the benefits of AfL were identified as the main reasons for its widespread adoption, the deeper political and governmental reasons for implementing it or, conversely, that explained its failure, were being ignored despite AfL being object of considerable policy lending and borrowing (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). The policy trajectories (Ball, 1997) and processes of translation and interpretation (Ball et al., 2012) that AfL has been subjected to were also being ignored or, if addressed, were categorised in terms of teachers’ superficial or erroneous understanding of the approach but not with reference to the ideological re-interpretations and strategies that policy authorities and practitioners were employing in relation to it. Only very recent literature highlighted these aspects (James, 2011; Ball et al., 2012). Teachers’ beliefs were addressed as a relevant factor of AfL implementation but no in depth study was available around questions such as where these beliefs were coming from, how distant their roots were, why they prevail and how they interact with “new” ideas.

This is the point of origin of my argument for the need to study assessment reform processes from a historical, systemic and ideological perspective that takes broader contexts into account and is also where my current title derives from: *Assessment reforms in Chile: a contested discursive space*. The thesis presents an interpretive representation of the assessment arena as a dynamic space where ideologies are enacted through assessment policies and where different ideas of education and society struggle for hegemony, using assessment as a lever. This space also contains the traces of past discourses and policies on assessment, which continue to circulate among actors, increasing the complexity of the field.

This, then, is a qualitative, interpretive and constructivist research study, situated in the field of ideology. The perspective adopted reflects my views about education as a site of contestation (Maybin, 2008; Popkewitz and Brennan, 1998). Like Paulo Freire (1970) and other critical-pedagogy authors, I take the view that education has emancipatory potential to contribute to the development of critical citizens who understand and challenge their circumstances rather than adapt to them. However I have been careful throughout the thesis to present a balanced view taking account of a variety of perspectives.

Chapter I discusses from a critical perspective the literature around assessment in general and assessment reforms in particular. It highlights the need for a broader and more complex perspective on the field, which takes the ideological, historical and systemic dimensions into account. Some indications of the theoretical approach employed in this thesis are offered in this chapter and a more detailed description is found in *Chapter II*.

The second chapter shows how the problems discussed in Chapter I develop into the research questions that guide the study. The theoretical and methodological approaches selected as appropriate lenses to address these questions are described in the first part of this chapter, namely CDA as a general framework, with polysystems theory, intertextuality and ideological discourse analysis as the main theoretical tools to be employed. A detailed account of the research design and the specific methods used in the context of this project is provided.

This includes: periods defined, data collection and construction, types of sources, selection of participants, data analysis procedures and aspects of trustworthiness.

Given the historical approach considered for this thesis, *Chapter III* focuses on the assessment polysystems of the past in Chile. It comprises the analysis of discursive practices on assessment corresponding to three historical periods (1860-1900; 1920-1940; 1965-1985), each one starting with an important reform process that relates to assessment. For each period a chronology is first provided in order to help the reader to situate in time the events that are mentioned in the chapter. The chronology is followed by an account of three levels of analysis that are relevant to this research: the ideological struggles of the period; the discussions on education in this context; and the discourses on assessment that circulated during each time frame. Additionally, the polysystem for each phase is also explained and summarised through diagrams. Some conclusions about the trends and patterns observed between the periods are offered at the end of the section.

Chapter IV focuses on the most recent period: 1990-2010. This chapter is devoted to a single period because of the higher relevance given to the present: analysis of the earlier periods provides a better understanding of what is observed today. The chapter begins with a chronology of the period, followed by an account of the three levels identified above. This is followed by a detailed account of the actors and systems involved in assessment policy processes of the period. Finally, some conclusions are offered both in relation to the specific aspects of the period and the interaction between past and present in the polysystem.

Due to constraints of space and the choice of methodological approach, I did not consider it necessary or helpful to separate the results of analysis from the dialogue with relevant literature and the interpretation of data. Given the theoretical approach developed here, it would have been artificial to disconnect data and their interpretation as if they were two neatly separate processes. That is why *Chapters III* and *IV* are structured as a combination

of interpretation and evidence on the basis of analysis. Further details on the process of analysis itself are provided in both *Chapter II* and in the appendices attached to this work.

The final part of this work presents general conclusions that summarise the main findings of the study on the basis of the research questions. It then discusses the contributions of the thesis to its field and to the specific topic by stating the insights that are gained through each of the aspects considered as filters to observe assessment phenomena: history, ideology and a polysystemic view. The implications of the study for future research and for policy are also provided in this section.

CHAPTER I
**A THREE-DIMENSIONAL ABSENCE
IN THE STUDY OF ASSESSMENT REFORMS**

At the level of research and theory, it is possible to distinguish a recent trend in the field of assessment towards the need for more complex approaches in different areas of study. That is the case, for instance, in technical discussions in the field such as validity in standardised testing and system-wide assessments. Although content-centred approaches had been questioned for decades through the inclusion of test consequences as part of validity studies (Messick, 1980 and 1989; Shepard, 1997; Kane, 2008, 2010 and 2011), authors have consistently criticised the way in which agents of test production have avoided the more complex aspects of validity (Anastasi, 1986; Haertel, 1999; Hubley and Zumbo, 2011; Koch and DeLuca, 2012). It is only recently that concrete models have been developed in order to make validity more complex and inclusive of different voices that participate in tests and use their results (see for example the models proposed by Shaw et al., 2012 and Koch and DeLuca, 2012).

Similarly, there seems to be a tendency in the field of assessment to become more self-reflective and critical, in terms of analysing the multiplicity of purposes that have been attributed to assessment historically (Newton, 2007; Ashmore and Trobe, 2010); problematising the historical development of some of its central concepts (see for example Newton, 2012 for the concept of validity); and discussing the way media present and use assessment results (Mansell, 2013).

Calls for complexity have also been made from the area of assessment reforms. Hayward and Spencer (2010), for example, in their qualitative study of changes toward formative assessment in Scotland, state among their conclusions the need for incorporating complexity as an aspect of research and policymaking, where all the factors and actors

involved in the process as well as their interactions are included. They call for exploration of 'the world as seen from a range of perspectives' in order to 'begin to understand a little more deeply what really matters in improving learning' (2010: 175). Although there are attempts in this direction through including the perspective of students (Hayward, 2012); of analysing in complex terms the relationship between curriculum, pedagogy and assessment (Daugherty et al., 2011); and of looking at the relationship between assessment policies and politics or ideology (James, 2011; Ecclestone, 2002; Daugherty and Ecclestone, 2006), I argue there is still a gap in terms of addressing how all these and other aspects interact.

I consider my work as part of this trend towards complexity in the field, and as adding an overarching perspective about assessment reform processes, where the interaction between multiple actors, as well as the historical and ideological aspects that dialogue with assessment discourses are taken into account.

Current trends in reform around assessment seem to follow two main paths: along with the traditional practices of standardised testing (deriving from and continuing in the psychometric tradition that is predominant in the US) and system-wide criterion-referenced assessment systems, the discourses of Assessment for Learning and the standards agenda have become widespread in different places of the world during the last decades. For example, initiatives related to formative assessment or AfL (both terms are used interchangeably by many of the authors in the literature), have been piloted, implemented and/or researched in contexts as diverse as England, Scotland, Australia, New Zealand, the US, Barbados, Canada, Israel, Portugal, Belgium, Hong Kong, Iran, Chile, some Francophone African countries, the Netherlands, Norway and Singapore (see Tierney and Charland, 2007; Flórez and Sammons, 2013). Much of the research on the topic has been generated in the context of professional development programmes that involve close collaboration between researchers and teachers, and in some cases policymakers as well (see for example Tierney and Charland's (2007) review on formative assessment in secondary classrooms and the studies of Torrance and Pryor, 2001;

MacPhail and Halbert, 2010; Condie et al., 2005; Kirton et al., 2007; Webb and Jones, 2009; Carless, 2005; Kellard et al., 2008).

It seems strange, given its widespread use, that none of the authors in the field has addressed a question often forgotten in today's 'fast policy' context (Peck, 2002; Baird and Lee Kelley, 2009): *why AfL?* The literature seems to be unanimous about the positive effect that research participants attribute to AfL on both on teaching and learning. This effect is highlighted from the initial 1998 literature review carried out by the Assessment Reform Group (ARG) to the most recent reviews of Tierney and Charland (2007) and Hodgson and Pyle (2010).

Participants observe positive effects on students, such as increased classroom involvement, a more independent approach towards learning and higher self-esteem in a context where comparison and competition diminish (see for example Torrance and Pryor, 2001; MacPhail and Halbert, 2010; Brookhart, 2001; Condie et al., 2005; Hayward and Spencer, 2010; Gipps et al., 2005; Webb and Jones, 2009; Carless, 2005; Kellard et al., 2008). Changes in teachers' practice are also declared, mostly in terms of a move towards a more constructivist approach (with an implicit assumption that this approach is intrinsically positive): examples include that they assume the role of a facilitator instead of that of a content-deliverer; they plan lessons more carefully and understand learning expectations as a central aspect of their practice; they give more constructive feedback (see for example OFSTED, 2008; DfES, 2007; MacPhail and Halbert, 2010; Kirton et al., 2007; Carless, 2005; Kellard et al., 2008).

In addition there is limited quantitative evidence not based on participants' perspectives about the impact of this approach to formative assessment on students learning (Bartoochi and Keshavarz, 2002; Dori, 2003; Wiliam et al., 2004); however some of this evidence has to be considered carefully because of methodological issues as Wiliam et al. (2004) clarify in their paper.

The positive effects have been widely used as an argument to justify the development of reforms around AfL. The question *why* raised here, nonetheless, follows from a development that has not been widely acknowledged by assessment researchers: *policy borrowing*. Policy borrowing refers to the search for international evidence, or ‘lessons from elsewhere’ as Steiner-Khamisi puts it (2004: 4), in other words the referencing of successful experiences to justify the import of a foreign reform at a local level. According to Steiner-Khamisi, this generates an ‘absent other’ that supports policy decisions through the imaginary construction of an ‘international agreement on how reforms in education are supposed to unfold’ (2004: 4). Whenever necessary, government authorities can refer to this absent other in order to justify their actions. Authors in the field of AfL, being travelling experts themselves, have not questioned the transferability of their ideas.

Accordingly, when AfL reforms are imported and tried out, an ideologically motivated silence (Van Dijk 1999; 2008) is generated around the evidence *against* the implementation of AfL, yet that evidence is considerable. Most research in this field recognises a series of difficulties related to contextual aspects that call the feasibility of the approach into question. Among these obstacles authors mention:

- lack of commitment from senior staff, which is crucial if a policy is to be disseminated at a whole-school level (OFSTED, 2008);
- contradictions in teachers’ practice when faced to AfL and high-stakes testing regimes as simultaneous policies; they often follow the direction of testing given the higher level of pressure it imposes on them (Condie et al., 2005; Dori, 2003; Hayward and Spencer, 2010; Kirton et al., 2007; Gipps et al., 2005; Black et al., 2004a; Black et al., 2004b);
- replicability of research conditions when the approach is to be implemented at a national level (Torrance and Pryor, 2001; DfES, 2007; Dori, 2003);

- deficiencies in teachers' knowledge and skills (DfES, 2007; Carless, 2005; Gioka, 2006; Stiggins and Arter, 2002; OFSTED, 2008; Thompson and Wiliam, 2008);
- superficial understanding and application of the approach (Hayward and Spencer, 2010; Tapan, 2001; Webb and Jones, 2009; Klenowski, 2009a; OFSTED, 2008);
- resistance to change the role of teachers and students in the classroom MacPhail and Halbert, 2010; DfES, 2007; Willis, 2008; Kirton et al., 2007; Stiggins and Arter, 2002; Thompson and Wiliam, 2008; Black et al., 2004b).

Researchers have examined these issues looking mainly for improved models of professional development (see for example Hayward, 2010; Gardner et al., 2011; Leahy and Wiliam, 2012), where traditional models of top-down change are criticised and the role of the teacher as an agent of change is central. This research has contributed multiple valuable insights about how AfL programmes are conceived in terms of teachers' interaction with new knowledge and practices around assessment. However, I argue that it suffers from absence of a broader view in relation to the difficulties mentioned above, which could be why AfL is not being widely used in schools even where it has been promoted as a large-scale reform (see for example Weeden and Winter, 1999; Tapan, 2001; Black et al., 2004a; Kellaghan, 2004; Gioka, 2006; Thompson and Wiliam, 2008; OFSTED, 2008, among others).

This literature also inadvertently adopts a top-down approach to reform, which is probably related to researchers 'going native' (Batteson and Ball, 1995) –as, indeed, I did-, when they are so close to policy implementation, a dual membership that turns one into an advocate of an approach and potentially a *travelling expert*. Independent of how tight or loose the models of professional development in which research on AfL occurs are, the approach has always been decided upon by researchers and/or policy authorities. There is no exception in the literature in this respect. Consequently, despite the increased level of teacher agency (Gardner, 2010) or collaborative learning in teacher communities (Leahy and Wiliam, 2012),

education professionals are constructed as executioners of someone else's decision, while policy elites and researchers are positioned as the 'agents of redemption' (Popkewitz and Brennan, 1998: 7) in change in education. The connection between this division of labour and the slow and complex process of appropriation and change observed in AfL literature (Willis, 2008; Hayward and Spencer, 2010; Leahy and Wiliam, 2012) has not yet been addressed by researchers in the field.

In terms of a broader view, many of the difficulties detected by the authors could potentially be related to other agents and systems involved in reform processes. For example, teachers' lack of knowledge around assessment and their disciplines (Kellaghan, 2004; DfES, 2007; OFSTED, 2008; Thompson and Wiliam, 2008) naturally brings to the fore the issue of initial teacher education programmes, professional development policies and the quality of previous reform processes.

Similarly, concerns around the feasibility and replicability of the professional development programmes in which AfL has been studied (Torrance and Pryor, 2001, DfES, 2007, Dori, 2003) in terms of the distance between the ideal conditions of research and the conditions of the majority of schools, constitute a gap present from the initial development of AfL by the Assessment Reform Group (see Black et al. 2004a and 2004b). The indisputable good effects of the approach are described in research as conditioned by series of pre-requisites: teachers must be working in spaces where they have time for meeting and discussing with peers and their workload is not excessive; where senior staff and the whole school is committed to change and innovation and with schools receiving expert support and monitoring for a long period of time. There are, accordingly, broader aspects that deserve consideration when an assessment reform process is to be realised, such as teachers' working conditions, which are in turn connected to other actors like the central and local government, as well as to the internal dynamics of the school.

Another widely mentioned obstacle is that related to the difficulty teachers experience when trying to reconcile formative assessment and assessment with accountability purposes, the latter both inside school and in external high-stakes national testing and examinations systems (Black et al., 2004a and 2004b; Condie et al., 2005; Dori, 2003; Hayward and Spencer, 2010; Hallam et al., 2004; Gipps et al., 2005). It seems to be problematic for teachers to perceive good teaching and external testing as compatible practices and, as Shepard (1992) and Berryhill et al. (2009) have indicated, they tend to prioritise according to what they will be judged on even when this may go against their deep pedagogical beliefs. Although Leahy and Wiliam (2012) solve the problem by stating that AfL practices generate substantial gains in student achievement, they support this statement with an earlier paper by Wiliam et al. (2004), a study that raises some important methodological caveats. Moreover, even if AfL increases student achievement in system-wide assessments, the more profound question remains as to the extent to which formative assessment and high-stakes external assessment reflect ideas on teaching, learning, pedagogy, assessment and education governance that are compatible.

The (implicit) top-down approach to AfL generates the illusion of a very coherent top level. AfL reforms have not been widely studied from the perspectives of Ecclestone (2000) and Baird and Lee-Kelley (2009), where the more chaotic aspect of the work of policy elites is made explicit. As Ecclestone (2000) observes in relation to GNVQs in England, policymaking processes in assessment can be quite chaotic once initiatives move from the small group which creates them and begin to be discussed, politically intervened in, reconceptualised to the point of losing their original meaning, and finally turned into a policy text that conceals its condition as a palimpsest. A few authors have pointed out how AfL policies are embedded in ideological struggles (Daugherty and Ecclestone, 2006; James, 2011) and the consequent loss of meaning when it is assimilated by policy authorities to an agenda that is not consistent with its principles.

Research on reform of testing systems and standards is like that on AfL in terms of the way it ignores certain aspects that a broader view would make visible. Among the assessment research community, tests have been understood in technical terms and the main concerns of researchers in this area have revolved around credibility, reliability and validity (Murphy and Torrance, 1988). Politicians make selective use of research evidence: for example in claims by the current Secretary of State for Education in England when asserting that the examination system in there is discredited. Despite the absence of conclusive evidence to support media statements around grade inflation and fallen standards (Baird et al., 2013; Morris, 2012), and the contradictory evidence on the perceptions of different actors around these assessment systems (Basset et al., 2009; Ofqual, 2013), reforms are being promoted for GCSE and A-levels. These reforms involve changes such as a greater involvement of Higher Education institutions and the reinstatement of end of course examinations, which existed in the past and can be seen as policy reversals (Baird et al, 2011). Additionally, the selective use of research is apparent in the way authorities ignore the evidence on *teaching to the test* due to the use of A-level results to promote competition between schools in league tables, and are only very recently suggesting some changes to this aspect of the policy. However, there is no research available on the recurrent patterns of testing reforms from a diachronic perspective, nor on how these developments reflect particular political trends. Indeed when considered historically, assessment is presented as a linear account of theories/paradigms and their corresponding policies (see for example Gipps, 2004; Berry and Adamson, 2011) or through policy-oriented research that evaluates reform from a diachronic perspective (see for example Tattersall, 2007; Basset et al., 2009).

A significant part of the assessment research community, especially the US psychometric tradition, still ignores Murphy and Torrance's (1988: 9) caveats, recorded more than 20 years ago:

‘(...) every assessment initiative should be viewed with suspicion until it becomes clear what curricular or socio-political aims are embedded within it.

(...) as we regard it as the most serious deficiency in the assessment literature of the past 40 years or so, where often the discussion has focused entirely upon the technical qualities or deficiencies, of various assessment methods, without paying any attention at all to the much more serious educational questions which subsume them.’

More wide-ranging approaches, commonly emerging from the UK and European assessment traditions, highlight the consequences of testing on teaching, learning and curriculum (see for example Shepard, 1992; Gipps, 2004), and search for ways of making testing regimes more beneficial for the system. Despite these attempts, some authors insist on regarding this as an external aspect not related to the technical issues of test development (Lissitz and Samuelsen, 2007; Mehrens, 1997; Popham, 1997).

The state of research on assessment reform processes is summarised in the recently published volume *Assessment Reform in Education: Policy and Practice* (2011), edited by Rita Berry and Bob Adamson, where the main voices in the field are represented. The title reflects not only the two-part structure of the book but also the implicit top-down and normative approach to policy, where assessment reform at the level of policy authorities is separated from the level of practice. Only a few chapters address the complexities of the intermediate level and its multiple interpretations and translations (cf. James, Gardner et al. and Daugherty et al.). However, although the book reveals some clear trends in assessment reform, such as the permanent struggle between testing or accountability regimes and more formative approaches; or the widespread use of national and international testing and standards as a governance tool, there is no systematic account nor a deeper analysis of the underlying ideologies or rationales of these tendencies. Only a few voices, already mentioned in this chapter, have attempted to broaden the boundaries of the study of assessment reforms. Further contributions have come from outside the field.

Sociological enquiry, perhaps influenced by Foucault's (1991) reflection on examination procedures as a means of controlling and disciplining individuals by making them visible and traceable in data, has contributed to the observation of assessment policies from a different angle. Ann Filer (2000: 8) summarises what this approach contributes to the field of assessment:

'Assessment processes and their educational and social outcomes are analysable as products of nations' histories, cultures and shifting political imperatives. To examine systems of assessment in this way, to perceive them as socio-historical and cultural processes and products as well as educational processes and products serves as a starting point for a broader conception of the functions of assessment. That is to say, they take us beyond the more obvious functions of grading or certification, selection and accountability, and focus our attention upon the key role that assessment plays in the social structuring of modern societies.'

This trend has studied assessment as a social practice, highlighting aspects such as: testing as a non-neutral social technology that generates exclusion of social groups and reproduces existing power relations (Broadfoot and Pollard, 2000; Madaus and Horn, 2000); the tensions between different assessment agendas and their connection to specific political groups (Broadfoot and Pollard, 2000); and tests as devices that, given the way they are generated and used, motivate the transformation of the score (and not its interpretation) into the centre of the result and *create* rather than *measure* a particular trait (Hanson, 2000).

The contribution of this approach is in connecting assessment practices with broader ideological and political issues, challenging the myth of assessment as an exclusively technical matter. This research also analyses the specific mechanisms through which testing techniques exclude certain groups or disciplines individuals and societies.

Two more recent important ideas come from the field of critical policy scholarship. The first reflects the trend developed by authors like Ozga, Grek and Lawn (see for example Ozga, 2009; Lawn and Ozga, 2009; Grek, 2008 and 2010), where the use of assessment systems as a governance tool is highlighted. In the shift from welfare states to neo-liberal polycentric networks (Ball and Junneman, 2011) as modes of governance, new forms of control have been

developed. Despite the neo-liberal discourse on decentralisation in education, several authors observe the emergence of national and international testing systems as new tools of governance in less state-centred systems, as they allow for controlling from a distance and steering the system towards a specific direction (Ozga, 2009; Lawn and Ozga, 2009; Berryhill et al., 2009; Geyer, 2012; Grek, 2008 and 2010; Suspitsyna, 2010, among others). In this model, control is maintained by requiring schools to generate data that renders their work transparent to policy authorities and by establishing high-stakes testing systems which exercise pressure on education systems through public rankings and competition.

Advocates of the neo-liberal mode of policy, such as Michael Barber through his concept of *deliverology*, i.e. a science of policy delivery, conceptualise the 'use of good data' in relation to specific targets through frequent reporting and tracking of progress (Ball et al., 2012: 76) as a crucial aspect in today's decentralised and globalised education systems. From this point of view, reporting, testing and the meaningful use of data contribute to the transparency of the system and allows for its constant improvement (Campbell and Levin, 2009).

There are also critical voices in relation to testing and accountability. On the one hand, transnational and national testing regimes or goal-setting strategies have been questioned because of their reduction of very context-dependent and complex problems in education to 'one size fits all' solutions and understandings of education (Barrett, 2011; Grek, 2009; Berryhill et al., 2009). Furthermore, accountability systems are seen by some researchers as pressure devices that distort and deprofessionalise teaching practices (Ball et al., 2012; Berryhill et al., 2009; Brennan, 2009), narrowing the curriculum and motivating teaching to the test by making schools live in a state of constant crisis and need for change (Geyer, 2012). This is achieved through strategies such as *scandalisation* (Steiner-Khamsi, 2003), where media play a central role (Gillies, 2008; Gür et al., 2012).

This literature adds another layer to the first contribution of sociology, in terms of identifying testing regimes as compromised technologies and enriching this idea by incorporating a more global perspective where assessment mechanisms are put in the context of a broader governance strategy that represents a particular ideology around education and society.

The second contribution of critical policy scholarship to the field of assessment illuminates how schools experience all these different assessment policies promoted through a top-down logic. Ball et al. (2012) devote a part of their book *How schools do policy?* to the contrasting experiences of a selection of English schools with two different assessment policies: Assessment for Learning and standards. According to the authors, these policies are diverse in nature and generate different *policy subjects*. The standards policy is portrayed as exerting pressure on teachers and the school, which generates practices of exclusion of students due to the need to boost school performance, and is accepted by school staff in a passive way, where little intervention or creativity is required in their work. Standards are thus classified by the authors among *imperative* or *disciplinary* policies, that is, those that ‘produce a primarily passive policy subject, a “technical professional” whose practice is very determined by the requirements of performance and deliverology, particularly in the high-stakes disciplines’ (2012: 92). Conversely, AfL is experienced as an *exhortative* policy, that is, an approach that is closer to the professional values of teachers, and where they are constituted as active participants who gain ownership of the policy and adapt it to their perspective. However, this type of policy, according to the authors, ‘can also be ignored, or underplayed or sidelined, they can be spaces for delay or neglect or creative re-packaging’ (2012: 94).

These authors identify the multiplicity of discourses and policies which teachers have to work with daily and the way this generates a contradictory professional identity that responds simultaneously to different ideas on assessment, on education and on the role of school in society. They summarise their findings in this respect as follows (2012: 95-96):

‘The striking thing in our case studies is that teachers move between these different forms of policy, these different professionalisms and subjectivities and modalities, for the most part, with unreflective ease. (...)

This flexible (or unstable) teacher subject, with all its incoherence, has been produced over time through policy and the enactments of policy, and the inescapability of policy in many planes, in many forms and in many aspects of school life. This is a relatively superficial subject, defined more by responsiveness than principle, pragmatism rather than reflection, action rather than judgement.’

From this reflection, two aspects suggest themselves as necessary in the study of assessment reform processes. One is the inclusion of teacher beliefs. This has been considered an important aspect in the field of assessment reforms. For Torrance and Pryor (2001), for example, the ideas on learning held by teachers are a crucial aspect of their approaches to assessment. Something similar is recognised about students, whose views on their own learning can have an influence on their achievement (Brookhart, 2001). The relevance of teachers’ and/or students’ views when a change in assessment is to be developed is highlighted by these and other authors (for example Torrance and Pryor, 2001; Brown et al., 2009; Brookhart, 2001; Willis, 2008; Tapan, 2001; Carless, 2005). However, rather than being approached as a mere pre-requisite for reform, there is a case for examining these beliefs in terms of the dissonance they may engender in teachers identity. Prieto and Contreras (2008) have noted the importance of teachers’ beliefs in the understanding of their assessment practices. According to these authors such beliefs can be held with different degrees of awareness generating, thus, different degrees of consistency in teachers’ practices. On the basis of a study they developed in Chile, they state (2008: 248) that:

‘If conceptions supporting their assessment practices were made explicit, teachers could discover the heterogeneity of conceptions guiding their assessment practices and instruments, which are usually highly diverse and, sometimes, opposite. (...) These beliefs reveal totally antithetical conceptions about teaching and assessment, which produce equally opposite effects in students, alienating or emancipating them.’

These beliefs are transmitted to actors through different processes of *social cognition* (Van Dijk, 1999; 2008), which means that they are historically embedded and overlap with any innovative repertoire that might be proposed by one actor or system. A second idea that can

be derived from the work of Ball et al. (2012), then, is that of the need for a diachronic perspective in the study of policies, considering not only general paradigms or initiatives developed at government level but also how these may make schools a space of discursive dissonance.

Finally, a different contribution comes from complexity theory as understood in policy studies. Geyer (2012) adheres to existing criticism around Evidence-Based Policy, mainly because it follows principles of traditional scientific approaches, which are not adequate for complex and messy phenomena, such as education and human studies in general. These principles are *causality*, *reductionism*, *predictability* and *determinism*. In brief, these principles portray systems as clockwork mechanisms whose parts can be studied in isolation and whose functioning can be reduced to causal, predictable and deterministic paths that will work in every case. He exemplifies how these principles operate in current assessment policies: if schools are good, they should improve invariably and should be working in order to achieve this constant improvement. In that context, every deviation from the ideal performance over time is considered a failure for the school, which has to live in a constant state of tension and urgency. Geyer (2012) states that this logic portrays our minds as mechanical objects that have to respond increasingly better to an ever-increasing frequency of tests. He then adds (2012: 29):

'Even though the costs of this strategy are very high (huge growth of central oversight and time/effort/energy expended by local actors) and successes limited, it is very hard to move away from this policy approach since to admit that there are limits to this regime is to admit that there is something fundamentally wrong with the overall framework. Politically, the EBPM [Evidence Based Policy Model] process is well entrenched and popular, and shifting such a fundamental position is never easy.'

In order to develop more “humanised” systems of assessment and policy, Geyer (2012) proposes the adoption of a series of principles that characterise complexity theory approaches in contemporary Physics and Mathematics: *partial causality*, *reductionism and holism*, *predictability and uncertainty*, *probability*, *emergence* and *interpretation*. In brief,

these principles argue for the acceptance of predictable paths as only partially achievable, and of human phenomena as situated in complex networks of action and interaction where the unexpected and the diverse interpretations of actors have to be included as part of the object of study. Following his example around assessment, he argues that rather than constant improvement schools should be required to remain in broader boundaries of what is considered 'good' performance, in which case they would not be intervened in. This would allow for the human factor to be considered and would also alleviate the pressure on schools.

A series of ideas emerge from this discussion in relation to current gaps in the study of assessment reform processes. One is the need to broaden the scope of study in order to make it more complex, both including a wider range of actors (with their messy human interactions) involved in policy processes and more of the discourses on assessment that circulate in education systems today and struggle with "new" policies. Following Bakhtin's principles about discourse (1990), one cannot assume that assessment is each time invented *here and now* and ignore the dialogue that any "new" discourse on a topic sustains with all of its historically pre-existing constructions. If this aspect is avoided resistance and overlapping of different ideas of assessment will naturally occur. Along with a complex and broad approach, therefore, a diachronic perspective is also needed for a better understanding of how assessment policies have been shaped and enacted historically, and how those discourses from the past still circulate and intertwine with more recent ones.

Additionally, as authors from education sociology and critical policy scholarship have highlighted, the scope has to be broadened even further to include all the political and ideological aspects underlying assessment policies. Otherwise, there is a risk of maintaining assessment research in its mainly technical tradition, which allows for its political use, translation and adaptation by politicians of different tendencies.

A series of problems initially appearing to be diverse in nature have been described in terms of their common element: the lack of a broader and more complex view in relation to

assessment reform processes in both the spheres of policymaking and research. A narrow perspective on assessment phenomena predominates, where only some specific system and its actors are included, or where a specific discourse on assessment is analysed in isolation. Such a narrow view in research and policymaking avoids complexity in three different dimensions: historical, systemic and ideological.

The historical aspect would contribute to overcome the current approach to assessment policy actions as a 'snapshot in time', and policies would not 'be viewed as static and unchanging' but as 'the product of agency and resistance, negotiation, bargaining, and accommodation, constantly evolving over time' (Spreen, 2004: 102). Without this perspective, it is likely that assessment reform continues to be a never-ending sequence of overlapping and increasingly confusing perspectives.

In relation to the second aspect, there are other systems involved in processes of assessment reform. They constitute forces that articulate and intertwine with schools and, thus, facilitate or impede changes in them. I share Perrenoud's (1993) view about the importance of a systemic change in relation to assessment at the school level but I would like to take it further. School is only one of the systems involved in assessment reform processes. Problems encountered in assessment reform processes, according to the literature discussed above, suggest the presence of multiple entities that interact in a much more complex understanding of what change in assessment means. Along with this, each system is composed of different actors and internal relationships. This means that divergent views about assessment may be embedded inside them. Consequently, processes of production, circulation and consumption of discourses around assessment need to be studied in this complex web of systems, beliefs, interactions and (power) relationships between their actors. This is the kind of movement in space (and not solely in time) that this work aims to address: a movement that broadens the spectrum of what has generally been included in the field of assessment reform processes.

Finally, there is an outer layer where assessment ceases to be understood only as a technical issue and walks into the uncomfortable terrain of ideology, the latter understood as:

‘(...) a shared framework of social beliefs that organise and coordinate interpretation and social practices of groups and their members and, in particular, power and other relationships between groups’ (Van Dijk, 1999: 22).

The question arises as to what extent theories and research on assessment and their translation into policies are related to perspectives about education and society sustained by particular powerful groups. Such a connection does not seem unrealistic, as it is possible to find research that has addressed assessment from this point of view (Ecclestone, 2002; Daugherty and Ecclestone, 2006; James, 2011). In the study by Daugherty and Ecclestone (2006), for example, one observes how Thatcher’s government regards the initial developments of the ARG (the TGAT recommendations) as ‘suspiciously leftist’ and decides to ignore this evidence in policy discourse and texts, and to support a culture of frequent testing, permanent control and performativity. The latter perspective, according to the kind of connection suggested here, is consistent with the ideology sustained by Thatcher’s administration.

CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS

In the process of reflecting on some of the problems related to assessment reform processes, different layers have been added to the structure in order to include the ‘complexity and richness’ that Ecclestone (2000: 5) claims as fundamental in the study of assessment policies. One has to do with general assessment reform processes, where aspects like policy borrowing, policy design and dissemination become important. Another layer that opens is that of changes in pedagogical and assessment paradigms, both in their ideal theoretical formulation and the conditions in which the original version comes into practice, struggling with all previous discourses in the field. Finally, the broader historical and

ideological context in which reforms are framed becomes fundamental for a better understanding of the circumstances in which new policies are attracted from one country to another and how this process might have an influence on how successful a reform finally is.

Figure 1 presents a graphic representation of all the layers referred above.

Filling the current gap in research on assessment reforms requires extending the study of the subject at least in three dimensions: a historical one that incorporates the diachronic dimension of assessment reform, both in the long and the short term; a systemic one that observes all the systems involved in assessment reform processes, their interactions, their actors and discourses; and an ideological one that situates discussion on assessment in a broader context of perspectives about society which become intertwined with those about assessment.



FIGURE 1. Visual representation of the layers to be considered in the analysis of the topic

This is why the present study seeks to describe the main systems (with their actors, activities and internal relations) involved in assessment reform processes, along with their interactions, and the discourses on assessment that circulate inside and between them, taking Chilean reform processes as an example. To achieve this requires a characterization of assessment reform processes in Chile both today and in the past. It also involves the detection of how discourses on assessment are produced and circulate in this system, and how knowledge on assessment relates to power issues. This approach to the problem contributes to the field by providing a different perspective for the critical analysis of assessment reform processes today, which consists of a systemic view that facilitates a wider and more dynamic understanding of the object of study.

CHAPTER II **THEORY AND METHODOLOGY: A SUITABLE LENS**

The previous chapter described different problems that research on assessment reforms has addressed but has not transformed into a topic of study. However varied these problems are, I argue that they highlight the need for a more complex approach to the area of assessment reforms in terms of opening up enquiry to a more systemic and dynamic view that includes a diachronic dimension and the broader area of ideological debate. The three dimensions in which I argue the problem should be addressed have been explained in Chapter I. On that basis, two main research questions were formulated:

- What are the main systems (with their actors, activities and internal relations) and the main interactions between them involved in assessment reform processes in Chile?
- How are discourses on assessment produced, how do they circulate in this system, and how does knowledge on assessment relate to power issues?

The theoretical and methodological approaches selected as the appropriate lens to address these questions are described in the first part of this chapter. Later, a detailed account of the research design and the specific methods used is provided.

I. POSITIONING THE PERSPECTIVE FOR THE STUDY

As Popkewitz and Brennan (1998) recognise in discussing the work of Bourdieu and Foucault, theory is understood here as a ‘thinking tool’ (1998: 11), as a framework that facilitates the understanding of a specific problem through particular processes of analysis and interpretation. From this perspective, what was needed for this study was a theoretical and

methodological framework that enabled the researcher to observe the **dynamic interaction** between a **series of systems**, both in a **synchronic** and a **diachronic** way, in the context of **power struggles and ideologies** that surround and are intertwined with the creation, circulation and re-interpretation of **perspectives about assessment**.

Among the range of tools offered by the social sciences, those related to discourse analysis and its critical dimension are the most adequate filter in this case. In the words of Wetherell (2008a), discursive perspectives, unlike traditional perspectives about language in the social sciences, understand language as active, constructive, rhetorical and constitutive of different versions of the world that are in permanent dialogue and discussion. In the context of these principles, she states that this struggle over meaning configures what she calls ‘a **politics of representation**’ (Ibid.: 25), where power becomes a fundamental issue:

‘Social scientists who study discourse have been interested in how people, groups and institutions mobilize meanings (...). How have some interpretations become dominant and whose interests do they serve? It has been recognized that control over discourse is a vital source of power and also there are limits to this control because meanings are fluid and escape their users and can be mobilized and re-worked to resist domination.’

Such a perspective offers a view of social life that involves complex interactions in the struggle over meaning. Given the nature of the problem discussed in *Chapter 1*, discourse analysis is selected as a general theoretical framework for the study. In this context, the ‘critical’ element, the centrality of power struggles (Van Dijk, 2008), is taken in a very particular sense. Power is not understood here as something that belongs to elites and that works in a dominator/dominated scheme and, consequently, compels the researcher to assume a political perspective in defence of those who are being oppressed. I agree with Popkewitz and Brennan (1998) that such a perspective produces ‘a dualism whose effect is to define particular social groups as monolithic entities’ (Ibid.: 18) and insists on the nineteenth century modern idea of academic and political elites as the perpetual ‘agents of redemption’ (Ibid.: 7) in education.

Rather I assume a more dynamic and postmodern idea of critical discourse analysis, one that is much closer to its theoretical roots in authors like Michel Foucault and Mikhail Bakhtin whose perspectives, unlike the distinction made by Wetherell (2008b), I see as closely linked in their conceptualisation of discourse and the social world. Here power is not embedded in one particular group neither it is thought of as circulating according to some vertical logic. The productive character of the Foucauldian concept of power is synthesised in the following terms (Foucault, 1991: 194 and 308):

‘The individual is no doubt the fictitious atom of an ‘ideological’ representation of society; but he is also a reality fabricated by this specific technology of power that I have called ‘discipline’. We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it ‘excludes’, it ‘represses’, it ‘censors’, it ‘abstracts’, it ‘masks’, it ‘conceals’. In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production.’

‘In this central and centralized humanity, the effect and instrument of complex power relations, bodies and forces subjected by multiple mechanisms of ‘incarceration’, objects for discourses that are in themselves elements for this strategy, we must hear the distant roar of battle.’

On the one hand, this perspective observes power as something that circulates between different systems, institutions and practices -‘the institutional *apparatus* and its *technologies*’, in Hall’s (2008) terms-, leaving much more space for resistance, contestation and appropriation, and for thinking of a world where ideologies of domination and resistance dynamically coexist (Van Dijk, 1999). Such a view of power is consistent with the need to observe how discourses on assessment are elaborated in different spaces of the education system; how this permanent (ideological) struggle over its meaning impedes change from happening in the way that an idealistic functional perspective would expect (Hammersley, 2002).

Such a view of discourse seems useful and consistent with the need to keep the position of the researcher as a problematic aspect, which has been mentioned as an issue in relation to my involvement in an assessment reform process. Most CDA research sustains the need for the researcher to explicitly assume a political position, specifically that of the

disadvantaged group (Wetherell, 2008b). I think that this kind of redemptive positioning insists too strongly on the modern idea of the State and of researchers as agents of redemption, limiting other actors to implementing what others have designed and thought (Popkewitz and Brennan, 1998). This ignores all the processes of interpretation, decoding and translation involved in the process of what Ball et al. (2012) denominate *policy enactment*, processes in which the researcher is only one more among the multiple perspectives in play.

Assuming here what Wetherell (2008b) understands as a more postmodern approach towards CDA, through a Bakhtinian and Foucauldian view of power, the researcher is not seen as a redeemer of the oppressed but as one interpretation among other possibilities. His/her duty is, then, to be as explicit as possible about his/her perspective and the way in which this may be intertwined with the research process, as I have done in the introduction and do in other parts of this work.

Mikhail Bakhtin observes discursive spaces as being in permanent contestation, and utterances as processes of ideological positioning of the self in a historical and cultural context. As Maybin (2008: 67) explains:

‘(...) language in the Bakhtin and Volosinov writings is characterized not as a decontextualized abstract system of signs, but as originating in social struggle, coloured by the history of its use, always evaluative and highly ideological. Language reflects and instantiates the omnipresent tension between centralizing centripetal forces, and the centrifugal forces of diversification, and its everyday use is shaped by conventions associated with different genres, social classes, professions and generations. These different social languages and genres ‘cohabit’, supplementing and contradicting each other, and intersecting or becoming hybridized in various ways. Bakhtin uses the term **heteroglossia** to refer to this dynamic multiplicity of voices (...)’

It is this *heteroglossia*, this *polyphony* that I am interested in observing in the field of assessment; to see how different forces struggle to canonise a specific idea of assessment, to centralise it and make it hegemonic, while displacing other ideas as marginal. These marginal ideas, however, remain as potential centripetal forces that may destabilise predominant meanings through intertextual dialogue, discussion and resistance.

Additionally, both Foucault and Bakhtin understand discourse as historically embedded and, thus, indicate the need to study discursive practices not only in the present but also in their historical construction. The Foucauldian concept of *genealogy* is related to this historical conception of discourse. In terms of analysis, such an approach involves a 'focus on systems of ideas as historical practices through which the objects of the world are constructed and become systems of action' (Popkewitz and Brennan, 1998: 11) and 'to explore how reason is produced within a set of historical relations that does not emphasize causality' (Ibid.: 15). There is not a linear idea of history but one that emphasises the presence of historically developed knowledge in the current construction of discourses.

From the perspective of Bakhtin (1990), discursive genres are historical in nature as they have been developed in specific spheres of human action according to the needs and ideological trends of a determined moment. According to him, 'every utterance is a link in a very complexly organised chain of other utterances' (Ibid.: 258), or what Kristeva later denominates *intertextuality*. We do not speak in a vacuum and for the first time about something; each time we enunciate a word we respond to all that has been said about the topic and we assume a perspective on it (with different levels of consciousness), adding one more link to the dialogic chain that constitutes the history of discursive genres.

In summary, in terms of a general theoretical and methodological framework critical discourse analysis is the approach that the researcher considered as the most adequate, given the research questions to be answered and the problem to be addressed in this study. This approach, however, is derived from a specific variation of CDA which is based on Foucauldian and Bakhtinian ideas of discourse and power. This facilitates the observation of the problem from a perspective that is consistent with its nature, as discourses on assessment can be understood in the context of multiple interactions between actors, institutions and systems, which are embedded in ideological struggles for power and are also historically constructed.

In terms of the theoretical approach towards policy, it must be noted that policy sociology is also considered as a relevant reference in this study. Unlike *policy science*, which is more practice-oriented, decontextualised and responsive to current tendencies in some education research to support evidence-based policy, *policy scholarship* has an approach that is highly consistent with that of this study. In Byrne and Ozga's (2008: 7) terms:

'Policy sociologists locate education and education policy in the context of ideological and political struggle. Policy is conceptualised as process; its exploration is located in a wide framework of enquiry in which 'education' is a part, but not the whole, and 'policy' as process is understood not as abstract and coherent but as 'incomplete and unstable' (Ball 2006, 17). Policy sociology is concerned with such questions as who defines policy? Who sets the agenda and in whose interests (Ozga 1987)?'

The need for thinking about assessment policymaking as embedded in a broader political, ideological and historical context, and as a process where instability is constitutive of its nature, makes policy sociology the appropriate framework to analyse policy processes. Additionally, policy sociology uses methodological tools that are compatible with those proposed here, especially those where the idea of *policy as text* and *policy as discourse* is the main approach of analysis (see for example Ball, 1990 and 2012).

Additionally, policy sociology emphasises the dimension of practice as a place where things are not simply *implemented* but rather *enacted*. In Ball et al.'s (2012: 6) words:

'(...) many of the studies that explore how policies are put into practice talk of 'implementation' which is generally seen either as a 'top-down' or 'bottom up' process of making policy work, and these studies 'stress the demarcation between policy and implementation' (Grantham 2001: 854). In contrast, we see policy enactments as a dynamic and non-linear aspect of the whole complex that makes up the policy process, of which policy in school is just one part.'

This is also the case in most research on assessment reform, where the analysis remains in the boundaries of how to improve processes of reform implementation and dissemination rather than expand on the complexities of a non-linear understanding of the process (see for example Gardner et al., 2010; Baird and Lee-Kelley, 2009).

Although limited in number, there are some studies on assessment from the perspective of policy sociology, such as that of Kathryn Ecclestone (2002) on the GNVQ system in England. Here the author studies not only the formulation of policies but also the interaction of these with the ideological, economic and political areas, along with the way in which policies are re-interpreted at the meso and micro-levels of the education system, following Ball's concept of *policy trajectory*. As it has been mentioned in *Chapter 1*, studies like this are relevant both to the field of policy studies and of assessment and are certainly addressed in different sections of this research. The thesis itself hopes to contribute to this body of research, which remains scarce.

This study seeks to contribute to the field in additional ways. I agree with Ball et al.'s statement that 'There is more to teaching and school life than policy' (2012: 6) and, thus, I look at practice not only as the place where policies are enacted but also as a space where other discourses emerge and are transmitted and re-interpreted, and which could be competing with those coming from the government. Moreover, I add some other actors and systems to those usually considered in the analysis of policy processes (i.e. policy elites, local administrators and the school community). The influence of mass media, teacher education, education research, foreign education systems through policy borrowing, amongst others, are also included in this complex network where discourses on assessment are created, transmitted, translated and re-interpreted.

II. THEORETICAL TOOLS

On the basis of the theoretical decisions described above, three specific theoretical tools were selected in order to facilitate the process of analysis and interpretation: *polysystems theory*, *intertextual analysis* and *critical/ideological analysis of discourse*. All of them are consistent with the principles of CDA, as it is understood here, and have been

developed in the context of semiotic and discursive traditions. Only two of them have been used in social sciences (*intertextual analysis* and *critical/ideological analysis of discourse*), while the third and more overarching tool (*polysystems theory*) has been mainly used to reconceptualise the field of literary studies.

II. 1. Polysystems theory

Before explaining what this theoretical tool consists of and why it is relevant to my study, it is necessary to situate it in the broad context of systems thinking in order to avoid confusion with other tools that are similar in form but not in content. It is, at a general level, part of the criticism in which all systemic ideas originate: it is against the scientific reductionism of positivism that studies parts and describes phenomena as isolated things instead of considering them as a complex and interrelated whole (Flood, 2006; Even-Zohar, 1990). However, it does not belong to the tradition of what is known as 'systems thinking', at least not in the static version that was developed from a functionalist perspective (Flood, 2006).

Instead it works with the logic of Hammersley's (2002) criticism of systemic functionalist views in sociological enquiry. He criticises these views because they operate with an ideal of society that emerges from an engineering model that is not consistent with the vision of the world that should be characteristic of social studies. In the engineering model, everything functions in a mechanical fashion and systems are seen as static structures where things circulate always in the same direction. As Hammersley indicates, there no space is left for interaction, interpretation, variety of perspectives and complexity, all fundamental aspects of qualitative enquiry (2002: 83-101). System thinking perspectives have also been criticised because in them 'Very little is said about processes that go on in social affairs, such as cultural activities, political trading and power struggles.' (Flood, 2006: 121). Even-Zohar (1990)

develops his theoretical tool from the same appraisal, indicating that static system theory, where a system is studied in its internal functions and elements, only studies systems as isolated, closed and homogeneous *monosystems*. This perspective also lacks a diachronic perspective able to highlight the historical and cultural context where the system is situated.

In Flood's (2006) terms, then, polysystems theory is closer to a more constructivist and interpretive approach that he denominates *systemic thinking* and, because of its consideration of power struggles and historical contexts, is probably closer to what he labels as *Critical Systems Theory*. What Even-Zohar (1990) proposes is to think of an open, changing and heterogeneous structure, namely a *polysystem*, which 'intends to account for how a system operates both "in principle" and "in time."' (Ibid.: 11), that is, both in a synchronic and a diachronic way. A *polysystem* is defined, then, as '... a multiple system, a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap (...), yet functioning as one structured whole, whose members are interdependent' (Ibid.: 11). Figure 2 represents the differences in perspective between positivism, functionalism and (poly)systemic thinking.

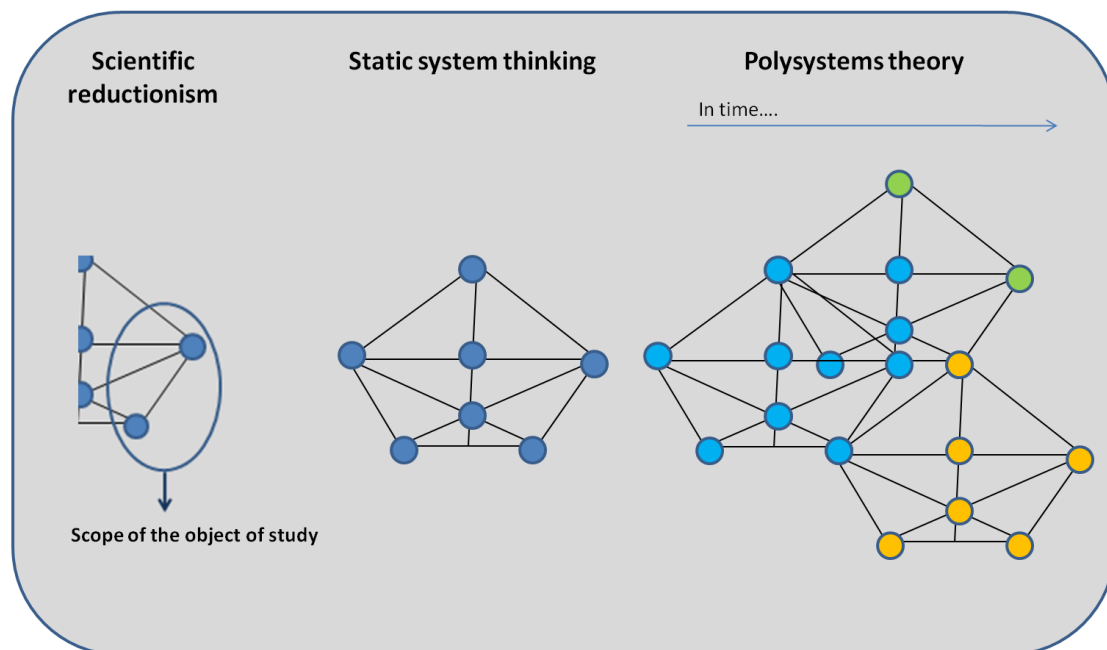


Figure 2. Comparison between positivist, functionalist and polysystemic approaches

More specifically, a polysystem is dynamic in nature and involves a permanent struggle between the central and the peripheral. Using Bakhtinian terms, Even-Zohar (1990: 14) explains how in a polysystem by 'centrifugal vs. centripetal motion, phenomena are driven from the center to the periphery while, conversely, phenomena may push their way into the center and occupy it'. There is a hierarchy in the systems in what Even-Zohar sees as 'the permanent struggle between the various strata' (1990: 14); the one that rules the production of texts (e.g. an assessment paradigm or a policy that becomes hegemonic against another policy at a particular time) is central. Simultaneously, each system can have its own centre. By processes of canonisation (institutionalisation), something that was peripheral (marginal or centrifugal) may become the centre of a system or the centre of the whole polysystem. This theory takes into account the tensions between strata both inside a system and in the polysystem, that is, the struggle between canonised and non-canonised strata. The former are the texts 'which are accepted as legitimate by the dominant circles within a culture' and the latter correspond to those 'which are rejected by these circles as illegitimate and whose products are often forgotten in the long run by the community' (1990: 15). Texts circulate inside this complex structure and are produced according to a *repertoire*, that is, according to a series of laws for text production. These repertoires can be *primary* or *innovative* (Even-Zohar, 1990: 20-21), which means that they introduce a change inside a system or the whole polysystem, or *secondary* or *conservative* (Ibid.), that is, one that reproduces the hegemonic repertoire. Figure 4 illustrates the way in which these struggles are conceptualised in the theory.

Such a theoretical tool offers a good way to operationalise the Foucauldian and Bakhtinian principles for CDA developed above, as it contains the ideas of power struggles over meaning; interaction between multiple systems; and the historical dimension in terms of a diachronic perspective. What is done in this study is to reconstruct the polysystem of

assessment in Chile on the basis of the detection of *repertoires* through assessment texts produced by different actors in different moments of Chilean history.

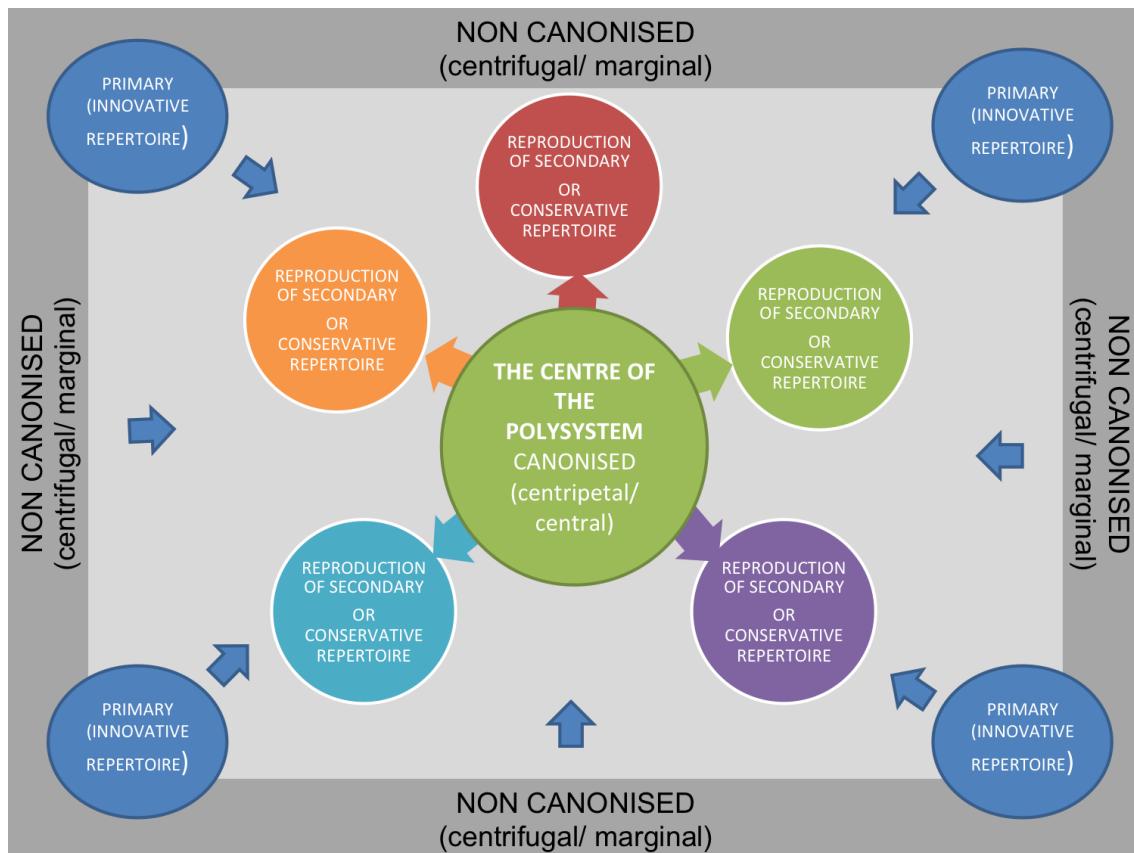


FIGURE 3. Representation of struggles for meaning in the polysystem.

II.2. Critical/ideological discourse analysis and intertextuality

The question arises as to how the researcher attempts the process of reconstructing the polysystem. The logic of polysystems theory demands the analysis of multiple texts in order to detect their laws of production (i.e. the *repertoire*) to later locate them in the context of groups that constitute systems. This enables the observation of different discourses on assessment as well as the detection of specific points of view in specific groups that share the same ideology on the topic and who interact with other systems by reinforcing or questioning their ideas. Given these requirements, two tools were selected because of their consistency

with the discursive perspective being unfolded here and their usefulness as previous steps before the polysystem is reconstructed.

Each text on assessment was analysed through what has been defined by Van Dijk as *critical discourse analysis* (2008) and *ideological discourse analysis* (1999), without a clear distinction between the two. What I take from Van Dijk is his capability of transforming the general framework of CDA in social sciences, which has been generally understood as the use of an unexplainable 'analytic mentality' (Potter and Wetherell, 1995), into a set of very concrete procedures that facilitate the detection of ideology in discourse.

Van Dijk's approach is more precise about the way in which the researcher approaches the texts when intending to account for ideology. For the process of analysis he considers aspects such as: access to discourse, setting, genre, communicative acts and social meanings, participant positions and roles, (macro) speech acts, macrosemantics (topics), superstructures (text schemata), local meaning and coherence, style (variations of syntax, lexicon and sound), and rhetoric. He also understands the semantic study of local meanings as one of the most revealing and relevant for CDA as it includes aspects like the 'level of specificity and degree of completeness'; 'perspective', that is, the point of view of the speaker, for example, through the use of pronouns to include him/herself in a group; 'Implicitness: implications presuppositions, vagueness'; and 'local coherence' (2008: 312 – 313). When one summarizes the main arguments given by the writer-speaker, one is establishing the propositions or macropropositions that give structure to the perspective exposed by him or her.

This is the kind of analysis that was carried out in this thesis with each discursive practice related to assessment, in a combination of the principles of both Potter and Wetherell (1995) and Van Dijk (1999; 2008). How this methodological framework unfolds into a set of specific procedures is explained in the next section of this chapter.

The concept of discursive practice is understood in this work from the three-dimensional perspective proposed by Fairclough (2009), where the relationship between

discourse and social structure is seen as dialectic, dynamic and, because of that, as a 'felicitous ambiguity' (2009: 66). From this perspective, the dimensions of *social practice* and *text* are mediated by a third dimension, namely *discursive practice*. Fairclough uses Halliday's idea of *text*, which includes both spoken and written language; *text* is, according to him, one dimension of discourse. Another dimension is 'being an instance of social (political, ideological, etc.) practice' (2009: 71). *Discursive practices* are in this scheme a third dimension that considers the processes of production, distribution and consumption of texts. He defines this three-dimensional structure as:

'(...) an attempt to bring together three analytical traditions, each of which is indispensable for discourse analysis. These are the tradition of close textual and linguistic analysis within linguistics, the macrosociological tradition of analysing social practice in relation to social structures, and the interpretivist or microsociological tradition of seeing social practice as something which people actively produce and make sense of on the basis of shared commonsense procedures.'

By bringing all these tools together, Fairclough (2009: 72) states the main aim of discourse analysis is:

'(...) to trace explanatory connections between ways (normative, innovative, etc.) in which texts are put together and interpreted, how texts are produced, distributed and consumed in wider sense, and the nature of the social practice in terms of its relation to social structures and struggles.'

His conception is summarised in Figure 4:

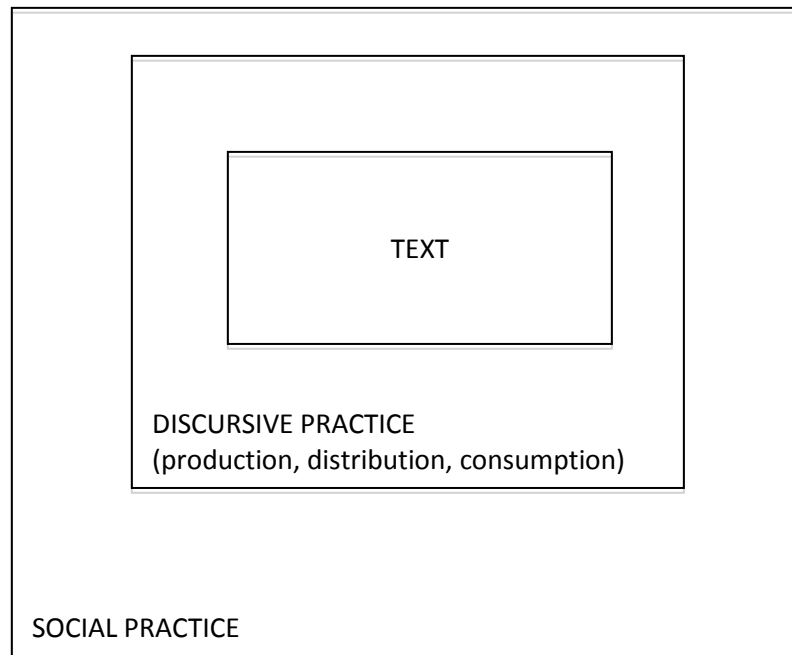


FIGURE 4. Three-dimensional conception of discourse (Fairclough, 2009: 73)

Once each discursive practice has been situated in a historical and ideological context in terms of its perspective on assessment, the researcher examines how all these practices are grouped and how they interact with each other. As Hall (2008) states, a discourse is not manifested in a single text, practice or institution but in many that are characteristic of a specific historical context. When it becomes possible to group certain 'discursive events' that share some aspects (object, style, political pattern, among others), one is faced to what he terms a 'discursive formation' (2008: 73). This highlights the intertextual dimension of discourse developed by Kristeva (1987) on the basis of Bakhtin's idea that 'any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another' (ibid.: 37), which means that there is a permanent dialogue between texts and inside texts.

In the context of this research, I used intertextuality as a theoretical tool that worked as a second step that facilitated the reconstruction of the polysystem. Like Fairclough, I see the concept in relation to power struggles and the notion of hegemony, although I see it as integrated in Bakhtin's initial idea and as not something that has to be added to it to make it

‘particularly fruitful’ (2009: 103). I think that intertextuality and Bakhtinian notions of *polyphony*, *heteroglossia* and *dialogue* already account for:

‘(...) intertextual processes and processes of contesting and restructuring orders of discourse as processes of hegemonic struggle in the sphere of discourse, which have effects upon, as well as being affected by, hegemonic struggle in the wider sense.’ (Ibid.)

By grouping the ideologically analysed texts, then, intertextual analysis serves as a tool to reconstruct the systems involved in assessment, as well as their relationships and their ideological discussions.

These two steps enabled the researcher to propose an interpretation of how the assessment polysystem in Chile works at present and in time and, thus, allowed for a critical analysis of how this polysystem has been constituted in the context of an ideological struggle over its meaning. Figure 5 summarizes the steps followed in the analysis of assessment discursive practices and the next section explains how these theoretical and methodological principles unfold in a set of specific methods.

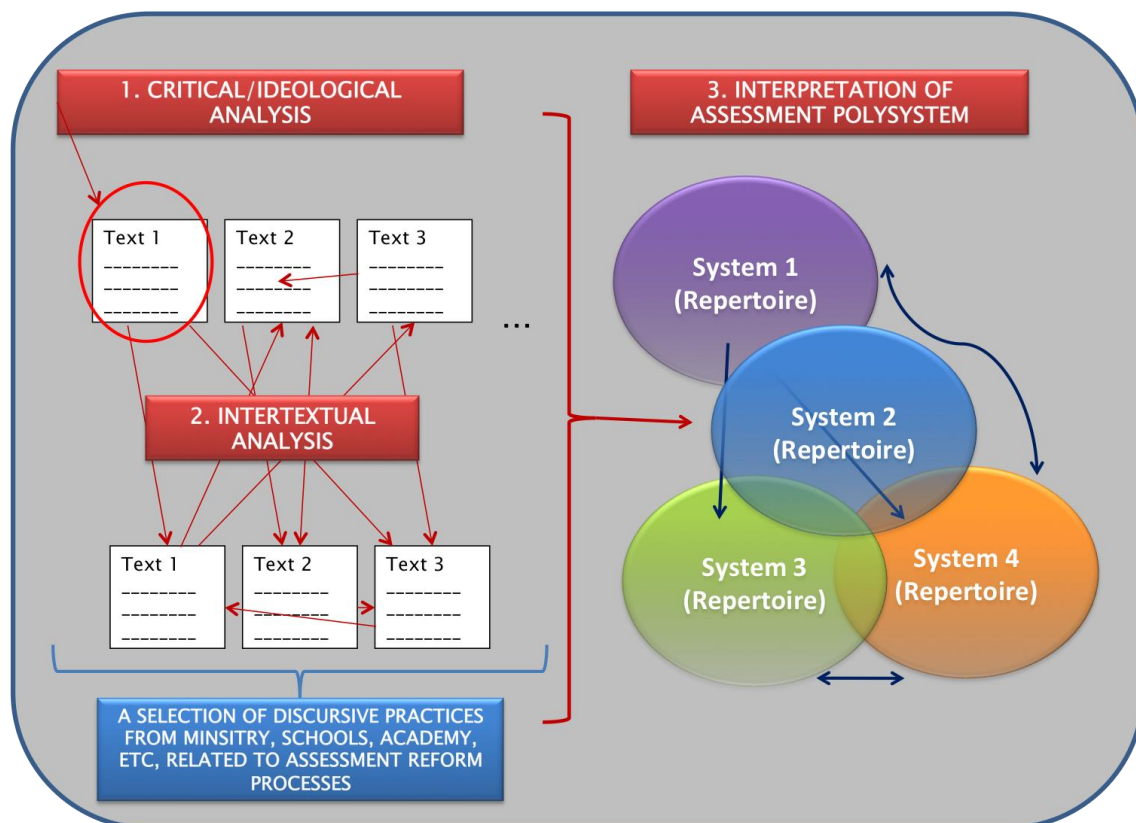


FIGURE 5. Summary of theoretical-methodological framework

III. METHODS

The framework set out above was translated into a series of very concrete and specific procedures. First of all, evidence was needed about discursive practices around assessment policy processes both for the present (synchronic view of the polysystem) and other periods of Chilean history of education (diachronic view of the polysystem). On the basis of historiographical sources about education in Chile (Labarca, 1939; Subercaseaux, 1997; Monsalve, 1998; Egaña, 2000; Núñez, 2002; Egaña et al., 2003; Cox and Gysling, 2009), four periods were determined as crucial, each one beginning with a relevant reform process with implications for the assessment regime of the time. For each time lapse a minimum of twenty years was considered as a reasonable time for discourses on assessment to spread throughout the polysystem. In order to avoid bias and silences from these sources in terms of their selection of specific events and names, triangulation was carried out through direct reading of documents from each period. However, the archive is already a place of selection, so awareness about potential absences here must be borne in mind.

III.1. Periods

The first period from 1860 to 1900, is the longest one. In this period, the country had recently become independent (officially in 1810) and the foundations of its project as a nation, including what was to be done in education, were beginning to be settled. This is why, unlike the other periods, 40 years are considered, as the institutional precariousness of the time made reform dissemination processes slower than what can be expected for the following decades.

In 1860 the *First Organic Law for Primary Instruction* was published by the Conservative government of Montt, followed by a series of regulations that were made in the

context of new Liberal (but also elite-belonging) authorities. Two features make of this year an interesting starting point for the first period: 1) it is the first attempt to give a more formal and stable framework to Chilean public education, which was previously destined to elites, or to lower classes only through very isolated (and patronising) charity initiatives; 2) and it is a law initiated by a Conservative government but implemented by a Liberal one, aspect that might add tensions and ideological discussions in policy processes. These laws and regulations had implications for assessment processes and, thus, constituted an appropriate source to observe how policies are interpreted and used by different actors and systems.

The second period is that from 1920 to 1940. The beginning of the 20th century in Chile is accompanied by a diagnosis of the education system that denounces its lack of coverage (in 1900 only 13% of the population was receiving formal education [Subercaseaux, 1997: 97]) and its attachment to traditional methods of teaching. In this context, teachers and academics initiated a professional dialogue through congresses, meetings, new professional journals, and began to claim for a change in the education system. This is the climate where the *Law for Compulsory Primary Education* was developed and published in 1920, which made this year another interesting point to start a period of analysis.

Along with this, the emergence of the voice of teachers in this epoch made it particularly attractive in comparison to other periods. Their voice became so relevant that they were appointed to contribute to the design of a new reform in the late 1920s but were later excluded for a change in decision of the authoritarian government of the time (Carlos Ibáñez del Campo). Political changes in the second decade of the period made it also interesting to observe how ideological struggles determine the path followed by education reforms, and by assessment reforms in particular.

The third reform considered as highly relevant in Chilean history of education is that implemented by the Christian Democrat president Eduardo Frei Montalva in 1965. Along with a very successful increase in provision, these years witness the canonisation of a technical

discourse on assessment, which for the first time is not only taken for granted as a practice in education but is understood as a subject of scientific enquiry included as part of teachers' professional development and seen as a framework for the development of standardised national testing systems. In terms of how much of all this theoretical discourse (mostly behaviourist at the time) is disseminated and implemented across the system and how this changes influence school dynamics, this year seemed to be a good beginning for the third period. Additionally, the following socialist government of Salvador Allende and the violent disruption of it by the imposition of Pinochet's dictatorship, contributed to make the period a very fascinating one in terms of the relationship between power struggles and education reforms, particularly those related to assessment.

Finally, the fourth period is that of the present decades. The 1990s begin with a reform in education that seeks to put the Chilean system up-to-date after 17 years of Pinochet's authoritarian government and promotes the slogan of "equity and quality" for all. However, this reform is built on the basis of a legal framework created at the end of the dictatorship, which makes of all the efforts in the period an interesting palimpsest full of tensions. This is the framework where the current national testing system is established in terms of a control device in the context of education understood through the laws of market and economy, and at the same time initiatives more related to critical thinking and formative use of assessment are developed and promoted.

It must be clarified that this most recent period is understood as more relevant to the study than are the more distant ones, so more space is dedicated in this thesis to account for it. The first three periods are included as a way to observe how the polysystem of assessment has changed over time, including what has been maintained in it in terms of persistent policy strategies and assessment discourses that have lasted until today, overlapping in teachers' daily discursive practices.

III. 2. Data selection and construction

For each one of the periods indicated above a selection of discursive practices was made, including evidence from different social spheres considered relevant to assessment reform processes. These spheres were initially determined on the basis of the results from the pilot of the analysis of sources (see Appendix 3 for details) and were confirmed throughout the processes of data selection and analysis.

III.2.1. Types of sources

There are two main types of sources used in the process of data collection: documents and interviews. In relation to documents, the historical dimension of the study made it necessary to work with indirect or mediate access sources of data construction (Scott, 1990), i.e., documents of different types. The advantage of this is that the data are not created by the researcher but constitute the discourse of participants without the intervention of a research purpose in its design. However, this involves simultaneously an additional difficulty in deciphering and interpreting the document, processes in which the researcher is inevitably involved in a dialogue with the text (Scott, 1990).

As may be inferred from the theoretical bases of this work, documents are not understood as a means to access the “reality” of a certain period of time. Such an approach would be called into question both by contemporary historiography (see for example White, 1973 and 2003; De Certeau, 1993) and by theorists on the use of documents in social sciences. The dimension of meaning in document research involves, according to Scott, and ‘interpretive understanding’ which is ‘the end-product of a hermeneutic process in which the researcher relates the literal meanings to the context in which they were produced in order to assess the meaning of the text as a whole’ (1990: 30). This is precisely what was done when documents

were considered from the discursive and systemic perspective developed in this study. Documents, when seen as discursive practices, have to be understood in relation to a context of production, circulation and reception, which allows a more critical and richer reading of them. As Prior (2003: 168) indicates:

‘(...) it is the production and consumption of documents in their local settings that are important – how the document fits into the entire network of activities and agents of which it forms a part. That is the key to the research process.’

The aim of this research was to reconstruct the networks of activities and agents to which Prior (2003) is referring, specifically those involved in the processes of assessment reforms at each historical interval. Such was the perspective through which documents were understood in the thesis.

In relation to the second source of data, interviews aimed to enrich the information that was obtained through documents by adding aspects that could not be found in written sources. Consequently, they were semi-structured in order to keep a balance between openness of answers and previous document reading as a basis for formulating more specific questions. Such a source also contributed to a better understanding of the topic by providing the opportunity of direct interaction with relevant actors from different spheres, which is not feasible through documents.

These data were complementary with documentary sources and were analysed as discursive practices in the same way as documents. This means that, again, and consistent with developments in qualitative research in recent decades, they were not understood as a way to obtain “hard ” data from “reality” which can help to build the “truth” about a phenomenon. Authors like Mishler (1986) have highlighted the need to conceptualise interviews as speech acts between speakers, both relevant participants during the interaction and also for the process of analysing data. As Freebody indicates, interviews must be understood as ‘cultural practices’ in which people are trying to ‘find ways of telling the truth-for-then-and-there’ (2003: 168 – 169). Interviews must also be analysed as a moment of interaction between two

speakers which develops knowledge about their points of view and beliefs about a topic in the context of the *here-and-now* in which the interview was carried out. As Walford (2001) and Freebody (2003) further suggest, it is necessary to recognise the conflictual aspect of interaction and to incorporate it into the research process.

The critical, context-sensitive and discursive approach assumed in this study required such a view in relation to interviews. This approach accounts for their content in terms of the perspectives being sustained by the actors, the way in which these perspectives discuss and dialogue with those of the documents and the circumstances that settle the boundaries where communication occurs. The sections on data selection and analysis provide a clearer and more detailed explanation of how these principles about documents and interviews are applied in practice.

III.2.2. Selection of documents

I agree with Scott's idea about document sampling as a task that mainly involves 'a theoretically and empirically meaningful selection of documents' (1990: 27) rather than a purpose of representativeness in terms of reaching all possible evidence. First, it is known that a considerable amount of evidence might not be available (and its absence may have relevance for data interpretation), but it is also understood that it is not sensible to think of including absolutely everything that is related to the topic as research could become an endless task.

Consequently, my selection of documents was based on the theoretical framework described above and motivated by the research questions of this study. It involved the search of documents in web and physical archives that were considered reliable. By reliable I mean only that they were official and related to recognised institutions and, thus, the authenticity and soundness of their material could be trusted. In the case of websites, most of the

documents they contain are scanned originals, so there is no reason to suspect falsification. However, I am aware of the (sometimes ideologically motivated) process of document selection involved in official sources as well as of the discussion that can be hidden behind the surface of any official document, and I took this into account when interpreting research data. The websites consulted were the Congress Library website, the Ministry of Education's online library, the OEI [Organisation of Iberoamerican States] website, the UNESCO website, university websites and Memoria Chilena [Chilean Memory], a website made with archival purposes in order to make documents available to all citizens and which is managed by the DIBAM [Direction for Libraries, Archives and Museums]. The physical archives considered were the National Archive, the National Library, the National Congress Library, as well as some private school and family archives, and a few sources that belong to the researcher's personal collection. To facilitate the distinction between primary and secondary sources throughout the thesis, a different referencing system is used for each of them. The former are referenced using footnotes, while the latter are referenced in the body of the text.

In the process of search, evidence of discursive practices around assessment reform processes was needed for each of the periods defined by the researcher. The general criterion for selection was that of documents that referred to assessment and that corresponded to the periods concerned. Such criteria were, of course, subject to availability. I did not restrict my search to a school level, region of the country, discipline, type of education or any other preliminary boundaries because, although it would have narrowed down the amount of data, it would have also narrowed down the scope of research in an undesired way. A polysystemic approach requires, as Even-Zohar states, no *a priori* value judgments to select the object of study. If the object does not remain observable in all its wideness, limits based on prejudice or any other value judgements could be intervening and leaving the interpretation of the polysystem, thus, incomplete.

The process of document sampling was twofold. It involved, on the one hand, a snowballing strategy based on historiographical sources about Chilean history of education. All the documents referred in these sources that the researcher thought might contain relevant information in order to answer the research questions were initially selected and searched. On the other hand, before the fieldwork took place, a keyword search of relevant and reliable archive websites was also carried out. This search was based on words related to the topic (e.g., *assessment, examination, testing, marks, grades*, etc) as well as other words connected to document genres where I thought relevant information could be found (e.g., *decree, law, regulation, primary instruction, testimony, memoires*, etc.). Both strategies involved successive and iterative rounds of snowballing, that is, all relevant documents mentioned in the sources already found were subsequently selected and searched.

The researcher read all the documents found before the fieldwork and a second selection process was executed. Here documents were excluded or included considering the periods concerned and their relevance and meaningfulness in relation to the topic under scrutiny. A considerable amount of source material was retained as relevant for an understanding of the context of the education system of the period but excluded from the main process of analysis in this second phase of selection. It must also be noted that a small amount of documents came from the researcher's personal collection and that is why some physical exemplars are part of this phase although the archive search on the field had not yet been done. Figure 6 summarises the selection process before the fieldwork, which resulted in 76 documents being selected as relevant for my research. The processes of piloting (see Appendix 3) and of initial analysis as a basis to build the interview schedules were effectuated taking these documents into account.

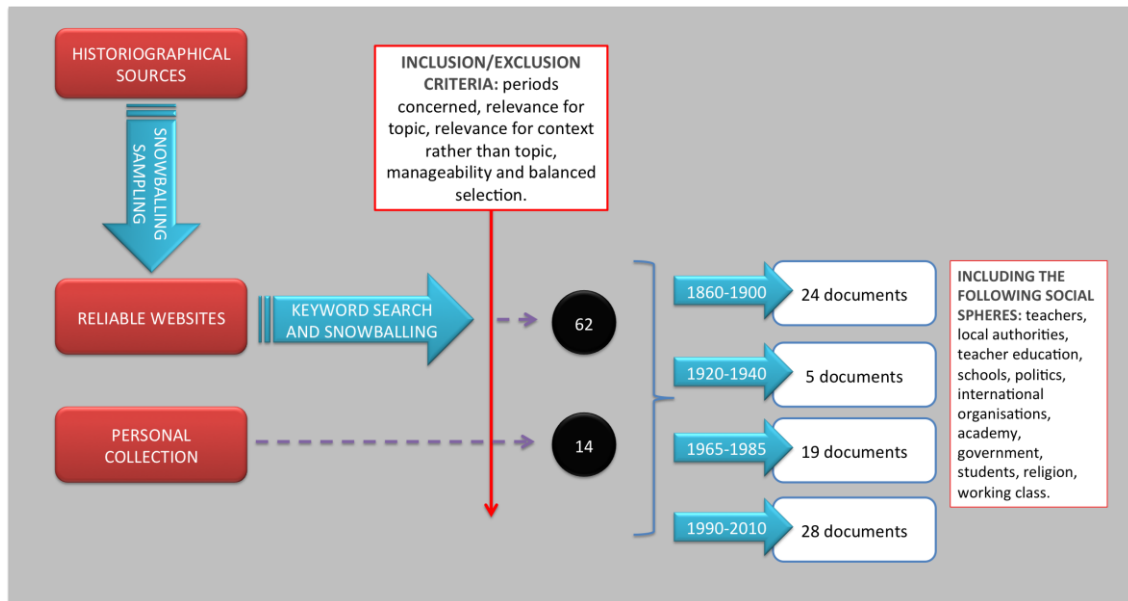


FIGURE 6. Summary of the process of document selection before fieldwork.

For the second round of document selection archive fieldwork was the main task, although some new web sources were selected on the basis of snowballing sampling strategies employed in this second stage. The sampling strategies were, on the one hand, snowballing from historiographical sources (not all the documents mentioned in these texts were found through websites) as well as from documents. On the other hand, systematic archive keyword search was carried out. The latter included the databases of the National Congress Library, the National Library and the National Archive. Initially, access to some old schools was also granted but the education conflict in Chile during the fieldwork period made it impossible because the two schools contacted with this purpose were occupied by the students. Despite this, a small quantity of documents from one of these schools was obtained before fieldwork was carried out through a teacher who works there. Further evidence from school was also obtained through access to a family private archive. In this phase of data collection multiple sources were excluded, some because of their low relevance to the topic, others were kept only as a context reference but not as an object of analysis, and a group of them were unavailable in Chilean archives. With these criteria in mind, 90 documents were finally selected. Figure 7 summarises the results of this stage of data collection.

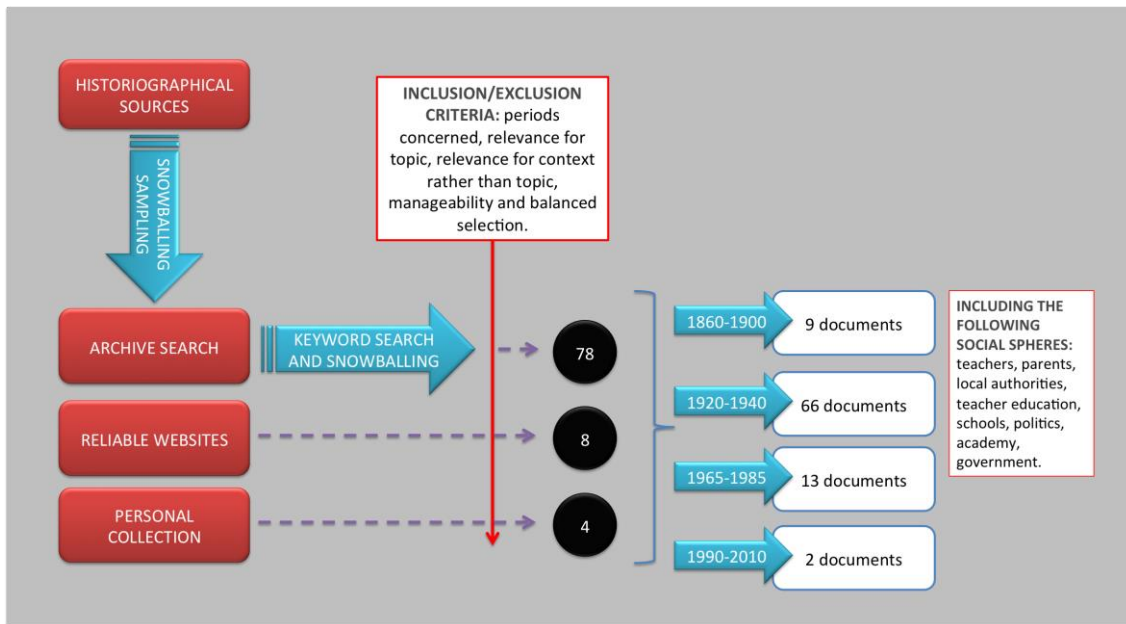


FIGURE 7. Summary of the process of document selection after fieldwork.

The initial number of documents selected for analysis was 193. The process of analysis itself involved further exclusions after a more detailed reading, or on the basis of *theoretical* (or discursive in this case) *saturation* (Prior, 2003), that is, when discourses and perspectives around assessment began to repeat in a specific group or period and, thus, no new information emerged. After this process, the amount of documents was reduced to 166, as specified in the figures above. In terms of boundaries, the document selection was done intending to keep a balance, when relevant, in terms of geographical location, level of education (considering mainly priority to primary and secondary school), type of school and discipline. Figure 8 offers a summary of the systems that were determined as relevant for the assessment polysystem throughout iterative processes of search and analysis. These systems are present in different historical periods and assume different relationships and interactions between actors in each phase. Discourses on assessment circulate between these systems and actors, reflecting different struggles over its meaning.

In terms of the quality of documents, if criteria indicated by authors like Scott (1990) and Prior (2003) are followed, something has already been said about their *authenticity* and

credibility. Most documents were original or scanned copies of the original and, if not, the great variety of documents considered for the study allowed for triangulation of information in case of doubt. This ensured the authenticity of the documents in terms of their soundness. In terms of authorship as part of the process of assessing authenticity, there was no possibility of knowing who “really” wrote policy documents or exactly how many hands had intervened in the design of a national test, just to give some examples of problematic cases. This was not relevant for this study, as I was concerned with the roles of the transmitter(s) and the receiver(s) in a particular situation of communication rather than with the “real” authorship of the documents. Or, following Scott’s (1990) terms, my concern in analysis was with the *intended content*, the *received content* and the *internal meaning*.

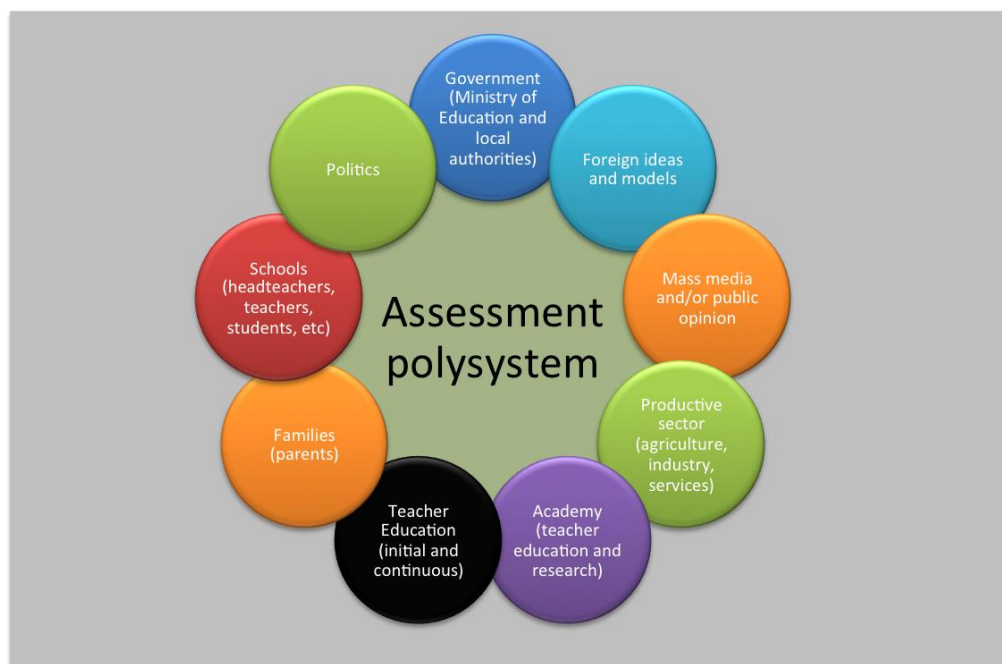


FIGURE 8. Main systems considered in the study.

In relation to *credibility* as a second criterion, Scott (1990) promotes a permanent distrust of documents as the best attitude in using this kind of source in social research, as they can be intertwined with political, economic and ideological interests which might affect their sincerity in the choice of a point of view. If the focus of my study was to have access to

some “reality” through documents and the approach to document analysis was that of these sources understood as ways to access some “truth”, credibility would be an issue. However, what Scott (1990) indicates is highly consistent with the filter through which I read the documents. Critical/ideological analysis of discourse means precisely reading texts as places of ideological struggle and interplay of interests, where language strategies are employed with the aim of presenting assessment, or any other aspect of the world, from a specific perspective.

In terms of *representativeness*, it must be noted first that it was not a concern in this study, at least in the traditional sense of the word. Prior (2003: 153-154), referring to document sampling in qualitative research, indicates that these kinds of studies ‘... by their very nature cannot be representative’ and later adds that ‘(...) in qualitative work the use of sampling to refine ideas rather than to satisfy the demands of calculation is a well-established principle’. It should be borne in mind, thus, that this kind of representativeness was not important in the context of the theoretical and methodological framework selected for this study.

However, as Scott (1990) states, the researcher must be aware of the extent to which the documents being used are not representative. In my case, for example, most documents were taken from open-archival or open-published official and private sources (Scott, 1990: 11). Only a few of them came from closed or restricted access sources. The implication of this is that, when open access documents are deposited in some place according to their survival in time, this deposit can be ‘a deliberate, systematic and selective process which results in the survival of an unrepresentative selection’ (Scott, 1990: 25). Here I was concerned with *discursive* representativeness and, thus, with the space of the archive as a potential place for ideologically motivated misrepresentation. This aspect, nonetheless, was considered in my interpretation of the analysis of documents. I considered what voices were more present than

others and how this could be related to ideological struggles that allowed the survival of only those documents from the elite.

Finally, in terms of the criterion of *meaning*, what Scott proposes for documents, i.e. the hermeneutic process referred in previous sections of this chapter, is very coherent with the discursive perspective assumed in the thesis. According to Scott (1990), in his/her dialogue with the text, the researcher observes meanings, genres, styles, rhetorical resources and its context of production and reception, to finally propose a well-founded interpretation of its meaning. Given that a framework like the one proposed here is very similar to the approach Scott suggests, the criterion of meaning can be considered as accomplished.

A complete list of the documents finally selected for analysis is presented in Appendix 1, considering title, social sphere, institutional affiliation, discursive genre, authors, intended audience, political affiliation (if applicable) and time and place of publication.

III.2.3. Selection of participants for interviews

Interviews were designed and thought as part of the sources of evidence about assessment reform processes in Chile. A small group of interviewees was considered adequate as the emphasis of the analysis is on depth rather than breadth, and also because interviews are seen as complementary to the documentary sources. Two types of participants were considered: teachers and policy authorities. Most interviews with both profiles took between 30 minutes to one hour, with a tendency in younger teachers to shorter accounts in comparison to their experienced colleagues.

For the sphere of education government, a purposeful sample of four key actors in the process of AfL reform was executed. The criteria for selection considered a variety of roles in the policymaking process, in order to gain an understanding of the variety of perspectives,

interactions and relationships that can be found in this particular system. The roles of each participant are detailed below:

1. **Participant 1 (PA1):** held a leading role in the Assessment and Curriculum Unit (UCE) during the period of AfL reform.
2. **Participant 2 (PA2):** an academic who was working in the UCE in a role more related to theoretical support.
3. **Participant 3 (PA3):** was member of the assessment group of the UCE in a more executive role in the process.
4. **Participant 4 (PA4):** person in charge of coordinating the implementation of the AfL programme in the University of Chile.¹

The acronym stands for 'Policy Authority' along with the number of the interviewee. This term was selected rather than 'policy-maker' to avoid bias towards a top-down perspective of policy processes, where government authorities create policies that others have to implement, highlighting instead a perspective where all the actors involved in policy processes *make* policy (Ball et al., 2012). Although not all the participants are government authorities as such, they held positions as representatives of the Ministry's discourse at the time, which allows them to be called *policy authorities*.

The aims of the interviews were: to gain a better understanding of how policy authorities conceptualise and make sense of their own decision making processes and the reforms they design and intend to scale up; to understand their view about other actors and systems involved in assessment reform processes and the degree of responsibility they assume as part of the process; and to detect, in the context of their narrative about the process,

¹ Participant 4 was initially the person who participated in the pilot interview but given the absence of changes to the interview schedule after the pilot and the richness of the information contained in this interview, the researcher decided to include it as part of the data.

conflicting points and potential contradictions experienced by policy authorities in assessment reform processes. The complete interview schedule can be found in Appendix 6.

As part of the evidence for the sphere of school a series of interviews with teachers were also carried out. A purposeful sample of 20 teachers was constructed. The selection process aimed for a balance in teachers' degree of experience (this is also related to the historical aspect of the research), level in which they teach, disciplines in which they are specialised, their gender and the type of school in which they were working at the time of the interview. This was not with the aim of reaching representativeness in the traditional sense of the term but to obtain accounts as varied as possible of teachers' voice about assessment discourses and reform processes. A summary of the selection criteria can be seen in Figure 9.

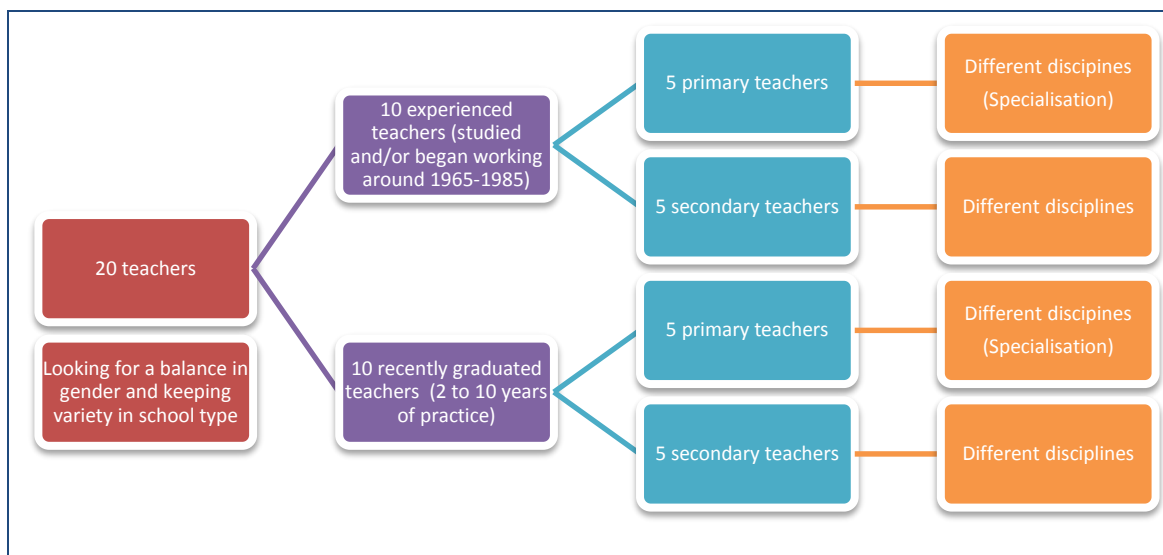


FIGURE 9. Selection criteria of participant teachers

This second group of interviews was designed with three aims: to gain a better understanding, from the perspective of teachers, about the processes involved in translating and adapting assessment policies/theories into practice, both historically and during recent years; to obtain an account about the channels through which policy/theory is disseminated, transformed and adapted into practice, from the perspective of practitioners; and to detect continuities as well as conflicting points and potential contradictions experienced by teachers in these processes. The characteristics of the selected participants are summarised in

Appendix 8. The interview schedule for both experienced and recently graduated teachers can be seen in Appendix 6.

As has been mentioned above, all the interviews in this study were thought of as a means to complement the information obtained through the documents and, thus, to fill the gaps found in the analysis of documents. In order to achieve this aim, they were designed after a first phase of document analysis and literature review, which served as a basis to build more specific questions.

Access to policy authorities was not difficult as all of them are people I worked with during my involvement in the AfL project. This constituted an advantage as the asymmetrical relationship that is usually found when interviewing power elites was not present in this case. In Conti and O'Neil's (2007) terms, the traditional idea of 'studying up' was not an issue here given the shared experience between interviewer and interviewee, which allowed a more symmetric as well as more strategic management of the interaction. Along with this, the change of government in 2010 generated a very unique opportunity of interviewing policy authorities who (after 20 years) were not currently in power and, thus, seemed more predisposed to analyse things in a more critical way. What Batteson and Ball (1995: 203) describe as a 'narrative of justification', that is, the 'legitimation of a perspective through revelation by recipe or by asserting an incontestable agenda' was less present here and interviewees were sometimes surprisingly open to indicate the negative aspects of their work when they were in power.

But this proximity also involved potential risks. Particularly critical here was, as I have indicated in previous pages, my position as a participant in the process, for the 'dangers of 'going native' and being persuaded to see it as 'they' do' (Batteson and Ball, 1995: 202) were very high. However, the presence of a more symmetric relationship here does not mean that the researcher was not aware of discursive strategies used by interviewees. A critical analysis of discourse is the permanent lens through which all sources of evidence were analysed in this

study. Triangulation through other sources of information, interviews to teachers being among those, was a way of keeping a broader and more balanced view.

Teachers were contacted on the basis of the selection criteria explained above. My professional experience has put me in contact with many teachers, so gaining access to interview them was not problematic. The strategy I used to reach them was one of snowballing, that is, of asking teachers I knew to recommend other colleagues who had the profile I needed according to my selection criteria, if those who I knew did not fulfil them already. As a result of this, the group of teachers included participants who I am close to as well as totally unknown professionals but who were keen to participate given the contact was made through someone known to them. Although snowballing always involves the risk of bias, this is balanced by the previous design of a purposeful sample and by the richer account that is usually obtained when the interview takes place in a more relaxed context of interaction (Walford, 2001: 89). Additionally, this information was triangulated with that of the documents analysed for the same period.

All participants, policy authorities and teachers, freely agreed to participate in this research and all ethical requirements were followed. All of them were informed with anticipation about the aims and content of the project and signed a consent form before the interview (see information sheet, format for informed consent and CUREC approval in Appendix 7). There is, however, a potential problem of identification of some of the policy authorities given their very specific role in the UCE during a particular period. Despite this, it is also certain that the information they give does not expose them to any grave harm and that, agreeing with Conti and O'Neil (2007: 79), in 'the practice of studying elites there is less need to protect elites from the power of the researcher' given that their position protects them already. Teachers' names are untraceable and have been kept in anonymity.

As an illustration of the process of interview and transcription, Appendix 11 contains two examples of interview transcripts translated into English, one for each profile (policy authorities and teachers).

III.3. Data analysis

III.3.1. Critical discourse analysis

As I have explained above, the first phase of analysis involved the critical/ideological analysis of each discursive practice, according to the principles defined by Potter and Whetherel (1995) and Van Dijk (1999; 2008). The researcher's linguistic and literary background constituted an additional advantage for accomplishing this task, taking Van Dijk's ideas as a basis. In order to make the process of analysis more organised and transparent, the different aspects considered by Van Dijk (1999; 2008) were broken down into a series of categories for analysis that were considered for each source. The analysis involved three phases:

1) Initial reading

All documentary sources were subjected to a first general reading aimed exclusively at determining whether they were relevant to the research topic. This was not the case with interviews for obvious reasons, although a first reading of them was also executed with the aim of gaining an initial insight around the main patterns and ideas that emerged from them. This first engagement with data was guided by the type of questions that Srivastava and Hopwood (2009:78) suggest for an iterative coding framework in qualitative data analysis:

‘Q1: What are the data telling me? (Explicitly engaging with theoretical, subjective, ontological, epistemological, and field understandings)

Q2: What is it I want to know? (According to research objectives, questions, and theoretical points of interest)

Q3: What is the dialectical relationship between what the data are telling me and what I want to know? (Refining the focus and linking back to research questions)’

This phase also served as a basis to observe differences in the nature of each source (i.e. what it meant to analyse a sample test in contrast to a law or a biographical testimony) and, consequently, to make decisions for the subsequent phases of analysis in each case.

2) Preliminary coding

Before the process of CDA as such took place, but bearing all its aspects in mind, each discursive practice (both documents and interviews) was submitted to a general reading and coding process, in order to make the stage of critical discourse analysis more manageable.

- **Documents**

Some of the documents were focused on a more general theme and contained a specific number of fragments that were relevant to assessment. This was the case, for example, of some general laws that had a section on examinations or journal articles written by teachers where they criticised the assessment system as one aspect among many other points. The preliminary coding of these documents involved reading and highlighting in yellow those fragments which were related to assessment, along with writing codes for the rest of the document in order to systematise the contextual aspects that framed what was said about assessment. When a relevant aspect around pedagogy, curriculum, or an approach to education or ideology was found, it was highlighted in pink.

The procedure was different for those documents entirely dedicated to assessment (e.g. assessment legislation; an article on an assessment controversy; or a text on assessment used in initial teacher education), as it would be absurd to highlight their whole content. What was done in this case was to generate some reading notes where the content of the document was summarised and some meaningful or exemplary quotations from it were transcribed. A similar procedure was followed for some the documents available only as pictures, which did not allow for highlighting or writing on them unless printed.

The coding process was carried out trying to follow a specific logic that would allow for an increasing understanding of the main events of the period, the actors that were involved, the changes that took place and the operation of each system. The researcher started by reading the legislation of a period in chronological order with the aim of tracking changes and potential points of controversy, which were included in the coding process. The entire legislation of a specific level (primary or secondary) was read separately, in order to gain an understanding of the discussions of each system. Then, evidence of diverse nature from the school level was considered (e.g. class reports, minutes of examinations, testimonies of teachers or students, etc.) and the dialogue observed between these sources and between them and the legislation was also considered in the coding process. Finally, available evidence from other social spheres was then analysed (e.g. academic or professional articles, political programmes, minutes of congresses, etc.) and coded.

- **Interviews**

The entire interview coding process was carried out with the aid of NVivo 9 qualitative analysis software. The procedure for the coding of interviews with policy authorities involved an inductive approach. This comprises a very detailed coding of all the transcripts, assigning codes to each fragment, taking the research questions, the theoretical approach and the

interview questions into consideration. Once this process was complete, codes were grouped in major categories, some of them on the basis of themes coming from the structure of the interview schedule and others generated during the process of coding. The list and definitions of the categories as well as examples of their corresponding codes are detailed in Appendix 9.

The commonalities found in the accounts of teachers during the initial reading allowed for a different approach to the analysis of their interviews, which was also more sensible in terms of the amount of data and the timeframe available for research. All interview transcripts were first coded in relation to the main themes contained in each question, separating those that were specific to experienced teachers (e.g. questions about past assessment practices). Then the researcher accessed the file where all the accounts for a specific theme were provided and executed a more detailed coding of them. The definition of the categories and examples of their corresponding codes are detailed in Appendix 10.

The coding procedures allowed all the participants' accounts to be organised by topic with the corresponding fragments where each aspect was evidenced, facilitating later the writing process.

