

Anne Bert Dijkstra & Per Ingvar de la Motte (Eds.)

Social Outcomes of Education

The assessment of social outcomes
and school improvement
through school inspections

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A democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience. The extension in space of the number of individuals who participate in an interest so that each has to refer his own action to that of others, and to consider the action of others to give point and direction to his own, is equivalent to the breaking down of those barriers of class, race, and national territory which kept men from realizing the full import of their activity.

John Dewey, 1916
Democracy and Education

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Foreword

by the President of SICI

Learning can only take place in an environment where students feel safe and welcome. Various international studies of teaching and learning psychology, and of brain research, suggest that students need teachers as role models who help them develop not only their academic but also their social skills, build up values and evolve into personalities. At the same time, they reveal how a negative school experience can have an enormously detrimental effect on a person's general capacity for learning as well as that person's attitude and behaviour towards others and society.

SICI, the Standing International Conference of Inspectorates, enthusiastically welcomes this project, 'Social Outcomes of Education', which explores various approaches for effective school inspection in the social domain, asking how external evaluation questions that refer to social skills differ from those in the cognitive or academic domain. SICI has on several occasions indicated the importance of this theme for school inspection. One of the central questions raised by SICI in its discussion paper, the Bratislava Memorandum, is: What can school inspection or external evaluation do in order to attend to its growing role as "a partner with the school and a knowledge broker or mobiliser in the quest for innovative ways of meeting twenty-first-century needs"?

This comparative study of models for inspecting the social quality of schools should be seen as a next evidence-based step on the way to filling in possible gaps in external evaluation, giving all inspection systems a number of ideas to consider when developing their own concepts of good schools in terms of teaching social skills and the question of strengthening our societies and the democratic systems in Europe.

I would like to thank the four member inspectorates of the Netherlands, Norway, Scotland and Sweden that participated in this study.

Wulf Homeier

President of the Lower Saxony State Institute for Quality Development in Schools

Preface

There is sound empirical evidence that competences and skills acquired through formal education, as measured by tests and exams, are highly important to success in life. For good reasons, measurements of academic achievement, like reading and mathematics, play an important role when school systems are evaluated, for example based on OECD's periodical PISA studies, or in the assessment of schools' effectiveness in national school inspections. However, research has also shown that such test results give an incomplete picture of young people's competences. A wide array of competences and skills, including attitudes, beliefs and behaviours, are part of what students learn and what schools strive towards, as well as being of great value for society and labour market. These competences are also included in curricula but are mostly not evaluated on a regular basis, leading to the question whether outcomes of schools and school systems are judged on too narrow criteria.¹

In recent years, attention has increasingly shifted towards the 'social outcomes of education'. National inspectorates of education are accordingly faced with a demand to incorporate these outcomes in their assessment of educational quality. A number of inspectorates have already included (aspects of) social outcomes in their assessment schemes. Their experience provides an insight into the possibilities and limitations of the measurement of educational quality in the social domain, and may contribute to the further development of the assessment of the social quality of schools. Based on the experiences of some of these educational inspectorates – in the Netherlands, Norway, Scotland and Sweden – this study analyses experiences with different methods of evaluation of social quality in education and offers an overview of different models for inspecting the social outcomes of schools.

Is it possible to measure the outcomes in this domain in relation to the quality of schools? Can school inspectors assess the effectiveness of schools' efforts in this area? An exchange of information between inspectorates that have been working on the assessment of the social contributions of educa-

¹ For example, see the critique – for different reasons – in Werfhorst, H. van de (2009), *Education, Inequality, and Active Citizenship. Tensions in a Differentiated Schooling System*. AIAS Paper 09-73 University of Amsterdam; Biesta, G. (2010), *Good Education in an Age of Measurement*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm; Nussbaum, M.C. (2011), *Creating capabilities: The human development approach*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap.

tion and those that are about to start, or have just started, may contribute to the further development of the assessment of social outcomes.

The explorations and analyses presented in this book have been carried out by a small working group in which school inspectors of the above-mentioned countries participated, and reported in the present study in collaboration with educational scientists.

The Inspectorate of Education of the Netherlands; the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training (Department for Inspection); Education Scotland; and the Swedish Schools Inspectorate provided the support needed to conduct this study. These inspectorates participate in SICI (the Standing International Conference of Inspectorates). Also, we gratefully acknowledge the support of Paul Hulsman for his linguistic editing work and the contributions of the Dutch inspectorate to the publication of this volume.

The opinions expressed in this study do not necessarily reflect the views or positions of the inspectorates or SICI, and no official endorsement should be inferred.

Oslo
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Part I
Social outcomes and school inspections

1. Inspecting social quality of schools.

Introduction and overview

Anne Bert Dijkstra & Per Ingvar de la Motte

This study addresses school inspections and the social outcomes of education and aims to contribute to answering two questions: *Is it possible to measure outcomes in the area of socialization, social competences and citizenship in relation to the work of schools?* And: *Can school inspectors assess the effectiveness of the work done by schools in this respect and can school inspections strengthen school improvement in this area?*

These questions connect two domains about which there is as yet little knowledge. For a number of years, attention has been growing for the contribution of education to the social spheres of life, in addition to its value for the labour market and the economy (e.g. OECD 2007, 2010). In contrast to research into the effectiveness of schools and academic achievement (e.g. Creemers & Kyriakides 2008; Hattie 2009; Townsend 2007), which has a long robust tradition, research into school effectiveness and social outcomes is in its childhood. Although much may be said about the functioning of school inspections and the conditions under which school inspections contribute to school improvement (e.g. Klerks 2013; Nelson & Ehren 2014), most current research focuses on the quality of teaching and learning in relation to academic achievement. It is as yet unclear what the focus of evaluation and assessment of school effectiveness should be in relation to social outcomes of education. Does the knowledge we have about educational supervision and school improvement in the area of academic achievement also apply to the social domain, or does the effective assessment of social quality require a different approach?

The study is based on experiences with the assessment of school quality in terms of social outcomes obtained in several countries – the Netherlands, Norway, Scotland and Sweden – and uses insights gained in research about the social outcomes of education and effective educational supervision to answer the question what these approaches may be and what contributions and effects may be expected of them.

As will be discussed below in more detail, we will use the term *social outcomes* to refer to various benefits of education in the non-economic spheres of life. In essence, social outcomes as defined in this study comprise *the social and civic competences* that school leavers have. We define *social*

quality as those aspects of school quality that are primarily relevant to obtaining such competences. These include aspects of teaching and learning, pedagogical characteristics, the school climate and the characteristics of the school as a social community.

This chapter sketches the backgrounds to the theme of this book. We will briefly discuss the social goals of education and their foundations as well as the growing interest in outcomes of education in the social domain. We will also explain the role of school inspections and the building blocks for an effective assessment of educational effectiveness in the social domain.

1.1 The goals of education

The goals of education are many and varied. Education strives to contribute to the formation of students' identity, to their personal development in a broad sense and to their social and cultural upbringing – necessary for participation in society and democracy. It also aims to equip students for economic independence by preparing them for participation in the labour market. Although there will always be debate about the relative weight that must be given to the various goals, there is broad consensus that identity formation, social and cultural upbringing and preparation for the labour market are important goals of education.

The importance attached to these goals is also illustrated by the goals of education as laid down in national education acts – for example in the Netherlands, Norway, Scotland and Sweden, the countries that are central to this study. The Norwegian Education Act, for example, states that students “should master their lives and can take part in working life and society” (see Chapter 6), while the Scottish Curriculum for Excellence includes the following goal: “to help every learner to develop knowledge, skills and attributes for learning, life and work” (see Chapter 7). Such wording illustrates what education is all about and refers to the societal functions fulfilled by education: in brief, the qualification and socialization of new generations (see Fend 1974; Banks 1977) necessary for the survival of a vital society in which people can thrive as individuals and as a group. Through education, people acquire the knowledge they need to cope with life. Work and income – and the resources they provide – to a large extent determine people's opportunities in life and greatly depend on the education they have received. Education is also highly important for wealth creation and a successful economy.

The relevance of high-quality education and a school system that leads to good academic achievement is not disputed; indeed, it inspires ongoing

discussions and efforts in the area of educational improvement. National governments play an important role in this respect, as they facilitate and manage the education system and promote school improvement and quality assurance. The increase in public expenditure on education over the past decades in many countries and the completed and ongoing school reform efforts all over the world illustrate the importance attributed to education (Barber & Mourshed 2007; Mourshed et al. 2010; OECD 2013; see Coffield 2011).

1.2 Growing interest in social outcomes of education

When examined more closely, however, ideas about the role of government in educational quality assurance mainly appear to involve the qualification function. Whereas education is about qualification and socialization, the debate about the quality and improvement of education and the role of government in these areas is often limited to the quality of the teaching and achievement within the cognitive core curriculum. For a long time, the extent to which education succeeds in realizing its socialization function was underplayed in many countries.

Particularly in the 1990s, however, the interest in the socialization function of education grew. Social change brought about by processes like migration, individualization, globalization, rapid technological development and growing cultural plurality had led to a transformation of the social structure of societies. As a result, the choices people make are less influenced by institutions such as the family, social class or religion. New lines along which people bond and stick together came into being, while sharing common values was no longer as self-evident as it had been. In response to the growing uneasiness about the erosion of social cohesion in many countries and mounting feelings of insecurity as a result of the above-mentioned processes of social change, it has become increasingly clear that governments are paying explicit attention to the socialization function of education. These developments not only concern the wider context of education but also lead to an appeal to education to contribute to social bonding and a focus on the relevance of the social, emotional and moral development of students over and above their cognitive development.

Well over a decade ago, the OECD (2001) published *The Well-being of Nations*, a study whose core message was that education not only is of great economic significance but also contributes to the well-being of countries and should focus not only on the production of human capital but also on the social dimension. The study marked a trend that had begun earlier as

a result of several developments: growing scientific interest in the concept of social capital; the previously mentioned uneasiness about the erosion of social cohesion and the ensuing attention being paid to the issue by policymakers; and the availability of data from large-scale international studies of educational achievement.