3) Critical discourse analysis

Once the process of coding had been executed, a second phase involved the critical discourse analysis of each discursive practice. The aspects considered in the analysis can be divided into three main aspects: the context of enunciation; the general content of the document; and ideas or perspectives on assessment. The first aspect was focused on giving details about the features that surrounded the analysed discursive practice. This allowed situating practices into specific groups and circumstances during the intertextual analysis. The categories considered for this first point were: social sphere, time/place, type of discourse,

type of document, author, role of participants, institutional affiliation, political affiliation, audience and context (definitions are provided in Appendix 2).

The second aspect involved the analysis of the content itself but in general terms. This aimed to give the analysis a broader “intra-context” about the ideas that circumscribed those related to assessment. The categories included under this concept were the following: purpose, content summary, words used for participants, main use of language/style, aspects of organisation of information, schematic structures, rhetorical resources, speech act and other relevant ideological aspects not directly related to assessment (definitions are provided in Appendix 2).

Finally, the perspective on assessment that could be inferred from the analysed source was also considered for analysis. The categories of *organization of information*, *schematic structures* and *rhetorical resources* were in some cases related to assessment and in others to the general content of the text. Along with these, there were four more categories for this aspect: lexicon of assessment, summary of point of view about assessment, implicit ideas about assessment and relevant quotations (definitions are provided in Appendix 2).

The first aspect, namely *context of enunciation*, was determined for all the sources as may be seen in the list provided in Appendix 1. Considering each social sphere (i.e. school, politics, government, academy, among others), some discursive practices were analysed initially through a template where all the categories included in the aspects of *general content of the document* and *ideas or perspectives on assessment* are detailed in extension (an example is available in Appendix 5). This allowed for an initial mapping of the main actors, systems and discourses involved in each period. If the remaining sources for a specific sphere, taking as a basis the initial reading and coding process, did not add new insights around assessment but, on the contrary, repeated the same principles, lexicon and approach than the sources analysed for that sphere, the detailed unfolding in the template was not considered necessary as a point of saturation was reached. These sources were grouped with those of a

similar view and same social sphere for the subsequent intertextual analysis. Interviews were considered in this phase as a source that, rather than being ascribed to a specific group, provided complementary and enriching information for the understanding of the period and its different actors, systems and discourses on assessment.

For a more detailed illustration of the procedures described above, an example of all the steps of the process of analysis of a policy document can be seen in Appendix 5.

III.3.2. Intertextual and polysystemic analysis

Once all the sources from a specific period had been critically/ideologically analysed, the researcher proceeded to connect them through the different aspects of the ideological analysis. An intertextual analysis was carried out in terms of looking for differences and commonalities in discourses on assessment and their context. As Fairclough (2009) describes it, both *vertical* and *horizontal* intertextuality were considered, that is, the dialogue of each text with the others as well as that of the text with history and with its context as a means to generate discursive formations.

These discursive formations involved, for example, grouping all the documents from one social sphere (e.g. the Ministry of Education) and its different institutional roles (e.g. Minister, school visitors, heads of units) on the basis of a specific political affiliation. Additionally, discursive practices were organised according to their perspectives on assessment and the general ideological context where the perspectives were situated. Once these discursive formations were determined (with all the complexities this involved in terms, for example, of more than one perspective in the same practice), the researcher sought an interpretation of how they interacted with each other, both in terms of a common view and of discussion and resistance. Along with this, from contextual information, the ways in which discourses circulated and were transformed in this intertextual chain were reconstructed.

It must be noted that not only *manifest intertextuality*, that is, the explicit mention of one text into the other, was analysed. What Fairclough (2009), on the basis of Authier-Révuz and Maingueneau's theory, denominates *constitutive intertextuality* was also a central aspect of my analysis. This has to do with the way in which each text relates to the *repertoire*, to the discursive conventions that frame its production. Such relation can be of agreement, parody, negation, representation, among others.

All this process enabled the researcher to map the main groups involved in the production and circulation of assessment discourses, as well as the way in which they related and interacted. The path to the reconstruction of a polysystem, thus, was highly facilitated by this second step of analysis. The third stage involved defining the systems and their repertoires and the way they struggled for meaning in the field of assessment. Along with this, the researcher had to observe how the assessment polysystem had changed through history and how the diachronic dimension had a presence in the synchronic one. A summary of the different phases in the process of data analysis is found in Figure 10.

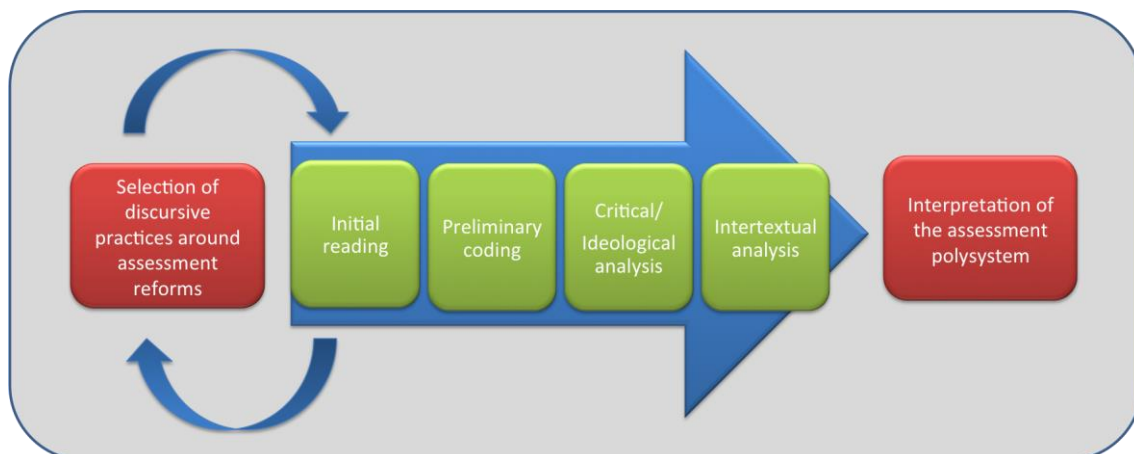


Figure 10. Summary of the phases of data analysis.

IV. ENSURING TRUSTWORTHINESS

In order to enhance the credibility and dependability of the research, a series of procedures were followed. These consisted in processes of interview reviewing and piloting, document analysis piloting, peer examination and triangulation. All of them are described in detail below.

After changes generated through several rounds of expert review from my supervisor, interviews were piloted considering the interactions themselves as well as the whole process of analysis. Having my research questions as a reference, the aim of the process was to assess the quality of both the interview questions and the information that was obtained through them. It also involved asking interviewees (after the interaction) for suggestions about ways to improve the interview schedule and determining aspects of the context that might have an impact during the process (from technical aspects such as environmental noise to timing and comfortableness of the situation).

Two teachers were interviewed in order to pilot the interview schedule related to the sphere of school. I selected two very different profiles with the aim of detecting relevant divergences before carrying out the definitive interviews. The first interviewee was an experienced primary teacher who works in a public school situated in a rural setting. The other participant was a recently graduated secondary Biology teacher who worked in a public urban school. Several changes were made on the basis of these interviews.

First, in the section about teachers' general information I added some features that constituted relevant data about the context where they worked and where they were trained. Along with this, I noticed some lack of detail in the answers of both interviewees in relation to their practices, the way in which they experienced policy changes and the content of their initial education as teachers. This involved adding examples to the phrasing of questions as well as incorporating new questions. Some other questions were added taking into account

information that emerged as relevant in both interviews and suggestions made by one of the teachers. No further piloting was carried out because of the consistency between the accounts of both teachers, despite their differences in professional training and practice. This consistency was confirmed when definitive interviews were carried out.

The interview schedule for policy authorities was piloted with participant 4 (PA4). In this case, no changes were made to the questions as they were adequate to obtain the information required for this study and the interviewee did not suggest any modifications. Given the richness of data in this interview and the absence of changes in the questions, the pilot interview was added to the definitive study.

In terms of technical details, the pilot process revealed some problems with environmental noise, so arrangements were made to let noise be absorbed during the interview and to have two recording devices in order to be able to choose the one with higher sound quality afterwards. In relation to interaction, the four interviews were as relaxed as a formal situation like this can be and the only detail I decided to modify was my excess of “help” and intervention when the interviewee was struggling to find a word or a phrase, as this tended to guide their answers in a specific direction.

Along with the interview schedules, the template designed for the process of analysis was also piloted with a set of 11 documents from the period from 1860 to 1900, including the phases of intertextual and polysystemic analysis. The template resulted to be useful for managing data as well as functional to the research questions. Only one change was introduced to this tool on the basis of the intertextual analysis. It proved necessary to include the political affiliation of authors in legal policy documents as this facilitated the observation of ideological groups and trends during the phase of intertextual analysis. The detail of this process of piloting and its results can be found in Appendix 3. The initial pilot process, given the small amount of documents analysed, did not allow for a consideration of potential saturation. This was discovered throughout the definitive analysis, where saturation was

reached for specific spheres in each period. Hence a decision was made in relation to the use of the template for an initial mapping of each period until saturation was reached for a particular sphere.

Peer examination was also used as a means to improve consistency and transferability of the analysis. Although I recognise variation in interpretation as inherent to qualitative research, I thought it relevant to avoid a complete looseness of criteria in the process of analysis by which the researcher's perspective could lead the analysis to a specific predetermined interpretation. Two colleagues from Chile were asked to analyse two documents already analysed by the researcher during the piloting of the instrument. Reviewers were selected on the basis of a similar background to that of the researcher. Along with the shared cultural background, the two of them have a relevant degree of expertise and professional experience both in the field of assessment and in the field of discourse analysis, although each one has one of these aspects as her main strength. The analysis made by the reviewers was highly consistent with that of the researcher with only one relevant aspect missing from the template (*type of discourse* as different from, and more general than, *discursive genre*), which was added after the reviewing process. A specific description of the peer examination process can be found in Appendix 4.

Finally, triangulation was another means to enhance the trustworthiness of the study. It was a permanent feature in this research, as it involved a variety of sources of evidence: documents of diverse type and interviews with different actors. Additionally, historiographical bibliography allowed for a contrast between what was found in the documents and what was said in these texts. This is not to say that historical accounts were considered as intrinsically valid or more credible against documents or vice-versa. These accounts were understood as a means to add a different source when findings needed confirmation.

V. CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS

The nature of the problem described in Chapter I determined the selection of theoretical and methodological lenses. Given the involvement of power struggles for meaning in the field of assessment, CDA was selected as the theoretical and methodological framework for this research. This framework, nonetheless, was considered from a specific perspective that goes back to CDA roots in Foucault and Bakhtin. This perspective allowed a dynamic, critical, historically embedded and systemic view on discourse.

Three theoretical tools were selected in the context of this framework: polysystems theory, intertextuality and critical/ideological analysis of discourse. Polysystem theory was selected as the more overarching tool, as it offers a perspective where interactions between systems can be hypothesised in order to understand phenomena in a broader, more dynamic and complex sense, thus gaining a richer understanding of the way in which discourse on - in this case, assessment - circulates inside a polysystem. In order to achieve this, some established procedures which facilitate the reconstruction of the *repertoires* (i.e. the laws for text production) for assessment were followed. Such procedures were based in two theoretical tools: critical/ideological discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 1999; Van Dijk, 2008; Potter and Wetherell, 1995), and intertextuality (Bakhtin, 1990; Kristeva, 1987; Fairclough, 2009).

On the basis of this methodological framework, a three-step strategy for data collection and analysis was designed. First, a selection of a series of discursive practices (obtained mostly from documents and interviews) from the spheres considered relevant to policy processes was made. Each discursive practice was then critically and ideologically analysed in order to detect the point of view about assessment defended by each actor and the context in which each discourse is enunciated. The third step involved an intertextual analysis of the selected discursive practices, with the aim of detecting relationships between

actors, contexts, groups and perspectives. Finally, the intertextual analysis served as a basis for interpreting how the polysystem worked.

The selection of discursive practices was made not only for the present, but also for some past periods of Chilean history of education in which reforms of assessment were carried out. This was done as polysystems must be interpreted both from a synchronic and a diachronic perspective, in order to observe how discourses were generated and how they struggle or overlap today, expanding our view and avoiding the myopia of the 'here and now'.

CHAPTER III **THE PAST**

*'I can understand the hesitation of my generation, indeed it is no longer mere hesitation; it is the thousandth forgetting of a dream dreamt a thousand times and forgotten a thousand times; and who can damn us merely for forgetting for the thousandth time?'*²
(Franz Kafka, 'Investigations of a Dog')

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the first three periods considered in the research, as they constitute the past that contributes to the topic under scrutiny through a diachronic perspective. It is presented in three sections organised in chronological order: 1860-1900, 1920-1940 and 1965-1985.

For each period, information is presented in a similar structure that expresses the position stated by Fairclough (2009: 198-99) that, when using a qualitative and discursive approach, it is neither possible nor desirable to separate the description of results from their interpretation. I present an interpretive account of findings on the basis of the research evidence, rather than "results" followed by "discussion". Each description and interpretation is illustrated through representative quotations or summaries of documents that provide evidence for the interpretation.

Every period is structured on the basis of the three layers introduced in *Chapter I* (see Figure 1): the ideological level; the level of education reforms; the level of assessment discourses. The first one introduces the main ideological trends at the time as well as the central political discussions that surrounded education reforms. The second level addresses the models of education promoted by different actors in the corresponding period, as well as pedagogical and/or curriculum changes that were undertaken. Finally, the main discourses on assessment that circulated during the period are explained. Throughout the account for each

² In: Kafka, F. (1971). *The Complete Stories*. New York: Schocken Books, p. 331.

period the interrelations between the three levels are also highlighted. Given the nature of data, a somewhat different structure is considered for the 1965-1985 period, as explained at the beginning of that section (see page 131).

Additionally, for each period a representation of the polysystem(s) through which assessment discourses circulated is offered, with an explanation of and reflection around their main features, either in a specific section or across the section devoted to the period. The researcher is aware that graphic representations inevitably reduce complex phenomena: the diagrams are offered to aid the understanding of complex structures but are understood to be incomplete representations of their elements and functioning. A guide to the colours and lines and arrows that are used in these diagrams is provided at the end of this introduction.

The account of each period begins with a chronology that summarises the government of the country during that phase -including its political tendency, listing the main events that are referred to in the section. Appendix 12 also offers a summary of the main political trends and parties in each period.

The chapter finishes with some conclusions about the analysis and interpretation of data presented for the three periods in consideration. This section summarises the main findings for each phase, establishes patterns and relationships between them and proposes projections from these data to the 1990-2010 period that is analysed in *Chapter IV*.

As mentioned above, the following guide clarifies the meaning of colours, lines and arrows in the diagrams that summarise the structure of each polysystem.

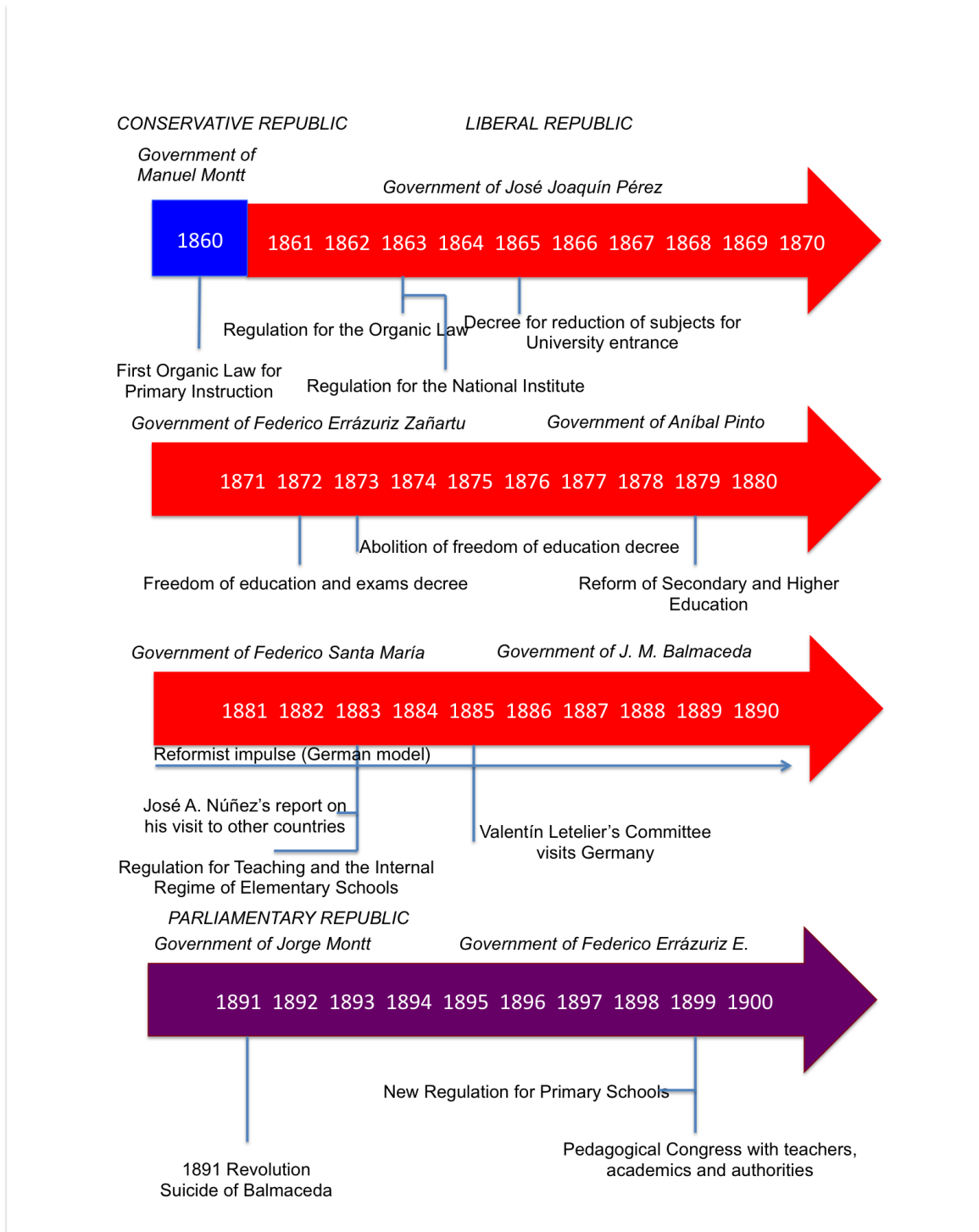
Colours	
	School
	General community or actor external to school
	Government
	Initial Teacher Education and Higher Education
	Foreign models and ideas
	Research

Lines and arrows	
	Connection or subdivision (no hierarchical relationship)
	One-way relationship (bottom-up or top-down)
	Two-way relationship (bottom-up and top-down)
	Dialogic or horizontal relationship.
	Pre-established career paths.
	Flow of ideas.
	Tension.

TABLE 1. Guide for the diagrams of the chapter.

1860-1900: TWO SEPARATE PATHS

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PERIOD



1. The ideological level: the origins of a segregated nation

In 1860 Chile was a new nation that had experienced only a few decades of independence. Its first forty years of autonomous existence had seen the emergence of its first public University along with early efforts to develop an education system (Núñez, 2002; Egaña et al., 2003; Cox and Gysling, 2009). The first systematic endeavour to create a national system of education is evidenced in the publication in 1860 of the *First Organic Law for Primary Instruction*, introduced by the Conservative government of Manuel Montt. This law aimed to establish the first State-funded primary instruction at the national level, while private education and secondary schools remained separate and independent of the control of government. The ideological underpinnings of this Conservative law can be traced in the following quotations from the minutes of the Conservative party:

'We, The Conservatives, want to maintain the fundamental principles of civilised societies; such as religion, family, property, in one word, everything that ensures the individual's moral life and tends to the perfect oeuvre of the human creature.' (minute of 1878)

'(...) the Conservative party, carrying as a banner of the battle in which it had to enter: electoral freedom, freedom of education, freedom of association, the autonomy of the Municipalities and the incompatibilities [to be considered] for parliamentary positions (...).' (minute of 1885)

'The flag we hold today is the same that our fathers raised and that contributed to giving us independence:

(...) We want education of youth and the people, but [we want it] to be provided taking religious principles and catholic morals into account.' (minute of 1886)³

The Conservative character of the 1860 Organic Law can be observed in the importance attributed to the moral and religious component of education, and the emphasis on education's role in disciplining the general population, who were considered by the elites of the period to be naturally vicious and in need of discipline. The freedom of education from

³ All the quotations taken from Conservative Party (1878). *Reseña de las XIV Convenciones del Partido Conservador (1878-1947)* [Account on the XVI Conventions of the Conservative Party (1878-1947)]. Santiago. Available at: <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-67818.html>, pp. 14, 18 and 23, respectively.

State control is also a principle this political force defends throughout the period under discussion, as illustrated below.

The scenario becomes complex when the Conservative government, after 30 years in power, is displaced in 1861 with the election of José Joaquín Pérez as the new president. He represented a Liberal-Conservative alliance against the authoritarian government of Montt, an alliance that not all Liberals supported⁴. Although united in their opposition to the leaving president, there are marked differences between Conservative and Liberal ideas about education and about the role of the State in it, differences that become increasingly apparent during this phase.

These differences have to be understood in the context Chilean 19th Century concepts of Conservatism and Liberalism. The former is a continuation of Spanish colonial elites and, hence, is conservative in relation to the values represented by the colonial past: religion, tradition, aristocracy, natural rights to land and elitism. In the context of these principles, they perceive State control as a transgression of their natural rights to property and their Catholic morals. However, they oppose State intervention through principles more often related to Liberalism, at least in theory: individual freedom, religious freedom, right to private property, freedom of education, free market competition. Conversely, Chilean Liberals promote a strong State that regulates and provides education and other services to all the population and is responsible for collective wellbeing. They can be considered as Liberals in relation to their advocacy of a secular State and a more participative democracy.

During the first part of the 19th Century under the years of what is known as the *Conservative Republic*, the style of governance was that of 'The Portalian State', from the Conservative politician Portales, a controversial figure, seen by some as the organiser of the

⁴ The dissident members of the Alliance formed the Radical Party. The alliance between Liberals and Conservatives was dissolved in 1873 because of differences over religion and a controversy around examinations (see section 3 below), after which the Radical and Liberal parties become the Liberal Alliance. Internal divisions are a feature that characterises Chilean Liberals throughout their history.

Chilean State while others consider him a dictator. According to Góngora (2006: 74), based on the ideas of Alberto Edwards:

‘The fundamental conception of Portales (...) consists in restoring a new very old idea, that is, the unconditional obedience of subjects to the King of Spain during colonial times. Now a new obedience was being implanted, directed towards the one who exerted authority, legitimate because it was legal.’

Montt and Errázuriz Zañartu are, according to Góngora (2006), the last representatives of the Portalian State. Consequently, there is a tension from the origin of Chilean education legislation in the idea of a Chilean Conservative law created under authoritarian regimes being later implemented in practice by Chilean Liberals, who held a different set of values and a more democratic idea of government.

The ideas in tension between Liberals and Conservatives are illustrated in the following quotation, where Diego Barros Arana, a Liberal intellectual and politician and principal of the National Institute (the most important public secondary school of the time), criticises Conservative ideas on education:

‘There is in our country a highly reactionary political circle, enemy of all science, which aspires to nothing less than returning our studies to the state in which they were in the most backward centuries of Middle Ages. Here as in Europe, that circle has hoisted the flag of freedom of education, not to proclaim and sustain the fundamental right of any citizen to be taught whatever he wants, but to fight against the education that the State offers in its schools, to ask for the closure of all those schools where the poor are educated without charge, to eliminate the competence tests to which children are subjected, to proscribe the teaching of many sciences, to give education a false and twisted direction and, finally, to arrange things in order to put the instruction of youth in the hands of religious congregations.’⁵

The excerpt is representative of the view that Liberals and Radicals sustained about education at the time. A religious, private and elite-centred model is contested by a view of education as an entitlement, as public, free, lay and scientific. The legislation of the period reflects this tension: for example, religion remains a subject even when new pedagogies begin

⁵ Barros Arana, D. (1873). ‘Mi Destitución’ [Mi dismissal]. In: Fuentes documentales y bibliográficas para el estudio de la historia de Chile [Documentary and bibliographic sources for the study of Chilean history], website of the University of Chile. Available at: http://www.historia.uchile.cl/CDA/fh_article/0,1389,SCID%253D17837%2526SID%253D417%2526JNID%253D12,00.html

to be (timidly) promoted by law. These tensions are also probably due to the lack of homogeneity in the Liberal party, which was divided between those who worked and negotiated with the Conservatives, and more dissident elements (see footnote 1). President Balmaceda (1886-1891) later attempted to reunite the Liberals but the consequences of his endeavour are the 1891 revolution and his suicide as an outcome of that⁶.

Despite this ideological divergence, there is, according to the research drawn on here, evidence that both Liberal and Conservative politicians and intellectuals consider their position in a social and economic elite as a naturally given and immovable privilege. This is reflected in the ways they describe the lower social classes in the context of discussions about public primary education. For example, in a historical account of the Society for Primary Instruction (a non-profit private educational organization for the poor) lower social groups, designated 'el pueblo' [*the people*], are constantly described as helpless, ignorant and living in darkness. Elites are represented here as their saviours and protectors and their education is described in the following terms:

*'Mr. Manuel Carvallo (...) manifested the importance of and need for supporting an association that meant progress and salvation of the people; an association that had already delivered thousands of people from terrible darkness, letting them know that there is a universe, a God and sacred duties to fulfil; an association that, ultimately, in one word, had turned ignorant and savage beings into citizens, who through knowledge of themselves would become productive and happy.'*⁷

Although this institution was founded and run by Liberal intellectuals and politicians, the view they have of their mission is patronising. This is a common discourse at the time; the political and intellectual elite often portrays lower classes as savages, who lack any kind of

⁶ Góngora explains the 1891 revolution in the following terms: 'The heated controversy around the causes of the Civil War is well-known. As in every historical process of certain magnitude the temptation towards <<monocausalism>> must be avoided. (...) Next to the struggle for electoral freedom and for freedom in its more absolute sense (...), the clash between aristocracy and a certain democratism of middle classes, favoured by Balmaceda, have played a part; as also have done the struggle of interests between the trends towards economic nationalism of Balmaceda' against foreign capital and its alliance with the local oligarchy (2006: 96).

⁷ Velásquez, A. (1873). *Reseña Histórica de la SIP (1856-1873)* [A historical account of the SIP (Society for Primary Instruction) (1856-1873)]. Santiago, p. 302. Available at: <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-74388.html>

culture, live in complete ignorance and do not have any moral parameters to overcome their vicious nature. On the basis of such beliefs, the elite sees the separation of public primary education and secondary education as natural, the former being a means of civilising the lower classes and the latter a preparation for university and leadership. Pedro Aguirre Cerda, a Radical, celebrates the ideas of Camilo Henríquez, considered by Aguirre Cerda as a precursor in the defence of public education in Chile. Henríquez describes the aims of the National Institute as follows:

*'The great purpose of the Institute is to give the nation citizens to defend it, to direct it, to make it bloom and give it honour.'*⁸

From its origins, public secondary instruction is conceived of as only for those who will rule the country. That is why these institutions have their own 'annexe schools', i.e. primary schools called *preparatorias* [preparatory] because they were a preparation for secondary school and higher education and that route was restricted to the children of the elite. The system of public primary instruction functions as a completely distinct sector, providing general instruction for the rest of the population. The difference is also apparent in the education of teachers for the two sectors: secondary school teachers were educated at a university, while primary school teachers were outstanding primary school students who undertook some additional years of education and were considered ready to teach at the primary level. Although there are political discussions about the character and content of primary education and the preparation of its teachers, the possibility of a unified, inclusive system of education is never on the agenda (see Figure 11 for a graphic representation of the segregated system of the period).

Public primary instruction is an education the Liberals were willing to promote and to struggle for but it was an education for others, not for them. Legislation for the two systems is

⁸ Aguirre Cerda, P. (1904). *Estudio sobre Instrucción Secundaria* [Study on Secondary Instruction]. Santiago, p. 48. Available at: <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-7792.html>

separate and the 1879 law for secondary schools is presented along with the reform of higher education, which reveals how both were considered part of the same track, while primary schools had their own legislation.

This struggle occurs in the midst of what is known in the period as *cuestión social* [the social issue], where the lower classes increasingly demanded better living and working conditions from an elite that wasted huge sums in importing luxury items from France with the money obtained from saltpetre mining (Subercaseaux, 1997; Góngora, 2006). This context of inequality generated the conditions for socialist ideas to begin spreading among the Chilean working classes. Conservatives' views about this ideology reflect their functional idea of the lower social groups, as well as their static idea of society and, thus, of education. In an 1895 minute of the Conservative party, Carlos Concha Subercaseaux states:

'Contemporary socialism, that great and cruel straitjacket that threatens everything, is destructive and carries misery in its anti-Christian preaching. The basis of the socialist doctrine is the denial of individual property. To attack property is to attack the fruit of work. Annihilating work as a consequence of abolishing property or wealth has hunger as a consequence. This is [what] producing Marxism [means]. (...)

*It is Conservative landowners who, in their lands, build for their companions in labour temples for prayer, the school for learning and the hospital for health. It is young Conservatives who disdain the palace for the hut and attend infant charities to visit the helpless, giving a school to children and providing them later with the workshop for their labour.'*⁹

In the Conservative view of society, social justice is understood as a duty of charity and lower social classes are provided only with the necessary resources to become good workers for the men in power. To summarise, three main ideological trends were operating at the time: Conservatives (and moderated Liberals) as advocates of a static idea of society and a limited and traditional view of the aims of education; Liberals and Radicals as advocates of free, secular public primary instruction and a secondary education aimed at generating future political leaders; and an incipient socialism which, at this point of Chilean history, does not offer a strong perspective on education but makes Conservatives feel threatened.

⁹ Conservative Party (1878), op. cit., pp. 31-32.

2. The education system of the period

Figure 11 summarises the structure of the education system of the period, along with its main actors and interactions. The Council for Public Instruction is at the centre of the polysystem during this phase, as it holds control of both primary and secondary education, although its jurisdiction over private schools is always more limited. Two completely different structures operate in each level of education.

Primary education

Primary schools are seen, as mentioned above, as places where the lower classes learn basic skills and knowledge and become useful well-behaved disciplined members of society and constitute an educated workforce for the elite.

All the legislation of the period reveals a top-down relationship between the Council and public primary schools. Everything is imposed to teachers (including teaching methods) and they do not have any possibility of response or dialogue. Increasing surveillance through visitors and accountability systems (public examinations, registers of attendance, registers of lesson contents, etc.) facilitate this vertical structure of power. The only power teachers have is over students, who are frequently described in the documents of the period as if they were savages coming from equally uncivilized families. An 1896 report to the General Inspector also refers to the relationship between families and teachers as conflictual, as families did not consider school to be relevant or, if they did, blamed the teacher for the poor results of the students. The low level of attendance reported by visitors in examinations minutes confirms this impression.

The Ministry actors were distributed in a hierarchical chain of control: visitors were in charge of visiting schools to observe and solve problems (in a very authoritarian fashion), and

report this to the General Inspector of the area, who had to summarise all the reports of the area and inform the Minister through a general document. Some of these reports constitute the basis on which part of the regulations of the period are formulated, as is explicitly stated in the documents, which reveals to some extent a more bottom-up interaction between the members of the Council. This is confirmed by the way in which visitors in their reports and minutes generally stress the bad conditions in which primary education takes place, perhaps with the hope of achieving a change in such conditions.

Teachers at this level were students who decided to continue their studies at the *Escuela Normal* (i.e. the name given to the institution for the initial education of primary teachers at the time). Primary education is, therefore, a completely closed system, separated from secondary school and higher education, which was considered as “naturally belonging” to the elite. The position as a primary teacher was the highest this social group could reach in terms of professional development and salary.

Secondary education

Elite students, on the other hand, have their own primary school system in *preparatorias*, which are institutionalised in 1880 (Labarca, 1939: 214). After finishing these basic studies they were admitted through a certificate or examination process to the National Institute or to any public or private religious secondary school in the country. In general terms, public schools were preferred by Liberal groups while religious private schools were the natural path for Conservative elite members. The aim of this school path is higher education and the possession of a degree, although Liberals see in it also the need for educating an active and transformative elite.

The socially differentiated character of the system can also be perceived in the internal structure of schools. While public primary schools only have a teacher who assumes all the

roles in the school from teaching to maintaining hygiene, secondary schools have a group of teachers under the direction of a rector and with different types of services inside the school (see Figure 11).

The governance structure is also different in this education circuit. The Council delegates the power of the State to the University of Chile and the National Institute, who control examinations, textbooks and education programmes, for both public and private schools throughout the country. In the context of elite groups, who usually have more access to public discourse (Van Dijk, 2008), the relationship is not top-down but a multi-voiced one. All actors, including students, give their opinion when they do not agree with some policy. There are also some institutionalised channels that allow such interaction, like the Teachers' Committee of the National Institute, which is legally authorised to criticise the materials provided by the Council, as stated in the 1863 regulation for this school. The researcher did not find evidence of an increased dialogue inside private Catholic schools but only between their authorities and the Council.

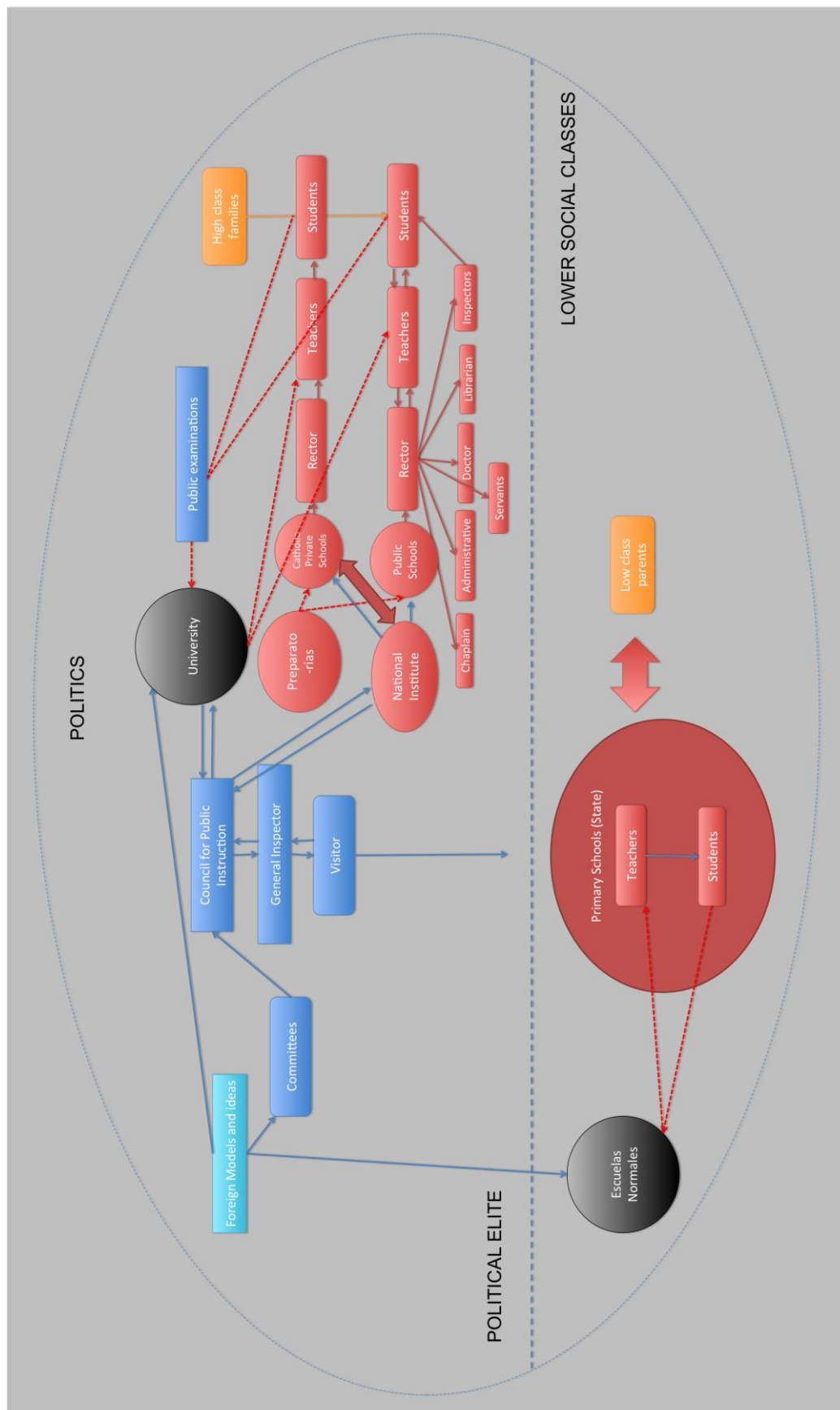


FIGURE 11. Education system of the period, with its main actors and interactions.

3. Controversy around curriculum and pedagogy

The context of ideological struggle described above is paralleled in the pedagogical and curricular reforms that are attempted during the period. Valentín Letelier, a Radical politician and intellectual, denounced in 1885 the attempts of the Conservatives to reduce the curriculum for primary schools:

*'In recent years, however, the political party that demands the abolition of professional education and state-funded secondary education in Chile, has made simultaneous propaganda to reduce elementary instruction to reading, writing and calculation.'*¹⁰

The Conservative agenda aimed at reducing the curriculum to the development of basic skills. The controversy seems to inform the whole period, as illustrated by an essay written for a pedagogical congress in 1889 by Ramón Pérez, a teacher. The essay starts by stating that, as in every civilization, what was initially the property of an elite becomes a right for everyone, which is the case of instruction in Chile. He proposes that, in accordance with the views of all experts in pedagogy in the world, the primary school curriculum should go beyond basic skills and religion, to cover the whole range of human knowledge. Later he adds, quoting Huxley, Baldwin as well as a report by Letelier, that primary school education should not differ from education in universities but be a simplified version of it.

The struggle between these two ideas of curriculum, therefore, does not constitute an issue that concerns academic and political elites exclusively but also circulates among teachers like Pérez. In his description of the process of decision-making for the new curriculum, he also mentions the important role of the school visitor from the capital city, the general inspector and the Minister himself (see Figure 11 for an understanding of the structure of the

¹⁰ Letelier, V. (1885). *Las escuelas de Berlín: informe elevado al Supremo Gobierno por la Legación de Chile en Alemania* [The schools of Berlin: Report to the Supreme Government from the legation of Chile in Germany]. Santiago, p. 58. Available at: <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-7820.html>

polysystem at the time). Different actors in the polysystem, then, are sustaining ideas about the way in which primary school curriculum should be conceived.

In terms of the two separate paths in Chilean education, there are no major differences between the curriculum of public primary schools and that of annex schools for secondary education (Labarca, 1939). The main subjects in both types of schools cover Reading, Writing, Calligraphy, Catholic Religion, Geography, History of Catholic Religion, Chilean History, Arithmetic and Spanish Grammar. However, in public primary schools these subjects covered 4 to 6 years of study while in *preparatorias* they could be done in only 4 years of study, with students starting their secondary education, called *humanidades*, when they were around 9 years old. That means that from age 9 to 11, the curriculum of students from each system was very different, as the path towards secondary school included other areas such as Latin and modern languages, European history, Philosophy, Geometry, among others. The case of seminaries and private schools is similar. For example, in a group of examinations minutes from 1863, the subjects examined for a private seminary school are Latin (advanced and year 1 and 3), Philosophy, final French, Spanish Grammar, Catholic Religion, Greek and Modern History and final Arithmetic, with the examiners declaring themselves surprised by the good performance of very young children, while in the same minutes public primary schools are examined in the subjects required by law.

After negotiation in the context of new curriculum legislation, in 1883 *Notions of Agriculture, General Principles of Hygiene, Vocal Music and Gymnastics* are added to the primary school curriculum. By the end of the century *Natural and Physical Sciences, Civic Instruction and Political Economy, Drawing and Manual Work*, along with *Domestic Economy* for girls are added to the curriculum. Additionally, the curriculum of some areas is expanded; for example, Arithmetic becomes part of Mathematics, which also includes Geometry and Measurement. Most of these additions, nonetheless, correspond to general trends of

curriculum change related to the pedagogical views advocated by progressive educators. Some courses remain as the exclusive property of the elite.

Decisions around curriculum, therefore, replicate the ideological setting described in the previous section: Liberals and some practitioners wish for a change in terms of broadening the curriculum of public primary schools beyond the development of basic skills but, on the other hand, they did not consider designing equivalence with the *preparatorias*, as the two systems are understood as completely isolated from each other (see Figure 11).

Preparatorias are thought as functional to secondary education, which in turn is thought as a preparation for Higher Education, the last stage of the circuit (see Figure 11). This can be corroborated, for example, in a set of examinations certificates of the National Institute (from 1875 to 1879) that have exactly the same design, organisation and content as those offered by the University of Chile, which could be a sign of secondary education trying to resemble university practices, considered as the natural next step for social elites.

Directly connected to this curricular reform a new pedagogical approach begins to spread in this period. It is seen as a means to overcome the colonial model of education, which seems to be the predominant practice in schools during the period. The colonial model was imposed on the country through Spanish religious congregations and their private schools. Pedro Aguirre Cerda, in his 1905 thesis on secondary education in Chile, characterises it in the following terms:

*'We can say that the method of teaching could be summarised in this phrase: the dictations that the teacher took from the books and that he made the students write during class were mechanically learned by them and repeated to the teaching interns without a single variation. The teacher was more satisfied according to the degree of exactitude with which his disciples followed the colons and commas of the content. A continuous exposition of contents taken verbatim from authors constituted the conferences. Nothing of youth's spirit of inquiry, nothing that aimed at the development of intelligence, it would have been dared to allow oneself to make observations about the truth of the principles formulated by the teacher.'*¹¹

¹¹ Aguirre Cerda, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

This method is known as *catecismo* [referring to rote learning based on repetition], and according to the analysed data its predominance in practice seems to continue throughout the period despite the attempts at reform. In his 1878 testimonial text the academic and Liberal political figure José Victorino Lastarria refers to the relationship between Conservative politicians and old pedagogical methods¹². He describes the latter in terms of memorising and the learning of rules, and as opposed to the more reflective, creative, participative and active pedagogy defended by Liberals, with the aim of generating students who can change society and sustain a political opinion. The author refers to the scientific and positivistic view of the world (based partly on the principles of Auguste Comte), along with romantic ideas of nationality, ethics, and politics, as opposed to the Catholic and Conservative perspective that restores the colonial past.

In opposition to the traditional model, Germany seems to be the Finland of the time. The academic José Abelardo Núñez was commissioned by the government to visit *Escuelas Normales* in Europe and the United States and published a report about his observations in 1883¹³. After this report, a second commission was sent in 1885 to Germany under the direction of Valentín Letelier to study schools in Berlin, with a special emphasis on primary education. These commissions encourage the borrowing and importing of the German pedagogical model to Chilean schools.

¹² Lastarria, J.V. (1968) [originally written in 1878]. *Recuerdos Literarios* [Literary Memories]. Santiago: Zig-Zag.

¹³ Núñez, J.A: (1883). *Estudios sobre educación moderna. Organización de las Escuelas Normales. Informe presentado al Señor Ministro de Instrucción Pública de Chile* [Studies on modern education. The organisation of Escuelas Normales. Report submitted to Mr Minister of Public Instruction of Chile]. Santiago. Available at: <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-8875.html>

Based on the ideas of authors such as Pestalozzi and Froebel (according to Letelier), the model imported for reform is characterised by the director of the *Escuela Normal* for women in Santiago, Teresa Adametz, through the following principles¹⁴:

- It is against mechanistic memorization of knowledge and favours inductive and practise-based learning.
- It has intuition, perception and practice as its centre, as well as becoming an autonomous learner.
- It involves the use of a gradual (from simple to complex) and simultaneous (all the students do the same thing) method.
- The teacher needs to have a pedagogical and methodological knowledge (knowing how to teach).
- Theory (psychology, education, methodology-teaching, and the teaching of a particular discipline) and practice as two necessary aspects of pedagogical knowledge acquisition.

Reports and discourses of visitors are consistent from 1861 to 1896 in stating the need for teachers to learn and use modern pedagogy, as they see the continuity of the memorising practices of *catecismo*. Those few cases where some teachers adopt modern methods by the end of the century receive the praise of visitors. The diagnosis of teacher Ramón Pérez, whose essay was quoted above, summarises the situation in 1889:

¹⁴ Adametz, T. (1886). 'La reforma en la instrucción primaria y la formación de preceptoras en la opinión de la directora de la Normal Femenina de Santiago, en discurso de la Directora Teresa Aldametz, en la inauguración del nuevo local de la Escuela Normal de Preceptoras' [Primary instruction reform and teachers' education in opinion of the director of the Normal Female [School] of Santiago, in discourse of the director Teresa Adametz, in the opening of the new building of the Normal School of Teachers]. In: Monsalve, Mario [researcher and compiler] (1998). 'Preceptorado', [Teaching]. In: "... *l el silencio comenzó a reinar*": documentos para la historia de la instrucción primaria 1840-1920. Santiago de Chile: DIBAM, Centro de Investigaciones Barros Arana: Univ. Católica Blas Cañas, Vol. IX, 120, pp. 127 – 132. Available at:

<http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-74385.html>.

*'However, the large majority of our schools are ruled by teachers who received a different pedagogical preparation [different from that of new young teachers] in escuelas normales, shallow and incomplete general notions that are by no means useful in practice. That is why, with such preparation and lacking [written] works that would educate them, the majority of them have had to follow routine, without being able to take one step further in the development of their teaching. Despite the enthusiasm with which in several occasions teachers from the capital have worked to improve teaching methods and the conditions of schools, it must be said, their efforts have not succeeded.'*¹⁵

There is, then, an attempt at curricular and pedagogical reform, which only a group of teachers are enacting in practice. Most teachers persist in their traditional practices, due according to Pérez to a lack of professional development, despite these principles being promoted by law. Yet legislation around new methods also reflects ambiguity and political negotiation. The beginning of the period is characterised by legislation where no clear pedagogical approaches are promoted. From 1860 to 1863, primary and secondary school legislation only provides lists of contents to be taught. From 1883 some initial statements about modern pedagogy are found. For example, one of the articles of the *Regulation for Teaching and the Internal Regime of Elementary Schools* indicates:

*'Teachers will provide students with an instruction that will be as practical as possible around the subjects that primary education embraces, using for this purpose exercises and demonstrations on the blackboard.'*¹⁶

A practical approach to teaching is promoted but from a moderate perspective, far from scientific enquiry and object exploration as proposed at a theoretical level. A more timid version of modern pedagogy is proposed here, where the usual distribution of power in the

¹⁵ Pérez, R. (1889). 'Conveniencia y modo práctico de aplicar el sistema concéntrico en la enseñanza primaria, aceptando la escuela graduada' [Convenience and practical mode of applying the concentric system in Primary Education accepting gradual school]. In: Núñez, J.A. (ed.) (1890). *Resumen de las discusiones, actas y memorias presentadas al Primer Congreso Pedagógico* [Summary of the discussions, minutes and essays presented at the First Pedagogic Congress]. Santiago: Imprenta Nacional, p. 191.

¹⁶ Santa María, D. and Vergara, J.E. (1883). 'Reglamento para la enseñanza y régimen interno de las escuelas elementales' [Regulation for teaching and the internal regime of elementary schools]. In: Monsalve, Mario [researcher and compiler] (1998). 'Organización administrativa y legal de la instrucción primaria fiscal', [Administrative and legal organization of the public primary instruction], In: *"... ¡el silencio comenzó a reinar!": documentos para la historia de la instrucción primaria 1840-1920*. Santiago de Chile: DIBAM, Centro de Investigaciones Barros Arana: Univ. Católica Blas Cañas, Vol. IX, p. 244. Available at:

<http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-74387.html>

classroom is maintained by limiting a practical approach to exercises on the blackboard. Additionally, this regulation promotes a top-down relationship of the system to teachers, where new methods are imposed and surveyed by visitors and no alternative textbooks or practices are allowed. Finally, the scientific approach to learning on which new pedagogy is based competes with the insistence on moral, religious and behaviour control aspects that permeate the education legislation of the whole period. By the end of the century the situation does not vary substantially. The new 1899 regulation indicates that teaching must be whole class (*simultaneous* in the language of the reform) and forbids memory-based teaching. No other indication about teaching is provided. The top-down structure persists with the addition of more bureaucratic paperwork for the teacher.

The legislation for secondary education is even less clear about teaching methods. On the one hand, both the 1863 regulation for the National Institute and the 1879 reform of secondary and higher education state that teaching in secondary schools is based on textbooks provided by the Council for Public Instruction. On the other hand, however, these teachers have a larger degree of freedom compared to their primary education colleagues, as they are allowed to choose between a set of available textbooks. Additionally, in the National Institute they are permitted to suggest changes to the rector in relation to textbooks, teaching methods and the programmes of study. However, documents like Barros Borgoño's 1878 critical analysis of textbooks approved by the University of Chile¹⁷ and Lastarria's 1863 textbook *The School's Golden Book*¹⁸ illustrate how this material was composed of definitions and expositions of content and, in the case of Lastarria, a set of lessons for *catecismo* where the dialogue

¹⁷ Barros Borgoño, L. (1878). El estudio de la jeografía i dos nuevos textos destinados a su enseñanza [The study of geography and two new textbooks devoted to its teaching]. *Revista chilena*. Santiago: La República. Available at:

<http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-84261.html>

¹⁸ Lastarria, J.V (1862). *El libro de oro de las escuelas* [The school's Golden book]. Santiago: Imprenta Nacional. Available at:

<http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-86245.html>

between the teacher and the student is presented in the shape of a script to follow. Lastarria's internal contradictions as a Liberal politician and academic emerge when the principles of education he defends in the introduction to his book, consistent with his ideology, are then presented for teaching in the shape of colonial teaching practices. In the case of secondary education, then, legislation is not very clear about teaching methods. New pedagogy is, instead, promoted by elite intellectuals and politicians of the time.

Similar to the case of education and curriculum, this pedagogical reform is not exactly the same for primary and secondary education. The main principles of avoiding memory-based learning and the need for a practical, inductive, gradual and scientific approach are shared in both levels of education. However, in the case of primary school these principles are advocated in terms of an education that is useful for daily life and not simply a set of abstract concepts that the students will not use in the future. For secondary schools it is defended with some additional connotations in terms of the development of a critical, active, participative and reflective elite that is able to generate political change in society. Again, these differences are addressed as natural by the authors of the period. They never call the separate circuits into question.

4. Discourses on assessment during the period

- **Lack of clarity from authorities: the systems persists in tradition**

The legislation on education of the period involves the establishment of a framework for examinations. Before 1883, laws and regulations for primary instruction do not contain any requirements in relation to students' assessment. Examinations are referred to only in relation to teachers' assessment as part of their initial education. The way examination of teachers are addressed in the 1860 and 1863 legal documents emphasises the ritual character of the

process: these are public and are taken before a committee that judges the level of knowledge of the examinee; they also relate rewards and punishments to the results.

At the level of secondary education the National Institute regulates examinations of students in 1863. As in teacher education, the ritual aspect is present: once their teacher has authorised it, students take their examinations in front of a committee of teachers, academics and the rector, at specific times of the year and with specific durations (ten to thirty minutes, depending on the subject). The high-stakes of the examinations can be detected in this regulation as they are used as a means to put pressure on the behaviour of individuals, i.e. they are threatened with the idea of not being allowed to take examinations in relation to attendance, continuity of scholarships and progress from one level to the next. There are also rewards and punishments related to the results. Additionally, examinations are also understood as a barrier to cross in order to gain access to secondary school, to move from one level to another and to finally gain access to higher education, which seems to be the ultimate goal in the secondary level. This idea is reinforced by the strong connection between examinations and the University: these are based on programmes designed by the University of Chile and some of the academics of this institution must be present during examinations. The grading system is also equivalent to that of the university: *distinction, passed, failed*. The only mention to something close to classroom assessment is the existence of halfway or process examinations internal to the Institute but nothing is said about their characteristics.

Student examinations in primary education are regulated in more detail in the legislation from 1883 until the end of the period. The students' examinations are, again, regulated mostly in terms of the times of the year in which it should be taken and their ritual conditions (oral examination before a committee of authorities), along with consequent rewards and punishments. By the end of the period under scrutiny there are also scores and a marking system, along with a classification of examinations in relation to their distribution throughout the school year (i.e. half-term and final) and how public they were (half-way examinations

were carried out in front of school staff while final examinations were in front of an external committee).

Evidence from practice, mainly examination reports and minutes as well as examination certificates, confirms this is the main approach to assessment at the time. In all of them what seems important is the final result of students in each subject (reported as *passed*, *failed* and *distinction*), which is reported as evidence of both their knowledge and the quality of their teachers. Another document, an 1863 letter where a school visitor is giving instructions to a local authority about dates and conditions for examinations, refers exclusively to the ritual conditions and the grading system to be used with the aim of homogenising practices throughout the country.

Examinations reports were expected by the researcher to be the sources where more information about pedagogical approaches used by examiners could be found. However, assessment in these documents is based on the examiners judgement, which does not require to be based on explanation of evidence but only on the expression of satisfaction of the committee in relation to what they observed. The more descriptive aspects found in these sources are, in the case of public schools reports, the frequent mentions to the difficult conditions of work, such as distance from school, lack of parental commitment, the need of students to work as peasants with their parents, and low attendance. These conditions are sometimes referred to as a potential justification when the performance of students is not the best or, on the contrary, to praise the teacher for having good results despite such conditions. In that sense, visitors and members of committees seem to be on the teachers' side in relation to examinations. However, despite a more judgement-based and somewhat more qualitative approach, assessment remains a tool for control over schools through the observation of students' performance. Additionally, nothing was found in my analysis in relation to the content of examiners judgements, so one cannot be sure about the kind of pedagogy they favoured. They only refer to 'good teaching methods' as a cause of good performance without

providing any details.

In summary, the discourse of the Ministry and other authorities around assessment is exclusively focused on the idea of examinations and emphasises its ritual conditions, its grading system and the certification it involves as well as the rewards and punishments associated to it. This is the only aspect related to evaluation that was regulated through a legal framework and enacted by authorities accordingly. Nothing is said about the pedagogical perspective that must be followed during the examinations or the kind of approach to knowledge that is expected from examiners and examinees.

Although not abundant, some evidence is available about the way in which examinations were carried out in terms of content and pedagogy. Teresa Adametz, in her *Report about the girl's schools of Santiago* that she had visited in 1896, indicates the observation of the following practices in primary schools:

*'Religion is taught, with very few exceptions, in a mechanical way, because almost all teachers follow the old programme. Nothing that speaks to the heart, that awakens and encourages feelings of faith, confidence in God or fear of him. Everything is directed towards memory, which is loaded with non-comprehended words <<for the examinations>>. (...) The cold and indifferent tone that has shocked me in teaching in general, becomes more perceptible in this subject in which the teacher is the girls' main educator.'*¹⁹

Similarly, she criticises the predominant practice she observes in the area of Language, where a student repeats the lesson to the teacher, while the rest of the class is supposed to be studying it, although they are mostly talking, playing or sleeping.

A more implicit analysis can be made of the 1896 report of Mariano Araya, a school visitor of the north of Chile, which referred to his appreciations about the performance of two

¹⁹ Adametz, T. (1896). 'Informe sobre las escuelas de niñas de Santiago presentado al señor Inspector Jeneral de Instrucción Primaria, por la visitadora estraordinaria de las mismas doña Teresa Adametz; Santiago, en febrero de 1896' [Report about the girl's schools of Santiago presented to the Sr General Inspector of Primary Instruction, by their extraordinary visitor Mrs Teresa Aldametz; Santiago, in February of 1896]. In: Monsalve, Mario [researcher and compiler] (1998). 'Práctica pedagógica' [Pedagogical Practice]. In: "... I el silencio comenzó a reinar": documentos para la historia de la instrucción primaria 1840-1920. Santiago de Chile: DIBAM, Centro de Investigaciones Barros Arana: Univ. Católica Blas Cañas, Vol. IX, p. 36. Available at: <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-74384.html>

teachers who have been recommended for an award. The interpretation here is more inferential as he congratulates both teachers for their effort in upgrading their pedagogical knowledge and learning modern methods but also states that:

*'Although teacher Ramírez has not been educated under modern teaching, despite her persistence in studies to become up-to-date about the recently adopted systems, her students have always had outstanding examinations.'*²⁰

It is at least strange that, despite her teaching methods, her students have always performed well in examinations. One possible interpretation of this is that examinations have not changed along with pedagogy and, thus, they are still shaped by traditional memory-based pedagogy. This allows teachers to have students who perform well independent of their approach to curriculum and pedagogy.

Similarly, in secondary education Dr Rodolfo Armando Philippi is characterised as an exceptional teacher and examiner. His methods were those of modern pedagogy and his behaviour in examinations is described in the following terms in his biography written 1904 by his contemporary Diego Barros Arana:

*'In those examinations Philippi showed the same qualities that distinguished him as a teacher. In the long forty years that I have been involved in teaching, I have seen a few examiners of Philippi's conditions and qualities. Gifted with an infinite patience, he paid the same attention to all examinations, even after eight continuous hours repeated for three or four days of that overwhelming task. He interrogated with perfect clarity in order to avoid making the student feel confused, and to appreciate his preparation; although upright and severe to fail those who did not possess the competence to be approved, he never employed, not in examinations nor in classes, hard words to reprimand his students.'*²¹

As Philippi is characterised as an exception, it may be inferred that most examiners were impatient, unclear in questioning and severe in words towards low achieving students.

²⁰ Araya, M. (1896). 'Apreciación sobre la responsabilidad profesional que efectuó [sic] el visitador de escuelas respecto de preceptoras en nómina de recomendados por el visitador, Mariano Araya, al Inspector Jeneral, Serena 16 de diciembre de 1896' [Appreciation about professional responsibility done by the school visitor about teachers in the recommendeds' list by the visitor, Mariano Araya, to the General Inspector, Serena, December 1896]. In: Monsalve, Mario [researcher and compiler] (1998). 'Preceptorado', op. cit., p. 120.

²¹ Barros Arana, D. (1904). 'El Doctor Don Rodolfo Amando Philippi. Su vida i sus obras (1808-1904)' [Doctor Mr. Rodolfo Armando Philippi. His life and his works (1808-1904)]. In: Barros Arana, Diego (1914). *Obras completas* [Complete works]. Santiago de Chile: Imprenta, Litografía y Encuadernación Barcelona, vol. 13, 13 – 190.

Consequently, examinations in this period are a ritual where the authority of the teacher as the bearer of the correct knowledge predominates and the aim of assessment is to confirm this power relationship.

- **Examinations as a matter of political and ideological struggle**

At the level of secondary school, examinations also became a source of political debate during this period in a phenomenon known as *La cuestión de exámenes* [The Examinations Issue]. According to Barros Arana, there is a first phase of this conflict, where new teaching methods and new subjects incorporated to secondary school were resisted by principals of seminaries and private schools, as well as the rectors of some public secondary schools, with the support of parents. The central argument was they considered these subjects unnecessary for university entry. The demand, then, was to declare these subjects as not compulsory for university entry. Barros Arana continues to explain²²:

'Yielding to these demands, the government published in 1865 a decree through which the study of physical geography, elements of natural history, elementary chemistry and history of philosophy were not compulsory to apply for university degrees.'

The effect of that decree was simply disastrous. (...) [The classes of chemistry and physical geography] were almost deserted or with a very few students. Most of them refused to study courses that were not required as compulsory to obtain university degrees. (...) That state of uncertainty and disorganization only reached an end when the supreme decree of the 24th of 1867 declared those courses compulsory.'

Later in the 1870s a new controversy emerges described by Barros Arana as a new attempt to suppress these courses. He explains:

'The year 1872 public education faced a crisis that left a deep mark of disorder and destruction. (...) under the protection of a supreme decree, a shameful market of examination certificates was established, which aimed at the absolute demolition of public education. (...) [it involved] the creation of numerous so-called schools that were only low price sales rooms of that kind of competence certificates, usually issued by men destitute of any intellectual preparation.'

²² All quotations from Barros Arana, Diego (1914). *Obras completas* [Complete works]. Santiago de Chile: Imprenta, Litografía y Encuadernación Barcelona, vol. 13.

He adds to this scenario the petition in 1872 of two priests, Joaquín Larraín Gandarillas and Rafael Fernández Concha -who were also members of the university council and political leaders of the Conservative party- to reduce the curriculum to those courses that were required for university degrees. Examinations would be restricted to Spanish Grammar, Rhetoric, Philosophy and Religion. Additionally, they were to be taken before a committee that included members from private schools and seminaries, which meant a decrease in the control the State had over examinations at the time. To Barros Arana, this meant making Chilean education return to its situation forty years ago. He concludes his description stating:

'This project was the coronation of what was called freedom of education in 1872, it was aimed at re-establishing studies to the point where they were under the regime of darkness and ignorance of the now distant days of the colony.'

The Conservative side was represented by Abdón Cifuentes, Minister of Instruction from 1871 and also responsible for dismissing Barros Arana from his post at the National Institute in the context of this controversy. He counter-arguments:

*'To monopolise teaching in the hands of the State is to give to it its exclusive direction; it is to oppress both the reasoning and the conscience of citizens. (...) The State University has in its hands the monopoly of liberal professions, the monopoly of university degrees, the monopoly of general examinations (...); because although the law refers to the freedom of method and texts, that freedom is a mere joke, since in this matter it is an axiom that the one who owns the examinations is the owner of education, since the most insignificant examination is put in the hands of State teachers. Such despotism was never seen before among the peoples of earth!'*²³

The early awareness about high-stakes assessment as the lever that moves the whole system is apparent in this quotation. Conservatives are aware of the value of assessment as a tool that could allow them to undermine the power of the State as promoted by Liberals, ensuring the survival of their values of freedom around religion, property, education and market. The State is accused of *monopoly*. This could also be interpreted as the incipient origin of an early conception of education as part of a business where competition between different

²³ Quoted in: Mellafe, R.; Rebolledo, A. y Cárdenas, M. (2001). *Historia de la Universidad de Chile*. Santiago: Universidad de Chile. Available at: http://www.historia.uchile.cl/CDA/fh_article/0,1389,SCID%253D11764%2526ISID%253D489%2526PRT%253D11759%2526JNID%253D12,00.html

options of education is promoted in the name of *freedom of education*.

This controversy around examinations embodies the ideological debate around education at the time. Conservative politicians (and parents from aristocratic origin as well as principals of the schools their pupils attend) sustain a functional view of education, where certification and success rather than learning are the main aims and where traditional religious education from colonial times is the desired ideal. The easiest path to achieve this is to make examinations easier, in a format that allows for preparation and consistent with teaching at private and religious schools. It also embodies the ideological struggle around models of society, as Conservative groups seem to be more oriented towards a functional view where everyone is educated and certified according to the place they will occupy in the existing model.

Another liberal intellectual and politician, Miguel Luis Amunátegui, refers in 1874 to this conflict declaring himself against freedom of education, as it encourages mediocre careers and low quality learning with the aim of obtaining a degree. He criticises another aspect of the Conservative party proposal, which consisted in an end of secondary school examination to replace the predominant practice of one examination per course. To support his argument, he quotes the words of a French bishop, Dupanloup, who is a member of the Higher Council for Public Instruction in France, where the system of single examination is in place:

'<<The bachillerato examinations (the single test), says the wise bishop, is extraordinarily overloaded, and includes all together the subjects of almost all the literary, historical and scientific studies, and this becomes a universal science, both impossible and inefficient (...) which does not teach any substance, terror of youth and despair of parents and, because of these reasons, a fatal dejection for French youth.

<<Understood like this, bachillerato is not, and cannot be, but an immature and confusing mixture of mnemonic notions with which the spirit is overloaded for a specific day, to then forget them at the following day and never ever remember them. (...) Such a preparation (the one that leads to the single test), so fictitious and so hasty, devours everything. Thenceforth, the handbook replaces all books; the trainer replaces all teachers. (...) We ask for men, and we

*are given bachelors>>.*²⁴

According to the perspective explained in this excerpt, *teaching, training* and *learning to the test* (see Chapter I) are not new phenomena. Neither are the criticisms around the way they narrow the curriculum, stimulating the recall of data rather than the deep comprehension of different disciplines and turn the aim of education into that of obtaining a certificate.

The conflict expanded, Minister Cifuentes was widely criticised for the removal of Barros Arana from his post as the rector of the National Institute, and the issue of examinations became a matter of national political discussion among the elites. After a process of debate in the Congress about examinations and freedom of education, the Minister resigned his position. The control of the State in education was re-established and freedom of education was abolished in 1873 under the promise of a new legislation for secondary and higher education (Mellafe et al., 2001).

It took six years before this law was published in 1879. Not surprisingly, one of the aspects that occupies an important space in the document has to do with examination processes (3 pages out of the 10 that refer to secondary education). However, what is reflected here is not exactly a Liberal triumph but rather a process of negotiation with Conservatives. Although the State, through the University of Chile, keeps its control over the awarding of bachelor degrees at the end of secondary education, the course examinations taken at seminary schools by the teachers of these institutions are considered valid; private school teachers are allowed to be part of the examinations committees; and to take an examination before a committee appointed by the Council of Public Instruction becomes optional for private school students. This higher degree of independence from the State, however, was accepted under the condition that examinations consisted of a single written

²⁴ Amunátegui, M.L. (1874). 'La cuestión de exámenes' [The issue of exams]. In: Amunátegui, M.L. (1897). *Estudios sobre instrucción pública* [Studies on public instruction]. Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Nacional, vol. 1, 39 – 78.

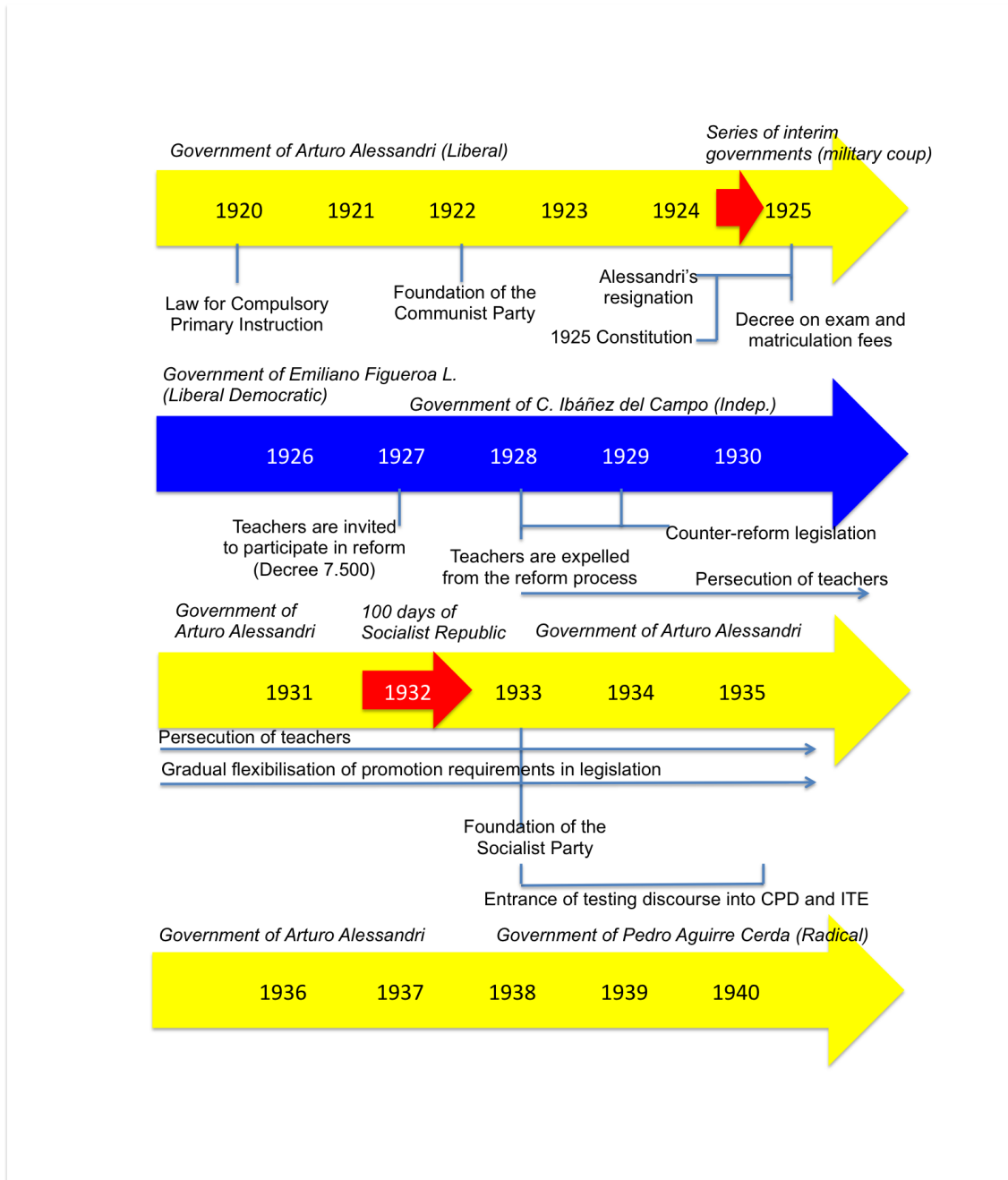
test that all students in the country had to take. This is the beginning of *Bachillerato*, the university selection test that endured in Chile until the 1960s. It is also the incipient origin of more standardised testing in the country, motivated by the need to keep some degree of control over the examinations of all secondary schools.

In summary, discourses on assessment at the time are focused on the aspects of certification, examinations, awards and punishments, the ritual character of examinations, and the idea of assessment as a boundary to cross in order to move from one level to the next and from one social group to another, or to simply confirm one's belonging to a particular group. The lack of clarity from authorities on how curriculum and pedagogical reform were to be assessed in order to be consistent with the principles of modern pedagogy keeps practice situated in the canonised repertoire. As examinations also persist in this traditional approach to teaching, and are high-stakes for teachers and students, they act as a lever that preserves practices from the colonial past.

The political and ideological embeddedness of assessment becomes apparent in the struggle between Conservatives and Liberals for its control. They are aware of the political importance of examinations and understand how controlling it is a means of making education and society function in a particular way. Unconsciously or consciously, both groups also keep the door closed for lower social groups through examination requirements for secondary school entry, which can only be fulfilled and afforded by students of *preparatorias*, although some "leaking" is allowed through a small amount of scholarships for the National Institute.

1920-1940: AN ATTEMPT TO CROSS BOUNDARIES

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PERIOD



1. The ideological level: voices from below

During the first decades of the 20th Century, the voiceless (at least in the official archive) mass of the lower classes began to develop a public identity and to organise its forces with the aim of improving their working conditions and of reaching a higher level of social equality in the country. The Communist Party was founded in 1922 and the Socialist Party in 1933, along with a series of organisations for the protection and rights of the working class. Luis Emilio Recabarren, founder of the Communist Party (at that time named Workers Socialist Party) describes the situation in 1910 when Chile is commemorating 100 years of independence:

*'A part of the people, constituted by workers -the most able-, by employees, small industry men who emerged from the working class and some professionals, but all considered among the middle class, have been able to make some progress. They have constituted new organisations: societies for aid, savings, resistance to exploitation, education, recreation and a popular party called the Democratic Party. This manifestation of action is the only visible progress of the proletariat's moral and social intelligence but is simultaneously a constant accusation of the general meanness and indolence.'*²⁵

He also refers in this document to progress as being experienced only by the higher and middle classes, while workers are still in the same conditions as in 1810. In relation to the higher level of literacy, he states that without social benefits this change does not involve any progress for the proletariat.

The social demands of the lower classes, which increased after the economic crisis generated by the creation of synthetic saltpetre in the First World War and the world crisis of the 1930s, produce an unstable and contested period, with a series of presidents, interim governing vice-presidents, coups d'état and authoritarian governments. In this context, at the other extreme of the political spectrum, Conservatives show their concerns in relation to the

²⁵ Recabarren, L.E. (1910). Ricos y pobres a través de un siglo de vida republicana [Rich and poor throughout a century of republican life]. Rengo, pp. 176-177. Available at: <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0003647.pdf>

emergence of socialist ideas in the country. At their 1941 Convention, following the election of a Radical president, their perennial preoccupations emerge:

*'These healthy democratic principles, which contributed in the previous century and the start of the current one to the creation and development of our country (...) started to deform and denature when the agitators began their dissemination work among popular masses of Marxist and materialist doctrines, which de-Christianised consciences, infused false concepts about economic and social problems and created in them feelings of hate and class struggle. The traditional statesman adorned by noble attributes disappeared and then emerged the demagogue, the Marxist agitator, the professional politician, who flatters masses and reaches parliaments and governments to undertake a work of destruction of the civilization that the world had reached under the shadow of Christianity.'*²⁶

In the centre ground of these positions are Liberals and Radicals. The former remain internally divided until 1930, their forces fragmenting each time there is an internal disagreement. Arturo Alessandri wins the presidency with the support of Liberals and Radicals for most of the period. During his first election, he looked for an alliance with the Democratic Party as a means to defeat the aristocratic model of society but throughout the period Radicals 'daily moved closer to their social superiors and farther away from the working classes who had hoisted them into their prosperous legal and economic positions' (Feinberg, 1972: 30), which means that the government increasingly separates from the demands and interests of the working class. Additionally, although the presidency was Liberal with support from the Radicals, the predominant power was the parliament, and the Conservative majority of the Congress blocked the initiatives of the executive (Feinberg, 1972).

In this context of social revolt, education plays a part. Teachers begin to create their own organisations and to make their voices heard through conventions and journals. According to Reyes (2010) primary teachers and workers in this period feel part of the same group and share demands around similar ideological principles. What makes this period unique in the history of Chilean education is precisely the strength that the voice of the teacher

²⁶ Conservative Party. (1941). *Convención General del Partido Conservador* [National Convention of the Conservative Party]. Valparaíso, p. 33. Available at: <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-10039.html>

acquires, to the extent of making governments feel pressured to listen to their demands and to appoint them as the main actors in a process of pedagogical reform. The top-down system that predominated in the previous century is challenged from below. Unfortunately, as Reyes (2010) observes, their lack of political awareness and experience results in teachers' persecution and repression.

2. The reform of teachers

The period begins with a law with no precedents in terms of its attempt to increase education provision and to convert the segregated education system of the country into one single path. According to Reyes (2010: 43), the 1920 *Law for Compulsory Primary Education* derives from an 'inter-elite consensus' aimed at responding to social demands in education. Its promulgation was celebrated with official parades on the streets, which were crowded with students, politicians and citizens. It establishes the State as the main director of education - although parents are seen as responsible for it-, as well as the obligation of school attendance for all students. In order to do this, it states the necessity of having a school in every place of the country and obliges the squirearchy, as well as businessmen and industry owners to fund schools and to provide free education if their workers' children are of school age and no education establishment exists in the area. This law is also innovative in developing a teaching career, where the teacher can make progress and improve his or her working conditions throughout the years.

However, being mainly administrative, this document does not say much about the way pedagogy and education are understood. Article Nº 16 of the *Law* indicates the general aim of primary education, that is, 'the physical education, the moral education and the

intellectual education of the child'²⁷. The document also refers to the subjects to be taught, to the need of a practical approach in relation to science teaching, a contextualised vision of education in the sense of adapting subjects to the needs of the local community, and a vocational orientation in terms of making the preparation for skilled work the main aim of primary schooling.

Despite its importance, this law retains the vertical structure of education governance, where the Council for Primary Education, whose members are elected by politicians, imposes its surveillance through visitors and Local Authorities. The latter are groups of five members, three elected by the Municipality and two of them appointed by the Council for Primary Instruction. Figure 12 summarises the structure of the system at the beginning of this period, considering the changes proposed by the *Law for Compulsory Primary Education*. Some features of the diagram are clarified later in the chapter.

As a reflection of their continuing adherence to 19th century ideas, Conservative politicians do not agree with the State controlling private education, in fact, they declare in their 1941 Convention that the family and the church should be responsible for education, and the State should only hold a subsidiary role when private owners are not able to provide the service. The principle they defend, as in the last century, is freedom of education and examinations, and parents as the ones who select how they wish their children to be educated. On the basis of these principles, they refer to the *Law For Compulsory Primary Education* in the following terms:

²⁷ Sanfuentes, J.L. and Montt, L. (1920). 'Ley 3654 sobre Educación Primaria Obligatoria' [Law 3654 for Compulsory Primary Education]. Santiago, p. 7. Available at: <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-8876.html>

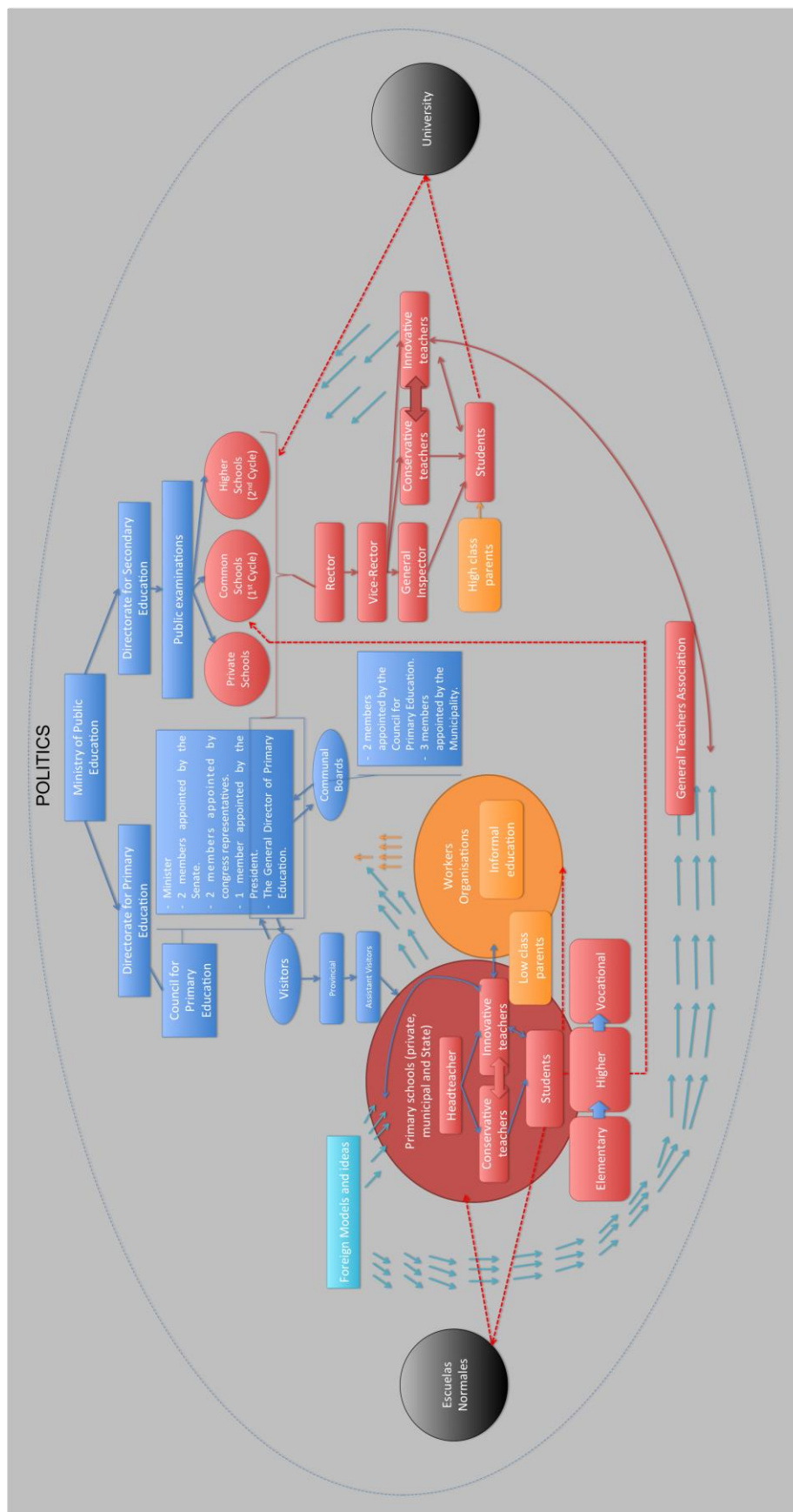


FIGURE 12. Education system at the beginning of the period, with its main actors and interactions.

*'Here emerges the delicate issue of compulsory primary education. There is no doubt that in the current state of the world it is not legitimate for parents to deprive their children of a minimum knowledge, without which they would be very disadvantaged in their attempt to pick their way in life. It seems, therefore, that the State has the right to decree this obligation, as long as the parents have complete freedom and facilities to choose the teachers. Where there is only one school or several of the same tendency, the compulsory requirement cannot subsist.'*²⁸

As in the previous century, Conservative politicians see State control as an invasion of their autonomy and of the right of parents to have a diverse offer of education. This autonomy is related to a general principle of laissez-faire, where the needs of society are met by private initiative and competition:

*'This situation [the lack of intervention of the State] involves freedom of programmes, methods, examinations, as well as the faculty to recruit teaching personnel under the responsibility of the headteacher of the school. By this means families will have the diversity of services in order to meet their varied needs and preferences. Private initiative, active and intelligent, and competition will facilitate the emergence of public and private schools where they are needed and the way they are needed, adapting to the multiple local, cultural and economic circumstances of families.'*²⁹

From a different point of view, teachers also oppose the vertical structure of State surveillance. According to Reyes (2010), they felt Local Authorities were not competent and/or were politically oriented, and Municipalities were misusing the funds for education. Additionally, the *Law For Compulsory Primary Education* did not address how the greatest effort involved in its implementation was to be met, which meant that the conditions in which primary education was taking place were very similar to those in the 19th Century. The minutes of public examinations analysed for this period support this perception, as the majority of committees refer to the bad conditions in which teachers have to work (too many students per class, lack of materials, poor infrastructure) and to the need to transform some elementary primary schools into higher primary schools in order to be able to meet the needs of the whole population and avoid travelling big distances to go to school. Teachers demanded an education that was more emancipatory and less oriented to maintaining social inequalities, with a local

²⁸ Conservative Party (1941), op. cit., p. 62.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 61.

government where workers and women were represented, and where teachers would have more autonomy and power to decide about their work (Reyes, 2010).

This discontent is the starting point for their proposal of reform, which they discuss in the context of the General Teachers Association conventions and journals. The principles they defend are presented in their journal *Nuevos Rumbos*. An illustrative example of the main features of the proposed reform is found in the quotation below, from an article written by S. Fuentes Vega in 1927, where the author criticises the state of *Escuelas Normales* and proposes how they should be:

*'(...) in many schools the class with <<taking notes>> still exists as well as the <<lesson from here to there>> marked on textbooks. Working-centred teaching is barely tried in an isolated way by some teachers who feel the weariness and inefficiency of their methods. Some years ago a system called <<of lectures>> was established with the aim of making studies more active and personal; but its results were negative due to the absence of the spontaneous work of the student and because the activity was something imposed by the teacher. For the activity to be healthy and efficient it must emerge as a need, as a consequence of a frame of mind. This is what active school tends to, and its methods are not presented as catecismo, are not a priori ways of acting, but ways of doing, flexible in relation to each work, to each initiative. (...) We must stop cramming students with textbook tasks, with memory-based lessons. Is time for the normalista to stop being the individual without initiative, without an eagerness for research, with no horizon.'*³⁰

The excerpt is representative of the discourse of reformist teachers in terms of the advocacy for a child-centred pedagogy that respects the natural development of the student; the importance of motivation; rejection of authority-based and memory-based teaching; and the understanding of the teacher as a creative and autonomous professional who investigates and reflects upon teaching on the basis of the latest scientific developments of pedagogy, biology and psychology. Teacher journals often refer to names such as Pestalozzi, Froebel, Montessori, Decroly, Freinet and Dewey as authors whose principles are consistent with their view of education, although in some documents they also highlight the need to adapt them to the local context. The similarities with the reform that was promoted during the 19th century are apparent and, given the diagnosis referred above, that reform seems to have failed in its

³⁰ Fuentes Vega, S. (1927). Nuestras Escuelas Normales [Our *Escuelas Normales*]. *Nuevos Rumbos*, 6, p. 109.

attempt to be taken into practice. Núñez (2002) refers to the new scenario of the time as very lively and characterised by a thirst for knowledge on scientific pedagogy, where teachers acquired books and met to discuss about them and to debate on the conditions of education.

The pressure of the teachers' movement is so strong that Liberal president Arturo Alessandri accepts dialogue with them, although no concrete actions or legislation emerge from that first interaction and the 1925 Constitution insists in the same top-down power relationships with teachers (Reyes, 2010). Surprisingly, the invitation to teachers to participate in education governance and in the creation of a reform comes from the authoritarian president and military Carlos Ibáñez del Campo³¹. Primary teacher Luis Gómez Catalán and secondary teacher Luis Galdames are appointed as heads of the Departments of Primary and Secondary Education, respectively. Along with other education authorities, they begin writing the decree and regulation of the reform, where they promoted the principles of modern scientific pedagogy in the legislation for both primary and secondary schools. The hypothetic structure they were designing for the education system is summarised in Figure 13. As represented in the diagram, top-down surveillance relations are abolished and the visitors' system disappears. Instead, two-way interactions are proposed between the Ministry, the school community and the needs of society. Additionally, a single system of education is created, where no boundaries are set between its different levels. Another innovative aspect is the consideration of Physical Education and Arts as important subjects that require their own department in the Ministry. Whether teacher education was also to be incorporated in a single education path is not clear on the basis of the analysed documents.

³¹ As said above, this period is very agitated, and the government of Alessandri is interrupted more than once because of his incapability to undertake reforms given the lack of support from the Congress. Young militaries first express their discontent in 1924 through a 'rattling of sabers' at the Senate and later the government of Emiliano Figueroa Larraín, the candidate of the aristocracy that reunited the consensus of all major parties, is interrupted by Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, given that Figueroa Larraín 'was unable to get the traditional parties to depart from their obstructionist ways' (Feinberg, 1972: 29).

The editorial of *Nuevos Rumbos* of October 1927 reflects the feelings of hope experienced by teachers involved in the reform:

'The actions of vindication have begun. And the initiative has come from the government. The latest project of Education Reform is nothing but the legalised concretion of our principles and views in education matters. The Teachers Association did not expect such a prompt rush of events. (...) And this happens when we still feel the burning bitterness produced in some of our comrades, when the persecution in provinces was still on-going, in the very moment when reactionary governors and visitors have continued to put obstacles to the cultural work that our organisations develop among the teachers of the country. (...)

*We can only feel satisfied and embrace all our persecuted comrades in this moment. For our part, we will continue with a firm step working on the same road where we started to walk yesterday, held to our ideal of contributing to the generation of a better and conscious humanity.'*³²

³² General Teachers Association (1927). Editorial of *Nuevos Rumbos*. *Nuevos Rumbos*, 7, 123.

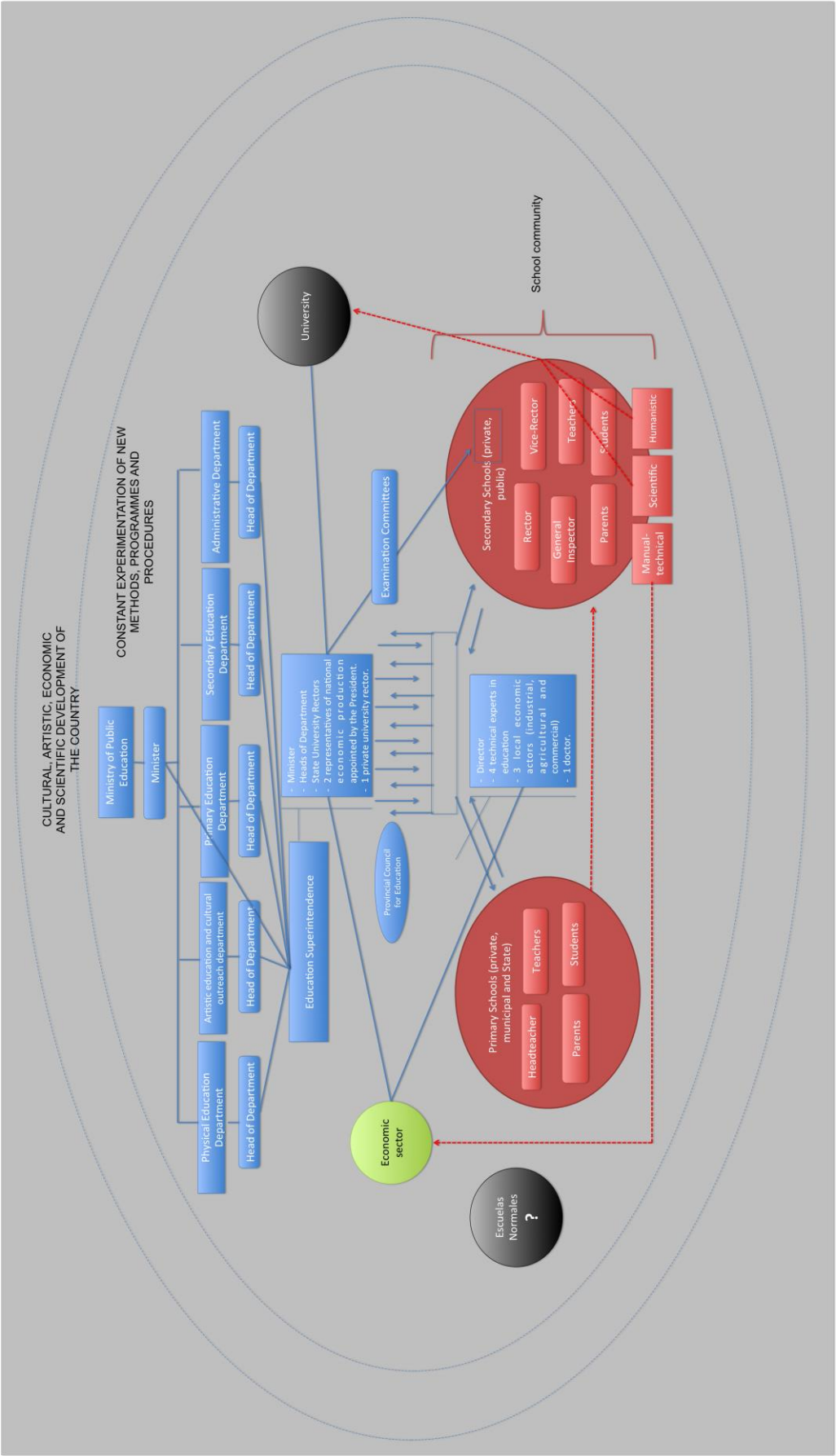


FIGURE 13. Education system hypothesised in teachers' reform, with its main actors and interactions.

3. Discourses on assessment in the reform

- **Examinations as contrary to modern education**

In the context of the *Law For Compulsory Primary Education*, assessment is still seen mainly as examinations. In this law it is employed as a means to safeguard the right to education of every child, as it is used as a proof to check if children have received this benefit. Examinations are also required for teachers to be promoted to a different category and salary scale. But it is article 99 that makes a difference in the structure that the education system had had until that moment:

*'Art. 99.– Within 6 years from the 1st of January 1920, preparatory courses that currently function in public secondary schools will be abolished and to enter these [secondary schools] a certificate of attendance to all the courses of a higher primary school will suffice.'*³³

This article meant the opening of the gate between social boundaries, which had remained closed through examination requirements during previous periods. In terms of how societies are conceptualised through education, then, this law was thought as a means of unifying the separate social paths established during the 19th century. There is, thus, a first step in this legal text in terms of increasing social mobility. However, like in the legislation of the 19th century, nothing is stated about the content, structure and pedagogical approach of examination processes. In turn, examinations are one of the aspects discussed in the context of teachers' reform.

Examinations were considered an obstacle to modern pedagogy. For example Adolfo Ferriere, a Swiss educator who investigated the Chilean case, refers in *Nuevos Rumbos* to Freinet's printing press education technique and the final product of it in the following terms:

'And these pages that children read again and again, provided with two holes with the aid of a simple perforator, fixed to two bars that cost only a few cents, constitute what I have called the

³³ Sanfuentes, J.L. and Montt, L., op. cit., p. 37.

<<life notebook>>. (...) <<Preparation>> for examinations is definitely buried. I mean, surpassed in quality and quantity.’³⁴

Traditional pedagogy is seen as examination-oriented and as detached from what teachers think good pedagogy is. Examinations are against the spontaneous engagement of the student in authentic and meaningful tasks that he or she enjoys (like the ‘life notebook’). Similarly, the members of a committee indicate in their minute of an examinations process from 1927:

‘It seems teaching subjects for elementary classes are too many and not very object-centred; much verbalised and a little demonstrated; everything indoors and nothing in the open air. This, we think, is a general defect and not particular of this school. (...) Reading is always done with the classic singsong; we must struggle to eliminate this in its origin. (...) It would be good to stop the use of the little stone board because is not hygienic and because it is not convenient to erase mistakes, it is more fruitful to repeat the exercise by correcting it.’³⁵

Examinations, from the perspective of this committee, reinforce a verbal style of teaching, where a practical approach focused on the observation of objects and the environment is barely visible. They also promote rote learning and mechanical repetition of content. A first approach to feedback can also be seen as promoted by the examiners, where they give value to mistakes as a means to improve learning, a practice that they do not see as encouraged in public examinations.

This, though, is an exceptional minute, as most committees are very positive in their assessment of the state of education, without explaining in detail the reasons for their judgement. Given the general diagnosis offered by reformist teachers, it could be inferred that examinations committees were generally oriented to traditional pedagogy and, thus, praised the performance of the students and the teacher as long as it demonstrated knowledge of the programme of studies. In this exceptional minute, the examiners also highlight ‘the lack of a regulation or concrete instructions about the norms that examiners should follow’, which

³⁴ Ferriere, A. (1927). La imprenta en la escuela primaria [The printer in Primary School]. *Nuevos Rumbos*, 1, p. 7.

³⁵ In: *Intendencia de Antofagasta: Communications received from the Ministry of Public Instruction*, 1927. Available at the National Archive.

means that the lack of regulation, like in the 19th century, could have left the door open for examinations to remain in memory-based passive pedagogy, impeding change to occur. This also reveals that innovative teachers were only one group. They also had to struggle, as represented in Figure 12, with conservative teachers who chose to sustain the educational status quo (Reyes, 2010).

Ferreire summarises the view that advocates of modern pedagogy held about examinations:

*'It is clear that while the examinations based on reciting by memory occupies the foreground, it will not be possible for teachers to make the most of their personal talents, because the obligation to finish passing the programme monopolises their entire attention. That will have to be deeply reformed one day (...).'*³⁶

From this perspective, when teachers are invited to take part in an education reform, examinations are also part of the aspects to change. The main document of the reform, Decree Nº 7500, is accompanied by the *Regulation for Primary Schools*. In one of the articles of this Regulation, as quoted by Ferriere in his study, another barrier related to assessment is broken:

*'Art. 68. Examinations are cancelled in primary school and promotions will be made annually taking students' works and attendance during the school period into account; which does not exclude the exhibitions of students [work] that teachers make as a demonstration of the efficiency of their labour.'*³⁷

Summarising, in this movement from below two boundaries that were guarded by examinations in the previous period are removed: 1) examinations as an entry requirement for secondary schools, which involved the possibility of higher social mobility; 2) examinations as a barrier to a pedagogical reform that promotes a more practical, active, inductive, participative, creative, critical and holistic idea of education and, thus, a more emancipatory model of society. Such changes are innovative and brave even today, not only for Chile, but also in many other contexts where reforms of this kind would rarely be encouraged.

³⁶ Ferriere, A. (1932). *La Educación Nueva en Chile (1928-1930)* [The New Education in Chile (1928-1930)]. Madrid, p. 234. Available at:

<http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-9363.html>

³⁷ Ibid., p. 53.

- **The entrance of a new marginal discourse: standardised testing**

Parallel to the development of psychological testing in the world, an interest in knowing more about the educational uses of these instruments emerges among reformist teachers, who begin to disseminate ideas around this new form of assessment. Although based on behaviourism and pragmatism, they did not see it as completely incompatible with the romantic pedagogical principles they defended. Its scientific approach to the study of children's psychology was perceived as consistent with their idea of scientific pedagogy. Carlos Velásquez, in an article about tests in *Nuevos Rumbos*, explains this in the following terms:

'The new education, eager for psychological research, wants to set pedagogy on strictly technical foundations. In that sense, tests constitute an aid of capital importance, especially in the organisation of psychological classes, that is, the conformation of groups of relative psychological homogeneity, on the basis of intellectual coefficients (IQ). (...)

*Pedagogical tests, as expected, help the teacher considerably well in all that is related to the psychologisation of teaching and the appreciation of learning or the degree of instruction reached by the students.'*³⁸

Teachers interest in testing is, therefore, related to a more "objective" and scientific way of observing, registering and understanding students' learning processes, which opposes the judgement-based approach that predominates in examinations practices since the 19th Century. Velásquez sees the latter perspective on examinations as a very primitive stage of the development of psychological measurement, where *'(...) in a very personal and whimsical way, the mental calibre of individuals is judged (...) with nothing to justify such bizarre criterion'*³⁹.

Despite this initial interest, caveats and potential risks of testing are also in the minds of teachers and education academics. Ferriere, for example, calls the pedagogical usefulness of tests into question:

³⁸ Velásquez, C. (1927). Los tests psicológicos y la nueva educación [Psychological tests and new education]. *Nuevos Rumbos*, 4, pp. 70-71.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 69.

'The powerful argument that keeps psychometric techniques standing and gives them validity, resides mainly in statistics. It is true, indeed, that individual differences are erased in the big number. The <<more gifted>> will always be a few in the large school mass, which statistically follows, very closely, the law envisaged by the test.

However, in the field of school uses, (...) it reports very low efficacy and sometimes becomes completely unnecessary. (...)

*There is no advantage, from our perspective, in accumulating elements of a more or less equivalent intellectual coefficient in a specific class. That is not to mention the artificial character of such ordering, if the social reality that will later make of students one of its members is considered.'*⁴⁰

He also refers to group learning and the natural way students establish groups as a legitimate educational reason that classification on the basis of tests is not useful in the classroom. Even from the beginning of standardised testing, there is awareness of the potential distance between the social and cultural variety of the school and testing practices. Similarly, Velásquez writes a very ironic article where he warns against the potential ideological use of psychological testing. In his article 'Controversy between aristocrats and democrats of intelligence', he develops a contrast between a *selection-oriented* use of tests, where these are a means of separating superior members of society from the masses, in order to prepare them to rule society, and an *enabling* use of tests, where their approach is related to the improvement of learning and, thus, of generating informed citizens that are able to vote consciously for their rulers. Part of this ironic essay is quoted below:

'Democracy does not mean sheep-like grouping, meekness and servility. It is a concept that carries the ideas of liberty, personal deliberation, reciprocal action, mutual consent, civic awareness. Can the mediocre man understand this high meaning of democracy? Does he have enough ability and vision to choose his representatives in the right way? (...).

Democracy, the aristocrats of intelligence continue saying, is an opium dream. (...) It has never and will never be a reality. What is evident, positive, unquestionable (...) is the predominance of the intellect, the triumph of the superior man. (...)

Let us, therefore, favour the superior man, the genius, because the future of societies depends on his action and his effort. Let us subjugate the average men as if we do not and our thesis does not triumph, we could witness a new barbarian invasion and lock the destinies of the

⁴⁰ Ferriere (1932), op. cit., p. 209.

whole world inside the eternal night of mediocrity. (...) Let' us fight for the reign of intelligence and the aristocracy of the spirit!"⁴¹

The essay reveals a high awareness, surprising at a time when tests were only beginning to be developed, of the political and social aspects involved in testing technologies. Velásquez clearly envisages potential consequences of tests used in the context of different models of society, an aristocratic and oppressive one and another that is democratic and emancipatory.

The interest in tests continues throughout the period. In 1932, for example, Decree Nº 1338 establishes a professional development course in pedagogical research, where three of the subjects are: *Theory of measurement and notions of statistics; Theory and practice of educational tests; Theory and practice of mental tests*. Likewise, in the 1933 Decree that establishes the programme of studies for the most important Escuela Normal of the country, the programme for headteachers includes *Measurement and control of school work*. The programme of teacher education for secondary schools also includes from 1935 a course on *Educational and mental measurement* (Regulation Nº 435). It is the psychometric discourse that turns assessment into a theoretical subject of study and not only a practice. However, such prevalent practices carried with them a series of principles and ideas, which are not eliminated with the entrance of tests; assessment discourses begin to dialogue and overlap.

4. The counter-reform

The spell was very soon broken. Ibáñez, who had initially promoted the reform, interrupted it in September of 1928 and began to repress and persecute teachers who promoted it (Núñez, 2002). The Peruvian intellectual José Carlos Mariátegui, who interchanged

⁴¹ Velásquez, C. (1927). Controversia entre aristócratas y demócratas de la inteligencia [Controversy between aristocrats and democrats of intelligence]. *Nuevos Rumbos*, 5, p. 98.

ideas with the authors of *Nuevos Rumbos*, expresses his indignation before this unexpected turn:

*'This dependence of any conservative dictatorship on the worst forces of reaction, was visibly underestimated. (...) Chilean teachers (...) did not see that the position between their innovative ideals and the anti-revolutionary opinion and interests of the dictatorship and the social strata it represents had to manifest, inevitably, shortly after the road to an authentic reform was advanced.'*⁴²

With respect to the abolition of entrance examinations for secondary schools, this initiative is followed in 1925 by the establishment of a matriculation and examinations fee for secondary school students (Decrees Nº 387 and Nº 996). Students with lower income, then, would not be able to pay for their education, unless they are part of the 20% that is allowed to be exempt of the fee due to economic reasons. Yet it is in the period of counter-reform that the door is closed for good. In the 1929 Decree Nº 5486 the following requirement is established:

*'Students who have satisfactorily completed the 6th year of the Annexe School [another name for preparatorias] will have the right to be admitted to the first year of Secondary School without previous examination. Students from the 6th year coming from any Primary School will also be admitted, provided that they evidence the corresponding knowledge through their examination.'*⁴³

Before the deadline for this breaching of social boundaries arrives, the doors are diligently closed through economic and examination requirements. It is also evident in secondary school legislation that *preparatorias* were not eliminated, as they are still mentioned in laws written in the 1930s.

⁴² Marátegui, J.C. (1929). 'La crisis de la reforma educacional en Chile' [The crisis of the education reform in Chile]. In: Mariátegui, J.C. (1981). *Temas de educación*. Lima: Amauta.

⁴³ Ibáñez del Campo, C. and Navarrete, M. (1929). 'Decreto 5486. Escuelas Primarias Anexas a Liceos pasan a depender de la DGES' [Decree 5486. Annex Primary Schools of Liceos become dependant on the DGES (General Directorate for Secondary Education)]. In: Donoso, R., (comp.) (1937). *Recopilación de leyes, reglamentos y decretos relativos al servicio de la enseñanza pública*. Santiago de Chile: Dirección de Prisiones, p. 354.

In 1929 the text of the *Law for Compulsory Primary Instruction* is fixed in a definitive version⁴⁴. There are, however, some important differences between this document and the original law. The compulsory character of primary education and the relevance of experimental education as a means of promoting innovation throughout the system survive this modification⁴⁵. However, one of the relevant changes is related to the administrative structure of the system, which becomes more vertical than in the 1920's version and allows for controlling and persecuting teachers. At a local level, the Communal Board is replaced by a Board of School Assistance and, at the level of the Province, by a Provincial Council for Primary Education. The members of the Board are not elected through voting processes. They are constituted by the Major and two neighbours designated by the Province Governor [*Intendente*], who is an authority that depends directly on the Executive. Their responsibilities are far more restricted than in 1920, being mainly concerned with checking students' basic welfare (nutrition and elementary needs) and safeguarding the accomplishment of the obligation of primary schooling. Inspectors are the main authority at the local level and they are hierarchically subjected to the Visitors and the Director for Primary Instruction. Figure 14 represents the changes in the structure of the system involved in Ibáñez counter-reform.

Additionally, the system of teaching career promoted in the original law is replaced in this document by an annual grading system which classifies teachers in five 'lists of merit': *Very Good, Good, Sufficient, Deficient* and *For Elimination*. The distribution of teachers in each list is in charge of the President of the nation, after a proposal made by another Board conformed by

⁴⁴ Ibáñez del Campo, C. and Navarrete, M. (1929). 'Ley 5291 de Instrucción Primaria Obligatoria' [Law 5291 for Compulsory Primary Instruction]. In: Donoso, R., op. cit., pp. 557-571.

⁴⁵ Iván Núñez Prieto (2002: 35) explains: 'The 1927-1928 reform was ephemeral. (...) But the legitimacy of the change was so high that Ibáñez kept advocating the reform, without the inclusion of primary teachers and forming an alliance with the pedagogical elites once more. (...) there is persistence in the modernisation of the education system and pedagogical renovation, (...) but in the boundaries of a strong institutionalisation and State control of the process. (...) paradoxically, the adoption of <<experimental pedagogy>> took place as an official conception for knowledge generation in school education (...). Already in the early stages of Ibáñez government, before the holistic reform of 1927-1928 would start, prominent members of pedagogical elites recommended the creation of experimental schools, like the ones that existed in the United States.'

members of the Ministry of Education. Teachers are informed about the list where they have been classified but they only have the right to sign the report. If they disagree, they have to appeal before the same authorities. Nothing is mentioned about the criteria for this classification, so teachers could be easily dismissed under any grounds as long as the authority thought they had to be classified in 'List N°5'. However, political reasons for the dismissal of teachers are institutionalised in the regulation for primary instruction (Decree N° 3060):

'Art. 157. It is forbidden for teachers in general:

1° To get involved in political or private affairs in a way that violates the neutrality of teaching or compromises the harmony that must exist between school and society. (...)

7° To raise or propose, without a higher commandment or authorisation, subscriptions among other members of the teaching personnel and among students, or to incite them to sign petitions or declarations of any nature. (...)

*10° To use partisan influences or influences of any other nature alien to the service, in order to obtain promotions, transferences or any other improvement of their situation.'*⁴⁶

The pressure experienced by teachers in this system is apparent in the following testimony of a teacher in a 1935 publication of the *Journal of Education*, edited by the Ministry of Education:

'The teacher begins his/her school year with a group of more than 40 students, and when facing the demands of the programme, he/she identifies him/herself with it, and in each student who does not assimilate it he/she sees an enemy for his/her good grading by the end of the school year.

*An attitude of struggle emerges; an educational problem becomes a personal problem: students against teachers.'*⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Ibáñez del Campo, C. and Navarrete, M. (1929). Decreto 3060. 'Reglamento general de las escuelas primarias' [Decree 3060. General regulation for primary schools]. In: Donoso, R., op. cit., p. 554.

⁴⁷ De Vásquez, A. (1935). Niños problemas [Problematic children]. *Revista de Educación*, 63, p. 20.

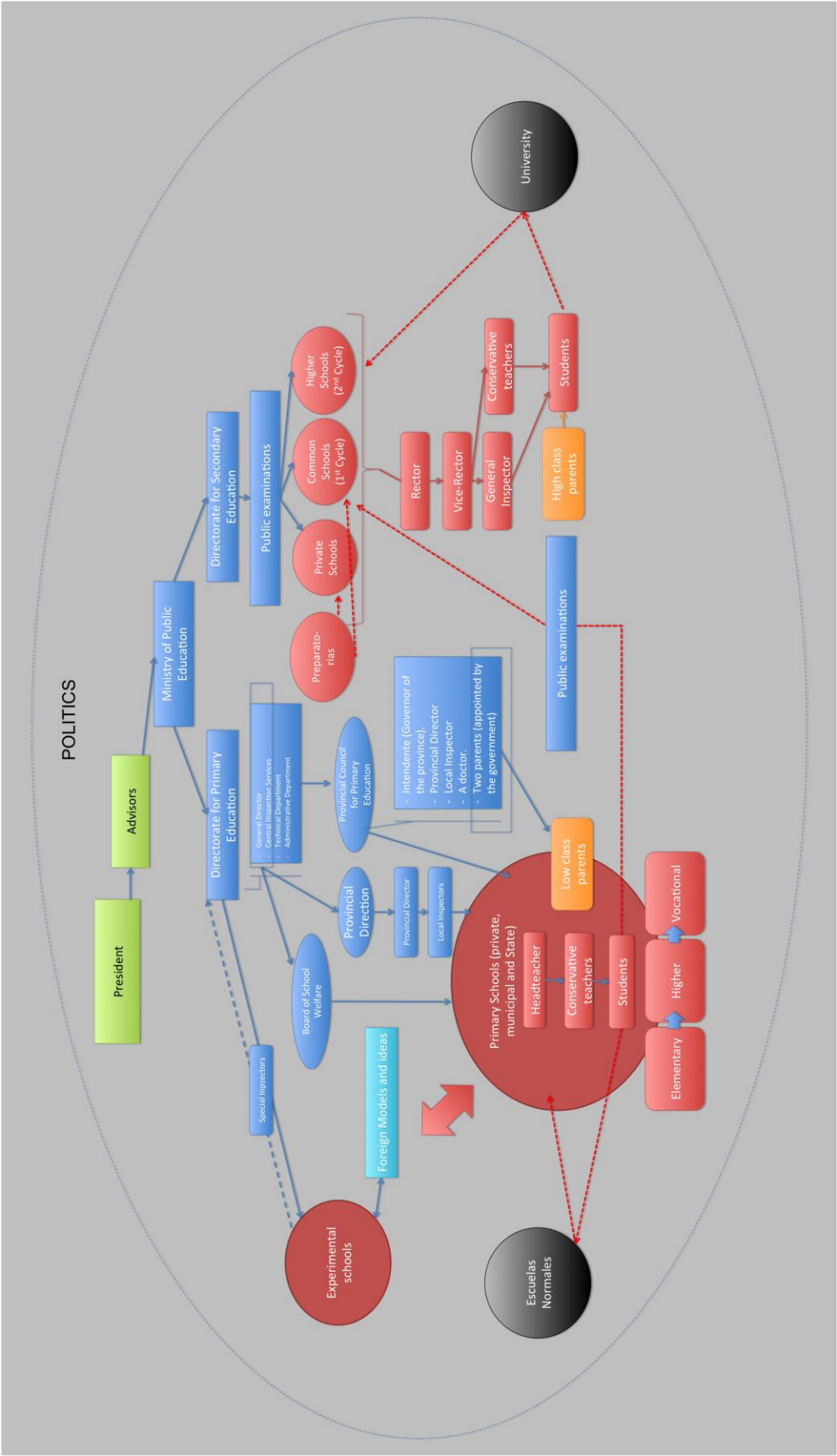


FIGURE 14. Education system at the end of the period, with its main actors and interactions.

It can be inferred from the excerpt that the system imposed in the period of Ibáñez persists in 1935 under the new period of the Liberal Arturo Alessandri. The pressure imposed by this system makes teachers' profession be restricted to passing the programme and getting a good grade so they are not made redundant. According to the excerpt, this surveillance system changes the relationship between students and teachers, making it uncomfortable and difficult.

The political character of the persecution of teachers is observable in different articles of the journal mentioned above. For example, Elvira Santa Cruz, President of the Board for School Welfare at the time, portrays the image of primary teachers in the following terms:

*'The primary teacher is not an antisocial or subversive individual as some believe. It is possible that a 10% to 15% of embittered or indifferent and lazy exists in the union; it may also be that they have ignited subversive ideas, guiltily encouraged by politicians who used them in electoral struggles and then abandoned them when it was convenient to their personal interests. But the majority of teachers are exclusively dedicated to their teaching activities.'*⁴⁸

First, the connection of teaching and education with politics is seen as negative, as the profession should be understood as mainly technical and not as ideological. Political ideas are characterised as subversive and as contrary to the attitude that is expected from teachers. On the other hand, there is recognition of the teacher as being used by political elites at their convenience, which can be understood as a criticism towards elites but also portrays teachers as politically passive and dependant, and neutralises all the political force that the teacher movement had in the previous decade.

Similarly, teacher Julián Contreras explains in 'Communism or bitterness?' that teachers are usually blamed of being Communists, which he considers as a false accusation. If this were true, he states, there should be an effect and a good amount of students would have become Communists to act in the political field and '(...) would have surely perturbed social peace and threatened our Constitutional regime'. He adds later:

⁴⁸ Santa Cruz, E. (1935). El profesorado primario [Primary Teachers]. *Revista de Educación*, 63, p. 31.

'There are no Communists among teachers. There have been bitter experiences. Our wailing of necessity has not been revolutionary cries. Our gestures of hunger are humble, pitiful, demanding of an economic improvement; there is nothing similar in them to the threatening gesture of the Communist. (...)'⁴⁹

Material needs are presented in the quotation as separated from politics and politicisation is described as something that “contaminates” education, something teachers should feel guilty about. Additionally, Communism is clearly demonised and shown as a big pest that has contaminated the heroic image of the teacher. It can be seen, thus, how this persecution made teachers feel the need to be as distant as possible from politics, which evidences their still naïve political perspective. On the other hand, these articles are published in the context of a government funded journal, so they can also be interpreted as a means to keep teachers away from politics in order to avoid a new uprising that would destabilise the structure of society. The strength of teachers’ discourse at the beginning of the period turns into a diminished self-image and a mixed and confusing discourse, where contradictory ideas are advocated. Teachers end this period threatened, weakened, lacking a consistent discourse and diminished in cohesion and force. Their voice never emerged again with the same strength.

5. Discourses on assessment in the counter-reform

Several aspects and principles of the reform are kept in the regulations for primary and secondary education after 1928. Both documents (Decrees N° 3060 and N° 2693) insist in ideas such as: the school as a community, the student as a future citizen, the abolition of memory-based teaching and physical punishment, active and child-centred education, the qualitative

⁴⁹ Contreras, J. (1935). ¿Comunismo o amargura? [Communism or bitterness?]. *Revista de Educación*, 63, p. 69.

tracking of students' progress by the teacher, and a more overarching idea of education that gives value to attitudes and other aspects of human development.

However, the radical idea of suppressing examinations is not one of the aspects that are kept in the counter-reform. In the case of primary schools, for example, along with the qualitative tracking of students' progress and exhibitions as evidence of their learning, teachers are required to mark tests monthly and quarterly with the aim of reporting to parents, as well as with promotion, certification and graduation aims. Graduation from Year 6 required also a final test to be taken.

The difference with previous periods, in what can be understood as a hybrid solution in relation to assessment, is that not only content matters are marked but also more overarching aspects such as conduct, diligence, order, punctuality, manners are assigned a number and reports on the aptitudes of students are elaborated in case they wish to attend a professional school. This wider view of the features to be assessed is confirmed in documents from schools between 1934 and 1939, which consist in mark reports to parents where subjects and aspects of conduct are accounted for or in certificates where the student is congratulated for his good conduct and diligence in study.

When attached to a mark, however, the inclusion of these aspects can also be seen as a means of disciplining students as obedient and well-behaved citizens. This is reaffirmed by the establishment of a an 'aptitudes form' in 1930 (Decree N° 1474) for all primary school students, in what could be understood as an appropriation from the government of the new marginal discourse of testing and the scientific study of learning and personality⁵⁰. This form is completed by the teacher throughout the levels of primary schooling and involves aspects such as:

⁵⁰ Ibáñez del Campo, C. and Navarrete, M. (1930). 'Decreto 1474. Establece la ficha de aptitudes para los alumnos que ingresen a la escuela primaria' [Decree 1474. Establishes the aptitude record for students that enter primary school]. In: Donoso, R., op. cit., pp. 575-577.

- Intellectual conditions: e.g. memory, imagination, reasoning.
- Emotional and volitional conditions: e.g. respectful, polite, docile, clean, honest, religious, decent in his/her language. It also includes “negative” ones, such as: lazy, melancholic, rebellious, proud, vain, and cruel.
- Physical qualities: e.g. weight, size, strength.
- Social and economic aspects: e.g. parents’ job, type of dwelling, recreation activities outside school.
- Educational development: focused on the student’s marks.
- Aptitudes: judgement of the teacher in relation to the aptitudes of the student for a future professional activity.
- Vocational orientation: guidelines on the vocation of the student on the basis of all the previous points.

The circuit these forms were expected to follow is to be sent to industrial, commercial or agrarian technical schools, which seem to be thought as the natural path after attending a public primary school and not a *preparatoria*, although the decree also states that the form continues to be completed in secondary education if the student decides to undertake university studies. Each aspect, when possible, is assessed through a grading scale from 1 to 7, where 1 is Dreadful (*Pésimo*) and 7 is Outstanding (*Sobresaliente*). Other aspects, such as emotional and volitional conditions, are presented as a checklist where presence or absence of different aspects is corroborated. Intelligence is measured through examination results and includes mental age and IQ.

This appropriation of the new testing and scientific discourse on assessment is oriented towards a perspective on schooling where the most important aim is to place the student in the right job, making of working life the fundamental aim of primary schooling. In

this context, the conditions of the good worker for the nation are clear: docile, religious, decent, respectful, skillful, intelligent and strong. Assessment, then, is used here as a means to determine life paths and to discipline the minds and bodies of future workers. The homogenisation that educators feared in the previous decade in relation to testing regimes begins to come true in this type of legislation.

In the case of secondary schools, although some aspects of the reform are maintained, there is a special decree for the regulation of examinations and grades (Decree N° 2545). In this document, subject matters are separated in three groups, and the humanistic and scientific areas (Groups A and B) are given more importance for promotion than manual and artistic ones (Group C). The 19th century model of examinations in front of a committee is brought back in this decree along with written tests for admission to secondary schools, as well as marking practices, now with a scale from 1 to 7. The main language is that of promotion, failure, marking, examinations and certification. In like manner to primary school, 'complimentary grades' are assigned for aspects of conduct (e.g. responsibility, respect, order, goodness, truthfulness). The State continues to hold control over examinations in private schools, although in a more indirect way: the General Director for Secondary Schools designates the teachers that will constitute the examinations committee.

The main discussion in the reminder of the period at this level of schooling is focused on the difficulty of examinations and promotion requirements, which are made increasingly flexible in order to avoid failure and repetition. This seems to be a problem especially for private schools. A telegram from 1927, when examinations are still carried out by university professors along with teachers, shows a petition of the provincial authority (*Intendente*) to the Ministry given the many complaints received from parents of private schools. They refer to the fear students experience in front of academics, as their way of questioning is intimidating, and to the lack of just appreciation of the work of the teacher, whose judgement and vote are not considered. This confirms a continuity of the practices of university examiners, as described for

the previous period in contrast with the benevolent and exceptional figure of Philippi. Decree N° 2545 (1929) seems to be responding to this demand by giving more authority to the teacher that the General Directorate appoints as part of the committee.

From a very strict regulation established by Ibáñez in 1927, where promotion conditions were demanding and conditional promotion was forbidden, the period witnesses an increasing flexibility in the requirements for passing and the possibility of conditional promotion. This phenomenon can be observed from the decrees of Ibáñez by the end of his period, to the decrees of the brief Socialist Republic, until the second period of Alessandri, with at least 8 versions of examinations regulations from 1927 to 1935. This is due to a problem that the strict regulation generated in terms of too many repeating students, which led Alessandri in 1933 to establish a special research committee to investigate the causes of the generalised failure, research that continues throughout his period of government without concrete results. In the meantime, the flexible legislation was prorogued. The same legal strategy of prorogation is used in the period to avoid the transformation of *preparatorias* into regular primary schools, arguing that there is no infrastructure to undertake this change, although these annex schools begin to depend on the General Directorate for Secondary Education (see Decree N° 5486, 1929).

Another important change is the abolition of *Bachillerato* (the end of secondary school test for university entry) in 1928 under the Ibáñez administration and its replacement for a Secondary School Certificate based on the performance of the student throughout the years of secondary education. Decree N° 4096 indicates the reasons for this measure: the State is the only institution that provides titles and degrees (which removes authority from the University of Chile), the student has already been properly assessed at school, and if selection is needed universities will also assess accordingly through their internal examinations. This measure could be explained as part of the problematic relationship between the Ibáñez administration

and the University of Chile, where some rectors demitted and some others did not implement Ibáñez and Minister Navarrete measures for the modernisation of the institution.

In the case of secondary school, therefore, as in the 19th century, the main concern around assessment is still certification and promotion rather than meaningful learning. All actors seem to envisage the need for passing and entering university as the main end of education, which undermines all the traces that might have remained of the initial teachers' reform.

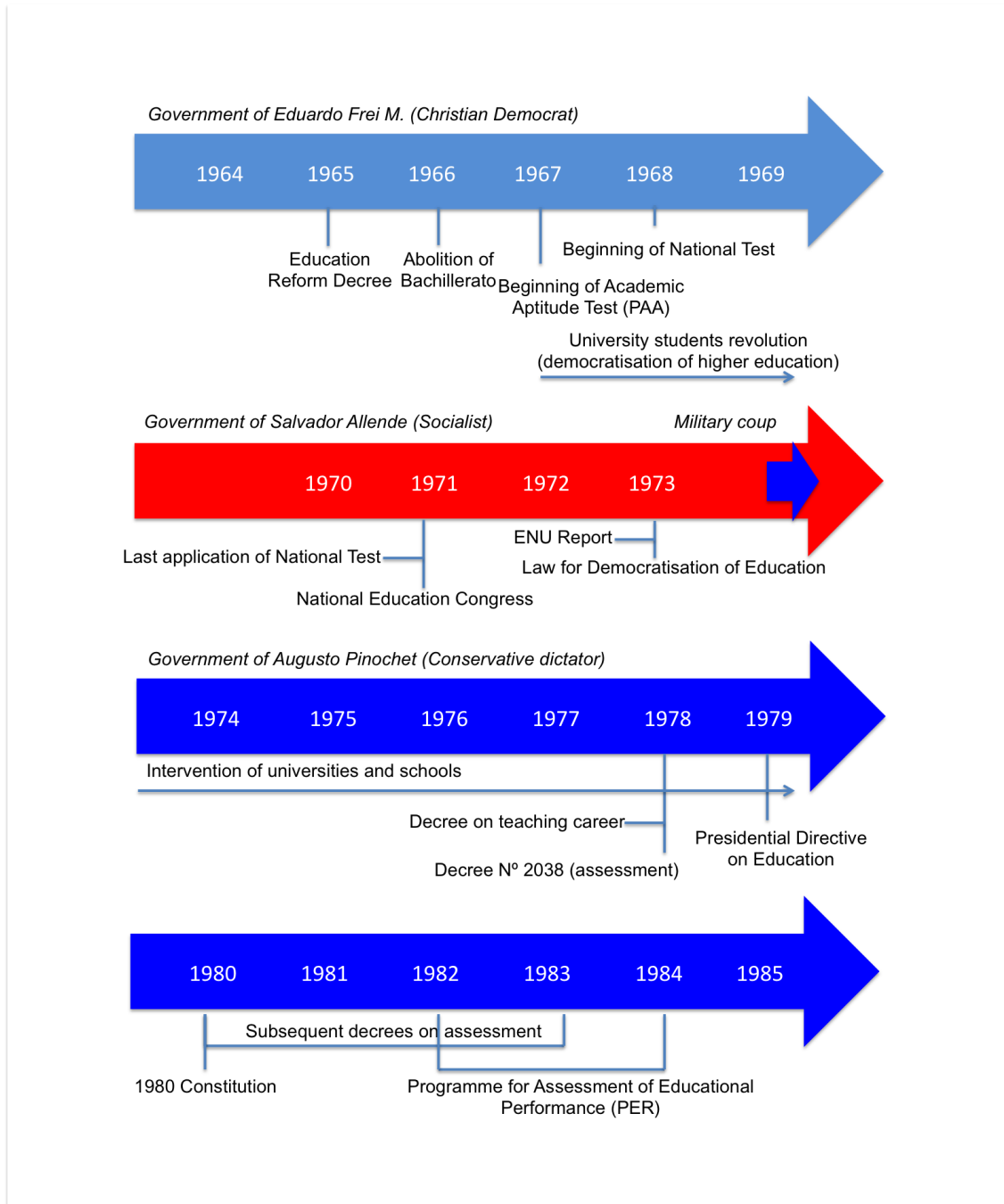
Along with examinations, paperwork with accountability purposes increases. The regulation for primary schools (Decree N° 3060), for example, establishes that each school must keep the following books of registers: matriculation, attendance, the life book where the teacher registers his or her daily work, learning or student progress, visits (for the school Inspector), promotion and graduation of students, inventory, communications, minutes, teacher attendance, external communications, general statistics of the school, memoranda from the headteacher and special books for technical schools. In summary, surveillance is placed upon schools, teachers and students, all of them being disciplined by the political elite.

In summary, the period is characterised by the struggle of forces in the reform and counter-reform movements. The former aims at a more emancipatory pedagogy, with the child as the centre of education, and the generation of more critical and active citizens as its goal. In the context of this perspective, examinations are considered counter-productive and as opposed to the freedom the child and the teacher should have in the process of learning. They are also abolished in terms of the way the separate educational paths just on the grounds of social differences. Simultaneously, innovative teachers introduce the new repertoire of testing theory, although with a certain degree of resistance in relation their potential negative consequences, like altering the natural processes of the classroom by categorising students or becoming a means for an elitist society. The counter-reform movement represses the initiative of teachers and returns to traditional discourses on assessment focused on marking,

certification and examinations, and also assimilates the testing discourse as a means for disciplining students in different aspects of human behaviour.

1965-1985: A CLASH OF PROJECTS

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PERIOD



The richness of this third period lies in the way it concentrates in a few years a succession of three radically different projects for society and education. One can witness the moderate 'Revolution in Liberty' of the Christian Democrats, followed by the Socialist 'National Unified School' and then by the breakdown of democracy led by Pinochet, which transforms the educational landscape of the country until the present time. This phase can be seen as the culmination of previous conflicts, and hence as the space where multiple discourses emerge and interact with one another. Given the nature of this period, the way in which this section of the chapter is structured varies slightly from the two previous ones, and presents each project separately in relation to three levels: ideological, pedagogical/curricular and discourses around assessment.

1. Frei's *Revolution in Liberty*: a failed attempt of institutional breach

- **The ideological level**

Although the Radical governments of previous periods had undertaken social reforms, including the expansion of provision and a more technical development of education (Feinberg, 1972), social inequalities persisted as well as the segregated nature of the education system. The subsequent administrations of (now elected) Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Jorge Alessandri did not contribute to any radical changes in education. The same social demands remained thus unsolved (Haslam, 2005).

The Christian Democrats, formerly named the *Falange*, were a group of young members of the Conservative Party who abandoned it in the 1930s as they felt the need for a more progressive approach to politics (see Appendix 12). Due to this internal divide, the older members of this party accused them of betrayal in their 1941 convention minutes. However, in the 1964 elections a real possibility of a triumph of the Left, represented by Salvador Allende,

made the Right (now combining Conservatives, Liberals and Radicals) abandon their candidate and support the more moderate approach of Eduardo Frei Montalva, the Christian Democrats' candidate (Feinberg, 1972). In the programme of this party's 1967 campaign for Council elections, they define their 'Revolution in Liberty' using the following words:

*'The Revolution in Liberty is an on-going process which, in the context of Democracy, respecting the person and the essential rights of all Chileans, is liberating the people [al pueblo] through the education reform, the agrarian reform, popular organisations and the redistribution of income, and is driving the economic development and independence of Chile through industrialisation, the Chileanisation of copper and the war against inflation.'*⁵¹

Frei represented a project where reforms similar to those proposed by the Left were to be promoted but in the context of democratic rule and respect for private property and individual freedom, crucial and long-standing values of the Right. These reforms were not based on Socialist or Communist principles but fell under the umbrella of Christian values. According to Feinberg, this discourse of democracy and 'Christian love' found an echo in the new voters, 'especially among the women, peasants and workers of rural origin' (1972: 38), which made Frei gain the 1964 election process.

Yet in the same Programme they recognise the difficulties experienced by Frei's administration:

'Chile has to choose between the dirty and tortuous politics of compromise or the clean and straight politics of accomplishing the programme that was promised to the people.'

For the Nationals [the party that united Conservatives and Liberals] the worst enemy of Chile, of the Christian and Western civilisation, of religion and morality is communism. For the Communists, the worst enemies of the people are the Nationals. However, they do not hesitate in acting in concert in order to block President Frei's Government.
(...)

*To vote for the candidates of Christian Democracy (...) is to vote (...) for a firm, responsible and effective presidential government and against a re-emergence of a fruitless parliamentarism; for President Frei and against the majority of the Senate; for Chile and against bad politics.'*⁵²

⁵¹ Christian Democratic Party (1967). *Un programa y un gobierno* [A programme and a government]. Santiago, p. 8. Available at:

<http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-9081.html>

⁵² Ibid., pp. 10-11.

Frei's project, thus, suffered from the same problems as other innovative initiatives of previous administrations: all attempts were softened through processes of negotiation between political parties, which meant a considerable undermining of originally more radical ideas. The attempts of the government to achieve significant reforms through institutional means involved compromise with powerful groups, who eventually benefitted from these negotiation processes (see, for example, the case of the agrarian reform described in Feinberg, 1972).

- **The Christian Democrats' project in education**

The main aspects of Frei's 'Revolution in Liberty' in education were related to an increase in provision and access, and improvement in infrastructure, more years of primary schooling, increased community participation, as well as a curriculum reform that involved new pedagogical and methodological approaches (Cox and Gysling, 2009). There is some evidence of the achievements of his government in relation to the first three aspects, with sources from different historical periods recognising these advances, from the 1967 party programme quoted above, to Schiefelbein's diagnosis on Chilean education in 1976, to a Workers Vicariate working document from 1985, although all of these sources are close to the ideological position of the party.

The more qualitative features of the reform (namely participation and curriculum change), however, involve more complexities. There is a whole process of reform in Higher Education in 1968, which involved a more horizontal participation of all the actors in decision-making processes and a structure of co-government (Jadresic, 2002). The credit for this change, nonetheless, belongs to the students, who took part in the general revolutionary impulse of the 1960s by exerting pressure in order to achieve a more democratic structure in

universities. All these processes occur inside universities with little intervention from the government.

At the school level, Schiefelbein's diagnosis of Frei's administration indicates some degree of participation through church, volunteering and parents associations as well as community centres. The author, who was highly involved in the process of Frei's education reform, criticises the 'professional barrier' that teachers imposed to parents in terms of not allowing them to get involved in technical-pedagogical aspects, using the 'myth of the scientific character of education' to block their involvement 'in the problems that directly pertain their children's performance'. It is in aspects like this where the permanent ideological fluidity and ambiguity of the Christian Democrats becomes apparent. They promote participation but in a way that neutralises potential political elements by relating these activities to charitable or social life motivations; they connect community participation with elements of clientelistic attitudes from parents and with the deprofessionalisation of teachers' knowledge.

In terms of pedagogical and curriculum reform, there are relevant changes in teacher education and in the school curriculum. According to Cox and Gysling (2009), there is an initial attempt to reform *Escuelas Normales* but this is strongly resisted by teachers because it was based on a study supported by the Ford Foundation, in which they did not trust. The basis of this mistrust is related to the anti-imperialist tendency of the time, funded in interventionist strategies such as the Project Camelot (Cox and Gysling, 2009: 134). These suspicions are justified many years later by the well-known intervention of the CIA during the 1964 campaign where, for example, approximately U\$12,000,000 were invested by the United States to support Frei's campaign and avoid Allende's triumph (Haslam, 2005).

Schiefelbein describes teachers' resistance in the following terms:

'The unionised action was an insurmountable barrier to undertake a reform programme in Escuelas Normales, due to its funding coming from a donation of the Ford Foundation (...). It was about the development of materials in these schools to be experimented in the annexe schools of Escuelas Normales [where future teachers undertook their professional practice],

*with the aim of stimulating in teachers both research on their effects and on their relation to our reality.'*⁵³

Again, an active participant in Frei's reform portrays political organisation of actors in the system as an obstacle for top-down reforms, rather than considering their voice as part of their participative approach. Additionally, teachers act as empowered agents in terms of being able to resist a reform. Although they do not define the agenda like in the previous period, they are able to avoid a new marginal discourse to become central and block the action of both the government and international organisations.

The model promoted by the Ford Foundation, where ready-made materials are to be implemented by teachers, is later recognised by Brennan (2009) as characteristic of Conservative governments, who seem to distrust the knowledge of the teacher and, therefore, provide "kits" of materials produced by "more able experts". Something similar is observed in Chapter IV in relation to more recent materials for literacy and numeracy development.

The changes that were eventually undertaken during the period are closer to the historical demands of teachers: primary teacher education becomes post-secondary, specialised, scientific, research-based and practice-based (Cox and Gysling, 2009). This involves the end of the socially established difference between primary and secondary teachers, as both are given an equivalent status.

In relation to the reform of the school curriculum, a report from UNESCO in 1966 summarises the criticisms from which it emerges:

*'The old school is criticised for being mainly intellectualist and too inclined to select student solely on the basis of their intellectual aptitudes.
(...)*

⁵³ Schiefelbein, E. (1970). *Diagnóstico del Sistema Educacional Chileno en 1970* [Diagnosis of the Chilean Education System in 1970]. Santiago: Business and Administration Faculty, Economics Department, University of Chile. 54-55.

*Another criticism (...) refers to the traditional programmes being overloaded, which can be appreciated (...) [in] the tendency in teaching to give priority to verbal methods, to be exclusively magisterial and mainly based on memory.'*⁵⁴

The similarities with the criticisms of the previous periods are again apparent, revealing a historical persistence in traditional practice despite all the past attempts for a change. Similarly, the principles sustained by the “new” approach sound also very familiar. The same report describes:

*'In these programmes the respect for the psychology of the child between 6 and 11 years old is intended, [respect] for that child who is an essentially active being, who imitates and is inclined to group activities and willing to develop through the realisation of his/her creative fantasy.'*⁵⁵

As in previous periods, a child-centred approach is advocated. Students develop as creative beings, who are not considered only in terms of their cognitive dimension but taken as a whole, with values and attitudes. This requires overcoming traditional verbal methods and a more active engagement in learning tasks.

The increased role of IOs in local education governance can be seen in the caveats established by UNESCO in the report, which was commissioned by the Chilean government in order to evaluate the new programmes. First, the report **doubts of teachers' professional skills** for taking such a complex proposal into practice and fears a potential lack of homogeneity in the system due to teachers' **excess of autonomy**. These aspects would require, says the report, a wide development of CPD courses and a system of control and inspection. Additionally, advice is given in relation to the **danger of forgetting the development of elementary techniques and instrumental disciplines** in an organised set of pre-established contents. Finally, it also **warns against setting too high aspirations for primary schooling**. All these are aspects that have been envisaged in this study as characteristics of the

⁵⁴ Albaric, R. (1966). *Informe UNESCO: Examen y revisión de los programas de educación* [UNESCO report: Analysis and revision of education programmes]. Santiago, p. 6. Available at: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0000/000079/007998SB.pdf>

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 7.

approach to education sustained by more Conservative groups. The centrifugal forces of (the same) reform are in this period being resisted through transnational governance mechanisms.

However, the concerns expressed by UNESCO may not be completely justified. The major aim of this pedagogical and curriculum reform is stated in Decree Nº 27952 (1965):

'(...) to attain a better and more harmonious development of all the aspects of the individual's personality; trained for the working life and to enable him/her to intelligently participate in the process of cultural, social and economic development of the country.

(...)

*General Primary Education will begin with a four years foundation cycle of globalised teaching [i.e. interdisciplinary] and will end with a four years cycle in which special emphasis will be put on vocational exploration.'*⁵⁶

Despite the innovations promoted through an interdisciplinary approach and the consideration of other dimensions of learning (skills, attitudes, values), the final aim of the system is still that of generating useful, productive and highly functional citizens. Consistently, the title of the first interdisciplinary unit for Year 2 is: 'A tool to be happy: work'.

Additionally, although the general principles of the new curriculum seem to promote flexibility, different sources are coincident in signalling the principles of Benjamin Bloom and Ralph Tyler as the basis for the new approach, which involves an innovative approach to learning but also a still very mechanistic one.

According to Herrera Ruiz (1980), Bloom's ideas involve an operational reading of Carroll's model around the variables that influence success in learning. The operational reading involves the exploration of the changes in learning generated by modifications in two of those variables: *quality of teaching* and *time*. This means that, provided with the right treatment, most students could reach a mastery level of learning. Two great innovations are introduced here: a dynamic idea of intelligence (all students can learn under the right treatment) and a differentiated treatment for each student against the simultaneous method promoted in previous decades. Changes and permanent diagnosis around planning, materials and methods

⁵⁶ Frei Montalva, E. and Gómez Millas, J. (1965). 'Decreto 27952, Modifica Sistema Educacional' [Decree 27952. Modifies the Education System]. Santiago, p. 1. Available at: <http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=19478&buscar=Decreto+27952>

would result, according to this approach, in the majority of students reaching a high level of learning.

It is in the context of these theoretical bases that the development of the individual is thought of in Frei's education reform. This means that the so-called flexibility and natural development of the child is set against a set of expected behaviours, which all students must accomplish. The romantic background that justified previous child-centred reforms overlaps with and is absorbed by a behaviourist idea of learning. The UNESCO report explains:

*'A second original aspect of the programmes that are being prepared consists in putting constantly before the eyes of teachers (...) the reference to the cultural aim of each part of the programme or, according to the vocabulary that is employed, to the <<generally desirable behaviours>> that the activities included in each part of the programme must develop and strengthen.'*⁵⁷

Although learning is democratised by Bloom's ideas and teaching is made more flexible and reflective in terms of adapting it according to the needs of each student, this occurs in the context of very specific externally set boundaries that require students to adapt to expected behaviours and to be corrected by the teacher when they deviate from these expectations. The mechanistic aspect in this approach is illustrated in the figure below (see Figure 15), taken from Herrera Ruiz (1980), a text that was used for CPD courses from 1975 onwards.

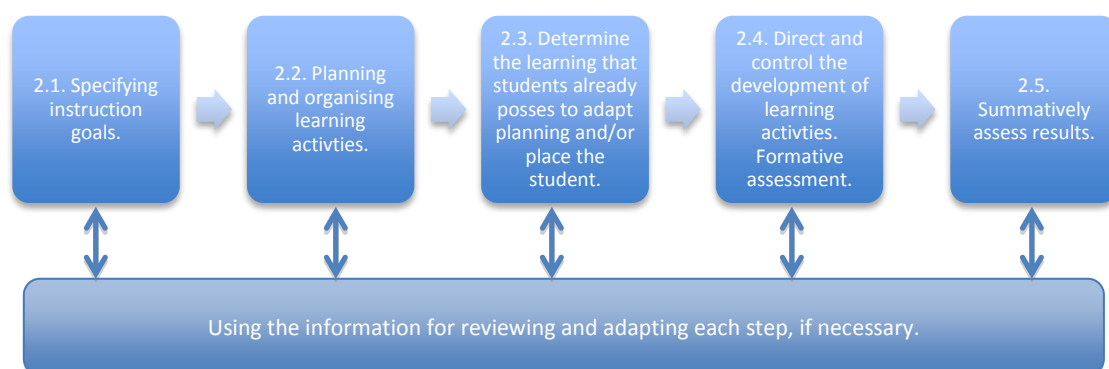


FIGURE 15. Sequence and relationships between the activities that characterise the teaching-learning process (Herrera Ruiz, 1980: 17)

⁵⁷ Albaric, op. cit., p. 8.

This model would be classified by Even-Zohar (1990) as reflecting static systems theory and criticised by him and authors such as Hammersley (2002) for its mechanistic approach to complex phenomena. There are aspects of the Fordist approach to education as well as a technocratic behaviourist model of teaching and learning in this diagram, where teachers check the quality of the process of production of desirable students according to curriculum goals. Difference, then, is only important in terms of applying the right treatment so everyone can achieve the same outcome. The discourses of enterprise and industry become intertwined with education and assessment acquires an important role in this context.

- **Discourses on assessment: Gauss vs. Bloom and the canonisation of standardised testing**

Two models in tension

The idea of pedagogy as a scientific discipline that began to develop in previous periods in terms of specialised knowledge is consolidated during this phase, where measurement and assessment become common technical subjects addressed in teacher education, policy generation, education research and practice. Two main discourses circulate: 1) the traditional perspective about testing, where a static idea of intelligence is objectively assessed through right/wrong or multiple choice questions and students' scores are statistically analysed through a norm-referenced approach; and 2) Bloom's idea of assessment where a dynamic process of teaching and learning around a set of pre-established goals is controlled and regulated through testing or other activities. The latter constitutes the entering of a new marginal discourse to the arena: formative assessment.

Gipps (2004) understands these two perspectives as *psychometrics* and *educational measurement*, respectively. She states they have some different principles, but also that both are different from *educational assessment*. Both approaches, nonetheless, share many

principles: they are based on a behaviourist idea of learning where the student is thought as achieving desirable behaviours; they conceptualise assessment as an objective evidence-gathering activity about the students' achievement; they use tests as the main tool to obtain evidence; they think of assessment as a quality control tool. The main differences are given by the opposition between a static and a dynamic concept of intelligence and by the moment where assessment takes place (during the process or only at the end of it). The image below from Herrera Ruiz (1980: 60) seeks to illustrate the difference between the two approaches by opposing the traditional Gauss curve to the mastery learning curve:

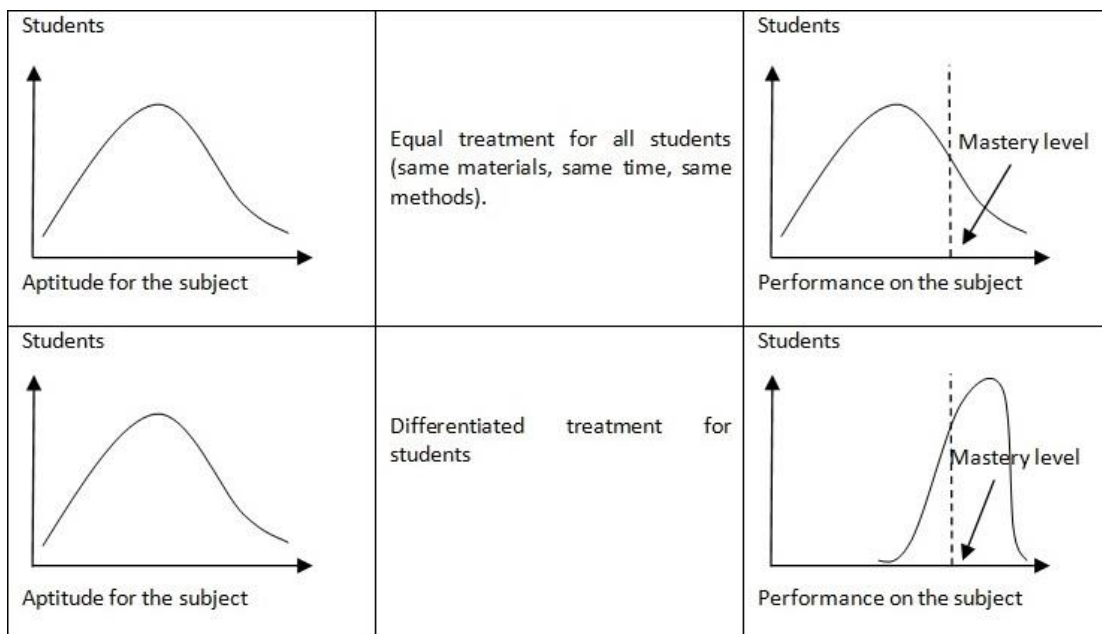


FIGURE 16. Traditional learning vs. mastery learning (Herrera Ruiz, 1980)

The transition between the two models is apparent both in the interviews with experienced teachers and in the books that were used for teacher education during the period. One example of these materials from 1967 by Eliana Tartarini⁵⁸, mentioned by Participant 12, is an instance of the more traditional approach. It refers in different sections to

⁵⁸ Tartarini, E. (1967). *Evaluación escolar y elementos de estadística aplicada* [School assessment and elements of applied statistics]. Santiago: Editorial Universitaria.

assessment as a fundamental component of the learning process, highlights its importance for obtaining a constant diagnosis of the teaching and learning process and states that different types of assessment activities should be employed in the classroom. Despite these statements her book concentrates almost exclusively in the construction of good 'objective' and 'modern' written tests, and most of the space is used in referring to closed questions and later to the reviewing process, with a long final chapter on statistical tools that are necessary for interpreting data derived from assessment processes. These tools aim at the establishment of rankings and other aspects of a norm-referenced approach. A step-by-step guide on how to establish marking schemes through the use of graph paper is also provided.

The other text is that by Herrera Ruiz mentioned above, which was used between 1975 and 1980 in professional development programmes around assessment. This source is more focused on Bloom's approach to assessment and is clearer in its intention of moving away from marking and scoring-centred approaches to concentrate on learning and a more qualitative analysis of results. The difference is made explicit in statements like the following:

'Assessment of learning is a new assessment approach. It requires a very detailed description of learning goals and the testing procedures, which have as a reference criterion standards or acceptance patterns previously established in the learning goals.'

*In contrast to the approach mentioned above, there is the norm-referenced measurement approach, which interprets the results achieved by the students comparing them with the performance achieved by the whole class or a larger group of students of the same level. This approach pays special attention to the differentiation between students while the quantity of learning each student achieves is not that important.'*⁵⁹

The difference in the new approach is, therefore, related to a concentration on the meaning of the result in terms of individual learning rather than in comparative terms. Variety of assessment activities is also encouraged throughout the book. However, there is also a tendency to provide examples related to written tests and teachers who are learning from the material are assessed at the end of each module through a multiple choice test where they

⁵⁹ Herrera Ruiz, R. (1980). *Evaluación de los Aprendizajes* [Assessment of Learning]. Santiago: CPEIP, p. 26.

basically have to repeat its content. Only at the end of the book a series of more reflective and hands-on activities are suggested. Additionally, as has been said before, this book is still situated in a behaviourist and technocratic paradigm, where a mechanic idea of learning and schooling predominates.

The tensions between the two models, therefore, are contained in both the content and the internal contradictions of these teacher education materials.

Participant experienced teachers were exposed to both ideas during their initial education, except for one who did not receive any training on assessment as he studied in an *Escuela Normal* earlier than the rest of the group. This could be interpreted as evidence of assessment as an absent topic in initial teacher education and the exclusive preserve of headteachers (see end of section 3 in the previous period) of primary schools until the first half of the 1960s. Independent of their type or place of education, all the other experienced teachers remember being in contact with topics such as: construction of objective tests and instruments (60% of experienced teachers) either through practical exercises or more teacher-centred strategies; statistics in relation to scoring and reviewing processes (30% of experienced teachers); types of items with true or false, multiple-choice and matching terms as the most mentioned (50% of experienced teachers); types of assessment, where they mention both the three phases of diagnosis, formative and summative assessment, and types of tests (essay tests, closed questions tests) (30% of experienced teachers); and Bloom's taxonomy (30% of experienced teachers).

The transition between the two assessment models is apparent in some of the testimonies of teachers. Participant 12, for instance, recognises that:

'(...) this objectivity the year, I'm talking about the year 77, (...) maybe was in a theoretical retreat. But it was still [operating] in practice.'

Participant 19 remembers that as a school student during the 1960s she and her classmates were excited with the novelty of multiple-choice testing:

'(...) she was the only teacher at the school that by the end of the semester used to make a multiple-choice test, and it was a party, because we didn't know multiple-choice tests.

Interviewer: It was a novelty.

Interviewee: It was a novelty to us that the test was already written because everything was "take a sheet of paper" and they dictated the questions.'

She also recalls how she was asked at the beginning of her career to use Bloom's taxonomy to construct a table of specifications and to analyse the results of a test and she felt completely lost. She declares now knowing what these ideas mean because she is asked to use them in her current context of practice, revealing the historical overlapping and continuity of approaches until nowadays; Participant 14 declares he experiences the same requirements but criticises this insistence in Bloom as 'a bit outdated'.

Testing policies

The political consequences of Bloom's concept were potentially huge, as the idea of selection of those who are naturally better is discarded and replaced by a more democratic idea where everyone, provided with the right conditions and stimuli, can learn and show high levels of achievement. In Velásquez' terms, the "aristocrats of intelligence" are displaced by a democracy of learning. Would Frei's goals of increased access and provision benefit from this approach to assessment?

Law Nº 16.526 declares the abolition of *Bachillerato* as the examinations process for university entrance in 1966. This very brief document does not provide much information about the reasons for the termination of this procedure. It only establishes that the State will provide certificates at the end of each cycle of education on the basis of national assessment systems to be developed by the Ministry and that the license of secondary education would be a requirement for entering higher education.

Another document from 1963 illuminates the law mentioned above with the discussion that had been sustained for some years around *Bachillerato*. This source is a

statement submitted to the Minister of Education of the time by the Council of University Rectors on what they consider the 'national controversy' around the potential cancellation of the examinations, topic in which they declare having a wide level of agreement. First, they explain the problems they detect around this assessment process: there are too many people aiming at higher education although not all of them are motivated to studying or have the ability to undertake these kinds of studies; this is due to the lack of alternative paths for those who will not enter higher education; employers ask for *Bachillerato* as a recruitment requirement, making it unintentionally compulsory; universities do not have the capacity to receive all the applicants, thus, a selection process is inevitable. Most importantly, they state that the direction of *Bachillerato* and secondary education follow different criteria:

*'During all their permanence in public or private secondary schools [liceos o colegios] students are required in their tests and examinations to repeat in an almost literal way the information they have received (...) from their teachers. This causes, in general, that the student (...) mainly develops his/her ability to memorise and does not develop sufficiently his/her abilities of analysis, reasoning and personal criticism. (...) The bachillerato test, in turn, requires candidates to relate different facts occurred in different times, to provide their personal appreciation about different scientific phenomena, to analyse the consequences of specific facts; in one word, they are required to have a degree of analysis, reasoning and critical thinking that they should normally have at their age but that they do not have in reality, as the education they received did not prepare them in that direction.'*⁶⁰

The rectors consider, due to this basic inequality, that the *Bachillerato* lacks the necessary fairness. After detailing the problems, they proceed to suggest some solutions. They do not agree with the immediate abolition of the examination, as this is the only 'national standard' at the moment. They recommend its replacement through a standardised test related to knowledge, aptitudes and vocational aspects. This, they declare, is more consistent with the new context of increased demand and competition. Additionally, they think this would allow the Ministry to cease its concern about annual examinations in schools, which would be now responsibility of each educational establishment. A long-standing wish of

⁶⁰ Rectors Council for Chilean Universities. (1963). *Bachillerato: problema educacional* [Bachillerato: an educational problem]. Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, pp. 7-8.

Conservative groups would, then, be realised: the State would not control the internal logic of schools yearly through difficult examinations carried out by university representatives.

The change, however, was a radical one. According to a guide to prepare the *Bachillerato* on Philosophy and Language⁶¹ (called 'Letters' at the time), the old examinations system involved an oral presentation that the students had to listen to, taking notes of its content, and then write a ten lines summary of its content. The topic of the presentation was abstract and philosophical. The next section required the student to answer one of the two questions on Philosophy that were offered, and both his/her writing skills and knowledge on the subject were to be assessed. This was formerly a problem they had to discuss about but the tendency of the students to ramble motivated reconsideration. Furthermore, the concentration of assessors on the summary rather than the discussion, due to the rambling, led Philosophy teachers 'to train students in the technique of creating a good summary' and teaching to the test was not considered as a positive consequence at the time.

When reading a guide for *Bachillerato* from 1964 it is clear, on the one hand, that the topics are academic and follow a very encyclopaedic model of education. On the other hand, the analysed guide is correct in saying that the selected assessment tasks are representative of the skills and activities students will be required to use and do in university. In today's terms, they are very *authentic*. Although behaviourists could criticise its lack of "objectivity" in the reviewing process, the document indicates each test comes with 'an assessment scheme for scoring, compatible with the special nature of the test'.

The *Bachillerato* is replaced from 1967 by a test that measures one of the three aspects indicated by the rectors: aptitude. The Academic Aptitude Test (Prueba de Aptitud Académica, PAA) was a standardised test exclusively composed of multiple-choice items, elaborated by the Institute for Statistical Research of the University of Chile. The constructs it

⁶¹ Porcell, N. (1964). *Guía para la prueba general de Filosofía y el Bachillerato en Letras (de acuerdo al nuevo programa)* [Guide for the general Philosophy Test and Language and Literature Bachillerato (according to the new programme)]. Santiago: Editora Educacional.

declares to assess, according to a 1971 and a 1974 facsimile⁶², are verbal and mathematical reasoning. The verbal reasoning test has four sections that changed slightly over time: antonyms, analogies, sentence completion and reading comprehension. The texts that are used are informative rather than argumentative, and the majority of the reading comprehension questions require literal recognition of information or basic inferences from the text; only a few assess synthesis and the assessment of evaluation or interpretation was not found in the documents. The mathematical reasoning test was mostly composed by pure exercising, with a minority of items formulated in terms of a problem to be solved using mathematical tools (e.g. 7 out of 50 in the 1974 facsimile). The absence of a test handbook does not facilitate the understanding of how these items types are selected as representative of the assessed domains, how do they correlate with other general tasks of such domains and, most importantly, how do they predict performance in an academic setting. The examples below illustrate the change that this new test involved in the area of Language (right answers are highlighted in bold letters by the author):

'ANTONYMS (Opposites):

6. UNCERTAINTY

- A) *tranquillity*
- B) *sureness***
- C) *trust*
- D) *decision*
- E) *precision*

⁶² Institute for Statistical Research. (1971). *Facsimil PAA 1971* [PAA Facsimile 1971]. Santiago: University of Chile and Institute for Statistical Research. (1974). *Facsimil PAA 1974* [PAA Facsimile 1974]. Santiago: University of Chile.

ANALOGIES:

33. HOUSE : MANSION

- A) *bicycle : motorbike*
- B) *tumbrel : coach***
- C) *consulate : embassy*
- D) *castle : palace*
- E) *circus : theatre*

SENTENCE COMPLETION:

58. It is to know history to understand and interpret the facts of the present in their real dimension.

- A) *sufficient*
- B) *preferable*
- C) *opportune*
- D) *necessary***
- E) *logic*

The Christian Democrats' programme for the 1967 Council election refers to the increased social demand for higher education and repeats some of the arguments provided by the rectors in relation to the need for a selection process (this is not surprising as Gómez Millas, Frei's Minister of Education, was the rector of the University of Chile when the document about the controversy around *Bachillerato* was written). However, they state in their defence:

*'(...) the increase in university matriculation has grown from 13.091 students in 1964 to nearly 20.000 in 1967, which means an increase over a 50% in only three years, that is, the greatest increase there has been until today.'*⁶³

These data are supported by the 1985 account of Gauthier around the sustained increase in matriculation in the education system before Pinochet's dictatorship. In the case of universities, entrance increased from 22.657 students in 1958 to 32.622 in 1964 and then it duplicates to 76.979 in 1970 and 139.999 in 1973. The question arises as to what extent PAA was a very convenient change that facilitated university entrance and, thus, the publication of auspicious ciphers for the government and its educational project.

⁶³ Christian Democracy, op. cit., p. 96.

The use of numbers derived from assessment procedures as a way of political validation is not unknown to this administration. Along with PAA they established another national standardised test for Year 8, which, indicates Schiefelbein, constituted 10% of the final score that allowed students to choose where they would continue their secondary education. The National Test (*Prueba Nacional*, PN) was established through Decree Nº 7056 of 1967 and was in place between 1968 and 1971 for the areas of Mathematics and Language. Schiefelbein explains the reasons for the creation of this test:

*'During the period 1965-70 research appeared to have a truly dynamic role in the work of educational authorities (Grassau, 1967). (...) The models employed for the design of education plans (...) required both other investigations and appropriate statistical information. It was necessary to have information about the quality of education if an improvement of the system was really to be achieved. That led to the creation of the National Assessment Service (...) and to the design of national ability tests. (...) As a result of the tests administered by the National Assessment Service it has been possible to study the influence of diverse factors in the academic performance of students.'*⁶⁴

Grassau, referenced as policy relevant research in the excerpt, is the author of a study that criticised *Bachillerato* and favoured the creation of PAA⁶⁵. This despite her research finding a correlation between performance in *Bachillerato* and in the first year of university, which was higher than that between school grades and performance in university. Along with the need for more policy-relevant data generated from research, Schiefelbein refers to the importance of generating statistical data derived from assessment as a way to control the quality of the system. His whole report is focused on the evaluation of the system on the basis of learning results in standardised tests. He applies the logic of the mechanistic approach to formative assessment at a system level, where there is permanent control in order to generate feedback that allows for the correction of errors and the improvement of the system.

⁶⁴ Schiefelbein, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

⁶⁵ Grassau, E. 'Análisis estadístico de las pruebas de bachillerato' [Statistical analysis of *bachillerato* tests]. *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, 102(4), 77-93. Available at: <http://www.anales.uchile.cl/index.php/ANUC/article/viewFile/27313/28926>

But what was the content of this test? In the case of Mathematics, the tasks provided in a 1968 guide to prepare the test⁶⁶ are varied in complexity, abstraction and style, as well as the way they combine different sub-areas of the discipline. However, the verbal section of this material is extremely simple, to the extent it would be highly unlikely to obtain low results. A guide of the same nature from 1971 for Mathematics⁶⁷ is a very arid compendium of pure content and mechanistic exercising, maybe following the behaviourist principle of “objectivity” in knowledge. The relationship between these tests and quality of education can, at least, be questioned on the basis of these materials.

But the pervasiveness of testing also reaches the local and the school level. Along with the need for half-term (at least 4 per semester), semiannual and final grades for each discipline, Decree Nº 6859 of 1968 demands standardised tests to be developed at the local level by teachers of different schools from the same area. According to the experiences of participant experienced teachers, it seems that the most frequent practice for this actor was to assess through written tests with a low level of difficulty, where closed items predominated and a few open questions were considered. Despite the increased participation, then, the content and form of these local tests can be inferred as following these principles.

Figure 17 summarises the way the education system was restructured during Frei’s government. Compared to previous periods, it is clear the structure of the system becomes more complex due to the increase of departments in the Ministry and also because of the attempt to make it more participative, which involves the inclusion of new actors and new interaction mechanisms. Additionally, the moderate character of the Christian Democrats’ proposal could also contribute to the increment of complexity, as both top-down and bottom-

⁶⁶ Neves, M.E.; Higginhs Withers, C.; León, B. (1968). *Texto guía Prueba Nacional Matemática/Verbal 8º año* [Guiding textbook National Test Mathematics/Verbal Year 8]. Santiago.

⁶⁷ Ibaceta, R. and Solano, S. (1971). *Texto guía Prueba Nacional Matemática* [Guiding textbook National Test Mathematics]. Santiago.

up mechanisms have to be considered in a way that prevents the imposition of a single view as well as the excess of looseness in perspective.

In summary, the emancipatory potential of the reform in terms of its defence of creativity, critical thinking, intelligent citizenship and the natural development of the child is undermined by the predominant assessment discourses. Formative assessment has a strong potential for breaking social boundaries in terms of the idea of learning in which it is based but its concretion involved an assimilation of its principles to behaviourist and technocratic models of teaching and learning, and to standardised testing practices, also undermining its emancipatory promise.

Feinberg (1972: 132) provides an accurate summary of the contradiction in terms that was embedded in the Christian Democrats' education project:

'The *lycée* reform was more complex. On the one hand, students were being encouraged to think, to criticize, to participate in formulating the policy of the <<school community>>, to do projects in noncompetitive groups, while on the other hand, competition for grades and university admission was stiffer than ever, real participation was often minimal, and the academic material had retained many of the old values (...).'

Testing, which constituted a marginal and new discourse in the previous period, becomes a canonical repertoire since the 1960s. Can this be attributed to its effectiveness as a political tool? It allows for the control and discipline of subjects through expected behaviours, of the school system through high stakes permanent testing, and of public opinion through the use of data as a tool for validation. It constitutes, consciously or not, the perfect power device.

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2. Allende and the Socialist project: power from below

- **The ideological level: opening the gates**

Haslam (2005: 18) summarises the situation before the 1970 election process:

‘By 1968 it was clear to everyone that Frei’s <<Revolution in Liberty>> was going nowhere. It had diminished into little more than a holding operation. Agrarian reform and the freeing of food prices had not increased productivity. (...) The only factor that kept Frei afloat economically was the rising price of copper on world markets (...). And remorselessly every year congress voted a *reajuste* [re-adjustment] in wages to match rising inflation. The country was clearly living a borrowed time, pursuing social reform at the expense of investment and productivity, but doing so at a pace insufficiently rapid for the disadvantaged whose expectations had risen to Frei’s bellicose rhetoric.’

The disappointment of lower social groups with the moderate changes achieved by the Christian Democracy leads Chile to one of the most unusual phenomena until that stage of world history: the democratic election of a Marxist president (Feinberg, 1972). This rare event generated both interest and alarm at an international level (Haslam, 2005; Feinberg, 1972). All eyes were fixed on Chile expecting to witness the outcome of this new experiment or, in the case of the US, to hinder it from becoming a reality.

Unidad Popular (UP) -a coalition that united Socialists, Communists and Radicals-, proposed a detailed programme for the presidential campaign in 1970. The 1969 document can be summarised in the points below⁶⁸:

- Democratisation of power by allowing the involvement of the lower classes in bottom-up decision-making processes.
- Empowerment of State enterprises and expropriation of crucial enterprises by the State.

⁶⁸ UP. (1969). *Programa Básico de Gobierno de la Unidad Popular* [Basic Government Programme of the UP]. Santiago. Available at:
<http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-7738.html>

- Nationalisation of natural resources (copper, saltpetre, iron, etc.) that were in the hands of foreign capitals at the time.
- Deepening and extension of Frei's agrarian reform.
- Increase national autonomy; develop Latin American politics and identity; and show solidarity with countries in process of colonial liberation.

As Feinberg (1972) explains, the strategy that opened the way for Allende to be elected was to portray Socialism as an anti-imperialist and anti-monopolist project, where the majority of the people would benefit and would be defended from oligarchic groups. The quotations below, taken from the UP's programme, offer a clear idea of who is being represented (and who is not) by the Socialist candidate:

'The unity we have forged is wide and also cohesive. Men, women of diverse philosophies and beliefs participate in it: Marxists, laics, Christians, independents, etcetera. It is linked to the people's struggle, of students, of middle class sectors, and it expresses the interests of all social forces alien to the power of great capitalists both national and foreign. Integrated by the left political forces and open to all those who are in favour of real changes (...).'

*'Speaking frankly and honestly, we are no warrant for the privileged minority. We are no warrant for the interests of the imperialist capital that exploits, intrigues, corrupts and stops the development of our country. We are no warrant for the squierarchy neither for the banking oligarchy, nor of the potentates of capitalism that exercise the true power in Chile, certainly not elected by the people.'*⁶⁹

The strategy is the wideness of the "We" employed in the discourse of UP, which opens its ranks to all those who feel oppressed by the powerful, independent of their political or religious beliefs. This counteracts the anti-Marxist terror campaign that the Right was spreading through the figure of its candidate, Jorge Alessandri. Additionally, the leftist base of the programme gives more confidence to voters than the proposals of Tomic, the candidate of the Christian Democracy, who seems more radical in his discourse than Frei but still defends a moderate position. The wide representativeness of his campaign led Allende to come to office the 4th of November 1970.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 36 and 41, respectively.

- **Allende's education project and perspective on assessment**

Not surprisingly, education was an important part of the UP's project. The change in mentality and socio-political structure that Chilean socialist ideas required turned education reform into a necessity and a priority. The ideas initially expressed in the 1969 programme have a more moderate character than the proposal expressed later in 1973 in the document *Report on the National Unified School*⁷⁰. The initial programme promises improvements in access for lower social groups as well as in infrastructure; to eliminate illiteracy and favour adult education; involvement of teacher unions, workers, students and parents in the reform of the education system; decentralisation through local governance; promotion of sports and physical education in school and for adults; support to the process of democratisation of universities and State support to higher education in order to give priority to research and scientific development around national issues. The only point of the programme that had a higher potential for controversy was the incorporation of private schools into the national education system, specially the schools 'that select students under reasons of social class, national origin or religious belief'⁷¹. The means through which this was to be done are not explained in detail in the document. In pedagogical terms the UP programme states:

*'To make a new education effective, the application of new methods is required, methods that emphasise an active and critical participation of students in their education, instead of the passive and receptive position they have to hold today.'*⁷²

This initial version of the educational project contains novelties, such as increased participation and democratisation of education, and prioritisation of national issues, but it shares many aspects with previous attempts of reform: critical and active involvement of

⁷⁰ UP Government (1973). *La crisis educacional* [The crisis in education]. Santiago: Quimantú. Available at:

<http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-9372.html>

⁷¹ UP (1969), p. 30.

⁷² Ibid., pp. 29-30.

students, increased access, improved infrastructure. In that sense, the initial project of the UP is likely to be a product of political negotiation in the context of the alliance of the Left.

Once the government of Allende begins, the internal divisions between moderate and radical groups (Haslam, 2005) probably exerts some pressure, as the project of the National Unified School (ENU), the name of UP's education reform, is far more explicitly Socialist in its proposals than the general statements that can be found in the election programme. The ideas of education exposed in ENU have to be understood in the context of a wider project of society. Its main principles are summarised by Cox, distinguishing between those advocated by the Socialist and the Communists:

'Socialist:

- *<<New man>>: rooted in the nation and projected to humanity; a harmonious, complete and critical being but eminently socialised; responsible for the national patrimony and destiny; owner of nature and subject of history; able to create and appreciate beauty.*
- *Human labour as a supreme value of the new culture.*

Communist:

- *<<New man>>: universal man, fraternal producer and responsible citizen; dedicated to the cause of peace; solidary with anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist struggles; conscious and committed to the revolutionary process; scientifically and technologically prepared for the development of economy.*
- *Human labour as a supreme value of the new culture.'*⁷³

From these principles, the logical path in terms of pedagogy would be socio-critical pedagogy as understood by authors like Paulo Freire. Flórez Ochoa (2000) summarises the principles of this approach: collective as well as individual wellbeing as the main goal of education; a horizontal relationship between students and the teacher (and, consequently, in the educational system as a whole); emphasis on productive work and a connection with the local community and the society; theory and practice as permanently linked; group work and

⁷³ Cox, C. (1984). Ortodoxia y Heterodoxia en el campo educacional: los discursos de política sobre el sistema educacional a principios de los 70 [Orthodoxy and heterodoxy in the field of education: discourses of politics about the education system at the beginning of the 70s]. *Signos*, 1(4), p. 44. Available at:

<http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-121782.html>

collaboration; scientific as well as technical education. ENU is one of the few, if not the only, attempt to implement socio-critical pedagogy as a system-wide policy in education.

What this reform involved in terms of the structure of the system is represented in Figure 18. The radical change is evident, as top-down relationships are abolished and all the actors are presented as involved in a participative horizontal dialogue. Decision-making involves proposals coming from the community and translations by the government that are later discussed again by the community. Schools are part of the community and are aimed at benefitting its functioning and development. There is no segregation in this system either.

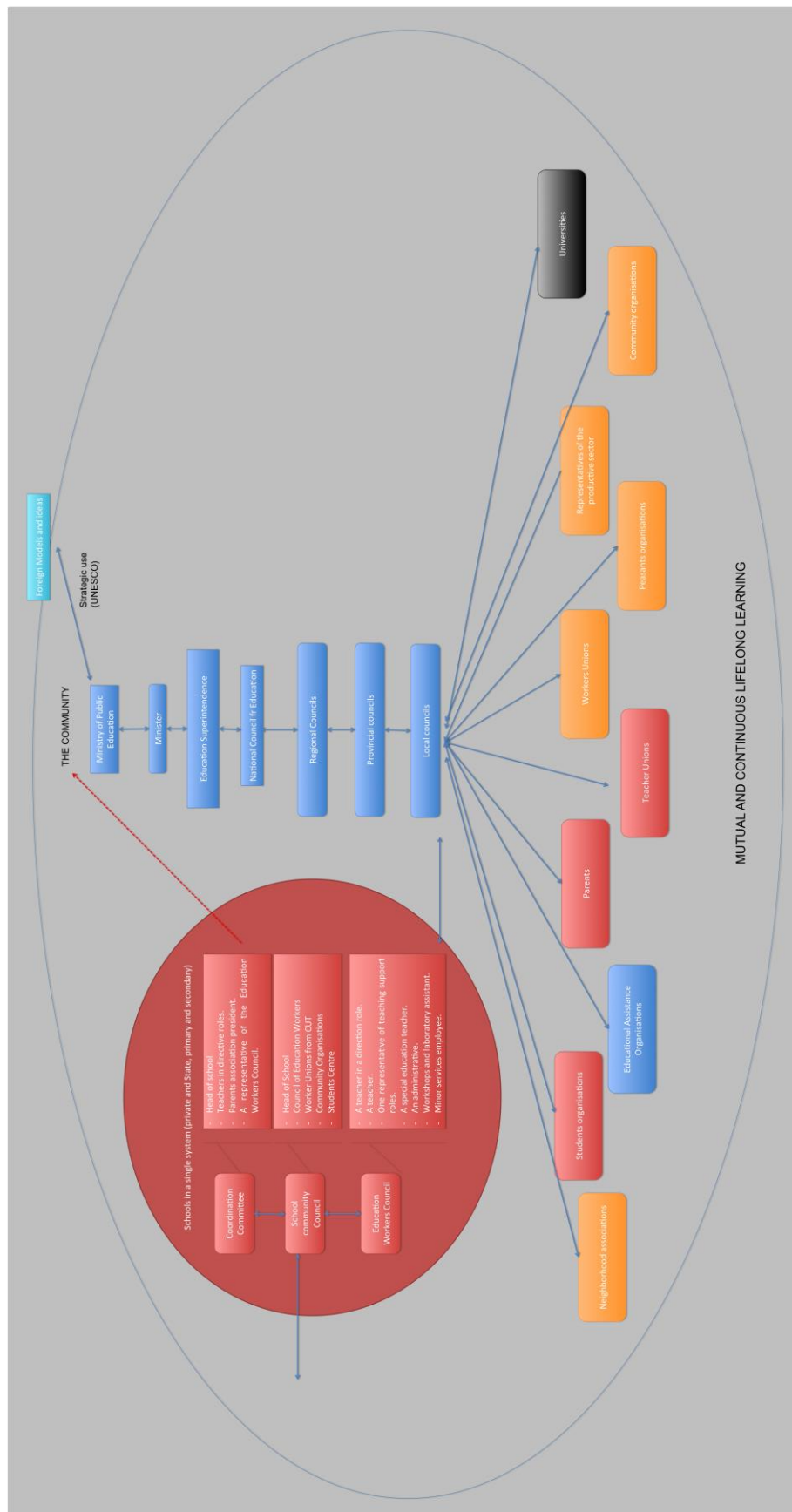


FIGURE 18. Education system in Allende's reform, with its main actors and interactions.

The awareness of the new government in relation to the ideological role of assessment in the predominant system is apparent in the excerpt below from the 1973 brochure *The Educational Crisis*, where they enumerate a series of aspects that need to be modified:

*'9. Individualistic value system in education: school, primary, secondary and higher education are a reflection of the social, political and economic structure of the country to which they belong. Until now in Chilean society, dominated by capitalist values, patterns of behaviour such as egoism, individualism, competition and the search for profit have predominated. School constitutes a basic instrument to reinforce them. Hence, school has contributed to the competitive environment by stimulating, through the marking system, the performance of each student and not of the group. The Chilean system of education does not link the student to the country's reality neither does it imprint in him/her a consciousness of the collective responsibility towards society.'*⁷⁴

In the context of this criticism and this ideological project, ENU is proposed in 1973. An interest in informing the population of its principles and foundations is apparent in the series of documents, brochures and articles written in order to disseminate information, some of them in a simple language and with illustrations, so everyone could know what the reform consisted of. In terms of international governance, UNESCO is quoted again in one of these documents through the 21 recommendations of the *Report of the International Committee on Educational Development*, as a source that justifies some of the changes proposed in ENU⁷⁵. IOs are used at the local level as a means of legitimising local reforms, that is, the strategy of externalisation (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004) is employed by the UP.

According to the *Report on the National Unified School*, the proposal is based on the agreements of the First National Congress of Education in 1971, which included representatives of workers, the government, teachers, unions, private schools, students and parents. The idea was to present it to the National Council for Education for discussion, which was also a representative body that included different actors from the education system.

One of ENU's main principles is continuing or lifelong education, understood as a blurring of boundaries between school and the system of production and an increase in the

⁷⁴ UP Government, op. cit., p. 10.

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 61-66.

closeness between the worlds of education and labour, which would learn from each other. In order to achieve this, the separated system of preschool, primary and secondary education was to be transformed into a single continuous whole where class contradictions of the old system would be solved. This level of education was understood as the Regular Education Area and, along with it, an Extracurricular Education Area was to be developed for the rest of society, starting by non-educated adults. Both systems were thought as a transition, as they were expected to merge in a single structure in the future. Universities would be the culmination of this system and would be focused on creation, research and teaching. They would also be in contact with the Regular and Extracurricular areas.

The curriculum for the Regular area would combine interdisciplinary work with specific contents for each discipline, would be flexible and would allow the student to explore with more freedom different areas of knowledge and productive activity. In relation to the specific contents of the curriculum, it is only said that they should be consistent with the spirit of ENU and decided in joint work with teachers, workers, parents and the community. A permanent evaluation of the process of implementation of the new system was part of the proposal, as a means to pilot and correct different aspects of it. The implementation of this reform, according to 1973 *Report*, would require the approval of Decree N°224 for the democratisation of education, which involved the structural model shown in Figure 18.

Nothing is said about assessment or examinations systems. The premature interruption of Allende's government left only some hints of what his policies might have been. From an ideological perspective in discourse analysis, the silence found in ENU's documents is one of them. One potential interpretation is that marking systems were simply not considered as a part of the project, which would be consistent with the criticism on competition through marking quoted above. The interruption of the National Test (PN) in 1971 can also be understood as a trend against scoring and marking. The re-edition of a 1973 text in 2002 (its complete first edition was burnt during the break-in of the Faculty of Medicine during

the 11th of September military coup) provides some additional ideas. The document is about the reform in this faculty of the University of Chile, which was widely supported by the government of Allende. Assessment systems are mentioned in three sections of this source.

One is related to academic assessment, where:

*'(...) academic hierarchy would be based solely on the background and specific merits in research, teaching and outreach (...) and (...) the voting processes, for example, for the appointment of Professors, that used to exist in the old Faculty Council would be eliminated, as they were often influenced by ideological factors.'*⁷⁶

One of the functions attributed to assessment in this context, then, was to protect fairness and transparency and avoid politically-based appointments in the academy. A second mention of assessment systems is related to the evening classes system that the Faculty was introducing in order to open its programmes for workers who wanted to undertake studies to become doctors. In this context, the document refers to the good performance of these students at school, *'which demonstrates that the impossibility of their entrance to universities, in a great amount of cases, was determined by conditions alien to their ability, the most frequent being the need to make a living'*. As a means to establish a measurement of the applicant's intellectual ability, the document suggest to use PAA but in a separate application for workers. Then the following proposal is added:

*'However, in the selection of students for University, and specially of worker students, some other assessment criteria should be considered on the personal qualities of the candidates, such as responsibility, social sensitivity, efficiency, creativity, spirit of excellence, etc., which constitute qualities as or more important than school performance for the selection of health professionals. No doubt the application of such parameters is difficult but it has enough merit to be properly studied and piloted.'*⁷⁷

There is some sense of injustice in relation to predominant selection processes in these words, as well as an explicit will for opening the old barriers to higher education so other social groups can have access to it. There is also recognition that students are being kept outside universities because their socio-economic conditions act against their possibilities of

⁷⁶ Jadresic, A. (2002) [Re-edition of a text from 1973]. *La reforma de 1968 en la Universidad de Chile* [The 1968 reform in the University of Chile]. Santiago: Editorial Universitaria.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

access. This would require a differentiated assessment process that would diminish the effects of such conditions and/or the consideration of broader selection criteria.

The third aspect addressed in the document is student assessment:

'The bodies responsible for teaching in the different programmes (...) have concentrated during the last three years on the study of a new grading system that is more consistent than the traditional regime with the changes introduced in teaching plans. A system tending to continuous assessment is being worked on. Current periodic assessment of students includes the three fundamental aspects of learning: knowledge, skills and abilities, habits and attitudes.

*The final theoretical test has been suppressed in Medicine and in other programmes, and has been replaced by clinical practical or theoretical-practical assessments.'*⁷⁸

Thinking of a different form of assessment in the context of this new system was considered a challenge and a work in progress in 1973. The excerpt shows how ideas are being studied and how previous ideas on learning and assessment, formerly embedded in a behaviourist approach, are now being assimilated by critical pedagogy. History has hindered us from knowing the final result of this process.

Not surprisingly, ENU found a high level of resistance among Conservative groups as well as the church, who expressed their concerns for the Socialist indoctrination the project involved, which was against the constitutional principle, historically defended by these groups, of freedom of education. The ideological relevance they also attribute to assessment is apparent in their statements. A booklet called *ENU: The control of consciences* was published in April 1973 by the student federation of the Catholic University and with the support of academics such as Jaime Guzmán (later the ideologist of education in Pinochet's dictatorship) and Hernán Larraín (currently a Right wing senator). In this document, they state about assessment in ENU:

'It attracts the attention the use of absolutely Marxist terms through which we see the student is taken as a mass, as a group and not an individual, making apparent a clear intention towards depersonalisation. In concrete terms, in the Programme for the First Integrated Year (PAI) we see they are assessed in relation to the work of the group and not in relation to the individual.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

*The assessment process, among all the elements that compose the pedagogical activity, constitutes one of the more complex and more important. We find that the multitude of aspects that mastering it involves (assessment schemes, group referencing, objectivity) are not properly considered from the technical-pedagogical perspective neither from the practical perspective in the ENU report. Concretely, the PAI report states: <<Assessment will be carried out in relation to the work of the group and not the individual and production, productive efficiency and time employed are to be considered in comparison with the normal performance of the zone>> (...). This assessment system involves destroying everything pedagogical science has advanced on the subject. (...) And what is worse, the idea that assessment has to be predominantly individual is ignored.*⁷⁹

The germ of the future direction of Chilean education is contained in this excerpt. The later well-known strategy of depoliticisation of education in neo-liberal models of education, where the social is reduced to the economic and the ideological is erased by the managerial discourse (Suspitsyna, 2010; Gillies, 2008), is apparent in the way the authors appeal to ‘pedagogical science’, ‘technical-pedagogical perspective’ and technical aspects that have to be managed in contrast to what they denounce as an ideological use of assessment through its adaptation to Marxist ideas. What is questionable of this strategy is the way it coverts that the use of assessment as a tool to promote individualism, competition, segregation and meritocracy is not inherent to it but also responds to certain ideologies and models of society. They are simply understood as more “normal” or “natural” because they correspond to the traditional structure of society and education throughout history, while the Socialist model constitutes a completely marginal discourse.

The rhythm and scale of the changes proposed by Allende generated different sources of resistance. Internal differences in UP, pressure from more extreme groups in it, increasing opposition of the Right and the Centre who feared a potential loss of their power, and the sustained boycott of Allende’s government by US intervention through covert operations of the CIA and funding for the opposition, led to a generalised state of crisis and to an inevitable failure of his presidency (Haslam, 2005). In the context of heated debate and political crisis,

⁷⁹ FEUC (the Catholic University of Chile Student Federation). (1973). *ENU: El control de las conciencias (informe crítico preparado por FEUC)* [ENU: The control of consciences (critical report prepared by FEUC)]. Santiago, pp. 51-52. Available at: <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-81406.html>

the law for democratisation of education and ENU itself were declared unconstitutional as the principle of freedom of education contained in the 1971 constitutional reform (Law Nº 17.398) was being violated. According to its 7th article, national education would be 'democratic, pluralistic and will not have an official partisan orientation'⁸⁰.

Possibly the only attempt at radical change in the history of education in Chile, involving the structure of the system, and of the concept and function of assessment in it, ends with the suicide of Allende in the house of government while it is being bombarded by military jets and the media are being progressively silenced until there is a single radio station transmitting the last words of the president:

'In this decisive moment, the last in which I will be able to speak to you, I want you to seize the lesson. Foreign capital, imperialism, united to reaction, created the ambient for Armed Forces to break their tradition (...), victims of the same social sector that today will be at your homes, waiting with an alien hand to re-conquer power to continue defending its profits and privileges. (...)

Workers of my nation: I have faith in Chile and its destiny. Other men will overcome this grey and bitter moment, where treason intends to be imposed. Keep knowing that, sooner than later, great avenues will be open again for the free man to walk on them in the search for constructing a better society.

(...)

*These are my last words and I am certain my sacrifice will not be in vain. I am certain that, at least, there will be a moral lesson that will punish felony, cowardice and treason.'*⁸¹

And the gate was closed again.

⁸⁰ Allende, S. and Cruz, L. (1970). Ley Nº 17398. Modifica la Constitución Política del Estado [Law Nº 17398. Modifies the Political Constitution of the State]. Santiago, p. 2. Available at:

<http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=28981&buscar=Ley+17398>

⁸¹ Allende, S. (1973). *Last speech at the House of Government*. Audio file available at:

<http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/audio/MC0043425.mp3>

3. Pinochet's dictatorship: things return to their "natural" course

- The ideological level: eradication of Marxism and the pursue for progress

One month after the military coup, Augusto Pinochet, the main representative of the *Junta de Gobierno* [Governing Board] constituted by the four commanders of the Armed Forces, summarised in a public discourse what his government was going to pursue. A first aspect was to decontaminate Chilean society from its totalitarian Marxist elements:

*'(...) we categorically reject the Marxist concept of man and society, as it denies the most endearing values of the national soul and intends to divide Chileans in a deliberate struggle between classes [only] apparently antagonistic, in order to end up imposing a totalitarian and oppressive system, where the dearest attributes of man as a rational and free being are denied. We do not intend to persecute anyone for his or her ideas or simple adhesion to the deposed regime. Our determination is to be inflexible in sanctioning those who intend or have intended to use violence as well as those who have committed crimes or illicitly abused in the exercise of their posts.'*⁸²

Appealing to a nationalistic discourse of unity, Pinochet portrays Marxism as a source of internal division and refers to class conflicts as a mere mirage created by this totalitarian ideology. Yet under the light of the analysis of previous periods, class struggle was not only real but also inevitable under the way historical differences had been kept. In relation to persecution, the Valech report by the National Committee for Political Imprisonment and Torture recognised in 2011 40.018 victims of violations to human rights, 3.065 of them dead or "disappeared", during the dictatorship of Pinochet. Among them there were teachers and academics, as education was considered in such a context as a dangerous activity, where "subversive" discourses could emerge. Cox and Gysling (2009: 227) summarise the situation in universities in the following terms:

⁸² Pinochet, A. (1973). 'El Gobierno de las Fuerzas Armadas y de Orden fijan su orientación ante el país' [The Government of Armed Forces for Order fixes its orientation before the country], 11 October 1973. In: *Libro de Gobierno. Año de la Reconstrucción Nacional* (1974). Santiago: Editora Nacional Gabriela Mistral, p. 44.

'The end of the democratic regime and the violent access of Armed Forces to power, in September 1973, meant, as it is known, the immediate intervention of the eight universities that existed then in the country. The University of Chile was put under military control and its Faculty of Philosophy and Education was object of special political-ideological surveillance: its leftists academics were expelled in 1973-74; the centre ones in 1976; its courses were <<cleaned>> from critical contents and its library was purged. In the 74-80 period not only institutions and the participation practices predominant during the years of the reform are finished in a traumatic way but the pillar of the existing mode of the university was brought to an end: the free production and circulation of ideas.'

In his discourse, Pinochet justifies all these actions in the context of a continuity of a state of war, where the country has to be cleaned until no traces of potential subversion exist. The situation in schools is also difficult. Experienced interviewed teachers offer accounts that reveal a generalised feeling of fear, where they felt discussion and dissent were dangerous. Participant 12 recognises this period as one where one 'had to move carefully' and try not to call the underlying philosophy of new policies into question; according to him, only general technical discussions were allowed but it was understood that the possibility of a deeper questioning was forbidden. Similarly, Participant 13 indicates that at the time 'like (everything) in the regime, no one opposed virtually anything (...) because of the (...) absolutely top-down structure'. Both Participant 16 and Participant 19 remember that the idea of questioning something was simply unthinkable at the time, it was out of any expectation. The latter also recalls a situation during her initial teacher education:

'I remember we were almost at the end of the programme, year 79, 80, when demonstrations against the dictatorship just started, and I remember a grammar lecturer (...) we were talking about attending a demonstration, I remember, and we were all adults, more than 20 years old, and he comes and [says] "The one that goes to the demonstration will be sorry about it!"⁸³, something like that, then, a classmate stands up and says, "excuse me, professor (...) but you do not give me orders, you teach me, you can give me norms of behaviour but not [say] what I do outside the classroom", and the gentleman got angry (...) and told him off.'

Participant 20 also recalls how the students were affected by the historical context:

⁸³ The original expression in Spanish is 'Pobre del que vaya a la protesta!', which would literally be translated as '**Poor him/her who** goes to the demonstration!'. However, the compassionate tone the term has in English does not reflect the tone of threat contained in its use in Spanish. Consequently, the author opted for a translation that reflects the sense with which it was said.

'(...) so the kids... once a little girl stood up "they killed my dad but he wasn't political; my dad went off the bus and after two blocks he was shot and my mom was pregnant", and the little girl was very gifted (...) "and my dad is in heaven", (...) she was 7 years old.'

Such an environment takes the structure of the polysystem violently back to its original top-down logic, where all the actors are compelled to follow instructions from above. The difference is that, unlike the 19th Century, where obedience was likely to be due to ignorance or lack of awareness, this time the motivation is fear (see Figure 19 for a representation of the education system during the dictatorship).

The project Pinochet and the civilians around him were to promote as a replacement for the welfare State model of Frei and the democratic socialism of Allende is summarised in another fragment of his discourse:

*'In order to reach economic development, we will realise a pragmatic and realistic policy, avoiding any dogma, prejudice or foreign imitation. We will encourage private and public investment, national and foreign, as the only vehicle for the stable increase of production (...). True nationalism does not consist of rejecting foreign investment but in putting it under norms that assure the benefit for Chile as a priority. To promote investment, capitalisation and savings, we will offer the trust that emerges from seriousness, respect for the rules of the game and the value given to everyone's work. Creative talent of new sources of richness and of work for Chileans will receive the widest support of a regime that intends to harmonise in a balanced way private initiative with the necessary state intervention in running a modern economy: the role of the modern State is, fundamentally, to serve as mediator between producers and consumers and our effort will aim at this.'*⁸⁴

Through the voice of the dictator, Conservative groups portray their government as technical, pragmatic and free of any ideological content. Yet the different aspects of Pinochet's proposal in this discourse correspond to the principles of neo-liberalism: appearance of depoliticisation; public and private seen as equal competitors in the market; economy-centred thinking; subsidiary role of the State; governance through private-public partnerships (for summaries on the characteristics of neo-liberal governance see Suspitsyna, 2010; Blackmore, 2011). These are the foundations on which the bases for a new education system would be established, with dogma, prejudice and foreign imitation as important components.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

- **The education project of Pinochet: a neo-liberal experiment**

The first period of Pinochet's dictatorship, between 1973 and 1979, is characterised by the publication of different decrees and laws that seem to respond to contingency rather than being a consistent proposal for the system as a whole. It is only in 1979 that the new administration decides to reunite all the laws and decrees that had been published throughout the period in a single document called *Presidential Directive on National Education*, which is accompanied by a letter to the Minister and a presidential discourse where the main principles of Pinochet's education project are summarised. Pinochet explains the reasons for the development of this new proposal in his discourse:

'Since the 11th of September 1973, we as members of the Armed and Order Forces observed with concern how our youth was getting politicised and divided, reaching the extreme of invading classrooms with political doctrines (...).

For petty political reasons there were those who did not hesitate in pouring this heap of anarchy on secondary and university students, forgetting the responsibility that all the present generation has in the preparation of its youth for the future destinies of the Nation.⁸⁵

The aim is to eradicate politics from the classroom, as they are not considered a part of school and university life. On the contrary, they are considered as an interruption of what the contents and goals of education should be, as well as a threat to national order and security, a term used frequently in the education legislation of the time. It was used as a justification for intervention and persecution in educational institutions. Luis Gauthier, a History teacher, describes in 1985 the main aspects of the institutional reorganisation after the military coup. The first phase of the regime is characterised as the 'Destruction by force of all progressive elements of the education system'. Among the aspects of this phase, Gauthier mentions:

⁸⁵ Pinochet, A. (1979). *Directiva presidencial sobre la educación nacional* [Presidential directive on national education]. Santiago: Government publication, p. 97.

'd) To change teacher-student relationships. New discipline concepts are incorporated and the traditional authoritarian attitude of the teacher is reinforced. (...) To annul creativity, spontaneity and freedom in both of them.

(...)

*f) To establish a strong official control over the whole system. Almost all headteachers are replaced. Many teachers suffer the end of their working contracts, others are exiled or they simply disappear. A direct military control over institutions was established. Where it produced more impact was in universities, which until the present have delegated rectors.'*⁸⁶

In the case of schools, control of teachers is realised through Pinochet's law on teaching career (Decree Nº 1191, 1978). Similar to Ibáñez strategy, his regime designed an annual system of teacher evaluation, where teachers could be fired if they were ranked among the lowest performers. When the assessment criteria are detailed, the penetration of a military discourse in education institutions is apparent:

'- Spirit of reasoned obedience.

- Acceptance of criticism.

- Respect for the superior and the subordinate.

*- Aptitude to receive and accomplish superior orders.'*⁸⁷

In addition, in this law any disturbance of 'public order' or 'abuse of responsibilities' or any alteration of the sense of the government programmes, were considered as grave infractions. The wide meaning of these phrases was used as a tool to keep surveillance upon schools. Additionally, mutual surveillance is encouraged and mandatory, as not mentioning a failure of a subaltern was also considered a grave fault. However, the Presidential Directive refers to the teaching career decree in highly positive terms:

'We set the base for a concerted task of educational progress, like the one we started today by establishing the teaching career.'

'The Presidential Directive contains a series of measures, small and great, that praise the role of teachers and mean the grateful recognition of the State and the society. I personally commit my will as a governor to the task of praising teachers and give them the level of life and social esteem they deserve and that corresponds to them.'

⁸⁶ Gauthier, L. (1985). 'La municipalización de la educación' [The municipalisation of education]. *Signos*, 2(7), p. 31. Available at:

<http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-121784.html>

⁸⁷ Pinochet, A. and Niemann, L. (1978). 'Decreto 1191. Aprueba el Reglamento del Decreto Ley 2327, de 1978, sobre carrera docente' [Decree 1191. Approves the Regulation of the Law Decree 2327 of 1978 on teaching career] Santiago, p. 24. Available at:

<http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=17153&buscar=Decreto+1191>

In terms of what kind of education was to replace the progressive elements being eliminated, the proposal is consistent with the principles that had been historically advocated by Conservative groups. The quotation from the letter to the Minister below illustrates how the separate paths that had been established since the 19th Century are being reinstated:

'The State will focus its emphasis on primary education and will, at any cost, accomplish its historical and legal duty not only that all Chileans have access to it but that they effectively acquire it and are, thus, enabled to be good workers, good citizens and good patriots.

*To reach secondary, and specially, higher education constitutes an exceptional situation for youth and those who enjoy it must win it with effort (...) and must be paid or be returned to the national community by those who can do it, now or in the future. That who receives for free an education he/she can pay for, or does not return its value when he/she is in conditions to do so, deprives other Chileans of legitimate education opportunities.'*⁸⁸

The basic skills agenda is once again the main goal of primary education, and this is the only type of education the State considers as part of its duty. The aim is not creativity or critical thinking or the development of the human being as a whole, but the generation of a good and obedient workforce. As in previous periods, secondary and higher education go back to be conceptualised as a privilege that only a few can access. This type of education will not be free anymore and a first indication of the future system of credit for higher education is provided.

In terms of the State's role in education, the *Directive* refers to the need for the community to assume part of its responsibility, that is, the whole of society –and not just teachers and the State- are in charge of education. Additionally, the document refers to the impossibility of the State to assume even more responsibilities that the ones it has at the moment and, on that basis, concludes:

*'Consequently, the help that the private sector lends to the educational task will be encouraged with energy.'*⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Pinochet (1979), op. cit., p. 100.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

Along with segregation, meritocracy, private-public partnerships, detachment of the State from its responsibility in education and the establishment of the community as the main responsible for it, the *Directive* refers to a change aimed at the decentralisation of the system: municipalisation. According to the document:

*'The administration of public primary and secondary schools will be energetically decentralised with the creation of Provincial Education Services. These will gradually become autonomous and will be transferred to the local community management, especially in administrative and economic aspects. In a similarly gradual way, the Ministry and the Regional Secretaries will stop having an executive role and will limit themselves to provide norms and to monitor their accomplishment.'*⁹⁰

As it is usually the case when decentralisation is promoted in education, the arguments provided are related to devolution of power to local communities and an increased participation of them in decision-making processes. This is what some authors characterise as the emancipatory side of network governance, where more devolved and decentralised structures have the potential for more horizontal power relationships (see for example Bunar, 2011; Blackmore, 2011). However, as Gauthier denounces in 1985, in the case of Chile decentralisation involved a very different process⁹¹. Gauthier distinguishes a series of negative aspects in this process, such as:

- local government is ideologically controlled by the central government through the designated mayors, which rather than local power involved an increased surveillance and control of teachers and students;
- it constitutes a first step towards privatisation, as mayors are authorised to transfer the administration of schools to non-profit private entities;
- teachers and schools' multiple dependence generates an increase in bureaucracy;
- there is an impoverishment of teachers' working conditions as they begin to be treated like any private enterprise worker;

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 98.

⁹¹ Gauthier, op. cit.

- the socioeconomic segregation of the system increases, as different Municipalities manage different funds and have diverse population numbers.

Figure 19 summarises the structure and functioning of the system imposed by Pinochet. This diagram illustrates how all the advances in participation, community involvement and social equality that had been achieved in Chile's education history are violently erased and brought back to its primitive form of two separate paths. The segregation of the system, additionally, is subjected to the laws of market and competition and the deregulation from the State.

- **Discourses on assessment during the period**

The discourse of public order and national security extends to assessment practices as well. Participant 15 offers an illustrative example of how assessment practices that promoted argumentation or critical thinking were considered potentially dangerous:

'Interviewer: And in that context where you were so controlled, did you have to be careful with the open questions you made?

Interviewee: Yes, I did. Yes.

Interviewer: You couldn't ask about anything?

Interviewee: No, no, no, you couldn't ask about anything.

Interviewer: For example, what kind of thing you wouldn't have been allowed to ask? Thinking of a random example.

Interviewee: Uh, for example, this thing of solidarity, that the one who has more has to share it with the one who has less.

Interviewer: That was already suspicious as a question.

Interviewee: Sure. Sure, no, you can't put that.

Interviewer: How complicated.

Interviewee: Yes, that's why it has been difficult (...) to raise one's head, even more if one has been for 27 years here. I have the feeling that [] there are things I can't say.'

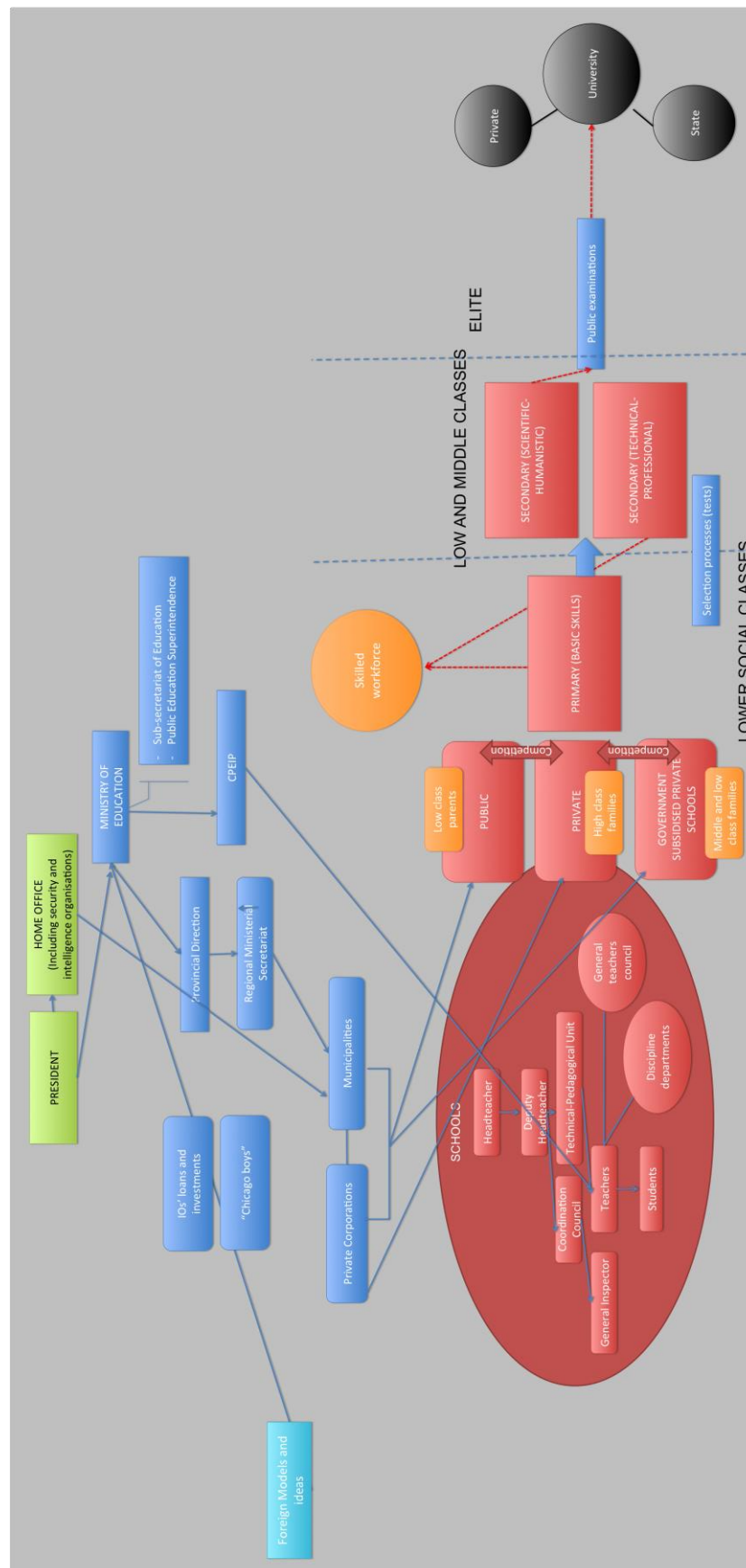


FIGURE 19. Education system in Pinochet's period, with its main actors and interactions.

Similar to the period of Ibáñez counter-reform, the same teacher explains in other place of the interview how she was stigmatised as a Communist because she liked to ask about topics around taking care of the environment, and because she liked theatre activities. She also had a school newspaper where students could write and it had to go through the approval of a local authority before it could be published.