Social capital

In the previous section, we paid attention to the social mission of the school in relation to the appeal made on education to contribute to social bonding in response to feelings of disintegration and the erosion of social cohesion. Social cohesion refers to the extent to which social structures affect people's behaviours and the extent to which behaviours and attitudes contribute to the perpetuation of social structures, norms and trust (Dijkstra & Peschar 2003). Social cohesion and social capital are thus closely related. The OECD, for example, defines social capital as “networks together with shared norms, values and understanding that facilitate co-operation within or among groups”, which means that social capital is highly dependent on the trust existing within those networks (OECD 2001). The World Bank also sees a close link between social capital – which it defines as “the institutions, relationships, and customs that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions” – and social cohesion: “Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions that underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together”.¹ In such approaches, social capital is linked to the economic development of countries or the functioning of democratic institutions (Fukuyama 1995; Putnam 1993). Social capital encourages collective citizen action to achieve the proper functioning of democratic institutions and to solve collective problems. It is therefore important to promote involvement in civil society, that is, in voluntary associations that teach norms and values of collective action for developing civic capacity. Participation in institutions of civil society is related to a higher degree of social trust and involvement in public issues (Putnam 1993).

Education policy

The scientific interest in social capital and its contribution to the functioning of individuals, the economy and society in general and the relevance of education to the formation of social capital (Huang et al. 2010) has undoubtedly contributed to the increased interest of policymakers in the social outcomes of education. The various developments underlying the interest

1 <http://go.worldbank.org/K4LUMW43Bo>.

in this dimension of educational quality are closely linked, moreover, as illustrated by the widely felt uneasiness about the erosion of social cohesion, the interest in the importance of social capital and the appeal made to education (e.g. Putnam 2004). The *Learning: The Treasure Within* report written by the Delors committee in 1996 put the issue on the map and marked the growing interest in the relationship between these changes in society and social cohesion. The report even stated that there was a crisis in this area and advocated a renewed focus of education on “learning to live together” (Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century, 1996).

The importance of promoting social cohesion and the role of education in this respect are acknowledged and stimulated by many parties. We have already seen that the OECD (2001) underlines the importance of social cohesion and that there is an interest in the development of “key competences for a successful life and a well-functioning society” (Rychen & Salganik 2003). Inspired by concerns about civic apathy, increasing intolerance and other developments, in 2002 the Council of Europe acknowledged the importance of “Education for Democratic Citizenship” and activities aimed at stimulating it, such as the formulation of competences to be pursued by education.² Within the scope of the Lisbon ambitions, in 2000 the European Union formulated goals for strengthening not only a knowledge-based economy but also social cohesion and promoting active citizenship. This initiative built on earlier action programmes to strengthen learning for active citizenship (see European Commission 1998). In 2006, the EU included interpersonal, intercultural, social, civic and other competences in its framework of key competences³ (see Gordon et al. 2009; Halász & Michel 2011).

International comparative research

Studies producing international comparative data about the results of national education systems play a major role in the assessment of the outcomes of school systems. Although doubts have been raised (see Koretz 2008; Ravitch 2014),⁴ the ranking of countries in such studies is an important factor in the evaluation of educational quality and initiatives for educational improvement. This makes comparative data on academic achievement collected in international surveys – e.g. Trends in International

2 Council of Europe, 16 October 2002, Recommendation Rec (2002) 12 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on education for democratic citizenship.

3 Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 on key competences for lifelong learning.

4 See, for example, the 6 May 2014 letter in *The Guardian* of a group of international academics: “OECD and PISA tests are damaging education worldwide”.

Mathematics (TIMMS) (mathematics and science), Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) (reading proficiency) and the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) – important driving forces in educational policy. Such authoritative surveys and their indirect influence primarily involves the cognitive core curriculum. There is far less international comparative data on student achievement in the social domain (see De Weerd et al. 2005; European Commission 2012).

PISA, which is carried out every three years, plays an important role in international comparisons of educational achievement. The PISA surveys measure the performance in mathematics, science and reading proficiency of 15-year-old students (e.g. OECD 2013). It also pays attention to competences that may not have an explicit place in the curriculum but are nevertheless important to prepare students for playing constructive roles as citizens. Research shows that such cross-curricular competences (citizenship, problem solving, perception of one's own competences, communicative skills) can also be measured (see Peschar 2004). Problem solving has been included as one of the cross-curricular competences in the PISA surveys besides the basic skills.

The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) provides information about the citizenship competences of grade 8 students (ages 13 and 14). The last ICCS survey was conducted in 2009. It gives an impression of student perceptions and behaviours and their “knowing and reasoning” (Schulz et al. 2010). Regional surveys complement the overall ICCS comparisons. One of these is a European module with data on, inter alia, knowledge about Europe and attitudes towards European integration and institutions, identification with Europe, and values such as respect and tolerance (Kerr et al. 2010). Data from these surveys can be used as national indicators for the civic competences of young people and may be applied within the context of monitoring and country comparisons (e.g. Hoskins et al. 2011, 2012).

The wider availability of comparative data on the outcomes of education in the social domain promotes an interest in the socialization function of schools and provides empirical knowledge for the debate on the extent to which education meets the expectations in this domain.

1.3 Social goals of education and human rights

Social and civic goals of education are laid down in international law and more precisely, in basic rights or human rights (Dijkstra & Storimans

forthcoming). The most authoritative basic rights document is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which contains a definition of the fundamental rights of every human being that must be respected at all times. Below are some of the clauses in this Universal Declaration:

Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

(...)

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

(...)

Now, Therefore The General Assembly proclaims This Universal Declaration Of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

(...)

Article 26

(...)

Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. (...)

These passages refer to the social and civic goals of education. The preamble explicitly states that the aim of the Declaration is for every country to strive to promote respect for human rights through education and other means. Article 26 repeats this principle and adds that education should also focus on non-discrimination and promote the maintenance of peace by the United Nations. Non-discrimination is referred to in the passage stating that education should promote “understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups”.

Although the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is regarded as a core document and a source for all later human rights documents, it has no legal force, nor does it include an enforcement mechanism in the form of an international right of complaint or something of the like. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) fill this gap at the global level. In Europe, the relevant legal instruments are the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and, for education, the First Protocol (ECHR Prot 1). Of these treaties, ICCPR, ECHR and the ECHR Prot 1 have direct applicability.

This fact does not provide a firm basis for a statutory legitimization of social and civic goals of education because, unlike the Universal Declaration, these treaties do not refer to the social goals of education. The ICESCR and the CRC do: they clearly state that education should also pursue social and civic goals, and they contain passages that are virtually identical to the passage quoted from Article 26 of the Universal Declaration. Article 13.1 of the ICESCR states, for example:

The States Parties to the present Covenant (...) agree that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the same of its dignity, and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. They further agree that education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups, and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

Article 29.1 sub a, b, d of the CRC formulates this as follows:

States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to:

- a. The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential;*
- b. The development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations; (...)*
- d. The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin; (...).*

Both treaties include an important supplement to the Universal Declaration in the sense that they instruct the parties to the treaty to establish

minimum standards which must be adhered to by all schools, not just those founded and funded by the state.

In addition to the intrinsic meaning of social and civic goals of education and their embedding in national legislation, international treaties therefore also underline the importance of realizing the social function of the school (see Dijkstra & Storimans forthcoming). As national governments are convinced of the importance of education (as we have seen in Section 1.1), they value the quality of education and improvements in the way it functions. As the next section will show, school inspections are one of the instruments that can be used in this context.

1.4 School inspections

At the level of the education system, the responsibility for education as a collective good lies with national governments. At the school level, this responsibility is shared by schools and their governing bodies (at the local or regional level), with varying responsibilities as determined by historical developments and the balance of power and authority at the national level. Because of their legislative and facilitative roles, national governments also play an important direct or indirect role in educational quality assurance. This is also true for the countries included in this study. The variations in central legislation over time, the division of responsibilities and the degree of autonomy do not diminish the responsibility of the central government to assure the quality of education as a collective good. Accessibility, efficiency and quality are usually seen as important public interests.

Governments apply various instruments to manage education, the most important of which are legislation, funding and – the subject of this study – educational supervision. Supervision concerns the quality of the education system at a regional or national level and at the school level. The supervision of individual schools in the form of school inspections is the central topic of this study.

The assessment of educational quality has several functions. One of these is supervision as an external incentive to promote action and improvement. This function is mainly relevant where markets are insufficiently geared to achieving collective goals or where they provide insufficient signals that corrections are necessary. Enforcement is also an element of supervision but need not necessarily take up a prominent place; school inspections aimed at promoting improvement can also

fulfil this function. Nevertheless, enforcement is a specific element of the supervisory function and takes the form of actions in response to deficits or problems, for example imposing measures for improvement or correction, applying sanctions (financial or otherwise) or publication of the findings.

Another form is providing feedback about the functioning of the school. School inspections can then contribute to school improvement, for example by relating the evaluation of the school's quality to knowledge about how other schools in similar situations are successful. Research shows that supervision can be effective in that it helps to improve academic achievement or other features of school quality (Klerks 2013).

Supervision can also contribute to the observation of norms laid down in policy and legislation and plays an important role in accountability for achieved results or spending of public resources.

The informative role of supervision is also important: it gives schools, the government and society an insight into the functioning of education, thus providing a basis for action. A specific example of this function – depending on the national options for school choice – is providing information about the quality of schools to help consumers of education choose a school for their children. Because it strengthens the functioning of the market mechanism, the availability of public information on school quality also serves as an incentive for school quality improvement.

In addition to these intended functions of educational supervision, side effects – for example teaching to the test – must also be taken into account, particularly where school quality assessment leads to (possibly negative) consequences for the school. In such situations of 'high stakes' school inspections – which, incidentally, are not so much caused by the supervision itself as by its policy implications – it may be expected that schools will focus on what is being evaluated, thus leading to an unintended narrowing of educational quality and quality improvement (see also Chapter 3).

In the light of the subject of this study, it is interesting that the teaching-to-the-test mechanism may also have positive effects. Depending on the design of the assessments, a broader evaluation of the quality of schools could incite schools to focus on more aspects of educational quality and their improvement. Thus undesirable self-limitation is prevented by bringing the evaluation of the outcomes and quality of education in line with the relevant learning outcomes. Paying attention to quality in the social domain will then also contribute to a more balanced view on the quality of a school.

1.5 Organization of the study

This study's exploration of the approaches to educational supervision, especially school inspection, in the social domain is based on experiences obtained in the four countries mentioned above: the Netherlands, Norway, Scotland and Sweden. Although the education systems in these countries are different in various respects, the supervision of education is organized differently (see Eurydice 2012) and the outcomes in the civic domain show different results (see Schultz et al. 2010), these countries have had experience with school inspections that pay attention to aspects of social outcomes and social quality. However, what they have in common is that during the period in which this study was conducted, they were changing (or recently had changed) the format of their supervisory efforts and were considering using their experiences to make further changes.

Although the ways in which social quality has become part of the school inspections in these countries cannot be summed up succinctly, various characteristics are conspicuous. In school supervision as implemented in the Netherlands, the focus is on process characteristics (e.g. on quality assurance), and attempts are being made to measure outcomes too. In Norway, the enforcement of statutory requirements is the core objective of school inspection. Sweden focuses on social interactions within the school; more specifically on ways to counteract bullying and foster democratic values and student voice. Finally, in Scotland, supervision has recently been given a new footing accentuating a 'whole school approach' in which a comprehensive range of aspects of educational quality are combined with active involvement of the school and the local community.

The four countries have similar socio-economic profiles in terms of inequality of income (the Gini index) and GDP per capita (as measured by the World Bank), and they also score roughly the same on child well-being scales (independent of the economic factor; see Bradshaw et al. 2013), including indicators for "being bullied at school" and "being involved in a fight" (Bradshaw & Richardson 2009; UNICEF 2013; Martorano et al. 2013), although Scotland seems to take up a somewhat different position.⁵

5 Most international comparative studies do not distinguish between the various countries comprising the UK. Although the scores of Scotland on various indicators are different from those of the UK as a whole (see McLaren 2007), these differences appear to be slight (see Pedace 2008). The initially low position of the UK in international comparative studies has improved considerably in recent years, although its child well-being scores are still lower than those of the other countries discussed in this book (UNICEF 2013).

This study is organized in three parts. Part I explores what should be regarded as the social outcomes of education (Chapter 2) and presents an overview of the available knowledge of characteristics of effective school inspection, linking these to the assessment of educational quality in the social domain (Chapter 3). In Chapter 4, a sketch is given of the national levels of student competences and of the educational policies in the social domain in the four included countries, with a focus on citizenship.

Part II is a description and analysis of the organization of the school inspections in the Netherlands (Chapter 5), Norway (Chapter 6), Scotland (Chapter 7) and Sweden (Chapter 8). Finally, Part III presents a comparative analysis of the inspection models that can be distinguished on the basis of the information in Part II (Chapter 9), and concludes with a discussion of questions that require further consideration and development, and a proposal for an integrated framework for supervision of social outcomes in “Ten elements for inspecting social quality in schools” (Chapter 10).

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2. Social outcomes of education.

Concept and measurement

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2.1 Socialization

The concept of socialization refers to the process by which the individual acquires modes of behaviour and is integrated into society and its social systems. This takes place through the internalization of the dominant systems of norms, values, symbols, customs and patterns of interpretation (see Fend 1974). Thus socialization can be understood as the means and process through which the individual develops emotional, cognitive and social needs and competences, while at the same time, social and cultural continuity in society is being maintained and reproduced in a way that leads to individual and social outcomes according to the dominant culture.

The family is regarded to be the foundation of socialization, and primary socialization typically takes place in the child's immediate environment, mainly at home (see Cronlund 1996). However, in most Western countries nowadays, the process of socialization already in the years of early childhood is more and more often located in at least two parallel contexts, the home and the school (including preschool or nursery), but may include other social and cultural contexts that the individual is a part of, and where he or she interacts with human beings and the social environment. Consequently, values, norms and behavioural patterns may be transmitted to the child by a number of 'socializing agents' other than the parents, e.g. the school, peer groups, parents' working life, and the social and mass media. The importance of external socializing agents increases during the continuing (secondary) socialization that goes on throughout youth and the rest of the individual's life. At the same time, primary socialization processes will be pursued through adulthood, involving a closer type of relationships. The distinction between primary and secondary socialization processes is thus not merely chronological, but also concerns the degree of proximity and intimacy experienced in different social spaces, as well as the intensity of interpersonal interaction.

These general considerations concerning socialization processes form the foundation for Bronfenbrenner's ecological system theory of human development (1979), a model of four interrelated systems from *micro* through

meso and *exo* to *macro* level. The micro level involves face-to-face communication and direct interaction with other people, for example at home, at school or in peer groups. The meso level includes several micro systems and focus on relationships and linkages that exist between different micro systems, for example home and school. Exo systems are environments that the individual has a connection to without being a part of, which means that they nevertheless indirectly may influence the child in his or her home environment, for example parent's work environments. Macro systems, finally, refer to the overall patterns in a culture or other social context and become visible in traditions, norms, values, legislation, politics and ideologies etc., thus including the micro, meso as well as exo systems.

Over the last decades, the conditions underlying the process of socialization have changed due to global changes concerning identification, relations, migration and communication, as being described by, among others, Giddens (1990), Beck (1992) and Castells (1996, 1997). These changes include a transformation over time, from a situation where the process of socialization originally was dependent on human contact in physical contexts to a situation where the socialization process has become increasingly disembedded and may take place regardless of differences in time and space, also through dominant, global cultural orientations channelled through social and mass media such as the internet and television. The outcome of this transformation concerns new forms and expressions of individual and group identities (and boundaries) as well as new family constructions and other social patterns. Widespread migration and other social patterns also raise new questions about the role of education.

Socialization as social (re)construction

Socialization as well as identification can be understood as a more or less (un)conscious lifelong process that lay the foundations for individual development as well as social and societal change. Social and cultural patterns are transmitted through such processes, and a reproduction of existing structures takes place. At the same time, individual development may lead to new knowledge, values, routines and innovations that bring about individual as well as social change. The model of human development shows how the child's development consists of more or less conscious – both socially controlled and self-regulated – processes through which the individual learns what roles, expectations and behaviours are connected to different social contexts. According to Bronfenbrenner's model, family, school, neighbourhoods and peer groups on the one hand act as agents of socialization that contribute to the development of young people's knowl-

edge and understanding, and young persons themselves on the other hand play important roles in shaping their development through the ways they let the environments affect and regulate their socialization process.

As theories of human, cultural and social capital point out (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1988), socialization and young people's learning outcomes are related to the family and its contexts as well as the different resources available in these contexts. Social and cultural capital theories explain how cultural and social resources strengthen the development of human capital, such as skills, knowledge and qualifications, the acquisition of cultural capital, such as 'understanding the system' and behavioural repertoires, and the acquisition of social capital, i.e. the resources available in the social network (see Dijkstra & Peschar 2003). Consequently, this perspective highlights the relevance of socio-economic and socio-cultural background, at the same time as it emphasizes resources available through interactions with other people, also influencing the social capital and civic outcomes of learning.

A difference between social and other forms of capital and outcomes according to Coleman (1988) is its "public good aspect; the actor or actors who generate social capital ordinarily capture only a small part of its benefits", offering resources to the wider community around families and schools (Coleman & Hoffer 1987). This means that social capital may either facilitate or, if lacking, inhibit the individual realization of goals like social and other learning outcomes (see Section 2.2). Contexts like socio-economic, socio-cultural, ethnic or religious milieus, as well as schools, differ in the resources and constraints for learning. Other contextual factors directly related to the learning process (such as classroom instruction and student activities) also influence student development. Through these mechanisms, both social communities and schools might compensate for a lack of resources available in the family, allowing emancipation from possible limitations of the home environment.

These remarks illustrate the way in which the process of socialization and its outcomes should be regarded as shaped in interplay between individuals in interaction with other human beings and their environments, influenced by contextual characteristics (see Hacking 1999; Berger & Luckmann 1991; Wertsch 1985). This also concerns the social outcomes of schools and the outcomes of school inspection (see also Section 10.2).

Family and school in multiple contexts

Childhood socialization can be understood as taking place in 'multiple contexts' or different interrelated spheres. These might include the child's friends and peer groups, sports and other leisure activities, social media,

the school, one or more nuclear families (e.g. two divorced families in which the child lives) as well as grandparents and other relatives, sometimes with different cultures and speaking different languages (see Tallberg Broman et al. 2009, 2011). These contexts might be characterized by diverse rules, norms, values and behaviours, at the same time that the child is interacting with an increasing number of persons. The child learns and practices how to behave, and learns what is considered right, wrong or 'normal' through social interaction in such varying contexts. Sometimes the concept 'double socialization' is used to describe the fact that different kinds of socialization takes place in different spheres. Where earlier home and school were often the dominant socializing agents, socialization has increasingly become a multiple contextual process in which culture and language play an important role. Culture both (re)produces and is (re)produced by a common language and by common knowledge, values, norms and behavioural patterns, altogether creating a Durkheimian 'collective consciousness'.