The predominant use that experienced teachers declare of closed items such as true or false, matching terms and multiple-choice, therefore, could potentially reflect not only an objective and scientific view of knowledge and assessment or their easier reviewing process, but also their lower permeability to values and diverse perspectives. This type of item allows only for one correct answer without discussion or divergence of ideas. Additionally, if they refer only to concepts, memory-based learning and the mechanical application of formulas, their use becomes even more “secure” for teachers as there is no risk of politicisation of the classroom involved. Similarly, for a regime that seeks control and “cleaning” schools of their subversive and political elements, this kind of assessment works as a very neat brainwashing device. Asking irrelevant memory-based or basic questions throughout students’ school life contributes to the development of obedient workers without a voice of their own.

When they are asked about their initial assessment practices, which in the majority of cases occurred during the military government, most experienced teachers recall the predominance of written tests and are very critical of their previous practices around assessment. Both Participant 16 and 17 believe they would judge their initial tests as having low quality if they had the chance to see them now, because of their lack of awareness and knowledge on the topic at the time. Four teachers describe these written tests as composed by closed questions and some brief essay questions. Participant 14, however, recalls essay questions were a mere repetition verbatim of what the guide used in class said. Three teachers add that mimeographing was difficult because of material restrictions in schools, so they had to write the questions on the blackboard and students had to copy them. Because of the

amount of time this required, according to Participant 11, tests 'couldn't be very varied or (...) too long'.

Some teachers considered these testing practices as a requirement of formal assessment where marks were involved and, thus, they simultaneously kept a more informal form of classroom assessment where other kind of work and cognitive operations were taken into account. Participant 13, for example, recalls the use of checking lists to assess activities such as oral presentations, written investigations, text production and group work. Participant 18 also remembers using a different system in Music, as his subject required a less traditional approach. He used to give points each class with opportunities to improve from one lesson to the next, and all this accumulation of work became eventually a mark. However, he had problems with parents understanding his method. Similarly, two teachers remember that, despite the context of fear and ideological control as well as the constraints set by the decrees, they felt they had a larger degree of freedom in relation to the specifics of the tests they constructed and their daily work inside the classroom, which they feel is more closely controlled in the present. Still, these are exceptional cases in terms of what teachers described as their predominant practices during the 1970s and 1980s.

All the teachers that were asked about the moment and the causes to change their assessment practices situate this point after the 1990s or 2000s. The reasons they indicate are varied: CPD courses, starting of the 1990s reform and of contact with it, change of government, change of working place, more time availability, change of headteacher, conversations with colleagues. All of these reasons (except the one related to time) refer to teachers' contact with new ideas on assessment, curriculum and/or pedagogy once democracy returned.

National standardised assessment systems continued during this period. PAA was still the system for university entrance, although with changes in item types: antonyms was replaced by an exercise where the word that was out of the semantic field of the main one had

to be eliminated; sentence completion was replaced by a similar exercise where what had to be completed were linking words; an exercise of elimination of one irrelevant sentence in an order of 5 sentences was added; an exercise of writing plan was also included, where students had to find the correct order of 4 to 6 sentences; and reading comprehension exercises. Whether these exercises were more difficult and, thus, reduced university entrance, would require a specific study. What can be said, according to Echeverría et al. (1981) as quoted by the Workers Vicariate (1985), is that after a sustained increase in university matriculation since 1958, a decrease from 139.999 to 126.434 is registered for the period from 1973 to 1979.

This is consistent with the model of education promoted in the period according to Gauthier (1985), as it reinforces the re-establishment of the old boundaries. One of the features of the model, indicates the author, is:

*'c) the need to incorporate the criterion of selectivity in an explicit way: a massive primary education; a selective secondary education (as a filter for university entrance) and a restricted higher education.'*⁹²

The legislation around assessment follows in this respect a peculiar transition. The first legal document published during Pinochet's period is Decree Nº 2038 (1978), which referred to the regulation for assessment and promotion in the whole education system. It begins by defining assessment from a formative approach:

*'(...) the assessment process is inherent to the teaching-learning process and has to be fundamentally conceived as the means to acquire evidence to improve such process, showing to all those who are committed to it its successes, achievements and deficiencies.'*⁹³

However, after reading the remainder of the decree, one realises the discourse being promoted is that of formative assessment as understood in the context of behaviourism. The

⁹² Gauthier, op. cit., p. 33.

⁹³ Pinochet, A. and Prieto, A. (1978). 'Decreto 2038. Aprueba reglamento de evaluación y promoción de alumnos de Educación General Básica y Educación Media Humanístico-Científica y Técnico profesional para el año escolar 1979' [Decree 2038. Approves the regulation of assessment and promotion of Primary School and Humanistic and Technical-Professional Secondary School students for the school year 1979]. Santiago, p. 1. Available at: <http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=98829&buscar=decreto+2038+evaluaci%C3%B3n>

aim of assessment, for example, is seen as making the teaching-learning process more *efficient* in the achievement of *educational objectives*. The phases of assessment are classified in diagnostic, formative and summative, with formative being conceptualised as the one to 'Determine the mastery or non mastery of the *enabling objectives* established in one Learning Unit' [emphasis added]. Depending on the results, additional *reinforcement* is provided for those who evidence *deficiencies*. Feedback on the process is generated and communicated. Consequently, it is clear that the perspective on formative assessment here is still situated in the context of behaviourist pedagogy.

Yet some aspects of how assessment is addressed in the document generate some discursive dissonance, if considered in the ideological and pedagogical context explained above. For instance, formative assessment is not related to marking or grading procedures, summative assessment is given only conceptual grading (not numbers as was the tradition), and repetition between Year 1 and Year 3 of primary school is avoided or not recommended, as in Frei's legislation. On the other hand, other sections of the document refer to accountability duties in terms of periodic reporting of teachers to parents and of the school to the Regional Secretariat of the Ministry. Finally, the old discourse on requirements for promotion is also present in the decree. In relation to these, priority is given to Scientific-Humanistic disciplines above Technical-Artistic ones for passing to the next level. The publication of a Procedure Handbook is also announced as well as the possibility of technical assistance on the topic by CPEIP.

In brief, it is a law where different ideas on assessment overlap, with some of them not being completely consistent with the dominant ideology, although the general conception of individualised treatment justifies this as the general approach in opposition to Allende's collective proposal. Yet the contingent nature of education legislation at the beginning of Pinochet's period becomes apparent with the publication of Decree Nº 2088 only one year later. This decree is a transition document, in the sense that it aims at adapting the

requirements of Decree Nº 2038 to the existing legislation, as this decree was to be implemented gradually.

Decree Nº 2088 is focused on accountability processes in terms of teachers periodically giving information about students' performance and behaviour during teachers' meetings and to parents. An annual report is also considered and it includes other aspects such as personality, interests, aptitudes and skills. Formative assessment is not mentioned in this document; only the idea of permanent reinforcement is stated as a means to meet individual difficulties. The idea of grading through concepts is kept exclusively from Years 1 to 4 of primary school, while from Year 5 onwards they are assigned equivalences in numbers. The remainder of the decree refers to numbers, moments and types of assessment required throughout the year. Basically there are half-term, biannual and final marks and coefficient 1 and 2 assessments, depending on the complexity of the task. In summary, all the theoretical background disappears in this decree and all is reduced to numbers and reinforcement before and after tests.

A new decree in 1980, Nº 8977, using flexibility and teacher autonomy as a justification, establishes that schools are authorised to decide whether they wish to work with Decree Nº 2038 or Nº 2088. Similarly, another decree is published in 1981 (Nº 133) to add some changes to the previous ones, and Decree Nº 62 is published in 1983 with the aim of summarising and unifying all the legislation around assessment of the period. None of these documents integrates the initial theoretical basis of Decree Nº 2038, and all that remains of a formative concept is the idea of reinforcement for those who experience difficulties. The rest, again, is all marking and grading systems, promotion and certification processes.

When asked about these changes, experienced teachers provide a variety of answers. Two of them were Heads of Technical-Pedagogical Units at the time and were, thus, more aware of these changes, as they were in charge of communicating them to teachers at their schools. One of these interviewees is Participant 18, who clearly remembers Decree Nº 2038.

In his opinion, teachers were accustomed to marking systems and traditional practices, so they resisted the change and opted for adaptation of practices, like looking for marking equivalences for concepts, which they could interchange when necessary. Additionally, he indicates that the presence of two simultaneous decrees generated differences in how mark decimals were approximated, which affected the final result that was used for university entrance (along with PAA). This controversy related to high-stakes assessment and certification processes, according to the interviewee, led to the gradual abandonment of the 1978 decree.

The 8 experienced teachers who were not in directive roles at the time are consistent in saying they did not know about the decrees directly and specifically. They were only informed about what to do and how to do it through Heads of Technical-Pedagogical Units (UTP Heads)⁹⁴ or headteachers. They recall attending meetings where they were told about the way in which they were meant to assess, which they now realise may have responded to changes in legislation. They also agree in saying the information provided was mainly administrative, that is, no indications were given in relation to approaches to assessment but only about the grading or marking scheme and the amount of marks/grades they had to have per period. The potential of formative assessment and Bloom's concept of learning is, thus, inhibited through processes of policy translation (Ball et al., 2012), where traditional discourses neutralise the new elements and send them back to a marginal position.

Participant 11, who is the second interviewee that worked as a UTP Head at the time, provides a version from the perspective of her role:

⁹⁴ 'The Technical-Pedagogical Unit is the organism in charge of programming, organising, supervising and evaluating the development of curricular activities. It is directed by the Head of the Unit and composed of the corresponding specialists. It assumes, amongst others, functions related to Orientation, Assessment, Plans and Programmes, Collaboration Activities and the Library.' (Chapter V, art. n° 14, Legal Decree 1049 of 1978). As can be seen in Figure 19, this role in Chilean Schools is defined during the 1970s and 1980s with quite overarching and broad functions. According to Ossa (2005), until the 1980s this role was focused on control and supervision of teachers' activities as well as keeping track of bureaucratic processes inside schools.

'I noticed it during those years in which I was a Technical Head, uh, I was in charge of all that aspect, then I talked to teachers afterwards, and teachers like, "what?, decree what...", I mean, [] it's a HUGE gap between [] the one who MANAGES the information to the one that EXECUTES it. That [] is what I realised. I cared about it, I gave copies to my colleagues (...) for them to be aware, but... there were also many colleagues who simply didn't care, "Pfl, right, ok, one more decree, one less decree"...

Interviewer: ... "tell me how many marks do I have to put"...

Interviewee: Exactly! More practice-oriented [laughs], yes.'

On the other hand, some teachers provide testimonies where it is clear they were exposed to the different decrees. Participant 13 explains how the situation was experienced from the perspective of teachers:

'(...) one moment we worked a lot with assessing through concepts, just concepts, and from one day to another no, now you [have to assess] through marks, ok, (...) in another moment (...) the school [] had the possibility of creating its own assessment instruments, we were also checking that formula, of searching another formula different from concepts (...) I think assessment systems were accommodated and dis-accommodated along the way. Then one was like, well, let's go back to what we have always done then. Arrive [first] to an agreement and [] then we continue.'

There is a feeling of confusion in the excerpt due to the constant change of assessment policies in the school. It is also apparent that teachers are thinking of themselves as mere executioners who are expecting orders, which they follow without questioning the reasons. Additionally, it can be inferred that decrees and changes in assessment were not translated in schools in connection to a rationale on learning and pedagogy but simply in terms of the last order coming from the top. Participant 20 also remembers the constant change of assessment requirements and how she tried to resist them:

'(...) we went through so many changes suddenly, they were so quick: "look, there is a new... now it has to be done this way", ok, we tried them, then "no, delete that because is not longer valid, it has to be done in this other way" (...). Then, I was like rebel, I mean, you have to convince me that something is useful to me so I can apply it, I learned I had to stay quiet and say yes.'

When this teacher tries to demand a rationale or an argument behind the ever-changing policies, she experiences a feeling of powerlessness and resigns to obey the orders from her superiors. Participant 19 also recalls the series of regulations they were exposed to at the time and some of the elements contained in the formative approach, such as feedback and

reinforcement:

'(...) the headteacher used to put on the blackboard all the decrees, there were a series of regulations, that this one is promoted on the basis of this decree with this article, then it was all a regulation, but I do remember that feedback thing, that one had to write down in the class book, let's say, ok, test, then [] delivery of the test, content reinforcement or feedback and at each end of unit [] that had to be on the book.'

This quotation reveals how theories on assessment are received as mere residuals of their original ideas, converted into routine administrative tasks rather than a change in perspective. When asked about how long this feedback practices lasted, she indicates:

'It lasted, I think that until around the year 85, because then it [] was a thing that was so [] like warped, that sometimes no one (...) we consciously didn't do it, but you had to write it down, because, let's say, sometimes they came [to check].'

According to this interviewee, then, the idea of feedback was gradually abandoned because it did not make sense to practitioners beyond the paperwork it required. The theoretical bases of formative assessment were not transmitted neither were they understood or appropriated by teachers. Its path through classrooms happened only in terms of a top-down administrative temporary requirement. As Jeffrey and Woods (1998) observe about policy enactment in England in relation to OFSTED inspections, here a strategic rather than a committed engagement of teachers is observed; they 'play the game' without real enthusiasm. The quality of initial teacher education around assessment, as noted above, did not contribute to this understanding either.

Unfortunately, no evidence was found in the data about the discussions that surrounded such changes of perspective in the legislation. The absence of a Congress that would discuss them publicly, the control of the press and the filters that the archive selection must have suffered at the time make it difficult to have access to this information. However, Cox (2003), Eyzaguirre and Fointaine (1999) and Ortiz (2010) recognise the internal disagreement inside the military government in relation to education between more pro-market and more statist forces who also favoured teachers, a conflict that extended throughout the period. According to these authors, this is the reason why, although the regime

of Pinochet establishes a national standardised assessment system (PER) for primary school students, the high stakes related to publication of results and school rankings were never implemented in relation to this test. This was done almost 20 years later during democratic governments but still under the legislation of the dictatorship (see Chapter 4 for more details).

The Programme for Assessment of Educational Performance (PER) was aimed at Year 8 primary school students. It assessed the areas of Mathematics and Spanish and was implemented between 1982 and 1984 (Cox, 2003). Its questions in Spanish reveal the curriculum change that was carried out at the time. Rather than the previous emphasis on aptitudes and skills, a considerable part of this test, according to a 1982 facsimile⁹⁵, is focused on grammar, spelling and recall of concepts or recognition of them in a text. Only a few basic questions about the content of the texts used as stimuli are included. The facsimile ends with question number 60, where the students have to recognise what prizes did two famous Chilean writers obtain and in which year. This last question reflects how the approach to the discipline changed to facts, memorisation and the passive repetition of concepts. Colonial *catecismo* was back, retouched with a scientific look through behaviourist testing.

However, this test was never high-stakes to the extent reached by SIMCE after its creation in 1988 (see Chapter 4 for more details). It may be due to internal differences as the authors mentioned above indicate. However, there could also be a different interpretation from the perspective of neo-liberal education governance. High-stakes national assessment systems are not needed in this period because there is an authoritarian government that disseminates and monitors policies through fear and censorship. In this context, a tight control already exists and PER is only used as a means to obtain results at a more general level. However, the return to democracy with a continuity of neo-liberal principles in education

⁹⁵ Pérez, F.; Guardiola, F.; Ponce, S.; Cepeda, A. (1981). *Facsímil PER* [PER (Programme for Assessment of Educational Performance) facsímile]. Santiago: Editorial Universitaria.

required a mechanism of control from a distance (Ozga et al., 2009) in order to keep them feared, although now in more subtle ways, as explained in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS

Returning to the research questions that guide this study, the analysis in this chapter has allowed for the distinction of a series of systems that are involved in the production, circulation and consumption of discourses around assessment. Each system and its main actors are described bellow, considering their changing roles throughout the three periods under scrutiny.

- 1) **Political parties and ideological groups:** actors who hold political power and represent a specific ideology play a central role. Since the first period they sustain specific perspectives on education, which support specific views about the functions and characteristics of assessment. They also play a central part in terms of policy negotiation, as a constant feature is the moderate versions of pedagogical and assessment changes that are generated after attempts for reaching political consensus.
- 2) **Foreign education systems or experts:** policy borrowing does not seem to be a new phenomenon according to these results, an aspect already highlighted by Schriewer and Martinez (2004). Imitation of “good practice” and policy learning is first carried out through local experts who travel and import new ideas, although without much clarity on how assessment is to be approached in the context of these novel views. Another means of attracting foreign models is the interest of innovative teachers in changing their practice. In this case, the attraction of external ideas involves a clear perspective on assessment and examinations, and is situated in a more dialogic interaction between the local and the global level. A more strategic use of foreign models or perspectives emerges

in the 1960s, where IOs begin to evaluate local systems and, in turn, local governments begin using the discourse of these institutions to justify their policy decisions.

- 3) **Education government institutions:** the role and structure of education governance has changed considerably, both hypothetically and in concrete terms, throughout the analysed periods. Power elites tend to the design of highly top-down structures to govern the education of lower classes, and public examinations systems are an important mechanism to keep control on them. As a counter-offensive, the gradual empowerment of lower social groups generates a demand for more equal and democratic bottom-up structures, and examinations systems are in this case also an important lever for negotiation in terms of opening gates and letting more innovative repertoires in education become canonised in the polysystem. However, the response of power elites, specially the Conservative ones, is violent and repressive each time a breach of this nature is attempted. In relation to the education of higher classes, governance structures have been more flexible and have allowed for more dissent. The trend in secondary education throughout the three periods, after heated discussions, is towards a decreasing control of the State over examinations processes and an increasing flexibility of standards for promotion and certification, a trend that emerges from the demands of private schools.
- 4) **Families:** in terms of how parents are considered in education and assessment policies, there is a clear social differentiation. Parents from low social backgrounds sustain a tensioned relationship with formal education, as they do not see its value in terms of the expectations they have for the future of their children. As a consequence, attendance is low as well as the support from families. From the perspective of government education institutions, they are portrayed as barbaric and non-civilised, representing everything that the elite wants to eradicate through the education of masses. Once primary education becomes compulsory, parents are described by Conservative groups as responsible for the education of their children, and as bearers of the right to choose the place where they

want their children to be educated, without mentioning how segregated paths would impede this to occur. It is only in the 1960s that parents acquire a more formal organisation, although their involvement is reduced to collaboration with school activities. However, all these conceptualisations of low class parents are derived from sources where they “are told”, that is, the archive did not register their perspective directly and I would say they are still an under-represented voice in the field of research on assessment reforms. High-class parents, on the contrary, especially in private schools, have a strong voice from the beginning. They are a very demanding group whose aim seems to be oriented by the need to see their children enter university and acquire a certificate that perpetuates their belonging to the same social class.

- 5) **Schools:** educational institutions are also places of tension, where innovative and conservative repertoires circulate and reproduce. Innovative teachers follow a path that takes them from an increasing empowerment, to real participation, and later to disappointment, disempowerment and deprofessionalisation, which can be perceived in their attitudes of fear and acceptance of top-down logics by the end of the third period. Conservative teachers, on the other hand, by insisting in old practices that overlap and mix with the new ones, reproduce canonised discourses on assessment and pedagogy. Additionally, there are internal structures of power inside schools, which control for teachers work through an increasing level of bureaucracy and paperwork, and decide upon the approaches to be promoted at the school level.
- 6) **Public opinion:** access to media and public spaces is a privilege of the elite during the first period. It is mainly their voice that dominates public opinion, and they use this advantage to make their controversies heard. However, it must be born in mind that what these groups understand as great controversies are discussions that were probably ignored by the majority of the population. Once workers and teachers begin to create their own publications, the space of public opinion becomes a much more contested and multi-

voiced arena, which is silenced by the government of Ibáñez. However, it is only during the 1960s and 1970s that the public opinion is mentioned as an actor with a perspective and an interest in relation to education, which justifies the need for reporting results in relation to the quality of education. Additionally, media acquire a role in reform dissemination, as Schiefelbein indicates that a considerable number of teachers declare knowing about Frei's education reform through television.

7) **Teacher education:** training programmes are an important channel for the dissemination of ideas in education. However, documents reveal that assessment becomes a topic of teacher education programmes only since the 1930s, and from the second half of the 1960s for primary teachers, the latter probably due to the end of the separate paths and the equal consideration of primary and secondary teacher education as post-secondary studies. Before that, assessment was assumed as a practice inherent to education processes, without any theory around it, an approach that probably had an influence in the persistence of traditional colonial practices in this area of pedagogical activity. According to documents and the testimonies of experienced teachers, it could also be stated that professional development programmes seem more permeable to new ideas in comparison to initial teacher education courses, which tend to absorb the new approaches a few years later. Student teachers are faced with the tensions involved in theoretical paradigmatic changes around assessment, thus receiving different discourses simultaneously, which in turn contrast with the requirements and discourses they find circulating in schools.

8) **The academy:** along with their role in the education of secondary teachers, academics play other important roles in assessment reform processes. In the first period they have a multiple membership as politicians, policy authorities, academics, school or university leaders and intellectuals, which gives them considerable power in the defence of their ideas in different spheres of discursive struggle. By the end of the 19th Century and

throughout the other two periods in consideration, academics gradually move away from government and political parties to generate alliances with teachers and workers. These alliances seem to be particularly powerful, as they are observed each time a more concrete option for reform in education and assessment takes place. The strength of such partnership is confirmed by the force with which it is attacked by authoritarian and repressive Conservative governments. During the 1960s researchers are also assigned another role in the polysystem, which is to provide evidence for policy and generate data about the quality of education. This movement undermines previous alliances and attracts academics to a new mode of cooperation with policy authorities.

- 9) **The productive/economic sector:** this system is involved since the early stages of Chilean history of education. One of the strong arguments to introduce the practice-based learning reform in primary schools during the 19th Century was the need to educate future workers that would contribute to the economic development of the country. It is also the justification for generating increasingly differentiated paths through technical-professional secondary schools and the emphasis on vocational profiles. Only the unified model of Socialism incorporated this system in a different way, as permanently interacting with school and universities, with workers also interacting with these spheres and schools giving value to manual and technical work. As said above, after this attempt the country was violently brought back to its 19th Century segregated structure.

Consequently, there is much more to consider in the study of assessment reform processes than schools and academics. Innovative repertoires attracted by different actors become entangled in a complex network of interactions, where power relations inside systems and between systems determine their circulation and potential canonisation. In the context of such struggles, some discourses remain as residuals that overlap and intertwine with others, generating mixed discourses whose original principles and ideological affiliation become more

difficult to trace. Additionally, changes to assessment systems are embedded in pedagogical trends that they favour or oppose, and in ideological struggles where assessment is thought in relation to specific models of society. Figure 20 summarises the relationship between specific ideas of society, models of education and discourses on assessment. These are summarised in two extremes that occur in the polysystem simultaneously, with different degrees of intensity and multiple mixed versions. The question raises as to what extent these ideas of society, education and assessment are compatible and able to co-exist without undermining each other.

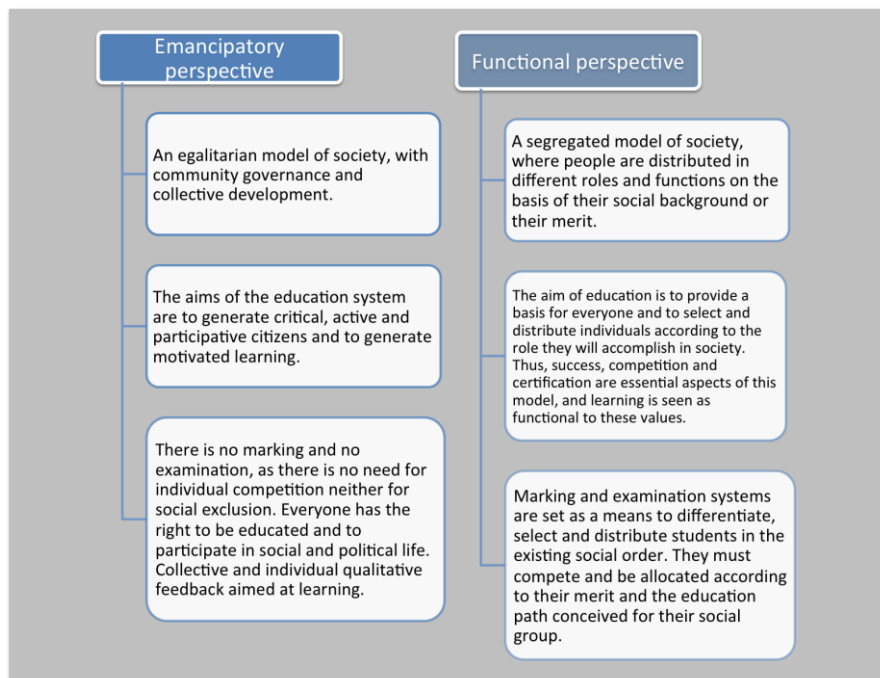


FIGURE 20. Summary of the correlation between models of society, education and assessment.

These broad ideas have been translated into different proposals from diverse political forces, each one defending specific principles and actions around education and assessment, and some of them aiming at moderate and more hybrid versions of contrasting models. Figure 21 represents the spectrum of ideas detected throughout the analysis and the parties that defended them or negotiated intermediate versions of them.

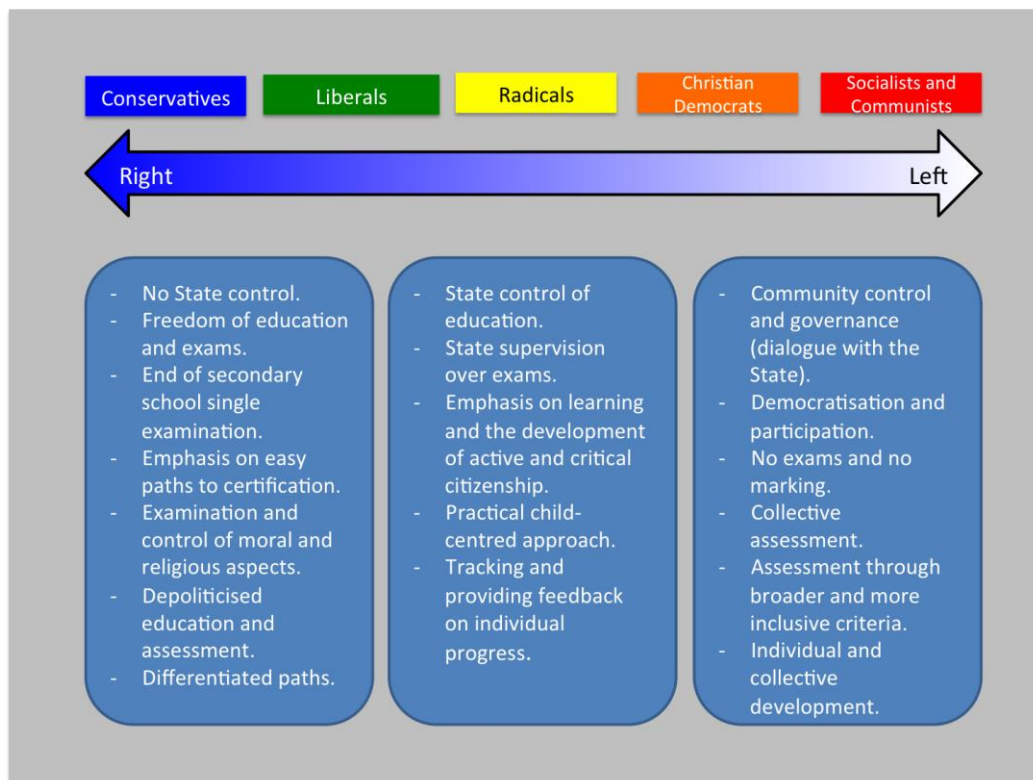


FIGURE 21. Summary of ideas on education and assessment according to political affiliation.

In the context of these ideologies and power struggles between different systems and actors, three main discourses around assessment circulate during the analysed periods. The first derives from practice and not from a specific theory, and is embedded in colonial memory-based pedagogy. This discourse is focused on examinations processes, certification, marking, awards and punishments, ritual conditions and public surveillance. Additionally, it is related to two aspects whose continuity can be traced until the present: it is high-stakes, which consequently generates teaching to the test, and it sets social and educational boundaries.

From an initial interest of teachers and in the context of pedagogy as a scientific discipline, a second discourse that enters the polysystem is that of testing theory, from the initial developments of Binet to the well known by teachers Gauss curve. This discourse contributes to turn assessment into a technical subject that has to be studied and that constitutes a fundamental aspect of the teaching profession. It is embedded in behaviourist

pedagogy, in terms of the “objective” observation of expected behaviours in relation to specific learning goals, and testing through homogeneous stimulus-response structures where all students have to provide a single answer. This approach is reconciled with existing marking practices through statistical norm-referenced modes of reviewing and correcting tests, where students are ranked according to their “objective” performance in the test. The underlying principle here is a view of intelligence as something unchangeable, and the homogeneity of teaching and learning processes where students are differentiated solely according to their natural aptitudes. This discourse starts as marginal among teachers and is later canonised through teacher education programmes and national standardised high-stakes assessment systems.

A third discourse enters the arena: formative assessment. The ideas of Bloom contain some emancipatory potential in terms of introducing a dynamic idea of learning, where under the correct treatment all students are able to achieve a high performance. However, this discourse where terms like feedback and assessment as a central part of the learning process are used for the first time, is situated in the same behaviourist pedagogy as traditional testing theory. Its principles are assimilated to a Fordist model of education and a mechanistic idea of learning where assessment basically consists of a quality check against pre-established homogeneous aims. Bloom’s ideas enter the polystem through teacher education and through legislation and, thus, they do not emerge from teachers’ learning needs or intellectual curiosity. As a consequence, they are perceived as something external and there is not an in-depth understanding of their underlying principles. They are rather adopted in a superficial and technique-centred form and assimilated to existing testing and assessment practices, which leads to a gradual abandonment of the innovative repertoire.

Some discourses on assessment seem particularly permeable to different ideologies and pedagogical perspectives, as this chapter has illustrated in the appropriation of Bloom’s discourse by three very different governments (Frei, Allende and Pinochet). The three

ideologies adapted the model to their needs: Christian Democrats used its elements of a moderate approach that mixed emancipatory aspects with individualism and meritocracy; Socialists were exploring its potential for a new model of education where learning and not competition was at the core; and Conservatives finally rescued the aspect of feedback to transform it into mechanical reinforcement of unachieved goals.

Up to this point, the approach used in this study has illuminated the understanding of assessment reform process in different ways. First, the field has been portrayed as far more complex, contested and crowded than the way it is represented in current research. Approaches to assessment are closely intertwined with ideas on education and society sustained by different powerful groups, and are struggled upon, assimilated, neutralised and distorted in their circulation across the polysystem. Additionally, assessment paradigms and theories are not historically sequential but accumulative. Actors simultaneously sustain and enact discourses of marking and certification; testing and norm-referencing; and more learning oriented ideas. As said above, the question is raised as to what extent this simultaneity and co-existence is feasible and acceptable without losing direction in terms of the goals of education in society.

CHAPTER IV **THE PRESENT**

INTRODUCTION

Unlike the previous chapter, this one is entirely devoted to a single period. As explained at the beginning of the thesis, this difference follows from the use of past periods as a means of understanding the diachronic aspect in the current polysystem. Although the same logic of analysis is followed for all the historical phases, the emphasis is on current assessment reform processes in Chile.

For the same reason, this chapter provides a much more detailed account of research results and their interpretation than Chapter III. It offers a more fine grained explanation of the analysis of documents and interviews, a more extensive description of the assessment discourses circulating in the period, and of the way these discourses are understood and translated by multiple actors in different systems. It also refers to all the systems and actors involved in assessment reform processes with a higher degree of specification.

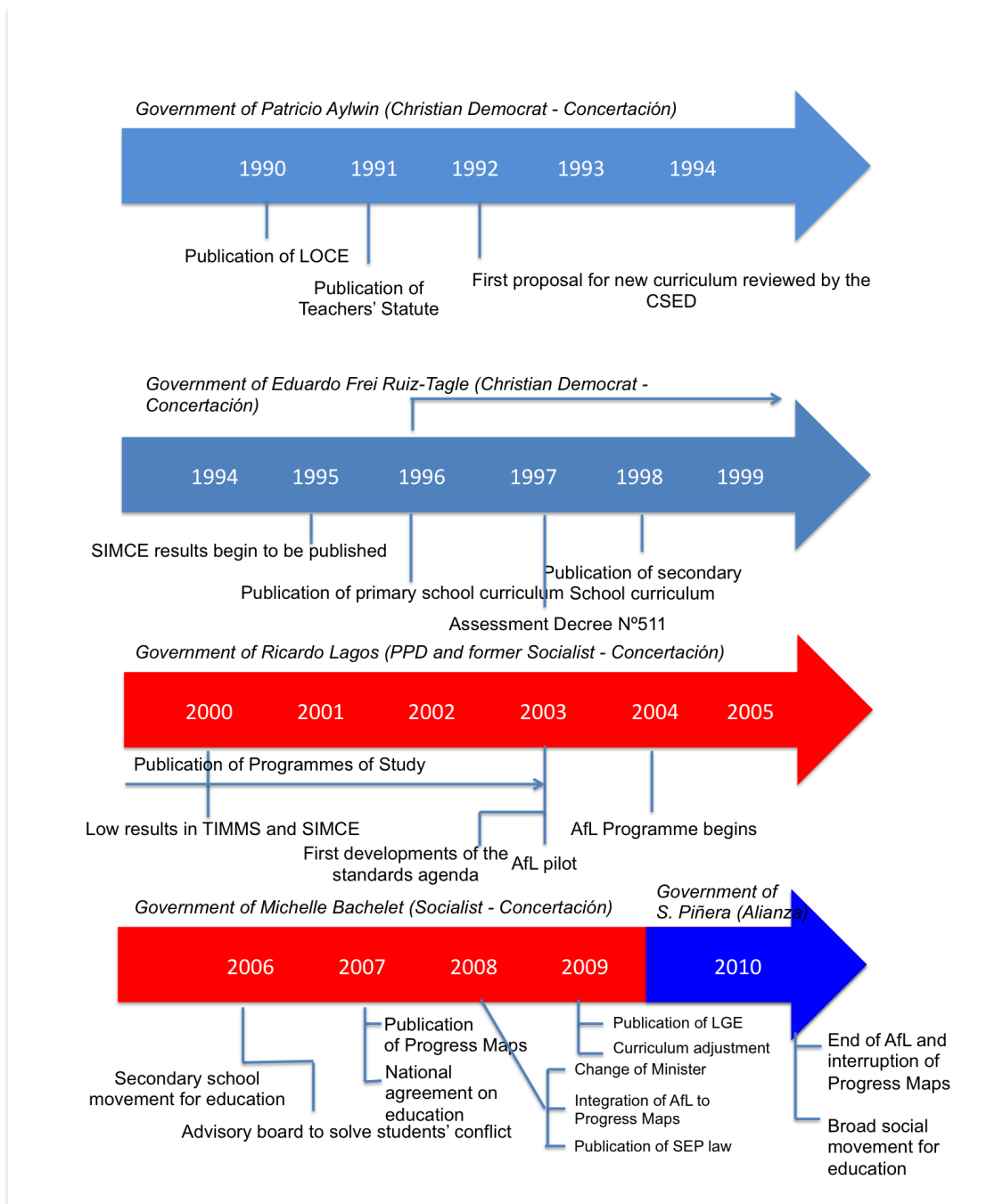
In all other respects, it is organised in the same way as Chapter III: results are presented alongside interpretation, supported through illustrative quotations from documents and interviews, and the three-layered structure set out in Chapter I is also used as a frame for composition (the ideological level, curriculum and pedagogical reforms, and discourses on assessment).

The chapter differs from the previous one in devoting a separate section to the description of the actors and systems in the current polysystem, as well as their interactions. The diagrams presented here use the same guide of colours and lines presented at the beginning of Chapter III.

As in the previous chapter, the reader is provided with a chronology that summarises the presidents of the country during the recent period -including their political tendency-, and indicates in chronological order the main events of this time lapse. For further contextual references, a summary of the main political trends and parties of the period is offered in Appendix 12.

The chapter closes with a review of the main findings, and proposes some conclusions about the analysis and interpretation of data for the period, including potential continuities, differences and overlapping with the three phases addressed in Chapter III.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PERIOD



1. THE IDEOLOGICAL LEVEL: THE CONSOLIDATION OF A NEO-LIBERAL FRAMEWORK FOR EDUCATION

1.1. The restructuring of the political scenario

The end of Pinochet's dictatorship was as unprecedented as the democratic election of a Marxist president in the previous period. Rather than through a violent uprising, this regime is terminated through an election process, promoted by the authoritarian government and seized as an opportunity by citizens and opposition politicians to throw the dictator out of power without any bloodshed (García, 2006). Given the increasing international gaze on the transgression of human rights in Chile, the government decided to legitimise its rule by organising a plebiscite (already established as a requirement in the 1980 Constitution) where people could vote "Yes" if they wanted the authoritarian government to continue and "No" if they wanted a new democratic administration (Santa Cruz, 2005).

The campaign for "No" was led by a new political coalition, the Concertation of Parties for Democracy [*Concertación*], which united the Christian Democrats, the Socialist party, the Radicals, and the new Party for Democracy (PPD) that brought together ex-members of Socialist, Liberal, Radical and other parties. After the triumph of the "No" campaign, this centre-left alliance became the ruling party for the next 20 years. The opposition in these decades was constituted by the Democratic Independent Union (UDI), a party created during the dictatorship under the influence of Jaime Guzmán, one of the main ideologists of Pinochet's administration, who emerged as a public figure in opposition to the social movement of the 1960s that promoted reforms in higher education. National Renovation (RN), who are considered more moderate in their Conservative ideas but who also supported the campaign for the continuity of Pinochet, represented another Right wing trend. Both parties were united in a coalition called Alliance for Chile [*Alianza*].

However, the story has its intricacies. Pyret (1994), as quoted by Silva (2012), indicates that the involvement of *Concertación* in the 1988 plebiscite meant an implicit acceptance of the (illegitimate) 1980 Constitution, and this was the reason why the military accepted the transfer of power to the new coalition. In Silva's (2012: 8) words, this also meant:

'(...) an acceptance –from the part of the opposition- of the rules and institutional frameworks imposed by the dictatorship, establishing the bases for the <<democracy of agreements>>.'

The dictatorship ended *de facto* in 1990, but just before he left office, the 'intellectuals' or so-called 'brains' in and around the Pinochet government worked on what has been called 'leyes de amarre' [*binding legislation*]. These are laws that ensured that certain actors remained in power and that the ideological framework was unchanged. This is why Chile continues to be governed by the Constitution of 1980 and through a binominal election system, which is designed to keep only those politicians from the main coalitions in power and does not allow for direct representativeness through the inclusion of other political forces⁹⁶.

As in other contexts where more Conservative governments are replaced by centre-left forces, rather than a radical change, tensions are translated, therefore, into hybrid modes of governance where ambiguous policies predominate. This type of governance has been observed in different contexts where extreme marketisation has been moderated not by a return to the welfare state but by an intermediate model known as *Third Way* politics in the UK or the *social investment* approach in other Anglophone contexts (Kapitzke and Hay, 2011). Kapitzke and Hay (2011: 1105) define it in the following terms:

⁹⁶ Nohlen (1999) explains: 'Chile is a completely divergent case. There, the militaries imposed a new election system: the binominal system. Chile had traditionally voted through a proportional system. The new system is usually classified among the majority systems, classification that, nonetheless, generates erroneous interpretations, given that it does not benefit the most voted party (or coalition) but the first minority. The system was the target of the most severe criticism from the democratic opposition before and during transition. In fact, the militaries had precisely searched the effects of the election system to cause, at least, a parliamentary tie among progresist and conservative parties (...). After the first elections, that were successful for the democratic opposition, the criticism on the binominal system diminished, and its advocates were not to be found only among conservatives but also among the ruling parties.'

'(...) social investment de-emphasises direct provision of welfare, instead favouring the idea that enhancing people's personal employability is the most effective means of protecting them against the risks of social exclusion and poverty. Hence, education and training play a pivotal role in policy for realizing the dual policy objectives of minimising exclusion and providing necessary human capital for economic prosperity. This new orientation to social protection is described as a movement from 'welfare' to 'workfare' (Jessop, 2003).'

Gillies (2008: 424) describes these hybrid modes as an example of the relationship between conduct and education policy at the policy content level, where policy attempts 'to meet public approval even at the cost of ideological difficulties for the government', as in the case of New Labour's Third Way with its 'general trend of conservative discourse on standards, excellence and choice being awkwardly grafted on to old Labour values of equality, fairness and access'. It employs the same mechanisms of neo-liberalism through a functional *what works* approach to policy, which they use 'to contrast their own decisions with others' reliance on ideology or dogma' (Moss, 2009: 157).

The continuity of Pinochet's neo-liberal framework is also favoured by International Organisations, who play an active role in transnational governance. The World Bank, for example, contributed to the marketisation of education in Chile both during the dictatorship (Toussaint, 2007) and during the 1990s (Arellano, 2001). This institution has praised Chile for its policy of 'Continuity with Change', a policy of consensus and negotiation (Chile's own Third Way politics) and, thus, of continuity of the neo-liberal model that characterises the period of *Concertación* (Delannoy, 2000). Phillips (2004) highlights the existence of a neoliberal framework where liberalisation, privatisation and marketisation are promoted among policy elites as the leading principles in education by these institutions. Chile has not been the exception and this is the ideological context in which the pedagogical and assessment reforms of the period occur. As shown below, assessment has a fundamental role in accountability systems as a governance tool in a neo-liberal education model.

International influence is justified through the economisation of education, that is, the reduction of education aims to the need to make a nation more competitive on a global scale (see Lingard and Rawolle, 2011; Klenowski, 2009b). Chile has followed this trend, first through an authoritarian government and then through the ambiguous and hesitant policy of *Concertación* administrations, where the need to negotiate values with the opposition is apparent in the analysed documents. Given this ambiguity, it is difficult to determine whether its purpose is promotion of an emancipatory model of society in a softer version that is acceptable to Conservative politicians, or to soften the functional discourse in education so citizens comply with it.

1.2. A neo-liberal framework for education

As described in a previous chapter, during the 1970s and the 1980s the responsibility for public education was detached from the central State and its administration was transferred to the municipalities; the working conditions of the teaching profession deteriorated; the uncontrolled proliferation of private higher education and private-public partnerships in primary and secondary schools was initiated; and *freedom of education* became more important than the right to education. In this context, LOCE ('Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Enseñanza' [*The Constitutional Organic Law for Education*]) -one of the *leyes de amarre* published in 1990- may be understood as consolidating these conditions for the next decades through an overarching legal document.

In LOCE the responsibility of the State in education is described as 'the duty of especially safeguarding freedom of education and funding a 'free system aimed at ensuring the population's access to primary education'. The right to education is described in the following terms:

*'Education is a right of every person. It corresponds, preferably, to **parents** the right and the duty to educate their children; to the **State**, the duty of providing special protection to the exercise of this right; and, in general, to the **community**, the duty of contributing to the development and improvement of education.'*⁹⁷ [emphases added]

Neo-liberal ideologies, by turning education into a commodity that can be traded in the market, 'a positional good rather than a public good' (Klenowski, 2009b: 6), move responsibility for education from the State to families, which are understood in this framework as *clients* of educational services. In this excerpt the right to education is no longer assumed to be a direct duty of the State. Instead, the state fulfils a subsidiary role where management and administration of education is given to public or private owners (Muñoz, 2012), namely, the *community*, and responsibility for education is transferred to parents. Kapitzke and Hay (2011: 1116) refer to this 'neoliberal strategy for community self-governance', which involves 'disconnecting responsibility from the State for the education'.

Consistent with the ideas of education as a commodity and parents as clients, LOCE defends the old Conservative principle of freedom of education, now framed in neo-liberal principles: clients have the right to choose between a range of options competing in the education market and LOCE excludes the State from intervention in this process as that would be judged as indoctrination. LOCE states explicitly that teaching in schools:

*'(...) should not have any limitation besides those imposed by moral, good habits, public order and national security', and 'is not allowed to be oriented to propagate any partisan political trend.'*⁹⁸

As seen in previous chapters, the discourse of public order and national security was used during the dictatorship to justify control and censorship over education, so the excerpt above illustrates how this form of control remains in the legislation of the democratic period. Within these limits, everything is permitted for schools to compete with each other in order to gain more clients.

⁹⁷ Pinochet, A. and Salamé, R. (1990). 'Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Enseñanza (LOCE) N°18962' [Constitutional Organic Law for Education (LOCE) N° 18962]. Santiago, pp. 1-2. Available at: <http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=30330&idVersion=1990-03-10>

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 3.

As in the government of Ibáñez and Pinochet, politics in education are forbidden in this document. This reflects fear of the Socialist indoctrination during Allende's period (see Chapter III), and implies that the marketisation of education in the context of neo-liberal principles is not an ideological exercise. This is part of neo-liberalism's depoliticised discourse, seen by Suspitsyna (2011) as a strategy to translate social justice problems into economic problems to be solved by the market, and not political problems to be solved by the State. This is another example of neo-liberalism's contradiction in terms: to be an ideology that hides its ideological nature in order to spread its principles as naturally given and not as having a political origin.

The *community* becomes in this new context a contributor to the improvement of education. The term is ambiguous enough to allow for the inclusion of many different forms of intervention in education. It is the Chilean transition to what has been called in the international literature *governance*, *soft governance*, *weak governance*, *network governance*, the *post-bureaucratic state*, *real governance*, among others (see for example Alexadiou et al., 2010; Al-Samarai, 2009; Ball and Junneman, 2011; Titeca and de Herdt, 2011). According to Ozga et al. (2009), all these terms refer to the shift from centralised, vertical and hierarchical to decentralised, horizontal and networked modes, where multiple types of partnerships are engaged in the governing of education.

The advocates of this new mode of governing are mainly international organisations such as OECD, the World Bank, the EU, among others, and researchers close to them or converging around the idea of what Dale (2000) understands as 'world institutionalists'. Consistent with the neo-liberal depoliticised perspective, they present decentralised, privatised and marketised education systems as a natural global trend and as reflecting a general consensus on education, which has had positive effects in all education systems. Authors like Resh and Benavot (2009) (the latter a former Senior Policy Analyst of UNESCO

with a doctorate from Stanford University, which Dale sees as the base of world institutionalism), describe governance in the following terms:

‘(...) the predominant state-centred mode of educational governance has given way in recent decades to frameworks in which new actors and organizations (e.g. local schools, parents, private organizations, municipalities and regional councils) are given greater discretion over educational processes and curricular contents.’ (Resh and Benavot, 2009: 69)

New governance, in the context of this “natural” explanation, is seen as increasing the autonomy of schools and local authorities as well as promoting diversity between schools (Resh and Benavot, 2009). Hooge et al. (2012: 6) in an OECD publication also see it as a means to ‘increase efficiency, encourage innovation, and combat social inequality and segregation in education’. The gap between this model and practice can be seen in the case of Chile as after decades with this model the country has developed extremely high levels of inequality (OECD, 2013: 40) and its education system is known for its socially segregated structure (Valenzuela, Bellei and De los Ríos, 2010). Similarly, countries like the US, Brazil and Vietnam (to mention only a few) are recognised as among those for whom neo-liberal models of education have produced greater inequality (Hill, 2003; London, 2010).

In this context, I align myself with critical policy scholarship, which sees a clearly political and ideological origin in this trend, related to the expansion of neo-liberal principles and market-centred models. Decentralisation and networking involve a ‘power differential between the various actors involved’, which varies according to the ‘power configurations in particular localities at particular times’ (Titeca and de Herdt, 2011: 219). Power is not shared equally in these new partnerships. As Blackmore (2011) states, these networks present both opportunities and threats, as along with the potential for more horizontal relationships networks bring potential inequalities through the dominance of neo-liberal values such as competition over equal provision, the close ties of education to the labour market, the need for compliance and accountability instead of dialogue, and so on. Additionally, Ball and

Junneman (2011) observe how policy networks where power is not equal are used to promote specific discourses about society, such as the principles of meritocracy or enterprise.

The model of education that has been operating in Chile until the present did not emerge 'naturally' as part of a global trend in education; it was clearly imposed by an authoritarian Conservative government who opposed Allende's socialist ideas and whose members benefitted from the process of marketisation and commodification of education⁹⁹. LOCE as a policy text installs a market-oriented education system and this is the basis on which democratic governments had to work during the period known as 'transición a la democracia' [*transition to democracy*].

Klenowski's (2009b) discussion around the neo-liberal and the classic ideas of democracy facilitate the understanding of the complexities and tensions in Chilean return to democracy as the context in which the education policy of the 1990s is embedded. She explains how market-centred ideas on education are based on a concept of democracy that is far from its classical sense. According to her, the neo-liberal concept of democracy is based on individualism and competition as the main values, where the State rarely intervenes and policy elites decide in behalf of the citizenry, which is conceptualised as politically passive. In such a view of democracy, education is seen 'as a positional good' and 'Individual freedom of choice is valued over equity' (Klenowski, 2009b: 6-7). Conversely, classic democracy understands citizens as active participants in political discussions and decision-making, with education being understood as having 'a collective purpose that values freedom and equality, and cannot

⁹⁹ The links between politicians from different political parties and private universities has been studied by the journalist María Olivia Mönckeberg (2007), who provides multiple examples of networks between business, politics and higher education in Chile. At the school level, there are former education ministers, like the Christian Democrats Mariana Aylwin and José Pablo Arellano, who are members of education foundations, like Belén Educa and, in the case of Aylwin, also Aprender Corporation. Fernando Flores, ex-senator of Concertación is founder and one of the owners of Altamira school. Eugenio Bauer, a parliamentarian of the UDI is owner of Los Cipreses school in the VI region of Chile, a school owned by Agrosuper, a large food company that has been involved in salubrity controversies with the community of Freirina in the north of Chile. There are multiple examples to mention but the cases indicated above are illustrative of the situation.

be left to market forces' (Ibid.). The table below from Klenowski (2009b, adapted from Reid, 2002) presents a summary of the principles of both approaches to democracy (see Table 2).

Realist View of Democracy	Classical View of Democracy
Individualistic society	Public decision-making on equal terms
Competitive market economy	State has a role in provision
Minimal state intervention	Public purpose requires state intervention
Politically passive citizens	Informed and politically active citizens
Active elite political leadership	Distributive leadership
Education as a positional good	Education as a public good

TABLE 2. Views of Democracy (Klenowski, 2009b adapted from Reid, 2002)

Chile's return to democracy is marked by the tension between these two concepts of what a democratic society should be, which in turn bring back the never-ending tensions between functional and emancipatory models of education and society.

1.3. Tensions in legislation

Chilean *politics of consensus*, where multiple forces have to negotiate within and between political coalitions, while a neo-liberal framework has to be maintained, generate multiple tensions that are apparent in the education legislation of the time. There are ambiguities in the documents that reveal the lack of decision for a specific project and the constant process of ideological negotiation. These tensions are observed at two levels: 1) between a progressive market-oriented ideology around economy and a Conservative one around other aspects of society; 2) and between two ideas of society for the future.

- **First tension: economically Liberal but morally Conservative**

This aspect reflects, rather than a new tension, a territory of struggle where Conservative groups strategically use Liberal principles to defend and perpetuate Conservative ideas (see Chapter III) around religion, morals, discipline and aristocracy.

In theory, both liberalism and neo-liberalism refer to individual freedom as a guiding principle in a context where 'the whole world's population' are to be subjected 'to the judgement and morality of capital' (Clarke, 2005). A first tension is detected in the legislation of the period, then, when freedom is established as a principle for market and choice in education and simultaneously an idea of control through the discourse of national security and censorship in relation to politically dangerous issues is promoted. Similarly, 'transcendental reality' and 'spiritual values' are mentioned in LOCE as important aims of schooling, at the same time as education is limited to objective content and reasoning in order to avoid indoctrination. This goes far beyond the stronger State that authors like Hill (2003) distinguish in neo-liberal models in comparison to classic liberal models, and reveals the ideological continuity of religious Conservative elites in legal discussions.

Similarly, in the curriculum that was built on the basis of this already heterogeneous law, along with the ideas of critical thinking one finds aspects such as the persistence of religion as compulsory in the curriculum (although optional for each family), the defence of marriage and references to the 'spiritual' aspect of sexuality. In a similar vein, programmes of study, i.e. documents providing teachers with a concrete methodological tool for delivering the curriculum, also provide evidence of tensions. For example, in the *Programme of Studies for Comprehension of the Natural, Social and Cultural Environment* for Year 2 of primary

school¹⁰⁰, the student is required to respect social and cultural diversity and, simultaneously, the bibliography for the document suggests working with the same History texts that were used during Pinochet's time. Textbooks written by these authors have been criticised for the classism and racism promoted through their vision of history (see for example Zúñiga, 2006; Garrido, 2006).

- **Second tension: between functional and emancipatory models of education and society**

The struggle between classical and neo-liberal ideas of democracy as described by Klenowski (2009b) is not new, as seen in Chapter III. It recalls the series of attempts at reform in the past in defence of more emancipatory ideas around education and the resistance that advocates of more functional views of society evidenced throughout history. This old conflict persists in the education policy texts of the period. The following excerpts illustrate how LOCE, as a foundational text, draws simultaneously on both concepts:

*'Primary education will have as general aims to achieve that students (...) are able to: (...) Think in a **creative, original, reflective, rigorous and critical way**, and have a spirit of **individual initiative according to their possibilities**.¹⁰¹'* [emphasis added]

*'Secondary education will have as general aims to achieve that students (...) are able to: Develop their ability **to think freely and reflectively** and to judge, **decide and show enterprise**.¹⁰²'* [emphasis added]

In many places in the document one can observe ideas of critical and active citizenship, as well as the need for developing reflective and creative human beings, all characteristic of classic democracy and, according to Hill (2003), discouraged by neo-liberal ideals. At the same time, the sense of collective well-being that characterises the classical

¹⁰⁰ Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE). (2003b). *Programa de Estudio Segundo Año Básico. Comprensión del Medio Natural, Social y Cultural* [Programme of Study Year 2 Primary School. Comprehension of the Natural, Social and Cultural Environment]. Santiago: Ministry of Education.

¹⁰¹ Pinochet and Salamé, op. cit., pp. 5-6. The term used in Spanish is 'posibilidades' and not 'potencialidades', thus, it can be interpreted in terms of personal and material conditions the same way that can be done with the term 'possibilities' in English.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 7.

concept of democracy is undermined by an insistence on individual entrepreneurship according to one's "possibilities". If such "possibilities" are related to socioeconomic conditions, then this idea clearly accepts the maintenance of inequalities.

The case of 'Estatuto docente' [the *Teachers' Statute*] provides similar material¹⁰³. It was published in 1991 with the aim of establishing the main duties, rights and obligations of teachers, and of regulating their career and their contracts of employment, after the deplorable conditions in which this professional group was placed by the previous authoritarian government. 'Estatuto docente' mixes aspects of vindication of teachers with the extension of LOCE's principles. At some points it portrays the teacher as an autonomous and actively participating professional. However, it simultaneously forbids collective negotiation in public schools and establishes a high level of control over teacher unions.

2. A TENSIONED CURRICULUM AND PEDAGOGICAL REFORM

2.1. The self-incriminating justification of a new curriculum

Curriculum legislation offers examples of an ambiguous discourse where ideological tensions can be detected readily. Part of this tension is probably explained by the difficulties faced by left-centre politicians in building a new curriculum on the basis of LOCE, although it must be noted that many of these politicians also benefitted from the system promoted by Pinochet's administration¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰³ Aylwin, P. and Lagos, R. (1992). 'Decreto 453. Aprueba Reglamento de la Ley 19070, Estatuto de los Profesionales de la Educación' [Decree 453. Approves the Regulation for Law 19070, Professional Statute of Education Professionals]. Santiago. Available at:
<http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=13511&buscar=Decreto+453+estatuto+docente>

¹⁰⁴ See footnote 10.

There is a tone of exaggerated justification in curriculum-related documents. For instance, the Higher Council for Education (CSED), a body that acts as a counterpart of the Ministry of Education, reported in 1992 on the first proposal for a national curriculum written by the Ministry¹⁰⁵. Eleven of the thirteen pages of the report are dedicated to justification of the need for a new curriculum with reference to LOCE if LOCE is “correctly” interpreted. This insistence is so excessive that a concern that the new national curriculum is unacceptable in the context of freedom of education can be inferred from the document. That is why the authors repeatedly quote parts of LOCE and insist on conclusions being drawn from it:

‘The definitions of primary and secondary education offered by (...) LOCE, in its 7th and 8th articles, determine, on the one hand, the general goal of each level and, on the other hand, the means to obtaining it. In both levels the latter are defined as the learning of the minimum compulsory contents that are determined according to this law.

It is clear, then, given the tenor of these dispositions that formal education involves the determination of these minimum contents, which will have to be done in accordance to the precepts of LOCE itself.¹⁰⁶ [emphases added]

The document is saturated with statements like these, in an exercise reminiscent of biblical hermeneutics, the bible being here LOCE and the authors very careful interpreters avoiding the accusation of heresy. It is 1992, and the fear of a reversal of the recently won democracy helps to explain this careful tone. Another possible interpretation is that new ideas about education are being presented in a strategic way. One of the braver moments of the document, quoted below, illustrates this strategic approach:

‘Finally, it must be noted that there is not, in contemporary educational experience, a situation or country where aims and contents of education are freely chosen by each school according to its own understanding and preferences, there is not either a situation or country where the essential curriculum can be freely changed or limited in relation to its minimum contents by schools.

¹⁰⁵ Higher Council for Education (1992). *Acuerdo Nº 51/92 Consejo Nacional de Educación* [Agreement Nº 51/92 National Council for Education]. Santiago. Available at:

http://www.cned.cl/public/secciones/SeccionEducacionEscolar/acuerdos/Acuerdo_CSE_051-1992.pdf

¹⁰⁶ Higher Council for Education (1992). *Acuerdo Nº 51/92 Consejo Nacional de Educación* [Agreement Nº 51/92 National Council for Education]. Santiago, p. 1. Available at:

http://www.cned.cl/public/secciones/SeccionEducacionEscolar/acuerdos/Acuerdo_CSE_051-1992.pdf

Instead, the latter is characteristic of education not recognised by the State, which can 'provide any other kind of education that does not aspire to official recognition' (Art 9th). It is also a characteristic of informal education (Art 4th).'¹⁰⁷ [emphases added]

This excerpt uses the strategy of *externalization* explained in previous chapters (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). Through this strategy, the idea of curriculum autonomy in marketised education is moderated by the need for national collectively shared aims. Additionally, there is a subtle defence of the State as responsible for providing good quality formal education through a national set of goals, as the absence of a curriculum is associated with informal modes of education. These were probably dangerous statements at that time.

Although published when democracy is more consolidated and fear is receding, the legal decrees that establish the curriculum for primary and secondary education (Decree Nº 40 of 1996 and Nº 220 of 1998, respectively) also share this tone of justification. The documents begin with a list of the reasons why this administration is establishing a list of aims and minimum contents for each level of education in a context where schools are supposed to be left to their own devices, and these reasons are attributed to requirements established in LOCE. In this way, the authors protect themselves from any charge of indoctrination. From behind this shield they proceed to defend principles and ideas that do not fit very well with the general spirit of LOCE and are closer to the concepts of classic democracy. For example, when stating the principles and values that support the new curriculum, they protect themselves twice over by referring not only to LOCE but also to the National Commission for the Modernisation of Education formed in 1994 as a source to indicate that:

*'In the vision shared by the Commission, **extreme individualism, which could result in the unlimited use of personal freedom**, is moderated by imperatives that emerge from a set of values that lead the person to **share with others the fruits of a freedom that humanises and opens itself to the demands of common good**.*'¹⁰⁸ [emphases added]

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁰⁸ Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE). (1998). 'Decreto 220. Establece Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios para la Enseñanza Media y fija normas generales para su aplicación' [Decree 220. Establishes the Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Compulsory Contents for Secondary Education and fixes the general norms for its application]. Santiago: Ministry of Education, p. 10. Available at: <http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=120871&buscar=Decreto+220+objetivos>

Caveats are established against the individualistic meritocracy of neo-liberalism and the value of education in terms of a collective public good is highlighted. Additionally, at some points there seems to be a strategic use of the principle of freedom of education, which is employed to introduce a higher degree of professional autonomy for teachers and a higher degree of decision-making power for schools.

These, however, are rather timid statements in the context of a curriculum law that confirms the priority of freedom of education as the leading principle of the system and recognises the following purposes for the new curriculum:

*'First, the full personal development of every Chilean **maximising their freedom** and their capacities of **creativity, initiative and criticism**. Second, the **equitable, sustainable and efficient development of the country**. Both purposes are not mutually exclusive but converge in the aim of contributing to the **free and integral development of the person in an economic and social context that, given the level of development reached, increases the possibilities of such freedom, creativity, initiative and criticism**.'*¹⁰⁹ [emphases added]

The documents repeatedly move from the idea of students as critical citizens in a participative democracy and of teachers as autonomous professionals participating in the process of curriculum implementation, to that of students who are competent in the existing environment, that is, who know how to act in the specified model, mainly the market: where citizens are informed consumers, and competent students are located in today's society and today's labour market. As already indicated, there is a tension between an ideology of market and freedom of education, and an ideology of the classic democratic model where education as a public collective good is the priority. In a broader sense, one could state that the tension between a **functional** and an **emancipatory** view of education and society is reproduced in this period, the former being aimed at the adaptation of the student to the labour market and the

¹⁰⁹ Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE). (1996). 'Decreto 40. Establece Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios para la Educación Básica y fija normas generales para su aplicación' [Decree 40. Establishes the Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Compulsory Contents for Primary Education and fixes the general norms for its application]. Santiago: Ministry of Education, p. 4. Available at:

<http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=8043&buscar=Decreto+40+objetivos>

latter at a critical awareness about the possibility of changing one's conditions and environment.

2.2. The same old pedagogical reform and its (ideological) tensions

As in the previous periods, the principles of child-centred pedagogy are promoted in the curriculum of the 1990s, although this time on the basis of cognitive-constructivist pedagogical models following authors such as Ausubel and Vigotsky. According to Flórez Ochoa (2000), this pedagogical model is characterised by aspects such as: progressive and sequential learning through learning-oriented experiences and environments; meaningful learning acquired through cognitive conflict; the teacher as a facilitator of learning; and individualised qualitative criterion-referenced assessment, understood as not necessarily equivalent to marking. These principles are proposed as a means of overcoming traditional pedagogy, understood as embodied in more academicist and behavioristic models where the student is a passive recipient in which the teacher, as the subject of authority, deposits knowledge.

The principles of a cognitive-constructivist pedagogy can be detected clearly in different elements of the curriculum law and the programmes of study published between 1999 and 2003. The following quotation from the 1998 secondary school curriculum document is illustrative:

*'The OF-CMO [minimum aims and minimum compulsory contents] are based on the principle that learning must be achieved through a new form of pedagogical work, which **has as a centre the activity of the students, their characteristics, their knowledge and previous experiences.** To focus pedagogical work on learning rather than teaching requires, additionally, to develop **pedagogical strategies that are differentiated and adapted to students' different learning rhythms and styles** and to re-orient school work from its current form, predominantly transmissive, to a different one in which this practice [transmissive and verbal learning], necessary and efficient in relation to specific contexts and purposes, is adequately complemented and enriched with **activities of inquiry and creation by students, both***

individually and collectively. Through these methodological procedures the achievement of higher order thinking skills (...) is expected.¹¹⁰ [emphases added]

There is an explicit positioning of the curriculum in a cognitive-constructivist paradigm, by supporting the ideas of child-centredness, the relevance of the students' previous knowledge and background in the collaborative construction of meaning, personalised pedagogy that considers different rhythms and styles (inherited from Bloom), the presence of discovery learning and creative thinking, and the development of hierarchically ordered cognitive skills. Similarly, programmes of study are thought of as tools that offer teachers methodological pathways to put these principles into practice. That is why they are structured in sequences of activities around a set of learning expectations. In these sequences students go through a series of experiences from the most simple and closest to his/her previous experience and knowledge, to the more complex and unfamiliar.

The question arises, why was cognitive-constructivism the preferred approach? According to Flórez Ochoa (2000), constructivist pedagogy is based on a meritocratic concept of society. It enables human beings to become competent in society and to acquire the necessary skills to compete with others, and be socially compensated and placed according to their merit.

Although there is no explicit connection at a theoretical level, cognitive-constructivist pedagogy provided highly acceptable pedagogical ideas that may be understood as consistent or, at least, not in conflict with the neo-liberal model that was promoted during the 1980s and reinforced by LOCE. The individualistic nature of neo-liberal ideology and the client-centred approach to education are presented in a positive light through a pedagogy that promotes individual progress and personalised teaching in order to develop the necessary skills in students. This approach does not engender much resistance as it promotes ideas that, compared to traditional views of pedagogy, are readily accepted: for example the student as

¹¹⁰ UCE (1998), op. cit., p. 11.

the central actor, an active and participative pedagogy, consideration of individual differences, among others.

The tensions between the emancipatory and the functional models of society that the curriculum legislation contains have already been highlighted. Given the relationship between curriculum and ideology (Apple, 1997), an emancipatory perspective that defends a classic democratic concept of society will have a socio-critical approach as a logical option. However, in Chapter III the authoritarian and violent reaction to such attempts was explained. This pedagogy is associated with the ideas of authors like Paulo Freire and Henry Giroux, who draw on Marxism as an important source. This was an obviously unthinkable reference point for those who created LOCE and constituted a risky option for the governments of the democratic period, who could be accused of using the curriculum to indoctrinate.

Governments from the period of the *Concertación*, however, had an opportunity to change the direction of education once the risk of a new dictatorship had vanished. After a very strong social movement led by secondary students in 2006, president Michelle Bachelet responded by establishing an advisory board with actors from different sectors of society. All the work carried out by this board resulted in a “new” law for education: LGE (Ley General de Educación, [*General Law for Education*])¹¹¹. LGE was negotiated in the congress and promoted through the media as a great agreement on education where politicians from both political coalitions appeared hand in hand with each other and with the Minister of Education. The agreement was established in 2007 and the law was finally published in 2009.

In reading LGE, the palimpsest of LOCE becomes visible. The principles of education are the same and the main changes are related to the increase of quality control mechanisms through the creation of national standards, the establishment of an agency responsible for the

¹¹¹ Bachelet, M.; Jiménez, M.; Vidal, F.; Velasco, A.; Quintana, P. (2009). ‘Ley 20370, establece la Ley General de Educación (LGE)’ [Law 20370. Establishes the General Law for Education (LGE)]. Santiago. Available at:

<http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=1006043&idVersion=2009-09-12>

quality of education and of a Superintendency of Education. Other minor changes are mentions of students from indigenous groups, respect for human rights and ecological values. In brief, no changes were made to the ideological bases of the model of education, quite the opposite; the neo-liberal basis was reinforced by this new law (see Muñoz, 2012). A common inscription in graffiti and posters of the 2010 social movement for education was 'LGE=LOCE'.

Cognitive-constructivist discourses on pedagogy, therefore, may be understood as more open and ambiguous than socio-critical pedagogy. This allowed for neo-liberal interpretations and uses of it in the disguise of principles of education that had been defended in different moments of the history of education. Along with this, some hints of a critical approach drawing on classic democracy infiltrate official discourses, which can be understood as tensions derived from the discussions of the time.

The reminder of the chapter explores the discourses on assessment that prevailed and emerged during the 1990-2010 period, the way they interact with these broader ideas of education and society, and how they circulate in the polysystem through actors involved in a struggle for meaning.

3. DISCOURSES ON ASSESSMENT: FROM CONTROL TO CRITICAL CITIZENSHIP

On the basis of the analysed data, there are three main discourses around assessment that circulate during this period: assessment as control through numbers, Assessment for Learning and assessment as standards. The first one is present at the micro-level in terms of marking practices established through internal regulations of schools and at the macro-level through the installation of a high-stakes national assessment system. Additionally, after a political controversy on the effectiveness of the education reform of Concertación, two new ideas on assessment are imported simultaneously: standards in the shape of progress maps and developmental assessment; and Assessment for Learning mainly as presented in some of

the texts of the ARG, although filtered by perspectives from the International Baccalaureate. In parallel, other units of the Ministry work with a more instrumental idea of assessment, where pre-designed instruments are given to teachers, with mixed approaches in terms of assessment practices. The following sections disentangle the main principles, sources and discussions around these discourses, which circulate across the polysystem in a messy overlapping of ideas about assessment.

3.1. Assessment as control through numbers

- **SIMCE**

As explained above, those who support the idea of decentralisation in the context of the *governance turn* see it in a positive light as a means of promoting autonomy and innovation, as well as variation between schools. This autonomy has, however, been questioned by several authors, who see in testing and accountability systems a new form of controlling or governing from a distance (Ozga et al., 2009). In contrast, those who believe in *deliverology* (Barber, 2007) understand this as a crucial component of the system, where data is generated across the education system in order to monitor how policy is being delivered in relation to its targets, how effectively it is working in practice and how the system could be improved for things “to work” in a better way.

This is precisely what LOCE establishes in relation to assessment:

‘19th Article.- It is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education to design instruments that allow for the establishment of a system of periodic assessment, both in primary and secondary school, of the accomplishment of the fundamental aims and the minimum contents for those levels. With the previous approval of the National Council for Education, the Ministry will proceed to establish the periodic application of the assessment system referred above, having in all events to carry out tests at least at the end of primary and secondary school. The Ministry of Education will elaborate statistics of its results, by region and by school, which must be published in one of the national or regional circulation newspapers and, additionally, be fixed

*in visible places of each of the assessed schools. In any case the publication will individualise students' results.'*¹¹²

This is the excerpt that gives birth to what is known today as SIMCE, the national system for the measurement of education quality in Chile. It initially involved standardised testing of the whole population of students at the 4th, 8th and 10th year of schooling in the areas of Mathematics and Language, as well as History and Sciences for years 4 and 8. In recent years its frequency has increased, it is also taken in the 11th year of schooling and other areas such as English as a second language and Physical Education have been added since 2010, after the new Conservative government came to office. In a managerial idea of education, such a system is consistent with the need to be constantly monitoring the quality of the “service provided” to “users” or “clients” in order to check the accomplishment of goals and improve the system accordingly, that is, the ‘audit culture’ to which authors like Suspitsnya (2010: 572) refer in the context of new managerialism.

Critical policy scholarship criticism of these systems (see Chapter I) co-incides with evidence from this research, as can be seen in the following extracts from interviews with teachers, which are representative of the very consistent discourse around SIMCE among the teachers interviewed.

‘We hate SIMCE. In general, we hate SIMCE. I see it in different contexts, I think it’s a form of collective stress [], a distant way of understanding [] the process of education, [] with such quantitative arguments, which tend [] to distance also from the very practices, because we can’t have, let’s say, SIMCE affects us in such a way, that [] it becomes an integral part of our educational project and of the pedagogical project.’ (Participant 3)

‘(...) SIMCE ties my [] hands because is what, is almost the life project of the whole school. Schools live and die for SIMCE and there is [] an overvalued importance due to, due to the fact that there are no internal assessments in the country that give [], that are able to replace SIMCE or of generating [] a panorama of Chilean education with more precision [] or at least more meaningful in relation to all the different worlds that are found in this Chile, because SIMCE is horizontal and affects equally and measures equally the knowledge of all the realities of students, of the country’s pupils. Which is, is a stupid thing.’ (Participant 4)

‘So, I think it’s too much pressure and that has me very, now overwhelmed, it turns into, into an overwhelming thing. And [] that all the school, because then everything begins to revolve

¹¹² Pinochet, A. and Salamé, R., op. cit., pp. 11-12.

around SIMCE, it is so much pressure that [] the only thing that matters to you are contents, contents and that distorts a bit what is the, what the holistic teaching of children should be.'
(Participant 17)

The pressure is perceived by teachers, who express how SIMCE becomes the goal of education and is at odds with what they think their professional practice should be. The strong words they use (e.g. *hate, stupid, overwhelming, stress, pressure, collapse, nervousness, disaster* and *boredom*) also illustrate the emotional burden the test places on them. There is a constant feeling of crisis and teachers strain perpetually to “have a good SIMCE” although they think it is neither an important nor a valid test. They perceive it as distant from their practices and as simplifying or homogenising something that is complex and diverse.

Curriculum legislation also reveals how high-stakes standardized assessment can affect this dimension of education. The curriculum decree for primary education was changed in 1999 and 2002 and the explanation of those changes is that they were done ‘with the purpose of providing more specific guidelines to its users (teachers, textbook authors, programmes of study designers, assessors) and to facilitate its implementation in the classroom’¹¹³. The openness of fundamental aims and new disciplinary approaches seem to have puzzled practitioners, who demanded more specific descriptions of contents. However, this further specification is only provided in the main areas assessed in SIMCE: Language and Mathematics. All the rest of the curriculum is unchanged. In these new versions, the areas that are not assessed by SIMCE are clearer in opting for project-centred or more active pedagogy, while Language and Mathematics become hybrid by combining cognitive-constructivist pedagogical and disciplinary approaches, with the traditional listing of content.

This example illustrates the way in which high-stakes assessment tends to reduce openness and autonomy and motivates vertical structures of policy delivery. Actors demand a detailed specification of what students have to learn. Furthermore, this approach encourages

¹¹³ Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE). (2002). *Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios de la Educación Básica. Actualización 2002* [Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Compulsory Contents for Primary Education. Update 2002]. Santiago: Ministry of Education, p. 81.

traditional models of pedagogy, where a list of contents to be covered and training in passing multiple-choice test is what matters.

Barrett (2011: 146) has criticised how '(...) performance in tests covering a small part of the curriculum, usually just mathematics and literacy, are uncritically assumed (...) to be reasonable indicators of quality. Hence, the concept of education quality is reduced to a convenient but partial measure', that excludes other important and broader goals of education. The narrowing of the curriculum is also observed in the accounts of teachers. Here both SIMCE and PSU, the national testing system for university selection¹¹⁴, are mentioned as high-stakes testing systems that distort teachers' curriculum work. Participant 10 refers to the case of Biology in secondary schools:

'(...) Sciences cover [] a plan and programme which is very long, and with two hours [a week] (...) it gets too short. Then, many times we don't get to see the whole programme. However, the whole programme is assessed in SIMCE and is assessed in PSU, thus, the main difficulty is that we have to accommodate [] contents to be able to pass those that are more relevant or the types of questions that are repeated more often in SIMCE or in PSU. (...) the main [] difficulty I have and that we have as a Department is that many topics that are relevant to us [], we have to pass them very quickly.'

This also affects the areas that are not assessed in SIMCE or PSU. For example, Participant 5, who is a Physical Education teacher, indicates:

'For example in reinforcement classes (...). They take, there is always, and it's a thing that I always struggle with and for me it's not right [] they say ok, then, we do these hours in Physical Education so children don't have extra hours and can reinforce this. (...) Because for schools SIMCE is very important, especially in, in, as it is not yet implemented for Physical Education, the other SIMCE goes first.'

In a similar vein, Participant 1 states about English as a second language:

¹¹⁴ The University Selection Test (PSU) replaced PAA in 2003, with the aim of aligning this high-stakes assessment system with the new curriculum. There was a controversy around this change as well as preliminary versions like SIES, which proposed to use multiple-choice questions with partially correct and correct answers, which would allow for the consideration of different degrees of knowledge. The final change mainly involved the replacement of some of the items with questions directly related to curriculum content knowledge. The main controversy emerged in the current administration, where different press releases can be found in relation to the inadequacy of the change from PAA to PSU. Participant 12 thinks the change was done with the aim of facilitating access to university by making the test more trainable.

'Language and Mathematics are obviously given a certain priority, for example, if kids have to take a PSU preparation test, English is then put aside. (...) English there doesn't exist. They use our hour [] of English for them to take their preparation tests in years 11 and 12.'

Similarly, Participant 12, a Philosophy teacher, refers to Mathematics and Language as 'the star subjects' and explains how he has had to adapt Philosophy to support reading comprehension and other aspects of Language. Participant 18, a music teacher, also indicates how test preparation for SIMCE (in the form of training with similar tests) is sometimes carried out using the time allocated to artistic subjects and teachers of these areas have to administer the preparation test designed by the Mathematics teacher.

The teachers' accounts reported here are consistent with evidence such as that provided by Berryhill et al. (2009) in terms of the anxiety and *role conflict* teachers experience under the pressure of external testing systems, that is, the contradictions they face between what they think they should do according to their professional values and what the system is demanding of them. For instance, Participant 5 refers to the tension between a performance-centred approach in the recently launched Physical Education SIMCE, and her perception of what the goal of her subject area is: to change students quality of life in a definitive fashion. She states:

'(...) a sense has to be given to Physical Education [], mainly of instilling quality of life in children. That is what has to be instilled in children, because if I ask the child to execute 50 abdominals in one minute, he/she will get bored, he/she won't be interested, conversely, if they, if they are told what that is for, what are the benefits, they will have a result.'

Despite the government's more recent attempts to provide general feedback related to descriptions of levels of achievement, teachers do not perceive SIMCE as a tool that supports their work or as a source of relevant information but as an obstacle to which they adapt and try to cope with. They see it as interfering with their pedagogical and disciplinary principles and, apparently, with the pedagogical and disciplinary principles of the curriculum it purports to measure. The words of Participant 1 with reference to the new English as a second

language SIMCE reveal how this test has in some cases even distorted teachers' knowledge and understanding of the curriculum. She states:

'(...) I saw English SIMCE, which is TOEIC bridge, and unfortunately it doesn't look ANYTHING like what we are passing, what they pass to us in the curriculum. They say to us, ok, this is the curriculum for English, but when seeing the test [], it has nothing to do with it. (...) We are told, ok, you have to do a listening and a reading, well, we have never practised that kind [] of test, I mean, as an obligation [], and the contents are not, are not reflected. If the curriculum says you have to develop all these types of skills, they are not, not developed at the school.'

This teacher illustrates the confusing discourses around what the approach to her discipline should be. The English curriculum includes reading and listening skills (see Decree Nº 220), and she recognises the presence of these skills at the end of the excerpt, but her concept of curriculum has been replaced inadvertently by the requirements of SIMCE, channelled through the demands of the school, where listening and oral skills in general are certainly not assessed. In her mind, SIMCE *has become* the curriculum.

However, this conflictual relationship with SIMCE has to be understood in the context of the introduction of competition between schools as part of the market-oriented model (Blackmore, 2011), and the publication of results as a means of pressure for improvement. According to Suspitsyna (2010), the positive view of accountability is contradicted by the way it opens schools to excessive oversight and competition in the market of education. She refers to this, using Strathern's (2000) term, as a 'tyranny of transparency', where teachers, students and schools are made visible and controllable through the public exposition of their performance. This became necessary for policy elites given the absence of the authoritarian government of the dictatorship, which guaranteed control of the education system during the 1980s and, thus, did not need the results of PER to be published (see Chapter III).

Although LOCE required SIMCE scores to be published, the new coalition decided not to follow this mandate until 1995. The relevance of this change can be perceived in the accounts of experienced teachers, who signal in the interviews the transit from non-publication to publication of results as an important event that modified their work in different

ways. While Participant 18 does not even remember SIMCE before results were published, Participant 13 explains this change indicating that before publication:

'... It was [] like any other test and it wasn't given much importance, but I think publicity was so strong in this aspect that I think schools themselves, school owners, they said well, we must be in the rankings and be in the first places. So [] all of us begin, intend to be in the rankings, then, the exigency was higher and there was an increasing concern, then, there was a moment in which everyone almost worked for SIMCE, ok? We needed to have results now.'

Similarly, Participant 11 describes the situation before scores were made public stating that at that time schools faced it:

'... uh, just with less pressure, nooo... (...) there wasn't such specific preparation to, to, to that path. One was more worried about one's, one's programme, of accomplishing what one had to accomplish.'

Likewise, Participant 16 recalls times before publication with relief:

'It didn't matter, then I remember once I even mentioned to the school's Technical Head (...) "let's do something for them to perform better in SIMCE (...)", partly because I had some knowledge on assessment (...). The Technical Head said "no", she said, "keep on working undisturbed, this SIMCE thing doesn't matter". (...) How nice! I kept on working undisturbed, I didn't have bad results at that time anyway.'

Because of public exposure and competition the effect of this policy was clearly felt by teachers and experienced by them as a modification of their work and of the very goals of education. This exposure relates to the publication of the particular score of a school on the Ministry's website and also to exposure through mass media. Authors such as Gillies (2008) and Gür et al. (2012), in contexts as diverse as the UK and Turkey, recognise the mediating role that mass media, and particularly journalism, play in today's politics and policy. Both authors observe how political events and policies have become a media spectacle. Gillies (2008) describes these mechanisms as indirect experience of policy, where media are used to show the public that the current government is doing things in the right way. Every year after the results of SIMCE or PSU are published, multiple articles are published about the ranking of Chile's best schools according to the test scores, or about the way in which results demonstrate the need for reform or the success of a policy. Teachers are usually blamed when results are not good.

This exposure increases the pervasiveness of assessment as control through numbers.

When teachers refer to their assessment practices, they explain how they have to imitate the models of SIMCE and PSU, using multiple-choice questions around the contents that are prioritised in these tests. Participant 7, a Biology secondary teacher, illustrates this point:

'(...) the school in one way or another moves you to work aiming at it [PSU] or SIMCE, in some cases. Because finally, from years 9 to 12, what do you do? You acquire the practice of privileging multiple choice questions and that the girls learn to solve them, or at least they have the tools to solve or eliminate some, [] why this option is not the right one, why number one is not there and you have to restrict yourself to that. (...) But how real is that in terms of my teaching practice, in terms of what I am doing, there is an ethical issue there. (...) And you see yourself forced in one way or another by the system, because what do they do to us, that there is a bonus because of SIMCE, that there is a bonus because of PSU, then you privilege in some cases, more than education itself, to work aiming at those bonuses, and the system pushes you to work this way.'

Along with role conflict and ethical dilemmas, this account reveals how classrooms are converted into places of training for multiple choice questions and, thus, where more complex forms of knowledge and learning are being excluded despite their being one of the main aims of the new curriculum. Additionally, the managerial view of education emerges again in relation to the promise of bonuses related to good results, which resembles the entrepreneurial practice of productivity bonuses. The question arises as to how ethical this is in education or essential public services in general, as offering money to increase results to teachers whose working conditions are precarious, may be an incentive to cheat.

The publication of SEP law Nº 20248 (Ley the Subvención Escolar Preferencial [*Law for Preferential School Subvention*]) in 2008 institutionalised this reward scheme on a wider scale¹¹⁵. The SEP law connects monetary incentives for vulnerable schools to increases in their score in SIMCE from one year to the next. Repeated low scores can also involve penalties, including closing the school. This is the consolidation of the functioning of schools as

¹¹⁵ Bachelet, M.; Provoste, Y.; Recart, M.O. (2007). 'Ley Nº 20248. Establece Ley de Subvención Escolar Preferencial' [Law Nº 20248. Establishes the Law for School Preferential Subvention]. Santiago. Available at:

<http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=269001&buscar=Ley+20248+subvenci%C3%B3n>

enterprises, where goals and productivity in relation to those goals are the main operating principle.

- **Assessment regulations**

Besides SIMCE, in the remainder of LOCE, assessment appears mainly related to:

- tests that serve processes of selection for schools;
- assessment of students in order to evaluate schools and districts;
- examinations for Higher Education selection;
- in the context of Higher Education accreditation systems;
- and in annual marks reports for parents.

Summarising, assessment in this document has three main purposes: to the old purposes of selection and certification, a third one of assessment as a tool of control is added. It is focused mainly on what Santos Guerra (1998) understands as the social (as opposed to the pedagogical) functions of assessment.

The pervasive idea of assessment as control through numbers and public exposure is repeated in all the education legislation of the period. The *Teachers' Statute*¹¹⁶, for example, promotes a culture of mutual observation, reporting, surveillance and performance tracking, which seems to permeate all levels of the system: students are assessed by teachers; teachers are assessed by municipalities and by Universities in professional development courses; headmasters and technical-pedagogical staff are also assessed by the municipality; professional development programmes are assessed by CPEIP (this is not the case with initial

¹¹⁶ Aylwin, P. and Lagos, R., op. cit.

teacher education programmes, which were widely offered by private higher education institutions created during the '80s). Accountability here clearly becomes the new discourse and the emphasis on the social dimensions of assessment is maintained.

In 1997 the government of Frei Ruiz-Tagle (a Christian Democrat, son of the 1960s president) decides to publish a legislation specifically dedicated to assessment¹¹⁷. Decree Nº 511 has the purpose of establishing the norms for students' assessment, marking and promotion. The document begins by stating the need to change assessment regulations in alignment with the new curriculum. This, according to the text, requires more autonomy for schools to create their own assessment regulations, consistent with the autonomy the curriculum promoted in terms of the design of programmes of study. What these assessment regulations are expected to consist of is explained in very general terms and then the document continues to briefly explain the main features of the marking system and the requirements for students to pass to a higher level, just as regulations of previous periods did. Assessment is again mainly seen as a product after a period of learning, which is related to marks, certification and promotion of students, as well as reporting to parents and local/national authorities. There is no clear message about how classroom assessment is to be understood in relation to the new pedagogical and disciplinary approaches of the curriculum, although this is possibly the case because schools are free to decide about the assessment strategies they want to use, so formative classroom assessment here is an implicitly allowed possibility.

However, in relation to school internal regulations for assessment, both teachers and policy authorities coincide in seeing these as very formal and focused on the social side of assessment. Participant 17, an experienced History primary teacher, describes them as mainly

¹¹⁷ Arellano, J.P. (1997). 'Decreto 511 exento. Aprueba reglamento de evaluación y promoción escolar de niñas y niños de Enseñanza Básica' [Exempt decree 511. Approves assessment and promotion regulations for Primary School children]. Santiago. Available at: <http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=71532&buscar=Decreto+511+evaluaci%C3%B3n>

referring to *'what is the system for promotion, how many assignments, (...) each school decides how many marks they are going to give, if there are coefficient 2 tests, ¿ok?'*. Similarly PA1, referring to research by Cristina Rodríguez and Macarena Domínguez, indicates:

'And that was very interesting because they gathered... an important sample of regulations and, well, there it could be seen what schools did and what these were, because from the decree schools had to make regulations, well and it was apparent that all the assessment issue was hyper, hyper formal and, and empty of content, that is, in terms of the regulations at least.'

- **Change in pedagogical relationships**

This view of education as aimed at success in the future labour market rather than learning for the sake of learning has also transformed the relationship between teachers and students from a pedagogical to a contractual one where the former is the producer and the latter the consumer (Blackmore, 2011: 452). In this context, 'Student learning is governmentalized to produce what Simons and Masschelein (2008) call the learning, entrepreneurial self: a subject who chooses, acquires, and manages learning as a form of capital' (Suspitsyna, 2010: 580). At the micro-level, then, as in the functional models of previous periods, students are motivated not by learning itself but by the usefulness of that learning in order to become a successful member of society. All the interviewed teachers indicate that students demand a mark for their work as a means of motivation and some of them explain how difficult it is to change to non-marked assessment or to ways of assessment that are different from the multiple choice tests that resemble large-scale standardised tests. The excerpts below are representative of the accounts of all the teachers I interviewed. The first one is from Participant 11, an experienced Mathematics secondary teacher:

'(...) because the student, for him assessment is marking. Then I say, (today), ok, "very well, Juanito, you learned", [] it doesn't say anything to him, he wants something [laughs], something that benefits him. (...) the students I have in general [] function more because of the mark. (...) And when one says, "ok, let's do such and such" (unintelligible), ok, but, [imitating the student] "does it have a mark? Oh, no, better not, there is no reason to learn for the sake of learning." [laughs].'

Likewise, Participant 1 explains her work in the area of English as a second language:

'(...) When I arrived kids were not used to this form of assessing, they were only, ok, today we have a test and multiple choice. Uuuh, it is difficult for them, it is difficult for them to get out of that world they are at where they only have to study for a mark, uuuhm, I, that they have to study to answer a multiple choice test, it is difficult for them. And they show resistance to be assessed in a different way. [Imitating the students] "But Miss, I don't want this, I don't get it". I have undertaken the task of explaining the rubrics I use, I explain the items that I will assess step by step, everything. It is very difficult for them, because unfortunately the system has generated in them that they got used to this kind of assessment. PSU style. (...) in fact, they [the school] force us to give them a mark for responsibility, if they do not bring their work, I have to put an X and at the end all those crosses or tics are summed up. Then they don't do homework for their own initiative, they do it just for having a mark at the end of the year or the semester.'

The consumerist approach to education has pervaded the students, as can be seen in these quotations from the interview data. They demand from the teacher, who they see as the provider of a service, a benefit or reward for every single task they are required to do. They have been disciplined to respond to simple multiple-choice tasks and to the promise of a number, independent of what that number may mean. Here Hanson's (2000) idea of test scores as simulacra becomes apparent, as it is the number, the signifier, that is more important than the signified. In this context, Hanson states, the individual 'is suspended within an increasingly total network of surveillance and control' and 'is less real than hyperreal: not so much a present as a potential or deferred being, defined less by what it is than by what it is likely to become' (2000: 79). Tests create what they measure and create the individuals that take them through the constructs they assess. In this case, learning is reduced to what can be measured through multiple-choice questions and values such as responsibility have to be developed in connection to a reward-punishment logic. The disciplining of individuals is also apparent in this excerpt by the use of similar mechanisms to those used in Ibáñez counter-reform and, in a different manner, during the 19th Century, in terms of marking attitudes considered characteristic of a well-behaved student (see Chapter III).

The tension here (unintended or not) is apparent. There is a constructivist curriculum- albeit permeated with contradictions and hesitations- that seeks the development of critical and creative human beings in all their dimensions and their diversity through a more participative, active and student-centred pedagogy. Simultaneously, assessment is understood in terms of standardised multiple choice testing of four main areas as well as testing and marking for students' to pass. Again, assessment policies hinder the development of curriculum and pedagogy reforms that respond to an emancipatory model of society and education and to the principles of classic democracy, and contribute to consolidate functional approaches focused on disciplining subjects through numbers.

3.2. Silences and first responses around classroom assessment

- **The invisibility of classroom assessment**

Assessment as a surveillance tool remains the predominant discourse until the end of the 1990s (and continues until the present); period in which a great silence is found in the legislation around classroom assessment. For instance, absolutely nothing is said about classroom assessment in LOCE. Although constructivist discourses on pedagogy and formative assessment are beginning to circulate at this time, the new framework ignores this aspect and remains silent about what teachers are expected to do about assessment in their daily practice. This could be interpreted, from an ideological analysis, in different ways. One possibility is that, consistent with the principles of freedom and autonomy, teachers are left to their own devices in terms of assessment in the classroom. On the other hand, it could be a strategic omission that seeks to emphasise the social aspect of assessment, which is consistent with the market-centred ideology promoted in this law, and renders its pedagogical side less

important or absent. Finally, it could also be that this aspect of assessment is outside politicians' competence and they only understood assessment in the more traditional sense.

This silence is confirmed by subsequent laws and regulations throughout most of the decade. Assessment is mentioned in the *Teachers' Statute* as part of the professional areas in which a teacher must be competent. He or she is expected to be responsible for two kinds of assessment: one related to the process of teaching and learning, where the teacher is considered as an autonomous professional; and another focused on the product and on reporting to parents and the school about the results. The latter is also considered a part of school administration, thus, the teacher must find the time to do all the paperwork that this involves. It must be noted, however, that both types of assessment are understood as related to an 'instrument' which is designed and corrected by the teacher and as part of his or her 'actividades no lectivas' [*non-teaching activities*], that is, assessment as integrated into daily pedagogical practice with a formative purpose is not considered as a possibility in the document. It remains the product at the end of a period of learning¹¹⁸. Finally, another striking aspect is that teaching to the test appears to be legally authorised in this text, as one of the extra activities of teachers (besides regular teaching) is to prepare students for PAA.

The absence of classroom assessment is also apparent in the curriculum reform carried out in the second half of the decade. Although one would expect assessment to be an important area to be considered in relation to a new curriculum that involved important pedagogical and disciplinary changes, it is again almost completely absent from these legal documents. In the case of primary education (Decree N°40, 1996), assessment is only mentioned twice. The first time relates to a clarification of how OFTs (Objetivos Fundamentales Transversales [*Horizontal Fundamental Aims*]) were to be assessed, as these were aims to be developed across all subjects and related to more abstract aspects such as the student's ethics, his or her relationship to the social environment, his or her own personal

¹¹⁸ Aylwin, P. and Lagos, R., op. cit.

growth and his or her intellectual development. The document indicates that these aims should not to be assessed in a traditional way but on the basis of qualitative evidence and observation of students' processes, which are said to enhance teaching and which should never be used to fail a student. One may infer that, in contrast, assessment procedures and criteria are predominantly quantitative, focused on cognitive learning, and their purpose is mainly social rather than pedagogical.

In the curriculum for secondary school the story is similar (Decree Nº 220, 1998). Classroom assessment, even more markedly than in primary education, is almost absent. There is neither a section referring to it nor any clear guidelines for it in the context of this document. Some isolated fragments are found: the students' skill in monitoring and assessing their own learning is mentioned as crucial in one of the OFTs; in the context of the main aims of Physical Education, the need to use procedures to control and self-assess students' own achievements is stated; in the introduction to the subject area of Mathematics, the need to assess not only the result of the learning process but also the process itself is indicated as important; something similar is stated for the new subject area of Technology, which replaces Manual Techniques: the former is said to be centred in the process whilst the latter was traditionally centred in the product. Finally, in some technical-professional and artistic specialisations related to education (*pre-school assistant* and *dance monitor*) the need to assess is considered as a relevant part of the process. In the case of the pre-school assistant curriculum, both diagnostic/formative and final assessment are mentioned as important. In that sense it can be said that for classroom assessment there is a more formative approach but this has to be inferred from the few instances where this is mentioned, as it is not established as an official discourse about assessment in secondary school classrooms. In other parts of the document a more quantitative-measurement perspective on assessment is assumed when general processes of selection or certification are referred to.

The invisibility of classroom assessment is also reflected in the institutional structure of education governance. In the context of curriculum reforms, a new unit is added to the Ministry of Education in 1998: the UCE. The lack of political interest in classroom assessment (or the will to silence it) is perceived in the very structure of this unit, as described by PA3:

*'(...) The **Curriculum Unit, which is in turn composed by SIMCE and the curriculum component**, really had an ultra travelled road through SIMCE with standardised assessments; it is a position on what assessment is...'*

His explanation is important in terms of how the internal design of this unit reveals the silence about classroom assessment. There is one sub-unit in charge of curriculum design, and assessment is in the hands of SIMCE, so classroom assessment is outside the institutional design. In fact, all policy authorities recognise this institutional vacuum. PA4, who observes the Ministry as an outsider as she worked with them from a university position, indicates that there was *'a... lack of definition of the Ministry itself about a policy, there wasn't an assessment policy'*. Similarly, PA1 acknowledges UCE's lack of a *'clearer theoretical reference'* on assessment, and that, taking Bernstein's idea of *knowledge, pedagogy* and *assessment* as the three main dimensions of education, they felt:

'(...) very aware that we LACKED the assessment dimension, curriculum is always the DOMINANT one, and both in pedagogy and assessment our view was with a focus on what knowledge is to be transmitted. But we knew we had to enter into pedagogy and assessment, conceptually.'

This extract illustrates how the members of the UCE are also struggling with their own knowledge-centred idea of curriculum where the main focus seems to be knowledge transmission (reminiscent of the verbal and transmission aspects of traditional pedagogy) independent of the way this knowledge is assessed and taught. This is despite their promotion of a constructivist curriculum through documents.

Policy authorities recall how the absence of and the demand for an official discourse on classroom assessment emerged and confronted them to the extent that no one knew who

had to be in charge of this aspect inside the Ministry. PA3 explains how, after some poor results in SIMCE, they began:

'(...) to think, thus, that many times teachers [] are not monitoring students' learning processes in a good way and, as the process, [] the hard information about results and the closest discussion was inside [] the Unit of Curriculum, right, that derives finally in that, [] if, as the Unit of Curriculum and Assessment we had to have one foot on standardised testing and the other on classroom assessment.'

Consistent with Ecclestone's (2000) findings, the lack of a rational policy process at the authority level is apparent here, as decisions seem to be reactive and improvised rather than part of a more planned and well-designed strategy.

- **Attempted responses and their contradictions**

The assessment suggestions included in the programmes of study represent a first attempt to give more precise guidelines in relation to classroom assessment. At a general theoretical level, the discourse in these documents is clearly situated in the principles of Assessment for Learning and a constructivist idea of formative assessment. The following extracts are representative of what is found in the introduction and presentation sections of the programmes:

*'(...) **assessment is understood as a tool that accompanies the learning process and constitutes a fundamental piece, as it allows for gathering information about the achievements, progress and difficulties that students experience during such process and make the necessary adjustments to ensure its success.***¹¹⁹ [emphases added]

*'(...) **assessment must obey to a qualitative model, with an essentially formative character. It is about assessing the processes through which they progressively achieve an effective and expeditious oral communication, in the context of diverse situations carried out in the classroom.***¹²⁰ [emphases added]

¹¹⁹ Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE). (2003a). *Programa de Estudio Primer Año Básico. Educación Matemática* [Programme of Study Year 1 Primary School. Mathematics Education]. Santiago: Ministry of Education, p. 137.

¹²⁰ Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE). (1998). *Programa de Estudio Primer Año Medio Lengua Castellana y Comunicación* [Programme of Study Year 1 of Secondary School. Spanish Language and Communication]. Santiago: Ministry of Education, p. 27.

'Assessment is an integral part of the teaching-learning process. (...) Summative assessment gives a photographic vision of a specific moment, but it does not offer an account of the process as a whole. Assessing the process involves teacher's direct observation, registering these observations, self-assessment and group assessment. (...) That is why marking must take both types of assessment into account.

*The continuous assessment of the process gives the student immediate **feedback in relation to his/her work.***¹²¹ [emphases added]

In theoretical terms, then, the message from the Ministry was related to principles that are today recognised as characteristic of Assessment for Learning, namely, assessment as an integral part of the process of learning and teaching and daily life classroom interaction; assessment as a way to modify teaching; self-assessment and peer-assessment; the provision of feedback during the process; and assessment as gathering evidence of student learning in order to have a basis for decision-making (see for example Black et al., 2004a and 2004b; Gardner, 2012).

Yet when it comes to provide examples and specific mechanisms of how to work with assessment in practice, multiple contradictions and mixed discourses begin to emerge. For example, although there are guidelines that are consistent with the general framework of assessment, the programmes for years 1 to 4 translate this theory into a set of *yes or no* type of indicators, as illustrated in the example below¹²²:

Indicators
• They say the sequence in ascending and descending order of the numbers 0 to 30, beginning at any number. • They read numbers in the range from 0 to 30. • They describe the information expressed by numbers from 0 to 30, in situations in which they are employed as elements of identification, to organize objects and to determine quantities. • They write numbers in the range from 0 to 30 and use them to register numeric information.

¹²¹ Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE). (2004). *Programa de Estudio. Quinto Año Básico. Idioma Extranjero Inglés* [Programme of Study Year 5 Primary School. English as a Second Language]. Santiago: Ministry of Education, p. 13.

¹²² UCE (2003a), op. cit., p. 155.

As can be seen in this example, learning is translated into a set of observable behaviours that the teacher can verify in terms of their presence or absence. This kind of approach to assessment is closer to behaviourist theories of pedagogy and formative assessment (see Chapter III), generating a contradiction between the overarching principles of the new curriculum, where learning is a dynamic and recursive process. These contradictions have been highlighted by authors like Álvarez Méndez (2001), who observes that constructivist reforms have not been able to generate assessment models that are consistent with their principles and remain over-reliant on previous models focused on an 'objective' concept of knowledge and learning tracking.

Similarly, in other programmes, although the reader is told to see assessment as the monitoring of a process of learning, some of the concrete suggestions for assessment seem more embedded in an idea of assessment as a product, with questions that are usually found in written tests. The following is an example given at the end of the English programme for year 5¹²³:

¹²³ UCE (2004), op. cit., p. 68.