Being socialized into and becoming part of an increasing number of heterogeneous social contexts, situations and relations means that national projects or shared cultural heritage become difficult to maintain in their present form, due to processes of fragmentation. These developments underline the importance of the school as an 'inclusive institution', perhaps more than ever. To produce and maintain a base of common knowledge, fundamental values and norms, today's schools need to be places where diversity and fragmented mosaics of experiences could be (re-)included into a collective consciousness, including narratives of past and present, basic democratic values, norms and social trust. The social outcomes of schools could be seen as the various abilities needed to live and act as citizens in democratic and heterogeneous societies of the present and the future world.

2.2 The concept of social outcomes

The outcomes of education do not consist of academic achievement only. In addition to qualification, socialization is a major task assigned to schools. The social outcomes of education are important in the form of individual social development as well as their value to the economy and society at large. Before presenting a framework for the description of the social benefits of education, we will describe the main categories of social outcomes that can be distinguished: *social returns*, *social cohesion and social capital* and *social competences* (see Dijkstra 2012).

Social returns

The positive effect of education on the social domain manifests itself in many forms. Examples are the advantages of school success for the next generation, such as better school results of children and a lower chance of risky behaviour. Education is also associated with physical and mental health later in life, well-being and higher life expectancy. Positive effects are also illustrated by a decrease in crime rate. The relationship between education and lower levels of deviant behaviour also illustrates the relevance of such social outcomes for society. There is broad consensus about the significance of the social returns of education in economic terms. These returns increase even more when the spillover effects – the benefits they have for others (both individually and collectively) – are taken into account. One example of such an effect is the decrease in deviant behaviour mentioned above, which leads to a reduction of the collective costs of prevention, surveillance and enforcement.

Social cohesion and social capital

However, the social outcomes of education include more than just these *social returns*. On the one hand, they include the knowledge and skills that benefit people's personal functioning and have an effect at the individual level; on the other hand, they include outcomes at the level of society, which have both collective and individual value.

Important collective benefits of education are *social cohesion* and the *social capital* available to a society. Although different definitions of social cohesion have been put forward, in essence they may be summarized as 'keeping things together'. These definitions often focus on the bond between the individual and the social context: social cohesion as the glue that holds society together. Cohesion is also a two-sided coin and comprises both 'keeping things together' and allowing room for variation. This conception of cohesion as a state of equilibrium underlines the importance of cohesion as a mechanism for regulating the conflicting demands that are a characteristic of society, such as differences in values and interests. In a peaceful, strong and vibrant society, differences can only exist if there is sufficient common ground. From this, it follows that norms are one of the building blocks of social cohesion, and that these norms are not accidental but develop in a process of socialization, of which education is an important element.

The effect of schooling on social participation and social trust is one example of the contribution of education towards social cohesion. Social participation refers to the many ways in which people are involved with groups, organizations and society at large, striving to realize collective

goals, such as membership of organizations, participation in volunteer work and donations to charities. Social participation is a measure of people's commitment to collective interests and their willingness to contribute to those interests. Social trust refers to the bonds that people feel exists between themselves and others. A high level of social trust contributes to the expectation that other people will not behave opportunistically and to the assumption of a shared willingness to cooperate. The reduction of transaction costs makes social trust one of the building blocks for the effective production of collective goods.

Social participation and social trust are important elements of the social capital available to a society (Putnam 2000). Despite its somewhat diffuse nature, the concept of social capital has proven to be seminal, for example for its contribution towards an essential social issue: how does social order and lasting social cohesion develop? Social capital is an important means to resist problems of collective action and opportunism. It refers to characteristics of the social structure that enable effective coordination and the realization of public interests (Putnam 1993). Social capital consists of the resources available within the social network that help individuals and groups to realize goals that could not be realized in other ways or only at higher costs (see Portes 1998). Some of the forms that social capital takes include trust, norms of reciprocity about mutual expectations and obligations, effective social sanctions and access to information. This social capital offers important advantages. In communities where people can assume that trust is worthwhile and will not lead to abuse, it will be easier to achieve exchange and cooperation, to restrain opportunism more effectively, and to solve problems of collective action at lower transaction costs (Putnam 1993). Education plays an important role in the formation of social capital. A meta-analysis of international studies shows that participation in education has a substantial positive effect on social trust and social participation (Huang et al. 2010). Researchers have pointed out that the social capital available to societies has been eroding since the 1990s (see Coleman 1993; Putnam 2000).

Social outcomes thus assume various forms, and more examples than the ones given above can easily be found. In the political dimension, they include, for example, knowledge of and trust in politics, keeping abreast of political developments, and participation in political activities. Social participation and involvement manifest themselves, *inter alia*, in membership of organizations, involvement in social issues, trust in public institutions (e.g. the judiciary, the government and the media), participation in protest movements, or dedication to sustainability and the environment. Values

relevant to the way people live together also play a role, for example tolerance, nonviolence, equal rights for women and minority groups, respect for the rule of law, democratic values and human rights. Knowledge – e.g. of citizenship, democracy, national and international history – is also among these outcomes. Research into many of these social outcomes has already been conducted; generally speaking, the results point to a positive influence of education in these areas (e.g. OECD 2007, 2010; Schulz et al. 2010).

Social and civic competences

A third category of social outcomes consists of people's knowledge, attitudes, skills, beliefs and values in the social domain that contribute to the realization of individual goals and that have an impact on the way people live together. The term used in this study for this category of outcomes is *social competence*. Although various definitions are given, in essence social competences refer to an individual's ability to successfully fulfil a wide range of social roles. A distinction can be made between interpersonal competences aimed at interacting with other people and more general civic competences that are important for moving within social contexts (see Ten Dam & Volman 2007).

Social competences. The acquisition of social competences is important from the perspective of social development in terms of, inter alia, affective and moral development and cultural literacy.

In the light of the changing competences required in the current knowledge economy, lately various authors have also pointed out the relevance of complex skills (e.g. advanced skills or '21st century skills'). Many of such competences have an important social component and include skills such as the ability to collaborate, critical thinking, the use of information technology, and social and cultural skills. According to Voogt and Pareja Roblin, such complex skills require both cognitive and social competences (2010).

Social development as a goal of education is not only intrinsically relevant; social competences also contribute to school success. A meta analysis by Durlak et al. (2011) led to the conclusion that good socio-emotional development contributes to better school performance.

Citizenship competences. In addition to the social competences required to successfully interact with others, the acquisition of civic competences is another key social outcome of education. Civic competences are necessary for people to participate in society and comprise, for instance, productively dealing with diversity and difference, making contributions to the public in-

terest, making responsible choices that do justice to personal and collective goals, understanding the way in which society and democracy function, and values such as tolerance and a democratic spirit. We refer to such aspects as *citizenship competences*. As we have seen, civic competences are not only relevant at the individual level; they also represent a collective interest and constitute an explicitly formulated goal of education.

Although it is not easy to measure competences that contribute to successful participation in society, in recent years useful and important steps have been made in this respect, for example the conceptual and methodological development of research instruments. International comparative analyses show differences between countries in, inter alia, interest in politics, participation in volunteer work, social trust and differences in the relationship between these measures and the level of education within countries. For instance, fourteen-year-old students who have better developed civic competences (e.g. an understanding of aspects of citizenship) more often report that they intend to vote once they reach voting age. They also show higher levels of support for equal rights for ethnic minorities. Incidentally, more knowledge does not always coincide with higher trust in institutions of society, which could be seen as a positive effect of education (OECD 2011, 2012).

2.3 A conceptual framework

Social outcomes thus manifest themselves in various forms at different levels and in diverse social domains. Some of the social outcomes described above concern intentional and actively pursued results; others are more in the nature of side effects. Outcomes in the latter category are not explicit goals but form additional benefits resulting from education. To systematically reflect on social outcomes and to distinguish the various types of outcomes in this study, they must be classified in more detail, to avoid the risk of conceptual confusion and to illustrate where they are related (see Figure 2.1). Building on Dijkstra (2012), such a framework will enable a coherent description, a comparison between assessment schemes, and an evaluation of the current state of affairs within the countries studied in this book.

Qualification and socialization

A good starting point for the classification of the various types of social outcomes is the goals and functions of education. Usually, three categories

of goals are distinguished: 1) to contribute to personal development, 2) to contribute to people's social and cultural development, and 3) to prepare them for their future jobs and participation in the labour market. In addition to explicit goals, education also pursues goals that are more implicit. Also unintentional effects of education must be taken into account. It is therefore useful to take not only the intended goals (explicitly formulated or not) as a starting point but also the effects that can be attributed to education. Such an approach focuses on the functions of education: the impact of education on the individual and society.

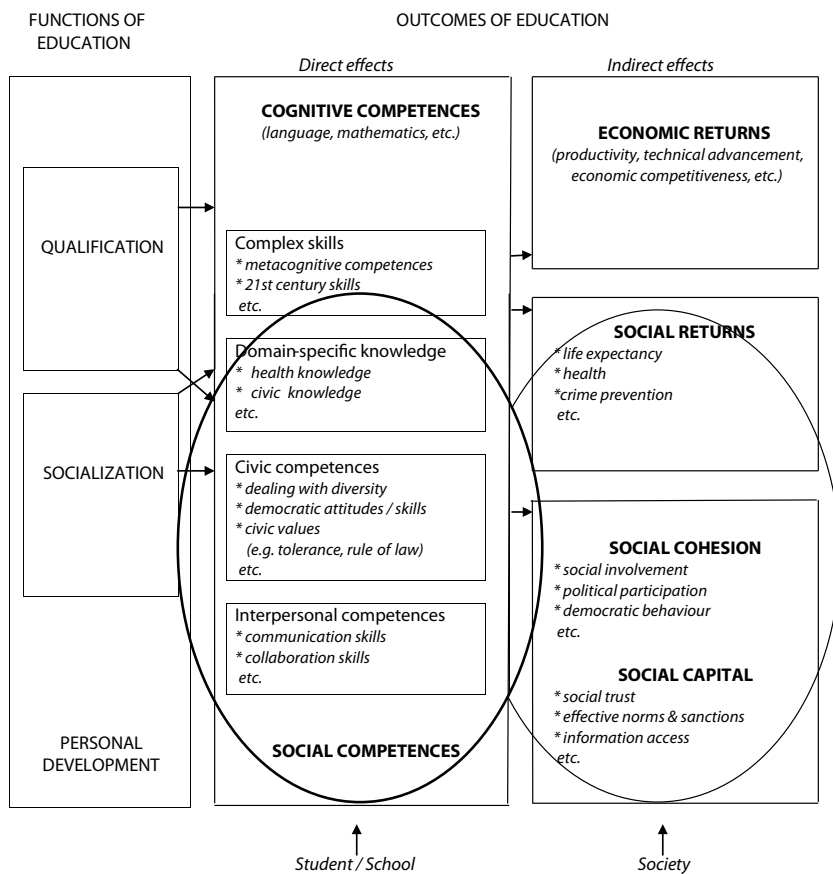
A commonly used perspective is the distinction between qualification and socialization as the primary functions of education. *Qualification* concerns the acquisition of competences that help people to live independent lives, particularly by preparing them for the labour market. *Socialization* concerns the transfer of culture required to successfully participate in society. Both qualification and socialization are part of a more general process of personal development, which consists of identity formation and broad individual self-development and expression. It is a two-way process, which also includes the formation of an autonomous individual and the way in which he or she wants to relate to the dominant culture (see Section 2.2).

The qualification function refers to the qualifications acquired by learners, with cognitive competences as the major constituent. The acquisition of competences also depends on the differentiation mechanism operating in education, which determines which qualifications will be offered to which learners. The socialization function of education refers to its contribution towards the transfer of culture. Integration within the group and within society is closely related to the degree to which individuals identify themselves with generally accepted norms and values. It is an important prerequisite for social continuity and cohesion. The acquisition of social competences is one of its main components. The above description of social competences as the ability to fulfil various and different roles can thus be formulated more specifically: it does not only include an action dimension but also a normative component – how things ought to be. Consistently fulfilling one's roles pre-supposes the acceptance of the structure and internalization of the prescribed role behaviour.

Social outcomes

For a large part, the school's qualification function thus focuses on the transfer of cognitive competences such as general cognitive skills (language, arithmetic) and more complex skills such as metacognitive competences. In addition, it transfers domain-specific knowledge, for example about healthy behaviour.

Figure 2.1 Conceptual framework: Social outcomes of education



The previously described social returns of education are produced by way of the effects of education on the acquisition of cognitive competences: apart from individual and collective economic benefits, the acquisition of cognitive qualifications also leads to social benefits, for example in the domains of safety and health. School performance is also important because it relates to social capital and social and political participation.

In addition to cognitive competences, social competences also play an important role in fulfilling the socialization function in the form of participation in society and being able to maintain beneficial relationships with other individuals. Education contributes to the acquisition of interpersonal and civic competences as direct individual social outcomes of education.

Besides these direct effects, the contribution of education towards social competences also has indirect effects at both the individual and the collective level. This concerns the outcomes described above in the areas of society, citizenship and democracy in the form of social cohesion and social capital (Section 2.2).

Social outcomes include individually acquired characteristics (e.g. knowledge and skills) and effects at the individual level (e.g. participation in political activities). There are also social outcomes at the collective level: the sum total of individual attitudes and actions (e.g. effective social norms). This study centres on the primary social outcomes of education: its direct effects in the form of social and civic competences and its indirect effects in the form of the various types of social capital, social participation and social inclusion.

The categories of social outcomes of education distinguished in this study are outlined in Figure 2.1 (derived from Dijkstra 2012). This conceptualization of social outcomes of education will be the point of departure for fleshing out the concept of ‘outcomes’ as used in this study and will be defined more rigorously in the next section.

2.4 Social outcomes of schools

In the light of this conceptualization, this study will define *social outcomes of education* as its individual and collective benefits for interpersonal interaction in the non-economic spheres of life. This concerns direct outcomes in the form of competences acquired through education and indirect outcomes produced by the effect on other domains (Dijkstra 2012). More specifically, we will use the following concepts.

Student competences

The concepts of social and civic competences refer to the combination of knowledge, attitudes and skills and the ability to use these adequately in light of the characteristics of a task and the situation in which this task must be completed. A distinction can be made here between the intra-personal, inter-personal and civic dimensions.

Social competence and civic competences. The inter-personal dimension (*social competence*) refers to the competences that are relevant to interactions with other individuals and concerns competences that help individuals to interact adequately with others and to achieve their goals in all kinds

of situations. The more general *civic competences* are relevant for moving within social contexts, for example the competences required to contribute to society, democracy and the groups people live in.

Conclusions about the social and civic competences of students are based on observations at the individual level. After aggregation, conclusions can be drawn about means and distributions at the school level.

Social participation. In addition to the previously discussed direct outcomes in the form of competences acquired through education, we will also distinguish indirect outcomes in the form of social participation and social inclusion. This concerns active participation in social activities at various levels (e.g. neighbourhood, associations and volunteer work) and social involvement in all kinds of forms, including behavioural intentions. Unlike civic competences, which reflect the students' ability to engage in the intended behaviour, social participation reflects its results as manifested in social activities and involvement. Although an advantage of studying social outcomes from this indirect perspective lies in the validity of the measurement (the intended goal is measured directly), the effect of education cannot always be distinguished easily since actual participation is a consequence of the situational characteristics, the students' opportunities for participation and the competences necessary to participate. The latter are a result of education, which means that the various factors will have to be distinguished unambiguously before conclusions can be drawn about the social outcomes of education. This restriction is less of an obstacle in approaches that do not focus on the outcomes of education but rather on the curriculum or the teaching and learning process as indicators of educational quality (see section 2.5).

Measuring social outcomes in school inspections

The supervision of school quality focuses on the assessment of the characteristics of schools and the results of the teaching that can be measured in the form of student achievement. At the level of the school, the social outcomes of education concern the competences that people need to live with others and, more precisely, the degree to which these competences have been successfully obtained.

This concerns the *social competences* that people need to realize their goals and to relate to others in all kinds of situations, at work and in other areas of life. It also concerns the *civic competences* required to make contributions to society, democracy and the social networks in which people live. Although the distinction between these two types of

competences is relevant, we will refer to both as 'social competences' for the sake of brevity.

The extent to which students show these competences is determined by measuring them in tests or real-life situations. Conclusions about social competences are thus based on observations at the student level. After aggregation, conclusions can be drawn at the school level. Such aggregated conclusions give us an impression of the average level of social competence of the student population of a school.

Social quality

In line with this, the *social quality of a school* can then be simply defined as all aspects of quality of the school that contribute to the acquisition of social competences by its students. Based on the input-throughput-output model of educational quality, these aspects will be summarized in Section 2.5 as provision, process and product, in conjunction with the constraints influencing these aspects.

Student care

A third important dimension of social competences besides the interpersonal and civic dimensions discussed in Section 2.3 is the intra-personal dimension, which includes traits such as self-confidence and the regulation of emotions. The intra-personal dimension is important, for example in situations where schools have to deal with the developmental problems of students. In such cases, schools will often pay most attention to individual students with behavioural, social or emotional development deficits, which it will try to resolve through problem-focused interventions. Because of the importance of good social and civic development of all students, we regard this category as supplementary. We will therefore focus on the interpersonal and civic dimensions in the form of competence development relevant to all students.

Well-being and social safety

Social competences can be explored in various ways, for example questionnaires completed by the students to measure their knowledge and attitudes as well as their (self-observed) behaviour. Observation instruments (e.g. to measure competence as seen by teachers) and peer assessments can also be used for this purpose.

Well-being and social safety as indicators of social competences. In view of the nature of social competences, measurements in real-life situations

may increase the validity of the measurement since – other than with paper-and-pencil tests – fewer assumptions are required about the relationship between the measurement in the test situation and the real situation in which the competence is relevant. However, because of the need for inter-rater reliability and the practical difficulties involved in realizing observation-based measurements, such designs will hardly be used for repeated large-scale surveys.

Nevertheless, measurements of the well-being and safety perception of students in and around the school do indicate these competences. Such measurements show how students perceive their social environment. The mean social competences of the students as manifested at school are expressed in the way they perceive the school's social climate. Although other elements (e.g. personal traits or factors in the student's home setting) also play a role, measurements of the mean well-being and safety perception of students give an impression of the characteristics of the social context at school as created by the attitudes and behaviours of other students. The assumption here is that (if necessary after correcting for specific characteristics of the student population) such additional factors are distributed randomly at the aggregate level, which means that if adequate instruments are used, the mean differences between schools can be attributed to school-related factors. Measurements of the perception of social safety and well-being – as a proxy of the social competences of students as reflected in the social climate at school – can be regarded as an indicator of the mean social competences of the students at that school.

Aspects such as well-being and safety perception thus have a double relevance. On the one hand, they provide an insight into the school climate and the extent to which the students perceive it as positive and safe. Social outcomes are thus a condition for learning and conducive to school performance. On the other hand, well-being and perception of social safety reflect the mean social competences of the students in the school, for example positive mutual relationships, acceptance and safety. Thus, information about the students' well-being at school also provides an insight into the mean social competences of students at the level of the school.

Measurement of social outcomes of schools

With respect to the measurement of students' social competences, this implies that at least two approaches are possible. The first is the measurement of social competences with standardized instruments such as knowledge tests, attitude questionnaires or skills tests. The advantage of

such measurements is that they are relatively simple to organize, even when conducted repeatedly and on a large scale. The limitations of these instruments mainly lies in the assumptions that must be made regarding their concept validity. Other types of measurement, for example using portfolio instruments, could offer an alternative but must be developed further, particularly with respect to their ability to provide a standardized assessment of what is being measured.