Match: copy the instructions below the corresponding picture.
Number 1 is done for you.



Start the computer.
Tick the correct answer.
Open the newspaper and read.
Listen carefully.
Point to the window.
Look at the board.

It must be noted that it is said at the beginning of the section on assessment that ‘the suggested examples can be used both to register the progress of students and to assess the final product’. However, the location of this section at the end of the whole document (rather than integrated with the activities suggested for classroom work) and the format of some of the questions and instruments provided is, at least, confusing as a message to teachers, who have been bombarded with behaviourist testing practices since the 1930s. Additionally, the required task is of a very basic level and demands a simple association of images and words. Furthermore, ‘*términos pareados*’ [*Matching*] is a type of question that is generally associated with ‘objective’ test items, and is mentioned by teachers as one of their common practices in testing (see Chapter III).

The same can be said about some of the questions suggested in the *Programme of Studies for Comprehension of the Natural, Social and Cultural Environment* for Year 2¹²⁴:

'Some specific instances to assess:

1. The recognition of the social institutions, the identification of different working activities and the value given to work for the development of life in society:

(...)

Complete sentences writing the name of the worker that solves specific problems of daily life, such as: I will go to the to fix a dress. will come to fix this leaking tap. The table leg is broken, I will take it to the '

There is, first, an ideological aspect in relation to the value given to work and division of labour for life in society, but also in terms of the type of question. The one used here is known as a *cloze* item and is also part of the repertoire -well-known to teachers- of 'objective' items. The task is, again, very simple and requires the recall of information to provide homogeneous answers on the basis of rote learning. Again, assessment suggestions are also located at the end of a period of learning (end of semester 3), therefore emphasising the idea of a *product* above that of a *process* of learning.

Additionally, there are hybrid instruments where students track their own progress in lists of indicators related to specific scales such as 'always, sometimes, occasionally, never', and where attitudes and values are also sometimes included. These are hybrid because they mix the idea of observable behaviour and the use of a quantitative scale rather than a qualitative description of learning, related to the attitudinal dimension in schooling.

There are many examples like these, as there are also many that are consistent with the approach proposed at the beginning of the programme. The intention is not to portray these programmes as having an approach that is completely contradicted by the examples provided but to illustrate how the assessment discourse is highly mixed in these documents, especially considering the major change that was expected from teachers through the

¹²⁴ UCE (2003b), op. cit., p. 225.

curriculum reform, which required clearer messages. Both PA1 and PA3 recognise this confusion:

'(...) [referring to the academic teams that designed the programmes] the truth is that it is correct, each area addressed the topic as they wanted, then, uuuh, each team of art, music, history, [] took it and did whatever they thought around assessment'.

'What direct information is there on the topic? It was [] the assessment guidelines, for example, in the programmes of study. Where clearly there was a dispersion [] of assessment suggestions, [] and [] different perspectives because in general it was very much left in the hands of, of who constructed the programmes of study, what were (the conceptions) they had about assessment and the approaches each one of them could embrace. Then maybe those are the first guidelines as to why begin to talk about assessment. (...) eventually (...) one clearly realises (...) that there was a clear discourse about curriculum (...) or the programmes of study but the line on how to observe learning, how to assess, there were too few resources (...).'

Again, the messy aspect of policy emerges, where external academic groups are commissioned to create materials to be used in schools without any clear preliminary ideas on assessment from the Ministry. Additionally, the internal confusion of the programmes could be interpreted as indicating that the academic teams that elaborated these materials did not know much about assessment, as they were mostly disciplinary experts without a strong pedagogical knowledge base¹²⁵.

Marks are also sometimes briefly mentioned in the Programmes in terms, for example, of when to consider marking an activity and when not to do so. Similarly, tests are occasionally mentioned as part of the many forms of assessment the teacher can use. However, these scattered references to marking do not address the tensions that teachers must have experienced in trying to enact the new curriculum and formative assessment practices in contexts where the main discourse on assessment was that of the regulations that reinforced traditional discourses on assessment that had been a canonised repertoire since the 19th

¹²⁵ Nervi (2004) interviews in her book all the actors that were in charge of the elaboration of the curriculum. All of them, with the exception of Gloria Salazar in the area of English as a second language, are academics experts on the subject matter but not necessarily on how to teach it. The author, however, summarises the process of elaboration as involving moments of consultation to and involvement of teachers and other actors.

Century. For example, Participant 3, a recently graduated History teacher, indicates that when he began to work as a teacher:

'(...) in some schools it is established that you have that, well, [], no, it is VERY established that, summative marks [] for the notebook, marks for, those things are [] imposed to you, so you are already limited from that reality, therefore [] it wasn't so different from what I experienced [at school] [laughs], that is, without question [] assessment and marking were very connected. That made me realise that in 25 years of life [] NOTHING had changed (...).'

Likewise, Participant 5, a recently graduated Physical Education teacher, states that assessment:

'(...) is our greatest defect. (Unintelligible) always assessing and that is the problem: they teach us to assess VERY superficially, because eventually we have to translate everything into a, into a mark. And to me assessment is providing, uh, a, no, not an opinion, to a certain extent it is, but yes, as I say, I have to see a process, it can't be in, in a mark.'

The Programmes of Study published by the Ministry, thus, do not solve the tensions that are commonly found when teachers attempt a change in their assessment practices. Mainly, they struggle with trying to reconcile formative and constructivist discourses, which they have heard about in their initial education and in professional development programmes, with the school practices of marking and testing, which are also simultaneously promoted by the Ministry in its legislation.

- **Reasons for reform**

The absence of an official message around classroom assessment is recognised by policy authorities and such is the explicit reason they provide for the assessment reforms during the 2000s. The "official" discourse signals this vacuum around assessment as the cause and justification of the reform. For example, in the introduction to a text that refers to the initial years of the AfL reform, it is stated:

'In the context of the Curricular Reform carried out in Chile since the 1990s, the theme of assessment of learning at a classroom level has received relatively little attention from universities in charge of teacher education, from education researchers and the Ministry itself. (...) although it was known that curriculum, pedagogy and assessment are three connected

*components that separately and together have an influence in the quality of students learning, it is not until very recently that the third vertex of this triangular figure has been addressed systematically.*¹²⁶

Along with this absence of a message around assessment, there is recognition of an increasing demand from teachers for more guidelines and professional development on assessment. In the document quoted above this need expressed by teachers is said to be mentioned in a 2000 report of the World Bank and a 2004 report of the OECD. It is interesting here to observe how in official documents one can find such processes of *externalisation* (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004) where the authority of the OECD and the World Bank is invoked to justify an internal policy, while in the interviews with policy authorities only some internal studies of the UCE are mentioned as a source of evidence for policy. No international organisations are mentioned. PA2 indicates in her interview:

*'Well, **we already had the study with the data** that the truth is teachers all wanted courses and professional development on assessment, because they felt that was their weakness, that they knew theoretical things about assessment but in practice it was completely isolated from teaching and learning, etc.'*

Similarly, PA4 refers to studies carried out by the monitoring sub-unit of UCE:

*'(...) there was also a DEMAND from teachers, a demand that is permanent in relation to assessment courses, of knowing about assessment, that they feel absolutely unprotected in relation to their professional performance in the field of assessment. (...) [] **in the implementation of the curricular reform, perceptions and studies around those perceptions, there was a permanent demand around the theme.** And on the other hand, a... lack of definition from the Ministry itself about a policy, there was no assessment policy.'*

Furthermore, one of these studies seems to have been carried out in parallel with the reform process with the aim of confirming this demand and providing some evidence to support the new policy. PA2 says about the study:

'(...) we knew phenomenologically that assessment was the weakspot (...), but we needed some data to say something more that we all know this is an obstacle in practice. (...) Because we more or less knew what we were going to find, that is, the thing is we didn't have data, so the

¹²⁶ Bick, M. (2005). 'El uso de la evaluación escolar para promover el aprendizaje de los alumnos: naturaleza y lecciones de una formación muy particular' [The use of assessment to promote student learning: nature and lessons of a very particular training]. In: *Evaluación para el Aprendizaje. Una experiencia de innovación en el aula*. Santiago: PEC-University of Chile.

point was to raise information for us to have a quotation and be able to say our hunch waaas, was true.'

The rational and scientised use of research knowledge by policy authorities stated by advocates of Evidence-Based Policy Making is called into question and it becomes clear that, as Moss proposes (2009: 156), 'policy-driven education reform is indeed creating new kinds of applied knowledge'. Rather than mediators and users of knowledge generated somewhere else (Levin, 2011), policy authorities in this extract are portrayed as generating and using information in a far more strategic, selective, rhetorical and persuasive fashion than simple models of knowledge governance tend to portray. This is what Byrne and Ozga (2008) describe as the *tactical* relationship between policy and research, that is, where research is used to justify decisions already made, or to enhance credibility. The interviewee refers to the presence among policy authorities of an *a priori* practical knowledge about what the system needs. The search for both internal and external research data only allows them to confirm that knowledge in a more 'scientific' fashion.

It must be noted that the diagnosis of the UCE is consistent with teachers' perceptions around their assessment knowledge and skills. The majority of teachers recognised assessment as a weakness in their professional development and referred to their initial teacher education as insufficient in relation to the requirements of practice. For example, Participant 2, a recently graduated English teacher, refers to her initial education on assessment in the following terms:

'Interviewee: I felt that in, in the in, initial education, there, it was kind of bad. I felt like there I [] had... very... very poor, (...) virtually it was like, one semester on assessment?

Interviewer: So, you had a course on assessment.

Interviewee: We had ONE COURSE on assessment.

Interviewer: And what kind of things did you see there? What was the course about?

Interviewee: Almost pure theory...

Interviewer: Theory like types of assessment?

Interviewee: Like types of assessment, yes, like you had to read and that's all. (...) So, I didn't feel [] that we had worked sort of in depth around assessment [], like a big topic, at all, at all.

Interviewer: [] and [] in that context it was more theoretical and you didn't have any practical workshop for constructing things...

Interviewee: No, nothing. No, no, no [laughs]. No, NO. In fact, themes like rubrics, I had to discover them in practice. (...) I didn't come with tools. I didn't come with tools when I started to work.'

Most teachers share experiences like that described above. Some had a good theoretical education in assessment, which they value, but they do not consider it immediately useful in relation to the requirements of practice. Others, like Participant 2, feel their education was too theoretical and has no value in practice. Finally, others have had a more practical training but see this as inapplicable in their work context or think of it as lacking a more overarching theoretical basis that helps them make sense of practice. Some of them have undertaken professional development courses on assessment to improve this weak area of their knowledge, although opinions on these courses are varied with some teachers seeing them as very useful and empowering in terms of the knowledge gained, and others perceiving them as “more of the same things with a different name”.

Two important aspects emerge in relation to the perspectives that are revealed in these data. First, it is clear that knowledge based on experience is not sufficiently valued in this policy context. Although there is an apparent agreement among different actors about the need for more information and professional development about classroom assessment, some research-based data have to be generated in order to make this knowledge socially credible and valid. Brennan (2009) observes how, as part of the disempowering process that teachers are subjected to under neo-liberal models of education, the value of teachers’ knowledge diminishes and is transferred to researchers. Here teachers become mere passive deliverers of what the government, through research, has designed.

This struggle between professional and research knowledge can also be seen in data in relation to a dispute that led to a change in the assessment decree (N°511) in 2003. The issue in discussion was automatic progression of students from Year 1 to 2 and from Year 3 to 4, even if the teacher thought the student was not ready for the next level, which reinstated a policy already promoted in previous administrations. One of the policy authorities (PA1) refers in her interview to this controversial measure and justifies it in these terms:

'(...) all research gathered at that time showed that a repeating child was in a high percentage a dropping-out child, that there was really [] no evidence that repeating improved [] learning, that many times repeating was more a teacher than a [] children's problem or of very complex factors that don't have to do with the child [], it said all that, well, repeating must not be encouraged, retention must be encouraged, [] that is a value, you got it?, a value for equity to, to encourage retention.'

However, knowledge coming from research was not as valued by professionals as it was by policy authorities. PM1 explains how teachers criticised this decree as extremely indulgent and how they had to make it more flexible in 2003 in order to avoid teachers' resistance. This meant that, where justified, students could repeat in these levels. Although research knowledge is given priority, then, knowledge from experience has an influence in policy-making through resistance and criticism.

The second aspect that emerges from data in this research is the way in which the role and responsibility of universities in relation to assessment is ignored. Initial teacher education and, in some cases, professional development programmes do not provide the tools that teachers need in practice or are, perhaps, not addressing the contradictions and struggles of the field of assessment. Teachers enter the field without having the tools to help them face those contradictions. PA3, who has access to multiple perspectives as he is a school teacher who has worked in the Ministry and also in initial teacher education programmes, confirms this tension in a system that he sees as in transition to a new paradigm:

'(...) schools are still with assessment practices of the 1960s, 1970s. They won't vary very much until (...) a good amount of years and the conviction effectively [] increases that assessment is a much more complex process. And while this [] doesn't happen, [] we'll remain making this hybrid zone of having an assessment discourse sustained more in [] the [] constructivist model, but with a rather measurement-centred materialisation.'

The overlapping of assessment discourses in this period is confirmed in this account. Constructivist discourses circulate in the context of teacher education and curriculum reform but schools and assessment legislation insist in more standardised, measurement-centred and quantitative practices aimed at the social aspect of assessment. The confusing, hybrid and

mixed discourses promoted through the Programmes of Study do not deal with these discursive dilemmas.

However, this lack of clarity in terms of an assessment policy from the Ministry connected to a demand from practitioners is only the explicit and official reason for reform. Two of the policy authorities I interviewed mentioned a more hidden or unofficial reason for the assessment reforms that began in the 2000s. PA1 indicates:

'(...) the curricular elaboration of the reform, and the results from SIMCE come out in 1999, which showed that there was no growth. Then it comes like [] a whole, a critical questioning of the reform, [] and the Ministry begins to implement a lot [] of, of measures [] to have, well, like another strategy that was this of taking the reform to classrooms, like the slogan, [] and, well, LEM¹²⁷ was created and, several redefinitions of policy and in the Unit of Curriculum [] we, were made, well, it was like, we have to enter the theme of classroom assessment. Because until that moment it was system assessment, as I said, through SIMCE (...).'

Rather than a response to a need of the system, then, this account reveals a more politically reactive mechanism that operates as the motivation for reform. The use of results from large-scale assessment as a tool for political criticism works as a threat that leads the Ministry to rethink their work and to generate a series of reforms in which the absence of classroom assessment is one of the aspects to be addressed. It is striking to see how the language of marketing and advertising is mixed with that of education policy, as can be seen in the use of the word 'slogan' to refer to the redefinition of policy. This mixture of languages is recurrent in the interviews, and policies are portrayed as something that 'can be sold' and that need catch phrases that stick in people's minds (on the use of policy slogans in assessment policy, see Tan, 2011).

Likewise, PA3 indicates that results from national and international tests are one of the justifications for assessment reform:

'(...) the year 1999 the results from TIMSS come out, where we are put in a critical point in relation to all the countries that were assessed through this test, measured through this test. Additionally the results from the year, SIMCE results 2000 are low, that is, they keep showing

¹²⁷ The Division for Primary Education started in 2004 a programme called LEM (Lectura, Escritura y Matemática [Reading, Writing and Mathematics]) focused on improving Mathematics and Language skills in students from vulnerable schools. More details below in this chapter.

that the gap between higher and lower schools is huge. So, these two points, [] and a government of a Socialist president like Ricardo Lagos begin [], to make, to generate a tension in the system. Then the million-dollar question is, are we actually having better results? And all this [] assessment theme emerges.'

PA3 highlights the ideological contradiction involved in evidence of high levels of inequality in education in the context of a Socialist government whose Socialist elements have been softened through negotiation in the context of Chilean *Third Way* politics. In both accounts one distinguishes the presence of what Grek (2008) has called *governing by numbers*, where data coming from large-scale assessments and other sources are used to put pressure on systems and make them move to a specific direction by subjecting them to a constant need for change and rapid responses. She criticises this mode of governance (2008: 215):

'Above all, statistics do not convey much about the context in which data are interpreted; policy makers are too ready to find quick-fix solutions to problems which might need far closer scrutiny and understanding. Data prompt fast action; understanding the context around them requires time and debates that can neither be afforded nor are desired. Above all, numbers have become an objective, irreversible 'truth'; context could only complicate or question that truth, hence it is unwelcome.'

This way of describing the use of numbers in education policy is quite congruent with the critical accounts of teachers about SIMCE, as seen above. In the following section the consequences of fast policy can be seen through the way in which assessment reform was carried out during the 2000s, as each unit of the Ministry generated its own policy and therefore what was already confusing became some sort of Tower of Babel of assessment.

3.3. Assessment for Learning

Something has been said about this policy in the introduction, mainly in relation to the experience of the researcher as a participant in this reform. The content of AfL discourse in

Chilean reform can be described on the basis of the textbooks of the programme¹²⁸. In the first module of these materials some readings are provided in order to present the main theoretical ideas and principles of AfL. These readings range from a translation of the ARG's 10 principles of AfL and of fragments of *Assessment for Learning: beyond the black box*, to texts that explain the differences between norm-referenced and criterion-referenced assessment, to texts about how assessment is understood in the International Baccalaureate. The main ideas derived from these varied sources are summarised in the introduction of the book:

*'Assessment for Learning is based on a broad concept of what assessment means, focused on the notion of a process of observation, monitoring, and judgements about the state of students' learning on the basis of what they produce in their works, performances and interactions in the classroom. The role of assessment from this perspective is to guide, stimulate and provide information and tools for the students to make progress in their learning (...).'*¹²⁹

The remainder of the modules provide practical guidance and examples on how to take AfL into practice. The text refers to the construction of criteria and levels of achievement on the basis of the curriculum; the construction of assessment scenarios where criteria can be assessed; the use of criteria in the classroom; and the provision of feedback on the basis of criteria and evidence of student learning.

When asked about the key concepts or principles they thought of as characteristic and important of AfL, the policy authorities refer consistently to the idea of assessment on the basis of pre-established criteria known by teachers and students and to feedback as a tool for learning. Additionally, most of them refer to the consistency they observe between the approach and the pedagogical orientation of the 1990s curriculum and the way in which constructing criteria helped teachers to better understand the curriculum of their discipline. However, they also mention that the lack of knowledge of that curriculum made the construction of criteria a challenging task that took too much time and left insufficient time for

¹²⁸ Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE). (2007). *Evaluación Para el Aprendizaje: Educación Básica Segundo Ciclo* [Assessment for Learning: Second Cycle of Primary School] Santiago: Ministry of Education.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

feedback. According to some interviewees, it also meant that AfL was approached in a way that did not necessarily highlight how to work with the approach in the daily life of the classroom.

In summary, the Assessment for Learning discourse can be expressed in the following principles:

- Assessment as part of daily classroom interaction.
- Assessment as a tool for learning.
- Based on or related to a constructivist pedagogy.
- Pre-established criteria and feedback are two important devices in achieving the aims of the approach.

Interviews illuminate other aspects of the process, which are not generally found in the official literature on AfL in Chile. First, a question that is often forgotten in relation to assessment policies is *why this particular approach?* It is interesting to observe how 3 of the 4 policy authorities that were interviewed, when asked about why AfL was selected as the best approach to classroom assessment, referred to a foreign expert who was hired by the UCE as the main reason for selecting AfL as the best approach. PA4, for example, indicates this:

'Interviewer: (...) how and why did you get to Assessment for Learning? Or, where did you hear about it or where, or why did you opt for that?

Interviewee: I think that is a question fundamentally for [name of the foreign expert].

Interviewer: So, that is a question that she [] can...

Interviewee: ... answer perfectly.

Interviewer: Ok.

Interviewee: [] Because [] [name of the foreign expert] [] has, (unintelligible), she knew about Assessment for Learning...'

The others give similar answers and are not able to justify them beyond stating that the foreign expert supported the case for Assessment for Learning as the best option. Policy authorities tend to reveal in their interviews a high level of trust in what this actor says about

assessment. PA1 openly refers to her ignorance about AfL and how they all had to learn from the expert:

'(...) We were quite IGNORANT really about, about the approach as such, then the one who, the one who brings this to UCE is [name of the foreign expert]. (...) [name of the foreign expert] brings two things: she brings the approach and says, well, and this, is, well, she knows all of this Assessment for Learning thing by [] Black and Wiliam.

(...)

Becaaaaause, also in this mom(ent)... it happens that [name of the foreign expert] arrives with this approach and no... it is not, not familiar to us and, and, to us it meant to understand it and everything (...)'

All the policy authorities I interviewed, including the foreign expert herself, signal this actor as the main “why?” of Assessment for Learning reform in Chile. This shows a mixture of the *certification* aspect of policy import that Steiner-Khamsi (2004) refers to in terms of validating a policy through the authority of a third person or actor; and of the *neo-colonial* aspect that she also refers to, where coming from a dominant culture seems to be sufficient argument for confidence in an expert. Other warrants of the expert’s authoritative knowledge are provided by these interviewees, for example, her previous experience in the International Baccalaureate is indicated by all interviewees as a strong basis of her knowledge around assessment and as one, if not the main reason why she was appointed by the Ministry. PA1 explains why they were interested in the International Baccalaureate:

'(...) In the sense of this very deep [] and comprehensive knowledge, of disciplines, and of the development of higher order thinking skills, that was like what attracted us of the Baccalaureate’s proposal, [] then [] the idea was precisely to bring the approach to assessment that the Baccalaureate had, which was additionally able to ASSESS that kind of, of higher order thinking skills.'

The question here arises as to what extent one can say this approach to assessment is equivalent to that proposed by Assessment for Learning. No one seems to ask how the model they wanted to import became AfL. The foreign expert recognizes in relation to her initial literature review on classroom assessment that:

'I had a very practical expertise and I started [] to search what was available [] like academically speaking along the same line and that is what was available [referring to AfL]'

And she adds in another part of the interview:

'And when the possibility appeared of working with Assessment for Learning, which was not my expertise like in the fine print of it, but I had done a lot of things that, ultimately, were that, without that name necessarily, but that [] was a bit like [] what I saw we could call that way.'

And later states:

'I had a much more practical than theoretical experience. I wasn't coming from any trend in particular, I am not an expert on assessment, I don't have a degree in, in that, you get it? [laughs] besides having worked a lot IN THAT.'

Various reflections are prompted by these quotations. First, the foreign expert emphasises her practical knowledge as a basis of her influence while theory or research are mechanisms of validation of what she knows rather than a source of ideas. In contrast to recent models of knowledge generation and transfer in education (see for example Levin, 2011; Fazekas and Burns, 2012), this approach to using knowledge raises questions about who is really the knowledge producer and how knowledge that comes from research and the academy is used strategically and selectively by policy authorities (see for example Gür et al., 2012 for the selective and strategic use of data by the Turkish policy authorities).

More interestingly, the so-called expert denies her expertise in assessment in general and AfL in particular, which raises the question about her selection in the first place. PA1 states that one of the members of UCE knew her and invited her, which highlights the role of contacts in education policy or, in Ball and Junneman's (2011: 649) terms, 'the sociality', 'the "joined-upness" and embeddedness of education policy networks.

This expert chooses AfL after a literature review and she selects it because it is similar to her experience around assessment. She had to learn about the approach in the same way as other actors in the Chilean system, the only difference being that she aligned the approach with her previous experience. In summary, what emerges from the beginning of this policy is a hybrid form of AfL, as PA3 recognises when he describes it as:

'(...) an approach [] that was designed [] to and that was being seen from, from a hybrid between what the HARD AfL approach was and other referents that were there too like the International Baccalaureate.'

Asking the ‘why’ question produces responses in which what emerges is the ‘jumbled, messy, contested and creative and mundane social interactions’ that Ball (2012: 2) sees as characteristic of policy enactment, extended in this case to the level of policy authorities. Here, as Ecclestone (2000: 554) has already observed, ‘The (...) irrationality and messiness of ‘policy on the hoof’ becomes apparent.

3.4. Standards

The landscape of discourses around assessment becomes more complex when the problem-solving logic that led to the adoption of the AfL reform in Chile attracts more than one assessment policy at the same time. In parallel to AfL reform, another response emerges to the need for clearer messages about assessment and the need to respond to political questioning on the basis of tests results. A standards agenda begins to be developed in UCE, in this case closer to the SIMCE component than to the curriculum one, although both were involved in this second trend around assessment.

The mechanism for policy development here is similar to that of AfL in that it begins by resorting to foreign experts, named in the interviews as ‘the Australians’, and embodied in the figure of Margaret Forster¹³⁰. According to PA2, Forster’s knowledge comes from her work in the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) around the concept of *developmental assessment*. In a document where Forster describes the collaboration between ACER and the Chilean Ministry, she describes the concept in the following terms (Forster, 2007: 6-7):

‘We use the term ‘developmental assessment’ to describe the process of assessment of the achievement level of the students in the progress map. According to our experience, a developmental approach to monitor students’ achievement is capable of establishing a valuable bridge between classroom assessment and accountability.’

¹³⁰ Margaret Forster is a national and international consultant who works at ACER as a Research Director of the Assessment and Reporting Research Program.

Given the need for this bridge, she indicates that the last step taken in the work done in Chile was to connect SIMCE and Progress Maps, connection understood in terms of modelling teachers' practice in a way consistent with the principles of developmental assessment. This gave way to a second line of assessment policy focused on the development of achievement levels for SIMCE, based on the levels described in the progress maps.

Forster is identified as responsible for shaping the Chilean standards agenda through defining progress maps, which generated two policies: 'Mapas de Progreso' (*Progress Maps*) and 'Niveles de Logro SIMCE' (*SIMCE Levels of Achievement*).

Yet, initially, the idea of standards was not generally welcome. Some of the policy authorities I interviewed referred to an initial resistance to this approach from the curriculum disciplinary teams of UCE. PA2, for example, explains how working with real examples of students' work helped these teams to make better sense of the standards:

'Then, the SENSE of these standards, the senses of the Progress Maps like... it flourished strongly for a while in a team that sometimes was a little like against the grain still with the idea of standardization, standards, this thing is complex...'

Similarly, PA3 observes how resistance to this standards agenda is later neutralised by the softening of its content by using AfL as framework:

'Now, Progress Maps are very, very odd standards, as they have so much level description, that ultimately like they go losing their standards characteristics. Then, from these standards, it was attempted to provide, like (unintelligible) these standards, so hard and sometimes highly rejected by a great part, by a part of the system, that were not agreed (unintelligible), a more human feature [laughs] was given to them through Assessment for Learning. Then, it is [] sustained in the public discourse that Progress Maps are [] a curricular instrument, which responds to the Assessment for Learning approach. The million dollar question is, is it really so? Probably only an expert on the topic of assessment, (who investigates a lot) [laughs] will be able to effectively say (it).'

Along with the reappearance of an expert-dependent perspective on assessment policy, the words of these participants highlight other important aspects. First, that the idea of standardisation generated a level of conflict inside the UCE, as some saw standards as rigid, hard and even inhumane. In the literature on assessment as a social practice, criticism on standards in education is widespread. To authors like Berlack (2000: 195):

‘(...) standardization and centralization of curriculum and testing is an effort to put an end to the most valuable asset of a multicultural society, a vibrant cacophony of voices on what constitutes truth, knowledge and learning, and what the young ought and ought not to learn at school. It insists upon one set of answers, and only one. (...) The architects of these national policies know this. Most of the rhetoric in defence of testing focuses on raising educational standards as the key to national survival in the new global marketplace. However, it is clear that cultural control is the key collateral goal; the architects of these policies proclaim it.’

It is the discourse around the economisation of education explained in previous pages (Lingard and Rawolle, 2011) that governments use as a basis for the standardisation of education and its control through regular testing and league tables. It can be seen in England, where the UK coalition government elected in 2010 reformed Key Stage 4 assessment systems by arguing that the country needed to raise standards in order to be at the same level of ‘world class education’ and, thus, be able to compete economically with other nations (DfE, 2010). The discourse of standards and testing regimes, according to Berlack (2000), began in the UK and the US with right-wing governments but were endorsed, perpetuated and increased by new Labour/Democrat governments, just as we can observe in Chile, where neo-liberal ideas on education, through the policies of consensus, are reinforced and intensified in the governments of *Concertación*. There is an ideology of education related to the discourse of standards and testing, which is closer to the functional model of education and society, and this may be the origin of UCE’s disagreements around it. As Ecclestone (2000) detects in relation to GNVQ policy, once the idea of a small group of people is disseminated and discussed among policy authorities, bewitchment ends, (ideological) discrepancies emerge and negotiation begins.

The second aspect has to do with the supposed closeness between standards (in the shape of progress maps) and AfL. To what extent can a discourse on assessment that seeks to create homogeneous goals and trajectories for student learning and connect that to the national curriculum assessment system be reconciled with a flexible, dynamic classroom-based idea of assessment, where students are allowed to have different rhythms of learning and where marks or scores are not considered important? Participants in Ball et al.’s (2012)

research in England consider these to be two different types of policy: standards being an *imperative* one and AfL a *developmental* one (see Chapter I). Given these differences, it is understandable that PA3 considers AfL to be ‘a bit of a twisted and tensioned reference point’ for Progress Maps.

According to PA3, it became necessary to make the standards more flexible and include many level descriptions in order to avoid resistance from some members of the UCE and the system in general. Additionally, the discourse of Assessment for Learning becomes functional to the need for the softening of standards as it provides a more pedagogical and classroom-based framework. These mixed messages are also observed in England, by Mary James (2011), who indicates how the discourse of AfL loses its principles once it is incorporated into inspection and becomes a compulsory practice. In policy documents AfL is reduced to the use of frequent mini-tests. James (2011: 24-25) indicates:

‘One possible explanation for the mixed messages that appeared in DCSF documents is that the authors tried to finesse competing claims between those who were convinced by research that formative assessment is the key to improved learning and achievement, and those who still believed that the pressure of regular testing raises standards. Or the mixed messages may simply be indicative of some confused thinking that has elided “learning” and “performance”. (...) A less generous explanation might be that the DCSF chose deliberately to appropriate an idea that had gained considerable professional support from teachers in order to take the next pull of the testing lever to meet its performance targets.’

The process of policy discussion involves negotiations of meaning such that the discourse on assessment may become detached from its original principles. As I explain below (see section 3.1.), there was a constant discursive struggle in UCE between the AfL and the standards agenda, discourses that finally became mixed. The question arises as to the extent to which each of these discourses retained its initial meaning after this process.

3.5. Other discourses outside UCE

Interviewees from the UCE also mentioned that other approaches to assessment were promoted in other relevant units of the Ministry with which they interacted. The General Directorate for Primary Education (DEG Básica) started the LEM Programme in 2004 (see footnote 16). This programme involves working with pre-designed booklets for each subject, which are disseminated through a cascade strategy that involves partnerships between universities and local authorities, who train a limited number of teachers in the use of the programme. These teachers, in turn, train other teachers in their schools.

PA1 indicates that, through this programme, DEG Básica promoted a discourse of authentic assessment, mainly based on the concept of this approach promoted in a book by Condemarín and Medina (2000: 35). According to this text:

‘Assessment, as understood in the book, constitutes an integral part of dynamic and interactive teaching/learning. Assessment must be, in essence, plural and multidimensional, in order to respond to the complexity of the process of written language development and to the heterogeneity of students. This involves the need for broadening the repertoire of procedures, techniques and instruments traditionally used, getting to visualise not only the different facets of this complex process, but also the diversity of cognitive styles and cultural, psychological or affective markers of students.’¹³¹

At least in theory, these ideas do not seem very far from the principles of AfL, and according to PA1, DEG Básica promoted them along with the use of peer and self-assessment, considered as crucial elements in most of the literature on AfL (see for example Tierney and Charland, 2007; Hodgson and Pyle, 2010). However, as stated above, AfL was preferred to authentic assessment by UCE. The policy authorities I interviewed provided reasons for this preference. PA3 thinks *‘it probably has to do with, because Assessment for Learning was a bit more empirical [] in its implementation’*. PA1 indicates that authentic assessment was seen as

¹³¹ Condemarín, M. and Medina, A. (2000). *Evaluación de los Aprendizajes. Un medio para mejorar las competencias lingüísticas y comunicativas* [Assessment of Learning. A means to improve linguistic and communicational competences]. Santiago: Ministry of Education, P900, p. 35.

a very 'anti-marking' perspective and UCE preferred a '*discourse that is able to integrate things than, than to propose [] a chemically pure approach that will be completely UNREALISTIC*'. The foreign expert decides to discard this approach during her literature review for the following reasons:

'Interviewee: [skimming through the texts used in the literature review] Authentic assessment, which I never like...

Interviewer: It didn't convince you...

Interviewee: No, I mean, it convinces me a lot, but, too..., it is, it is a, like a, you get it?, a relationship but it's not central. But as a way I think that, uuuh, uuuh, it's useful, let's say.'

The foreign expert does not seem to be very clear about the reasons for her decision, which highlights again the messy and more intuition-centred side of policy decision-making, while other policy authorities highlight AfL as an approach that was easier to implement and to reconcile with current practices in schools. Although it can be said of Assessment for Learning that it tries to reconcile formative and summative assessment, it must be noted that this is dependent on the extent to which summative tests are under the control of the teacher (Black et al., 2004a; Black et al., 2004b). External high-stakes assessment systems are recognised in the AfL literature as an important obstacle to its enactment (see for example Condie et al., 2005; Dori, 2003; Hayward and Spencer, 2010; Kirton et al., 2007; Gipps et al., 2005; Kellaghan, 2004). The lack of chemical purity that PA1 sees as an advantage of AfL, therefore, cannot be extended to a co-existence of AfL practices and external testing for accountability purposes.

Returning to DEG Básica, when documents from LEM are critically analysed the commitment to authentic assessment does not seem as neat as UCE believes. Condemarín and Medina's (2000: 29) book indicates the need for a 'reflective pedagogical practice' as one of the requirements of authentic assessment. Conversely, LEM materials are structured in such a way that teachers are told what to do at every step of the way¹³². These booklets, designed by

¹³² See for example: Aillon, M.; Figueroa, B.; Fuentes, C.; Sanzana, G. (2007). *Guía didáctica Lenguaje y Comunicación, LEM, 4° básico, Unidad 3. ¡Protejamos a nuestros animales!* [LEM Methodological Guide, Language and Communication, 4th Grade, 3rd Unit. Let's protect our animals!]. Santiago: National Directorate for Primary Education, Minsitry of Education; Espinoza, L.; González, E.; Mitrovich, D. (2007).

academics from traditional Chilean universities (the University of Santiago and the University of Concepción) involve a series of lessons and assessment instruments that the teacher has to follow sequentially. Brennan (2009) distinguishes this approach to teaching as part of Conservative ideas on education. In the case of Australia, she observes how in this political context valid knowledge is transferred to researchers, who become the authorities who tell teachers what to do, thus, making teachers' image change to that of a technician who is given pre-designed 'kits' by the government. Similarly, Jeffrey and Woods (1998) observe that managerial discourses on education see standardisation and homogeneity in teachers' practice as values which go against the values of a professional discourse, where flexibility and difference are given priority. This is also the model proposed by the Ford Foundation during the 1960s, which was resisted by teachers (see Chapter III).

Additionally, LEM documents evidence the use of authentic assessment along with other ideas on assessment, some of them in clear contradiction to its principles. In one booklet for Mathematics, for example, the main perspective is testing the product of learning at the end of a unit, where most questions are exercises without a context. Only 6 of the 57 pages of this document show a table with the lesson plan where assessing learning in each class is suggested, although with a mixture of observing and checking behaviour during the class and guidelines to facilitate students' learning. If the teacher skips these 6 pages, the main discourse on assessment would be that of a summative approach. Similarly, Language materials show a mixture of behavioural formative assessment (checking and correcting errors), behavioural

Guía didáctica Matemática LEM 3° básico, 1ª Unidad. Números de hasta 6 cifras terminados en 3 ceros [LEM Methodological Guide, Mathematical Education, 3rd Year, 1st Unit. Numbers up to 6 ciphers ended in 3 zeros]. Santiago: National Directorate for Primary Education, Minsitry of Education; Figueroa, B.; Aillon, M.; Sanzana, G. (2006). *LEM Cuaderno del alumno. Lenguaje y Comunicación. 3° básico. 1° unidad. Exploremos el mundo de los animales* [LEM Students' book, Language and Communication, 3rd Year, 1st Unit. Let's explore the world of animals]. Santiago: General Directorate for Primary Education, Ministry of Education.

assessment (lists of yes/no indicators), assessment as the product of a period of learning, and performance assessment and authentic assessment through some of the activities proposed.

There is a distance, then, between what the UCE thinks the assessment discourse of DEG Básica is and how this discourse is translated into practice. In practice, this unit of the Ministry seems to hold different, overlapping ideas on assessment, as well as a very top-down concept of policy implementation and of the teaching professionals as recipients of policy.

This idea of the teacher as someone who has to be provided with pre-designed assessment instruments is also seen by interviewees as present in other units of the Ministry and in the administration of DEG Básica set up after 2008.

The General Directorate for Secondary Education (DEG Media) is seen as not having a specific emphasis on assessment but rather on the disciplinary development of the curriculum. PA4 characterises the members of this group saying *'they didn't understand much about assessment'*, while PA3 indicates that in this unit *'there [] wasn't, a discourse, a focused discourse about what it is to assess'* and *'the presence of assessment was limited to the use of instruments'*. He adds that *'Instruments, ultimately, provided the approach'* through the use of pre-designed materials.

After the new Minister of Education Mónica Jiménez changed the head of DEG Básica in 2008, a more instrumental idea of assessment is also introduced in this unit of the Ministry, according to one of the interviewees. She also sees the instrumental approach as the predominant view in the current Right-wing government. PA1 indicates:

'Later DEG [Básica] like it follows another path, that is, there, there is the story of the arrival of SEP and SEP with [name of the new person in charge of DEG Básica] and like there is another approach too. Which is a bit like what I think is now, that is like people need assessment instruments, they don't need an approach, they need that we give them pre-designed tests [] and that they [] and assessment more in its dimension more of control than information, (...) I mean, [] now I think they are promoting the, in the programmes for improvement something that arrives monthly [to schools] with tests and the whole kit.'

The need for a clear approach to assessment is understood by this participant as something that only occurs in a context where teachers are thought as active and flexible

professionals. When they are thought as passive and as mere technicians, then the approach is imposed on them through pre-designed materials. This shift is experienced when *Concertación* and the Right-wing coalition are negotiating LGE after the 2006 student movement. It is, thus, envisaged as closer to more Conservative ideas around education, consistently with Brennan's (2009) perspective.

The documents related to SEP confirm the perception of PA1. The Law N°20248 emphasises mainly standardised assessment as a means to measure the improvement of schools from year to year and the progress towards achievement of national standards for education. Vulnerable schools with low achievement levels are required to set some performance goals in order to get additional funding. These goals are to be achieved by contracting through the Council some external institution that will support the work of the school. A directory of External Technical Assistance institutions was created. It has more than 1000 registered institutions, which are very varied in nature, ranging from individuals to private consultancy groups to universities. As PA1 observed, the main focus here seems to be controlling schools through constant monitoring of their improvement in relation to national standards and SIMCE.

Orientation booklets on SEP for schools also promote an idea of regular testing more in the sense of a behavioural idea of formative assessment, where students are diagnosed and their learning is monitored through regular testing and feedback on the basis of these instruments. For example, the following excerpt refers to one of the "Fields of action" that the law establishes:

'4.2.1. Actions for measuring students' progress in learning

These actions are aimed at establishing a system of measurement and monitoring of students' learning progress throughout the school year, which should include:

- *Definition of annual learning outcomes to be achieved;*
- *The assessment instruments to be used and its frequency of application;*
- *The system for register and analysis of the information to be worked with students and teachers;*

- *The mode of information of results to students and parents.*

In determining the actions to effectuate in order to establish this system, it must be born in mind that it is fundamental to:

- *Dose the frequency and amount of assessments to which students are exposed to in order to allow an adequate analysis of their results;*
- *Use the reviewing of assessment with students as a fundamental learning strategy;*
- *Define pedagogical strategies to reinforce, complement or deepen on the basis of results.'*¹³³

While Assessment for Learning is focused on the idea of assessment as a part of pedagogical practice in terms of a professional judgement about students' learning, the SEP law is still embedded in formative assessment as understood in the previous period (see Chapter III). It seems to promote a more rigid and systematic approach to assessment, aimed at keeping teachers and students under constant surveillance in relation to the achievement of pre-defined goals.

In the context of SEP, in order to get more funding, it is compulsory to assess (with a diagnostic purpose) students reading ability and to establish goals for this area of the curriculum. More specifically, students have to be assessed in relation to their *reading speed* and in the quality of their *reading aloud*, on the basis of a model developed by two authors from private educational foundations, Bárbara Eyzaguirre and Loreto Fontaine, who began working in the Ministry of Education after the new Conservative government came to office. In this model, a highly questionable causal correlation is established between the speed of reading and the quality of reading comprehension. On the basis of this model, tables like the following are proposed for the diagnosis of students reading level in SEP's booklets for schools, where numbers of words per minute for each level of school are standardised and classified in grades according to the speed¹³⁴:

¹³³ Ministry of Education (2008). *Manual para la elaboración del Plan de Mejoramiento Educativo (SEP)* [Handbook for developing a Plan for Education Improvement (SEP)]. Santiago: Ministry of Education, p. 8.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5	Year 6	Year 7	Year 8
Very fast	56	84	112	140	168	196	214	214
Fast	47-55	74-83	100-111	125-139	150-167	178-195	194-213	194-213
Mid-high	38-46	64-73	88-99	111-124	136-149	161-177	174-193	
Mid-low	29-37	54-63	76-87	97-110	120-135	143-160	154-173	154-173
Slow	22-28	43-53	64-75	85-96	104-119	125-142	135-153	135-153
Very slow	21	42	63	84	103	124	134	134

TABLE 3. Grades and thresholds for reading speed in SEP law.

Similarly, in a document that provides guidelines for the assessment of reading skills in the context of SEP, many pages are used in describing how to measure *reading aloud* quality and *reading speed*, with examples taken from the work of the foundations mentioned above. The example provided below illustrates the simplicity of this idea of reading, where the text that is offered has no coherence, and all that is assessed is the quality of oral reading as well as the reading speed¹³⁵:

Reading Mastery Tests – Fundar – Form B	
Register sheet Year 2	
Name of the child: _____ Date: _____ School: _____ Group: _____	
I threw the mayonnaise. The dog hides a bone. Grandmother sings. The pigeon looks through the window. The candle goes out with the wind. The wizard dances happily. The fairy gets through the chimney of the house. The wind moves the tree branch.	
Oral Reading Quality:	Time: Min. Sec.
Observations	

FIGURE 22. Example of *reading speed* test.

Conversely, in the same document reading comprehension is left far more open and is dealt with in only 2 of 16 pages, mainly through a table of the skills to be measured. The

¹³⁵ Ministry of Education (2008). *Orientaciones para la evaluación de aprendizajes en dominio lector y la comprensión lectora. (Ley SEP)* [Guidelines for the assessment of learning in reading mastery and comprehension (SEP Law)] Santiago: Ministry of Education, p. 8.

majority of indicators (7 out of 8) are related to a rather passive idea of the reader, with the exception of one dedicated to argumentation.

3.6. The attempt for consensus and further confusion

Beyond the UCE, then, there are other approaches to assessment that circulate in the system and compete for predominance in the discursive space of education. It must be noted, however, that there is some degree of awareness on the part of the Ministry in relation to a potential inconsistency of messages. PA3 explains that:

'In 2006 when I just began working at the Ministry a panel on assessment was carried out... an internal one, in order to respond to this issue. [] the level of [] information available on assessment inside the different... parts of the Ministry and (the contradictions they had) was huge. Then you put a document in the system and you have one idea on assessment, then you (manage) another document and there is another idea on assessment, so, in 2005, 2006 there is an attempt to unify and to sit [] the different heads of the Ministry to try to define some of the common features about assessment.'

The lack of consistency leads different units of the Ministry (UCE, DEG Básica, DEG Media and CPEIP) to meet in 2006 with the aim of establishing an agreement on what they were to promote through their policies in relation to assessment (MINEDUC, 2006). Their consensus converged on AfL as the main perspective to be fostered and that common perspective can be observed in different documents published by those units after 2006. However, these documents are, again, hybrid in nature, as they add Assessment for Learning while simultaneously keeping their previous approaches, which may have generated more confusion than clarification.

For example, the 2007 document created by DEG Básica to support lesson planning in schools there is an appendix which explains the principles of AfL¹³⁶. However, although some

¹³⁶ Directorate for Primary Education (2007). *Jornada de Planificación de la Enseñanza Marzo 2007. Educación Básica* [Teaching planning day March 2007. Primary Education]. Santiago: Directorate for Primary Education, Ministry of Education.

aspects of AfL are mentioned, earlier in the text these share the space with lists of yes/no indicators, and examples taken from LEM materials.

Additionally, the fact that AfL is treated in an appendix suggests that there may not be a strong intention of incorporating this discourse about assessment. Furthermore, in this section of the document there are various attempts to reconcile AfL and external testing systems, even though this idea is contradicted by most research evidence about the relationship between the two modes of assessment (see Chapter I). The quotations below illustrate this attempt:

*'(...) it is particularly important to understand what, according to criteria, a higher performance or quality is, as it allows for responsabilising and for committing to learning progress knowing what is expected (both as a student before teacher's assessment or as a school before external assessment)'.*¹³⁷

*'The information that is used to reflect upon strategies and lesson plans would be collected through different means, from the classroom itself to external assessments, such as SIMCE.'*¹³⁸

Similarly, a document with the same purpose from DEG Media contains many instances where the approach to assessment seems to mix discourses from standards and AfL:

*'To inform students about the performances that they are expected to achieve, to work with them around their own forms of learning acquisition, and their skills and attitudes development, will help them to understand and internalise the standards of quality that they are required to achieve and to judge their own efforts.'*¹³⁹

*'Collection of evidence, through different assessment instances, allows the teacher to justify his/her assessment judgement about how much students know, know how to do and how much they value what they do. This information allows for analysing with other teachers or, in some cases, with parents, the results obtained and also for marking.'*¹⁴⁰

In this document, the section on assessment is the final one and AfL is not referred to as Assessment for Learning but as Assessment of Learning, a concept generally understood as opposing Assessment *for* Learning (for a review of this contrast see Lee, 2007). These are only

¹³⁷ Ibid., pp. 36-37.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 38.

¹³⁹ Directorate for Secondary Education (2008). *Jornada de Planificación y Diseño de la Enseñanza Enero 2007. Educación Media* [Teaching planning and design day January 2007. Secondary Education]. Santiago: Directorate for Secondary Education, Ministry of Education, p. 61.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

two examples of the documents that began circulating at the meso-level of assessment policy (Ecclestone, 2000), where the attempt to provide a more coherent message around assessment became a hybrid mixture of existing discourses, which did not resolve the contradictions of the system.

Teachers' responses when asked about the consistency of policy are mostly distributed between those who recognise the existence of multiple parallel policies; those who think it is always the same policy with different names; and those who observe a high level of contradiction in the assessment policies of the Ministry. The first perspective is illustrated by the following quotation from Participant 11, an experienced Mathematics teacher:

'Interviewee: Yes. That feeling that, suddenly one thing arrives, ok, this is like the novelty of the year and then some months later another one appears, yes, there is, there is a bewilderment, there is a bewilderment.'

Interviewer: And how do you manage, how, how...?

Interviewee: Only a bit resigned and... like a [laughs], [] really like resign, with resignation, I mean, [] and see if it's useful we apply it and if not, we don't.

Interviewer: That is, you try to prioritise what is more...

Interviewee: The one that interests us more, yes.'

Participant 4, a recently graduated primary teacher from a rural school, represents the perspective where rather than multiple parallel policies, they see contradictions:

'Not parallel [policies], because the entire commune is dedicated to SEP law... [] inconsistencies, yes. Despite it is only one theme, uh, it is stupid, because the Ministry's supervisor comes and tell us that we can't... that we try to do SEP actions, which are subsidy-related actions as such (...) they try to make a little demand (...) when the policy was generated with a different spirit. Now they are trying to get back from something that Concertación did and there is a huge political problem (...).

(...) Things get here because, [] there are distribution chains, [] but we read them because we lift our head up and take them. But [] the colleagues don't, don't have a clue about anything and can live perfectly a school year [] without knowing anything about it. (...) if you want to remain detached from [] EVERYTHING that happens, cool, if you want to come, do your hours and leave and put the three marks because you have three hours in your area, that's cool.'

A common feature in the two responses is the way of coping with government policies. In both cases, and as a common feature in the majority of teachers interviewed, there is a sense of policy as something external, something imposed and that is not always relevant to their work and their contexts. They manage by selecting the most useful policies and

ignoring the others. There seems to be a wide variation in the degree of freedom that schools allow in terms of just how compulsory government policies are. As Ball et al. (2012: 69) comment:

‘The teachers and other adults here are not naïve actors, they are creative and sophisticated and they manage, but they are also tired and overloaded much of the time. They are coping with both what they see as meaningful and what seems meaningless, often self-mobilised around patterns of focus and neglect and jostling uneasily between discomfort and pragmatism (...)’.

3.7. Summary of assessment discourses of the period

As part of the installation of a neo-liberal framework in Chilean education, assessment becomes an important governance tool. The supposedly decentralised system that devolves power and autonomy to schools is called into question by the use of these mechanisms to steer schools from a distance, given the absence of the repressive mechanisms that characterised the previous period. The effectiveness of these technologies can be seen in the testimonies of teachers around PSU and SIMCE, in terms of the pervasiveness of these instruments in their professional practice. Consequently, as much as they would like to work with the pedagogical intentions of the new curriculum, they see themselves as forced to comply with high-stakes assessment systems, which they do not perceive as completely consistent with the curriculum. Likewise, at the school level, the predominant discourse is that of marking, and the motivation of students is determined by the promise of a number, whatever its meaning is. Discourses on certification, reporting and selection that characterise the social aspect of assessment, thus, remain hegemonic in this period, with the added element of the visibility of numbers through competition.

It is in the context of this canonical discourse on assessment that non-canonical ideas on pedagogy and assessment are inserted in the polysystem and struggle to reach its centre. In these concepts, which in many aspects resemble previous attempts of reform, the learner is

the focus and education is aimed at the development of critical thinking and participative citizenship. Cognitive-constructivist models and aspects of a socio-critical model are promoted along with more formative approaches to assessment, including AfL. The policy documents reflect in their palimpsests the ideological conflict of the time. Their multiple contradictions portray a functional application of cognitive-constructivist and formative perspectives by adapting them to neo-liberal policies in education.

The standards agenda and its development also reflect the tensions of the period. They are initially considered to be oppressive and homogenising, and negotiation results in their becoming more oriented to formative classroom assessment. The hybrid created between AfL and Progress Maps also indicates the way discourses on assessment had to be negotiated in order to soften the education ideologies of both approaches.

In summary, three main discourses on assessment are found in the period: the canonical one represented by assessment as control through numbers; the marginal one represented by AfL; and a standards discourse that aims at reconciling them. Additionally, mixed discourses are promoted through instrumental approaches to teaching, where the approach is not a priority and is imposed to teachers through pre-designed kits. The lack of clarity from policy authorities about the approach to be promoted generates confusion and role conflict in practitioners, who are trapped between functional and emancipatory ideas of assessment and pedagogy. Figure 23 represents how the assessment discourses of the period are embedded in wider ideological struggles around education and society.

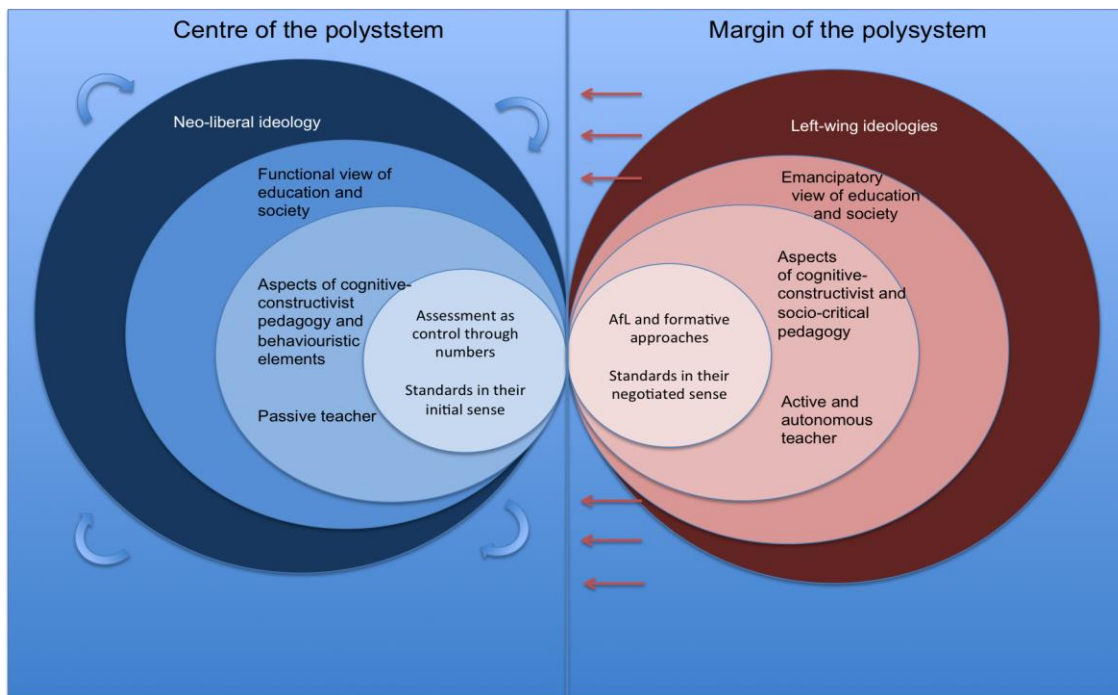


FIGURE 23. Representation of discourse struggles around assessment in the period.

4. SYSTEMS AND ACTORS DURING THE PERIOD: HOW DISCOURSES CIRCULATE AND STRUGGLE

Now that the discourses around assessment that circulated in the period have been identified, the remainder of the chapter will explore, drawing on data, the systems and actors involved in the circulation of these discourses, and the way they interact in relation to ideas on assessment. First, the complex interactions of the Ministry of Education and its embeddedness in political and popular struggles are explained. Then the role of the different types of local authorities in the Chilean system as well as the way they interact with other systems is described. This is followed by a characterisation of the school as a system and of the interactions between its different actors as well as with other systems. Finally, the varied roles and responsibilities of universities in the functioning of the polystem are accounted for. The separate explanation of each system or actor is purely for the sake of clarity, as all of them are understood as being in a complex network of interactions. An idea of the systems and interactions as a whole is provided at the end of the chapter (see section 5).

4.1. The Ministry of Education, general politics and people on the streets

According to the policy authorities, there are four overarching units in the Ministry of Education with responsibility for pedagogical and academic decisions (there are other units with a more administrative function). These are the **UCE**, **DEG Básica**, **DEG Media** and **CPEIP**. As seen above, they do not hold the same views on assessment and are also subject to political change. The image of the Ministry as a single actor or authority with a monolithic point of view and a coherent set of goals is, therefore, contested by the data. Furthermore, each of these units contains internal disagreements and sub-units or programmes for which different people are responsible.

- **The UCE**

The **UCE** is composed of the **unit for curriculum** and **SIMCE**. As seen in section 3, the unit moved from an absence of perspective on classroom assessment and a predominance of formal regulations to the adoption of confusing approaches through Programmes of Study, and finally to embracing Assessment for Learning. SIMCE was always focused on standardised testing and moved to the connection between testing and standards through levels of achievement. Both units seem to have worked in isolation from each other, except for some formal procedures of test reviewing and similar activities, until the moment where the two parallel agendas of AfL and standards were competing and, thus, decisions had to be made. However, the relationship between the two sub-units is described by policy authorities as a good and constructive interaction, mainly facilitated by the person who was the national coordinator of SIMCE until 2008. PA2, for example, indicates:

'We had a very [] good personal relationship [] with the people from SIMCE generally and with the head [] of, for a long time, [name of Head of SIMCE] during, then, they asked things from me, I asked them things every once in a while, [] so it wasn't, I would say that with, with me

and AfL they were, were interested... interested, interested and we were supportive, a good team, I'd say.'

None of the interviewees characterises the relationship as negative and the coordinator of SIMCE is characterised by PA1 as 'pro-formative assessment' because of her Masters degree from a university in England. There is an implicit judgement here that assumes England to be naturally pro-formative assessment. Despite this good relationship, Progress Maps and Assessment for Learning are perceived as two parallel policies that eventually began to compete. PA1 explains:

'Interviewer: (...) The Maps as a parallel policy remained more in the centre than the, than the topic of...

Interviewee: That means they are born as a, like more in the centre. They are born, not just remain, but they are born as like with, with a kind of...

Interviewer: ... more support...

Interviewee: Yeah, I mean, in the first place because they originate in SIMCE, by far, the most important part of the business was SIMCE. (...) Then anything related to SIMCE, strictly speaking we started making levels of achievement. And the Australians say, well, if you want to do things right, you have to do Maps. Then the Maps, so to speak, are number one, Maps are subsidiary to the levels of achievement, they are number two, no, AfL is like four or five steps lower in terms of, of political urgency. (...) Then, [] ultimately [], when Maps are more finished and materially visible and everything, like AfL has to, that is, IT CAN'T survive without articulating [with Progress Maps].'

In the context of this struggle, the final decision is towards a hybrid version where AfL becomes a theoretical framework for standards in the shape of progress maps. As seen above, this integration is seen by some policy authorities as forced and in tension, while for others such as the foreign expert this union does not seem uncomfortable:

'It was lovely too to create something from scratch and to see how it ended up linking with something that had far more weight, far more resources, far more, projection as well, but that was an element that helped this, this to exist. It wasn't the only thing, AfL, it is not that AfL (wrapped) Progress Maps in its own, but the two paths gathered and I think it was a nice gathering.'

AfL is generally characterised by the interviewees as a small and more experimental project in the UCE, and that made it always difficult to sustain. This is due to the lack of support from the political sector. PA3 refers to the Congress in the following terms:

'It was presented to the Congress, in the Nation's budget an item was presented that was, [] giving growth to the assessment line. However, always [] the item [] of Assessment for Learning

was lowered. As in the Nation's budget, where there are things to take out, Assessment for Learning was lowered. (...) Then there was neither a political support of, about the approach.'

Similarly, PA1 refers to the lack of support from the Congress Finance Commission when a series of coordinated initiatives were proposed in order to articulate AfL, Progress Maps and curriculum, which involved, for example, professional development and new Programmes of Study. When asked about the lack of support when the budget for education was discussed, she explains:

'Look, basically because... uh, eventually it was administered [] by UCE and [] Finance [] increased UCE's resources a lot for the Textbook Unit, for SIMCE, it also increased those for curriculum finally in the, in these, in 2006-2010 but always subordinate, because people from Finance was quite anti-curriculum and found that, for example, the Maps were a foolish thing [] and that they were no contribution and why more things from curriculum when curriculum the only thing they had done was to harm everyone. Then [] the dialogue with them was complicated, then, what we [] presented as increase, they never funded it. That's why, for instance, we didn't have resources to print [material].'

To further illustrate this "anti-curriculum" attitude of the Finance Commission, PA3 refers to the difference in budget between the UCE and *Enlaces*, another unit of the Ministry in charge of providing and motivating the use of ICTs in schools:

'(...) I remember [] that the Unit of Curriculum had a budget of 600 million pesos [approximately £762,776.15] each year and the Enlaces programme, to generate [] one Enlaces project, (the only thing I remember) (unintelligible), that at the end of 2008 they had like surplus, [] resources the state provided and that they didn't get to use, they had a surplus of 500 million pesos [approximately £635,656.30]. (...) Then, [] the amount of resources that [] the State used to give to the Unit of Curriculum versus what the implementation of a programme costs didn't correlate.'

It is clear, then, that decisions on assessment policies are also related to political actors. Politicians decide to give more funding to certain initiatives, like SIMCE, and they continually cut the funds for more formative, classroom-centred reforms, such as AfL. In this sense, all the actions of the Ministry as a system are subjected to political decision-making in the Congress. There is a vertical relationship between these systems, where political agendas define which are the reforms to be implemented.

- **DEG Básica and DEG Media**

The UCE also interacts with different units of the Ministry, each one with its internal logic and priorities. The relationship with one of these units, **DEG Básica**, is characterised as one where there is discussion and disagreement but consensus can eventually be reached. PA1 explains:

'(...) the Division [was] the more complex, as it was the one that had too [] like a more ELABORATED discourse [on assessment], then they didn't want UCE's imperialism [laughs] and, and, but they finally adhered to the idea [meaning AfL].'

According to the foreign expert, the relationship was dependent upon who was there to interact with. Different members of the unit are portrayed as collaborating in disparate ways when meeting with members of the UCE to discuss about assessment policies and discourses. She indicates:

'With General [Division for] Básica and Media it depended upon who was there, I'd say, it was very related to who was there, there were good moments, or better moments, and then there were some moments when we crossed Alameda [the street where most offices of the Ministry are located] back with [name of PA1] I remember in a meeting, in general, that we had to face a level of madness that was, I don't know how this is going to end.'

With the 2008 change of administration indicated in previous pages the relationship changes again and the interaction becomes more difficult, as perspectives on assessment become more divergent between the two units. PA1 observes about the dialogue between units with the aim of agreeing upon a perspective:

'... we were on that, on that, I think that it was... we were trying to advance [] but then DEG like it followed another path, I mean, there, there is the story of the arrival of SEP and SEP with [name of the new director of DEG Básica] like there is also another approach.'

First, the internal contradictions analysed above in relation to DEG Básica's documents reveal potential internal differences. Secondly, the variable relationship with UCE, depending on who was there and to changes in administration, reflects a very disparate team. There are

elements, then, that allow for the inference that the internal relationships inside this unit are, to say the least, complex and divergent in nature.

In **DEG Media** the interaction is described as directly conflictual and difficult by the two participants that had to be more involved in the interaction between units of the Ministry. The initial connection came about because the foreign expert required schools for an initial small pilot of the project. The way this was solved was through internal friendships inside the Ministry, specifically between a member of UCE and a member of DEG Media who was in charge of a programme for vulnerable schools called 'Liceo para Todos' [*Secondary School for All*]. Both PA1 and PA2 recognise this more informal connection as the reason for piloting AfL with these schools. Policy authorities refer to these informal channels of policy in other parts of their interviews. They are related not only to friendship but also to rumours and histories that circulate outside official meetings. PA3 observes that sometimes decision-making in education policy '*is quite trivial*' with '*decisions made by a few people and many times on, on the basis of last minute decision making [laughs]*'.

PA1 characterises *Liceo para Todos* as a programme in tension, tensions that also affected the AfL pilot and led to the work of the foreign expert becoming 'full of conflicts'. PA1 explains that all these tensions are due to internal conflicts between three different programmes of DEG Media, including *Liceo para Todos*, which were in a permanent state of struggle. PA2 explains the tension in the following terms:

'Liceo para Todos (...) There were different Heads [], there were some that were keener, they wanted to help, but well, the system sometimes, uh... it was difficult to mobilise, or the directors or the school owners, that was all VERY DIFFICULT, always, it was constantly difficult. Uuhm, but within the Ministry I would say that with some administrations... with certain Heads it was pretty good and with other heads, it wasn't a priority or he/she helped moving it a little, but when we sat at a desk to get something out of it, a document on assessment, there he/she said, you know?, this was all very light, or it is, uuh, it's ok that is written, but it doesn't say anything.'

This quotation confirms the impression when reading DEG Media's post-2006 documents that the agreement on AfL as the main approach is more a formal accord than a

deep commitment from the Ministry to this discourse on assessment. DEG Media, thus, is portrayed as a unit with an important degree of internal conflicts and differences, which in turn generates problems in its interaction with other units, making their work difficult. Furthermore, as in the case of DEG Básica, when changes in administration and policy begin to happen in 2008, DEG Media also experiences some important shifts in its policies. In the words of PA1:

'Then [DEG] Media is [] confusing and conflicted, the development of [DEG] Media policy. Uuh, and then when [] this turns into, not in Liceo para Todos, it coincides also with Liceo para Todos is being torn apart as a project. And, it changes then with SEP [since 2008] to Liceos Prioritarios [Priority Secondary Schools] as a programme (unintelligible) for focalised intervention it ra, radically changes. Then everything, for example, the Nivelación Restitutiva [Restorative Leveling] programme, uh, is taken out and all the more pedagogical proposal of this thing is thrown by the window.'

That is why she adds in another part of the interview:

'We never ACHIEVED that dialogue with [DEG] Media. Like, even, I mean, [DEG] Media had been our first ally for AfL and then [] nothing, [DEG Media] didn't participate ever more, they were zero dialogue with UCE.'

As shown in the excerpt, along with the internal conflicts, DEG Media is also subjected to the same political shifts as DEG Básica, which changes the level of collaboration between units. Again, the 2008 political shift seems to be a move where pedagogy is less of a concern in the context of more instrumental and more performance-oriented models.

- **CPEIP**

Finally, the unit of the Ministry historically in charge of professional development programmes throughout the country, **CPEIP**, is also mentioned by the interviewees as a relevant sub-system. The initial relationship is characterised as conflictual by three of the four interviewees, although not in the same terms as DEG Media. The struggle here is related to power and the functions that define each unit. PA4 explains the conflict in these terms:

'(...) when AfL began to grow, the Professional Development Centre [CPEIP] legitimately said: hey, it is US who are concerned of teachers' professional development; why is the curriculum unit pulling this little thing out of the sleeve, they are doing it obliquely, it has to come here...'

As a participant in policy from a university, PA4 considers that her mediation of the conflict was important in arriving at an agreement, a judgement that is supported by PA1. However, once the conflict is solved and CPEIP decides to incorporate AfL as a requirement for many of the courses they funded as a way to spread the approach in other institutions, the relationship is qualified as positive by PA1 and PA2:

'And I think that the big allies there were the people from CPEIP, people from CPEIP had known [AfL] through [name of PA4], uhm, who had also been very supportive of this thing, because she started working (unintelligible) with [name of PA2], [] they were very interested (...)' (PA1)

'(...) it was a nice moment with a growing relationship with CPEIP, who started to invite, now they also wanted to install capacity in other universities and then when they had to do their courses they talked to people, THEY wanted the assessment topic (...)' (PA2)

Despite this perception of a constructive alliance between units, PA3 and PA4, who work closer to practitioners and, thus, have to work on the approach with teachers, express some caveats about the level of understanding that people in CPEIP had about AfL. PA4 attributes this fear to UCE:

'(...) CPEIP incorporated AfL in the, in [] their terms of reference, but the UCE was very clear that it was going to be an [] integration that lacked foundation, because AfL didn't exist there (...).'

PA3, more indirectly, observes a low level of understanding of AfL in universities that were not involved in policy enactment with the Ministry:

'It probably has to do with this, this being a game, a game that in the long term [] is like a thing of ministerial guideline, it acquires market characteristics [] it is a product that is sold to the system, it is not something that is clean [] from economic interests. In that line, then, a hybrid is made, hybrids that have to respond to the demands of the market, [] and that also have a name that, that can sell. What does this mean eventually? It means, of course, the name Assessment for Learning is put [] in the academic offers of the, of the institutions for the teachers that are in the system, but when one reviews the [] proposal, the content inside the programme, [] it's much more focused on traditional educational assessment.'

Although it began with a conflict of power, a relationship of collaboration was developed in time between the curriculum unit and CPEIP. However, there are doubts about

the depth of CPEIP's adoption or borrowing of AfL and, consequently, there are also concerns about the extent to which its involvement promoted a superficial, market-oriented adoption of the approach in universities rather than a long-term deep enactment of it.

- **The wider public**

It has been said that politics is one of the systems that intersects with the activities of the Ministry and affects them. In fact, the death of AfL as a policy is due to politics, firstly through its absorption by the standards agenda as a way to solve the lack of funding due to the decisions of Congress. Survival involved also receiving some funds from CPEIP to overcome basic difficulties, such as printing materials. The definitive ending comes later, when AfL disappeared as a policy after the new Conservative government came to power. However, there is another external actor that policy authorities recognise as influential in their work. It is sometimes referred to as 'the people', 'public opinion' or 'the system'. This abstract entity is perceived by policy authorities as observing their work and criticising it, as well as putting pressure on their decision-making processes.

PA1, for example, indicates that after the change of Minister the work of UCE becomes increasingly isolated and uses the metaphor of being inside a bubble to explain this state. In this context:

*'(...) [a] bubble inside the Ministry, I mean, a Ministry (...) subjected to [] contingency and that afterwards TAKES A STAND for SEP, [] totally different from this, and this bubble [] also is delegitimised in all this, I mean, neither, I mean, [] it lacks roots and everything, **because people from outside see that, that the thing doesn't constitute system, [] they don't see that, this may have some value, but [only] to a certain extent, you get it?, they accumulate rage too. Then, it's a bit like all the effort is [] delegitimised.'***

There is a perception of people looking at political actions from the outside and judging them. They are seen as a collective actor who evaluates the legitimacy of a policy, who is able to detect inconsistencies in it and to react emotionally to this. Similarly, PA3 connects

the social movement for education that began in Chile in 2010 with a general collective perception of lack of strong decisions from those who bear power in education:

*'That's an issue and I think assessment, in this assessment process, uh, happened. It remained finally [], the discourse remained thrown, is a discourse, and [] in the hands of the good will of those who want to generate real changes. **And this is like [] a point, of public policy design that maybe has to do also with what's going on in the streets. There are no, there are no strong convictions from [], those who at some point have had [] the power to make decisions.***

Again, 'the people' is seen as a critical judge that reacts to the shortcomings of education policy and is against the ambiguity or the lack of clear "chemically pure" messages from the Ministry. This actor, although amorphous and abstract, is seen as a very powerful one, who can impede policy to advance or determine the direction of policy. For instance, PA2 doubts that the new government will be able to do much in education given the general discontent:

*'Well, and what are they all at now, I have my doubts they will do anything, as in two years, I **don't know what they'll do with the mess that there is in the country in this moment** [laughs]; **I think there are other pressures that will become a priority** and [] that they'll find they don't have time to finish. I suspect these years are going to pass...'*

The activity of the Ministry is seen as embedded in the struggles of politics and the judgement of citizens, both affecting policy development and the chances of new discourses to circulate in the polysystem and become canonical. Along with this general and more abstract idea of a collective mass with its own demands, there are other moments in the interviews where policy authorities seem to refer to a more restricted collective, that is, the educational collective which seems to include all types of education practitioners. The example mentioned above in relation to the pressure exercised on the UCE to change the regulation for promotion in primary school, illustrates how this actor operates. After the controversy, PA1 refers to the remaining impression among 'the collective':

*'I don't know why [] **in public opinion the idea remained** like this government had put the automatic promotion although automatic promotion came from MUCH, much earlier, I mean, [] is really NOT like that, I mean, like **it remained in the environment** that this government had put [] automatic promotion and that, then when these 4th grade [SIMCE] results in 1999 come one of the issues that is raised as well is why this regulation, this decree [] so [] permissive and*

that the standard has to be raised in the assessment decrees...'

In this case, there is an abstract collective that is not that 'on the streets', but a more expert and professional one. It is the perception about what practitioners think of policy and, again, this perception is given importance as decisions are made on the basis of the pressure this group can put on policy processes from their experiential knowledge. Similarly, given the final absorption and disappearance of AfL as a public policy, PA3 refers to its discourse as something that at least somehow spread as an idea:

*'What Assessment for Learning is **becomes installed, is installed in, in the collective, and is installed [] because of what was possible to seed in that process, as materials, as a discourse, as an idea (...).***

In PA3's perception, therefore, although policies die because of political decisions, discourses remain circulating in the system, carried by those who were involved in the process and felt convinced by and committed to the approach. Yet in a different moment of the interview, PA3 observes that 'the system' -another collective and abstract but powerful actor- impedes change because of its permanent hybrid contradictory state and its lack of commitment to a specific discourse:

*'That [] gap between [] the complexity that classroom processes have and all these metric models and standardised assessments generate, uh, an enormous tension, then at the end of the day a hybrid is generated, a hybrid that reflects the diversity, a hybrid that, a hybrid where ways of learning, multiple talents, forms of evidence learning, the characteristics of children's performance, the situations where children can provide evidence of their learning are, are, are referred to, but simultaneously has all the pressure of making [] an assessment that is very objective, very reliable and very valid. (...) **The system [] doesn't want to address that gap, and doesn't want to deal with it.***

In this case, the system seems to be the education system and not the general public, as the problematic aspect is related to those involved in creating and enacting assessment policy. This actor is seen as having responsibility for change, and as embodying the absence of a definitive decision about which discourse on assessment should predominate. Interestingly, this removes responsibility from policy authorities and situates it in a place abstract enough to avoid blaming, a place that in other points of the interview is situated concretely in schools.

In brief, there seems to be a perception among policy authorities that they are situated in a larger context, where there are different voices and perspectives struggling with each other. Their attitude tends to be more resigned than active in this context, as they react and yield to the demands of collective actors without sustaining their perspective very strongly. They choose negotiation and hybrid discourses but they do not necessarily assume responsibility for the results of this compromise.

Before summarising what has been said about the Ministry as a system, something has to be said about the foreign expert as a figure in this context. The uncritical attitude with which her decisions and advice were followed has already been referred to. However, her own perception of her role in the whole process reinforces this top-down relationship towards the new context to which she has been invited. She uses the metaphor of the light-bearer many times and portrays the new context as a place in the dark in relation to assessment:

'Interviewer: But from your perspective, [] how did you understand [] your role there?

Interviewee: Look, I'd say that... there was such low [] awareness, or [] practice in the topic of classroom assessment... alternative, I mean, alternative, so little practice that it was like any cranny one could open it was already, light entered.'

This feeling of bringing new and unknown ideas seemed also to generate in her feelings of working alone or of sailing against the tide when she denominates AfL as *'the project of the crazy woman'*, meaning herself, or when she says how she felt she was perceived in the Ministry:

'I am the Quixote-like gringa, with a topic that... doesn't have any priority, doesn't have any priority, I mean, the thing continues year after year in the same way, they don't need me neither this idea for the students to move to the next level from one year to the next and the system to work like usual.'

She sees herself not only as a cultural foreigner but also as an outsider in terms of the assessment discourse she promotes. Her more bottom-up approach to policy development and her discourse on assessment were attempts to insert a marginal discourse into the Ministry. On the other hand, there is some degree of messianic self-perception, in how she sees her role as crucial and illuminating. Her perception about the work she did on the

International Baccalaureate seems to be similar, as she defines herself saying she '*was the gold standard for 6 years*' in their hierarchy of moderation. As can be read in section 4.3., teachers know, try to use and believe in many of the principles of AfL, even if they have not classified these practices under the name of Assessment for Learning. The perception of their state as one of complete darkness, therefore, seems a little exaggerated and highlights the need for further research on how experts and ideas travel.

Figure 24 illustrates the complex dynamics of the Ministry as a system, as portrayed by interviewees and inferred from analysis of documents. There are four units interacting in the context of assessment reforms. First, UCE has two sub-units related to assessment discourses (plus the textbook unit, which also provides assessment guidelines and examples in their materials): SIMCE and the curriculum unit. SIMCE has been historically in charge of the area of assessment in terms of the standardised periodic testing of the curriculum. The curriculum unit has sent different messages on assessment to the polysystem: through decrees and regulations focused on the social aspect of assessment; through programmes of study, which contained hybrid messages about assessment; and finally through the adoption of AfL. Both units react to poor results in TIMSS and SIMCE, and import policies with the support and guidance of foreign experts. In both units the relationship with the foreign expert is portrayed as vertical, as his/her opinion is hardly questioned by policy authorities. Their decisions or suggestions, irrespective of the justification provided for them, are highly respected and taken into account at the local level. Both sub-units begin developing parallel assessment agendas, namely AfL and standards, which struggle with each other despite the good relationship that SIMCE and curriculum had after 2006. Their interaction finally leads to a new hybrid discourse that mixes Progress Maps and AfL.

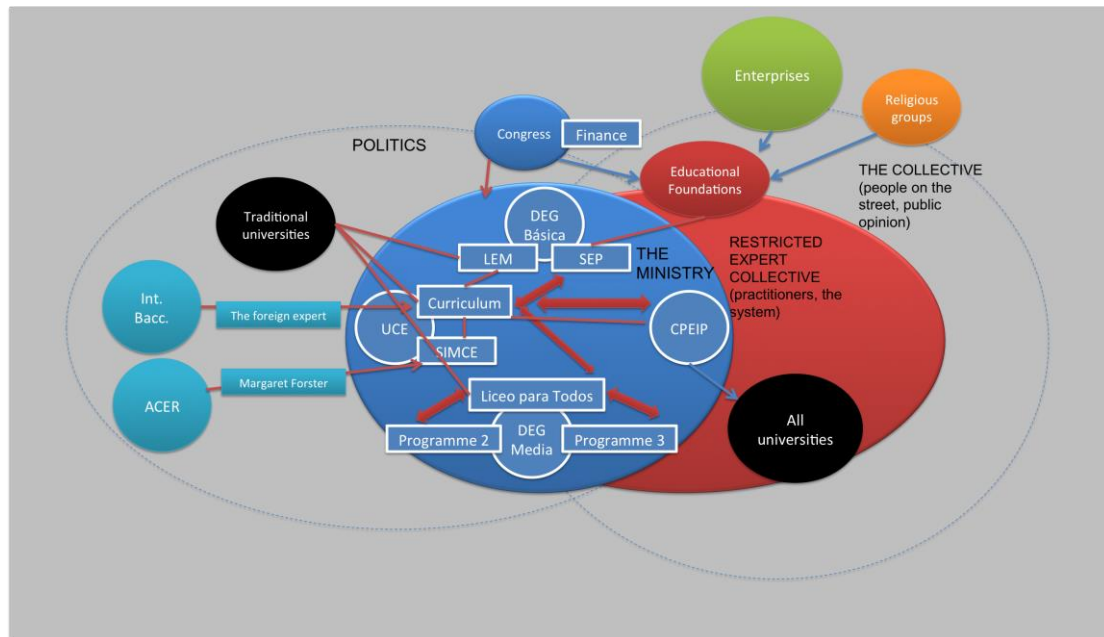


FIGURE 24. Representation of the Ministry as a system according to available data.
*In the case of UCE-CPEIP the relationship changed from conflict to collaboration,
hence two types of lines are used.*

This commentary is restricted to UCE, but each unit of the Ministry has also its own internal contradictions and differences, as can be inferred from the confusing messages from DEG Básica; the conflictual relationships between the sub-units of DEG Media and between DEG Media and other units of the Ministry; the initial power conflict between CPEIP and UCE in relation to their role in teachers' professional development; and the changes that these units experience after the SEP policy, which in many cases change the orientation of the project of some units and sub-units.

These already complex interactions do not happen in a vacuum. They are interconnected with Higher Education Institutions who collaborate with the Ministry and may have their own ideas about assessment (see section 4.4.). They also interact with foundations owned by enterprises or religious groups or politicians (or a mixture of these three), which become particularly important after the change of Minister and the SEP law. Politicians are also significant, they sustain a vertical relationship with the Ministry in the sense that they can determine the life of a policy by giving more or less funds to it; and then there is the expert

collective that reacts to policies and the general public, which also reacts to policies in more political terms. Furthermore, the interviewees identify four units as relevant to assessment policies, a small percentage of the huge structure of the Ministry of Education, as can be seen in Figure 25.

Many other internal relationships and conflicts in the other units or divisions of the Ministry may potentially affect decisions on assessment, raising doubts about top-down models of policy-making, where policies are designed by government institutions that hold a consistent view around a single project. In fact, PA1 uses the metaphor of ‘the Christmas tree’ to describe the Ministry’s multiplicity of messages and initiatives:

‘(...) the idea is like try not to have so many separate lines [of work] but be able to try to communicate [] an approach, a view that constitutes system, where not all its, not everything is pieces isolated from one another and that really was some sort of obsession in the end, because the criticism was SO MUCH towards the idea of the Christmas tree, and of “now the Ministry has another idea” (...)’

Clearly the Ministry could be understood as a polysystem in itself, with its internal systems and sub-systems interacting and constantly discussing education and assessment, and with its internal power struggles on the meaning of assessment. A dynamic polysystemic approach contributes to the observation of the complexity and understanding of the somewhat chaotic aspect of policy processes, subjected to discursive struggles and to changes in time that affect and mobilise forces.

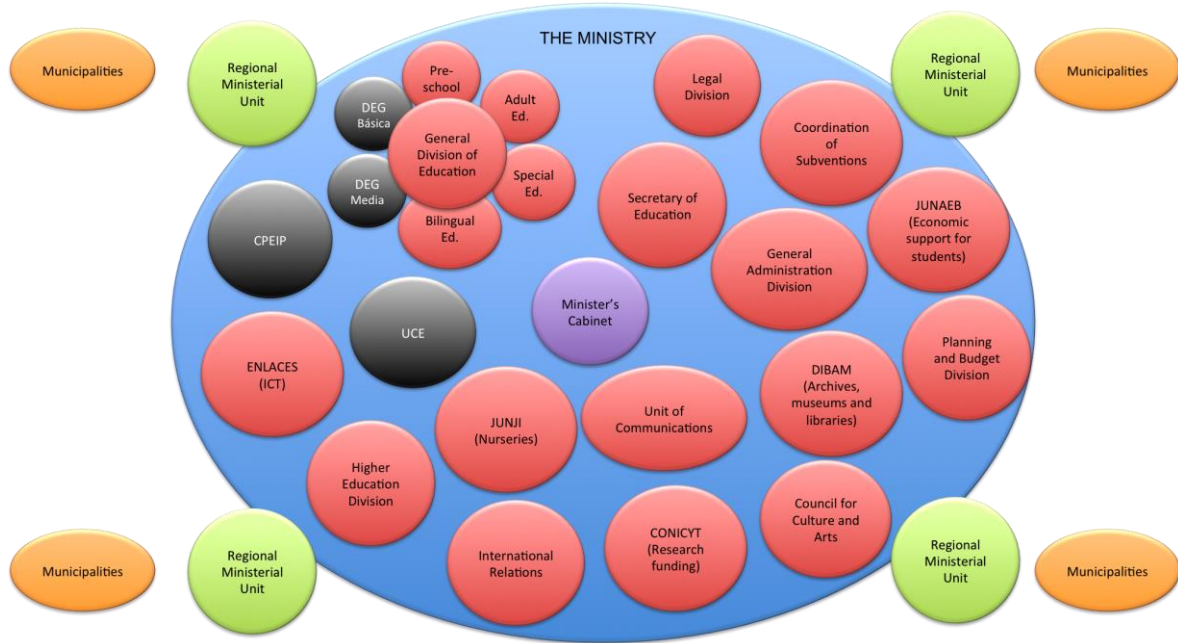


FIGURE 25. Representation of the different units and divisions of the Chilean Ministry of Education. The ones in black are those mentioned by the interviewees as important. The intention is not to propose any kind of relationship but only to illustrate the broadness of this system and its sub-systems.

4.2. Local authorities

The decentralisation of the Chilean education system involved transferring decision-making power to local authorities. The crucial role of these actors in the AfL programme was experienced directly through my own participation in 2008 working with the Directorate for Education of the Municipalities, which facilitated the implementation process mainly in practical aspects. However, I recall at the same time a degree of disengagement from some teachers, who felt obliged to attend the course because the order came from above. I realised then that to some extent only the top-down structure of the system could ensure that some developments actually happened but with no warrant about the depth of the learning process that would take place in that context. This reflects the concept of “local power” entailed in the Chilean decentralisation process, where rather than community power one observes that Municipalities are administrators of human and financial resources and make decisions based

on direction from above. This is probably linked to the origin of municipalisation in the context of an authoritarian government structure (see Chapter III).

Although no local authority actors were interviewed for this thesis, teachers provided information about the local authority role in relation to education policies in general and assessment policies in particular. The different types of authorities that work at the local level depending on the type of school emerge clearly from these data. The following sections expand on these differences.

- **Public schools**

Public schools are the direct responsibility of Municipalities or Municipal Corporations, whose role by law is to propose measures to implement actions and programmes related to education as well as to administer the human, material and economic resources of the education service (see *Municipalities Law* Nº 18.695).

Most of the interviewed teachers who work in public schools are aware of the presence and role of Municipal Corporations in relation to assessment policies. One of the most mentioned aspects is the periodic testing carried out by Corporations, which for schools involves receiving external tests that have to be taken by students at different moments of the year. With only one exception, the opinions of teachers about these tests are not positive, as can be observed in the following illustrative quotations:

'(...) many times we don't even know them. Furthermore, sometimes they even come questioning, [] let's say an assessment in the middle of the year, and with contents that have not yet, that have not been passed yet, and sometimes they don't even find out by, by saying, ok, you tell us what contents you have reviewed and elaborate the tests on that basis. Although in our, we have had the experience, but not at THAT level of harassment, harassing, so to speak, like in other municipalities, because in other municipalities they, they hit hard with external tests. (...)' (Participant 11, Mathematics, experienced)

'[] And about the assessments that come from the Corporation, I think that they are not always pertinent to the school, as they [the ones who elaborate the tests] are people, uh, that are beyond reality, all the schools of [name of the area of the municipality] are not equal, this one

has a different performance than other schools, then sometimes, I have heard from other teachers, for example, that they complain that the, the instruments seem to them to be badly designed, uh, right now for example they send us SIMCE-style tests every month and sometimes they are based on the old programme, they are not even with the current programme. Then (...) one has to be reviewing, that there are questions that won't and one loses time in taking it, and then in, in trying to review it with the children. (...) [These policies] interfere more than, than what they contribute, a lot of interference.' (Participant 17, History, experienced)

Similarly to SIMCE, teachers perceive these external tests as not consistent with the rhythm of their practice, as they interfere with the flow of what they have planned and assess contents they have not yet worked on with the students. Consequently, these instruments and their results become irrelevant to them, as they neither represent what they have done nor what the students have learned. However, there seems to be a top-down model of policy operating in the relationship between school and municipalities, as teachers accept the tests and feel somewhat resigned to them. They do not seem to envisage the possibility of questioning the policies that come from Municipalities although they are very critical in relation to their relevance, quality and to the way they take valuable time from their practice. Participant 11 (experienced, Mathematics) goes further and hints the possibility of business arrangements between Municipal Corporations and testing enterprises:

'To me it's business (...), they look for some enterprise, an enterprise, they open a tender process, and now, I have the impression that in our country anyone can say, uh, ok, [] I make tests for you. [] and they come and they buy a system and then they apply it and then, sometimes the results arrive, sometimes they don't.'

Participant 7, who shares the views mentioned above in relation to the irrelevance of the tests and adds criticism of the assessment of extremely complex skills for the level of students, also indicates changes in the agreed conditions for assessment:

'Now, sometimes, there are assessments that, it is true, in this case they say that is just a formative assessment, ok?, and that they register data, sometimes girls are misinformed, and that is transformed in a summative one, and schools prepare for them, in the school were we are they DO NOT prepare them (...). They change the conditions. There is no equity either. That's why different results are seen among the schools of [name of the area of the municipality].' (Participant 7, Biology, Recently graduated)

Similar issues to those related to SIMCE are replicated here at a smaller scale. The pressure for competition and the threat of public punishment predominate even when results are officially declared to have no consequences. Additionally, the struggle between time used in testing and in what teachers think matters is also apparent.

However, there are exceptions to this in the data. One of the teachers from a public school indicates that there are no testing regimes from the Corporation where she works at (Participant 2, English as a Second Language, recently graduated). However she criticises her school for the lack of guidelines and the isolation of teachers in their practice. She does not experience these features as following from a policy decision of the Corporation or the school to give teachers freedom, but simply as lack of care. Because of her insecurity about assessment, shared by most teachers as indicated above, she feels:

'It's a topic that is complex to me. To know if I'm doing it right or wrong. Because I don't have aaaa (...) parameter. If that is right, if there is a better way, like there is isolation (...). And among teachers the topic is neither commented on. It's very delicate, like there you expose your teaching quality (...), then it's a topic that is not spoken about, you get it? It's like, it's, it's very delicate, so much that no one COMMENTS on each other's assessment, (...) you get it? Like everything is 'at one's discretion' [said ironically], you see? There is not [] like, some standard. I feel like that work is very isolated. Is isolated and complicated.'

None of the teachers from public schools referred to a balance between control through testing and freedom in their practice. They are located between the extremes of excess of accountability and complete abandonment.

According to the interviewees, another role of the Corporation is serving as a channel through which policies from the Ministry are sent to schools. Participant 7 (recently graduated, Biology) explains how new policies reach the school:

'Interviewer: Ok. Uuhm, and what happens with the policies that come from the Ministry, for example, when something about assessment comes?'

Interviewee: What, what happens is that from the Ministry the filter is put by the Corporation.

Interviewer: So, things get to you through the Corporation always.

Interviewee: Through the Corporation, there is nothing that comes directly from the Ministry.'

However, the Corporation does not directly communicate new policies to teachers. Continuing with the vertical structure inherited from the 1980s, the information is sent to the

UTP Heads, who then disseminate them among teachers. Participant 4 (rural primary teacher, recently graduated) explains how this process occurs:

'Interviewee: Uh, that policy gets to the school because we [] have [] an email of the school and there are documents emanate from the Education Corporation constantly [] to this virtual space.

Interviewer: And who receives it in that space?

Interviewee: The school principal, [] or [name of the Head of the Technical-Pedagogical Unit of the school] that is the UTP of the school. [] And, from there they are socialised.'

Not all public school teachers, however, recognise or perceive this role for the Corporation, for some new policies arrive directly from the UTP Head or are circulated through informal discussion through other colleagues. There are, then, different filters operating in the process of policy enactment. In Ball et al.'s (2012) terms, policies are translated by the Corporation, then by the UTP Head and finally (and sometimes only) by teachers (see section 4.3 for more details of what occurs at the school level).

The final role assigned to Corporations is to provide teachers with courses, some of which are related to assessment. Teachers' assessment of the worth of these courses varies. Participant 10, for instance, indicates that *'the Corporation sometimes provides courses on, on assessment, but it depends on the university that offers it if one does it or not'*. She distinguishes between these courses and those she chooses to attend every year. Similarly, Participant 2 (Primary English teacher, recently graduated) refers to one of these courses:

'Because, for example, they made a course on assessment for us this summer. (...) The first seven days we had all the schools of the Municipality area. (...) They gathered us and [] had us in sessions only about assessment, where we went back to see like the, just the technical things. That, ok, we can make open questions, closed, we can assess this and this way, written, oral, bla, bla, bla, lots of concept maps and from this it can be inferred that tu, tu, tu, tu [she laughs, mocking what is taught in the course], ok [laughs], [] and, ok. And everyone looks at it and that's all, you get it?'

This reflects a shared perception of teachers that in professional development courses nothing really new is being taught. Additionally, courses provided by the Corporation are evaluated by teachers as of variable quality, and sometimes irrelevant to their learning needs. The account of Participant 2 also reveals that in some contexts these courses are seen as an

imposition on the whole Municipality area, in which teachers play a passive role and evidence a lack of motivation. This differs from professional development courses *chosen by teachers*, which they feel make a better contribution to their knowledge, although some of them still say that what is taught is just the “same old thing with new terms”. This could be reflecting the persistence of past discourses that have been struggling historically, with policy reversals (Baird et al., 2011) and repeating cycles of reform being perceived more clearly by teachers than by authorities.

- **Private government-subsidised schools**

Private government-subsidised schools are administered differently from public schools. Some are owned by foundations and some are owned by individuals. The level of control and testing, as well as the way in which government policies affect the school vary in each case. For example, Participant 13 works in a school that belongs to a religious foundation, where she is both a UTP Head and a Spanish teacher. The culture of regular testing and preparation for SIMCE is also present in this context:

‘Yes, we belong to a foundation, and we have external assessment at the level [] of the area of reading mastery, then, twice a year [] there is an entity, which is the pedagogical department of the [name of foundation], there we belong, four schools, they elaborate some instruments, ok?, all this according to the parameters that the Ministry requires and are taken in, in May and in November, an initial assessment and a terminal assessment (...). So we have this assessment, and we also hire the tests of the, the quality of learning test of the [name of another religious institution that develops tests for schools], we also apply these instruments in the 7th and 3rd year for them to be, in a way, tests that predict how we will assume SIMCE.’

Foundations are sometimes consortiums that own several schools, as the teacher indicates in the quotation above. Although this school receives public funding, the religious aspect is highly relevant to the school project and this interviewee refers many times in religious terms to their school, their students and their mission. They buy tests from another religious organisation, which also has developed business around education. The foundation

establishes an accountability regime where students are tested regularly with the aim of improving SIMCE results, and where the guidelines of the Ministry are followed. The mechanism does not differ markedly from that used by Municipal Corporations. However, this interviewee states that there is a higher level of school autonomy in relation to the optional character of some of the policies proposed by the foundation. She indicates how they sometimes receive simultaneous policies from the Ministry (through the Provincial Directorate for Education) and from the foundation:

'We have to [] give priority to what counts as a requirement, let's say, what we [] have to do, ok?, and we complement the rest, if necessary, and as I say, we filter because sometimes there is like too much information, ok? (...) in this moment [] the most important guidelines come from, besides the ones from the Ministry, from [name of foundation], the pedagogical department says, ok, this is [] the structure that we will have to use from now on, for example, the assessment instruments, ok?, we will use this rubric, for example, and with this parameter for Spanish or Science. (...) It's not something that says 'this has to be done' but enrich it yourself, see the formula you use to apply it...'

This account reflects a greater degree of flexibility in private government-subsidised schools than in public schools. Policies are delivered to private government subsidised schools in a top-down manner but there is some space for re-interpretation, selection and decision at the school level. Likewise, Participant 3, who is also a teacher and a UTP Head at a private government-subsidised school, explains that before he began working in this role the Headteacher usually accepted policies from the Provincial Directorate of Education verbatim. After he assumed his role as a UTP Head, he discussed with a member of the Provincial Directorate about a policy for lesson planning which he did not agree with, and he did this in the presence of the Headteacher. The latter was surprised and since then they decided to adopt a more critical and flexible approach towards the government's policies in education. However, the demand for competition on the basis of SIMCE results is also present in these contexts. Participant 3 indicates:

'And, in our case, we have an owner that bothers us permanently with the topic, I mean, 'how are the preparation tests', we have to provide results monthly, [] and everything revolves around that, and [] our tests we have to make them SIMCE-style...'

Participant 5, a recently graduated rural Physical Education teacher who is not a UTP Head, has a different version of how policies circulate in private government-subsidised schools. She indicates that she has to find out for herself when the government is developing a new assessment policy, as there is no one in the school to tell her about it. She exemplifies through the case when the new Physical Education SIMCE was announced:

'Look, about SIMCE I found about it because I entered MYSELF to the page of [] MINEDUC [acronym of the Ministry of Education] [] here no one has given us information about the Physical Education SIMCE but it was me who, uh, entered, downloaded the specific [] document, y saw it and read it, [] and it really seemed to me like some sort of joke because it finally was just tests.'

She attributes this lack of communication to her discipline, as other colleagues from other areas have been summoned for meetings in relation to specific policies. She sees her area as more isolated. Again, however, the importance attributed to SIMCE in this school is present as explained above in relation, for example, to the use of Physical Education hours to train for the test (see page 214).

- **Private schools**

Interviewees from private schools evidence a lower degree of pressure in terms of their obligation to implement government policies but also see themselves as not appropriately informed about new initiatives about assessment. For example, Participant 6, a recently graduated Philosophy teacher, explains how she usually finds out about new policies:

'Well, I generally know about it in the news. [] and in my discipline also there isn't much either, [] because like [] Philosophy I find it like a bit invisible in schools [laughs]. Then, generally that information, like reforms [] to the Language curriculum, [] is like it reaches me obliquely. (...) I knew about it in the corridors, [] from teachers who, Language teachers who I talked to, who told me, no, there will be a modification in such and such. [] or in, or maybe I've known about it in meetings, [] but not as an official information, but like [] something, like a comment that was

made about some specific thing, “what happens is that they changed the curriculum in [] year 1, and we are very puzzled”, something like that.’

She does not observe the existence of an official channel through which policies from the government are explained and socialised. There are only informal channels to inform about new initiatives. However, like Participant 5 in Physical Education, she also sees this as related to the abandonment of her discipline, Philosophy, where few new things have been done (besides diminishing its presence in the curriculum). In this context, she has to find out about policies for other areas of the curriculum. Despite this higher degree of freedom, she does not perceive any difference between this school and a private government-subsidised school where she used to work in relation to the relevance attributed to SIMCE:

‘It’s more or less the same, [] because [] in the private [school] I am at now, [] a lot of importance is given to SIMCE and, additionally, it’s that for example they have academic excellence¹⁴¹, if I remember well, []... and the school where I came from, they had had academic excellence for a long time and they lost it. Then, they gave SIMCE a lot of importance that year (...). (...) at the level of Headteachers and teachers they care quite a lot about SIMCE, there is like a pressure about this, more or less like what I saw in the other school (...) in order to win the academic excellence thing.’

Although private and private government-subsidised schools are more autonomous in terms of their duty to implement government’s policies, they are compelled to care about SIMCE. A good score contributes to their chances to compete for “clients” as it involves the possibility of an official recognition of quality that helps the school to sell itself more effectively.

Participant 14, an experienced History teacher also from a private school, indicates how new policies reach the school, referring to the example of the Progress Maps in particular:

‘(...) that reached this school because of me, and why, because I was called by, because I had been, [] textbook evaluator in the Ministry of Education at some point. Then they knew me (...), they called me to a certain level of [] work with Progress Maps. Then I was informed that there was a process of discussion but how many teachers were there? Among academics, [] teachers we must have been five in the whole of Chile. Then, when they were released, then I brought them for us to discuss them here. (...) I don’t know how the municipal system works, but when I

¹⁴¹ Through law Nº 19410 (1995) Chilean subsidised schools receive an additional amount per student each year if they obtain ‘academic excellence’, which involves, among other criteria, students showing an increase in their performance in SIMCE.

... speak to those who were my classmates at university, at my time, I mean, that have been working for several years, they don't have any idea of what Progress Maps are. (...) Probably now, [] the [] current administration sends us things that arrive from the Ministry, but they do not conduct the processes.'

A higher level of autonomy from national policies is observed once again in this private school, where initiatives are promoted by specific teachers and not in the top-down manner reported by some public school teachers. However, like the previous participant, there is a sense of isolation or lack of discussion of new policies in the school. It is dependent on the contacts and initiative of each teacher. Even the new administration, that keeps them more informed according to the interviewee's perception, is criticised as not generating the necessary space for professional development, discussion and translation of policy. The interviewee's perception of the use of policy in public (municipal) schools confirms the presence of mixed approaches to policy in these contexts: some teachers are highly directed and some are left to their own devices, if not completely abandoned. Despite the flexibility he experiences in this context, Participant 14 repeats the discourse on the pressures of PSU and SIMCE in relation to the private school where he works:

'Let's see, on the hand of PSU, here we proclaim we don't care that much, however, we are always quickly seeing the publication of results and we feel more proud if, uh, if we perform better than the previous year (...).'

About SIMCE he describes a similar situation:

'There is a certain amount of restlessness too, I mean, we say it's not important, nothing standardised, but there is always a concern (...). And we always finally end up validating that this shows pedagogical level, the academic level of our students, educational level, in the end, then it's a criticism like... (...). But is very distorting, because eventually you are in a school that supposedly doesn't care, like this, but finally here they also do preparation tests for SIMCE. (...) And you know why? Because it has to do with the market. Because if [name of the school] falls from 290 points (...) or it's not near 300, less students will enter here.'

Once again no school seems to escape the pressures of standardised testing, as this is what allows them to compete in the market of education. However, it is interesting that this school is portrayed as autonomous enough to disregard test results but more implicitly as compliant with these systems of control. There is a double standard operating in the school

ethos, where the official discourse is contradicted by the school's actions and attitudes towards testing.