The second approach involves measuring the students' well-being and their sense of social safety as indicators of social competences. Although the instruments applied to measure these aspects are mainly used to measure, for example, school climate, they can also – as we have explained before – give an impression of the social competences of students at the level of the school. Such instruments are often used to counteract bullying, for example, or to gain an understanding of the school's social atmosphere, but they can also be used at the school level to measure social competences. Frequency of use and relatively easy standardization are two advantages of using such instruments to measure social competences. Measurements in concrete contexts, in which the actual behaviour of students is made visible, is another of their advantages. The disadvantage is their indirect nature, because they measure competences reflected in perceived behaviour, as observed by fellow students.

For the moment, both approaches to the measurement of social competences of students as a social outcome of education appear to be productive for evaluating the outcomes of education.

Net school effects?

Learning takes place outside as well as within schools. This is particularly relevant in the social domain and implies that the social outcomes of education are partially dependent on factors outside the school. Where social outcomes as indicators of quality are concerned, it is therefore important to determine the net effect of education, that is, the effect that can be attributed to the school. International empirical research shows different effects and effect sizes, ranging from small or medium to substantial, depending on the variables indicating social or civic competences (see Geboers et al. 2012). Differences in student outcomes are largely explained by student characteristics, while differences between schools account for approximately 25 percent of the variance found (Schulz et al. 2010; see Isac 2013; see also Chapter 4).

Separating the school effect from other factors is not an easy task. Possible approaches could be school means models, cohort comparisons

or, preferably, learning gains models. It is as yet unclear, however, whether this is feasible in the short term. Solutions may lie in the use of approaches based on benchmarking, in which the results of schools are compared with those of other, comparable schools or with results measured in the past.

2.5 Characteristics of schools

As we have seen in the previous section, the *social quality* of a school concerns all aspects of quality contributing to the acquisition of social competences by students. We will briefly describe these aspects based on the input-throughput-output model of educational quality. The model presented in Figure 2.2 offers a global conceptual framework, indicating the main school factors related to the social outcomes of schooling. As a result of the modest empirical status of the knowledge about effective schooling in the social domain, the model – based on assumptions taken from general effective school models and comparable to citizenship models suggested before (see Maslowski et al. 2009; Scheerens 2011; Isac et al. 2013) – should primarily be understood as a heuristic device.

Output

Outcomes are a primary indication of quality in the social domain and have been discussed above. The underlying philosophy is that, in the end, education is not about how ‘nice’ it is but whether teaching and learning lead to the results pursued: students achieving the intended learning objectives in the form of acquired knowledge, attitudes and skills. From this perspective, the quality of education is, in essence, made visible by the educational outcomes. Depending on one’s vision of the contribution that is expected of education, conditions may be imposed, for example the possibility of distinguishing the contribution of the school from the influence of other factors. As mentioned before, students also learn outside the school and grow up in environments in which learning is stimulated to varying degrees. Neither is it realistic to expect education to solve social problems. Although schools are undoubtedly confronted with such problems and strive to promote student development – aslo (or perhaps especially) in the face of disadvantages and risks – their capability to do so is not unlimited. Because of the significance of the successful acquisition of knowledge, attitudes and skills, outcomes are nevertheless a primary indication of quality.

Measurement. For measuring the schools' output (social outcomes), different kinds of indicators could be used (see Section 2.4). Social competences are measured through tests, by measuring students' competences or competence-components such as knowledge, skills or attitudes in the social and civic domain and aggregated to the school level. At the aggregate level, well-being and school safety indicators also indicate the level of social competence. Although not offering a direct measure of competences, behavioural intentions can be seen as indications of (later) social outcomes, and the activities of students might indicate actual outcomes, such as pro-social or anti-social behaviour inside school, or community service or social and civic participation outside school.

Input and throughput: The quality of teaching and learning

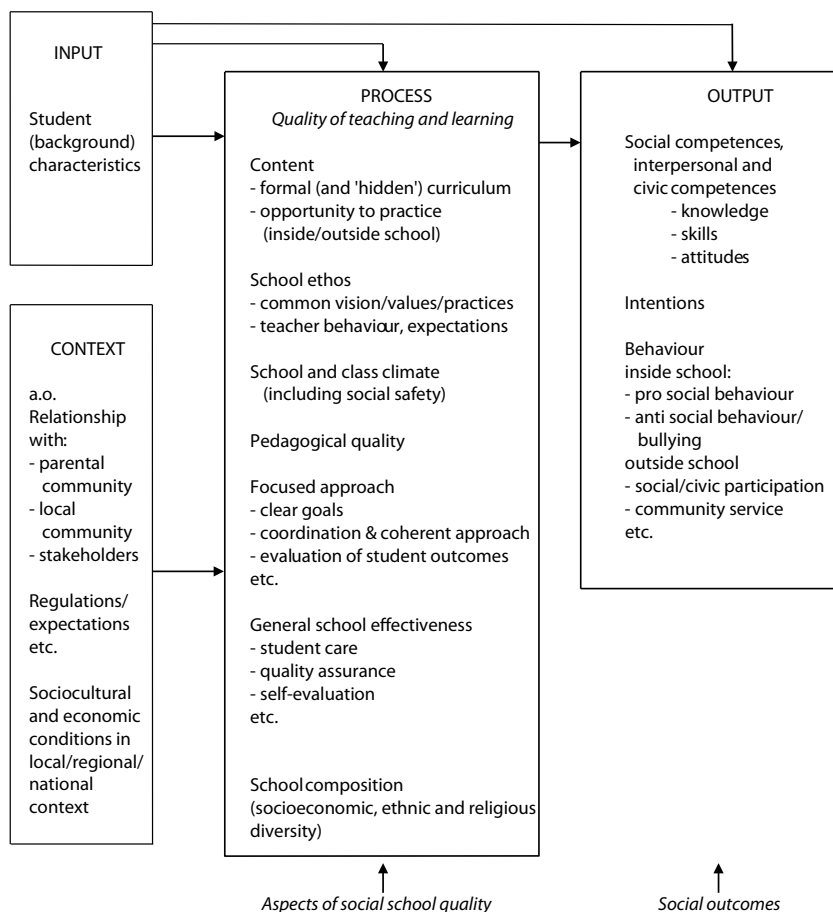
Next to the focus on educational quality assessed on the basis of outcomes, other approaches based on evaluations of the curriculum and the quality of the teaching and learning process are also relevant.

Paying attention to the quality of curriculum content and the teaching processes is relevant, because of its intrinsic importance. Social safety and a positive school climate, for example, are in themselves goals to be pursued and criteria for assessing quality. Another example of intrinsic values is the pedagogical quality of the school (school ethos), as manifested, for example, in teachers exhibiting desirable behaviour and the school community being a 'just society' illustrating 'the good life'. This is also true for the quality of the curriculum content, which is also valuable – for example in the form of subject matter introducing the students to aspects of history, heritage and culture – even where student learning is less than satisfactory.

High-quality provision and processes also have a functional value because they contribute to better student performance or effective ways of achieving it. The constraints also play an important role in this respect, as they determine the efforts necessary to reach the desired situation from the actual situation.

Subject matter. The quality of curriculum content concerns the subject matter and the materials available for its transfer, in terms of their correspondence with the goals stipulated by the government and the school and their appropriateness to the students' capabilities. Statutory demands concerning subject matter and curriculum content play a role in this respect but also the vision of the school and student needs. Its position within the curriculum and the assessment of mastery of the subject matter are also important, as shown by research into the acquisition of citizenship

Figure 2.2 School effectiveness model of social quality and outcomes



competences (see Amado et al. 2002; Kerr et al. 2007; Keating et al. 2010). Other relevant aspects are opportunities to practice, offering meaningful situations, and inviting students to reflect on what they have learned, for example in forms of service learning (see Van Goethem 2014).

Educational process. The educational process as it relates to the social quality of education concerns, inter alia, pedagogical behaviour, didactic approaches and pedagogical climate. As mentioned above, the goals pursued by the school in the social and civic domain are manifested in the day-to-day interaction of students and teachers and can be taught by exhibiting example behaviour and creating opportunities for students to

learn and practice social competences. Research shows that an open and 'democratic' school culture in which students are taken seriously and multiple perspectives are discussed contributes in particular to the acquisition of citizenship competences by students (see Hahn 1998; Niemi & Junn 1998; Torney-Purta et al. 2001; Schuitema et al. 2008; Schulz et al. 2010; Geboers et al. 2012; Barrett & Brunton-Smith 2014).

Quality assurance and school self-evaluation. Another element of quality is its assurance, for example in the extent to which the school succeeds in systematically tuning the teaching to the goals it wants to achieve. Elements of this tuning include systems of school self-evaluation and quality assurance, giving the school an insight into its functioning and helping it to make improvements, intimate links with the environment, and involve parents and other stakeholders.

Conditions

To realize the social goals of education, the composition of the student population is an important condition. Another is diversity, which involves the 'distance' between the socio-cultural setting in which students grow up and the goals pursued by the school. Correspondence between the home environment and the school also play a role, most notably where the school's goals in the social domain are not supported by the parents or the community around the school.

In addition to general factors, such as the available resources or the quality of the teachers and school leaders, the school's 'ethos' plays an important role. Effective teaching becomes possible particularly where there is a fit between the goals of education in the social and civic domain – what is the 'just society' that the school is pursuing? – and the resources available to achieve these goals. One of the factors determining the extent to which this fit can be achieved is the opinions and beliefs of the school staff, which can only be influenced by the school up to a certain point.

Although the above is by no means an exhaustive overview, it does give an impression of the factors playing a role in the assessment of those aspects of quality that contribute to the acquisition of social competences by students (see Kerr, 2010). As we have seen, empirical knowledge about the influence of such aspects of quality on the acquisition of social competences is still scarce, which means that, for the time being, educational supervision will mainly be based on a more general understanding of school quality and school improvement (see Chapter 3).