In summary, the three types of school present differences in relation to assessment policies that are not considered high-stakes, such as AfL and Progress Maps. The more privately funded the school is, the higher the level of autonomy in relation to these policies. The intention to promote school autonomy in curriculum legislation, therefore, does not seem to be being achieved in public schools, where vertical power structures do not facilitate a more bottom-up approach to work. However, in both private and public schools lack of pressure is not experienced as autonomy but as the abandonment and isolation of teachers' work. The commonalities in the three contexts are related to high-stakes assessment policies, as all participants recognise the pressure of SIMCE and PSU in their practice. This follows from the need to compete with other schools in a market-centred model, although public, private government-subsidised and private schools are not competing in equal conditions. High-stakes assessment systems are, thus, used to homogenise and compare schools from very different socioeconomic contexts, in a clearly unequal field.

4.3. The school

The space of the school is another crucial system in assessment reform processes. Its main actors are the **UTP Head** (mentioned far more often than Headteachers in interviews), **teachers, students** and **parents**. The following sections refer to each one of these actors.

- **UTP Head**

Something has already been said about Heads of Technical-Pedagogical Units. According to teachers' testimonies, as quoted in the section above, this actor decides what

policies from government and from local authorities to inform teachers about and how teachers are to be informed. The large majority of interviewed teachers recognised that it is the UTP Head who mediates assessment policies, sometimes by not informing teachers about them, most often through brief announcements and provision of materials in meetings and less frequently through more extended professional development opportunities, and sometimes simply by putting pressure on them. Pressure is experienced when high-stakes are involved, and in the interviews teachers (except for UTP Heads) tend to blame this actor for the direct pressure on them. In Ball et al.'s (2012: 49) terminology, UTP Heads act mainly as *translators* of policy, who 'plan and produce the events, processes and institutional texts of policy for others who are thus actively inducted into the 'discursive patterns' of policy'.

At the policy authority level, PA4 confirms the crucial role of this figure in the context of the AfL programme:

'If we didn't constitute a community of practice INSIDE the school, nothing happened. (...) And, therefore, in the first round we didn't think only in the group of teachers that we, of Mathematics and Spanish, plus the UTP Head. Now, we didn't know very well (unintelligible) but the one who makes decisions is the UTP Head. (...) there was a discussion that, that we had a notion that, that we looked, looked at the UTP Head like, like and ally, but administratively and not pedagogically.'

The role of the UTP Head is very broad and it is difficult to grasp all the dimensions that are under his/her control (see footnote 8). However, different actors recognise that the approval of this actor is crucial if any change is to be made in a school. They hold an important power position inside the institution.

In the case of more *disciplinary* policies (Ball et al., 2012), such as assessment regulations, SIMCE, PSU, SEP law or external testing from local authorities, teachers perceive a vertical relationship with the UTP Head. They generally do not feel that they have the space to discuss or to question such policies, as the following extracts illustrate:

*'Uh, it is usually things that **have to be done**. No [], **there is not much, much autonomy** in that, no, except for, we have decided, for example, uh, yes, for example, the goals, (...) of how much percentage of achievement [as a compromise for SEP law], if we are going to have a 90, there we decide it at a school level (...). In that we have some opinion, but in, and in the strategies we*

*are going to use, but in the rest we don't, I mean, **there are things that come as given**, how many marks we are going to have, sort of more practical and domestic things, we could say, that is **established at a school level**.'* (Participant 17, experienced teacher, History)

*'Ok. [] on assessment we are obviously ruled by [] MINEDUC, and MINEDUC makes the information **move down to the UTP Head**, and the UTP Head **OBLIGES US** to have assessments that are, [] how is it called?, assessment like a global test, all, all that kind of assessment. (...) The problem I find there is that information doesn't get to us in a clear way from MINEDUC and the UTP Head doesn't know how to **move it down to teachers**. Then, we are constantly **STRUGGLING with the UTP Head** about, for example, one says, ok, on this date these contents **have to be assessed** and unfortunately the contents given to us by, [] MINEDUC, we don't get to pass them in the process, which generates problems with assessment. If they are not, the UTP Head says, if the contents are not all passed, you have to assess them anyway. Then, how am I going to assess something I haven't taught?'* (Participant 1, recently graduated, English)

All the phrases in bold italics illustrate the extent to which a vertical representation of power relations is present among teachers, especially when demands are related to high-stakes quantitative assessment policies. The relationship with the UTP Head is characterised as directive and conflictual, as the UTP head tries to comply with the requirements from authorities whilst teachers reference their practical experience. However, Participant 1 seems to understand the dilemmas that UTP Heads face in their work, as she says:

'(...) is like there are internal struggles with the UTP Head. Why? Because [] she TRIES to do her best, but she is not inside the classroom, which is what is really going on.'

She understands, therefore, that the main problem is the distance between what they require from teachers and what teachers are doing and can do in the concrete daily experience of the classroom. For Participant 12 (experienced, Philosophy), UTP Heads are trying to transmit policies so as to demonstrate that actions are not based in a vacuum. However, there is no real interest in the policy. The main interest is administrative, that is, to get to the end of the year with everything done:

'Some assignments arrive through UTP, but in the end this is more, what one finally appreciates, is that in the end this is administration, I mean, to make it work, with any idea, but TO MAKE IT WORK, and that we get to the end of the year with a finished process. And that there is nothing pending, because, that we get things DONE, get things done.'

These data are consistent with Ball et al.'s (2012) ideas about policy enactment in schools, in terms of highly messy processes, where the actors try to cope with different and

simultaneous demands, both internal and external to the school. In relation to more disciplinary policies, the data from this study show that teachers mostly assume the role of *copers* and *receivers* (Ball et al., 2012), although they hold critical beliefs, but their sense of top-down power relationships in the system does not allow them to feel free to express them and to contest or resist policies.

As seen in the previous section, more *exhortative* or *developmental* policies (Ball et al., 2012), which are not high-stakes, generate varied attitudes among UTP Heads and teachers depending on the context. These range from: 1) not informing teachers at all and, thus, teachers knowing about new policies through their colleagues, the news, professional development programmes or their own web searches of official sources; 2) the provision of general information leaving teachers to decide about the enactment of the policy; 3) the most infrequent case- generating an in depth discussion about the policy in order to reach collective understanding and decision-making on it.

Along with the channels through which a policy moves in a system, it is also relevant to analyse how a policy that comes from the government is finally enacted by teachers, what remains of the original policy, especially in what seems a very vertical and top-down polysystem of assessment policies. Policy authorities are not very well informed about what schools make of policies. This can be observed in their interviews, where they refer to an attempt to evaluate and follow the AfL programme, which was interrupted by the change of government. As a result there is complete uncertainty about the extent to which this policy was enacted in schools, with the exception of evidence in reports from the university that worked with them in this policy. Similarly, PA1 indicates about Progress Maps that 'it is a huge mystery to me how people use them'.

The intention of emphasising Progress Maps rather than AfL in the context of political discussions is reflected in schools, as all the interviewed teachers had heard about Progress Maps and knew, although superficially in most cases, what they consisted of. That is not the

case with AfL, which was simply not recognised by some of the teachers as an official policy, while to others the name was familiar though not the source: they referred to other policies that promoted the approach, such as teacher evaluation. Those who knew the approach (2 out of the 20 teachers) did so because they had attended professional development courses where this view of assessment was taught and promoted and not because it was a policy from the government.

The majority of teachers, however, knew about Progress Maps but not all of them understood their logic nor how to use them in practice. The following quotations are representative of the most frequent answers in interviews:

'I know them [Progress Maps]. I know what is the []... [] I more or less understand them, broadly, I know what it is about, I think they are good, but I don't know [laughs], how to move to practice, I mean, I have no idea how I could use the Progress Map in my PRACTICE. I have no idea.' (Participant 2, recently graduated, English)

'I have seen them, we have reviewed them, [] but we haven't, we haven't master them like, [] we don't use them that well, but we have used them like, let's see, just like parameters. Like a vision, [] more or less we are in this level of the Progress Map, whatever, but, [] it's not our usual thing [laughs].' (Participant 11, experienced, Mathematics)

Only a few teachers declare employing them and finding them useful:

'In my case they are useful... very much. Because there I see what skills students have to develop through certain levels. Then I try to, ok, guide myself by the curriculum, the programmes and Progress Maps, with the aim of articulating these three elements together, to avoid it being like, ok, just the curriculum, so I try to articulate them and see what strategies can I use for children to advance in reaching those levels in Progress Maps.' (Participant 1, recently graduated, English)

One of the teachers who seems to understand Progress Maps and states they are useful tools, indicates the following caveat for their enactment:

'(...) the assessment regulation is a bit retrogressive in relation to what is proposed by, for example, Progress Maps or more altern, more contingent, more up-to-date things. Then, [] that disconnection that exists makes them unfruitful and, additionally, if we look [] into the practice itself, what we are really doing and what we get to do given the time [we have], is just marking and not assessing. And that's where I feel and even with the existence of Progress Maps, even with the existence of other tools, we end up just in marking.' (Participant 3, recently graduated, History and UTP Head)

In fact, most teachers referred to assessment practices and principles that could be considered as part of AfL, although without that name, and they agreed this was the right thing to do according to their professional ethics. However, they do not see how to solve the contradictions they perceive between more formative discourses on assessment and accountability systems, especially when these are connected to monetary rewards and threats of school closure as happened after the SEP law. As seen above, the pressure exercised by discourses that highlight the social dimension of assessment is very strong and pervasive, making it difficult for more exhortative or developmental policies on assessment (Ball et al., 2012) to survive in the polyphonic discursive space of the school. PA3, a policy authority who has worked as a school teacher, also sees schools as spaces where contradictory discourses on assessment circulate in a paradigm conflict, where the current structure of schools does not facilitate reform processes either:

'Because clearly the thing and also with Maps is that they are a set that supposes a, so many changes in the organisation of schools. (...) That was something that we also weighted in time. Like the structural change that involves for schools [] to adopt these approaches. And, and at that point [] everything that was being done from the side of SEP didn't help us at all. Then, it was frankly contradictory.'

An anecdote told by the foreign expert confirms and exemplifies how there are also other teachers who remain loyal to more traditional practices that were canonised in the 1960s:

'(...) when I just arrived to the first school where I worked here, I remember a teacher very affectionately sat me by his side and told me: "assessment, ok, here you are", and he, and he draw the [] Gauss [curve] [], he gave me a graph paper where I could put the 4, the 7 and could calculate my average, with the score, etc., and THAT WAS my first experience around assessment in Chile. I remember asking myself if this was more advanced, you understand me?, like I lost something important in my experience until finishing a doctorate (...).'

On the one hand, one can witness in this quotation the lack of awareness of how the historical development of assessment has occurred in practice, where there is not "old" or "new" but only co-existence.

On the other hand, one can also infer that, as in previous periods, teachers who are keen to innovate have to face interactions with more traditional colleagues who oppose change. Furthermore, if we consider that most teachers say that they learn from their colleagues rather than at university, this could sustain the persistence of old discourses on assessment, which overlap with the “new” ones.

- **Students**

Students, as explained above (see section 3.1.), do not contribute to the canonisation of more marginal discourses on assessment, as they have been shaped by the ideas of success, passing hurdles and gaining rewards as more important than learning itself. Only a few teachers indicate that, after considerable work and restructuring, they finally arrive at new agreements and conditions with students, where different forms of assessment are included and motivation goes beyond the grade. Participant 4, for example, who is a rural teacher, decided to exploit the natural environment of the school to change the motivation and move it away from marking:

‘(...) here we have a spectacular natural landscape, thus, going for a walk is a reward. Some days, for example, I take trouble in preparing some trays and bring them breakfast (...), I prepare a learning environment, you get it?, it’s different to be having some tea and have classes eating cookies. (...) To go out, have breakfast, [] to have spaces [] to make jokes and things [] that show we are people relating to each other as human beings (...). (...) there are people who don’t get that [] there are things that have a higher value [] than what is tangible [] or measurable. But happily I think that around 45% of the group understands that there is a spirit in knowledge and in what we do everyday.’

What is clear from this and other extracts is that teachers think there is more to education than standardised assessment and marking. This teacher sees that a number-centred system where the only motivation is to measure behaviours that we can observe is a means of dehumanising education by making it lose its broader sense of developing the human being as a whole. The ethical dilemmas to which teachers refer to seem to point to

contrasting ideas of education and society and, again, reveal how assessment discourses are part of broader ideological struggles.

- **Parents**

Despite some teachers' successful efforts in changing students' canonical views on assessment, parents are portrayed by some teachers as another source of resistance that prevents new discourses becoming central to the school system and the centre of the polysystem. Being legally identified as the person responsible for the education of Chilean children (see LOCE, 2nd art.), one would expect parental attitudes to reflect their interest as a consumer who demands results provide a good return on their investment. As there are no specific questions about them in the interviews, parents emerge as a topic rather rarely and less frequently than expected. When they do, sometimes they are described as behaving as consumers:

'Then, that importance that is given to the PSU result affects the vision that students and parents have of, uh, in relation to both PSU and school assessment. To me it is a test that [] is given more value than what it really has.' (Participant 10, recently graduated, Biology)

'[Referring to the test the school buys to a foundation in order to diagnose potential SIMCE results] Then, uh, there is a, a provision of information that says, for example, all the Language learning domains and [] what is achieved and what is not, then an individual list per student appears. Then, with that instrument, we present it to parents and then we work with the teachers in charge of a group, focusing on the most meaningful weaknesses of this test.' (Participant 13, experienced, Spanish and UTP Head)

In the two cases the school is described as being held accountable by parents through different types of feedback, ranging from numbers as the language demanded by and understandable to parents, to more qualitative descriptions of learning. However, the first case corresponds to a public school located in an economically privileged area, and the second to a private government-subsidised school. Teachers from public schools located in

disadvantaged areas do not mention parents very often. One teacher does it in the following terms:

'The other day I said, in parents meeting, I said to them that children should demand in every practical task the assessment previous to the task, for them to know what was being assessed. And that in a practical task there should be an assessment scheme. And the grades, with scores and everything, and parents looked at me [laughs] like I was speaking Chinese.' (Participant 2, recently graduated, English)

Literature on school governance has highlighted how the idea of parents as participative consumers with high 'client power' (Sasaoka and Nishimura, 2010) is not always seen in practice, especially in parents who have lower education levels (Xaba, 2011). As Filer and Pollard (2000) state, research confirms that it is mainly middle-class parents who call teachers and schools to account, while working-class parents do not dare to question the expert knowledge of the teacher. In fact, Participant 3, a teacher and UTP Head of a private government-subsidised school located in a more disadvantaged area, indicates that one of the fundamental criteria they use for selecting students is the presence of committed parents, which is not very frequent in that context:

'(...) here we focus on the support we are going to get from this parent. We ask him/her why [the child] left the [previous] school, what does he/she expects of this school, if he/she will face the, the pressures that we might put in some areas. And then we immediately get it. (...) I think this mom is not very bright, so I think it could be complicated [laughs], and that normally people who arrives in those conditions disappear later and they don't come back and they leave the kid abandoned at the school.'

The problematic aspect of these selection practices (currently forbidden by law until year 8 but still executed) is what happens to those students who are excluded from the school. All the students from disadvantaged backgrounds with parents who are not committed to their education will be put on the same place, contributing to the social segregation of the system. The idea of parents (and not the State) as the main actor responsible for education, may neglect the importance of the power differentials of parents from different socioeconomic backgrounds, as this may perpetuate social inequalities if no intervention from the State is considered.

Lack of socio-cultural capital also prevents these parents from resisting and contesting predominant discourses on assessment. A teacher from a private school indicates how the parents in this context resist testing-centred regimes:

'(...) What happens here is [] a very special story... With respect to SIMCE, because they even say that [] parents are quite, quite like hippies, they come from like that style, like they say [] no to SIMCE because it is a way of assessing that [] is not useful and doesn't work, it assesses other things it shouldn't assess. (...) Then, I have known through teachers, ok?, more like a sort of (...) indiscretion, through teachers that there have been classes that have refused to take SIMCE and that sometimes they don't attend [school] or, if they do so, it's just a few of them, then like (...) there is some sort of resistance, but it's mainly because of the context where the school is.'

Parents with high socio-economic status and with a more left wing orientation are able to resist hegemonic assessment discourses and to turn that resistance into concrete actions, as they have a particular view of education and they do not see SIMCE as consistent with it. Less educated parents do not have the tools to oppose these practices, as they think of them as derived from people with a high level of technical knowledge.

- **Teachers' way out through the interstices**

As seen throughout this chapter, teachers are constantly located at a crossroads where they have to handle many ideas and obligations simultaneously and make decisions which are sometimes in conflict with what they perceive is their role, their professional ethics and their discipline. Fortunately, they are aware of this position and in most of the interviews they refer to strategic ways of managing contradictions, where teachers use every small space of freedom they have in the classroom to teach what they think is important. Some examples of these strategies are presented below:

'What happens is that, inside the whole system [] there are like tricks, such as projects. If you make a project inside all this, and you justify it in a good way, you can change and work your own way of working, and assessing, and marking, which is different. And that's what I've done in some occasions. (...) otherwise it's impossible, because it's structured and because you have to accomplish the units (...) and, additionally, the system is very content-centred, you have to accomplish the contents and that's what matters.' (Participant 7, recently graduated, Biology)

Participant 12 (experienced, Philosophy), whose school was occupied by the students in the context of the student movement at the time of the interview, was asked by the school to close the academic year with some marks:

'I repeated and in some cases I increased the mark, to a student, for example, who was a VERY GOOD student and that unfortunately didn't get the right marks, but I KNOW that student deserves more, the circumstances, the type of questions, the type of test, maybe, didn't favour her and I gave her a higher mark. (...) That doesn't harm anyone in society, to recognise someone who deserves more (...). Could someone in the world say that is wrong? I don't think so. (...) That is the base of [] my way of operating in the, now, undoubtedly I make tests [] like for everyone, trying not to be [] only quantitative but to rescue the difference, the qualities [] in the questions that are [] personal, [] I move [] a bit around that.'

'(...) it is true that they got to have the mark and that they have to try to be better, and there I try to motivate competitiveness and the aspect of passing to the next level, I mean, like all that, but I also try to detach them from the number, I take the mark out, I TRY, because I was like that as a student. Children, the point is that YOU LEARN, you get it?, Like, independent of the 2, the 5 [laughs], you understand me? (...) I am all, one is correcting ALL THE TIME. Ultimately, one is assessing in every moment.' (Participant 2, recently graduated, English)

'(...) for example, in using more multiple choice, because SIMCE contains multiple choice, [] although trying to, I try assessments to have, I like them to have fragments, that they have [historical] sources, I like to put a lot of that, so, I try anyhow, despite it is with a multiple choice [question], to put those things [] that are characteristic of History, that I like [] to work with them with the children (...).' (Participant 17, experienced, History)

These are only a few examples of the multiple means teachers find to manage the demands of the system, which do not make much sense to them, and simultaneously work with the aspects that they think are relevant or through the idea of schooling they are committed to. Some of them combine SIMCE or PSU-style testing strategies with more creative and meaningful activities, where they think the necessary skills of the discipline are being developed. Others emphasise the more overarching and human conception of the school, where values and interactions that are more relevant to the future of students than achieving good scores are developed. On the basis of the quotations above, one can state that teachers use strategies to defend aspects such as: professional autonomy and criteria, qualitative judgement of students' learning, going beyond conceptual content, promoting a focus in learning, developing higher order thinking skills, participating in more meaningful learning activities. All these are values that can be considered consistent with constructivism and

critical pedagogy, as well as with AfL; values that teachers see as being hindered by external assessment demands. In summary, teachers find interstices where their beliefs about society and education resist the attainment and number-centred culture that remains at the centre of the polysystem.

4.4. Universities, the academy and research

Universities have different roles and responsibilities for the way discourses on assessment circulate in the polysystem. What teachers think of their initial education on assessment in universities has been discussed above (see section 3.2). Teachers criticise this initial education as insufficiently practical either because it is too theoretical or because although theory makes sense to them it is impossible to put it into practice. This lack of a good basis generates insecurity in teachers' assessment practices and forces them to learn from their colleagues, their school experience and/or learning through practice. Because of their initial insecurity, some teachers attend professional development courses offered by universities, which help them to better understand the topic of assessment, although some think nothing in these courses is completely new.

Along with this role in initial and continuous teacher education, universities are also important in their collaboration in policy initiatives. This can be seen, for example, in the documents analysed in this study. In this analysis the role of academics in creating the programmes of study for the new curriculum, the materials for LEM, the courses and the materials for the Assessment for Learning programme, etc., emerges as important. There are different views about the relationship sustained between the Ministry and universities in these collaborations. The interviewee who was in charge of the process from the university (PA4) presents mixed ideas about this relationship, as sometimes stresses that it was not the

provision of a service to the Ministry but a relationship of collaboration and mutual enrichment:

'When it began it was, it wasn't a SERVICE that we were going to provide but it was rather like walking together, to build something together. And in that building, of course, (what did we do), we made projects, in which we carried out seminars, we invited people, along with de, with designing a MODEL, and of designing a model which, which also was that I think as a continuous thing that is well-thought...'

This emphasis on the role of the university as more than a provider emerges in other moments of the interview. However, other extracts indicate a very top-down relationship:

'Then it was like organising, [] and developing an idea that the Unit for Curriculum had, that they had done through a tiny pilot programme with a Spanish teacher and a Mathematics teacher, and so they had an idea and I, I had to operationalise it.'

'And that's when they told me. (...) They came to talk to me, WITH A PRECONCEIVED IDEA of how the design had to be, on the basis of their pilot.'

Internal members of the UCE confirm this more vertical relationship. For example, PA3 refers to the AfL programme as *'designed [] and structured by the Ministry of Education'* and later indicates that after the pilot, from 2004, AfL *'is more implemented with, the, the University'*. There is, then, an approach and a pre-defined model of enactment by the Ministry on the basis of a pilot and what was expected from the university was simply to expand this model and disseminate it among a wider audience. Furthermore, the relationship that PA4 sees as collaboration between the university and the Ministry, is seen by the foreign expert in a more vertical and almost patronising way:

'(...) and now all the [] problems of this small group were now [] mediated, with the team from the University (...) in the middle. Then, we had to, officially they were a counterpart, but in reality, in reality I felt I was moving, you get it?, sometimes upwards, but THEY WERE ADORABLE, I mean, there was a thing, they wanted, they wanted to learn, but sometimes the story was also headachy because, they were teachers as well, so sometimes they said one thing and did another one, they committed to something but it wasn't possible or one believed it could have been possible (...), that was like a very intense period.'

The expert feels she is teaching the team from the university and sees its members as apprentices with the faults of all teachers: not doing things in a consistent way or not feeling able to put into practice something that the Ministry saw as feasible. The vertical relationship

can also be observed in the form of communications between the university and the UCE, which involved not just meeting but also reporting back to the Ministry. PA3 sees these reports as sources of controversy, as responsibilities for problematic aspects were mutually assigned:

'The University (...) prepares its reports, the bottlenecks, [] an evaluation is made with some risks as well, in the sense of trying to see what's the responsibility of the institution in charge of implementing this, before a Ministry that [] needs proposals and results.'

The UCE seeks a relationship where the academic institution is a provider of solutions and models of what works in practice, but the relationship becomes more complicated when the university poses problems and addresses complexities in the implementation process. Byrne and Ozga (2008) have highlighted the instrumental relationship between research and policy that has developed as a trend in recent decades, in which education research is conceptualised from a problem-solving perspective. Advocates of this approach, like Hargreaves (1996) sustain a perspective where the only acceptable aim of education research seems to be its direct use by policymakers and practitioners in order to establish 'what works', whilst others criticise its mechanical and reduced view of complex social issues that demand equally complex approaches (Hammersley, 2002; Flyberg, 2006; Geyer, 2012).

As a prestigious traditional institution, however, the university recognises the alliance with UCE as strategic in terms of the role the academic institution could assume in disseminating the approach among other universities. PA4 describes it in the following terms:

'One feeling I had was first I felt, and keep on feeling, that one of the main problems [] of education is that we have a very bad initial teacher education. And THAT is not the Ministry's fault but the universities' fault and, so, we had to take care of this. And in that turn [] to put it that way, like us as a university have to be in charge of thinking a good quality teacher education... it made a lot of sense [] to the people of the Unit for Curriculum, I mean, how good to have an ally because, is this that we are all thinking of. (...) then [] we had to establish an alliance, not a tactical one but a STRATEGIC one, about how to look at, in fact, when this started I was invited to discuss with other universities how programmes on this were implemented (...).'

The use of war-related terms (ally, strategic alliance, tactical alliance) makes visible how assessment reform processes are experienced as a space of discursive struggle, where actors need to find allies who support and are willing to disseminate the same ideas. PA1 and

PA2 also use the term 'ally' to refer to the relationship with the university. The former also uses the term to characterise their connection to CPEIP as well as the internal friendships of UCE that facilitate processes of implementation.

When the University of Valparaíso is incorporated into the AfL programme, in collaboration with the University of Chile, the programme lasts only a year and the new institution ceases its involvement. The reasons given by interviewees are a change of administration in UCE, with the new Head considering that the AfL policy needed some revision before being expanded to other universities; and another version is that the new university was not able to replicate the professional development model and so decided not to continue.

As said above (see section 4.1), universities not directly involved in the AfL programme are criticised by the interviewees in terms of their management of discourses on assessment. When asked about the knowledge these institutions had about AfL, considering it was demanded by CPEIP for their courses, PA3 did not have a positive evaluation and thought of the universities involvement as superficial and oriented to attracting clients rather than motivated by genuine interest in the approach. Later in the interview he refers to the usefulness of receiving State funding for universities, which reinforces the idea of their economic motivation. AfL becomes the latest “fashion”, the most recent idea from the Ministry that is being heard about but that no one really knows about. Offering this “brand” to potential costumers of higher education could attract more teachers. However, PA3 described this as a deceptive advertisement as what is eventually delivered is a traditional measurement-centred and instrument-centred concept of assessment (see section 4.1). Universities, then, claim that they promote and manage the marginal discourse but finally impede its becoming hegemonic by complying with school practical and conservative demands. PA4 reinforces the perception that other universities do not have a deep understanding of AfL:

'(...) at some point it was very funny. Because I had to go as an institutional representative of the University of Chile to meetings at different universities. And the others talked about AfL [] like, in the, at the moment, the other universities, but you made two questions and you realise (unintelligible) because they actually didn't know what it was (...).'

Universities had only a superficial understanding of the approach and after a moment of interaction with the members of the University of Chile who had been involved in AfL, their lack of knowledge becomes apparent. The motivation towards learning about AfL according to PA3 was money and attracting more clients, while the foreign expert perceives (maybe somewhat naïvely) better intentions:

'And it begins to broaden much more, [] and people from universities do want this too, I mean, you realise [] what happens with people when looking at this, it has an echo, and that it makes sense to people, and they want to know more and they want me to work with them.'

'With CPEIP it was an interaction that ultimately was very... uh, good, [] they asked a lot and that meant, ultimately, that people was demanding from them, you understand me?, I mean people started to see there was a need, and they always wanted to make things that people saw as useful, then, to some extent it was a virtuous cycle.'

Either for monetary motives or genuine interest, universities became interested in AfL, although they engaged only superficially with this discourse on assessment and may have transmitted it in the same way to teachers.

Another issue that should be taken into account here is that teams in charge of professional development programmes in universities are not always the same teams that do initial teacher education and these, in turn, are sometimes different from those who do research. In the case of the University of Chile, the people who work at the Programme for Continuous Teacher Education (PEC) are different from those working on initial teacher education programmes and different from those who work at CIAE, the Centre for Advanced Research in Education of the university, although a few overlapping members can be found. This means that each team could be generating and promoting different ideas on assessment, although those that finally reach teachers seem to be those of professional development courses.

However, in terms of research on assessment (and many other topics in education), funding is very limited in Chile and sometimes it has to be reduced to these government-funded initiatives¹⁴². There is a pre-defined idea in such initiatives and, thus, they involve the potential of losing independence and become instrumental. In that sense, independent research on assessment is scarce and researchers on this area are only a small group, although fortunately growing in recent years.

Universities, therefore, function as three different inputs in relation to assessment discourses: they provide initial and continuous education for teachers, they collaborate in policy development and implementation, and they do research, although the latter two functions tend to overlap frequently. In terms of teacher education, they promote discourses that are perceived as disconnected from practice or simply as deficient. Professional development courses are perceived as more specific and helpful, although not very novel and dependent on the quality of the institution that provides them. In terms of collaboration with policy, they are seen by authorities as providers of a service that involves giving solutions and results in order to improve implementation processes. They are not seen as part of the stage of policy formulation but only as partners in the implementation of policies that have already been decided upon. Some research is commissioned as part of these collaborations, and some more independent research has an incipient development in the country.

¹⁴² Currently there are mainly two government funds where proposals around education can be presented: FONDECYT, where education has to compete with many other disciplines, and FONIDE, which offers a maximum amount of 29000 GBP for a whole project. The National Council for Education offers funds also but up to 11000 GBP per project. More recently, CONICYT has developed new funds for students who are returning from their doctorates, which opens new opportunities. However, funding is still scarce for independent non-policy related research in education.

5. CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS

As in previous periods, the same set of relevant systems is found in data about the present. Political parties, foreign education systems or experts, education government institutions, families, schools, public opinion, teacher education, academy and the economic sector, all appear again in the account of this chapter. However, their internal structures and their interactions are redistributed in new ways.

- 1) **Political parties:** this system continues to be crucial and is portrayed as able to exert pressure on different types of policy through decisions on funding. Their processes of negotiation in relation to ideas around education and society are also of relevance, although coalitions seem to agree (forcefully or not) with neo-liberal and market-centred principles as the predominant model to be promoted. Emancipatory ideas are advocated timidly, intertwined with the hegemonic ideology and, thus, neutralised. Given the initial transaction of *Concertación* with the military government, emancipatory discourses in this period will not emerge from politicians but from other places of the polysystem.
- 2) **Foreign education systems and institutions:** the need to “look around” continues in this period. However, it is part of the ‘new forms of exchange in policy ideas in which consultants move from one venue to another’ (Moss, 2009: 156), embodied in the figure of the travelling expert whose knowledge is accepted without question by local authorities. A very top-down process of transnational policy learning occurs in this relationship, independent of the views on reform processes that the foreign expert brings and of the actual level of knowledge that he or she has. Similarly, the discourse of IOs is taken as a given and as a means to “naturalise” the ideological framework for education, although some degree of strategic use is observed from the part of policy authorities. Compared to previous periods, the present seems to be the most passive in its acceptance

of foreign ideas. Chapter III illustrated how in the past foreign discourses were attracted and re-interpreted by locals, either researchers who were sent abroad or innovative teachers or governments in need to justify a reform, and were also resisted by different actors. Today, international is taken as a synonym of reliable truth.

- 3) **Education government institutions:** throughout history, the structure of the Ministry of Education has grown increasingly complex. Previous units co-exist with the new ones, bureaucracy increases, Chilean-style decentralisation generates more chains of power that need to be respected, and programmes from different administrations overlap inside units. The Ministry has become an unmanageable monster. In this already chaotic structure, top-down models of policy-making are inherited from the previous periods. This has as a consequence that multiple policies are being generated from different government sources simultaneously without much space for practitioners to make sense of them or simply to dissent or agree with them. The Ministry generates new policies as a response to contingency and as a reaction to political pressure. They do this on the basis of general perceptions about the needs of the system and about the approaches that according to their experience and convictions (or the foreign expert's) in education are adequate, without any consideration of the voice of practitioners or researchers, except in data collection processes carried out *ex-post*. Local authorities reproduce this practice by responding to the demands of competition through regular testing policies, and by transferring the policies of the Ministry to schools in the shape of documents or CPD programmes, where teachers are only expected to comply. More than ever this system is frantically producing multiple and sometimes competing discourses, which involve an investment of time and effort, but whose effects (both positive and negative) are unknown by them. It is policy becoming a signifier rather than a signified, where what is more important is to say "we are doing something that others have done, so it must be right, and we are increasing achievement through that", than to gain a deeper understanding of

how policies are translated and enacted in schools and how beneficial they are in a broader sense that goes beyond scores.

- 4) **Families:** as in previous decades, parents from lower strata are still spoken for in this ideological context. They are portrayed as the costumers of education, who demand quality through results, and as those ultimately responsible for the education of their children. However, practitioners from schools portray them as not sufficiently informed to understand or demand results beyond a number or a good mark, and as concerned with other aspects, such as the level of support provided by the school. Other are simply not committed to the education of their children, and they are the parents that more vulnerable schools have to work with. High and middle-class parents continue with the demands they had in other historical phases, related to good scores and preparation for university entrance. A different approach also emerges in terms of parents located in the left side of the political spectrum, who also show resistance to accountability assessment practices that they consider as not relevant and as distorting the aims of education.
- 5) **Schools:** this system retains its 1980s structure, with the UTP Head transformed into a crucial figure, who can resist, translate or reproduce policies coming from the central or local government. Teachers are trapped in a network where multiple demands and (sometimes contradictory) discourses cross their practice simultaneously and where they do not feel as having the time neither the professional autonomy to make sense of and make decisions around all of them. After two great historical moments of trauma, teachers in this period are weakened in their potential for resistance. They also reproduce the power structures of 1980s, although control through fear has been replaced by control through the pervasive use of testing. Education professionals in this context have learned to develop a more strategic (and safe) means of resistance – to mock compliance to the rules of the game while using every single interstice as an opportunity to exercise a more emancipatory practice, which is the one they deeply believe in but that they feel as not

appreciated in the current system. Teachers, with no exception, feel trapped in the conflict between their beliefs around pedagogy and disciplines, which are closer to emancipatory principles; and the pressures of the system, which they see as focused on irrelevant contents and skills and as homogenising and dehumanising. Yet they also recognise the existence, as in previous periods, of other teachers who do not care about students and who are in teaching just to receive a wage for the minimum effort.

- 6) **Public opinion:** this system is a phantasmagorical force that, although not embodied in a particular subject, is perceived as a panoptic judge by policy authorities. It may be sometimes people demonstrating on the streets, or media messages around surveys on citizen perceptions, or the centripetal force of the education system as conservative and resistant to change, or the education expert community represented by teachers and less frequently by researchers. Media messages in this period, however, would require a separate study, as although they may be understood at a superficial level as a means of disseminating the perceptions of the people, they are owned almost entirely by Right-wing elites, who define the editorial line and the agenda setting of the press. More than public opinion, then, they are connected to the system of political parties. That is why the social movements for education in 2006 and 2010 used social media as a means to make themselves visible. They created blogs and websites where divergent ideas on education were promoted and discussed, and used other tools such as twitter and Facebook to reach a wider audience.
- 7) **Teacher education:** although assessment is incorporated in initial teacher education programmes either as a specific course or as intertwined with other courses, teachers share the perception around its distance from practice and its lack of direct usefulness. It is characterised alternatively as too theoretical or too a-theoretical, but in either case as distant from the reality of the school. Teachers, therefore, are being educated by their colleagues and by recurring to past school experiences, which involves the reproduction of

past discourses that continue circulating in practice, overlapping with the “new” ones. Although the responsibility of teacher education in teachers’ lack of knowledge on curriculum an assessment emerges as evident, it is rarely taken into account in assessment reform processes. It is more common to observe professional development programmes as spaces where reforms are disseminated and translated, and these seem to have more influence on teachers’ knowledge, although mediated by the perception of diverse quality and of reiteration of past discourses. Additionally, the knowledge of universities in charge of teacher education is also called into question, as some actors denounce how innovative repertoires are absorbed in a superficial way, as part of a commercial strategy, while the emphasis is still on traditional assessment theories and practices.

- 8) **The academy:** researchers and lecturers in education seem to have made a historical circular movement from power elites, to the support of social movements, and then back to power elites. Their return to compliance with power elites, however, occurs in a subordinate relationship, where academy is seen as functional to the justification for reform, and as a provider of solutions for top-down policy processes. This subordinate relation is sustained through structures of research funding, and through the requirements of services for policies that have been previously decided upon. Academics involved in policy, however, try to be strategic through the insistence on complexity and the observation of more problems where authorities want solutions, and through the establishment of alliances that allow them to disseminate their views on education.
- 9) **The economic sector:** the involvement of this system is more abstract and at the same time more pervasive than in previous periods. Employers are not directly involved in education reform processes as was the case in past decades, but their demands and those of global economy are insistently quoted as a justification for reform and as a argument for the defence of a functional approach. The reason to keep this at an abstract textual level is the subject for another research but it may be interpreted as due to the great

business of private higher education in Chile after the 1980s, which requires university to be among the aspirations of all citizens, although they are being thought in the current highly stratified education system as more qualified working force, as it has been the case historically. The gradual privatisation of school education also allows for its indirect management by powerful economic groups, who connect their enterprises to educational foundations, think tanks and consultancy groups through which their ideology around education and society is spread. Only as an example, Arauco Foundation owns 550 schools in 33 municipalities. It is a part of the Arauco forestry company, which is owned by the Angelini group, one of the few richest families in the country who also has a high involvement in political lobbying at the Congress and has been involved in many controversies around the monopoly in the use of natural resources in the country. These complex interactions require a new study where policy networks are reconstructed following the work of Ball and Junemann (2011) in the UK.

The complex interplay between these systems and actors during the 1990-2010 period is summarised in Figure 26. As in previous representations, the researcher understands that there is a degree of simplification, which is inevitable when diagrams are used, and these are employed only to facilitate understanding of how polysystems of different periods have worked and how they have changed throughout history.

Three main discourses circulate among these systems and actors during the period. The predominant one is that of assessment as control through numbers. Its form is the continuation of two discourses on assessment of the past: the 19th Century discourse on certification, success and passing hurdles; and the discourse of standardised testing that enters during the 1920s but becomes canonical during the 1960s. Although supporting a similar idea of education and society, namely that of a functional view of education where its role is to distribute members of society in pre-established roles determined by the elites in power,

assessment technologies are now fully accommodated to a neo-liberal ideology. Through the publication of tests results schools are subjected to an unequal competition for the market of education, and can therefore be controlled from a distance. These strategies are reproduced by local authorities and by schools in the micro-practices of periodic marking through multiple-choice testing. The historical predominance that this view of assessment as a means to “pass” and “succeed” rather than to learn for the sake of learning, facilitates the consolidation of this discourse as the hegemonic one and makes new or more emancipatory ideas be more easily resisted.

In this context, for the first time an assessment discourse that is moderately consistent with an emancipatory curriculum and pedagogy, namely Assessment for Learning in its original version, enters the polysystem. The long-standing tradition of number-centred assessment discourses immediately reacts by generating tensions in teachers’ enactment of this new approach. It is also politically resisted by the decreasing funding from the Congress, and by more Conservative groups inside the Ministry who only adopted it in formal terms; a case of *phony policy* (Phillips, 2004). Assessment for Learning was doomed to fail in a context where a top-down mode of education policy had been historically imposed, where it was not supported neither promoted as a project of the Ministry as a whole, and where a functional model of society required forms of assessment that were consistent with it.

AfL, nonetheless, seems to share with Bloom’s ideas the potential for assimilation by different groups. A discourse on assessment that is completely consistent with critical pedagogy and with more emancipatory models of society has not been created. The attempts for doing so during the government of Allende were severely repressed. The closest assessment discourses have got to more emancipatory ideas, then, is through moderate versions that allow for accommodation, such as AfL. AfL is finally adapted to the third discourse on assessment that circulates in this period: standards. As the latter were resisted inside the Ministry and had the potential of being resisted by teachers, AfL was used as a

framework that made them more readily acceptable for these actors. Both discourses are, therefore, neutralised in a moderate version that reproduces the ambiguous political practices that characterised Chilean Third Way politics. However, funding, their closeness with SIMCE, and the negotiation that surrounded the change of Minister, make the standards discourse prevail, while the discourse of AfL remains as another residual that circulates in the system through the voice of those who believe in its potential. Again, emancipatory discourses are neutralised because educational and pedagogical reforms do not attempt to simultaneously change high-stakes assessment systems, and the avoidance of chemically pure discourses around assessment facilitates tradition to remain at the centre of the polysystem. As PA4 says:

'(...) when it ceases being a public policy everything goes back to its course, everything returns to "the natural order of things" [ironic, laughs], so to speak, because ultimately, as I was saying, [given] these three elements that are crucial (...), that is, the AUTHORITARIAN concept of teaching, the little spaces teachers have for planning and reflecting on their own practice and to talk to their peers about it, (...) and, on the other hand, the issue of marking, [] the implementation of AFL TODAY ends up being a very fragmentary one.'

The political embeddedness of assessment approaches is confirmed by the complete disappearance of AfL as a public policy after the change of government in 2010, and the subsequent dismissal from the Ministry of all those who were involved in it.

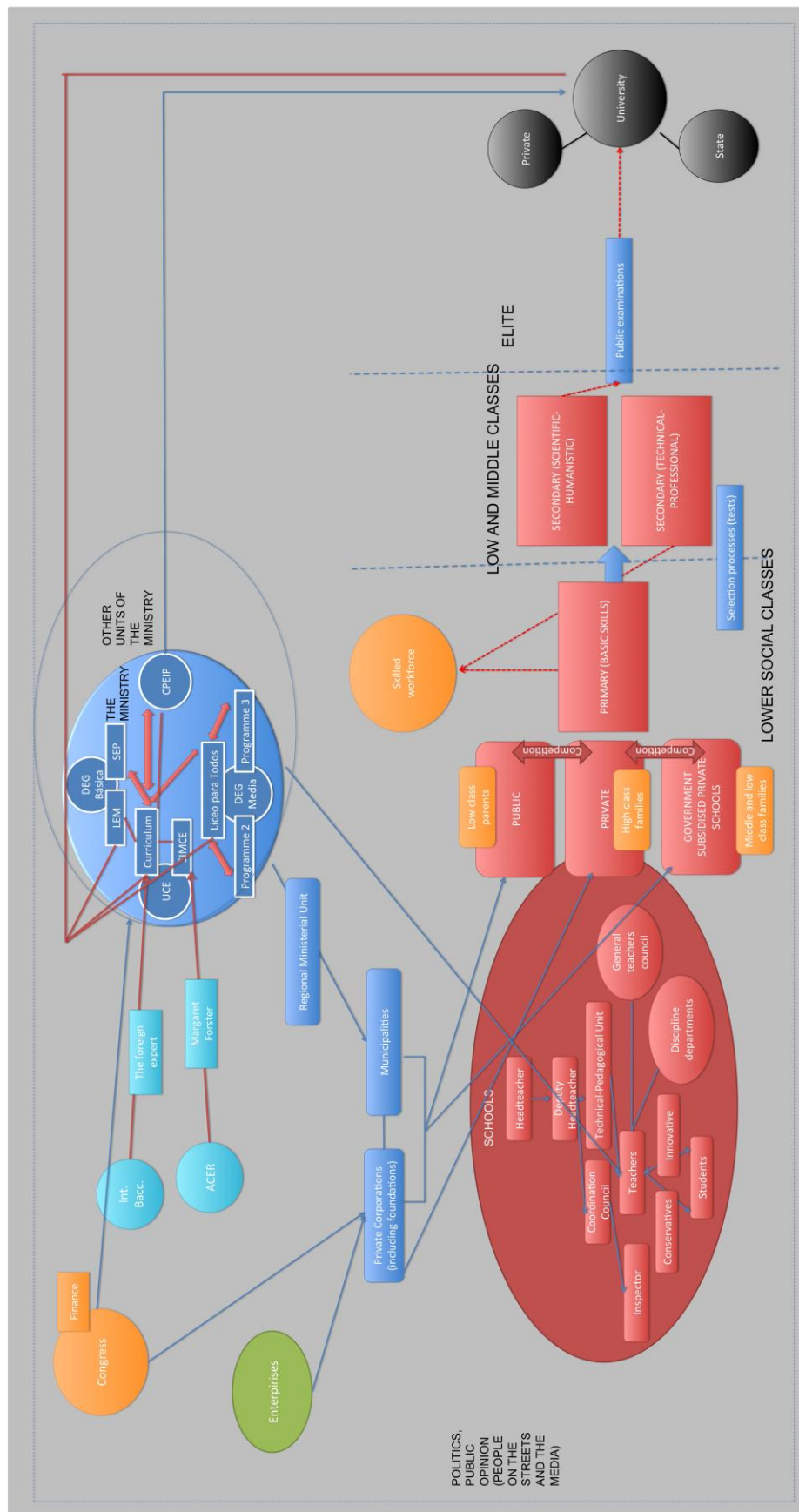


FIGURE 26. Education system of the period, with its main actors and interactions.

CONCLUSIONS

The research presented in this thesis has provided answers to the research questions set out in Chapter II. In relation to identifying the systems and actors involved in assessment reform processes, two important findings emerge. First, the study of these processes from a complex methodological approach has illuminated the field with the inclusion of a wide range of actors from multiple systems, some of which have been previously ignored in the study of assessment policies despite their high relevance in decision-making processes and their obvious significance in assessment policy. Second, the systems involved in assessment reform processes persist throughout history. In addition to the more obvious and usually considered systems, namely *schools* and *institutions of education governance*, *political parties*, *the economic sector*, *foreign models or education systems*, *families*, *public opinion*, *teacher education* and the *academy* also appear significant. Following Even-Zohar's (1990) principles, these constitute the elements of the assessment reform polysystem, and their changing hierarchical arrangements show the dynamic character of its composition.

A further research question in this study, relating to the interaction between actors and systems, is answered through the finding that the internal composition of each system in the polysystem, as well as the relationships between actors inside them, changes constantly. Similarly, relationships between the systems change when analysed diachronically. In the Chilean case, the changing dynamics seem to be guided by struggles around social segregation and, in direct connection to that, around more inclusive modes of governance. Different actors and systems contest in different moments of history the persistence of elites in top-down models that perpetuate the separation of social paths. Rather than more horizontal relationships, the subsequent waves of contestation led to hybrid and highly complex

governance models, and finally to repression and violence from powerful groups who resisted this change to the hierarchy of the polysystem.

The final research question related to the discourses on assessment that circulated through the polysystem, and to how these were related to power issues. The first discourse that circulates around assessment emerges from examination practices, which emphasise the high-stakes and public ritual aspect of assessment along with certification, marking, rewards and punishments, and selection. This discourse is embedded in a traditional model of pedagogy developed in colonial times, where rote learning as well as the religious and moral aspect of education was at the core. An attempt towards a more emancipatory pedagogy was halted by the persistence of high-stakes examinations in *catecismo*, which remained as the canonical pedagogical discourse. A second equivalent movement of the polysystem occurs during the 1920s, although it is then working class actors who initiate it and this time it includes changes to high-stakes examination regimes. Such changes are not related to a new discourse on assessment but point directly to the abolition of examinations. The response of the ruling elite was stronger this time and the system was 'cleansed' of its subversive elements.

A second discourse on assessment begins circulating during the 1920s among teachers and academics, who see its potential as a tool for the scientific observation of learning but at the same time perceive the risks it has if assimilated by an aristocratic ideology. Standardised testing is the first theoretical development on assessment in the history of education, imported from the field of psychology. It becomes canonised during the 1960s, when the government is seeking for an increase in education provision as well as an increase in access to higher education, as part of the hybrid ideology of the political centre, where selection and segregation are kept but to a lesser extent and based on meritocracy. Whether unintentionally or not, multiple-choice tests facilitated an increase in entrance to higher education in comparison to the more qualitative but supposedly less "objective" *Bachillerato*. When high-

stakes assessment shifted from open questions on academic subjects to closed questions around aptitudes, the system naturally followed that direction, and schools absorb these models of assessment. This, again, hinders the development of the curriculum and pedagogical reform undertaken at the time, which mixed the old principles of emancipatory pedagogy and the new approach developed by Bloom. However, the mechanical aspect of testing and of Bloom's theory seems to prevail and the emancipatory elements are neutralised through practices focused on automatic responses to questions that require the application of basic skills. An extreme of this is assessment practices during the dictatorship, where simplicity was kept at its maximum in order to avoid political persecution.

It is only in the 1990s that more emancipatory discourses on assessment began circulating throughout the polysystem, namely authentic assessment and Assessment for Learning, as models that were consistent with a cognitive-constructivist pedagogy. Although still moderate, they had the potential to turn assessment into an aid for learning rather than a mechanism of surveillance, disciplining and pressure. However, as paradigm shift in the polysystem is not sequential but rather a superposition of ideas, the new repertoire had to coexist with the old, which continued to occupy the centre of the polysystem, perhaps more pervasively than before. New repertoires were first negotiated and neutralised through the discourse of standards, which rather than a new repertoire could be understood as the evolution of goal-based pedagogy and assessment. Once the government changed, new repertoires were simply eliminated and the discourses of high-stakes testing and standards prevailed.

The research findings confirm how and to what extent assessment has been a key lever both in change and stability of the polysystem. Political elites' awareness of the power of assessment is evident, as struggles around it can be found in all the periods. Perhaps Minister Cifuentes summarised it at the beginning of our education history: *'the one who owns the examination is the owner of education'*. Eliminating high-stakes assessment systems has never

been in the field of vision of political elites, as they well understand their relevance as a lever of the whole education system, which in turn is embedded in specific models of society. It is innovative teachers along with working class members who suggest the elimination of examinations because of the vision of society they convey and the social barriers that they have guarded. When this impulse for change was supported by certain political elites and academics, and thus became more real, Conservative groups crushed this possibility without hesitation.

By addressing assessment reform processes from a historical perspective, this research has contributed to a better understanding of them. It has elucidated how discourses on assessment from the past overlap with those in the present, generating hybrid discursive practices. The research also has highlighted the historical continuity of the systems that compose the assessment reform polysystem. Additionally, the findings offer a rather depressing perspective in terms of the repetition of the same emancipatory ideas on education and society and the similar repetition of resistance to and defeat of these ideas. In that sense, perhaps teachers are right and show more historical awareness than policy authorities and academics when they say reforms are “just the same thing with new words”. The same can be said about their feelings of hopelessness. Finally, this diachronic approach provides some idea of what needs to be changed when an emancipatory reform in education and assessment is attempted: high-stakes assessment systems need to be, if not abolished, at least made less pervasive and threatening. It has been the historical wall against which all reform attempts have dashed themselves.

The (poly)systemic perspective also offers a different understanding of assessment reform processes. It showed how assessment reforms comprise far more than schools, education government institutions and a group of researchers around a single approach. There are many other systems and actors involved and many other parallel discourses and policies around assessment that play an important part in the interplay of reform. The interpretive and

flexible approach of polysystems theory also allowed for “zooming in and out” of each system. This revealed that each system had its own internal relationships and struggles over the meaning of assessment, which makes the whole process very chaotic, messy and polyphonic at all levels of the polysystem. Responsibilities around the “success” or “failure” of reform, therefore, become wider and teachers are (or should no longer be) the sole target of blame. A (poly)systemic approach reveals the position actors assume inside the systems they inhabit and has the potential of generating an increased awareness about this positioning, which could potentially lead to a more strategic approach to their involvement in assessment policies.

Lastly, the ideological dimension proved fundamental in a more complex understanding of assessment reform processes. The relationship between specific models of society and specific ideas on education and assessment policies was apparent in each period. This means that involvement in assessment reform processes has to be approached in a less naïve way, and has to be thought in terms of its embeddedness in a political and ideological context. Assessment has been used as a lever of the education system and the options chosen for this purpose are never merely technical. My involvement in this research process has confirmed a reflection I used to make when talking to in-service teachers: the smallest decision one makes in the classroom, specially around assessment, is not only a technical one, but also a historical and political one, where our own vision as professionals of education is enacted by selecting those practices that are consistent with our views of what we want for the future of students and, therefore, of society.

When presenting preliminary results of this work I have been asked what I think the solution is. At the beginning of my doctorate I could have given many answers. I could have said previous reform processes need to be taken into account in policy design; I could have said more bottom-up models of policy-making need to be implemented; I could have said that clearer decisions need to be made in relation to a single and ideologically consistent discourse

on assessment, in order to avoid parallel policies and overlapping contradictory discourses; in short, I could have said many things in terms of “lessons for policy” while remaining within a top-down and implementation-centred perspective on reform. However, throughout the doctorate I have become more pessimistic and critical of change. I increasingly have felt as if I were attending a conference about the universe and quantum physics for lay audiences, that is, like a small and insignificant particle that occupies a minuscule space and time inside a huge and infinite multidimensional structure that shapes our behaviour without us even noticing it. I have gradually abandoned the hope of expecting change to come from policy elites. The observation of their historical interplay has persuaded me of their willingness to keep things as they are. If there is any hope, this comes from the awareness developed through this process of research, where the importance of holding a perspective on education and of acting responsibly, coherently and strategically about it seems crucial. In that sense, I envisage more emancipatory potential in teacher education and research as a means to generate education professionals with a high level of awareness and independence of thought and, thus, with enough power and strategy to resist ideas they do not think of as ethically right.

In the meantime, the game continues, and in the context of the social movement for education a new campaign against SIMCE has recently emerged, which highlights again the ideological relevance of assessment discursive practices. Teachers, students and academics adhere to this protest, which is summarised in the website of the initiative in the following terms:

‘With this campaign we wish students, parents, teachers, academics and politicians raise their voice to halt the current implementation and use of SIMCE. We are convinced that SIMCE has turned into one of the fundamental pillars of market education and has disastrous consequences for education actors and schools.

*We understand that in order to imagine A NEW EDUCATION, consistent with its character of social right, we must face and redefine the way in which education works today. To think of a new assessment and a new curriculum requires to confront SIMCE.*¹⁴³

¹⁴³ The url of the website is: <http://www.alto-al-simce.org/>.

At the same time, a few days ago Presidential and Congressional elections took place in Chile. The binominal system, which new candidates have promised to change, benefitted the same two coalitions. Likewise, the two Presidential candidates (out of nine) that will compete in the second round also belong to *Concertación* (now re-named *New Majority*) and *Alianza*. I do not know if what is to come from this scenario in the arena of assessment is sadly predictable or if there is reason for hope for increased awareness of the community about the role of high-stakes assessment systems. Either way, I cannot but participate in it, this time with increased awareness, critical sense and strategy.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1:

LIST OF SELECTED DOCUMENTS AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION IN THE CATEGORIES OF *CONTEXT OF ENUNCIATION*

1860-1900

Name of document	Translation into English	Social sphere	Time/place	Type of discourse	Type of document	Author	Role of participants	Institutional affiliation	Political affiliation	Audience	Context (when relevant)	Source
Estudio sobre Instrucción Secundaria.	Study on Secondary Instruction.	Academy	Santiago, 1904	Argumentative	Thesis	Pedro Aguirre Cerda	Student applying for a Bachelors degree on Law and Political Science to the examination committee.	University	Radical	Examination committee	The author becomes a Radical president at the end of the 1930s.	Memoriachilena
Las escuelas de Berlín: informe elevado al Supremo Gobierno por la Legación de Chile en Alemania.	The schools of Berlin: Report to the Supreme Government from the legation of Chile in Germany.	Academy	Santiago, 1885	Informative/Argumentative	Report	Valentín Letelier	An 'expert' reporting to local authorities about a foreign education system.	Academy	Radical	Education authorities	The author is also a Radical politician.	Memoriachilena
Estudios sobre educación moderna. Organización de las Escuelas Normales. Informe presentado al Señor Ministro de Instrucción Pública de Chile.	Studies on modern education. The organisation of Escuelas Normales. Report submitted to Mr Minister of Public Instruction of Chile.	Academy	Santiago, 1883	Informative/Argumentative	Report	José Abelardo Núñez	An 'expert' reporting to local authorities about a foreign education system.	Academy	N/A	Education authorities	The author is founder of the Society for Primary Instruction (SIP).	Memoriachilena
Reseña de las XIV Convenciones del Partido Conservador (1878-1947).	Account on the XVI Conventions of the Conservative Party (1878-1947).	Politics	Santiago, 1878	Argumentative	Minutes	The Conservative Party	Members of a political party reinforcing their principles.	The Conservative Party	Conservative	Other members of the party.		Memoriachilena
Primera Ley Orgánica de la Instrucción Primaria.	First Organic Law for Primary Instruction.	Government	Santiago, 1860	Imperative	Law	Manuel Montt and Rafael Sotomayor	President and Minister to all the education system.	Ministry of Education	Conservative	Education system		Memoriachilena

Reglamento de la Ley Orgánica de 1860.	Regulation for the Organic Law of 1860.	Government	Santiago, 1863	Imperative	Regulation	José Joaquín Pérez and Miguel María Güemes	President and Minister to schools and their internal actors.	Ministry of Education	Liberal-Conservative alliance	Schools		Memoriachilena
Reglamento para la enseñanza y régimen interno de las escuelas elementales.	Regulation for the teaching and internal regime of elementary schools.	Government	Santiago, 1883	Imperative	Regulation	Domingo Santa María and José Eujenio Vergara	President and Minister to schools and their internal actors.	Ministry of Education	Liberal	Schools		Memoriachilena
Reglamento para la enseñanza en las escuelas superiores.	Regulation for teaching in higher (primary) schools.	Government	Santiago, 1883	Imperative	Regulation	Domingo Santa María and José Eujenio Vergara	President and Minister to schools and their internal actors.	Ministry of Education	Liberal	Schools		Memoriachilena
Reglamento general de instrucción primaria.	General regulation for primary instruction.	Government	Santiago, 1898	Imperative	Regulation	Federico Errázuriz Zañartu and Carlos Palacios	President and Minister to schools and their internal actors.	Ministry of Education	Liberal	Schools		Memoriachilena
Reglamento interno para las escuelas.	Internal regulation for schools.	Government	Santiago, 1899	Imperative	Regulation	Federico Errázuriz Zañartu and Carlos Palacios	President and Minister to schools and their internal actors.	Ministry of Education	Liberal	Schools		Memoriachilena
Aplicación de normas y disciplina en apoyo al sistema de instrucción; en memoria que el visitador de escuelas de la Provincia de Arauco pasa al señor Ministro de Instrucción Pública en abril de 1861.	Application of norms and discipline in support of the system of instruction; in report given by the visitor of schools of the Province of Arauco to Mr Minister of Public Instruction in April 1861.	Teaching/Local authorities	Arauco, 1861	Informative/Imperative	Report	Provincial school visitor of the region of Arauco	Provincial school visitor to the Minister of Education.	Local authorities	N/A	Minister of Education	Selection from the original document.	Memoriachilena

Informe sobre las escuelas de niñas de Santiago presentado al señor Inspector Jeneral de Instrucción Primaria, por la visitadora extraordinaria de las mismas doña Teresa Adametz.	Report about the girl's schools of Santiago presented to the Sr General Inspector of Primary Instruction, by their extraordinary visitor Mrs Teresa Adametz.	Teaching/ Local authorities	Santiago, 1896	Informative/ Argumentative	Report	Teresa Adametz	Provincial school visitor to the General Inspector.	Local authorities	N/A	General Inspector	Selection from the original document.	Memoriachilena
Apresiasi3n sobre el buen desempe1o de preceptor del Maule por el Visitador de Escuela, en memoria que el Visitador de las Escuelas de la provincia del Maule pasa al se1or Ministro de Instrucci3n P1blica.	Appreciation about the good performance of preceptor [teacher] of Maule by the School Visitor, in report that the Schools Visitor of the province of Maule gives to Sr Minister of Public Instruction.	Teaching/ Local authorities	Maule, 1861	Argumentative	Report	Aristides Ambrosoli	Provincial school visitor to the Minster of Education.	Local authorities	N/A	Minister of Education	Selection from the original document.	Memoriachilena
Apresiasi3n sobre la responsabilidad profesional que efect1o [sic] el visitador de escuelas respecto de preceptoras en n3mina de recomendados por el visitador, Mariano Araya, al Inspector Jeneral.	Appreciation about the professional responsibility carried out by the school visitor about teachers in the recommendeds' list by the visitor, Mariano Araya, to the General Inspector.	Teaching/ Local authorities	La Serena, 1896	Argumentative	Report	Mariano Araya	School visitor to the General Inspector.	Local authorities	N/A	General Inspector	Selection from the original document.	Memoriachilena

La reforma en la instrucción primaria y la formación de preceptoras en la opinión de la directora de la Normal Femenina de Santiago, en discurso de la Directora Teresa Adametz, en la inauguración del nuevo local de la Escuela Normal de Preceptoras, 1886.	Primary instruction reform and teachers' education in opinion of the director of the Female Escuela Normal of Santiago, in discourse of the director Teresa Adametz during the opening of the new building of the Normal School of Teachers.	Teacher Education	Santiago, 1886	Argumentative	Public speech	Teresa Adametz	Head of Escuela Normal de Preceptoras to academics and education authorities.	Teacher Education	N/A	Academics and education authorities (only one woman)	Selection from the original document.	Memoriachilena
Varios Alumnos. El Instituto y el Ministro Cifuentes.	Several students. The Institute and Minister Cifuentes.	Secondary school students	Santiago, 1873	Argumentative	Critical analysis	Students from the National Institute	Secondary school students to education authorities.	National Institute	Anti-Conservatism	Education authorities		Memoriachilena
El terrorismo del señor don Diego Barros Arana y Ca. en el Instituto Nacional.	The terrorism of Mr Diego Barros Arana and Co. In the National Institute.	School	Santiago, 1863	Argumentative	Critical analysis	Presbyter Juan Bautista Loubert	A religious authority to the public.	Church	Conservative	Chilean citizens		Memoriachilena
Reglamento para el Instituto Nacional, dictado por el Supremo Gobierno.	Regulation for the National Institute, dictated by the Supreme Government.	Government	Santiago, 1863	Imperative	Regulation	José Joaquín Pérez and Miguel María Güemes	President and Minister to the National Institute and the secondary education system.	National Institute	Liberal	Secondary school system		Memoriachilena
Reseña Histórica de la SIP (1856-1873).	A historical account of the SIP (Society for Primary Instruction) (1856-1873)	Academy	Santiago, 1873	Narrative with argumentative elements	Historical account	Alberto Velásquez	Member of SIP (?) to its President and other members.	Society for Primary Instruction	Liberal	Other members of the Society and general public.		Memoriachilena

El Doctor Don Rodolfo Amando Philippi. Su vida i sus obras (1808-1904).	Dr Mr Rodolfo Armando Philippi. His life and works (1808-1904).	Academy	Santiago, 1904	Descriptive/ Narrative	Testimony	Diego Barros Arana	Academic to other academics.	Academy	Liberal	Academics		Personal collection
La cuestión de exámenes.	The issue of eminations.	Academy	Santiago, 1874	Argumentative	Essay	Miguel Luis Amunátegui	An academic and politician to other academics and politicians (elite members).	Academy and politics	Liberal	Academics and politicians		Personal collection
Recuerdos Literarios.	Literary memories.	Academy	Santiago, 1878	Descriptive/ Narrative	Testimony	José Victorino Lastarria	A political and intellectual leader to the general public, mainly the elite.	Academy	Liberal	General public, mainly the elite.		Personal collection
Reglamento para las Escuelas Normales de preceptores.	Regulation for Teachers’ Escuelas Normales.	Government	Santiago, 1890	Imperative	Law	José Manuel Balmaceda and Julio Bañados	President and Minister to teacher educators.	Ministry of Education	Liberal	Teacher educators	The Minister is also a very close friend of Balmaceda in the context of a government in crisis.	National Library
Conveniencia y modo práctico de aplicar el sistema concéntrico en la enseñanza primaria, aceptando la escuela graduada.	Convenience and practical mode of applying the concentrical system in Primary Education accepting gradual school.	Teachers	Santiago, 1889	Argumentative	Essay	Ramón Pérez	Teacher to other teachers and academics.	Community of experts in education (teachers and academics)			Pedagogical Congress in 1889	National Library
Medios para Mejorar la Preparación Profesional de los Preceptores graduados antes de 1885.	Means to improve the professional preparation of teachers who graduated before 1885.	Academy	Santiago, 1889	Argumentative	Essay	Academics and education practitioners	Academics and education practitioners in discussion.	Ministry of Education/ Academy	Liberal (organised by the government of Balmaceda)	Attendants to the Congress / The education community of experts (academics and practitioners)	Minute of Topic 10 of the Pedagogical Congress of 1889	National Library

Ley de Instrucción Secundaria y Superior.	Law for Secondary and Higher Education.	Government	Santiago, 1879	Imperative	Law	Aníbal Pinto and Jorge Huneeus	President and Minister to secondary schools and universities.	Ministry of Education	Liberal	Secondary schools and universities	Published several years later than the agreement for a new law.	National Library
27 certificados de aprobación de cursos del Instituto Nacional.	27 approval certificates of courses at the National Institute.	Schools/Local authorities	Santiago, 1875-1879	Performative	Certificate	National Institute authorities	The National Institute to students and parents.	School	N/A	Students and parents		National Archive
13 Actas de exámenes y/o listas de notas de la Región de Concepción.	13 exam minutes and/or marking lists for the Region of Concepción.	Schools/Local authorities	Concepción, 1863-1864	Informative	Exam minutes	Examination Committee	The examination committee to the local authority (Intendente).	Local authorities	N/A	Local authorities.		National Archive
Carta que comunica los días y las condiciones de exámenes para la Región de Concepción.	Letter that communicates dates and conditions for examinations for the Región de Concepción.	Local authorities	Concepción, 1863	Informative	Letter	Vistor of the Province	From the visitor to the Intendente.	Local authorities	N/A	The Intendente		National Archive
2 certificados exámenes fines s. XIX.	2 exam certificates from the 19th Century.	Schools	Santiago, 1879 and N/D	Performative	Certificate	School administrators	School administrators for students and parents.	School	N/A	Students and parents		Personal Collection
Mi Destitución	Mi dismissal	Academy/Politics	Santiago, 1873	Argumentative	Brochure	Diego Barros Arana	Dismissed rector of the National Institute denouncing to public opinion what he considers an unfair and politically motivated action of Conservative Minister Cifuentes.	Academy and politics	Liberal	Public opinion	In the context of the examinations issue	Website of the University of Chile
El libro de oro de las escuelas	The school's Golden book	Academy	Santiago, 1862	Argumentative/Directive	Teaching material	José Victorino Lastarria	Liberal academic and politician to teachers	Academy/Teacher education	Liberal	Teachers and teachers education		Memoriachilena

El estudio de la geografía i dos nuevos textos destinados a su enseñanza	The study of geography and two new texts devoted to its teaching	Academy	Santiago, 1878	Argumentative	Critical analysis	Luis Barros Borgoño	Academic and politician to teacher educators and education authorities	Academy	N/A	Teacher educators and education authorities	Published in <i>The Chilean Journal</i>	Memoriachilena

1920-1940

Name of document	Translation into English	Social sphere	Time/place	Type of discourse	Type of document	Author	Role of participants	Institutional affiliation	Political affiliation	Audience	Context (when relevant)	Source
Decreto con Fuerza de Ley 7500. Reforma Educacional.	Decree (with Force of Law) 7500. Education Reform.	Government	Santiago, 1927	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, Eduardo Barrios and Pablo Ramírez	President and Minister to all the education system.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Education system		National Congress online library
Ley 3654 sobre Educación Primaria Obligatoria.	Law 3654 for Compulsory Primary Education.	Government	Santiago, 1920	Imperative	Law	Juan Luis Sanfuentes and Lorenzo Montt	President and Minister to all the education system.	Ministry of Education	Liberal	Education system	President from the liberal group in favour of parliamentarism.	Memoriachilena
Convención General del Partido Conservador.	National Convention of the Conservative Party.	Politics	Valparaíso, 1941	Argumentative	Minutes	The Conservative Party	Members of a political party reinforcing their principles.	The Conservative Party	Conservative	Other members of the party.		Memoriachilena
La Educación Nueva en Chile (1928-1930).	The New Education in Chile (1928-1930).	Academy	Madrid, 1930s	Informative/Argumentative	Report	Adolfo Ferriere	A Swiss academic to the actors of the Chilean education system.	Academy	N/A	Education system	Ferriere is Dr in Sociology and Vice-president of the International League for New Education.	Memoriachilena
La crisis de la reforma educacional en Chile	The crisis of the education reform in Chile	Academy/Intellectuals	Lima, 1929	Argumentative	Critical analysis	José Carlos Marátegui	A Peruvian intellectual to Chilean teachers	Academy/Intellectual movement	N/A	Chilean teachers	Published in <i>Mundial</i> as part of a series of articles. He was close to the authors of <i>Nuevos Rumbos</i> .	National library
Decreto 1338. Autoriza funcionamiento de un curso de investigaciones pedagógicas.	Decree 1338. Authorises the functioning of a pedagogical research course.	Government/Teacher Education	Santiago, 1932	Imperative	Decree	Juan Esteban Montero and Alfredo G. Bravo	President and Minister to primary schools.	Ministry of Education	Radical	Primary schools		National Congress Library
Decreto 1679. Aprueba plan de organización de la Escuela Normal "José Abelardo Núñez"	Decree 1679. Approves the plan for the the organisation of Escuela Normal "José Abelardo Núñez"	Government	Santiago, 1933	Imperative	Decree	Arturo Alessandri and Domingo Durán	President and Minister to Teacher Education institutions	Ministry of Education	Liberal	Teacher educators (primary schools)		National Congress Library

Decreto 435. Se aprueba el reglamento y plan de estudios del Instituto Pedagógico	Decree 435. The regulation and study plan for the Pedagogical Institute is approved	Government	Santiago, 1935	Imperative	Decree	J. Hernández and L. Marshal	Rector and General Secreatry of the University of Chile to teacher educators and the Ministry	University of Chile	Liberal	Teacher educators (secondary schools) and the Ministry	National Congress Library
Decreto 1474. Establece la ficha de aptitudes para los alumnos que ingresen a la escuela primaria.	Decree 1474. Establishes the aptitude record for students that enter primary school.	Government	Santiago, 1930	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Mariano Navarrete	President and Minister to primary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Primary schools	National Congress Library
Decreto 3060. Reglamento general de las escuelas primarias.	Decree 3060. General regulation for primary schools.	Government	Santiago, 1929	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Mariano Navarrete	President and Minister to primary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Primary schools	National Congress Library
Decreto 4669. Organiza Servicio de Inspección de Educación Primaria.	Decree 4669. Organises the Inspection Service for Primary Education.	Government	Santiago, 1930	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Bartolomé Blanche	President and War Minister to primary schools	Government	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Primary schools	National Congress Library
Ley 5291 de Instrucción Primaria Obligatoria.	Law 5291 for Compulsory Primary Instruction.	Government	Santiago, 1929	Imperative	Law	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Mariano Navarrete	President and Minister to primary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Primary schools	Counter-reform National Congress Library
Decreto 5526. Término de las labores escolares en las Escuelas Primarias.	Decree 5526. End of school work in Primary Schools.	Government	Santiago, 1928	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Pablo Ramírez	President and Minister to primary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Primary schools	National Congress Library
Decreto 22. Orientación y finalidades de la Segunda Enseñanza.	Decree 22. Orientation and aims of Secondary Education.	Government	Santiago, 1928	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Pablo Ramírez	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Secondary school system	National Congress Library
Decreto 23. Plan de estudios del primer ciclo de la Enseñanza Secundaria.	Decree 23. Plan of studies for the first cycle of Secondary Education.	Government	Santiago, 1929	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Pablo Ramírez	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Secondary school system	National Congress Library
Decreto 260. Derechos de matrícula y exámenes (pago).	Decree 260. Matriculation and examination rights (payment).	Government	Santiago, 1929	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Pablo Ramírez	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Secondary school system	National Congress Library

DFL 282 sobre derechos de matrícula.	Decree (with Force of Law) 282 on matriculation rights.	Government	Santiago, 1931	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, Gustavo Lira y Rodolfo Jaramillo	President and Ministers of Education and Finance to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Secondary school system	The closer to HE, the more expensive the fees are. There are also fees for exams in preparatorias.	National Congress Library
Decreto 387. Establece un Derecho de Matrícula y Exámenes en la Enseñanza Superior y Secundaria.	Decree 387. Establishes a matriculation and examination right (payment) for Higher and Secondary Education.	Government	Santiago, 1925	Imperative	Decree	Emilio Bello, Ward, Dartnell and José Maza	President and members of the governing board (coup d'etat), and the Minister of the previous government.	Ministry of Education	Mixture of independent militaries and Liberal politicians.	Secondary school system		National Congress Library
Decreto 996 sobre exención pago matrícula y exámenes.	Decree 996 on exemption of matriculation and examination fees.	Government	Santiago, 1926	Imperative	Decree	Emiliano Figueroa and A. Huidobro	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Liberal	Secondary school system	A pro-Balmaceda Liberal. Short government dominated by his Minister Ibáñez.	National Congress Library
Decreto 2545. Reglamento de calificaciones y exámenes de Educación Secundaria.	Decree 2545. Exams and grading regulation for Secondary Education.	Government	Santiago, 1929	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Mariano Navarrete	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Secondary school system		National Congress Library
Decreto 2693. Reglamento General de la Educación Secundaria.	Decree 2693. General regulation for Secondary Education.	Government	Santiago, 1928	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Eduardo Barrios	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Secondary school system		National Congress Library
Decreto 2777. Aprueba Reformas el Reglamento de Calificaciones y Exámenes.	Decree 2777. Approves reforms to the Regulation for Grading and Exams.	Government	Santiago, 1932	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Dávila and C. Soto	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Socialist	Secondary school system	It makes passing more challenging.	National Congress Library
Decreto 2865. Reglamento General de Liceos.	Decree 2865. General Regulation for Public Secondary Schools (Liceos).	Government	Santiago, 1929	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Mariano Navarrete	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Secondary school system		National Congress Library

Decreto 4022. Autoriza a Rectores y Directores para recibir Solicitudes de Exención de Derechos de Matrícula.	Decree 4022. Authorises rectors and headteachers to receive applications for exemption from matriculation fees.	Government	Santiago, 1931	Imperative	Decree	Manuel Trucco and Leonardo Guzmán	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Radical	Secondary school system	More exemption of fees needed due to economic crisis. If students/parents did not pay, they would not have the right to take exams.	National Congress Library
Decreto 4865. Declara válidos exámenes Escuela Militar.	Decree 4865. Declares Military School exams valid.	Government	Santiago, 1931	Imperative	Decree	Manuel Trucco and Leonardo Guzmán	President and Minister to military schools.	Ministry of Education	Radical	Military schools		National Congress Library
Decreto 179. Crea cursos de recuperación para estudiantes secundarios.	Decree 179. Creates reinforcement courses for Secondary School students.	Government	Santiago, 1932	Imperative	Decree	Juan Esteban Montero and Santiago Labarca	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Radical	Secondary school system	Summer courses to prepare repetition exams in March.	National Congress Library
Decreto 5486. Escuelas Primarias Anexas a Liceos pasan a depender de la DGES.	Decree 5486. Annex Primary Schools of Liceos become dependant on the DGES (General Directorate for Secondary Education).	Government	Santiago, 1929	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Mariano Navarrete	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Secondary school system	Keeps separation between preparatorias and primary schools.	National Congress Library
Decreto 6087. Reglamento de exámenes de Instrucción Secundaria.	Decree 6087. Exams regulation for Secondary Instruction.	Government	Santiago, 1927	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and José Santos Salas	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Secondary school system	J.S. Salas is from the Left.	National Congress Library
Decreto 7811. Se modifican los artículos 20 y 21 del reglamento de exámenes.	Decree 7811. Articles 20 and 21 of the examination regulation are modified.	Government	Santiago, 1927	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Eduardo Barrios	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Secondary school system		National Congress Library
Decreto 7201. Modifica reglamento exámenes.	Decree 7201. Modifies the exams regulation.	Government	Santiago, 1927	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Eduardo Barrios	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Secondary school system		National Congress Library
Decreto 97. Aprueba reglamento Exámenes para Enseñanza Secundaria.	Decree 97. Approves exams regulation for Secondary Education.	Government	Santiago, 1925	Imperative	Decree	Luis Altamirano and José Bernales	Transition vicepresident	Ministry of Education	Military	Secondary school system		National Congress Library

Decreto 545. Modifica artículo reglamento calificaciones y exámenes.	Decree 545. Modifies an article of the grading and examination regulation.	Government	Santiago, 1933	Imperative	Decree	Arturo Alessandri and Domingo Durán	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Liberal	Secondary school system	Facilitates passing given the problem of repetition.	National Congress Library
Decreto 2620. Fija derechos de exámenes para la Enseñanza Secundaria.	Decree 2620. Fixes examination rights (payment) for Secondary Education.	Government	Santiago, 1933	Imperative	Decree	Arturo Alessandri and Domingo Durán	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Liberal	Secondary school system		National Congress Library
Decreto 554. Modifica artículo reglamento calificaciones y exámenes.	Decree 554. Modifies an article of the grading and examination regulation.	Government	Santiago, 1932	Imperative	Decree	Juan Esteban Montero and Santiago Labarca	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Radical	Secondary school system	Facilitates passing given the problem of repetition.	National Congress Library
Decreto 656. Modifica Decreto 22.	Decree 656. Modifies Decree 22.	Government	Santiago, 1929	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Pablo Ramírez	President and Minister to schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Education system	Reinstates entrance exam to Liceos from 1930.	National Congress Library
Decreto 949. Promoción condicional de alumnos que fracasen en un ramo.	Decree 949. Conditional promotion of students who fail one course.	Government	Santiago, 1928	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Eduardo Barrios	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Secondary school system	Reinstates conditional promotion.	National Congress Library
Decreto 1303. Prorroga por 1935 N° 545.	Decree 1303. Extends for 1935 N°545.	Government	Santiago, 1934	Imperative	Decree	Arturo Alessandri and Osvaldo Vial	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Liberal	Secondary school system	New extension of conditional promotion.	National Congress Library
Decreto 1460. Prorroga 1303 por 1936.	Decree 1460. Extends 1303 for 1936.	Government	Santiago, 1936	Imperative	Decree	Arturo Alessandri and Francisco Garcés Gana	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Liberal	Secondary school system	New extension of conditional promotion.	National Congress Library
Decreto 1738. Prorroga 545 por 1934.	Decree 1738. Extends 545 for 1934.	Government	Santiago, 1934	Imperative	Decree	Arturo Alessandri and Domingo Durán	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Liberal	Secondary school system	Extension of conditional promotion.	National Congress Library
Decreto 7018. Modifica reglamento de calificaciones y exámenes.	Decree 7018. Modifies the grading and examinations regulation.	Government	Santiago, 1934	Imperative	Decree	Arturo Alessandri and Osvaldo Vial	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Liberal	Secondary school system	Facilitates passing given the problem of repetition.	National Congress Library
Decreto 3764. Modifica reglamento de becas.	Decree 3764. Modifies the scholarships regulation.	Government	Santiago, 1930	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Mariano Navarrete	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Secondary school system		National Congress Library

Decreto 3830. Modifica reglamento de licencia secundaria.	Decree 3830. Modifies the Secondary Education certificate regulation.	Government	Santiago, 1932	Imperative	Decree	Bartolomé Blanche and Luis D. Cruz Ocampo	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Socialist (temporary minitary government)	Secondary school system	Diminishes the price for the certificate.	National Congress Library
Decreto 4096. Supresión del Bachillerato en Filosofía y Humanidades.	Decree 4096. Abolition of Philosophy and Humanities Bachillerato.	Government	Santiago, 1928	Imperative with argumentative elements	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Eduardo Barrios	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Secondary school system	Lasts only a short time.	National Congress Library
Decreto 5243. Valida exámenes Escuela Militar.	Decree 5243. Validates Military School exams.	Government	Santiago, 1933	Imperative	Decree	Arturo Alessandri and Domingo Durán	President and Minister to military schools.	Ministry of Education	Liberal	Military schools		National Congress Library
Decreto 5398. Aprueba reglamento de exámenes.	Decree 5398. Approves the examinations regulation.	Government	Santiago, 1928	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Pablo Ramírez	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Secondary school system		National Congress Library
Decreto 5498. Reglamento para obtener Licencia Secundaria.	Decree 5498. Regulation for the obtainment of Secondary School Certificate.	Government	Santiago, 1928	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Pablo Ramírez	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Secondary school system	More expensive certificates.	National Congress Library
Decreto 2923. Modifica exámenes de madurez.	Decree 2923. Modifies matutiry exams.	Government	Santiago, 1936	Imperative	Decree	Arturo Alessandri and Francisco Garcés Gana	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Liberal	Secondary school system		National Congress Library
Decreto 5352. Aprueba disposiciones sobre exámenes.	Decreto 5352. Approves dispositions on exams.	Government	Santiago, 1928	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Pablo Ramírez	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Secondary school system		National Congress Library
Decreto 5736. Modifica el reglamento de exámenes en lo que se refiere a los alumnos de 6º año.	Decree 5736. Modifies the regulation for exams in relation to Year 12 students.	Government	Santiago, 1928	Imperative	Decree	Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Pablo Ramírez	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Independent (supported by Conservatives)	Secondary school system		National Congress Library
La imprenta en la escuela primaria.	The printer in Primary School.	Teachers/ Academy	Santiago, 1927	Argumentative	Essay	Adolfo Ferriere	Academic to teachers.	Academy	N/A	Teachers	<i>Nuevos Rumbos</i> Journal	National Library
Los tests psicológicos y la nueva educación.	Psychological tests and new education.	Teachers	Santiago, 1927	Informative/ Argumentative	Essay	Carlos Velásquez	Academic/teacher (?) to teachers.	Academy or school?	N/A	Teachers	<i>Nuevos Rumbos</i> Journal	National Library

Controversia entre aristócratas y demócratas de la inteligencia.	Controversy among aristocrats and democrats of intelligence.	Teachers	Santiago, 1927	Argumentative	Essay	Carlos Velásquez	Academic/teacher (?) to teachers.	Academy or school?	N/A	Teachers	<i>Nuevos Rumbos</i> Journal	National Library
Nuestras Escuelas Normales	Our Escuelas Normales.	Teachers	Santiago, 1927	Argumentative	Essay	S. Fuentes Vega	Academic/teacher (?) to teachers.	Academy or school?	N/A	Teachers	<i>Nuevos Rumbos</i> Journal	National Library
Actas de Consejo de Instrucción Primaria.	Minutes from the Council for Primary Instruction.	Teaching/Local authorities	Santiago, 1922	Informative	Minutes	The Council for Primary Instruction	Minister and members of the council. Indirectly to schools through the journal.	Ministry of Education	Liberal	The members and indirectly schools.	Journal for Primary Instruction	National Library
Crónica: en exámenes.	A chronicle on exams.	Teaching/Local authorities	Santiago, 1922	Informative/Argumentative	Essay	Examination Committee / Signed JMMH	Examination Committee to the education system.	Ministry of Education	N/A	Education system	Journal for Primary Instruction	National Library
A propósito de la reforma a la enseñanza.	On the education reform.	Teachers	Santiago, 1922	Argumentative	Essay	Not registered	An expert referring to the Chilean reform in a critical way from Leipzig, to the education system.	Ministry of Education	N/A	Education system	Journal for Primary Education	National Library
Bosquejo de algunos valores educativos.	Sketch on some educational values.	Teachers	Santiago, 1927	Argumentative	Essay	Hugo Daudet	Academic/teacher (?) to teachers.	Academy or school?	N/A	Teachers	<i>Nuevos Rumbos</i> Journal	National Library
19 actas de exámenes de la Región de Antofagasta.	19 exam minutes from the Region of Antofagasta.	Schools/Local authorities	Antofagasta, 1927	Informative	Exam minutes	Examination Committee	Examination Committee to the local authority.	Local authorities	N/A	Local authorities		National Archive
3 listas de comisiones examinadoras Región de Antofagasta.	3 examination committees lists of the Region of Antofagasta.	Local authorities	Antofagasta, 1927	Informative	Local paperwork	Intendencia or school headteachers	Interaction between schools and local authorities, the former suggesting potential committees and the latter defining the final list of examiners for the province.	Local authorities	N/A	Local authorities /schools		National Archive

Calendario de exámenes. Antofagasta.	Exams calendar. Region of Antofagasta.	Local authorities	Antofagasta, 1927	Informative	Local paperwork	School Headteacher	Headteacher to the Intendente.	School	N/A	The Intendente		National Archive
Carta familias colegios privados reclamando por condiciones de exámenes en la Región de Antofagasta.	Letter from families of private schools complaining for examination conditions at the Region of Antofagasta.	Parents	Antofagasta, 1927	Argumentative	Letter	Parents through the Intendente	Parents of private schools to the Minister through the Intendente.	Families	N/A	The Minister		National Archive
Telegrama pago exámenes en Liceo.	Telegram on examination payment in a public secondary school.	Schools	Antofagasta, 1927	Performative	Letter	Rector of a secondary school	The school rector to the local Intendente for him to inform the General Director for Secondary Education and the University.	School	N/A	Central authorities		National Archive
2 telegramas de casos particulares de exámenes de alumnos. Comunica resultados.	2 telegrams of particular cases of exams of some students. Communicates results.	Schools	Antofagasta, 1927	Informative	Letter	Local authority (Intendente)	Intendente to University in Santiago (to the Rector).	Local authorities	N/A	The university rector		National Archive
Niños problemas.	Problematic children.	Teachers	Santiago, 1935	Argumentative	Essay	Ana de Vásquez	Teacher and school visitor to education practitioners.	Local authorities	N/A	Those in practice in education	Education Journal	Personal Collection
No divagemos.	Let's not ramble.	Teacher Education	Santiago, 1935	Argumentative	Essay	Sara Perrin	Academic from Escuela Normal to education practitioners.	Teacher Education	N/A	Those in practice in education	Education Journal	Personal Collection
El Régimen Escolar y los problemas de la Disciplina.	School regime and discipline problems.	Teachers	Santiago, 1936	Argumentative	Essay	Dr. Moisés Mussa	Inspector of Escuela Normal to the community of education practitioners.	Teacher Education	N/A	Those in practice in education	Education Journal	Personal Collection
Trienio, por lugar o calificación	Triennium, for place or qualification.	Teachers	Santiago, 1936	Informative	Letter	A teacher	Teacher to experts who can solve her doubts.	School	N/A	Experts in education	Consultation of a teacher to the Education Journal.	Personal Collection

3 listas o libretas de notas personales de establecimientos privados.	3 personal marking lists or reports from private schools.	Schools	Santiago, 1934 and 1939	Informative	Marks register	School administrators	School administrators to students and parents.	School	N/A	Students and parents	Personal Collection	
4 testimonios de distinción por conducta, establecimiento privado.	4 distinction testimonies for good behaviour from a private school.	Schools	Santiago, 1937	Performative	Prize	School administrators	School administrators to students and parents.	School	N/A	Students and parents	Personal Collection	
Registro de notas de un liceo.	Marks register from a public secondary school.	Schools	Santiago, 1936	Informative	Marks register	School administrators	School administrators to authorities	School	N/A	Education authorities	Liceo Amunátegui	
Ricos y pobres a través de un siglo de vida republicana.	Rich and poor throughout a century of republican life.	Politics	Rengo, 1910	Argumentative	Public speech	Luis Emilio Recabarren	Leader of the Democratic Party to workin class members.	Democratic Party (workers party)	Democratic Party	Working class members	In the context of the celebration of 100 years of independence.	Memoriachilena

1965-1985

Name of document	Translation into English	Social sphere	Time/place	Type of discourse	Type of document	Author	Role of participants	Institutional affiliation	Political affiliation	Audience	Context (when relevant)	Source
Decreto 2038. Aprueba reglamento de evaluación y promoción de alumnos de Educación General Básica y Educación Media Humanístico-Científica y Técnico profesional para el año escolar 1979.	Decree 2038. Approves the regulation of assessment and promotion of Primary School and Humanistic and Technical-Professional Secondary School students for the school year 1979.	Government	Santiago, 1978	Imperative	Decree	Augusto Pinochet and Alfredo Prieto	President and Minister to schools and their internal actors.	Ministry of Education	Conservative	Schools		National Congress online library
Informe UNESCO: Examen y revisión de los programas de educación.	UNESCO report: Analysis and revision of education programmes.	International Organisation	Santiago, 1966	Argumentative	Report	Roger Albaric	Representative of an IO to a developing country and its education authorities, commissioned by the government.	UNESCO	N/A	Education authorities	Report commissioned by the Chilean government.	UNESCO website
Decreto 2088. Fija texto actualizado y de transición de los Decretos Supremos Nº 164, de 1974, y Nº 440, de 1975.	Decree 2088. It fixes the updated and transition text of Supreme Decrees Nº 164, of 1974, and Nº 440, of 1975.	Government	Santiago, 1979	Imperative	Decree	Augusto Pinochet and Gonzalo Vial Correa	President and Minister to schools and their internal actors.	Ministry of Education	Conservative	Schools		National Congress online library
Ley 16526. Suprime el Bachillerato como requisito de ingreso a las escuelas universitarias dependientes de la Universidad de Chile, de la Universidad Técnica del Estado y de las universidades reconocidas por el estado.	Law 16526. Abolishes Bachillerato as a requirement for entrance to university schools that depend on the University of Chile, the Technical State University and universities recognised by the State.	Government	Santiago, 1966	Imperative	Law	Eduardo Frei Montalva and Juan Gómez Millas	President and Minister to the secondary education system.	Ministry of Education	Christian Democrat	Secondary school system		National Congress online library

Decreto 1191. Aprueba el Reglamento del Decreto Ley 2327, de 1978, sobre carrera docente.	Decree 1191. Approves the Regulation of the Law Decree 2327 of 1978 on teaching career.	Government	Santiago, 1978	Imperative	Decree	Augusto Pinochet and Luis Niemann	President and Minister to teachers and school administrators.	Ministry of Education	Conservative	Teachers and school administrators	Both authors are militaries.	National Congress online library
Decreto 27952, Modifica Sistema Educacional.	Decree 27952. Modifies the Education System.	Government	Santiago, 1965	Imperative with argumentative elements	Decree	Eduardo Frei Montalva and Juan Gómez Millas	President and Minister to all the education system.	Ministry of Education	Christian Democrat	Education system		National Congress online library
Decreto 133 exento. Actualiza reglamentos de evaluación y promoción escolar, y establece alternativa de régimen de evaluación trimestral.	Exempt decree 133. Updates the regulations of school assessment and promotion and establishes an alternative quarterly assessment regime.	Government	Santiago, 1981	Imperative	Decree	Alfredo Prieto	Minister to schools	Ministry of Education	Conservative	Schools		National Congress online library
Decreto 62 exento. Fija texto actualizado y refundido de diversos reglamentos sobre evaluación y promoción escolar y sobre otras disposiciones relativas a esta materia.	Exempt decree 62. Fixes updated and revised texts of diverse assessment and promotion regulations and other dispositions related to this matter.	Government	Santiago, 1983	Imperative	Decree	Mónica Madariaga	Minister to schools	Ministry of Education	Conservative	Schools		National Congress online library
Decreto 8977. Establece forma de aplicación del Decreto Supremo de educación N° 2.038/78, a contar del año escolar 1981.	Decree 8977. Establishes the form of application of Supreme Decree of Education N°2038/78, from the year 1981.	Government	Santiago, 1980	Imperative	Decree	Augusto Pinochet and Alfredo Prieto	President and Minister to schools and their internal actors.	Ministry of Education	Conservative	Schools		National Congress online library
Un programa y un gobierno.	A programme and a government.	Politics	Santiago, 1967	Argumentative	Political brochure	Christian Democratic Party	A political party to the people.	Christian Democratic Party	Christian Democracy	Chilean citizens	Brochure for the Council elections in 1967.	Memoriachilena
Ortodoxia y Heterodoxia en el campo educacional: los discursos de política sobre el	Orthodoxy and heterodoxy in the field of education: discourses of politics about the	Academy	Santiago, 1984	Argumentative	Essay	Cristian Cox	Academic to other academics and teachers.	Academy	N/A	Academics and teachers	<i>Signos</i> Journal (against dictatorship)	Memoriachilena

sistema educacional a principios de los 70.	education system at the beginning of the 70s.											
Documento de trabajo: la política educacional y sus repercusiones en los trabajadores.	Working document: education policy and its consequences for workers.	Working class/Religion	Santiago, 1985	Argumentative	Article	Workers Vicariate	Workers vicariate originally to workers and in the journal to academics and teachers.	Church	N/A	Workers, academics and teachers	<i>Signos</i> Journal (against dictatorship)	Memoriachilena
Facsímil PAA 1971.	PAA Facsimile 1971.	Government/Academy	Santiago, 1971	Directive	Test (facsimile)	Institute for Statistical Research (University of Chile)	A university to students and schools.	Academy/Government	N/A	Students and schools		Personal collection
Facsímil PAA 1974.	PAA Facsimile 1974.	Government/Academy	Santiago, 1974	Directive	Test (facsimile)	Institute for Statistical Research (University of Chile)	A university to students and schools.	Academy/Government	N/A	Students and schools		Personal collection
Decreto 7056. Fija normas para evaluación y promoción en octavo año de Educación Básica y para otorgamiento de la licencia correspondiente.	Decree 7056. Fixes norms for evaluation and promotion in Year 8 of Primary Education and for the grant of the corresponding certificate.	Government	Santiago, 1967	Imperative	Decree	Eduardo Frei Montalva and Juan Gómez Millas	President and Minister to primary schools.	Ministry of Education	Christian Democracy	Primary schools		National Congress Library
Decreto 6859. Aprueba reglamento de evaluación y promoción de la Enseñanza Media.	Decree 6859. Approves the regulation for assessment and promotion of Secondary Education.	Government	Santiago, 1968	Imperative	Decree	Eduardo Frei Montalva and Máximo Pacheco	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Christian Democracy	Secondary school system		National Congress Library
Decreto 1288. Modifica Decreto 6859.	Decree 1288. Modifies Decree 6859.	Government	Santiago, 1970	Imperative	Decree	Eduardo Frei Montalva and Máximo Pacheco	President and Minister to secondary schools.	Ministry of Education	Christian Democracy	Secondary school system		National Congress Library

Guía para la prueba general de Filosofía y el Bachillerato en Letras (de acuerdo al nuevo programa).	Guide for the general Philosophy Test and Language and Literature Bachillerato (according to the new programme).	Government/ Academy	Santiago, 1964	Directive	Test (facsimile)	Nestor Porcell	Academics and government to schools.	Academy	N/A	Secondary school system		National Library
Facsímil PER	PER (Programme for Assessment of Educational Performance) facsimile	Government/ Academy	Santiago, 1981	Directive	Test (facsimile)	Floridor Pérez, Fernando Guardiola, Sergio Ponce, Antonio Cepeda.	Teachers (authors) and government to schools.	Ministry of Education	N/A	Education system		National Library
Evaluación escolar y elementos de estadística aplicada.	School assessment and elements of applied statistics.	Teacher Education	Santiago, 1967	Informative/ Directive	Teaching material	Eliana Tartarini.	Academic to teachers.	Academy/ Teacher Education	N/A	Teachers		National Library
Texto guía Prueba Nacional Matemática/Verbal 8º año.	Guiding textbook National Test Mathematics/ Verbal Year 8.	Government/ Academy	Santiago, 1968	Directive	Test (facsimile)	M. Eugenia Neves, C. Higginhs Withers, Benjamín León.	Academics to teachers.	Academy/ Ministry of Education	N/A	Teachers		National Library
Texto guía Prueba Nacional Matemática	Guiding textbook National Test Mathematics	Government/ Academy	Santiago, 1971	Directive	Test (facsimile)	Roberto Ibaceta, Sergio Solano.	Academics to teachers.	Academy/ Ministry of Education	N/A	Teachers		National Library
Diagnóstico del Sistema Educativo Chileno en 1970.	Diagnosis of the Chilean Education System in 1970.	Academy	Santiago, 1976	Informative/ Argumentative	Report	Ernesto Schiefelbein	Education 'expert' and previous policy authority in the government of Frei M., to the education system and the general public.	Academy	Christian Democracy	Education system and general public.	This is a diagnosis of Frei's work in education published during the dictatorship of Pinochet.	National Library
Directiva presidencial sobre la educación nacional.	Presidential directive on national education.	Government	Santiago, 1979	Imperative	Law	Augusto Pinochet	President to the whole school system.	Government	Conservative	Education system	Gathers the different laws of the period plus a letter and a public discourse of the president.	National Library
Evaluación de los Aprendizajes.	Assessment of Learning.	Teacher Education	Santiago, 1980	Informative/ Directive	Teaching material	Rafael Herrera Ruiz (ed.)	Academics to teachers.	Academy/ Ministry of Education	N/A	Teachers	CPEIP publication	Personal Collection

Programa Básico de Gobierno de la Unidad Popular.	Basic Government Programme of the UP.	Politics	Santiago, 1969	Argumentative	Political brochure	Unidad Popular	UP to Chilean citizens.	Socialist, Communist, Radical and Social Democratic Parties plus MAPU and Independent People's Action.	Left wing parties (UP)	Chilean citizens		Memoriachilena
La crisis educacional.	The crisis in education.	Politics	Santiago, 1973	Argumentative	Brochure	UP Government	UP to Chilean citizens.	Government	Left wing parties (UP)	Chilean citizens	Explains and justifies the ENU proposal and the democratisation of education.	Memoriachilena
ENU: El control de las conciencias (informe crítico preparado por FEUC)	ENU: The control of consciences (critical report prepared by FEUC)	Academy/Politics	Santiago, 1973	Argumentative	Brochure	FEUC and academics from the Catholic University	Young gremialistas and academics to Chilean citizens.	Academy and politics	Right-wing gremialistas	Chilean citizens		Memoriachilena
Ley Nº 17398. Modifica la Constitución Política del Estado.	Law Nº 17398. Modifies the Political Constitution of the State.	Government	Santiago, 1970	Imperative	Law	Salvador Allende and Lisandro Cruz	President and Minister of Justice to the whole population.	Government	Socialist	Chilean citizens		National Congress online library
Análisis estadístico de las pruebas de bachillerato.	Statistical analysis of bachillerato tests.	Academy	Santiago, 1956	Informative/Argumentative	Report	Erika Grassau	Academic to other academics and educational authorities.	Academy	N/A	Academics and education authorities.	Used as a basis to change Bachillerato in the 1960s.	Website of the University of Chile
Constitución de la Junta de Gobierno.	Constitution of the Governing Board.	Politics	Santiago, 1973	Argumentative	Public speech	Augusto Pinochet	President to Chilean citizens.	Government	Conservative	Chilean citizens	Public speech one month after the coup.	Website of the University of Palermo
La municipalización de la educación.	The municipalisation of education.	Teachers/Academy	Santiago, 1985	Argumentative	Essay	Luis Gauthier	Teacher member of the teacher association and of the journal's board, to teachers and academics.	Teachers	N/A	Teachers and academics.		Memoriachilena

1990-2010

Name of document	Translation into English	Social sphere	Time/place	Type of discourse	Type of document	Author	Role of participants	Institutional affiliation	Political affiliation	Audience	Context (when relevant)	Source
Decreto 453. Aprueba Reglamento de la Ley 19070, Estatuto de los Profesionales de la Educación.	Decree 453. Approves the Regulation for Law 19070, Professional Statute of Education Professionals.	Government	Santiago, 1992	Imperative	Decree	Patricio Aylwin and Ricardo Lagos	President and Minister to teachers and school administrators.	Ministry of Education	Centre-left (Concertación)	Teachers and school administrators		National Congress online library
Ley 20370, establece la Ley General de Educación (LGE).	Law 20370. Establishes the General Law for Education (LGE).	Government	Santiago, 2009	Imperative with argum. elements	Law	Michelle Bachelet, Mónica Jiménez, Francisco Vidal, Andrés Velasco and Paula Quintana	President, Ministers of Education, Defence, Finance and Planning to all the education system.	Government	Centre-left (Concertación)	Education system	It is the only law with this multiple authorship of several ministers. Need for showing an agreement in the government with respect to the social movement for education.	National Congress online library
Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Enseñanza (LOCE) N°18962.	Constitutional Organic Law for Education (LOCE) N° 18962.	Government	Santiago, 1990	Imperative	Law	Augusto Pinochet and René Salamé	President and Minister to all the education system.	Ministry of Education	Conservative	Education system	Written and approved a few days before Concertación came to office.	National Congress online library
Guía didáctica Matemática LEM 3° básico, 1ª Unidad. Números de hasta 6 cifras terminados en 3 ceros.	LEM Methodological Guide, Mathematical Education, 3rd Year, 1st Unit. Numbers up to 6 ciphers ended in 3 zeros.	Government/ Teachers/ Academy	Santiago, 2007	Directive	Teaching material	DEG Básica and Academics of University of Santiago de Chile.	Education government and academics to teachers as implementers.	Academy/ Ministry of Education	N/A	Teachers		Personal collection
Guía didáctica Lenguaje y Comunicación, LEM, 4° básico, Unidad 3. ¡Protejamos a nuestros animales!	LEM Methodological Guide, Language and Communication, 4th Grade, 3rd Unit. Let's protect our animals!	Government/ Teachers/ Academy	Santiago, 2007	Directive	Teaching material	DEG Básica and Academics of University of Concepción	Education government and academics to teachers as implementers.	Academy/ Ministry of Education	N/A	Teachers		Personal collection

Decreto 40. Establece Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios para la Educación Básica y fija normas generales para su aplicación.	Decree 40. Establishes the Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Compulsory Contents for Primary Education and fixes the general norms for its application.	Government	Santiago, 1996	Imperative	Decree	Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE)	Education government to schools.	Ministry of Education	Centre-left (Concertación)	Schools	National Congress online library
Decreto 220. Establece Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios para la Enseñanza Media y fija normas generales para su aplicación.	Decree 220. Establishes the Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Compulsory Contents for Secondary Education and fixes the general norms for its application.	Government	Santiago, 1998	Imperative	Decree	Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE)	Education government to schools.	Ministry of Education	Centre-left (Concertación)	Secondary school system	National Congress online library
Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios de la Educación Básica. Actualización 2002.	Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Compulsory Contents for Primary Education. Update 2005.	Government	Santiago, 2002	Imperative	Decree	Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE)	Education government to schools.	Ministry of Education	Centre-left (Concertación)	Schools	Ministry's website
Curriculum de la Educación Media. Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios. Actualización 2005.	Secondary Education Curriculum. Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Compulsory Contents for Primary Education. Update 2005.	Government	Santiago, 2005	Imperative	Decree	Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE)	Education government to schools.	Ministry of Education	Centre-left (Concertación)	Secondary school system	Ministry's website

Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios de la Educación Básica y Media. Actualización 2009.	Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Compulsory Contents for Primary and Secondary Education. Update 2009.	Government	Santiago, 2009	Imperative	Decree	Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE)	Education government to schools.	Ministry of Education	Centre-left (Concertación)	Schools	Ministry's website
Jornada de Planificación de la Enseñanza Marzo 2007. Educación Básica.	Teaching planning day March 2007. Primary Education.	Government/ Schools	Santiago, 2007	Informative/ Directive	Supporting material for schools	DEG Básica.	Education government to schools.	Ministry of Education	N/A	Schools	Ministry's website
Jornada de Planificación y Diseño de la Enseñanza Enero 2007. Educación Media.	Teaching planning and design day January 2007. Secondary Education.	Government/ Schools	Santiago, 2008	Informative/ Directive	Supporting material for schools	DEG Media.	Education government to schools.	Ministry of Education	N/A	Secondary school system	Ministry's website
Programa de Estudio Primer Año Medio Lengua Castellana y Comunicación.	Programme of Study Year 1 of Secondary School. Spanish Language and Communication.	Government/ Teachers/ Academy	Santiago, 1998	Directive	Programmes of study	Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE)	Academics and government to schools.	Ministry of Education	N/A	Teachers	Ministry's website
Programa de Estudio Tercer Año Medio. Lengua Castellana y Comunicación.	Programme of Study Year 3 of Secondary School. Spanish Language and Communication.	Government/ Teachers/ Academy	Santiago, 2000	Directive	Programmes of study	Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE)	Academics and government to schools.	Ministry of Education	N/A	Teachers	Ministry's website
Programa de Estudio Primer Año Básico. Educación Matemática.	Programme of Study Year 1 Primary School. Mathematics Education.	Government/ Teachers/ Academy	Santiago, 2003	Directive	Programmes of study	Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE)	Academics and government to schools.	Ministry of Education	N/A	Teachers	Ministry's website
Programa de Estudio Segundo Año Básico. Comprensión del Medio Natural, Social y Cultural.	Programme of Study Year 2 Primary School. Comprehension of the Natural, Social and Cultural Environment.	Government/ Teachers/ Academy	Santiago, 2003	Directive	Programmes of study	Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE)	Academics and government to schools.	Ministry of Education	N/A	Teachers	Ministry's website
Programa de Estudio. Quinto Año Básico. Idioma Extranjero Inglés.	Programme of Study Year 5 Primary School. English as a Second Language.	Government/ Teachers/ Academy	Santiago, 2004	Directive	Programmes of study	Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE)	Academics and government to schools.	Ministry of Education	N/A	Teachers	Ministry's website

Programa de Estudio. Quinto Año Básico. Lenguaje y Comunicación.	Programme of Study Year 5 Primary School. Spanish Language and Communication.	Government/ Teachers/ Academy	Santiago, 2004	Directive	Programmes of study	Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE)	Academics and government to schools.	Ministry of Education	N/A	Teachers	Ministry's website
Evaluación para el Aprendizaje (una experiencia de innovación en el aula).	Assessment for Learning (an experience of classroom innovation).	Government/ Academy	Santiago, 2005	Informative/ Argumentative	Material for teacher education academics	PEC	Government and academics to teacher educators	Ministry of Education/University	N/A	Teacher educators	Personal Collection
Dos innovaciones para seguir de cerca el aprendizaje de nuestros estudiantes: Mapas de Pograma para el Aprendizaje y SIMCE con Niveles de Logro.	Two innovations to track our students' learning: Progress Maps for Learning and SIMCE with Levels of Achievement.	Government/ Teachers	Santiago, 2007	Informative/ Directive	Supporting material for schools	Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE)	Education government to schools.	Ministry of Education	N/A	Schools	Ministry's website
Marco para la Buena Enseñanza.	Framework for Good Teaching.	Government/ Teachers	Santiago, 2003	Directive	Supporting material for schools	CPEIP	Education government to schools.	Ministry of Education	N/A	Schools	Ministry's website
Manual para la elaboración del Plan de Mejoramiento Educativo (SEP).	Handbook for developing a Plan for Education Improvement (SEP).	Government/ Schools	Santiago, 2008	Directive	Supporting material for schools	Ministry of Education	Education government to schools.	Ministry of Education	N/A	Schools	Ministry's website
Ley Nº 20248. Establece Ley de Subvención Escolar Preferencial.	Law Nº 20248. Establishes the Law for School Preferential Subvention.	Government	Santiago, 2007	Imperative	Law	Michelle Bachelet, Yasna Provoste and María Olivia Recart	President and Ministers of Education and Finance to schools.	Ministry of Education	Centre-left (Concertación)	Schools	Ministry's website
Orientaciones para la evaluación de aprendizajes en dominio lector y la comprensión lectora. (Ley SEP).	Guidelines for the assessment of learning in reading mastery and comprehension (SEP Law).	Government/ Schools	Santiago, 2008	Directive	Supporting material for schools	Ministry of Education and indirectly Fundación Arauco	Education government to schools.	Ministry of Education	N/A	Schools	Ministry's website

Evaluación Para el Aprendizaje: Educación Básica Segundo Ciclo.	Assessment for Learning: Second Cycle of Primary School.	Government/ Academy	Santiago, 2007	Informative/ Directive	Teaching material	Unit for Curriculum and Assessment (UCE) and academics from the University of Chile	Education government to teachers and UTP Heads.	Ministry of Education	N/A	Teachers and UTP Heads.		Ministry's website
La evaluación en Chile: una larga historia	Assessment in Chile: a long history/story	Academy	Santiago, 1991	Informative	Article	Ruperto Zúñiga Sánchez	Teacher to education experts (academics and practitioners).	School	N/A	Education experts (academics and practitioners)	CIDE Journal. Today he is a Science teacher at The O'Higgins Institute from Maristas congregation.	National Library
Evaluación de los Aprendizajes. Un medio para mejorar las competencias lingüísticas y comunicativas.	Assessment of Learning. A means to improve linguistic and communicational competences.	Teacher Education	Santiago, 2000	Informative/ Directive	Teaching material	Mabel Condemarin and Alejandra Medina	Academics to teachers.	Academy/ Ministry of Education	N/A	Teachers	MINEDUC publication	Personal Collection
Acuerdo Nº 51/92 Consejo Superior de Educación.	Agreement Nº 51/92 Higher Council for Education.	Government	Santiago, 1992	Argum.	Report	Higher Council for Education	Counterpart of the Ministry to the UCE in the Ministry.	Academy and school (members of the council)	N/A	The Unit for Curriculum and Assessment		CSE website
Decreto 511 exento. Aprueba reglamento de evaluación y promoción escolar de niñas y niños de Enseñanza Básica.	Exempt decree 511. Approves assessment and promotion regulations for Primary School children.	Government	Santiago, 1997	Imperative	Decree	José Pablo Arellano	Minister to schools	Ministry of Education	Centre-left (Concertación)	Primary schools		National Congress online library
LEM Cuaderno del alumno. Lenguaje y Comunicación. 3° básico. 1° unidad. Explore el mundo de los animales.	LEM Students' book, Language and Communication, 3rd Year, 1st Unit. Let's explore the world of animals.	Government/ Teachers/ Academy	Santiago, 2006	Directive	Teaching material	DEG Básica and Academics of University of Concepción	Academics and government to schools.	Ministry of Education	N/A	Teachers		Personal Collection

APPENDIX 2: CATEGORIES FOR CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The categories that were considered in the analysis of documents are detailed below. General definitions of each set of categories, i.e. *context of enunciation*; *general content of the document*; *ideas or perspectives on assessment*, are provided in Chapter II.