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3. Evaluation of social outcomes through school inspections

Melanie Ehren & Anne Bert Dijkstra

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters we discussed social outcomes as an important aspect of educational quality. Chapter 1 described the background to the increasing attention for the social outcomes of education, while Chapter 2 explained what comprises the social outcomes of education and, more precisely, the aspects of the ‘social quality’ of schools. In these chapters, we showed that it is possible to specify what this social quality entails and which factors seem relevant to it. We also briefly touched on how to assess the social quality of education, how to promote educational quality and what role school inspections can play in this process. In the present chapter we will discuss these questions in more detail and use our understanding of school inspections of the cognitive core curriculum to hypothesize about the functioning of school inspections in the social domain.

Although inspectorates of education can also focus on the functioning of the school system and the social and societal outcomes of a national education system, this chapter will concentrate on inspections at the school level and the exploration of a model for the inspection of the social quality of schools.

Social competences and social quality

Chapter 2 defined the social outcomes of education as “the individual and collective benefits of education for interpersonal interaction in the non-economic spheres of life”. At the level of the school, the social outcomes of education consist of the competences that people need to live with others and, more precisely, the degree to which these competences have been successfully obtained. This concerns the *social competences* that people need to realize their goals and to relate to others in all kinds of situations, both at work and elsewhere. It also concerns the *civic competences* required to make a contribution to society, democracy and the social networks in which people live.

The extent to which these competences are present is determined through tests, measuring competences or competence-components such

as knowledge, skills or attitudes in the social and civic domain. As we have seen in Chapter 2, conclusions about social competences are based on observations at the level of the student. After aggregation, conclusions can be formulated at the school level. Such aggregated conclusions provide us with a picture of the average level of social competence of a school's population.

At the aggregate level, well-being and school safety are indicators of social competences of students as well. Although not offering a direct measure of actual competences, the activities of students in or outside of the school (e.g. community service) might also indicate relevant student behaviour (see Chapter 2).

Subsequently, the *social quality of a school* can then be defined as all aspects of school quality that contribute to the acquisition of social competences by its students (see Section 2.4). On the basis of the input-throughput-output model of educational quality outlined in Chapter 2, these aspects can be summarized as content, process and outcomes, in conjunction with the conditions influencing these aspects.

From school inspections in the cognitive domain to inspections of social quality?

For the most part, knowledge of the functioning of educational supervision is based on research into school effectiveness and basic skills; our knowledge of the characteristics of school inspection that contribute to educational improvement also relates to this research. The evidence shows that school inspections can have an impact on school improvement and school self-evaluation and on student achievement in mathematics and literacy. We expect school inspections to be similarly effective in contributing to the improvement of the social outcomes of schools, particularly when the conditions for high student achievement in cognitive domains are the same as the conditions for high social competences and when social competences are inspected in a similar manner as inspections in the cognitive domain. When the characteristics of education contributing to high student achievement of schools – the qualification function of education – correspond with those that are effective for realizing the socialization function, it seems plausible that school inspections also function through similar mechanisms.

However, where social outcomes reflect educational objectives or content of a different nature, or where other didactic or pedagogical principles are involved compared to the cognitive domain, other inspection models may be relevant. There is evidence that characteristics of effective schools identified by school effectiveness research offer only a limited explanation of differences in school effectiveness in the social domain (Gray 2004; Dijkstra

et al. forthcoming). It is therefore important to look at whether inspection models and frameworks need to be adapted to assess social outcomes successfully and contribute to school improvement in this domain. In this chapter we will summarize the current available research knowledge about effective school inspections of the cognitive core curriculum in order to understand whether this knowledge is relevant for effective inspections of the social quality of schools: can we expect a similar impact of school inspections in the social domain or should such inspections be organized differently to improve the social quality of schools? We will also discuss the mechanisms and conditions under which school inspections have an impact and the extent to which these are relevant to the effectiveness of school inspections in the social domain.

We will base our discussion on evidence from two systematic literature reviews (Klerks 2013; Nelson & Ehren 2014) which indicate that the extent to which inspections are effective may lie in several categories: school improvement, including changes in the behaviour of teachers and school leaders to improve effective school and teaching conditions; the introduction of and/or improvement of school self-evaluation; and student achievement. Both literature reviews show a high degree of consistency in their conclusions and note that little empirical research has been conducted into the impact of inspections. As far as studies are available, most of these have been conducted in the UK and the Netherlands.

3.2 Evidence of the impact of school inspections in the cognitive domain

The impact of school inspections on school improvement¹

Nelson & Ehren's review research from England (2014) shows the powerful influence of school inspections on what schools do (Dougill et al. 2011; Courtney 2012; Learmonth 2000; Ouston 1997). They refer to Courtney (2012) who approached schools that had been recently inspected in the first three months following the introduction of a revised Ofsted inspection framework and found that principals were focusing more on revised framework priority areas. About 20 percent of teachers in a study by Chapman (2001) felt that the inspectors' feedback had prompted changes in their teaching practice. Gray (cited in Visscher & Coe 2003: 2) and Kogan & Maden (1999) describe how

¹ The text in the remainder of this Section and Section 3.3 was adapted from Nelson & Ehren (2014).

school inspections contribute to the implementation of rules of conduct for students, strategies for raising examination results and changes in management styles and structures. Ouston (1997) concluded that school inspections only led to school improvement if schools had received a negative or only slightly positive assessment from the inspectorate.

A case study by Ehren & Visscher (2008) found that Dutch schools use the feedback received from the school inspectors to improve their functioning; after six months, all schools were still carrying out improvement plans. In German federal states, inspection systems are a relatively new phenomenon; research by Dederich & Muller (2011) reports positively on the initial experience of schools with external inspections under the newly introduced framework in North Rhine-Westphalia. Irrespective of the inspectorate's conclusions (positive or negative), schools considered the inspection report to be relevant and accurate, with appropriate awareness of the school's context and work. In Ireland, however, McNamara & O'Hara (2006) concluded that inspections had little impact on school improvement. The principals they interviewed were sceptical of the value of any kind of external evaluation and believed it paid too much attention to academic achievement and not enough to the broader aims of education.

The impact of school inspections on school self-evaluation

Nelson & Ehren (2014) and Klerks (2013) describe the influence of inspections on the quality of school self-evaluation, which may or may not be linked directly to the inspection system. Whitby (2010) explains how each of six high-performing systems (in the Netherlands, Hong Kong, New Zealand, Singapore, England and Scotland) to some extent use school self-evaluation to inform the inspectorate. According to Whitby, the majority of school leaders view school self-evaluation positively and as an additional instrument besides inspections for validating the school's decisions and priorities for improvement. Inspection and school self-evaluation can complement each other; when "self-evaluation and external inspection documentation uses 'the same language' teachers are much more likely to see external inspection in a developmental perspective rather than a judgmental one" (cited in Livingston & McCall 2005: 175; Whitby 2010: 15). At the same time, Whitby also found literature describing a tension between school self-evaluation and inspection and a risk that such evaluations may simply be written to comply with the expectations of the inspectorate.

The impact of school inspections on student achievement

Empirical research attempting to link inspections to student achievement (while controlling for other variables) shows contradictory results. Positive

results are reported by Luginbuhl et al. (2009), who found that test scores of pupils in primary education improved by two to three percent of a standard deviation in the two years following an inspectorate visit. Improvements were greatest in arithmetic and persisted four years after the visit. Husain (2012) and Allen & Burgess (2012) made sophisticated analyses of large longitudinal data sets which also provide evidence of a relationship between the inspection report findings and student achievement, and suggest that a negative inspection assessment may prompt or accelerate actions to boost student performance, even where no external interventions are made. Other studies by Shaw et al. (2003), Harris & Chapman (2004) and Rosenthal (2004), however, show no relationship between inspections and student achievement or even a decline in student achievement after inspection visits.

Unintended consequences of school inspections

School inspections can also lead to unintended negative consequences for teaching and learning in schools. Possible negative consequences have been categorized by De Wolf & Janssens (2007) into intended and unintended strategic behaviour of schools and teachers.

Intended strategic behaviour consists of window-dressing, fraud, gaming and misrepresentation. Window-dressing refers to schools implementing procedures and protocols that have no effect on primary processes in the school but are implemented as a means to achieve a more positive assessment: the school is simply given a 'brush-up'. Schools can use several methods that vary in legitimacy. Fraud occurs when schools falsify numbers or records (such as test scores or lesson plans) used in accountability systems to assess the school's output or educational processes. Ehren (2006), for example, found that Dutch schools include pupil playtime in lesson schedules to attain the statutory number of lesson hours. Misrepresentation occurs when schools manipulate behaviour in order to report better results. Examples are excluding low-performing students from exams that play a role in school assessment, since these students may lower the average test scores. Gaming refers to schools manipulating actual behaviour. Schools may, for example, choose to do so when performance targets are based on previous behaviour. Schools may lower their targets through poor performance in the year that the targets are set. Actual behaviour is manipulated instead of reported behaviour. Another example of gaming was noticed by Chapman (2001), who found that teachers prepared and structured their lessons better when inspectors visited the school. They also taught in a more structured, classical way and refrained from having pupils work in small groups, since this could cause disruption.