I. Context of enunciation

- 1) **Social sphere:** area of social practice where the discourse practice is framed. Examples of this category are: government, teacher education, academia, school.
- 2) **Time/place:** this refers to the specific date and location where the enunciation took place, i.e. when and where the document was published.
- 3) **Type of discourse:** general classification of discourse in terms of macrostructure (argumentative, informative, descriptive, narrative, directive, imperative). This aspect was added to the template after piloting the tool with two colleagues who identified this as a relevant aspect, different from that of discursive genre (for further details on this validation process, see Appendix 4).
- 4) **Type of document (discursive genre):** this category corresponds to the specific discursive genre to which the object of analysis belongs (regulation, law, class observation report, interview, article, etc.). This classification enables the observation of, for example, the kinds of genres that are generated in a specific social sphere; who has voice in specific times and who does not; and how other genres operate in establishing the laws for assessment repertoires.
- 5) **Author (if explicit):** the name of the author may be relevant if, for example, the source of analysis is written by a public figure.
- 6) **Role of participant(s):** here the social role that the subject of enunciation is assuming in the discursive practice is indicated (e.g. teacher, minister, president, academic, researcher, teacher educator, education authority) as well as the role that is implied for the intended audience.
- 7) **Institutional affiliation:** this category refers to the institution to which the subject of enunciation is connected in the context of the specific discursive practice that is being analysed (e.g. school, government, university, etc.).
- 8) **Political affiliation (for legal or political documents generated in a specific administration):** when piloting the template with a series of documents, this emerged as a relevant feature for the intertextual analysis of documents from government and politics. The importance of knowing the political affiliation of a specific government-generated policy is related to the observation of ideological debate and tensions embedded in policy documents (for further details on the pilot of the template, see Appendix 3).
- 9) **Audience/expected reader:** here the analysis states who the intended recipient of the message is. For example, a regulation could be intended for school administrators or teachers, or both.
- 10) **Context:** here, where applicable or relevant, I indicate aspects of the context of publication and/or dissemination of the text and any other aspect of the socio-historical context relevant to the understanding of the text.

II. General content of the document

- 1) **Purpose (explicit):** here the most evident purpose of the discursive practice is indicated. For example, a regulation might have as its explicit purpose to establish the norms for the functioning of schools, while some other more implicit purposes might be operating simultaneously, for example, to construct a particular image of students from the lower classes by describing them in a specific way; or to demonstrate the inadequacy of previous legislation.
- 2) **Brief content summary:** this is simply an abstract of what the text contains as a whole.
- 3) **Words for participants:** here I consider how the speaker and the recipient are addressed in communication, as well as other subjects enunciated in discourse. Aspects like pronominalisation are relevant here, as it constitutes, according to Van Dijk (1999: 257), one of the ideological devices *par excellence*, given that it situates where 'us' and 'them' are divided. Other points, like the way in which the audience is appealed to and represented, are also addressed here.
- 4) **Main use of language/style:** this category defines the predominant style(s) of discourse. For example, a law may have an imperative and formal style, while the evaluation report of a teacher may have a eulogistic style.
- 5) **Aspects of organization of the information:** if relevant, I indicate points like the sections in which the text is divided, titles used to separate sections, order or contiguity of sections. These observations may be related to the general content of the text or directly connected to assessment. An example is 19th Century legal documents, where sections on examinations are frequently followed by sections related to rewards and punishments.
- 6) **Schematic structures:** along with its macrostructure, a text may have fragments belonging to other discursive types but always in a way that is functional to its main purpose. Some of the analysed laws illustrate this by starting with the series of reasons for which that law is being implemented, so even when the text as a whole is descriptive and imperative, it contains an initial argumentative fragment. This may be relevant, for example, to later analysis of how powerful groups view policy. Schematic structures can be highlighted in relation to general content or directly linked with what is said about assessment.
- 7) **Rhetorical resources:** here detail is given about the metaphors, analogies, repetitions, comparisons, and other figurative resources used to refer to assessment or other aspects of the education system. These are particularly useful to detect the perspective that is being sustained in discourse.
- 8) **Speech act (action intended):** every act of communication intends to generate an action, from an increase in knowledge to a concrete physical action in the world. This expected action is what is contained in this section.
- 9) **Other relevant ideological aspects not directly related to assessment:** this category refers to other aspects of the text related to the discourse on education of the moment which may constitute a framework to understand the view about assessment that is being developed. Here aspects like relationships between religion or morality and education; a concept of the student as someone who has to be obedient and passive; or the teacher as a technician who only has to deliver a programme, may be included.

III. Ideas or perspectives on assessment

- 1) **Lexicon of assessment:** corresponds to the words or phrases used to refer to assessment processes. It must be noted that this section is not about word counting, so it does not contain how many times an expression is used but only what expressions are used to refer to assessment in the text.
- 2) **Summary of point of view about assessment:** based on the initial process of coding, here I summarise the main points about the way in which assessment is characterized in the discursive practice.
- 3) **Implicit ideas about assessment (not explicitly shown):** this category refers to ideas that may be inferred from the text, but which are not explicitly mentioned: for example, in a report on the performance of a teacher if the good results obtained by students in examinations are mentioned. From this it can be inferred that examinations are understood not only as a way to judge students' performance but also the quality of the teacher.
- 4) **Relevant quotations:** in this section quotations of the specific sections where an idea about assessment is detected are transcribed. When a document is mostly dedicated to assessment this section is replaced by reading notes, which include relevant quotations.

APPENDIX 3: PILOT OF DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES AND TOOLS

This appendix refers to the process of piloting the template designed for the analysis of data, as well as the subsequent intertextual and polysystemic phases of analysis. First, the process of piloting is briefly described and then an account of the results and preliminary interpretations that emerged from the data used in the pilot is offered.

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE PILOT PROCESS

The template for document analysis was piloted with a set of sources from the period 1860-1900. The documents selected for the pilot were the following (for complete references, see the end of the appendix):

DOCUMENT	YEAR	AMBIT
<i>First Organic Law for Primary Instruction</i>	1860	Government / Primary School
<i>Regulation for the Organic Law of 1860</i>	1863	Government / Primary School
<i>Regulation for teaching and the internal regime of elementary schools</i>	1883	Government / Primary School
<i>Regulation for teaching in higher schools</i> (Higher schools are the second part of primary school)	1883	Government / Primary School
<i>General regulation for primary instruction</i>	1898	Government / Primary School
<i>Internal regulation for schools</i>	1899	Government / Primary School
<i>Regulation for the National Institute dictated by the Supreme Government</i>	1863	Government / Secondary School
Barros Arana, Diego (1904). <i>Doctor Mr. Rodolfo Armando Philippi. His life and his works</i> (1808-1904)	1808-1904	Practice / Secondary School
<i>Application of norms and discipline in support of the system of primary instruction; in report given by the visitor of schools of the Province of Arauco to the Sr. Minister of Public Instruction in April of 1861</i>	1861	Practice / Primary School
<i>Appreciation about the good performance of preceptor [teacher] of Maule by the School Visitor, in report that the Schools' Visitor of the province of Maule gives to the Sr. Minister of Public Instruction, by Aristides Ambrosoli</i>	1861	Practice / Primary School
<i>Report about girls' schools of Santiago presented to the Sr. General Inspector of Primary Instruction, by their extraordinary visitor Mrs Teresa Aldametz</i>	1896	Practice / Primary School
<i>Appreciation about professional responsibility done by the school visitor about teachers in the recommended's list by the visitor, Mariano Araya, to the General Inspector</i>	1896	Practice / Primary School
<i>Primary instruction reform and teachers' education in opinion of the director of the Normal Female [School] of Santiago, in discourse of the director Teresa Aldametz, in the opening of the new building of the Normal School of Teachers</i>	1886	Teacher Education / Primary School
Amunátegui, M.L. <i>The issue of examinations.</i>	1874	Academy, research and politics. Related to Secondary School.

Lastarria, J.V. <i>Literary memories</i> .	1878	Academy, research and politics. Related to Secondary School.

Each document was critically and ideologically analysed through the template mentioned in Chapter II and described in Appendix 2. This process was followed by an intertextual analysis and finally it was possible to understand how the educational system was working during that period in terms of a polysystem in which discourses about assessment were circulating between its different components.

The following acronyms were used for a clearer referencing of documents, indicating type of document, institutional affiliation of the author and/or sphere which it represents, the level of education to which it is related (primary or secondary), and its year of original publication.

Type of document	Institutional affiliation/author	Ambit	Level
OL= Organic Law	MIN= Minister of Education	AC= Academy	PSCH= Primary School
REG= Regulation	MINVIS= Ministry Visitor	PM= Policymaking	SSCH= Secondary School
BIOG= Biography	MINGI= Ministry General Inspector	PRACT= Practice	
REP= Report		TE= Teacher Education	
ESS= Essay			
TEST= Testimony			
PUBL= Public discourse			

When some affirmation or idea was based on the whole sample of a type of document the reference states 'all' and the corresponding acronym of the type of document (e.g. 'all REG', 'all OL', 'all REP').

II. RESULTS FROM THE PILOT

1. Description of the polysystem

On the basis of the analysis, it seemed clear that during this period the Ministry of Public Instruction was situated at the centre of the polysystem. It shared this space with the National Institute, the most important public secondary school of the country, in charge of the examination process of all the secondary education system, though always dependant on the approval of the University of Chile. These decades witness the transition from a period of authoritarian and Conservative governments, who are the authors of the 1860's Organic Law for Primary Instruction, to a series of more liberal ones who control the Ministry during most of these years.

The Ministry controls public primary education. This level of the school system is centred on training people of lower social strata in basic skills in order to generate a well trained workforce, and also on developing in them some 'discipline and good moral behaviour' (all OL, all REG, all REP), as the elite saw this social class as 'vicious and in need of civilization' (PUBL,

TE, PSCH, 1886). The relationship of the Ministry with these schools is completely 'top-down'; everything is imposed on teachers (including teaching methods) and they do not have any possibility of response or dialogue (all OL, all REG, all REP). Their only authority is on students, who are frequently described as if they were savages coming from equally uncivilized families, in the context of an age of history in which extreme order, silence and discipline were considered a central part of education. Documents also refer to the relationship between families and teachers as conflictive, the former not considering school as something relevant or, if so, blaming the teacher for the low results of the students (REP, MINGI, PRACT, PSCH, 1896a).

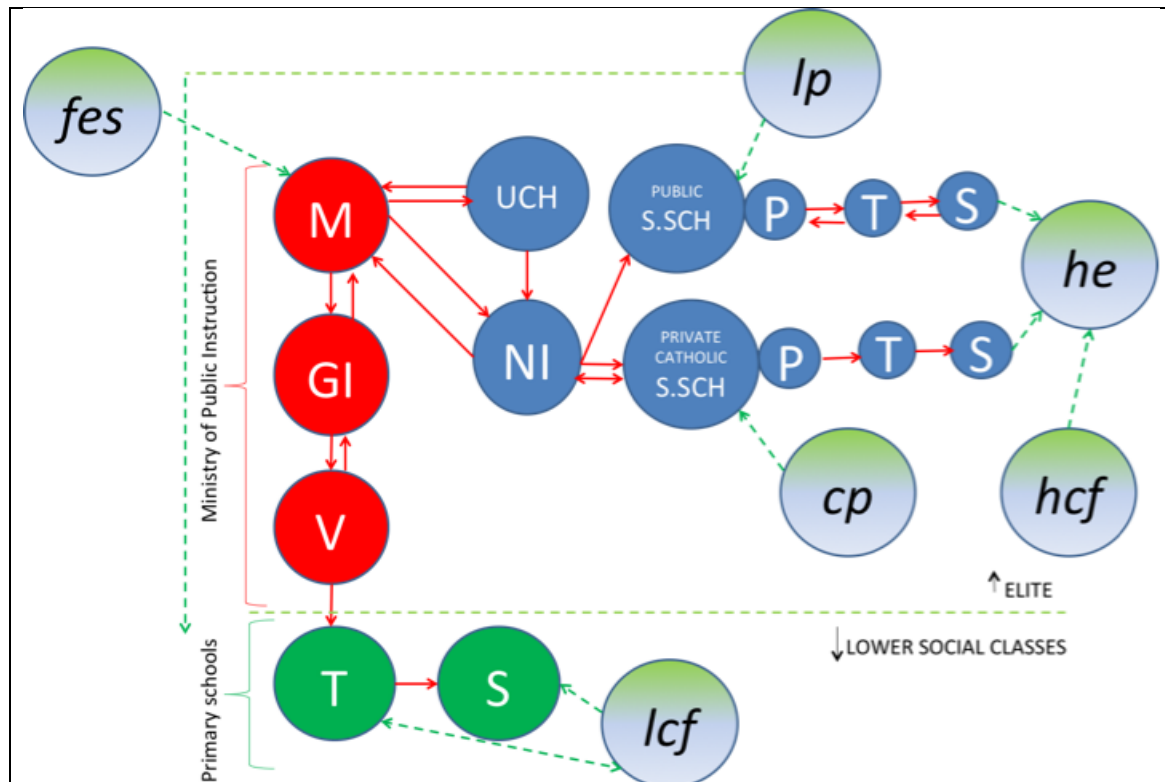
The only 'bottom-up' relationship is observed between the different actors of the Ministry, which were distributed in a hierarchical chain of control: visitors were in charge of inspecting schools to observe and solve problems there (in a very authoritarian way), and report this to the General Inspector of the area, who had to summarise all the reports of the area and inform the Minister through a general document (all REP). Some of these reports constitute the basis on which part of the regulations of the period are formulated, as it is explicitly stated in the documents (REG, MIN, PM, PSCH, 1883a).

Teachers in this level were primary school students who decided to continue their studies and attend an *Escuela Normal*. It is interesting to observe here that primary education is a completely closed system, separated from secondary school and higher education, which was considered as "naturally belonging" to the elite. This position as a primary teacher was the highest this social group could reach in terms of professional development and salary.

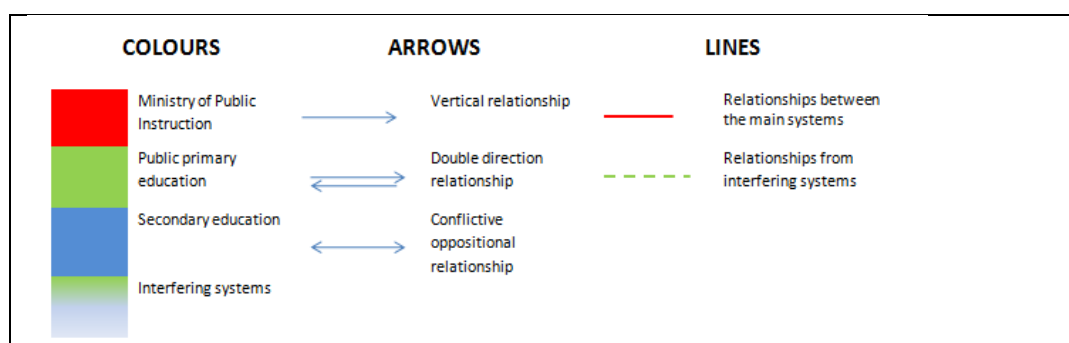
On the other hand, elite students had their own primary schools, a difference that became institutionalised after 1880 (Labarca, 1939: 214). After finishing these basic studies they were admitted with a certificate or through an examination process in the National Institute or in any of the public or private religious secondary schools of the country at that time (MIN, REG, PM, SSCH, 1863). It is relevant to mention that private catholic schools were generally preferred by Conservative groups, while public schools were generally chosen by the more Liberal groups. The main objective of secondary education for high class families was to achieve an award or degree in higher education, as may be observed through the discussions on examinations of the time (ESS, AC, SSCH, 1874; TEST, AC, SSCH, 1878; BIOG, AC, SSCH, 1808-1904) (see next section for details).

In the context of elite groups, who usually have more access to public discourse (Van Dijk, 2008), the relationship between actors was not a vertical one. All actors give their opinion when they do not agree with some policy and it is possible to observe controversies, generally related to opposite interests of Conservative and Liberal groups (ESS, AC, SSCH, 1874; TEST, AC, SSCH, 1878; BIOG, AC, SSCH, 1808-1904). There are also some institutionalised channels that allow such interaction, like the teachers' committee of the National Institute, which were allowed, for example, to express their critical view on the materials given by the Ministry (MIN, REG, PM, SSCH, 1863).

The polysystem described above and its internal relationships can be summarized through the following diagram:



ACRONYMS					
CAPITAL = Main systems				LOWERCASE = Interfering systems	
M	Minister	S.SCH	Secondary School	he	Higher education
GI	General Inspector	P	Principal	cp	Conservative party
V	Visitor	T	Teacher	lb	Liberal party
UCH	University of Chile	S	Student	lcf	Lower classes families
NI	National Institute			hcl	High class families
				fes	Foreign educational systems



It is relevant to mention that this is only a first hypothesis of the polysystem for the period, derived from a pilot process, so some of the relationships defined in the diagram require further document analysis to be confirmed.

2. Discourses on assessment during the period

The discourse of the Ministry on assessment is exclusively centred on the idea of examination processes (all OL, all REG). This is the only aspect related to assessment that was regulated through a legal framework. The first mention of it in an educational law is in the context of a regulation created by a Conservative government, but implemented by a Liberal one. It first appears in very general terms and related to teachers' certification, with no mention of classroom assessment. However, the precariousness of primary education seems to make the Ministry detect the need for giving more detail about what was supposed to be done, from basic aspects of hygiene and infrastructure to examinations and teaching methods.

After 1883 it is possible to find a regulation of students' examination, but mostly in terms of the times of the year in which they should be done and their ritual conditions (oral examination before a committee of authorities), along with consequent rewards and punishments (MIN, REG, PM, PSCH, 1883a and 1883b). At the end of the period there are also scores and a marking system, along with a classification of examinations in relation to their purpose (MIN, REG, PM, PSCH, 1898; MIN, REG, PM, PSCH, 1899). Nothing is said about the pedagogical perspective that must be followed during the exam or the kind of approach to knowledge that is expected from examiners and examinees.

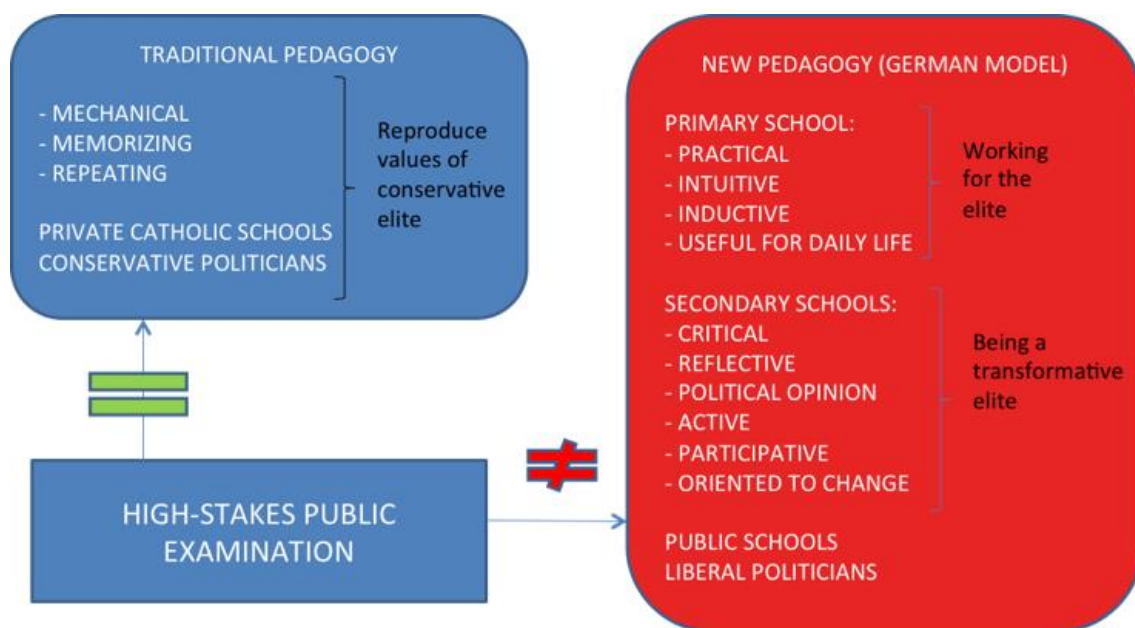
The problem with this absence of regulation is related to a reform promoted since 1883 by a Liberal government, based on a German model brought by an expert sent to investigate foreign systems, which promoted a new pedagogy, centred on practice, induction and usefulness of knowledge for students' life, totally opposed to the traditional method related to repeating and memorising through catechism (PUBL, TE, PSCH, 1886; TEST, AC, SSCH, 1878). As the consistency of the examination process was not regulated by law, documents from practice give evidence of examination being carried out from the perspective of the old method (PUBL, TE, PSCH, 1886; REP, MINGI, PRACT, PSCH, 1896a; REP, MINVIS, PRACT, PSCH, 1896b). As examination was high stakes for students and for teachers (their quality was evaluated on the basis of the results of their students), pedagogy was distorted in the direction of memorisation. Thus, the reform was not very successful.

Something similar happened with secondary education, in terms of a regulation only of the practical and ritual conditions of examination (according to the rules of the National Institute), but not of their approach or pedagogical orientation (MIN, REG, PM, SSCH, 1863). This absence of regulation generates a dispute between the National Institute and private catholic schools, the former defending a more reflexive, creative, active and participative pedagogy; the latter defending the old method of memorising rules, repeating information, and being silent and passive. This difference of opinion becomes during the 1870s 'the issue of examinations', in which private schools were defending freedom of examinations, that is, they wanted examinations to be taken in each school, according to their own rules and perspective, and not in the National Institute; and also less examinations during secondary education, proposing at some point only one final examinations at the end of secondary school. The National Institute stood for State control of examinations and also examinations for each course of secondary school, and denounced the market of certificates that such a way of understanding education might generate. The conflict became not only educational, but also political, being discussed in the parliament and the press (ESS, AC, SSCH, 1874; TEST, AC, SSCH, 1878; BIOG, AC, SSCH, 1808/1904).

Through documents from practice, both from primary and secondary schools, it is possible to observe examination as the engine that moves education towards a specific direction, not

always consistent with the kind of pedagogy that was being promoted by the government, and particularly by liberal groups. Visitors usually denounce teachers are preparing students for responding to examinations, making them repeat contents by memory, instead of working in accordance to the “new pedagogy” (PUBL, TE, PSCH, 1886; REP, MINGI, PRACT, PSCH, 1896a; REP, MINVIS, PRACT, PSCH, 1896b); liberal groups criticised Catholic schools for the same reason, but at the same time they describe examinations as contexts in which one has to give account of accumulated knowledge more than demonstrating deep understanding (ESS, AC, SSCH, 1874).

In brief, it is the lack of consistency, or at least clarity, between the pedagogical reform (the innovative repertoire), and the examination system that keeps practice situated in the conservative canonized repertoire. Documents allow for an interpretation of the struggle on pedagogy as a political and ideological one, sustained by different factions of the elite. The Liberal Ministry changes aspects of the pedagogical style, from a passive student who repeats and memorises (defended by Catholic Conservative groups) to an active and more participative student or at least one who learns by practice (defended by Liberal groups). Nonetheless, the field of examinations seems unclear, thus, it tends to remain in the old pedagogy. If examination is high stakes, then students, teachers and parents will tend to the direction they lead to. The following scheme illustrates this problem:



Practitioners continue with traditional pedagogy because, even when liberal ministries promoted the new model, they did not regulate a consistent system of examination.

3. Preliminary interpretation

One of the things that immediately becomes apparent is that problems in education, and specifically the ones related to assessment, are not new at all. Phenomena like ‘teaching to the test’, detected in research at the end of 1980s, have been there at least since the end of the 19th century and have been criticised by people in charge of education since then. One

question that emerges here is why nothing has been done and why this remains a problem. It is possible to interpret that for a long time pedagogy and assessment were considered two different things, running through separate paths. Despite several attempts of reform, including constructivist ones and Assessment for Learning, one could interpret that this idea has persisted through the years, being much stronger than any initiative for change.

This also has to do with the power of examinations, which makes the whole polysystem move towards a specific direction. There is too much to gain and lose to ignore it, so despite the pedagogical principles one can have, examination establishes the rules for practice. Again this is not a new phenomenon and it is interesting to think why there has been always a resistance to change or to eliminate these high-stakes examination processes, despite the distortions they cause. Policymakers' inability to see the inconsistencies between the reforms they promote and the assessment systems they develop is one potential way of understanding the problem. Or there may be more complex reasons, such as the need for control through accountability systems, and for maintaining a system in which the idea of selection of a few predominates over the one that defends equality in education. This could even be thought as a very prolonged ideological struggle between two perspectives around education, with totally different aims and ideas of society.

The process of data analysis proposed for this research, thus, contributes to the understanding of the remaining ideas about assessment that could be discussing with the more recent ones, generating a polysystem where contradictory discourses about assessment are circulating. Ideas like control, accountability, selection (and exclusion as its hidden face), rewards and punishment, have been historically part of what Van Dijk (2008) would call our 'social cognition' on assessment, and the huge work of deconstruction required to get to the paradigm change referred by Gipps (2002) does not seem to be done in a clear and consistent way.

Additionally, these analytical tools contribute to the understanding of the way in which assessment policies, and reforms in general, are being developed. Despite the attempts of the Ministry of Public Instruction, also visible in discourses coming from the academy and initial teacher education, to disseminate a different pedagogical perspective, complaints about the absence of it in practice are observable even in reports of the last part of the period. The lack of a systemic view here, increased by a 'top-down' policymaking and a low level of awareness about the difficulties of practitioners, makes any possibility of change virtually impossible. Only through a systemic perspective like the one proposed here can one observe if two contradictory ideas are being promoted simultaneously.

In summary, results from the pilot demonstrated the pertinence of the tools and procedures selected for data analysis. They facilitate a systemic, historical and ideological understanding of assessment reform processes and provide relevant insights into the research questions that guide the research process.

REFERENCES FOR THE DOCUMENTS USED FOR THE PILOT

'First Organic Law for Primary Instruction' (1860); 'Regulation for the Organic Law of 1860 (1863)'; 'Regulation for teaching and the internal regime of elementary schools' (1883); 'Regulation for teaching in higher schools' (1883); 'General regulation of primary instruction' (1898); 'Internal regulation for schools' (1899). In: Monsalve, Mario [researcher and editor] (1998). 'Organización administrativa y legal de la instrucción primaria fiscal', [Administrative and legal organization of the public primary instruction]. In: *"... I el silencio comenzó a reinar"*:

documentos para la historia de la instrucción primaria 1840-1920. Santiago de Chile: DIBAM, Centro de Investigaciones Barros Arana: Univ. Católica Blas Cañas, Vol. IX, pp. 202 – 283.

Available at

http://www.memoriachilena.cl/temas/documento_detalle.asp?id=MC0018124

[Accessed 18 Feb 2010]

'Aplicación de normas y disciplina en apoyo al sistema de instrucción; en memoria que el visitador de escuelas de la Provincia de Arauco pasa al señor Ministro de Instrucción Pública en abril de 1861' ['Application of norms and discipline in support of the system of primary instruction; in report given by the visitor of schools of the Province of Arauco to the Sr Minister of Public Instruction in April of 1861']. In: Monsalve, Mario [researcher and editor] (1998). 'Práctica pedagógica', [Pedagogical Practice]. In: "... *I el silencio comenzó a reinar*": *documentos para la historia de la instrucción primaria 1840-1920*. Santiago de Chile: DIBAM, Centro de Investigaciones Barros Arana: Univ. Católica Blas Cañas, Vol. IX, pp. 17 – 71.

Available at

<http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0018121.pdf>

[Accessed 18 Feb 2010]

'Informe sobre las escuelas de niñas de Santiago presentado al señor Inspector Jeneral de Instrucción Primaria, por la visitadora extraordinaria de las mismas doña Teresa Adametz; Santiago, en febrero de 1896' ['Report about the girl's schools of Santiago presented to the Sr General Inspector of Primary Instruction, by their extraordinary visitor Mrs Teresa Aldametz; Santiago, in February of 1896']. In: Monsalve, Mario [researcher and editor] (1998). 'Práctica pedagógica', [Pedagogical Practice]. In: "... *I el silencio comenzó a reinar*": *documentos para la historia de la instrucción primaria 1840-1920*. Santiago de Chile: DIBAM, Centro de Investigaciones Barros Arana: Univ. Católica Blas Cañas, Vol. IX, pp. 17 – 71.

Available at

<http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0018121.pdf>

[Accessed 18 Feb 2010]

'Apreciación sobre el buen desempeño de preceptor del Maule por el Visitador de Escuela, en memoria que el Visitador de las Escuelas de la provincia del Maule pasa al señor Ministro de Instrucción Pública, por Aristides Ambrosoli' ['Appreciation about the good performance of preceptor [teacher] of Maule by the School Visitor, in report that the Schools visitor of the province of Maule gives to the Sr Minister of Public Instruction, by Aristides Ambrosoli']. In: Monsalve, Mario [researcher and editor] (1998). 'Preceptorado', [Teaching]. In: "... *I el silencio comenzó a reinar*": *documentos para la historia de la instrucción primaria 1840-1920*. Santiago de Chile: DIBAM, Centro de Investigaciones Barros Arana: Univ. Católica Blas Cañas, Vol. IX, p. 115.

Available at

<http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0018122.pdf>

[Accessed 18 Feb 2010]

'Apreciación sobre la responsabilidad profesional que efectuó [sic] el visitador de escuelas respecto de preceptoras en nómina de recomendados por el visitador, Mariano Araya, al Inspector Jeneral, Serena 16 de diciembre de 1896' ['Appreciation about professional responsibility done by the school visitor about teachers in the recommendeds' list by the visitor, Mariano Araya, to the General Inspector, Serena, December 1896']. In: Monsalve, Mario [researcher and editor] (1998). 'Preceptorado', [Teaching]. In: "... *I el silencio comenzó a*

reinar”: documentos para la historia de la instrucción primaria 1840-1920. Santiago de Chile: DIBAM, Centro de Investigaciones Barros Arana: Univ. Católica Blas Cañas, Vol. IX, p. 120.

Available at

<http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0018122.pdf>

[Accessed 18 Feb 2010]

'La reforma en la instrucción primaria y la formación de preceptoras en la opinión de la directora de la Normal Femenina de Santiago, en discurso de la Directora Teresa Aldametz, en la inauguración del nuevo local de la Escuela Normal de Preceptoras' ['Primary instruction reform and teachers' education in opinion of the director of the Normal Female [School] of Santiago, in discourse of the director Teresa Aldametz, in the opening of the new building of the Normal School of Teachers']. In: Monsalve, Mario [researcher and editor] (1998). 'Preceptorado', [Teaching]. In: *"... I el silencio comenzó a reinar”: documentos para la historia de la instrucción primaria 1840-1920*. Santiago de Chile: DIBAM, Centro de Investigaciones Barros Arana: Univ. Católica Blas Cañas, Vol. IX, pp. 127 – 132.

Available at

<http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0018122.pdf>

[Accessed 18 Feb 2010]

'Regulation for the National Institute dictated by the Supreme Government' (1863). Santiago: Imprenta Nacional.

Available at

<http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0000959.pdf>

[Accessed 05 Aug 2010]

Barros Arana, Diego (1904). 'El Doctor Don Rodolfo Amando Philippi. Su vida i sus obras (1808-1904)' [Doctor Mr. Rodolfo Armando Philippi. His life and his works (1808-1904)]. In: Barros Arana, Diego (1914). *Obras completas* [Complete works]. Santiago de Chile: Imprenta, Litografía y Encuadernación Barcelona, vol. 13, pp. 13 – 190.

Amunátegui, M.L. (1897). 'La cuestión de exámenes' (1874) [The issue of exams]. In: *Estudios sobre instrucción pública* [Studies on public instruction]. Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Nacional, vol. 1, pp. 39 – 78.

Lastarria, J.V. (1968) [originally written in 1878]. *Recuerdos Literarios* [Literary Memories]. Santiago de Chile: Zig-Zag.

APPENDIX 4: VALIDATION OF DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

Description

With the aim of ensuring research trustworthiness a process of validation of the data analysis instrument was carried out. Even though a certain degree of variation in interpretation is inherent in qualitative research, I attempted to maintain internal reliability in order to reduce the risk of an over-determined interpretation.

The process was focused on ensuring internal reliability to the extent to which this concept is applicable in qualitative interpretive research. Two reviewers were asked to analyse two documents previously analysed by the researcher during the piloting of the instrument.

The reviewers selected were from a similar background to that of the researcher. They both have a relevant degree of expertise and professional experience in both assessment and discourse analysis. Both are Chilean so they understand the context and content of the documents.

The two documents were sent to both reviewers, along with a set of instructions to effectuate the analysis. They did not have any interaction about the texts before the analysis. The instructions asked them to read the document, highlight those sections that seemed to them in some way related to the topic of assessment and then to answer a list of questions that summarised the main categories of analysis used in the project. The reason for using these questions instead of the template was to give the reviewers a less time consuming and more immediately understandable version of it. The questions sent to them were the following:

- What information about the context in which the document was produced is given?
- Briefly describe the situation of communication that can be inferred from the document.
- Briefly characterise the document in relation to the discursive type to which it belongs, its purpose and its predominant resources.
- What terms/expressions are used to refer to assessment? (vocabulary to refer to the phenomenon)
- What perspective on assessment can be inferred from the document? Give a brief explanation and illustrate your answer with some specific sections of the document.
- What other ideological aspects beyond assessment appear in the document? (give a brief summary of your observations)

Reviewers were asked to re-read the document before answering and to make all the notes they considered necessary in order to answer the questions. All these steps were indicated to ensure they were following a procedure similar to that followed by the researcher.

The reviewers' answers were read and compared with the analysis of the researcher and then results were summarised in the table below.

Results

DOCUMENT 1					
ASPECT	REVIEWER 1	Do I mention this in my analysis?	REVIEWER 2	Do I mention this in my analysis?	OBSERVATIONS
<i>Context/Situation of communication</i>	The reviewer indicates information about date, names and participants. Highlights the situation of 11 years passed of a reform. The document is described as a report on the functioning of primary schools.	YES	The reviewer refers to other contextual aspects present in the document, like the expansion of primary education as a mission and different kinds of problems observed in practice in this level of the educational system. Highlights the situation of 11 years passed of a reform. Describes the document as the critical analysis of an authority reported to another higher authority, about the situation of primary education. This analysis is based on external observation of practice and intends to improve the situation in this level of the educational system.	YES	
<i>Type of discourse</i>	It is a report of argumentative character.	NO	It is a text where argumentation predominates and a clear thesis can be detected, along with arguments to support it.	NO	This is because I only included discursive genre and not type of discourse, which I agree to be argumentative. Consequently, this aspect was added to the template.
<i>Purpose</i>	To give an account of the situation of primary schools from a critical perspective.	YES	To develop an argumentation about the problems of primary education.	YES	

Resources	The reviewer mentions as resources the aspects about which criticism is made: administration (related to children's attendance), teachers' need of professional updating, parents not assuming their responsibility (blaming teachers for results). The excessive workload of teachers is also mentioned.	YES	To support the argumentation the author narrates inappropriate pedagogical practices of teachers, refers to problems of students' attendance and the consequences this has for results. Mentions also some good practices observed by the author.	YES	
Lexicon of assessment	'Todo se dirige a la memoria, la cual se encarga con palabras no comprendidas "para los exámenes".' 'cada una tiene una lección para sí i "la da" colocándose al lado de la maestra, leyendo en voz baja i comiéndose la mitad de los sonidos'.	YES	'memoria', 'palabras no comprendidas "para los exámenes"', 'detalles que no tienen valor alguno', 'lección (dar la lección)', 'lección objetiva', 'objetivo (con cada alumna habría que tratar otro objetivo)', 'los ejercicios no se hacen', 'es la causa de resultados poco satisfactorios', 'corrección de las composiciones'.	YES	All of these are mentioned in 'Lexicon' or 'Relevant quotations'.
	'se descuidan todos los procedimientos que bien dirigidos no pueden faltar de tener por resultado un lenguaje correcto i buena ortografía (se refiere a fonética y silabeo: conciencia fonológica actualmente).' 'En casi todas las escuelas se hace lectura razonada, la	NO	'se descuidan todos los procedimientos', 'tener por resultado un lenguaje correcto'	NO	Both reviewers include a paragraph I do not, referred to the relationship between some procedure and some result. Reviewer 1 also indicates another paragraph I do not include, but this could be related to her linguistic

	enseñanza de la gramática ya no consiste en el aprendizaje de reglas, sino éstas se deducen de los ejemplos concretos: pero en jeneral se descuidan los ejercicios por escrito.'				background that makes her highlight something close to her discipline. I did not find any explicit reference to assessment here; it could be indirectly related in terms of the relevance given here to exercising.
Summary of point of view about assessment	There is a criticism of the memory-based examination observed in practice. Relevance is given by the author to the need of exercising in the area of language instead of just memorising norms.	YES	There is a criticism of the memory-based examinations observed in practice. Relevance is given by the author to the need of exercising in the area of language instead of just memorising norms. The author also criticizes the lack of homogeneity and common objective in practice, and evaluates individual assessment as incorrect. In this context it is considered relevant to correct students work in order to make their learning homogeneous. The author gives relevance to the need of correcting students' written work and of exercising.	YES	
Other relevant ideological aspects	Teachers should update their knowledge. Administration should consider classroom practice as a basis to take decisions. Need for having a responsible and harmonic relationship between school and families.	YES	The reviewer highlights that in the document there is a difference in the way disciplines are understood. Religious studies are understood by the author as more related to attitudes and values in order to be meaningful, while language (Spanish) is related to exercising and not to attitudes and values.	NO	

Aspects mentioned by me but not by the reviewers:

- They do not conclude a passive and silent teacher in this interaction.
- Examinations are presented as something that distorts practice. They prepare examinations rather than use the 'right' methods of teaching. This is not explicitly said by the reviewers, but can be inferred from what they indicate.
- Religion as an ideological factor itself.
- Some resources I observe, like some ironies and the impersonal style to hide opinions in the shape of an absolute truth. However, they were asked to describe this aspect briefly, which could have led them to indicate just general use of resources.

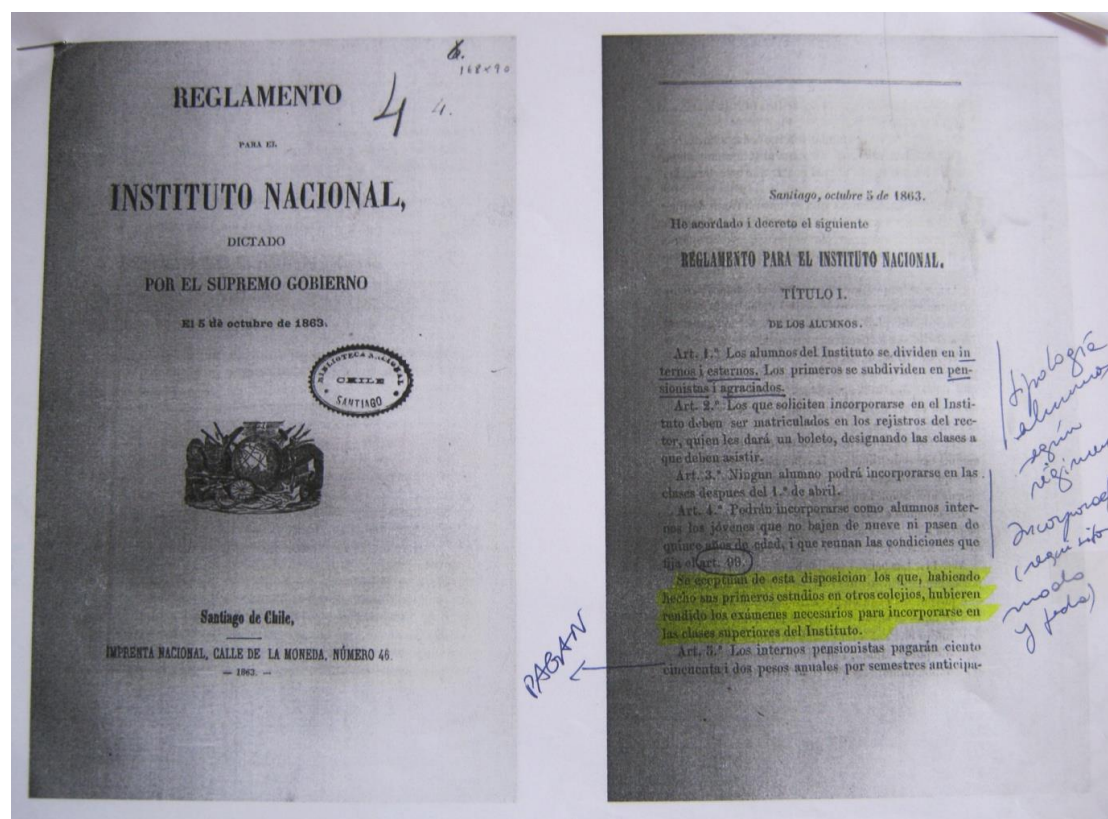
DOCUMENT 2					
ASPECT	REVIEWER 1	Do I mention this in my analysis?	REVIEWER 2	Do I mention this in my analysis?	OBSERVATIONS
<i>Context/Situation of communication</i>	There is a person in charge of school inspection who is recommending a teacher (preceptor) for receiving a prize and being promoted to a higher position. Reference to the place where the school is located.	YES	There is a person in charge of school inspection who is promoting a teacher (preceptor) for receiving a prize and being promoted to a higher position. Reference to the place where the school is located. Explains briefly the reasons for this recommendation and mentions the University as the entity that must decide about it.	YES	
<i>Type of discourse</i>	Argumentative	NO	Argumentative	NO	This is because I only included discursive genre and not type of discourse, which I agree to be argumentative. Consequently, this aspect was added to the template.
<i>Purpose</i>	To promote a good teacher (preceptor) to obtain a higher position and receive some stimulus for his work.	YES	To convince a higher positioned person about the good qualities of a teacher (preceptor).	YES	
<i>Resources</i>	Moral terms that expose the point of view of the author, these are mostly positive terms represented as qualifying adjectives about the recommended teacher (preceptor).	YES	Reasons to promote the teacher: good results and qualities as effort, sacrifice, commitment and enthusiasm for his work.	YES	

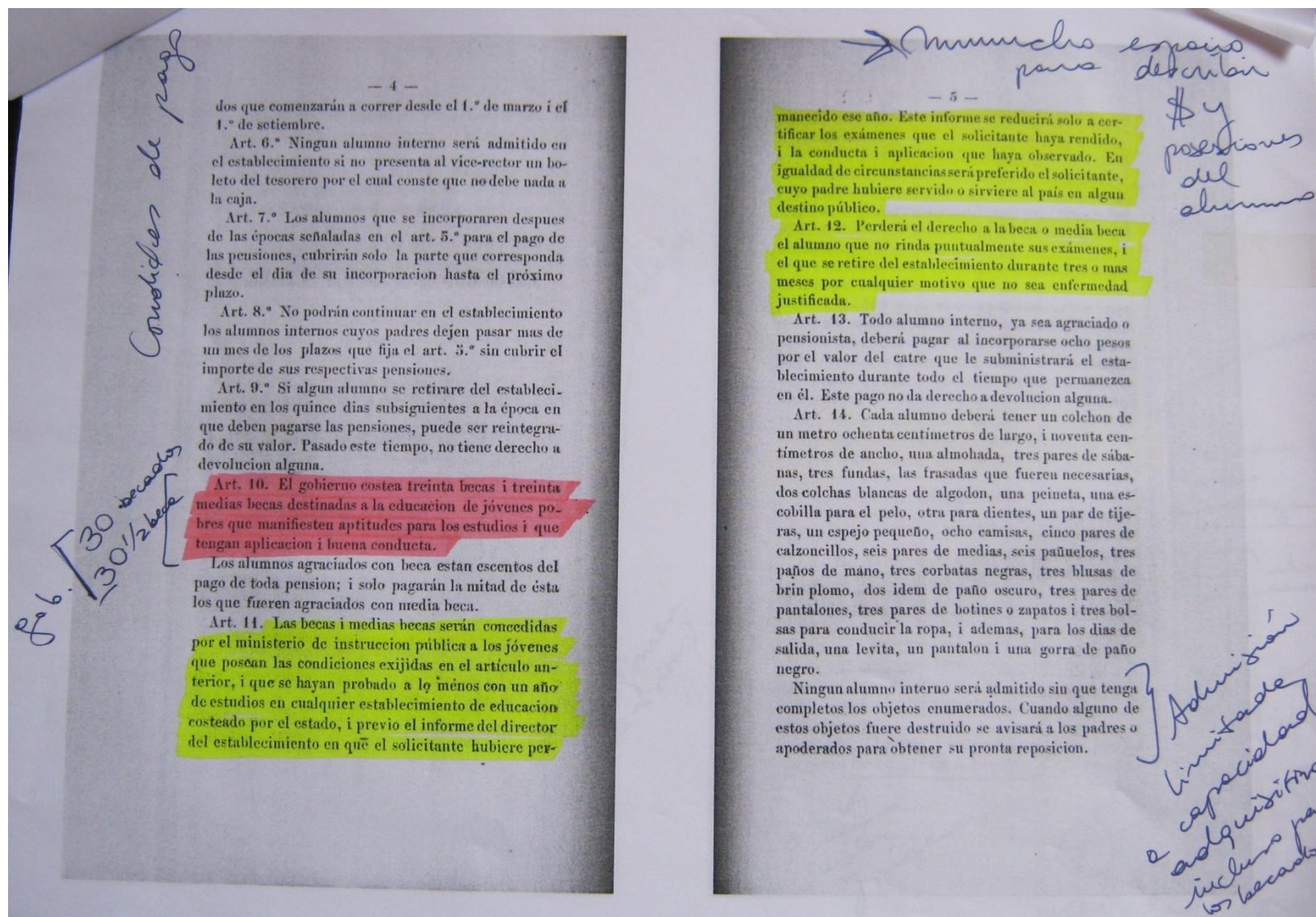
Lexicon of assessment	'Exámenes'	YES	'Exámenes', 'junta examinadora', 'exámenes finales', 'sobrepajar', 'esperanzas formadas', 'informes honrosos'	YES	(three in 'Lexicon' and the rest in 'Relevant quotations')
Summary of point of view about assessment	Assessment as a product (at the end of a process and related to summative results).	NO	Assessment as a product (at the end of a process and related to summative results).	NO	I do not mention it explicitly, it is only implicit in the way I explain it.
			It is carried out before external actors (social function of assessment).	YES	
Other relevant ideological aspects	Teacher as someone who has to sacrifice his/her personal life for the commitment to teaching. This is part of being a good teacher according to the document.	YES	Does not answer, but the aspects mentioned by Reviewer 1 are highlighted by Reviewer 2 in 'Resources'.	-	
Aspects mentioned by me but not by the reviewers: - The implicit idea of this document as teacher evaluation. It is only indirectly detected by them when defining the aspects that constitute a good teacher. - Implicit idea of low expectations about primary education students. - The 'epic' tone about the teacher as a rhetoric resource (it is implicit in what they say).					

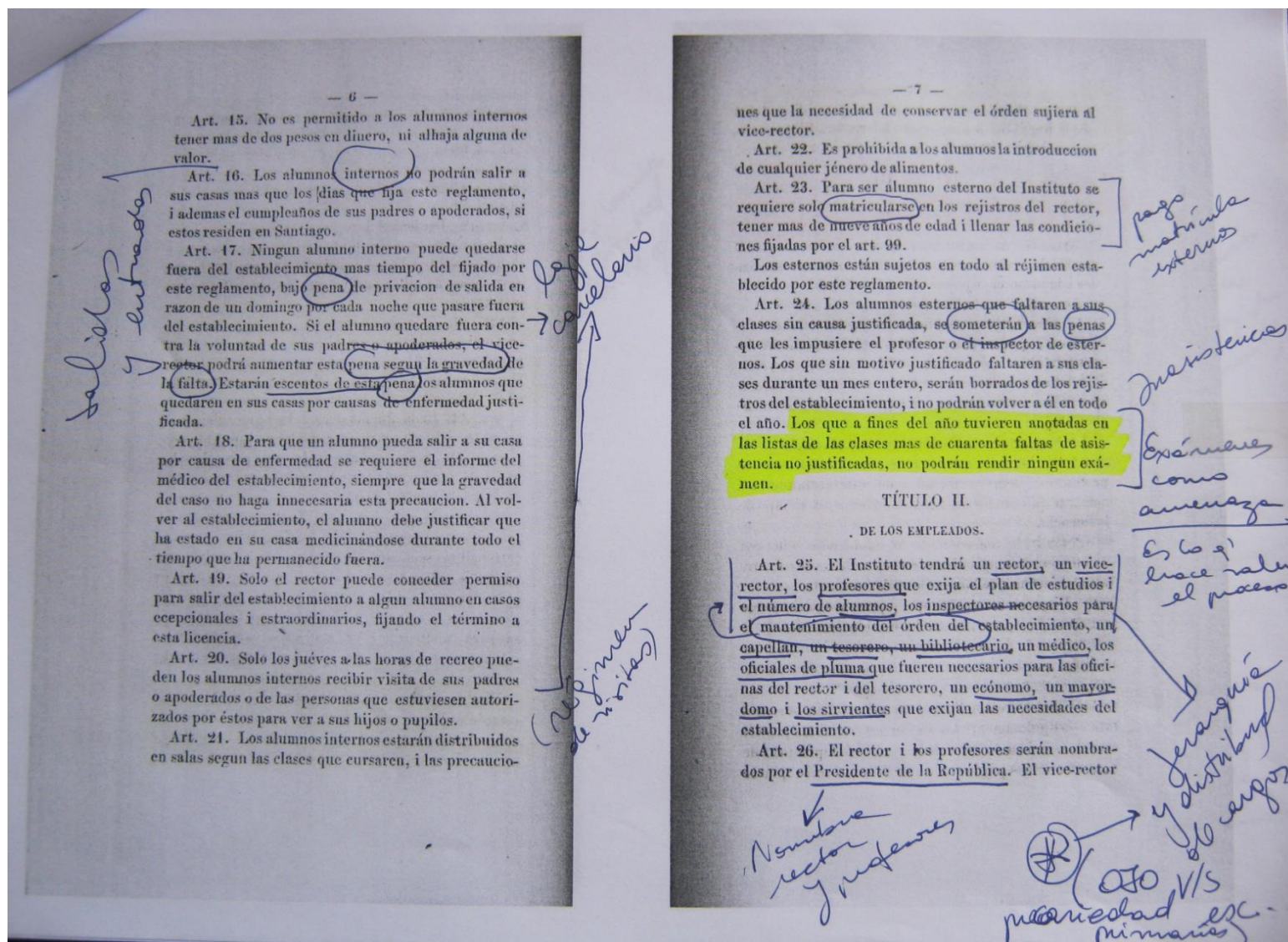
APPENDIX 5: EXAMPLE OF THE PROCESS OF ANALYSIS

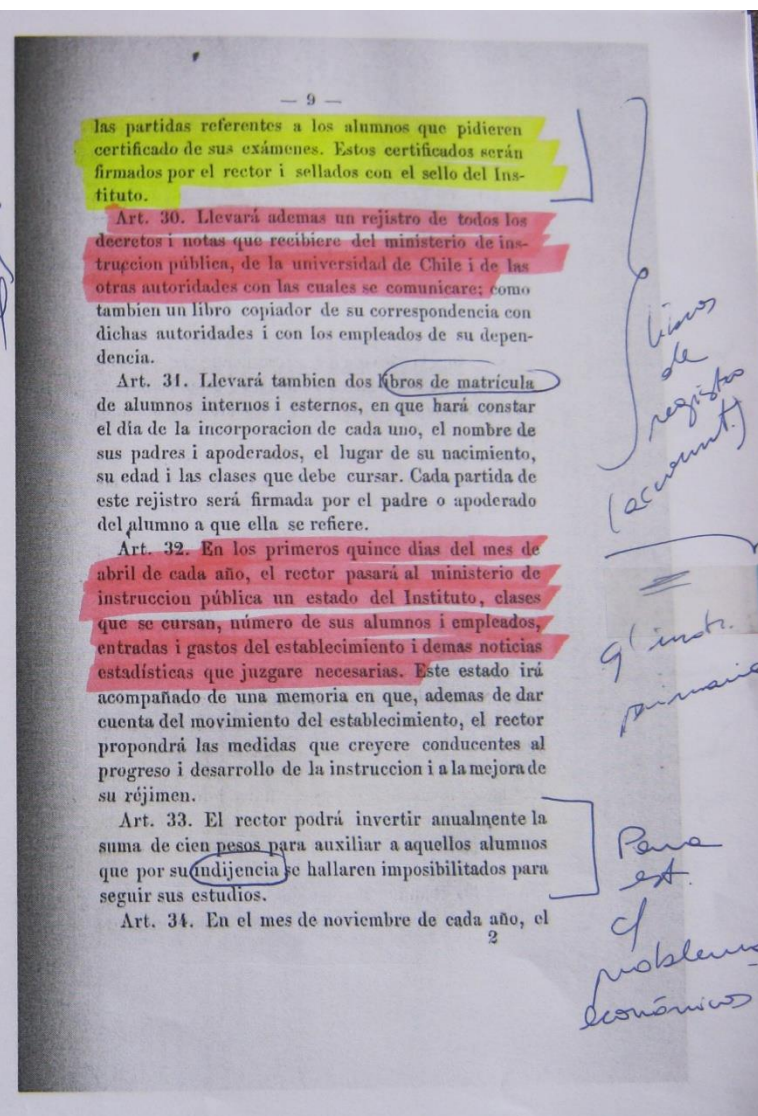
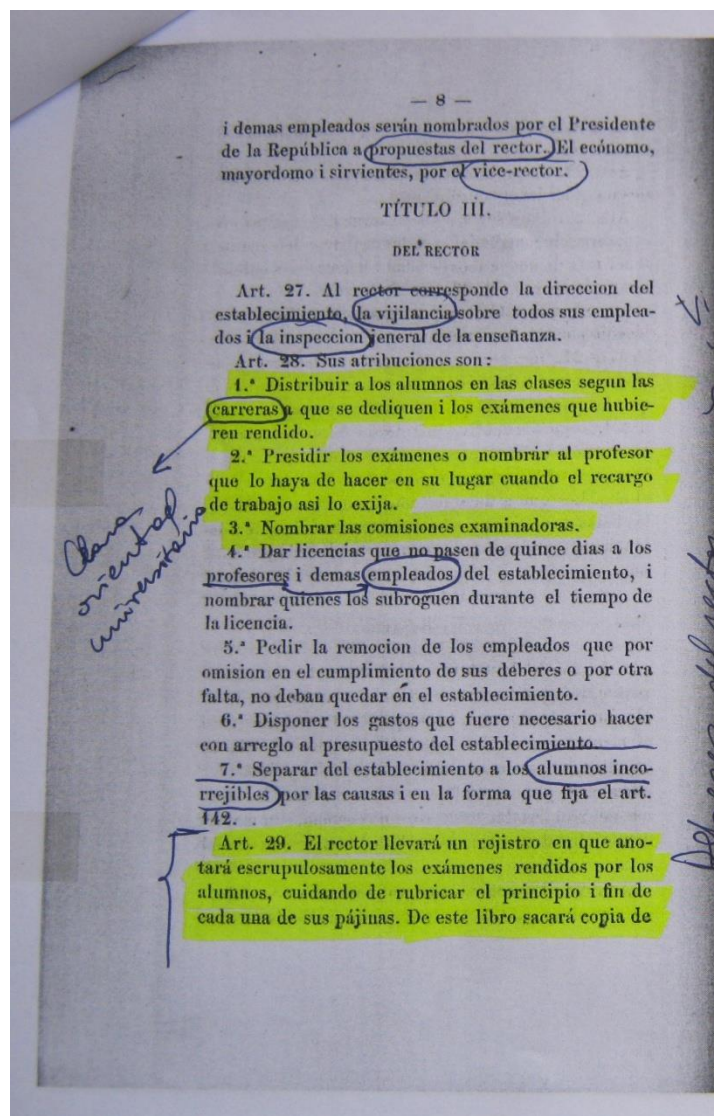
This appendix is intended to illustrate how the process of preliminary coding and ideological discourse analysis operates. The document corresponds to a regulation of secondary schools in 1863. I has not been translated into English as the main purpose is to show the steps of analysis in a general sense.

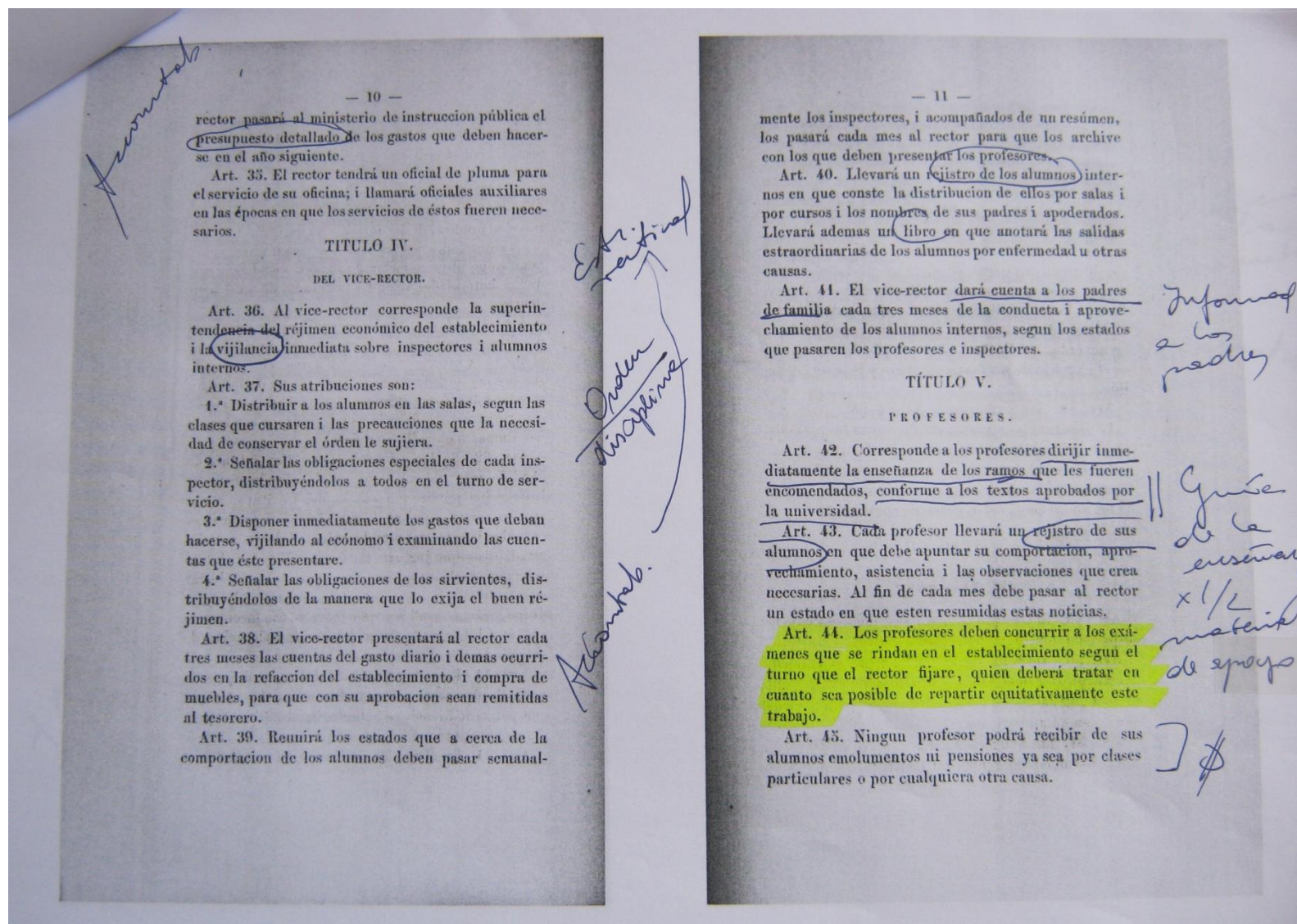
1. PRELIMINARY CODING OF THE DOCUMENT (FRAGMENT): fragments highlighted in yellow are those that refer directly to assessment. The ones highlighted in pink correspond to other general ideological aspects relevant to the interpretation of the context where the document is produced. The writings on the margins are codes and comments that help the researcher to summarise the main content and ideas of the document.











2. COMPLETION OF TEMPLATE

Document 3	
Name of document	Reglamento para el Instituto Nacional, dictado por el Supremo Gobierno' ('Regulation for the National Institute, dictated by the Supreme Government')
Social sphere	Government
Time/place	Oct 5 1863, Santiago de Chile
Purpose (explicit)	Legislate to establish the norms for the functioning of the National Institute and for the examination processes for secondary schools.
Type of document (discursive genre)	Regulation
Author (if explicit)	José Joaquín Pérez and Miguel Güemes
Role of participant(s)	President and Minister
Institutional affiliation	Government
Political affiliation	After a Conservative period, and at the beginning of the Liberal Republic, the president is a candidate of consensus and transition, and the minister is still a Conservative. Due to liberal pressure, the latter has to quit in 1864.
Audience/expected reader	School community of National Institute and Secondary Schools in general
Context	It is not very clear how the regulation is supposed to be disseminated. It should become effective in March 1864, according to what is said at the end of the document. It is a complex situation, because this is at the same time a regulation for this particular school and, in some points, a regulation for all secondary schools.
Brief content summary	Regulation which contains 145 points (articles) and specifies the legal frame for the functioning of the National Institute. It includes: types of student regimes, the requirements for admission, payments and scholarships for the poor ones, their possessions, the allowed movements and rules for attendance; the duties and powers of each employee, from the rector to the butler; time distribution for daily life at the school; the school subjects considered in the program of studies; the functioning of the library; the conditions for carrying out examinations; awards, crimes and punishments.

Words for participants	First person for the author ('He acordado y decreto el siguiente', ojo otra vez con el acuerdo consigo mismo) and third person for the others ('los alumnos' [the students], 'el rector' [the rector], 'el vice-rector' [the vice-rector], 'profesores' ['teachers'], 'tesorero' [bursar], 'inspectores de externos' [inspectors of external students], 'inspectores de internos' [inspectors for internal students], 'repetidores' [these were students allowed to assume some other functions], 'el médico' [the doctor], 'el capellán' [the chaplain], 'el ecónomo' [the economist], 'el mayordomo' [the butler], all referred in general as 'the employees' [los empleados]).
Main use of language/style	Impersonal, imperative, formal.
Lexicon of assessment	'exámenes' (p. 3), 'certificar los exámenes que el solicitante haya rendido' (p. 5), 'perderá el derecho a la beca o media beca el alumno que no rinda puntualmente sus exámenes' (p. 5), for the ones that accumulate absences 'no podrán rendir ningún examen' (p. 7), 'exámenes que hubieren rendido', 'exámenes', 'comisiones examinadoras' (p. 8), 'El rector llevará un registro en que anotará escrupulosamente los exámenes rendidos por los alumnos (...). De este libro sacará copia de las partidas referentes a los alumnos que pidieren certificado de sus exámenes' (pp. 8 y 9), 'certificados' (p. 9), 'exámenes' (p. 11), 'este trabajo' [to distribute among teachers] (p. 11), 'Como constancia de que posee estos conocimientos primarios' (p. 23) '... que se someta al ligero exámen...' (p. 24), 'se necesita haber rendido todos los exámenes anteriores en algun establecimiento cuyos exámenes estén declarados válidos, o rendirlos en el Instituto en los exámenes de principio de año' (p. 24), 'Ningún alumnos podrá pasar a un curso superior sin haber rendido los exámenes...' (p. 24), 'No podrán continuar en el establecimiento los alumnos que despues de haber permanecido dos años en las mismas clases no rindieren los exámenes necesarios para pasar a un curso superior.' (p. 24), 'exámenes' (p. 26), 'reprobados' (p. 26), 'rendir sus exámenes' (p. 26), 'rendirlos' (p. 26), 'lista nominal de los alumnos que presenten a exámen' (p. 26), 'se les designe el dia del examen' (p. 26), 'no se les admintirá a rendir exámen si no son presentados...' (pp. 26-27), 'exámen jeneral' (p. 27), 'órden de los exámenes' (p. 27), 'comisiones universitarias' (p. 27), 'exámenes se rendirán ante una comision compuesta de tres profesores a lo menos, nombrada por el rector i presidida por él o por el profesor que sigue' (p. 27), 'examinar i votar' (p. 27), 'miembros de la comisión i los de la universidad que fueren nombrados para presenciar los exámenes' (p. 27),

	'comisiones examinadoras', 'exámenes', 'examinadores', 'votos', 'distinción', 'simple aprobación', 'reprobación', 'La votación será secreta', 'empate', 'votos', 'reprobación', 'reprobados en un examen', 'exámenes parciales', 'exámenes finales', (p. 27), 'presidente de la comisión', 'prolongar el examen', 'suspender el examen', 'el libro borrador en que se asienten las partidas de examen', 'el boleto que certifique el examen que ha rendido', 'informe de la comisión examinadora', 'examen', 'que rindan sus exámenes en el Instituto, se someterán en todo....', 'solo se les admintirá exámenes finales...', '... deben ser presentados a exámenes...', 'rendir examen', (p. 28) 'uno o dos exámenes en épocas extraordinarias', '... no pudieren presentarse a optar a los grados universitarios por falta de dichos exámenes', 'No podran ser propuestos para el premio ni para la mencion honrosa los alumnos que no hubieren rendido los exámenes', 'o que hubieren obtenido votos de reprobación...' (p. 29), 'No podrán ser propuestos para los premios de conducta los alumnos que no hubieren rendido todos los exámenes (...) o que hubieren sido reprobados en alguno de ellos.' (p. 30), 'pruebas escritas u orales' (p. 30), 'Los alumnos espulsados podrán rendir exámenes en el Instituto.' (p. 32).
Aspects of organization of the information	The section about examinations is immediately followed by one about awards and one about punishments. It is interesting that here the regulation begins referring to the students, before it explains any of the figures of the higher hierarchy. The order in which functions of employees are described reflects the hierarchy inside the school. There is a considerable space dedicated to aspects of money and possessions of the school or the students in different parts of the document.
Schematic structures	Is a list of articles, so there are not relevant aspects in this point.
Implicit ideas about assessment (not explicitly shown)	The way of judging and the perspective to assume in the context of an examination is not clearly stated, so one can infer it is considered an implicit shared idea of what must be asked and assessed. Another implicit idea is the strength of examination as a tool for moving different actors to do things; its relevance seems to be as high as to be able to put pressure in students and their families. Finally, there is an idea of the State controlling the process of public and private secondary education through exams.
Rhetorical resources	There is a constant presence of terms related to the language of the prison: 'los alumnos internos', 'bajo pena de...', 'pena según gravedad...', 'falta', 'escentos de esta pena', even with a whole section about 'crimes and punishments', along with references to the regime of visits for the students, with a description that looks very similar to what happens inside a jail.
Speech act (action intended)	Make different actors act according to what is stated in the regulation.

**Summary of point of
view about assessment**

Examinations are used as a threat: 1) for making attendance compulsory (if someone does not attend as it is required, he won't be able to take examinations); 2) For scholarships to continue; 3) For making students progress, as they could not continue without taking examinations in two years. Examinations are a barrier to cross in order to have access to secondary school, to move from one level to the other and to have, finally, access to higher education. There is also the idea of a ritual, before a committee of teachers, academics and the rector, with established duration and moments during the year, and in which no lack of respect is allowed. Examination is related to certification and the register of examinations must be carefully completed, as the basis for certificates. Someone has 'to be presented' for an exam, once the teacher or some authorised expert thinks he is. There is a strong connection between examinations and the University: these are based on programmes designed by the University of Chile and some of the academics of this institution must be present during examination. Again examination appears related to awards and punishments, the former being not allowed to those with pending examinations or low performance in one of them. It is interesting that even expelled students are allowed to take their examinations at the Institute; this reveals that not to allow this was considered too much for a punishment and, therefore, the relevance that examinations had for the life of students. There are grades for examinations, equivalent to the ones usually considered for University: distinction, passed, failed. Not all examinations are valid; only some of them are recognised as valid by the Institute. There are partial examinations for the Institute, and final examinations for all secondary students. Results are decided by voting secretly; compared to the former law, this is much more clearly regulated here in terms of how to agree a result, but nothing is said about common criteria or the pedagogical approach preferred. Minimum times for examinations are extremely short compared to today (ten to thirty minutes, depending on the subject). The rector is the main authority in the context of examination.

Other relevant ideological aspects not directly related to assessment	There is a use of language that suggests a similarity or proximity between secondary education and university, which is not the case for primary schools. For example, here the principal is the 'rector' and teachers are not 'preceptores', but 'profesores'. Secondary school requires a payment, but it includes 30 complete scholarships and 30 half-scholarships for poor students, which seems to be the only open path for primary school students to the world of university. However, the possessions they are required to bring to school were probably too expensive for a family at that time, and this law states that a student who does not have this list of belongings cannot be admitted in this school. The similarity with a language from the prison is interesting. This is clearly a masculine world, against the feminine and motherly discourse of primary education and primary teachers. Hierarchy is relevant, there is a vertical movement of power and reporting back, but teachers here are much more respected, as they can give their opinion about textbooks and programs of study in order to introduce changes. Students seem to be much more oppressed in this context. In comparison to the precariousness of primary education, here there is a huge infrastructure and a lot of people working, even with servants and a butler, a priest and a doctor. The idea of control and vigilance between the different components of this hierarchy is present in all the document; along with this, there is a lot of bureaucracy in reporting and registering everything. Here there is not inspection from the Ministry, unlike primary education; they only report their expenses. Order and discipline have a great value in this context. The relationship with parents is much more direct and requires reporting the students' behaviour and 'aprovechamiento' (performance), and parents are referred to as 'padres de familia' (family fathers). Textbooks can be printed by the school, buy them or receive them from the Ministry (much more freedom in materials used). Here there is a figure, the 'inspector', which is not part of the internal functioning of primary schools, and is very much like an internal police of the school, who is in charge of the vigilance of students' discipline.
	There is also internal movement with students who have a scholarship, as they can replace inspectors, teachers, and also help students' with their study (this job is not paid). The religious aspect is considered as a natural part of education and the basic knowledge of it is one of the entry requirements. Curriculum is mentioned as a list of courses, but nothing is said about the method; only that teachers have to follow the one proposed in the textbook chosen by the school. There is a clear difference with the curriculum of Escuela Normal and primary schools, centred on basic skills and knowledge; here they learn latin and languages, for example. Physical punishment is explicitly authorised in this regulation.
Relevant quotations	'Se exceptúan de esta disposicion los que, habiendo hecho sus primeros estudios en otros colegios, hubieren rendido los exámenes necesarios para incorporarse en las clases superiores del Instituto.' (p. 3)

'Art. 11. Las becas i medias becas serán concedidas por el ministerio de instruccion pública a los jóvenes que posean las condiciones exigidas en el artículo anterior, i que se hayan probado a lo menos con un año de estudios en cualqiiier establecimiento de educacion costeadó por el estado, i previo el informe del director del establecimiento en que el solicitante hubiere pernancido ese año. Este informe se reducirá solo a certificar los exámenes que el solicitante haya rendido, i la conducta i aplicacion que haya observado. En igualdad de circunstancias será preferido el solicitante, cuyo padre hiibiére servido o sirviere al país en algun destino público. Art. 12. Perderá el derecho a la beca o media beca el alumno que no rinda puntualmente sus exámenes, i el que se retire del establecimiento durante tres o mas meses por cualquier motivo que no sea enfermedad justificada.' (pp. 4-5)

'Los que a fines del año tuvieren anotadas en las listas de clases mas de cuarenta faltas de asistencia no justificadas, no podrán rendir ningún examen.' (p. 7)

Ente los deberes del rector: 'Art. 28. Sus atribuciones son: 1° Distribuir a los alumnos en las clases según las carreras a que se dediquen i los exámenes que hubieren rendido. 2° Presidir los exámenes o nombrar al profesor que lo haya de hacer en su lugar cuando el recargo de trabajo así lo exija. 3° Nombrar las comisiones examinadoras.' (p. 8) 'Art. 29. El rector llevará un registro en que anotará escurpulosamente los exámenes rendidos por los alumnos, cuidando de rubricar el principio i fin de cada una de sus páginas. De este libro sacará copia de las partidas referentes a los alumnos que pidieren certificado de sus exámenes. Estos certificados serán firmados por el rector i sellados con el sello del Instituto.' (p. 9)

'Art. 44. Los profesores deben concurrir a los exámenes que se rindan en el establecimiento según el turno que el rector fijare, quien deberá tratar en cuanto sea posible de repartir equitativamente este trabajo.' (p. 11)

'Art. 99. Para que un alumno pueda incorporarse en el primer año de estos cursos necesita poseer los primeros rudimentos de gramática castellana, jeografía, aritmética i catecismo de relijion. Como constancia de que posee estos conocimientos primarios, bastará que presente un certificado de estudios en algun establecimiento fiscal de educacion, o que se someta al lijero examen que el rector puede hacerle por sí o por medio de dos profesores. Para incorporarse en los cursos de los años siguientes se necesita haber rendido todos los exámenes anteriores en algun establecimiento cuyos exámenes estén declarados válidos, o rendirlos en el Instituto en los exámenes de principio de año. Art. 100. Ningun alumno podrá pasar a un curso superior sin haber rendido los exámenes de todos los ramos de los cursos inferiores. Art. 101. B25' (pp. 23-24)

'TÍTULO XVII. DE LOS EXÁMENES. Art. 111. Los exámenes tendrán lugar en los dos últimos meses del año escolar. Los estudiantes que hubieren sido reprobados en esta época o que no hubieren podido rendir sus exámenes en ella por enfermedad u otra causa justificada, podrán rendirlos a principios del año siguiente. Art. 112. El rector hará publicar a lo menos quince días antes, un aviso en que fije el día de los exámenes a fin de que llegue a conocimiento de los directores de colejos particulares i de los estudiantes de clases privadas. Los primeros mandarán al rector en tiempo oportuno una lista nominal de los alumnos que presenten a examen, i los segundos pasarán a inscribirse en el registro del rector para que se les designe el día del examen. A estos últimos no se les admitirá a rendir examen si no son presentados por un bachiller de humanidades, si el ramo corresponde a esta facultad, o por un individuo que haya dado el examen jeneral para incorporarse a los cursos unversitarios, si el ramo fuere de matemáticas. Art. 113. El rector fijará con algunos días de anticipacion el orden de los exámenes, dando aviso al rector de la universidad para que se nombren oportunamente a las comisiones universitarias que deban concurrir a ellos. Art. 114. Los exámenes se rendirán ante una comision compuesta de tres profesores a los ménos, nombrada por el rector i predidida por él o por el profesor que designe. Solo podrán examinar y votar el rector, los miembros de la comision i los de la universidad que fueren nombrados para presidir los exámenes.

Art. 115. Los profesores designados para componer las comisiones examinadoras no podrán poner reemplazante sin el consentimiento del rector. Art. 116. Los exámenes deben hacerse por programas aprobados por la universidad. Art. 117. Los examinadores tendrán tres votos, de distinción, de simple aprobación i de reprobación. La votación será secreta, i en caso de empate de votos, se tendrá por reprobación. Art. 118. Los alumnos que hubieren sido reprobados en un examen no podrán repetirlo sino en la próxima época fijada por este reglamento. Art. 119. La duración de los exámenes parciales será a lo ménos de diez minutos. Los exámenes finales de ramos elementales, durarán a los ménos un cuarto de hora; pero los de gramática castellana, latin, griego, idiomas vivos, filosofía, literatura i todos los de matemáticas del curso especial, durarán media hora. Art. 120. Las atribuciones del presidente de la comisión, son: 1.º Cuidar del cumplimiento de las disposiciones de este reglamento referentes a los exámenes. 2.º Prolongar el examen de los alumnos en caso que lo crea necesario. 3.º Suspender el examen de los que no guarden a la comisión el respeto debido. 4.º Llevar el libro borrador en que se asienten las partidas de examen i presentarlo firmado al rector para trasladarlas al registro jeneral. 5.º Dar a cada alumno el boleto que certifique el examen que ha rendido. Art. 121. El rector, con informe de la comisión examinadora, podrá retardar por un término prudencial el examen de los alumnos que hubieran incurrido en la falta que señala el inciso 3.º del artículo anterior. Art. 122. Los alumnos de colejos particulares i los estudiantes de clases privadas que rindan sus exámenes en el Instituto, se someterán en todo a las disposiciones de este reglamento; pero solo se les admitirá exámenes finales a ménos que deseen incorporarse en los cursos del Instituto. Art. 123. Todos los alumnos matriculados en los cursos del establecimiento deben ser presentados a examen por sus respectivos profesores. Art. 124. Además de las épocas de que habla el artículo 111, el rector podrá admitir a rendir examen de uno o mas ramos a aquellos cursos que estuvieren muy recargados de estudios para fines de año cuando el profesor espusiere que los alumnos están dispuestos para ello. Podrá igualmente admitir uno o dos exámenes en épocas extraordinarias a los estudiantes que por haber hecho sus estudios en los liceos de provincia o por cualquiera otra causa justificada; no pudieren presentarse a optar los grados universitarios por falta de dichos exámenes.' (pp. 26-29)

'Art. 129. No podran ser propuestos para el premio ni para mencion honrosa los alumnos que no hubieren rendido todos los exámenes de sus cursos respectivos o que hubieren obtenido votos de reprobación en alguno de ellos.' (p. 29)

'Art. 131. No podran ser propuestos para los premios de conducta los alumnos que no hubieren rendido todos los exámenes de sus cursos respectivos o que hubieren sido reprobados en alguno de ellos.' (p. 30)

'Art. 134. El consejo de profesores determinará el ramo sobre que ha de recaer el concurso, la forma de éste i las pruebas escritas u orales que deberán exigirse a los concurrentes.' (p. 30)

'Art. 143. Los alumnos espulsados podrán rendir exámenes en el Instituto.' (p. 32)

APPENDIX 6: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

This appendix contains the complete interview schedules employed during the data collection process. The interview design for policymakers is shown first. Then, teachers' interview schedules can be found, both for experienced and recently graduated professionals.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: POLICY AUTHORITIES

I. Aims of the interview:

- To gain a better understanding of how policy makers conceptualise and make sense of their own decision making processes and the reforms they design and intend to scale up.
- To understand their view about other actors and systems involved in assessment reform processes and the degree of responsibility they assume as part of the process.
- To detect, in the context of their narrative about the process, conflicting points and potential contradictions experienced by policy makers in assessment reform processes.

II. General information:

At the beginning of the interview the interviewee will be asked the following questions:

- Just to have some general background information, can you summarise your academic and/or professional background and your working experience?
- How would you describe the role you had in the process of AfL reform when working in the ACU?

The answers to these questions can offer some insight about the internal relationships of the ACU, the way in which work division was organised there and the differences/similarities in academic/professional profiles of their members.

III. Questions and guidelines for the interview:

The interviewer will inform the interviewee about the aims of the interview and the study, the time it is expected to last, the conditions in which it will be registered and will offer him/her the opportunity to make any questions before the interview begins. Then the interviewee will be asked to sign a consent form. In order to obtain better quality data in a more relaxed environment the interviewer will refer occasionally to her own involvement in the process and, thus, to the shared experience she has with the interviewee.

If time allows it, the interviewer might include new questions or ask the interviewee to further develop some aspects of the topic that might emerge as relevant during the conversation.

Questions

1. When and why did assessment policy become a focus of activity for the ACU? What prompted a renewed or new interest in assessment? Was this related to a shift in assessment policy for the ACU or was it just the continuity of a policy previously developed by the Ministry?

This question is trying to find out how policy makers make sense of the origin of their decision towards a reform in assessment. It will be interesting to observe later how their answers may interact with more official versions in published documents.

2. Amongst all the options you had, what attracted you to AfL? Where did you hear about it?
3. What were the key ideas in AfL as you understood them? Why were they important to you?
4. Before piloting and implementing, what kinds of research evidence on AfL did you look at? Did you also look at evidence from practice?

Questions 2, 3 and 4 are aimed to find out about the sources for policymaking, the rationale underpinning the selection of specific sources used to inform for decision-making and the depth of knowledge policy makers have of those sources.

5. Could you briefly explain the process, starting from the idea of using AfL, to the design of a programme aimed to be implemented in practice? Here it is important to ask at some point whether this reform was intended to be a wide scale one from the beginning.

This question is focused on revealing what processes are involved in translating theory and research into a model of professional development and then into a model for scaling up assessment reforms.

6. What were, in your opinion, the main challenges experienced in the process? To what causes do you attribute these challenges? Were they overcome? How?
7. What level of interaction with other units of the Ministry did the process involve? Were there differences with some units in terms of their perspective or their practices on assessment? (e.g. SIMCE)
8. How would you describe the state of AfL reform when you left your position? What do you think is happening with it today?
9. In hindsight, what would you do differently or change about the process in order to make it more effective? What is your general evaluation of the process?

Questions 6 to 9 are focused on the interviewee's evaluation of the process and its challenges, difficulties and critical aspects. It is relevant here to get an account of the interaction with other units of the Ministry and also of the view policy makers have about other actors and systems involved in the process. Finally, it is relevant to explore how they assume their own responsibility in the process and its difficulties.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: TEACHERS

EXPERIENCED TEACHERS

I. Aims of the interview:

- To gain a better understanding, from the perspective of teachers, about the processes involved in translating and adapting assessment policies/theories into practice, both historically and during recent years.
- To obtain an account about the channels through which policy/theory is disseminated, transformed and adapted into practice, from the perspective of practitioners.
- To detect continuities as well as conflicting points and potential contradictions experienced by teachers in these processes.

II. General information:

Date of birth: / /

Period of initial training:

Type of initial teacher education programme:

Initial teacher education institution:

Level of school where he/she teaches: (primary or secondary)

Area of specialization (if applicable):

Years of classroom experience:

Sex: ☐ M ☐ F

Type of school you are working today: ☐ Public ☐ Private ☐ Partly government-subsidised

☐ Rural ☐ Urban

Council where the school is located:

III. Questions and guidelines for the interview:

Some days before the interview, the researcher sends the interviewee an information sheet and a consent form so they can be read thoroughly before interaction takes place. In the day of their meeting, the interviewer will inform the interviewee about the aims of the interview and the study, the time it is expected to last, the conditions in which it will be registered and will offer him/her the opportunity to make any questions before the interview begins. Then the interviewee will be asked to sign a consent form. During the interview the researcher will intend to generate a relaxed situation more similar to a daily conversation than to a very formal interview. The interviewer will also insist during the interview that there is no need for the teacher to demonstrate knowledge about every policy or to give desirable answers about his or her practice but to give an accurate account of his or her experience on these matters.

If time allows it, the interviewer might include new questions or ask the interviewee to further develop some aspects of the topic that might emerge as relevant during the conversation.

Main questions

1. What do you think about assessment policies today, that is, about decisions and measures of MINEDUC and/or municipal corporations on the topic? What are the challenges you face in doing assessment today, both from a theoretical and a practical perspective?

This question is intended to open the topic, bringing the most salient issues immediately to the forefront, and also to begin with something less distant in time to later move towards the past. If the question seems to be too abstract to begin, the interviewer will help the interviewee to relate it to school policies on assessment or something closer to his/her daily practice.

2. I know this happened some time ago and you can take your time to remember if it is necessary. When you started working as a teacher, did you perceive any distance between your initial teacher training on assessment and what you found in practice? Was it a straightforward process of using the tools you acquired or did you find any gaps between what you learned and what you needed to know or do at school? If there were gaps between your training and practice – how did you address these gaps? Did you have to draw upon your experience at school as a model at some point?
3. According to what you remember, did they teach you about assessment in initial teacher education? Was there a course on the topic or was it addressed across different courses? In this context, did they tell you about assessment decrees or tests like PAA?

The idea is to explore this distance and how they adapted to the situation. This is not just about translating theory into practice but also about how policy matters were addressed in ITE programmes (if so). This question has to be managed carefully to avoid imposing a negative view or assuming that such distance existed.

4. I have been reading some of the laws for assessment from the 1960s to the 1980s and it struck me the large amount of laws published during Pinochet's government. At the beginning of the process there is a very detailed law in which a Handbook on Assessment is mentioned and then it seems they had to make it more flexible or at least they had to give options to choose between two laws and it seems they are all the time amending what they said about it in the previous law. How aware were you about all these laws? *(If aware)* How did you find out about these laws? How were they communicated to teachers and how were they supposed to be taken into practice? To what extent did they have an influence on your practice? *(If not aware)* Can you give me some ideas of what you were doing in practice at that time?

The aim here is to get a concrete and specific description about policy transmission and translation during the past. The interviewer has to be careful with managing the political aspect of the question as it could become a sensitive topic that might distract interviewee's attention. However, to some extent these political aspects could be relevant given the framework of my research. In relation to the last part of the question, if the interviewer is too general or abstract when referring to his or her assessment practices, the interviewer will ask him or her to give two specific examples.

5. (*Secondary teachers*) Did the apparition of PAA affect your practice during the 1960s? If so, describe how your practice changed. Did you detect a change from PAA to PSU in the 1990s? Did this change affect your practice in a different way than PAA did? (*Primary and secondary teachers*) Are there relevant differences in your practice after SIMCE began and after its results began to be published?

A relevant aspect in this question would also be how they knew about these tests and their changes as this could give some relevant information about the processes of transmission of policies in education.

6. Have you heard about AfL as a government policy? Are you aware of its relationship to progress maps policies? (*If he/she has heard*) How did you find out about this approach? Are you using it in your day-to-day practice? How? Why?

Other questions (to be asked only if time allows it)

7. Have your assessment practices changed over the years? What are the highlights in this history? What was the reason for these changes?
8. How do you keep up to date about assessment changes (in its theory and policy)? How do you adapt these to your practice?
9. Could you briefly describe, from your perspective, the steps through which a new policy or innovation usually circulates until it reaches your practice? What are the main channels?
10. Is there sometimes simultaneity of policies in practice? If so, how do you manage it?
11. How do you assess your students today? Why do you decide to do it that way?
12. How much influence has the way in which students understand assessment on your possibilities of implementing changes in this area?
13. How important is assessment in your teaching? Would you say it drives your practice or do you fit it to your requirements and those of the learners?

RECENTLY GRADUATED TEACHERS

I. Aims of the interview:

- To gain a better understanding, from the perspective of teachers, about the processes involved in translating and adapting assessment policies/theories into practice.
- To obtain an account about the channels through which policy/theory is disseminated, transformed and adapted into practice, from the perspective of practitioners.
- To detect continuities as well as conflicting points and potential contradictions experienced by teachers in these processes.

II. General information:

Date of birth: / /

Period of initial training:

Type of initial teacher education programme:

Initial teacher education institution:

Level of school where he/she teaches: (primary or secondary)

Area of specialization (if applicable):

Years of classroom experience:

Sex: ☐ M ☐ F

Type of school you are working today: ☐ Public ☐ Private ☐ Partly government-subsidised

☐ Rural ☐ Urban

Council where the school is located:

III. Questions and guidelines for the interview:

Some days before the interview, the researcher sends the interviewee an information sheet and a consent form so they can be read thoroughly before interaction takes place. In the day of their meeting, the interviewer will inform the interviewee about the aims of the interview and the study, the time it is expected to last, the conditions in which it will be registered and will offer him/her the opportunity to make any questions before the interview begins. Then the interviewee will be asked to sign a consent form. During the interview the researcher will intend to generate a relaxed situation more similar to a daily conversation than to a very formal interview. The interviewer will also insist during the interview that there is no need for the teacher to demonstrate knowledge about every policy or to give desirable answers about his or her practice but to give an accurate account of his or her experience on these matters.

If time allows it, the interviewer might include new questions or ask the interviewee to further develop some aspects of the topic that might emerge as relevant during the conversation.

Main questions

1. What do you think about assessment policies today, that is, about decisions and measures of MINEDUC and/or municipal corporations on the topic? What are the

challenges you face in doing assessment today, both from a theoretical and a practical perspective?

This question is intended to open the topic, bringing the most salient issues immediately to the forefront.

2. When you started working as a teacher, did you perceive any distance between your initial teacher training on assessment and what you found in practice? Was it a straightforward process of using the tools you acquired or did you find any gaps between what you learned and what you needed to know or do at school? If there were gaps between your training and practice – how did you address these gaps? Did you have to draw upon your experience at school as a model at some point?
3. Did they teach you about assessment in initial teacher education? Was there a course on the topic or was it addressed across the different courses? In this context, did they tell you about assessment decrees or tests like SIMCE or PSU or policies like MPA [progress maps]?

The idea is to explore this distance and how they adapted to the situation. This is not just about translating theory into practice but also about how policy matters are addressed in ITE programmes today (if so). This question has to be managed carefully to avoid imposing a negative view or assuming that such distance existed.

4. (Secondary teachers) Does PSU affects your assessment practices in some way? How? What is your opinion on this? (Primary and secondary teachers) Does SIMCE affects your assessment practices in some way? How? What is your opinion on this?

A relevant aspect in this question would also be how they knew about these tests and to what extent were they addressed during ITE as this could give some relevant information about the processes of transmission of policies in education.

5. Have you heard about AfL as a government policy? Are you aware of its relationship to progress maps policies? (If he/she has heard) How did you find out about this approach? Are you using it in your day-to-day practice? How? Why?
6. Could you briefly describe, from your perspective, the steps through which a new policy or innovation usually circulates until it reaches your practice? What are the main channels?

Other questions (to be asked only if time allows it)

7. How do you keep up to date about assessment changes (in its theory and policy)? How do you adapt these to your practice?
8. Is there sometimes simultaneity of policies in practice? If so, how do you manage it?
9. How do you assess your students today? Why do you decide to do it that way?
10. How much influence has the way in which students understand assessment on your possibilities of implementing changes in this area?
11. How important is assessment in your teaching? Would you say it drives your practice or do you fit it to your requirements and those of the learners?

APPENDIX 7: ETHICAL REQUIREMENTS

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INFORMATION SHEET (HERE TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH)

In order to contribute to an informed participation in the research project 'Assessment Reform in Chile: the relationship between policy and practice', a brief description of the study and its objectives is offered here. In case of any question, you may ask the researcher during or after the interview through the email maria.florez@education.ox.ac.uk.

The project stems from certain concerns raised in the context of the researcher's participation in an experience related to piloting and implementing Assessment for Learning in Chile, concerns later confirmed through a review of international literature on the topic. Researcher's concerns are linked to the relationship between the design of assessment policies and practice, as there seems to some distance between the two spheres, a gap which calls into question the feasibility of an implementation of a formative approach to assessment in practice.

The purpose of this study is to better understand the relationship between assessment policy and practice, including the inconsistencies that can be observed between these areas and, additionally, a critical evaluation of this relationship.

The research questions are:

- What are the main systems (with their actors, activities and internal relations) and the main interactions between them involved in the relationship between assessment policies and assessment practices in Chile?
- How does the relationship between assessment policies and assessment practices in Chile operate and why?
- What can be modified and what maintained about the process involved in assessment policymaking and practice in Chile?

The former questions unfold in the following aims:

- Characterize the relationship between assessment policies and practices in Chile.
- Critically analyse this relationship, in terms of consistency and of the process involved in assessment policymaking and practice, including possible consequences for students' learning.
- Determine continuous and changing aspects in the relationship between assessment policymaking and practice along Chilean history of education (from 19th century to today).
- Suggest guidelines for assessment policies and practices, in the context of AfL as an approach recently promoted in Chile.

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INFORMED CONSENT: TEACHERS (HERE TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH)

The aim of the present document is to register your written consent for the research project 'Assessment Reform in Chile: the relationship between policy and practice', carried out by María Teresa Flórez, doctoral student of the Department of Education, University of Oxford. Please feel free to contact her in case of any questions or concerns about the project through the following e-mail address: maria.florez@education.ox.ac.uk.

The purpose of the study is to gain a better understanding of the relationship between assessment policymaking and practice, including the inconsistencies that can be observed in it, and to critically evaluate this relationship. What teachers have to say about the processes of disseminating assessment policies in practice and about their understandings and views on the subject is crucial for a complete interpretation in the context of this research.

Please read carefully the following statements before signing:

By signing this document I declare:

- I have read the information sheet provided by the researcher.
- I have had the opportunity to ask all questions and solve all concerns around my participation in this project, and have received satisfactory answers to them.
- I am aware I can withdraw from the project at any time with no consequences for me.
- I understand all I need to withdraw from the project is to advise the researcher.
- I am aware this project has been reviewed and authorised by the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee.
- I understand my personal data will remain anonymous and will be kept in a safe way by the researcher not only during the project but also after it has finished.
- I understand how to raise a concern and make a complaint and I count on the informative support of the researcher in case I intend to do so.
- I agree to participate in this study.

Name of the teacher: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Name of the researcher: María Teresa Flórez Petour

Signature: _____

Date: _____

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INFORMED CONSENT: POLICY AUTHORITIES (HERE TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH)

The aim of the present document is to register your written consent for the research project 'Assessment Reform in Chile: the relationship between policy and practice', carried out by María Teresa Flórez, doctoral student of the Department of Education, University of Oxford. Please feel free to contact her in case of any questions or concerns about the project through the following e-mail address: maria.florez@education.ox.ac.uk.

The purpose of the study is to gain a better understanding of the relationship between assessment policymaking and practice, including the inconsistencies that can be observed in it, and to critically evaluate this relationship. The perspective of policymakers and their direct experience in the field is fundamental for understanding the processes of assessment reform design and implementation.

Please read carefully the following statements before signing:

By signing this document I declare:

- I have read the information sheet provided by the researcher.
- I have had the opportunity to ask all questions and solve all concerns around my participation in this project, and have received satisfactory answers to them.
- I am aware I can withdraw from the project at any time with no consequences for me.
- I understand all I need to withdraw from the project is to advise the researcher.
- I am aware this project has been reviewed and authorised by the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee.
- I understand my personal data will remain anonymous and will be kept in a safe way by the researcher not only during the project but also after it has finished.
- I understand how to raise a concern and make a complaint and I count on the informative support of the researcher in case I intend to do so.
- I agree to participate in this study.

Name of participant: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Name of the researcher: María Teresa Flórez Petour

Signature: _____

Date: _____

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Director Professor Anne Edwards



01/02/2011

Dear Maria Florez

Application Approval

Title: Critical Discourse Analysis of the relationship between assessment policies and assessment practices in Chile

The above application has been considered on behalf of the Departmental Research Ethics Committee (DREC) in accordance with the procedures laid down by the University for ethical approval of all research involving human participants.

I am pleased to inform you that, on the basis of the information provided to DREC, the proposed research has been judged as meeting appropriate ethical standards, and accordingly approval has been granted.

Should there be any subsequent changes to the project, which raise ethical issues not covered in the original application, you should submit details to DREC for consideration.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Verika Marais'.

Verika Marais
Research Office Assistant

APPENDIX 8:
**SUMMARY OF CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS
(TEACHERS)**

Profile	Participant	Level of teaching	Gender	Type of current school	Type of school location	Discipline specialised) (if specialised)
Recently graduated	1	Secondary	F	Private GS ¹⁴⁴	Urban	English as a foreign language
	2	Primary	F	Public	Urban	English as a foreign language
	3	Primary	M	Private GS	Urban	History, Geography and Social Sciences
	4	Primary	M	Public	Rural	Not applicable
	5	Secondary	F	Private GS	Rural	Physical education
	6	Secondary	F	Private NGS ¹⁴⁵	Urban	Philosophy
	7	Secondary	F	Public	Urban	Biology
	8	Primary	M	Public	Urban	Spanish
	9	Secondary	M	Public	Urban	History, Geography and Social Sciences
	10	Secondary	F	Public	Urban	Biology
Experienced	11	Secondary	F	Public	Urban	Mathematics
	12	Secondary	M	Public	Urban	Philosophy
	13	Primary	F	Private GS	Urban	Spanish
	14	Secondary	M	Private NGS	Urban	History, Geography and Social Sciences
	15	Primary	F	Public	Rural	Spanish
	16	Primary	F	Public	Urban	Natural Sciences
	17	Primary	F	Public	Urban	History, Geography and Social Sciences
	18	Primary	M	Private GS	Urban	Musical Education
	19	Secondary	F	Public	Urban	Spanish
	20	Primary	F	Public	Urban	Technologic Education

¹⁴⁴ Private government-subsidised schools.

¹⁴⁵ Private non-government-subsidised schools.

APPENDIX 9:

CODING SCHEME FOR INTERVIEWS WITH POLICY AUTHORITIES

As explained in *Chapter II*, the process of analysis of these interviews was inductive. This involved, through several rounds of analysis, grouping 1062 sub-codes in a series of codes and, finally, in 30 categories that are defined below. In order to further illustrate the inductive coding, two examples of how a category was reached from the sub-codes are provided later in the appendix.

NAME OF CATEGORY	DEFINITION
ACADEMIC VS POLICMAKER OR PROFESSIONAL	This category includes all the codes where policy authorities distinguished the demands, features and types of knowledge that are characteristic of the academy from those that are constitutive of professionals or policy-makers.
INTERVIEWEE BACKGROUND	All the aspects related to the academic and working experience of the interviewee were classified under this category.
CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILEAN EDUCATION SYSTEM	It refers to the way interviewees characterise and view the Chilean education system.
MAIN FEATURES OF AFL	Here the main characteristics and phases of AfL and the CPD programme through which it was enacted are included.
POLITICAL CONTINGENCY	This category includes the description of policy authorities in relation to their reactions or those of their peers to political contingency.
CULTURAL DIFFERENCES	It refers to the differences detected between the culture of the foreign expert, responsible for importing AfL, and the local culture.
DIFFICULTIES AND CRITICAL VIEW	In this aspect all the difficulties experienced throughout the enactment process as well as the critical insights of the interviewees in relation to AfL reform are considered.
AFL TODAY AND IN THE FUTURE	The codes under this category refer to the state in which the interviewees perceived AfL was at the moment of the interview and how they thought of its continuity in the future.
AFL AND STANDARDS AGENDA	This category includes all the descriptions and perspectives of policy authorities in relation to the relationship between AfL and standards (Progress Maps) as parallel policies.
STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONING OF THE MINISTRY	It refers to the main actors and systems inside the Ministry, on the basis of the interviewees account. It also traces the relationships between the units of the Ministry.
ASSESSMENT IN CHILE PRE-AFL	It includes all the references, experiences and perspectives of policy authorities about the assessment discourses that circulated in the system before AfL was turned into a policy.

END OF AFL	It groups all the codes related to the reasons policy authorities distinguish for the end of AfL as a policy.
KEY IDEAS	It refers to the ideas that the interviewees perceive as fundamental in their view of AfL, and, in relation to that, why these ideas made AfL attractive as a policy for the Ministry.
IDEAS ON AFL AS A CONCEPT	This category includes all the ideas that emerged during interviews in terms of AfL as a theory on assessment.
IDEAS ON EDUCATION POLICY	It includes general ideas on education policy that emerged in the interviews, in terms of how it should be done and how it is done in practice.
SOURCES, REASONS AND ORIGIN	It groups all the sources used as a basis to decide in favour of AfL as a policy, the reasons argued by policy authorities to do so and the origin of the idea.
OTHER ACTORS OUTSIDE THE MINISTRY	All the actors relevant to assessment reforms, besides those of the Ministry, mentioned by the interviewees are included in this category.
OTHER DISCOURSES ON ASSESSMENT	It refers to all the discourses on assessment addressed by policy authorities, different from AfL and Progress Maps.
PERCEPTIONS ABOUT SCHOOLS	It groups all the perceptions and opinions of policy authorities about Chilean schools.
PERCEPTIONS ABOUT TEACHERS	It groups all the perceptions and opinions of interviewees about teachers and the teaching profession.
PARELLEL AND SUBSEQUENT POLICIES	It contains all the codes and sub-codes related to assessment policies that were promoted by the Ministry at the same time AfL was developed and those that were promoted after the end of AfL.
IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS	It includes the emergent aspects of policy during the process of enactment, according to the perceptions of interviewees (e.g. the struggle in relation to AfL not being an urgent policy compared to, for example, Progress Maps; or hybrid solutions along the way to reconcile AfL and the marking requirements of the school).
INTERVIEWEES' BLIND SPOTS	It refers to aspects of the interviewee's perspective that only the interviewer perceives and of which the interviewee is not aware (e.g. the insecurities and imprecisions they show when referring to assessment theory).
RHETORIC-DISCURSIVE RESOURCES	It groups all the rhetorical resources used by policy authorities during the interview as a means to define aspects of assessment policy. It includes metaphors, allegories, comparisons, expressions, epithets, among others.
PERSONAL REFLECTIONS POST-AFL	This category includes the reflections of the interviewees around AfL reform in retrospective.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ACTORS	It groups all the characterisations provided by the interviewees about the relationships between actors inside and outside the Ministry.
RESPONSIBILITIES	It refers to the perceptions of policy authorities in relation to who is responsible for different aspects of the policy process.
ROLE OF THE INTERVIEWEE	This category addressed the role of the interviewee in the policy process, as perceived by him/her or by others.
SOLUTIONS AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENT	It includes the solutions proposed by the interviewees to the problems experienced during the process of policy development and enactment, as well as their considerations for future policy.
UCE PRE-AFL	It refers to the state of assessment discourse in the UCE before AfL reform.

EXAMPLES OF INDUCTIVE CODING PROCESS

1) SOURCES, ORIGIN AND REASONS FOR AFL REFORM

4th LEVEL OF CODING

SOURCES, REASONS
AND ORIGIN

3rd LEVEL OF CODING

2nd LEVEL OF CODING

1st LEVEL OF CODING

SOURCES

ASSESSMENT REFORM GROUP

Contact of Ministry members with UK as a reason for import
Presence of Gordon Stobart in Chile
Afl in the UK starts small and then expands (vs developmental assessment)
England as a source related to formative assessment

INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE

Int Bacc - External standardised assessment
Int Bacc - Assessment linked to curriculum
Int Bacc - Professional judgement vs statistical arrangements
Int Bacc - As an important source for ways of making policy
Int Bacc - Problems of assessing in different context
Int Bacc - Role of moderation in assessment
Int Bacc - As a source for classroom assessment
Int Bacc - Assessment of theory of knowledge
Int Bacc mixed with AfL- Hybrid origin of approach in policy
Int Bacc - A concept of assessment consistent with the curriculum reform

MONITORING STUDIES IN UCE

LITERATURE REVIEW

Sources of initial literature review
Spanish material on rubrics
Material of ASCD on educational leadership
Sources that compile other sources
Susana Celman and Edit Litwin (Latin American source)
Fair Test (known by a member of UCE)
Literature review as a search for anything that was available everywhere
Gloria Contreras (University of Valparaiso)
Lorena Meckes (previous Head of SIMCE and Chilean researcher)
An Australian source on effective assessment (feedback)
Bibliographic search
A source from the University of Geneva
AfL according to Australians
Interest for an international and not only anglo-centred search

INITIAL PILOT BY THE FOREIGN
EXPERT
STUDY ON ASSESSMENT
REGULATIONS
CPD UNIT DOES NOT SEARCH
AVAILABLE EVIDENCE
THE FOREIGN EXPERT

Sources according to her view and not in consensus with UCE

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF
ASSESSMENT IN PROGRAMMES OF
STUDY (FOREIGN EXPERT)
PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE IN TEACHER
EDUCATION
THERE IS NO PRELIMINARY
RESEARCH ON ASSESSMENT
BERNSTEIN AS A POST-AFL SOURCE
FOR REFLECTION
EVIDENCE BEFORE IMPLEMENTING
AFL (GENERAL)

REASONS

NEED FOR CLEARER GUIDANCE
FROM THE MINISTRY AROUND
ASSESSMENT

Each unit writes what they know and the way they know it pre-2003
Difference in discourse around assessment in Ministry

INCONSISTENCY OF ASSESSMENT
IN PROGRAMMES OF STUDY

Diagnosis of lack of articulation
Initial diagnosis on the basis of two sources of evidence
Each discipline proposed its form of assessment in Programmes of Study

TEACHERS' NEEDS
AFL CHOSEN BECAUSE OF ITS LINK
WITH CLASSROOM ASSESSMENT
AFL CHOSEN BECAUSE THERE WAS
NO OTHER APPROACH
STUDIES-CONTACT OF MEMBERS OF
UCE WITH ENGLAND

ORIGIN

TIMSS and SIMCE results in 1999-2000
Absence of policies around classroom
assessment
Continuity of policies and renewed
interest
Tension and political criticism
Vacuum in UCE in the area of
assessment
Decision of a single actor
From standardised to classroom
assessment
Initial focus of UCE on subject matter
and from there to assessment

2) PARALLEL AND SUBSEQUENT POLICIES

4th LEVEL OF CODING

PARALLEL AND
SUBSEQUENT
POLICIES

3rd LEVEL OF CODING

PARALLEL

2nd LEVEL OF CODING

ASSESSMENT DECREES AND REGULATIONS

TEACHER ASSESSMENT

LEM

TAKING REFORM TO THE CLASSROOM (POST-
1999)

1st LEVEL OF CODING

Permissive decree in automatic promotion
Decree that gives more autonomy to schools around
assessment
Decree as the only pre-reform regulation on
assessment
Assessment decrees or regulations as another
parallel policy
Broad assessment decrees that give autonomy for
schools
Regulations of schools made it more complex rather
than simpler
Regulations of schools were more formal than rich in
content
Minimum regulation through decrees that ensured an
equal treatment and a common code

Condemarin and Medina as important sources on
assessment in LEM

LEVELS OF ACHIEVEMENT

Levels of Achievement
Levels in Maps = Criteria in AfL

SEP

SEP
SEP isolates the work of UCE
SEP vs AfL y Mapas

PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF INCOHERENCE
SUBSEQUENT

CURRICULUM BASES
PLAN FOR SHARED SUPPORT

SIMULTANEITY OF POLICIES IN SCHOOLS
SIMULTANEITY IN MINISTRY

APPENDIX 10: CODING SCHEME FOR INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS

As indicated in *Chapter II*, the coding of these interviews was deductive, that is, interviews were coded according to the categories defined below, on the basis of the interview questions. The codes that emerged in subsequent phases of analysis are illustrated through some examples.

NAME OF CATEGORY	DEFINITION	EXAMPLES OF CODES
Policies in general	It includes teachers' answer to the initial question, when they refer to assessment policies in general, according to their concept of what an assessment policy is. Given its open character, part of these answers was coded in other categories of the scheme.	- <i>Assessment of school management</i> - <i>Assessments from Municipalities and Corporations/Foundations</i> - <i>Assessment regulations</i> - <i>Assessment of reading speed (SEP)</i> - <i>Assessment in Programmes of Study</i> - <i>Distance between policies and practice/reality</i>
Transition from Initial Teacher Education to practice	This category includes the answers of teachers about their experiences in Initial Teacher Education with an emphasis on how they used their knowledge when they started working and the challenges involved in this transit. In this case the answers of experienced and recently graduated teachers were coded separately in order to detect potential differences.	- <i>Demand for the use of Bloom in practice</i> - <i>Learning on assessment through subsequent CPD</i> - <i>Learning on assessment through peers</i> - <i>Learning on assessment based on intuition</i> - <i>Assessment as a weakness in Initial Teacher Education</i> - <i>Transition to practice – copying others' instruments</i> - <i>Solitary learning through practice</i> - <i>Learning on assessment through trial and error</i> - <i>Decrees are not addressed in Initial Teacher Education</i>
Contents on assessment in Initial Teacher Education	This category refers to the contents that teachers remember they were taught around assessment during their initial training. In this case the answers of experienced and recently graduated teachers were coded separately in order to detect potential differences.	- <i>Theoretical and centred on presentations without practical application</i> - <i>Gauss curve</i> - <i>Construction of instruments</i> - <i>Bloom's taxonomy</i> - <i>Focused on objectivity and statistics</i>

		- <i>Assessment typologies</i> - <i>Types of items</i> - <i>Formative assessment (behaviouristic approach)</i> - <i>A specific course on assessment</i> - <i>No specific course on assessment</i>
Perceptions and standardised (Experienced Teachers)	before after tests	This category involves only experienced teachers. It includes their answers around changes perceived before and after standardised testing regimes started in Chile and before and after their results were published. - <i>SIMCE pre-publication – it was a test with no importance</i> - <i>SIMCE pre-publication – less preparation</i> - <i>SIMCE pre-publication – less pressure</i> - <i>SIMCE pre-publication – less memories about it</i> - <i>SIMCE pre-publication - no public recognition of the teacher</i> - <i>Change from PAA to PSU – failed attempt to stick to the programme</i> - <i>Change from PAA to PSU – from aptitudes to contents</i> - <i>PAA involved the same pressure than PSU</i> - <i>Reason to change from PAA to PSU – facilitate access to university</i> - <i>The 1980s elite kids of different Municipalities are interested in PAA</i>
Pinochet's decrees (Experienced Teachers)		This category involves only experienced teachers. It refers to the question on teachers' knowledge and awareness around Pinochet's assessment decrees. It also includes teachers' experiences in an authoritarian context of education governance. - <i>Top-down acceptance with no questioning</i> - <i>Appearance of dialogue</i> - <i>Modes of circulation of laws and decrees</i> - <i>Decree 2038</i> - <i>Discussion is allowed only at a technical level</i> - <i>Feeling of fear</i> - <i>Fear vs. less control of classroom</i>
Past assessment practices (Experienced Teachers)		This category involves only experienced teachers. It includes all the descriptions and opinions of teachers around their assessment practices in the past, at the beginning of their career. - <i>Predominance of memory and rote-learning</i> - <i>Predominance of written tests</i> - <i>Predominance of closed items</i>

		- <i>Mixture of multiple choice and essay questions for written tests</i> - <i>Low quality tests</i> - <i>Tests created without awareness or knowledge</i> - <i>Lack of photocopying technology generates practical problems</i> - <i>Certain degree of freedom to elaborate tests</i>
SIMCE and/or PSU	This category includes all the experiences and opinions of teachers in relation to these standardised assessment systems and the way they influence their practice. Depending on the level where they teach, they may refer exclusively to SIMCE or to both tests.	- <i>Lack of interest from students in SIMCE</i> - <i>Adaptation of practice to PSU and SIMCE</i> - <i>SIMCE and PSU as political tools</i> - <i>Role conflict</i> - <i>Undermining of subjects not considered in the tests</i> - <i>Competition between schools</i> - <i>Negative emotions related to the tests</i> - <i>Ethical issues around the tests</i> - <i>Parents in relation to the test</i>
AfL as a policy from the Ministry	It refers to teachers' awareness of AfL as a policy from the Ministry, the means through which they knew about this policy (if at all), and their knowledge on the subject.	- <i>Never heard of AfL as a policy</i> - <i>AfL as familiar but no in depth knowledge</i> - <i>Knows AfL with more depth</i> - <i>Sources of knowledge on AfL</i> - <i>Concept of AfL they have</i>
Progress Maps and AfL	Includes teachers' answers in relation to their knowledge around the connection between AfL and Progress Maps and also their knowledge and opinions on Progress Maps themselves.	- <i>Connection between AfL and Maps</i> - <i>Superficial knowledge of Maps</i> - <i>More in depth knowledge of Maps</i> - <i>Maps as a useful tool</i> - <i>Positive view of Maps</i> - <i>Maps as not applicable in practice</i> - <i>Maps as an interrupted policy</i>

Main milestones in their history with assessment (Experienced Teachers)	This category involves only experienced teachers. It refers to their perceptions around the main changes in their assessment practices throughout their career, as well as the reasons to which they attribute these changes. All of them refer mainly to two phases, the latter happening after the 1990s. That is why this category has two codes, each one including a series of sub-codes, along with a third code that refers to the reasons for change.	OLD PHASE: - <i>Test-centred</i> - <i>Focused on closed questions</i> - <i>As a product (vs. process)</i> - <i>Basic and not very challenging questions</i> - <i>Just assessment with marking and through an instrument</i> - <i>Initial more objective phase in the 1970s</i> MORE RECENT PHASE: - <i>Adaptation to youth culture</i> - <i>Phases of assessment (diagnostic, formative and summative)</i> - <i>Incorporation of other means of assessment</i> - <i>More feedback and more personalised</i> REASONS FOR CHANGE: - <i>Change of working context</i> - <i>Practical experience</i> - <i>Beginning of the reform</i> - <i>CPD courses</i>
Ways to keep updated	It refers to the means by which teachers keep track of new policies and/or new approaches to assessment.	- <i>Internet</i> - <i>UTP Head</i> - <i>CPD courses</i> - <i>Emails from Corporation</i> - <i>Ministry's website</i> - <i>Colleagues</i> - <i>Not updated in theory</i>
Students	It includes teachers' perceptions and experiences on students' views and attitudes towards assessment.	- <i>Students marking-centred view of assessment</i> - <i>Need for reward</i> - <i>Marking as motivation</i> - <i>Difficulty for changing students' views</i> - <i>Changing students' view is possible</i> - <i>Students accustomed to written tests</i>
Mode of dissemination of new policies	This category includes teachers' descriptions of the process through which a new policy is disseminated, including all the steps it has to follow before the policy reaches them as well as the logic through	ACTORS: - <i>UTP Head</i> - <i>Media</i> - <i>Colleagues</i> - <i>Corporation</i> - <i>School owner</i>

	which it is transferred to teachers (top-down or more horizontal).	- <i>Headteacher</i> MEANS: - <i>Ministry's website</i> - <i>Email</i> - <i>Meetings</i> LOGIC: - <i>Top-down logic</i> - <i>Horizontal (allows for discussion and appropriation)</i>
Simultaneity of policies	It refers to teachers' perceptions around the presence of simultaneous policies in schools.	- <i>No simultaneity</i> - <i>Simultaneity</i> - <i>No simultaneity but contradictions/confusions</i> - <i>Ways of coping with simultaneous/confusing policies</i>
Current assessment practices	It includes experienced teachers' answers in relation to their assessment practices in the present as well as those of recently graduated teachers about their assessment practices. It addresses both descriptions of practices and reasons to select them.	- <i>Formative assessment</i> - <i>More informal classroom assessment</i> - <i>Written tests</i> - <i>Open questions</i> - <i>Feedback</i> - <i>More challenging questions</i> - <i>Attention to processes</i> - <i>Essays</i> - <i>Rubrics</i> - <i>Innovative/creative activities</i> - <i>Contrast between an assessment for the system and an assessment for themselves</i>
Sense attributed to assessment	This category is focused on teachers' answers around the role they give to assessment in their professional practice, that is, whether it guides what they do in a specific direction or it is something they adapt to their requirements and those of their students.	- <i>Assessment guides their practice</i> - <i>Adapts assessment</i> - <i>Assessment as an important part of their activity</i> - <i>Contrast between an assessment for the system and an assessment for themselves</i>

APPENDIX 11: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

This appendix contains a sample of interviews translated from the Spanish. It is intended as evidence that the interviews were carried out and as a means to offer a general idea of their content and dynamics. One interview of each profile is provided, that is, one interview with a teacher and another with a policy authority. Not all the interviews are translated and reproduced here, for reasons of lack of space and because translation of all of the interview material would have added very considerably to the task of preparing the thesis. The interviews are, however, available in the original Spanish if the examiners require to see them.

TRANSCRIPTION GUIDE

In the thesis:

[] = hesitation or repetition that interrupted the flow of ideas, so it was cut when a part of the interview was quoted in the thesis.

(...) = a portion of text that has been removed.

In the transcripts:

... = pause

..... = long pause

... **at the end and/or at the beginning of the participant's interventions** = they talk simultaneously or interrupt each other.

CAPITAL LETTERS = an emphasis made by the interviewee through intonation and volume.

INTERVIEWS WITH RECENTLY GRADUATED TEACHERS: PARTICIPANT 3

General information

Date of birth: 21/06/1972

Initial teacher education period: 1998 – 2003

Type of initial training: Special programme

University of initial training: [Name of the University]

Level of teaching: primary

Area of specialty (if applicable): History and Social Sciences

Years of experience: 12 years (8 since graduated)

Sex: M

Current type of school: Government subsidised private school / Urban

Municipality where the school is located: [Name of the municipality]

Interview

Interviewer: Eh, to start a little with, with the theme, eh, what do you think of assessment policies, eh, today, whether the ones coming from MINEDUC or from Corporations or wherever the information comes from to your school? And what are the challenges you currently face more commonly with, with the issue of assessment in your daily practice?

- Interviewee: When we are talking about assessment, are we talking about assessment regulations?
- Interviewer: We're talking about everything that can come as a policy either, I don't know, Progress Maps, SIMCE, eh, assessment regulations, assessment decrees...
- Interviewee: Uuh, I feel that they are disconnected from each other, mainly because the, the, the assessment regulation is a bit retrogressive in relation to what is proposed by, for example, Progress Maps or more altern, more contingent, more up-to-date things. Then, that, that disconnection that exists makes them unfruitful and, additionally, if we look into the practice itself, what we are really doing and what we get to do given the time [we have], is just marking and not assessing. And that's where I feel and even with the existence of Progress Maps, even with the existence of other tools, we end up just in marking.
- Interviewer: And that, uh, those initiatives get diluted because there is a pressure from the school to marking, a pressure...?
- Interviewee: No. Just because there is no time to go in another direction. We have tried to implement PERMANENT use, for example, of Progress Maps as an evident tool in planning, but ends up turning into confusion, in lack of time to finish this part, I mean, finally, uh, what we get close to, uh, in concrete terms is marking rather than an assessment process. And simply because sometimes time does not... and I also see it from the perspective of the classroom.
- Interviewer: A-ha. And, currently you are a UTP Head and also teaching?
- Interviewee: That's right.
- Interviewer: Uhm, and in, and, where does this time you say you can't use in, in working with those other forms of assessment go?
- Interviewee: Uhm... we determine our timing VERY to the limit, ok? For example, if you have...
- Interviewer: And who defines that timing?
- Interviewee: Uh, it is ultimately about seizing to THE MAXIMUM, uh, if you have a cert, if you have 44 hours, you have 44 hours in the classroom, so to speak, even if it cannot be that way, or let's, let's think of 30, if you have 30 teaching hours, you have 30 hours in the classroom, and the remaining 15 minutes turn into your hours of collaboration, which is not enough for doing anything, you stay reviewing new, you stay, uh, I think normally planning is made by each one at home, then, in this context, we all try, and...

- Interviewer: It is a problem of working overload, then...
- Interviewee: Absolutely. I think that's basically the problem, if we had the possibility to have more time to work on assessment, it could be enhanced.
- Interviewer: A-ha. And, and as you started working as a teacher after your initial training, when, when you got to the classroom, uhm, was there any distance in what you, in what, between what you had been taught in your initial training about assessment and what you found in practice?
- Interviewee: Uh, notice that, before starting to work as a teacher I worked as a workshop teacher for many years, so for me the assessment process is something much broader than what I, what I saw in my peers, and I happened to work, I started working in the public schools of [name of the municipality where the school is located]. Uh, and I worked almost entirely just with *normalistas*, where the formula, I mean, they didn't even plan, they just provided a network of contents, then, uh, no doubt that for me it was something very different, what I found was quite different from what, uh, I had received as training. I mean, I found a world focused on marking and that, uh, somehow impacted you and made, made you to go there. And that was what happened to me, in this area at least.
- Interviewer: And, and, where there things from that initial training about assessment that were useful for you in practice?
- Interviewee: ABSOLUTELY. Because I used to do very different things, I did self-assessment, I did peer-assessment was, uh, I monitored processes, I established some agreements around the process of content progression, things that, uh, I'm still using, I mean, I think, in itself, mmm, I don't mean, deep down, I try so now, in this minute as technical Head to motivate my colleagues that maybe don't, dooon't, perhaps is not all that planned in that sense, but that they seize alternative assessment above marking.
- Interviewer: A-ha. Ok, so, uh, uh, there are things that you use and that were useful but sometimes that is contradicted by the demands from, from the system or from practice.
- Interviewee: Exactly. Mmm, that's right.
- Interviewer: And did it happen to you that, that, mmm, in that context you also had to draw upon certain school models, I mean, from when you were a student and what you recalled about assessment?
- Interviewee: Uh... one tends to do these things, but, uh, more than anything, what I, mmm, what I got connected to was the institutionally established, uh, for example, in some schools it is established that you have that, well, no, no, no, it is VERY established that, summative marking, marks, uh, for the notebook, marks for, those things are imposed on you, so you're already limited from that reality, therefore, uh, it wasn't so

different from what I experienced [at school] [laughs], that is, without question assess, assessment and marking were very connected. That made me realise that in 25 years of life no, no, NOTHING had changed, assess, assessment and obviously...

Interviewer: Then, ultimately rather than drwaing upon that, it reminded you of...

Interviewee: ... It just reminded me! I mean, I found exactly the same, that.

Interviewer: Uhm, uh, well, then, in your initial training there was a course on assessment?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Uh, according to what you can recall, what what that course about? What did they teach you?

Interviewee: Uh, well, from learning styles to know where to focus the, the assessment, uh, tooooo assessment methods, types of planning, I mean, they linked it to planning, the methods of, of assessment and I think it, it was focused only on that.

Interviewer: Was it more a theoretical course or did it link in a good way with the topic of practice, of constructing instruments, designing activities...?

Interviewee: Yes, instruments were constructed, but the topic of assessment was very cross-subject, ah?, I, mmm, maybe I considered that a strength in the, in my process. Uhm, if we were working, let's say, with science, uh, the lecturer focused on how we would assess, then it was an element that crossed ALL the courses we studied.

Interviewer: Ok. So, there were theoretical tools and practical tools.

Interviewee: Yes, we always had to construct assessment tools.

Interviewer: Did any more statistical element emerge?, like score calculation and that kind of thing.

Interviewee: No. No. I had to learn that along the way and I think is one of the greatest weaknesses.

Interviewer: It's another thing that you found...

Interviewee: ... along the way.

Interviewer: ... along the way.

Interviewee: Yes. And sure, the eternal score table that is inherited from, from one teacher to the next [laughs] and that is now like on the Web and you have everything online...

Interviewer: Yes, that's right.

- Interviewee: Buuut, at that time it was as like a photocopy and you had to have it [the Interviewee explains it as something funny and laughs], with this amount of points to 60%, I don't know, it was something very funny, buut, uh, it was like 'look, I leave this for you' [the Interviewee mimics solemn tone when he says this], 'I, I, I will give it to you for you to copy it', oh, it was like 'you are freaking generous, mate', uh, no doubt that I faced that. Uh, uh, I think that wasn't [present] at the University, the statistical work was weak. Yes, that's right.
- Interviewer: A-ha. Aaand, in the context of the initial training on assessment, did you talk about at some point, for example, assessment decrees at the time, of SIMCE...?
- Interviewee: Absolutely. Yes, we did, we did work on that. Maybe SIMCE wasn't like, like it was just a little test. I am talking about year '98, '99, it didn't, they still did not give it the punch they give to it now, but, uuuh, in relation to the decrees, yes, we really worked on that mostly.
- Interviewer: And you read them, you analysed them, everything...?
- Interviewee: That's right. Exactly.
- Interviewer: A-ha. Uhm, does SIMCE affects your assessment practices and your general practices in some way?
- Interviewee: Totally [laughs].
- Interviewer: How? And what do you think about that?
- Interviewee: We hate SIMCE. In general, we hate SIMCE. I see it in different contexts, I think it's a form of collective stress, uhm, a distant way of understanding, uh, the process of education, uh... with such quantitative arguments, which tend to, to distance also from the very practices, because we can't have, uh, let's say, SIMCE affects us in such a way, that, uh, it becomes an integral part of our educational project and of the pedagogical project.
- Interviewer: Almost like the goal...
- Interviewee: Exactly. And, in our case, we have a school owner that bothers us constantly with that, I mean, 'how are the mock tests', monthly we have to provide results, aaand, aaand, everything revolves around that and, aaand, and we have to make SIMCE-style tests...
- Interviewer: ... so, all the tests that you create have to follow the model...
- Interviewee: Yes, everything, yes. With the SIMCE model. Yes, yes.
- Interviewer: ... closed questions, multiple choice, those kinds of things?
- Interviewee: Yes, yes. Exactly.

Interviewer: And in, and in daily teaching practice, does that mean that, that you also have to select certain contents above others and that kind of thing or, or in that you're not that, you have a bit more flexibility?

Interviewee: We have more flexibility in that because I make it happen that way [laughs], uh, because there, uh, luckily we are, all of us here are specialised [on a subject] in, in, in, from Year 5 to Year 8 at least, uh, we are all specialists in, in some area, then people there has everything relatively, they recently had training, they all had initial training and, uh, general and the majority has a postgraduate specialisation or a major (*unintelligible*). Then, that makes us, that makes us be connected to the latest the best that we can, although the majority, for example, of, we aren't in reality, because it was "Study and comprehension of society" and now we're back in "History, geography and social sciences" [laughs], this permanent confusion [he is referring to a recent change in the curriculum of his area of specialisation].

Interviewer: Ok. And what do you think of, of the existence of that pressure from SIMCE? What is your opinion about that?

Interviewee: I think it has to do with ... with a social, a political system. I think it has to do, from my perspective, I think we are a quantitative country, which looks at everything on the basis of what one has, the quantity. And, and it obviously that spreads and expands in all possible alternatives, and in this case in education is perhaps more notorious. Eh, therefore, SIMCE, SIMCE for me is, is, uh, uh, it points to a, to a weakening of, of experiences more, when, when one is surprised about a rural school, is because that rural school works naturally and has results in, in SIMCE because, uh, they acted naturally, and that is what we tend to lose sight of, uh, in urban areas. That is, we are so subjected to, to the condition of depending on this phenomenon, that we all end up hating, because it makes us deviate from what we want to do.

Interviewer: So, it compels you to go a bit against what you think that has to be done...

Interviewee: Exactly. Exactly. Is highly focused, as I say, on a quantitative [approach] and not on a qualitative one, uh, although it delivers many tools that revolve around, uh, pre-established non-consensual parameters, which is the worst, because there is a selected group of people who prepare or dimension certain condition, but who asked you about that, uh, who told you that was an alternative, uhm, they are incorporatiing Physical Education, English, uh, but when will there be, I do not know, a SIMCE of, just to say something silly, a social SIMCE, I mean, how much are we doing for the kids, an affectivity SIMCE, who thinks about that ...

Interviewer: A-ha.

- Interviewee: Uuh ... and I've always said, I mean, not because we have recei(ved), had a weaker less demanding education, uh, we stop being less, less, less professional, uh, I think that's where our society is weakened; it is getting its realisation more in quantities and results than in people
- Interviewer: Have you heard of Assessment for Learning as a policy from the Ministry?
- Interviewee: Yes.
- Interviewer: In what context? Do you just heard about it or know it in depht? Does it sound familiar just like a name?
- Interviewee: Uuuh, it sounds familiar just like a name but, I think I've seen it in different contexts.
- Interviewer: Ok, for example?
- Interviewee: I have seen it innn... innn the possibility that they establish with, uhm, let's see, like, in meetings with teachers and Technical Heads and Headteachers they have talked to us about this process, I mean, provided from the State.
- Interviewer: Ok, with some professional development programme?
- Interviewee: With a professional development programme, with a, rather than professional development, meetings with Headteachers and technical heads organised by the Provincial Direction.
- Interviewer: Oh, ok, and there someone...
- Interviewee: ... And they give you, they give you some parameters, but superficially, not much and some data. They tell you 'Assessment for Learning, which will be (announced) because of this, but we need you to register through the Web and we begin to advise you, an I don't know what else', uhm, finally, uh, then you lose the connection and no, no, at least in our school, it hasn't been provided.
- Interviewer: So, the, the name passed before you...
- Interviewee: Exactly.
- Interviewer: ... and have you seen it just there or in documents...?
- Interviewee: In doc, in some document that they gave to us, but after that it got lost, and it was just, I don't know when, how long has it been, but I saw it like at the end of last year [2010].
- Interviewer: And, and, do you have any memory of what it is about or is it something that only passed before you as a name?

- Interviewee: Uhm, no.
- Interviewer: Some general notion?
- Interviewee: No.
- Interviewer: No. Uhm, and in relation to that, any associations between Assessment for Learning and Progress Maps? Are Progress Maps familiar to you? Do you know them?
- Interviewee: Yes, yes.
- Interviewer: Aand, first, do you perceive them as related to Assessment for Learning in some way?
- Interviewee: Yes, yes.
- Interviewer: In what sense?
- Interviewee: Uh, like one of the tools that allows for the enhancement of assessment. Uh, yes, uh, in fact, that is what, mmm, maybe I didn't say it, but it is what I see as more , more connected to Assessment for Learning.
- Interviewer: A-ha.
- Interviewee: Aaand, and the appropriation of these tools is what they were supposed to to, to, to, to, to try to generate meetings and teach us how to use them and tha, and that has done like, they tried to do it at some point, then it weakened, later a group went out, they took out a group of people, ta, ta, at the time, uh, when the incoming government takes people out, in that period everything diluted.
- Interviewer: A-ha.
- Interviewee: There's where I lost sight of it.
- Interviewer: And did you have a chance to look at them? What do you, do you think they are an interesting material, useful, not useful?
- Interviewee: Progress Maps, yes, usable, but lacking, uh, that's what I said, I find them very usable, and indeed they are always, uhm, like, in, in, in elements that we use to work on, on a SIMCE analysis or, in, in, in some kind of, the days of evaluation and analysis, we use Progress Maps and contrast what we are seeing in teacher workshops, they are tools that we use, but which, uh, in, in the assessment itself are not being used, but we rather, rather use them to analyse what we have done.

- Interviewer: Ok. Uhm, well, this must be strange for you, as you are at the same time in the role of teacher and technical Head...
- Interviewee: Yes, yes.
- Interviewer: ... but, when something new is coming, an in, an innovation, a new policy, something like that, what are, if you could briefly describe, what are the steps it follows until it reaches you and the teachers, and you as a teacher as well? Who does it circulate through?
- Interviewee: It normally some information is sent to the school's email, then it gets to the Headteacher through a memorandum... normally the Headteacher of...
- Interviewer: A memorandum coming from who?
- Interviewee: The Provincial Directorate. They are the ones who provide us with information directly and, they a, they attach files, if that's the case, or send some material if there is any type, for example, the daily readings and everything that is coming now, reading in, in TL1, TL2 [Transition Levels 1 and 2], which are proposals to motivate reading comprehension from, uh, pre-school education. Aand, well, the Headteachers passes it to me, and from me, uh, instructions are given, work is carried out in the teachers' workshop or exclusively with the, in this case, the ones that are involved, that is, the pre-school sector and after that some monitoring is done of how has it been working o how, how they have felt the material was used...
- Interviewer: And this must also be complex given your double role, but, when, when something gets in this way to teachers, is it discussed with teachers and ther is an option for them to say "I am not interested in this", or "I will adapt this a bit" ...?
- Interviewee: Actually, it does.
- Interviewer: Does it?
- Interviewee: Yes. In this respeeect, one of the things that [name of the Headteacher] changed was that, he, to him it was about fulfilling what they said to the letter. We began to understand that, the first time he understood that, was the first time I discussed with aaa provincial supervisor about the planning format and he was surprised, because he used to just listen and comply. I said to him "you know what?, no, we have discussed this in our working hours and this is what we will for this, this, and this..."
- Interviewer: And for them it must be very strange to face something like that...
- Interviewee: ABSOLUTELY.
- Interviewer: Puzzled...

- Interviewee: But after that we began, I started to feel coupled with the Headteacher, that he felt that what I was advocating WAS [the right thing]...
- Interviewer: It made sense to him...
- Interviewee: It made sense to him. And thaaat our achievement, our progress depended ooon, on our discussions. That began flowing.
- Interviewer: Anf the way policies were implemented became more flexible...
- Interviewee: Totally. Exactly. And well, in, in itself, the topic of reading speed, for example, thaaat has been full, full impact and that we have felt that contributes but it doesn't contribute, that there is time but there is no time, uhm, we use it one second, uh, we will go back to it, we will go back to it, but...
- Interviewer: And what do you think of the reading speed topic?
- Interviewee: ... [the interviewee sighs and laughs], look, truth is I (*unintelligible*).
- Interviewer: ... and it's also related to subvention and a lot of things...
- Interviewee: ... totally, totally, I feel it's an imposition that the technical supervision has presented us with, uh, to, to schools in SEP and in an absolute way in the case of public schools, but I do not feel that the result is there, I believe that the result is in the extent to which kids become aware of and love reading. And these are the spaces that are not [present]. Uh, and, and I have tried, well, daily readings is what I feel has given us more results, and we are working full. That all teachers in whatever their area is, are in charge of doing one reading. To discuss, to reflect upon it, to reflect upon it, to draw inferences about it and actually, according to the latest CLP [reading comprehension test], uh, we have increased achievement in this first term and I feel that it is BASICALLY due tooo daily readings.
- Interviewer: So, ultimately, before all these policies, what you do is: you take them, but there is a process of, of adusting, adapting and, and giving yourselves a space to do what you think is...
- Interviewee: Or... or send it to hell once and for all.
- Interviewer: Ok.
- Interviewee: Whatever the cost, the cost is, truly whatever the cost is, because sometimes it has meant to have a discussion with the school owner, or that the school owner herself says "lets send this shit to hell, because is bullshit", and that's it.
- Interviewer: A-ha.

- Interviewee: And that if supervision is coming, they send me to the ring, because they know I will brainwash him/her anyway, uh, that that is what happens perhaps in many places and arguing, because, in the, the practices, well, if we have data, if we have assessed our processes, they have been focused on the real needs we do know that maybe the greatest weakness is reading comprehension. And there we have been going, trying to, to strengthen...
- Interviewer: So, more, more based on your own diagnosis that on...
- Interviewee: ... Totally, more based on our reality and, and an impotent reality meaning that, uh, as the issue is enrollment, sometimes we have to receive people who deteriorate the process, that make us, that make us go back and have a teacher in charge of a particular group, which he/she has already levelled and who gets 7, 8 guys coming ABSOLUTELY ...
- Interviewer: ... and now you can't select...
- Interviewee: ... Uh, we can't select but it is done anyway, buuut...
- Interviewer: ... through other kinds of procedures.
- Interviewee: Totally.
- Interviewer: How do you do it there for...?
- Interviewee: Ehm, looking, directly looking [laughs], with the results that the personality report brings and a subsequent interview, because sometimes we see that, uuh, a student that may come with fairly decent grades, gets a disgusting personality report. That gives us a message. Now, he/she can come with fairly good grades, but with a great personality report, which invites us to call the parent, interview him/her and say 'yes'. We have the parent, at least.
- Interviewer: And what kind of things do you consider in the interviews to parents? Things like...? Because I've heard, for example, that when [the school] is of a more religious tendency there are some characteristics of the family...
- Interviewee: No, here we focus on the support we are going to get from this parent. We ask him/her why [the child] left the [previous] school, what does he/she expects of this school, if he/she will face the, the pressures that we might put in some aspects. And then we immediately get it. Normallyyyy we do it, the school owner, the Headteacher, or the school owner and me, she, she is a pre-school teacher. Aaand, and then we come to certain conclusions. If no, I think this mom is not very bright, so I think it could be complicated [laughs], and that normally people who arrives in those conditions disappear later and they don't come back and they leave the kid abandoned at the school. And we know that we end up without, they always pick them up half an hour later,

there is no, no support for homework, there is no reinforcement, so, we ended up just (*unintelligible*), that child worsens, because ours go faster, and is left behind and instead of advancing, he/she keeps on getting MUCH worse, and we have, we have had cases that have repeated TWO years, THREE years and we say, oh, we messed it up.

Interviewer: Uuhm, how do you do it to keep yourself updated around changes on assessment, either in assessment theory or in new policies around assessment? How do you keep yourself informed?

Interviewee: I would like to stay more informed, but I have to admit that life has, has alienated me a bit. Buuut, there is an automatic formula to keeeep updated on that, uh, I would like to learn about it in depht, that's what I mean, but the Minsitry manages to send you by email ALL all the policies and all the approaches that are being...

Interviewer: So, what you mean is...

Interviewee: ... but, yes, in theory, talking about theory, we are, I feel I aaaam, a bit weakened.

Interviewer: A-ha. So, in what you keep yourself more up-to-sate is in, in these policies...

Interviewee: In policies, yes, at the political level. Now, about theory normally one tires, to, uh, tries to keep updated, but as I say I have been more... unprovided.

Interviewer: And with these new things you receive, uuh, how do you adapt them? Because sometimes one can't apply the models that are sent as such or, or...

Interviewee: For example, with regard to, see, if I think of, in exactly what you told me, Assessment for Learning and the related theories, I would have to do a thorough job, eh, of personal training to impact the rest in that condition, aaand, and that is just what, and that can't be [done] alone either, I would have to work together with my Headteacher, and sometimes the time to do that that is not there, to develop a professional and conscious work.

Interviewer: And even look for external supppooooort...

Interviewee: There are no resources. Not for professional developmet neither for external support. That's the point.

Interviewer: Ok. Uh, the, well, uh, this a special question for you as technical head too, uh, do you have the impression sometimes that there is some sort of simultaneity of policies and that several things are coming at the same time?

- Interviewee: TOTALLY. Absolutely, and that's where I laugh my lungs out at all this, aaand, and I say... and I think at least is made, my perspective has been felt, we have a reputation in the area and it doesn't have to do with the results in SIMCE, it has to do with the type of person we are generating, because of our work with affection, for the support, uh, for the countenance, eh, that's our strong point and, and I feel that the management team of the school and the profile of the school (has understood like that), then sometimes precisely this simultaneity of which you speak, and that ends up being a giant contradiction makes us say "mmm, this is is not useful".
- Interviewer: And what do you do? Prioritise...?
- Interviewee: We prioritise, absolutely, like we said before, it is closer to what we have diagnosed and we determine as, as the most necessary.
- Interviewer: A-ha. Uuhm, well, and as a teacher, how do you assess your students currently? What are your most frequent assessment practices and why do you decide to assess that way?
- Interviewee: Uhm, let's see, we assess through summative assessment, which is something imposed by myself [laughs], no, it's a joke, but it's one, uh, that maybe, the, uh, the syst, the syst, what the system imposes, that are summative assessments, on the one hand, aah...
- Interviewer: And, and SIMCE-style summative, let's say...
- Interviewee: Yesss, yes, SIMCE-style, mh? Now, mmm, mmm, SIMCE-style in the sense that they include, include, let's see, we make whole level tests to have a panorama of what happens once per semester. These whole level tests are completely SIMCE-style. But the rest of the permanent assessments don't, don't, I mean, because for me this SIMCE test, that has only multiple-choice, uh, impedes the assessment, for example, of skills.
- Interviewer: Yes, right.
- Interviewee: Liiike establishing relationships, developing an idea, try the idea, uh, uh, that is not there and that is at hand, then there is where I aks teachers to make activities of, uh, short writing exercises of, of brief essays, essay questions, uhm, I don't know, matching terms, what, whatever is like different, that allows the student to show not only the mastery of the content but also of skills.
- Interviewer: A-ha.
- Interviewee: And that's one of the things I, to which, to which, to which I give more strength. I like, uh, assessing the ability to, to generate essays in, in fact, there is some, one of the things I incorporated were assessments with, with an open book, I mean, that ultimately they can interpret...

- Interviewer: That is still in the context of a written text with open questions about the text...
- Interviewee: Totally. Yes, yes. It is a bit close too to what, there perhaps I engage with my experience, what I experienced at university too, I feel sometimes that with a couple of questions and that allow for them to write an essay, uh, ultimately that is an assessment. Sometimes to change summative assessments for a presentation, uh, an interpretation, uhm, a presentation of statistics, those kinds of things we do, we are going to diversify them.
- Interviewer: And, uh, besides these more formal assessments, with a mark and during the process, do you have a more informal assessment process?
- Interviewee: Yes.
- Interviewer: What does it consist of?
- Interviewee: It has to do with established tasks, with notebooks, which is even more traditional, but that ends up being, mmm, beneficial when it comes to the development of certain abilities, with responding tooo, responsibility. Although it sometimes seem like an archetypal value, uh, it is also necessary that they realise they have to respond to, to certain requirements.
- Interviewer: So, it is more of an informal assessment focused on, on checking that they do what they were required to.
- Interviewee: A-ha.
- Interviewer: And an informal assessment in the sense of observing processes, of providing feedback and those kinds of things, or time is not enough for that?
- Interviewee: [Sighs]... When, for it to be that informal and for me to establish it as a mark, it would be very complicated, unless I provide an assessment scheme.
- Interviewer: Well, but without a mark.
- Interviewee: Oh, ok. No, that is permanent. That is permanent. Ah, permanente that, uhm, sometimes, uh, for themselves, for examples, uhm, sometimes we analyse how has been the process of a week. And they recognise that in such week we were slower and that allowed us to develop that content to its maximum, for example, that for some it was more complex and I precisely addressed it that day, then, we analyse too, we assess the process itself permanently.
- Interviewer: And that inf, when, when they give you that information, what decisions do you make, make on the basis of that information? For

example, if they say “we were slow and it seems we didn’t get this very well”.

Interviewee: Obviously it, it leads me to go back to some content that was too weak. In fact, uh, all teachers, we do an exercise every semester, which is to review our proposed content for the first semester, which obviously, uh, leads to planning, to review which contents were absent and how we are going to (*unintelligible*) the second semester. And ultimately what we can also do monthly, that I do every month, I'm reviewing what things were left out and stayed out and we revisit them [throughout the process].

Interviewer: A-ha. Uhm, and what (happens) with the, with the perspective of students on assessment, in the sense that, when you want to do something different, how much does it affect ask for a mark or act for a mark, that is, how...?

Interviewee: Eh, I've been annihilating that bit by bit, huh?, because sometimes they ask me to review the notebook, for example, in a more, more regular basis, for a point for something, and I tell them... and I have been imposing an idea that has to do with, uh, mostly, because I teach from Year 5 to Year 8, uh, that they don't do their work with the aim of the smiley face, but because that research or analysis will serve their learning process and many are already avoiding to ask for the mark or asking me something in, in return for their work, but they understand that it aims to a process of exploration and personal knowledge.

Interviewer: So, it depends on the teacher and changing that, that culture of...

Interviewee: Totally. Totally. If it is a cultural phenomenon. Uh, it has been addressed and discussed, but we all have different perceptions about it and in that we are not authoritarian, at least I am not, and as I'm in charge of technical leadership I also leave certain, uh, personal formulas flow.

Interviewer: So, for the others, for the rest of the teachers it is a bit more strange to think that way...

Interviewee: In some cases it is, they are far more rigid in that respect.

Interviewer: Uhm, and finally, how important do you consider assessment is in your teaching style? Is it something that guides your practice in a specific direction or is it something that you rather adapt to your requirements and those of your students?

Interviewee: ... Look, I feel that I adapt it to the requirements of the students, because I think I assess differently in all classes. I assess differently in all classes, in some classes I give more marks, in others i give less, in terms of grading, and, and obviously in some we even talk, talk about the progression of contents, which I really like, that they understand where we go, I mean, where we started and where we are going to

and how much they have learned about it, that is, thinking that, that assessment, assessment not as the marking process but as [matter] of, uuh, awareness, awareness of what I do have, what I do master and what I don't.

Interviewer: So, it's something that supports your process of, of...

Interviewee: Totally. Totally.

Interviewer: And, finally, is there something else you would like to say about the subject that hasn't, that you think is important and that hasn't come up in the context of the questions?

Interviewee: Yes, absolutely. I feel the, uuh, the way, in initial teacher education, uh, assessment is one of the weakest things and it's very powerful. I wrote my thesis on assessment of learning in Artistic Education, aaand, it's true that assessment needs to be connected even, even the processes, uuh, I mean, even to the classroom itself, that the, the, the classroom itself invites you to assess yourself and to know, uh, one of the things we went to observe as Montessori schools, because my wife is a Montessori guide, then I always had in mind the idea that the assessment process is very personal and, and sometimes the classroom, the, the classroom itself should invite you to self-assessment. Not just thiiiiis, this... guide, or this, we're not even guides, we are, we are so focused, so pres, so present that sometimes we don't allow them to do that and I think that's where the problem is, I mean, I (emphasis) give the main responsibility to this VERY present and verbal teacher, who doesn't allow self-assessment or the personal consciousness of students.

Interviewer: A-ha. And al, also you were putting responsibility a bit on the issue of initial teacher education...

Interviewee: And initial education. Initial education is connected to the reality of the education system, a verbal education system, in a traditional (*unintelligible*), that doesn't allow the, the personal processes, then, when one looks at, for example, a, a Montessori proposal, sees that a chi, a chil, a child in, in pre-school already, uh, realises that his/her daily activity wasn't completely achieved and goes, uh, uh, to his/her activities board and paints only half of what, of what actually is an assessment scheme, saying he/she only worked half of it, is a sign that there is an awareness there about what he/she didn't achieved, what he/she achieved and he/she didn't achieve and, and, that doesn't exist, like here is verbal, we try to accomplish 100% and, and the student tries, even at the cost of cheating, uh, to show you he knew what he did, uh, when he didn't know. Then, I think that the greatest weakness has to do with the system, and that involves cl, exclusive classrooms, well equipped classrooms and not a verbal teacher but a mediating one.

Interviewer: Ok. Thank you very much.

INTERVIEWS WITH POLICY AUTHORITIES: PA2

- Interviewer: Let's see, uuuh, for, the, the first part is mainly to have some general background and I wanted to know if you could summarise briefly, uh, what's your academic and professional profile and a little what has been your professional experience roughly.
- Interviewee: Onnn assessment or...?
- Interviewer: In general, in general...
- Interviewee: Well, I graduated as a Doctor in Philosophy, in Politics really, Politics, uh, in [college where she studied] aaand ... I did a work about... a debate between Communitarians and Liberals, which waaas, it was a thing that emerged in the '80s, but it actually has its historical background, Kant, Hegel, in the past...
- Interviewer: A-ha.
- Interviewee: And I listen to debates in Chile and can't help seeing it sometimes through the same filter...
- Interviewer: Yes, that's right.
- Interviewee: ... the same filter. Therefore, uh, that's where I come from, first in Canada I did a BA, and then went to England, I did an MPhil and a DPhil there at [college where she studied] and then came to Chile for personal reasons, uuhm, I started working in universities like, uuuh, in the Law Faculty, I did a seminar on political philosophy and jurisprudence and it was a drag. It was a drag because of differen, different reasons, that is, it shouldn't have been boring, and maybe it was me who had a privileged education and in that particular historical moment nothing happened here.
- Interviewer: A-ha.
- Interviewee: That's possible. Also because the fifth graders of Law with which I worked like had been DE-FORMED, according to themselves, and they did not have much ability to... open their minds, to ask, to question. They liked it a lot, but it was also hard work for them. They said many times at the end "why only FIFTH YEAR we start to do this, to discuss, to reflect, to turn concepts upside-down and see what's inside, because we had been told for four years that we study, memorise and don't think and do not ask questions", and things like that, astonishing. I was impressed after the education one, that one has in other...
- Interviewer: Yes, right.
- Interviewee: ... in other environments. Then it was actually quite boring and I simultaneously worked, I started to work in a school inside the International Baccalaureate programme...

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: ... where I did philosophy courses and theory of knowledge courses. Aaand I started tooo, I actually, I said, this thing is really much more, at least in the places where I used to work, it was quite more feasible to do ALL sorts of things and especially in the theory of knowledge which waaas a subject to be created. So ... little by little I began specialising in that, in the Baccalaureate, innn , I started working with them not inside the school but FROM Baccalaureate both in philosophy and then heavily in theory of knowledge, likeeee... essay corrector and theeen as a consultant in different things and, above all, I would say like, through time with fifteen, twenty years of experience with them, including six years as head of the TOK subject, whiiich in assessment terms has quite an interesting complexity, partly because of the whole experience , I ended up somehow being an expert on assessment. Because I worked in an organization where the assessment of that course was very complex and had everything, the local, the universal, all the local, we had, as if the Ministry had to safeguard for the system of all schools in Chile, this had to safeguard a GROUP of colleges, but globally speaking, and what was happening on a continent not happen in the other , and what was happening in a continent didn't happen in the other one, and what happened here and to have to ensure that a 7 here, to put in Chilean terms, equiva... uuuh [the Interviewee has trouble finding the right way to say the word in Spanish]

Interviewer: Equivalent...

Interviewee: ... to a 7 somewhere else, in reliability, accountability and all the 'ilities' [laughs], the situation had to be generated where I had to... eventually say "OK", I was the gold standard for 6 years, in other words, in a hierarchy of moderation aaand, well, if things didn't go well I wasn't alone, because there was a whole organisation that worked mathematically speaking, statistically speaking, technologically speaking too, but also in terms of the profesional judgement to be considered I was the gold standard. Therefore, if I made a mistake, well, (*unintelligible*) we would have to FIX IT statistically.

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: So, the idea and, of course, that's what we ha, that is in the strictly external assessment part and in attention to quality and reliability, and (assessment) standards, but it also had a whole curricular part, and how curriculum and assessment, and teachers, teachers who you neither WOULD SEE, but I had to communicate things to them, I had to somehow make it, thiiiis, this subject, partly philosophical, but partly practical, but for a school level, but ... do you understand? To gooo, mmm, to go, to progress without losing the north in an organization that has a crazy growth and that is a subject that no teacher learns in college...

- Interviewer: A-ha.
- Interviewee: Therefore, it is a hybrid that is difficult to transmit from generation to generation what it consists of. Then, it had, it has all the possible complexities of assessment forward and backwards and...
- Interviewer: What course?
- Interviewee: It's called Theory of Knowledge and all children who are at the diploma have to do this course [*while saying this, the interviewee passes a textbook of the course to the interviewer*].
- Interviewer: [*Receives the textbook*] Mmmm.
- Interviewee: And, uuuhm, and it is a, a pretty thing and, but of certain complexity to, to anyone and... and is really difficult to articulate in three meaningful phrases what it consists of. Like all the things that have a certain [laughs] or moderate complexity.
- Interviewer: A-ha.
- Interviewee: Uuuh, they say is the crown of the diploma, of the Baccalaureate and I add as long as it is done in the right way, otherwise is a drag, a drag, it's likeee, you understand me?, a brick that students hate.
- Interviewer: A-ha.
- Interviewee: A very, very big challenge ... Well, then, uh, I worked... like fifteen years in different schools, simultaneously always doing things also for the International Baccalaureate, right? As a sep, a separate lane, workshops for teachers, working with them in England, aaand, I finally decided to go to work in Assessment and Curriculum at the Ministry, uuuh, thinking that, wow, what an offer, an honour that a Canadian is, uuuh, I do not know, summoned to work in a country that is not hers, to make a contribution to education, that was a bit my idea, aaand, I entered to work in Philosophy and other things, it was pretty (*unintelligible*). And when the possibility appeared of working with Assessment for Learning, which was not my expertise like in the fine print of it, but I had done a lot of things that, ultimately, were that, without that name necessarily, but that waaas a bit like whaaat I saw we could call that way. It was classroom assessment at the beginning, to distinguish it from SIMCE, that was in Curriculum, in the Unit... and we went little by little, I mean, first I created with [name of a member of UCE], in fact, [name of a member of UCE] was that year in Curriculum, aah, aaand, we invented this thing to finding a way tooo, very strange to, VERY, VERY strange to the UCE, which didn't have... how to have a direct connection with (what was) being done at that time, invite these teachers, a few, from *Liceo para Todos* in that first occasion... and to be there on the, on the fourth floor with me in Alameda for a couple of hours, hours, every four, three, four weeks, ultimately to see if they understood what I'm talking about, they did things with their students and we paid them to come,

because we were going to use their materials to make like a first set of materials, and then I started writing what became the materials that we use like of... So, it started as an absolutely minuscule thing, no aspirations besides materials, and then also in the vein that the UCE can't do this, we knew from the start we had to partner with others, the opportunity to work with [PA4] and the, the [university involved in the programme], then we began to create this game and then Valparaíso, the Catho, the Catholic [University of] Valparaíso and then ... there was a whole phase... I think you, you came a bit at the end of that phase with the [university involved in the programme], [university involved in the programme]-Ministry, that [PA4] surely has said to you that I was a very annoying person coming every week [laughs], hours and hours and we stayed there with the team, for the first year and a half or two it was very intense, because I really, at least from my perspective, my intention was to, to, to, I had, uuh, the obligation to leave skills installed somewhere else...

Interviewer: Yes, right.

Interviewee: That was... So to some extent I was their teacher. That was the point.

Interviewer: Aaand... Well, then you stop working at the Ministry and start working here [*meaning the school where the interview is taking place*].

Interviewee: And theen, I still had one foot there, a quarter of my time to help the team that was in the Ministry, because ultimately small AfL is also simultaneous with when they start creating standards, Progress Maps, I... I am absorbed in a way, me and the team and now we work, because Progress Maps are exactly the same ideology.

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: Uuuh, therefore, we start turning in the Ministry from small AfL to Progress Maps, which is national. Then I, at the end of my time there, worked pretty much in that; less in the small parts, more in the big thing and then when I decided to come here, to see if I really could do everything we had advised everyone to do in some place [laughs], if it was possible in the system, that was the ultimate challenge, uuhm, I anyway stayed with a quarter of time to be able to, uuh, help the team with things related to task examples, raising information (*unintelligible*), whatever. After that, and then with this new government... uuh, we split.

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: Sooo... I continued a bit, uuhm, last year, Ecuador, uuh, uuh, like a country was doing a, was in a project ooof, similar to Progress Maps, so I was working a little with the thing of tasks and examples, and I think now I'll do something similar, that Peru is making Progress Maps and, then, Chile is, different people from Chile, not from the governmentally

speaking, but there are different projects wheeere there are, let's say, uuh, consultancy or...

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: Also experience and knowledge transfer to...

Interviewer: To other countries...

Interviewee: To other countries, so it is like interesting, uuh, as an experience to me, that.

Interviewer: And, and how would you describe your role in the context of this Assessment for Learning reform or policy?

Interviewee: Well, I don't know, I don't know, it's a biiiit difficult, it would be better to ask others and not ME, it..., in a way, because it's difficult for me a bit... but...

Interviewer: But from your perspective, how did you understand your, your role there?

Interviewee: Look, I'd say that... there was such low, uuh, awareness, or, uuuh, practice in the topic of classroom assessment... alternative, I mean, alternative, so little practice that it was like any cranny one could open it was already, light entered. That is what I felt. Because... uuh, I will illustrate it with an example of when I just arrived to the first school where I worked here, I remember a teacher very affectionately sat me by his side and told me: "assessment, ok, here you are", and he, and he draw the, Gauss [curve], he, he, he gave me a graph paper where I could put the 4, the 7 and could calculate my average, with the score, etc., and THAT WAS my first experience around assessment in Chile. I remember asking myself if this was more advanced, you understand me?, like I lost something important in my experience until finishing a doctorate, that I had lost something very important, or whether I didn't understand what he was saying, or it was, I mean...

Interviewer: ... what's this?

Interviewee: What's this? What's this? Then, the notion of using your professional judgment to make decisions, even about what's behind a 4 or what's behind a 7, wasn't anywhere. And still [*the interviewee gets distracted by the snow falling in the window, which is unusual in the country, and makes an comment about this*] and still is, and it is difficult even with people who are supposed to work with assessment criteria all the time, I don't know, to really change the paradigm. So my role was, like to see how... to open the cranny and try to see how to do it at different levels, because if I was in Chile and it was, a classic example that seems very symbolic to me, that after the second year of working with the university the moment arrives to agree on how to assess teachers there [*the Interviewer smiles, because she knows what the Interviewee is*

talking about] ... And you know the end of that story, because of the revealing smile, don't you?, and that was very symbolic because THAT IS how hard it is to change the paradigm, even the people who were already committed and all, at the time of assessing forgot everything!... And that, that is the challenge, and without abandoning the idea at all, that it is this other route that people begin to see the light from, from the door and the crack and suddenly says, oh, and what will I assess for, ultimately is nonsense, I mean, and they do not want, they want to withdraw...

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: Then, how to make people see this as a real instrument to support others in their [learning] path.

Interviewer: A-ha. And, well, as I joined this along, along the way, uuh, there is a part of the story I, I missed, and I wanted to know a bit like when and why, uh, assessment policies became a focus of attention for the Unit of Curriculum, uuuhm, and, and, and if that, I mean, what motivated this sort of, of, of renewed or new interest in assessment, or whether this was maybe was also the continuity of a policy that was already being developed.

Interviewee: No. I can see that this was a novelty, I mean, that's not true, because before I went there, uuuh, [name of a former member of UCE], a renowned person in assessment in Chile, who had even worked in the construction of PAA and knew a lot about assessment, she was contemporaneous, I think she was contemporaneous with [name of an assessment researcher]. [Name of a former member of UCE] was in the role around classroom assessment in, in, in the Curriculum Unit... *[the interviewee indicates something she prefers to keep off the record]*. (...) I had a more practical expertise than...

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: ... theoretical. I wasn't coming from any trend in particular, I am not an expert on assessment, I don't have a degree in, in that, you get it? [laughs] besides having worked a lot IN THAT. And I knew how to do it, in my body, nooo... I didn't necessarily had all the right words. Uuuhm, I'm studious, then, I started studying to better understand what others said and what was going on in the subject... uuh, I helped others in the Monitoring Unit of Curriculum...

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: ... to carry out that study, originally like (*unintelligible*) with [name of two members of UCE]...

Interviewer: [Surname of the second member mentioned above]

Interviewee: [Surname of the second member mentioned above]. We did this data collection, uh, uh, designed like a collection of information that appears in these studies now (*unintelligible*) of ours, because we knew that phenomenologically assessment was the weak point and, and always, but we needed data saying something more than we all know in practice this is an obstacle. So, uuuhm, and so... a few years after it started, uuuh, I don't remember exactly what year, but the Ministry decided that he would go in the direction of standards and sought different models and then they opted for the model of the Australians of Progress Maps and then we started a whole conversation about whether this is a tool for assessment or for teaching, for pedagogy, what is it for, and that was a whole conversation, you understand me?, people from CPEIP wanted one thing, this, and there we were with the flag that was evidently assessment and Assessment for Learning, mmmh, and then it was also a contribution like from that, from that side, and returning to the first question, and also, I also see that... an important turning point was, I think also... it was a novelty, it was when, uuuh, there, there was a draft of the Maps, aaand, several of us thought that it was imperative to illustrate Maps with examples.

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: All the things that, for example, in high the Baccalaureate... uuuh, I, I thought that the, the best way for teachers, remote, far, you know?, in other parts of the world, to understand what one said was through examples, do you understand me?, you have to make examples. That was like the practice we'd had for twenty years in the Baccalaureate. Hence, I was absolutely and advocate that they had to provide examples, because you see the description, or a stream of words like, I don't know, that can mean anything.

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: We are teachers, we are not astrophysicists, but teachers, very concrete and which help anyone to understand. And at some point they were going to do it. I don't know what monkey business went on, I don't know, what happened exactly, but uuuh, they put it back on the agenda. Aaand, there was a conversation with the, the curriculum teams there, where they asked me to lead a conversation about what a good task needed for GENERATING EXAMPLES. And behind that experience there is a very difficult job, because the, the people of Curriculum was half teachers, or more, but still, was item-centred... Because it's the same paradigm, the other, right?

Interviewer: Yes, that's right.

Interviewee: So, WHAT kind of things could be required, within what kind context, how to make them di... etc. Aaand, and that was good fun FOR THEM, I mean, like they suddenly realised, it was a bit difficult with some of them, specially with some more than others, I don't know, but wheeen,

when the real meaning of all that work emerged is when we carried out the first pilot and we were with teachers, in their working places and they were implementing these tasks that these people had invented and with students, and then looking to eventually have the example, we were looking for materials ourselves too to have the example for the publication of the standards and, like I saw, I knew now, I mean, they had lived..., they had lived the experience of facing like, uuh, real learning through what students produced, for these tasks, they had bewitched again with the whole idea, even with standards through this, it was so ... REAL, students, and I saw how teachers experienced the same. So, the SENSE of these standards, the senses of Progress Maps like... they flourished very strongly for a while in a team that was a bit against the grain still with the idea of standardization, standards, this issue is complex...

Interviewer: Is this parallel to Assessment for Learning?

Interviewee: Then, Assessment for... small AfL started, if you like, AfL with the university, with the second university, the idea and then, a, a couple of years later, uuh, the country, the Ministry decides for Progress Maps and then there is a period of, well, what's the relationship between this and that and it goes defining and eventually this finishes inside...

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: ... of the standards project.

Interviewer: Like a kind of rationale for that?

Interviewee: Uuum... Maps are used for monitoring the progress of students. And it's a common vocabulary, it's like assessment criteria...

Interviewer: That's right, yes.

Interviewee: ... but very broad, right? Then, and, for example, in Australia and other places they don't have Levels...

Interviewer: But, but AfL in that context remained as a rationale for Maps? Something like that?

Interviewee: Yes, yes, I'd say thaaaat it partly what gives the foundations for Maps, but I say it with this 'more or less' face [laughs] just because uuum... because I think this is, is, is PARTLY a rationale, because this has a lot, a lot of other things, right? Because the, deep down I'd say that, for example, uuh, Margaret Forster, uuh, who sustains this academically speaking in, or ACER the, the organisation, the Australian Council for Educational Research, using the concept of, uuhm, of developmental assessment, that's the concept. So AfL is a bit like, like it is, it is smaller than developmental assessment, pretty, I mean, they are cousins, I mean, I don't know, AfL...

- Interviewer: They are close...
- Interviewee: They are close or within that too, like AfL, I can feel sometimes that AfL depends how you look at it. From the point of view of, of Gordon Stobart and Co., right?, it's a concept that I think that because of the story it had there in England or the UK, uuhm, was somehow like a spark, and hence, shuit!, it was done that way and it has anotheer, like it starts broader and ENDS UP smaller, if you like, thay have different paths, but they share many assumptions, uuuh, but I think developmental assessment is THIS WIDER than AfL itself.
- Interviewer: Aaand, uhm, why..., in, I mean, once there is this interest in, in the topic of assessment in the Curriculum Unit, why among all the existing possibilities, why do you get to AfL? And, and, where do you hear about AfL, or, or where do you take the information from, why the decision towards AfL?
- Interviewee: I thiiiink, because of me. I think that what, I mean, I... I had a very practical expertise and I started looking foooor what was available liiike academically speaking in that line and that's what was available.
- Interviewer: A-ha.
- Interviewee: Uuuh, and I started to study aaand to realise and then, in fact, Gordon Sto, Stobart came to chile for the [name of the network] school network, of these ones, and then, in another ocassion, I think he caaame to Chile I don't remember from where, if it was the Ministry, I don't know, but, uh, that was a littleeee... the, the format, I think it waaas... I think it was me.
- Interviewer: A-ha. Uuh, and what were the key ideas or the main ideas of Assessment for Learning, uh, according to how the, the UCE team was understanding it, and why did you think these ideas as important ot fundamental?
- Interviewee: Well, we already had the study with the data that the truth is that teachers, they all wanted courses and professional development in assessment, because they felt that was their weakness, that they knew things about assessment theory, but in practice it was completely isolated from teaching and learning, etc. Then, uuuh, the coordinating team of UCE, uuuh, found innn the idea of Assessment for, FOR Learning a way to break or, I mean, to open the door and perhaps, nothing, just simply starting to question some things. And it was never a, a project with a purpose of... or, I do not know if never, but I think there was never a serious purpose in terms of changing the school system through this.
- Interviewer: A-ha.
- Interviewee: Uuuhm, that's why we started small. The idea was to gain a lot of experience, to provide materials for people to have and start seeing there was a different way of doing things.

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: It was never like we're going to start from the top and say, well, the marking reports have to go against this and that. Or... because you could mobilise the entire system, for example, at some point with the Maps . Someone (proposed) the idea that, well, if you want this thing, not to be mandatory, but to be mandatory, you create a marks report and everything has to go with it, at least in certain subjects to inform parents with locations on the Map, I mean, they will start using the Maps. I mean, you can do it structurally if you want. This was more of volunteering, of trying to motivate people, we also started to do things with CPEIP, with courses, then their team went to several universities, I mean, because interest emerged naturally because you, uuuh, slightly scratched the sensitivity of teachers aaand they said they were not really sure of what was behind this, very quickly. Then, ok, well, once you begin to, to make their bases trem..., trem... tremble a bit, you have to put something, to help, to support.

Interviewer: A-ha. And, and, but with, within the main ideas of, of, of AfL, which were the, the ones that were very important for the Curriculum Unit or that seemed... made this approach, let's say, more attractive?

Interviewee: Look, to have a vocabulary, I mean, to agree upon, upon, a vocab, a common vocabulary shared among teachers... of the same discipline, the same levels, finally the Maps through all the school trajectory, but in small AfL only a common vocabulary of what progress is, if you like, the developmental side of it, that is reflected in assessment criteria that are shared with students, that they know what is it that you expect from them, which is another truism of what you have to say to students when you begin, because if they don't know what to expect, they can't achieve it. Then, that was an important thing and I had a lot of expertise with assessment criteria. But the other imp..., I mean, there was a very important thing from the side of teachers, because they would know the curriculum better tho the extent that they had to think of it from an assessment point of view, connecting what they are supposed to teach and, and students have to learn, with this thing of what can he/she look at to even, eventually say of they have achieved it or not, if, to what extent they have achieved it or not.

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: I think it was important in Curriculum... *[she gets distracted again with the snow and comments something about that]*. In Curriculum I think that... it was like aaa, it was also like aaaa... a deferred issue thaaat needed to provide something, I mean, to have NOTHING... was like not realising, thinking there wasn't any flaws at all.

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: Uuuhm. What else? Why AfL?..... I think maybe the fundam, the fundamental thing was to move the focus from the teacher and place it

on the student [laughs]. From teaching to learning, put the student at the centre.

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: I think that waaas...

Interviewer: Was fundamental.

Interviewee: It was another, another of the foundationooons thaaat were attractive for the intentions of the reform, I mean, if you make it constructivist, etc., then you have to figure out how to mobilise everyone aand, and in this pilot project I mentioned to you before, I think one of the most important things there was precisely in that awakening, first in Curriculum members and then in teachers, for them to realise that it was different to look at things from here or to look for learning and not right or wrong answers.

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: That thing for people, when they realise there is not turn, I mean, there is always turning back, but it's more, it's easier, it's more difficult to fool oneself.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: And I saw that, I saw that here [*meaning the school where she currently works at*] with people from the formative area and I was working with them, with them in Maps, for the things they make with some students are consistent with what we do.

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: (*Unintelligible*) To apply with, with their students, with some students with which they work during afternoons, kids, uuuh, some tasks that are from the Maps and then, well, they started to see right-wrong, and I said, no, no, and separated everything, I put numbers quickly, we don't have much time, it had to be done quickly, quickly, ok, here there are fifteen, let's see, uuuh, lets organise them from the best to the worst. The exercise from best to worst and then it was very, always very, uuuh, it is very pleasing, on the one hand the benefits of the model and also it is also humanly interesting to see when people suddenly say "it's impossible, this kid can do it", a kid that he/she thinks that can't, no, but there are, there are others that chatter but they really don't no, bla, bla, bla, bla... It's a very interesting change of perspective, like when people realises.

Interviewer: A-ha. And, and, before we, well, you already told me a bit, so only if, if you think there is something more to add about it, but before piloting and implementing, uuuh, Assessment for Learning, what kind of research did you see, or, ot, what kind of evidence from practice...

- Interviewee: Look, actually there is a folder here, an old folder [*the interviewee stands up and goes to take a folder where she keeps the texts she examined when she started working around AfL in the Ministry. All this answer is while she browses through the documents*], I got it here, this one, this. Look, the university was going to do a course for them in 2005, and we're back here. I started, I remember then I put the... Assessment for Learning, this was from the Australians, so we looked a lot for their stuff. They have some articles that are in the first module of all these, all these *gringos*, this is from (Adal), from the University of Geneva, whooo is this...
- Interviewer: Maybe you can find it in the top of the page?
- Interviewee: ... Yes, then this, well, a whole lot of things related to the Assessment Reform Group, I read aEVERYTHING from them of course, this is the same, this was... welll, Gloria Contreras, you know her...
- Interviewer: A-ha.
- Interviewee: This was from (Incre) (Fair Test, Fair Test), who are a group of *gringos* who were working a lot during the '90s and that [name of a member of UCE] knew. Theeen... I don't know if you've heard here of Susana Celman and Edit Litwin, as I was searching, I didn't want to have just *gringos* and British into this... I was searching everywhere to have some, uuuh, Spanish-speaking references at least...
- Interviewer: Yes, right.
- Interviewee: ... then, you know?, I surfed everywhere in that sense. Well (*unintelligible*), these guys are frooom... NAT, from (NIP), ooof, well they put together things from others really, uh? Thiiis... this seems to be... I don't remember who is this from. This are from a journal you may know, Educational Leadership, from ASCD.
- Interviewer: A-ha.
- Interviewee: Do you know them? I searched all I could with them, that's writing assessment, this is the classic [laughs], the mother of all... the mother of all, how can I say it? The performance tables. About rubrics... in Barcelona, some of the people who were working there. Authentic assessment, that I never like...
- Interviewer: It didn't convince you...
- Interviewee: No, I mean, it convinces me a lot, but, too..., it is, it is a, like a, you get it?, a relationship but it's not central. But as a way I think that, uuuh, uuuh, it's useful, let's say. [Keeps browsing through the documents] What else, this from the Reform Group... Uuuhm, well Gloria had done interesting things before in Sciences, more or less at the same time. Lorena Meckes, you know her work, this is, and then even to theee,

this was interesting, because in Australia, and this was at a timeeeee, at the very beginning, they had a whole thing, what year is this? [*looking at the text*]...

Interviewer: 2002.

Interviewee: 2002, so you can imagine, they had this idea for the university to use AfL, uuuh, I found, I found several things here like [laughs], uuuh, Effective Assessment they called it, it had all sorts of things like basically how to give more effective feedback to students.

Interviewer: So, it was a combination of reviewing the literature available at the moment and the studies of the Monitoring Unit of UCE, or UCE studies were a bit later?

Interviewee: I'd say more or less parallel. Yes. Because we more or less knew what we were going to find, that is, the thing is we didn't have data, so the point was to raise information for us to have a quotation and be able to say our hunch waaas, was true.

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: And that it wasn't just a hunch, just a hunch. Uuuh, but I remember thaaat, uf!, I had like a mountain ooof, piles and piles and piles of, you know?, of assessments that I didn't know how to classify, how to look at them, where to grab this from...

Interviewee: A-ha.

Interviewer: Buuut, so it was a, it was really WHAT I COULD DO, with what I, with the resources we had, in the time we had, go searching and...

Interviewee: A-ha.

Interviewer: It was, it was always I'd say, you, like, the, I'd say that, even though you wanted to have, this is not, this is not a university, I think it is also important to say like... I wasn't, I didn't have the role of producing papers for university, this is a Curriculum Unit that has to make things move aaand I think, I think that was also really interesting to me because I come from aaa very academic thing, which I love but IN THIS I knew the shield of teachers, I knew from experience, the shield of teachers is that had they all had their assessment course, and everyone knew ALL this, except they never said so. So, talk more to convince, what for?

Interviewee: A-ha.

Interviewer: You have to find the way somehow to MAKE things that move a bit the...

Interviewee: More, more oriented to practice...

Interviewee: Absolutely. Then I wanted, I didn't want, I neither wanted, basically, to go very, very deep. I needed to have enough support, but the conviction through practice was already SO GREAT, that it wasn't necessaryyy and for UCE, either, because we knew that, that we wanted, there were all kinds of academic foundations, uuuh, but the issue was what can we DO, that was the greatest challenge, it was more, uh, on that side. I think it was important at the discursive level to make that distinction between academic work, that I could have handled, and UCE could have handled differently, but had not been the UCE, but, and that's why it was also important to have universities with us and to have people like yourself now studying this academically.

Interviewer: A-ha. Aaand, uuuh, uuuh, because you referred a bit to it at the beginning of the process already, but if you could briefly summarise which were the main steps from AfL being an idea to it turning into a bit of a more concrete model and, and that is thought of to be implemented in, in, in practice.

Interviewee: Well, this is, this is in several articles, so I, I refer you to also tooo, because sometimes the details now talking won't be so...

Interviewer: No, but this is just what are the main milestones in this for you...

Interviewee: Is just that I've written about that many times, then I have thought of it, uuuh, but I think... uuuh, just AfL, no Maps, just AfL?

Interviewer: Yes, yes.

Interviewee: ... That first year with the tiny little group, I have a, a fourth floor, end of afternoon, darkness outside [laughs], and there we are with, [name of a member of UCE] was there, uuuh, some Maths teachers and some other from Language from secondary school, from *Liceo para Todos* and like they sometimes looked at me like with an expression "this *gringa*" [smiles], what does she want, what is she saying, uuuh, then like a moment of, of frustration, uuuh, but, and also sometimes those clearings, clearings like I saw something from them, well done and I make a comment and, and I see an expression of "oh, yeah, it's really like that o it's not like that" or them trying to do things and arriving frustrated, that it didn't work, telling me things about the schools and the students and, ok, all that. Uuuhm, a, another moment, very, very intense for me was to generate the first materials, I mean, say..., how to put this into words and write these modules one by one. A work like... I think thaaat, like mi thesis, I'd say that...

Interviewer: Like that...

Interviewee: Thaaat... and solitary, uh? I mean, because I still had the support from the Unit but I finally sat down and wrote it all. Well, and someone reviewed it, it, of course, but... it was me and no one else who produced it. Then I remember a very intense period of, of construction,

the first time, and then a moment, uh, uh, that goes along with this, that of writing the first year with the university, very intense to know people, try, to use these materials, trying to inspire them, aaaand, to see all the practical problems, because we were already getting into the system, then all the pro, the problems of this small group were now with the intermediate, mediated, with the team from the University of Chile in the middle. Then, we had to, officially they were a counterpart, but in reality, in reality I felt I was movi, you get it?, sometimes upwards, but THEY WERE ADORABLE, I mean, there was a thing, they wanted, they wanted to learn, but sometimes the story was also 'headachy' because, they were teachers as well, so sometimes they said one thing and did another one, they committed to something but it wasn't possible or one believed it could have been possible but didn't want to, no, no, didn't know very well, uuuh, (...), that was like a very intense period and wheeen, when, uuuh, the next year, I mean, well, actually also INTERNALLY in the Ministry the issue waaas, there was another moment, I can't say chronologically because different veins of this overlap, ok?, but within the Ministry itself I already had to deal with *Liceo para Todos*, somehow with them, or with DEG Básica or DEG Media, (which involves tension) that in a way has more or less another rhythm, it isn't very efficient, aaand, sometimes very supportive but sometimes not, sometimes people say yes, but the bosses say no, I mean, it's another kind, of how, like suddenly looking at myself and say, "well, I am the Quixote-like gringa, with a topic that... doesn't have any priority, doesn't have any priority, I mean, the thing continues year after year in the same way, they don't need me neither this idea for the students to move to the next level from one year to the next and the system to work like usual". Uh, and, also, it was a nice moment with a growing relationship with CPEIP, who started to invite, now they also wanted to install capacity in other universities and then when they had to do their courses they talked to people, THEY wanted the assessment topic, because once...

Interviewer: And there AfL starts to broaden a bit more too...

Interviewee: And it begins to broaden much more, aaand, and people from universities do want this too, I mean, you realise that, that what happens with people when looking at this, it has an echo, and that it makes sense to people, and they want to know more and they want me to work with them, we don't have enough capacity, you know?, we are one or two or three people at the most in all the Ministry pushing this, doing this, (*unintelligible*) nothing. The team doesnnn't, and it was all that, but it was also charming to create something from scratch and see how it ended intertwining with something that had a lot more weight, more resources, more, uh, projection too, but that it was an element that helped this, this to exist. I wasn't the only thing, AfL, it is not that AfL alone (wrapped) Progress Maps but both streams came together and I think they coupled in a nice way.

Interviewer: Uuuhm. Well, they have emerged [during the interview] but, but, what do you think were the major challenges that you faced during, during

the process?, and, and whether you were able to sort them out somehow or they just remained there...

Interviewee: Look, I , last year I wrote for a publication of [a member of the university team] this year, an article where, uuh, we agreed that [*she gets distracted and laughs about something that students are doing outside the office*] uuuhm, uuuhm where the, the agreement is that we were going to, we wanted to write something that [name of a member of UCE], uh, uh, was going to write the public policy part and I was going to write, write the part like foundations, uuuhm, which had as its target audience universities, students, I don't know, potential future teachers, let's say, and who could look what we had done critically, because I think there were things that didn't, that never worked well aaand I think we made mistakes because it was practical and because it was a task, you understand me?, and it's easy to sell something you did as perfection and it was far from perfect. I wrote a very critical thing and I think it was a little too critical for, for the publication and they, they edited it. So if you ever want a super critical draft version [*she laughs as he says this*] maybe I can send it to you...

Interviewer: That'd be great.

Interviewee: ... it's not like, uuuh, like maybe it is a bit repetitive, but I think that... probably, like when the last minute to edit arrived, I let them edit the way they wanted, because the truth is I didn't have more... I had already put a lot of effort in this part, that I think the only way to learn is really, this, it's very hard or, or...

Interviewer: And what were the main point that...?

Interviewee: So I think that, for example, I think thaaat, I mean, there must be five or six, but... I think if I had to do everything the other way around, I mean, all over again, I would, I would do everything the other way around. I would start with feedback. I think if you do not underst, if you do not feel that's the issue, nothing happens, ever. So, somehow it has to start with that. And this must be done in the most p..., you have to do very small exercises, actually, with teachers, I think, for them to understand that this is crucial and if that doesn't, that comes, if the whole system doesn't, doesn't move a bit to make that possible, and that's what, that, that is the stumbling block in any school, because of the complexity.

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: I mean, the fact that we spent thousands of hours writing tests and zero hours in feedback is the whole issue. And a lot of weight must be put on that, not at the end when in our courses feedback could not be addressed because there was no time. And I think that's quite a big mistake. Uuhm, I think it is debatable to what extent these people would have to... write, write their own assessment criteria, which was A HUGE WASTE OF TIME. It had the advantage that they knew the

curriculum better, it had the advantage that you had to discuss with others what was really important, and what was secondary and what was, like the relationship between the parts... but more practice in looking at papers, aaand, using criteria, aaand, that probably would have been a good, a better first step, I think. And so I could, you know? Like I think that, that after, there were successes as well, for example, I think the practical trend above the theoretical one was essential and I believe that IS fundamental for teachers always. And, well, I could, there are other things, but I think that's quite, quite...

Interviewer: The main things...

Interviewee: Quite, quite central, let's say.

Interviewer: Ok. Uuumh, to what ext... According to what you know, how much interaction [*interruption do to snow*]...? How much interaction existed between UCE and other units of the Ministry during the process? And whether that interaction, uuuh, in, in the context of that interaction there was anyyyy difference of opinion in relation to perspectives on assessment or how assessment practices were understood.

Interviewee: Well, I gather what I have mentioned again, I connect it a bit to, uuh... To the, to the story of the cranny that has to be opened, it was everywhere. Uuhm, so the importance, and the relative importance of this, also because the Ministry is not like a university; here [it] is [not about] the best model from the standpoint of reason, but that we have X time for this, from here to there and, an ok, what we can do, and how much money there is and, you know?, it's another logic. Then, it can be very good, but it falls anyway out from the program of, b..., because the priority is not just one. One, or the thing is so small that is not worth it, because you want to build up or, or you want, somehow, to make SOMETHING change in schools, then, are you going to choose this if it's that tiny? I mean, there are other elements at stake, so those are the cons, uuh, seen from the governmental or State point of view. Uuumh ...

Interviewer: And did they have any interaction?

Interviewee: Interaction with *Liceo para Todos*, ok? There were different Heads there, there were some that were keener, they wanted to help, but well, the system sometimes, uh... it was difficult to mobilise, or the directors or the school owners, that was all VERY DIFFICULT, always, it was constantly difficult. Uuhm, but within the Ministry I would say that with some administrations... with certain Heads it was pretty good and with other heads, it wasn't a priority or he/she helped moving it a little, but when we sat at a desk to get something out of it, a document on assessment, there he/she said, you know?, this was all very light, or it is, uuh, it's ok that is written, but it doesn't say anything.

Interviewer: And with CPEIP you had a more...

Interviewee: With CPEIP it was, ultimately it was an interactionnnn... uh, a good one, uuuh, they asked a lot from us and that meant, deep down, that people was asking them, you see?, I mean, people started to see there was a need, and they always wanted to do things that people would see as useful, then, to some extent it was a virtuous triangle. Uuuhm, with General [Division for] Básica and Media it depended upon who was there, I'd say, it was very related to who was there, there were good moments, or better moments, and then there were some moments when we crossed Alameda [the street where most offices of the Minsitry are located] back with [name of PA1] I remember in a meeting, in general, that we had to face a level of madness that was, I don't know how this is going to end. And inside, inside Curriculum itself there were better and worse moments, I'd say, despite the general support in broad terms aaand innnn... I think that also the fact that [name of Head of SIMCE] had wor, ooof, in assessment, [name of Head of SIMCE] had worked on the topic, [name of Head of SIMCE], made it also that, we worked when the moment for Maps and Levels of achievement arrived and, I don't know, there was a moment of very compatible and interesting work.

Interviewer: So, a good interaction with SIMCE.

Interviewee: With SIMCE, uuh, it depend..., there were different moments, because there is also like too much pressure and they are different things, curriculum and assessment are two different perspectives. External assessment, I mean, (*unintelligible*) and ours. But it was important that SOMETHING spoke [sic] and we had a very good personal relationship with, with uuh, with people from SIMCE generally and with the Head ooof, for a long time, [name of Head of SIMCE] during, then, they asked things from me and I sometimes asked things from them, uuuhm, so I wouldn't, I'd say that with, with me and with AfL they were, they were interested... interested, interested and we were supportive, I'd say, good team.

Interviewer: A-ha. Uuhm, well, how would you describe the state of AfL when you left your position and how would you describe, to your knowledge, the current state of AfL?

Interviewee: AfL doesn't exist now. I think, I mean, it was absorbed, uuh, when I was still in the Ministry, by the standards project, absorbed means that it didn't go but the people who worked with me in this team, worked in Maps. And, and articulating, not only, but also precisely articulating the relationship between the two things.

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: And when the government changed now it was... wow, I don't know, I don't know if that, but it is, it was, it was pathetic, it was pathetic, directly because uuuhm... not only because I think that the treatment to people was... undignified, but it was almost laughable, uh, I diiidn't... mmmh, I don't, I don't care, I was already working full time

elsewhere and I have enough work, but I was summoned by the Head, by the new Head of Curriculum for a meeting the next day, wheeen I'm on the subway, I call one, one of the team colleagues to say, hey, what, because I always arrived early, then was like what time are we meeting, at 9 or the 9:30? And he/she said, "but you don't know?", "I don't know what?" , "we were all fired yesterday". Then like the Head of Curriculum didn't know it was of Curriculum and Assessment, the top Head, let's say, knew, I don't know, a terrible thing, then, like very, very ugly, uuhm, and she took like two or three weeks to personally call me to fire me, whatever, and tell me "hopefully you can come next year to work with us, uuuh, we'll have to do some research stuff of I don't even remember what is was about. "You know what? From, from now to next year there is too much time... Period.

Interviewer: And that means that, that in the context of the current Ministry classroom assessment disappears as aaaa, as a trend.

Interviewee: I think, I think it won't, it won't be there. I mean, I can't say, because I don't know how they manage their business, but today I think it doesn't, I think it doesn't exist, aaand, and well, actually for reasons that have to do with the school and some, and I was upset this year [laughs] (*this section is considered off the record by the interviewee. In general terms, it has to do with a problem with the way SIMCE results of her school were presented and a discussion she held with the current Head of SIMCE about it*).

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: By now, no one is talking about Maps but they aren't taking them out either.

Interviewer: Yes, no, and between Curriculum Bases [the curriculum for primary school designed by the new government] and Maps I'm not sure there is much of a relationship.

Interviewee: Well, and what are they all at now, I have my doubts they will do anything, as in two years, I don't know what they'll do with the mess that there is in the country in this moment [laughs]; I think there are other pressures that will become a priority and thaaat they'll find they don't have time to finish. I suspect these years are going to pass... Un, unfortunately, it makes me sad, to a lot, a lot of us feel sad... that I think that from the, from the well built instruments [laughs about what she says or about something happening outside the office] among which, like, with all my reservations about the Levels of Achievement in SIMCE, I do have reservations, I saw a, a, a HUGE change in SIMCE in ten or fifteen years. Then I think now, anything, no, no, I wouldn't put my hands into fire for nothing there.

Interviewer: A-ha.

- Interviewee: It makes me sad. That it was a highly tuned project, this Maps thing, you know?, and always with the ACADEMIC idea that to the extent that at a national level the external measurement system plus Curriculum work together things have a chance to, to, to move.
- Interviewer: Ok. And, well, besides doing everything the other way around, uuuh, if you had to m, modify...
- Interviewee: [laughs] I mean, not everything the other way around...
- Interviewer: No, no, but I mean to invert the process and put feedback at the beginning, uuuh, if you had to think of this again, what would you change or what would you do in a different way for the process to be more effective? And, around that, what is your (*unintelligible*)?
- Interviewee: With the schools?
- Interviewer: In general, in everything, thinking about the whole process of, of design, implementation and, and, and what's a bit like your evaluation of, of, of what happened, of the whole process.
- Interviewee: I mean, at a national level, I mean, at the country level, uuuh, we need a MUCH bigger team, with a lot more resources, with a lot of Web, uuuh, a lot of potential for replication and a lot of mobilising, a lot of material on the Web...
- Interviewer: So, to make it more massive ultimately...
- Interviewee: It has to be more massive and its continuity has to be ensured, for ten years or something like that, it has to have a longer plan.
- Interviewer: A-ha.
- Interviewee: This was a, like a thing that was growing, they had the idea that they wanted to make it grow, but there wasn't like a final goal, it went *morphing* [sic]. Uhm, but I think it would be better to have a country level proposal and see what are the steps to get there, not to create so much along the way, although you always have to in, in issues of, to have a public policy intention in this area, to put it on the agenda, that it is on the agenda, I think that is paramount. If not, it's there, well, it depends who is there, it depends on resources, depends on the moment, on the government and many other details. I think that, so I think that's number one, it has to be on the agendaaa, the political agenda.
- Interviewer: And more in the, in the area of, of working with teachers, or the, the, the programme, what, what would you think differently or...
- Interviewee: Well, I've given you a couple of ideas of difference, what else?, I think..... I'd look for how, uuuhm, how to monitor more, more, uuuh,

effectively and I'm not talking about control or supervision, but how, how to make, and a bit like the idea to another level, the first idea to another level, like if you want to have and one was, was here, and need to have clarity where one is here and have all the necessary steps and resources, I think that what is needed here is a local system, uuuhm, in the school but also to BETWEEN schools for learning to happen, BETWEEN colleagues and that becomes a, an accumulation of knowledge and practice, practices, uuuhm, I believe that this system doesn't exist, uuuh, and now when they are thinking of demunici ... demunicipip ...

Interviewer: Demunicipalising.

Interviewee: Demunicipalising, and they will try to (face) things that are more British, you see?, quality agencies, that will surely have some groups of people that will go and see and, I don't know, if, if these supervisors, ex-supervisors, now I don't know how they'll call them now, little groups, uh, to be closer in, uuuh, to the idea of Learning Communities, like Fullan...

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: And you need sistematicity, that is not the teacher alone, or the UTP Head alone, or the project of the crazy woman, you know?, alone, but [it has to be] an articulated system where, uh, there is sufficient support and, and sufficient monitoring when you stumble upon an X problem, because you don't know, because eventually you don't know what to do, don't know if this is this, and you need to talk to (someone) who tells how things have to be like, we need to have time for reflection and also to have tab, stable, milestones, uuuh, and be clear about all that. I think that, I think I would work on a, on a model for, for 2015, that has all these elements, I'd have to think about it a lot, but I think I'd go more or less in that direction.

Interviewer: And, well, to, to conclude I don't know if you would like to add something that, that wasn't included in, in the, and that you think it's important in relation to the topic of the interview.

Interviewee: Uuuhm, I mean, other than to say again that I find very good that, uh, you started in that and ended up studying and doing a PhD on this topic. It gives me a personal pleasure, I feel I have something to do with, I mean, indirectly with you coming back and contributing with this not being just a, a little drop that, you see?, and that at some point it made waters move a little, it left a little shaky, like looking at the future, because I think you are the future, so, you see? Like looking at the future, that... I think with, with, in ret, in like a certain retrospective perspective, something I hinted at the beginning, that maybe I didn't, I didn't manage to formulate very clearly, but I think... it would be good to academically study how AfL is connected and inserted or associated or related, I don't know, with similar movements or concepts and try to have a model that is a little less small, I think it's too much, that'd be

my other criticism in a way, like, now that one sees it from a distance, I also think it's a little tight, and that has to do with the, the need also to have a lot of things in, in, in, in a place so that eventually students actually learn. So if you have the ma, the magnifying glass too focused here, you lose ALL THIS. So it is important not to lose sight of that, one can go like deep here, but if you lose the field in which it is, then it's not going to work either.

Interviewer: A-ha.

Interviewee: So, I'd say that those relationships have to be examined.

Interviewer: A bit more, like a more systemic perspective, let's say.

Interviewee: Systemic all over, even conceptually.

Interviewer: A-ha. Ok. Thank you very much.

APPENDIX 12:
SUMMARY OF MAIN POLITICAL PARTIES AND TRENDS IN THE HISTORY OF INDEPENDENT CHILE