Unintended strategic behaviour refers to the assessor and/or the assessment method unintentionally influencing behaviour. In effect, this means a – usually unintended – one-sided emphasis on the elements that will be assessed. For example, schools emphasize phenomena that are quantified in the performance measurement scheme at the expense of other performance aspects (tunnel vision). For example, they schedule a large number of lesson hours instead of trying to improve the quality of these lessons. Sub-optimization is another example of unintended strategic behaviour: schools pursuing objectives that have a limited scope at the expense of the objectives of the school as a whole. Myopia, a third category, includes schools pursuing short-term targets – for example, improving test scores by means of redirecting students to easier subjects – at the expense of legitimate long-term objectives such as improving student achievement in difficult subjects. Schools aim at attaining quick successes instead of long-term school improvement. Ossification, or organizational paralysis, is a fourth type of unintended strategic behaviour. Schools refrain from innovating and ignore changes and threats because innovative activities are not rewarded in the external evaluation. Teachers and principals may, for example, choose to focus the teaching and learning on mathematics and literacy (instead of other subjects), as these two subjects are central to the inspection framework. Within these subjects, they will use a teaching method that is considered ‘inspection-approved’, for example using four-part lessons with pre-arranged student assignments. Schools are expected to suffer from ossification when performance measurement schemes are rigidly enforced. Measurement fixation is a last example of unintended strategic behaviour and refers to schools focusing on measures of success rather than the underlying objective. An example of this is schools implementing self-evaluation instruments to score positively on inspection indicators used for measuring quality assurance instead of using such instruments to improve the quality of their education.

3.3 Mechanisms and conditions involved in the impact of school inspections

Nelson & Ehren’s review (2014) also includes the conditions and mechanisms that connect school inspection to school improvement. Such factors and mechanisms are interlinked and may overlap, and researchers seldom investigate just one of these categories, but the following conditions and mechanisms are the most relevant to the impact of school inspection: feed-

back and its acceptance; the publication of reports, test results and league tables and parental choice; institutionalization, including 'performativity' and sanctions and support. Identifying these mechanisms is important, as it will help us understand the potential impact of school inspections on social quality and social outcomes.

Quality and acceptance of feedback

In their reviews, De Wolf & Janssens (2007) and Klerks (2013) refer to Chapman (2001), whose case study of five English schools immediately following an Ofsted inspection found that high-quality feedback might be the key to teachers' intentions to change their practice. More recently, Dobbelaer et al. (2013) reported that feedback provided by trained inspectors in the Netherlands can foster the professional development of primary school teachers. Nelson & Ehren (2014) state that research suggests that the nature of feedback following an inspection has a greater impact on school improvement than the amount of feedback. McCrone et al. (2009) found that specific and clear recommendations from Ofsted inspections were a real incentive to a refocusing of leadership and proved to have an impact after the inspection.

In Sweden, Nusche et al. (2011) concluded that schools receive comprehensive high-quality feedback on their performance through school self-evaluation, student and parent surveys, municipal evaluation, the publication and ranking of student achievement data and external inspections. The authors state that "the quality of feedback given to them [schools] about their performance, as well as their capacity to improve their own work using this feedback, have become a key success factor in the Swedish system" (Nusche et al. 2011: 78). The authors also state that inspection reports are detailed and specific, identifying actions for necessary improvement. Within three months of the inspection, schools must submit plans explaining how they intend to make improvements. The structure of the inspection reports allows progress to be seen over time, and the school self-evaluation is well developed to enable improvement.

Other reviews – e.g. OECD (2013) citing Blondin & Giot (2011), and Klerks citing Ehren & Visscher (2008) – report that acceptance of inspection findings is necessary to drive improvement. The OECD (2013) citing Ehren et al. (2013) also notes that acceptance is not sufficient, suggesting that the clarity of expectations established for inspection and the extent to which the school and other stakeholders are engaged with and knowledgeable about the inspection process have a significant impact on results. Whitby (2010) concludes that external inspection is most likely to be effective when the

inspectorate collaborates with the school and both focus on improvement. School and inspectorate should agree on both the content and the focus of the review, and the inspection criteria should be clearly understood.

Publication and parental choice

Arguments in favour of the publication of inspection reports and/or 'league tables' of student performance are that parents will use these data to select schools for their children and that the publication of a negative report will stimulate lower-performing schools to improve (see Karsten, Visscher, Dijkstra & Veenstra 2010). However, research from the Netherlands (Meijer 2004 cited in De Wolf & Janssens 2007; Denessen 2005; Koning & Van der Wiel 2013) and England (Ipsos Mori 2008) shows that parents rarely use published information as the primary source for their choice of school. Neither Koning & Van der Wiel (2013) nor Altrichter et al. (2011) in Austria found differences between socio-economic groups in the reasons they gave for their choices. Empirical evidence from England (e.g. Ball & Vincent 1998; Vincent et al. 2010; Burgess et al. 2009) suggests that middle-class parents are better able to access and interpret published information, have access to relevant social networks and informal data about the school and are less bothered by constraints such as distance between home and school or the cost of living in its catchment area. Similar findings from France are reported in a study by Karsten et al. (2001). The majority of research on the impact of league tables shows negative effects, such as a narrowing of the curriculum, a focus on specific pupil groups or teaching to the test (Simmonds & Vass 2002, cited in Whitby 2010; Wiggins & Tymms 2002; Ehren & Swanborn 2012).

Standard setting and performativity

A recent study by Ehren, Perryman & Shackleton (forthcoming) reports the results of a survey among principals in primary and secondary education in six European countries that attempted to clarify how school inspection affects school improvement. The study suggests that inspections in these countries primarily drive change indirectly, by encouraging developmental processes rather than through more directly coercive methods. Inspectorates setting clear expectations and standards of good education have a distinct impact on the improvement of self-evaluation in schools and the improvement of capacity building in the school. These findings are corroborated by Hall & Noyes (2007), Storey (2007) and Walker et al., Manchester: Department of Education (2011), who state that national expectations of high standards and external accountability are accepted by teachers. Hobson &

McIntyre (2013) and Cain & Harris (2013) also suggest that teachers do not question or resist high performance expectations and are pre-occupied with Ofsted inspection and test results (see also Vincent et al. 2010).

The institutionalization of teaching behaviour may occur through: implementation of regulations and national agreements (Walker et al. 2011) directly to teachers through common acceptance of the need for external accountability as part of their professionalism (Berry 2012); through directives from senior managers (Tuck 2012; Keddie et al. 2011); through induction for new staff (Keddie et al. 2011); and through pressure exerted on trainee teachers by both colleagues and parents (Rose & Rogers 2012). However, with the support and trust of senior leaders, teachers can maintain their autonomy and creativity in the classroom within a framework of great challenges and high accountability (Day & Gu 2010; Storey 2007). In Sweden, Lunneblad & Carlsson (2012) suggest that teachers may use their professional autonomy to evade elements of expected performance behaviours.

Sanctions and support

As the overall conclusion to her review, Whitby (2010) states that it is the amount of guidance and support that schools receive for self-evaluation and external inspection that affects the impact of inspection systems on school improvement. The OECD (2013) notes that school improvement is supported by follow-up measures (including intervention support) taken after external inspection has revealed weaknesses. Schildkamp & Visscher (2010) identify a need for support and training of school leaders and teachers to help them understand the data in the report and making use of it for improvement. HMIE (2009) reports on the need for challenges and support from the side of external stakeholders and local authorities. The training of and support for senior leaders are identified as significant factors for the improvement of schools following inspection.

3.4 Assumptions about the impact of school inspections on social quality and competences

This section discusses the extent to which current research into the impact of school inspection, its mechanisms and the conditions under which this impact can occur may apply to the effects of inspection in the social domain. Since the research linking school inspection to the social outcomes of schools is scarce (see Scheerens 2005), we can only make deductions from the results of research in the cognitive domain. We will build on

knowledge available about the mechanisms operating in the inspection of the core curriculum and the impact of inspections on school improvement and cognitive student outcomes to outline the assumptions of effective inspections in the social domain. We will reflect on the effects and potential unintended consequences of inspections on social quality and competences, and whether the mechanisms of impact in the cognitive domain (quality and acceptance of feedback, publication and parental choice, standard setting and performativity, and sanctions and support) similarly apply to mechanisms of impact in the social domain. This reflection will help us build an effective model for the inspection of the social quality of schools. Before discussing this in more detail, we will briefly explore what is known about school effectiveness in the social domain, more specifically about social and civic competences.

School inspection and school effectiveness in the social domain

School inspection is effective when it evaluates the quality of education in the social domain and helps and motivates the school to improve the characteristics of effective teaching that are conditional to students' mastery of social competences (e.g. through inspection feedback, publication of results, standard setting and sanctions and support), when it informs parents and the public about the school's quality, and when it is relevant for accountability.

Little is known about the factors that make schools effective in the social domain (see Dijkstra et al. forthcoming). Although a general sketch can be given (see Chapter 2) of the factors that may be assumed to have a bearing on educational quality in the social domain, empirical knowledge of the effects of these factors and their interplay is limited (for an overview, see Solomon, Watson & Battisch 2001; Geboers et al. 2012; Schuitema, Ten Dam & Veugelers 2008). Such knowledge is necessary to understand how these effects come about. Not only is this knowledge required for a useful cost-benefit analysis (to see where we can expect a substantial contribution of school inspections) but also to identify areas where successful intervention is possible. An understanding of the mechanisms involved in improvement of the quality of education in the social domain through school inspections is necessary to achieve optimization. From the perspective of efficiency it is worthwhile to have school inspections focus on the factors where schools can make a contribution, for example objectives that are susceptible to influence through education and outcomes that contribute to collective social benefits in the long term.

In other words, this raises the issue of the school's sphere of influence and the aspects in the school that make an investment in school inspections

of the social domain cost-effective. There are three major aspects that must be investigated: the behavioral dispositions promoting pro-social behaviour; the extent to which these dispositions are sufficiently stable to make investing in them through education worthwhile; and the extent to which the school makes a sufficiently 'unique' contribution to socialization in relation to other socializing agents (see Chapter 2). Because of the limited available knowledge of the relationship between education and its outcomes in the social and civic domains, the potential contribution of inspections from the perspective of social effective schools is not known, which is why at this stage we will mainly base our discussion on research into the characteristics of effective school inspection in the cognitive domain. In describing the effectiveness of school inspections in the social domain we will therefore focus on the description of social quality and social outcomes that was given at the start of this chapter.

The previous sections explained how school inspections in the cognitive domain have an impact on the improvement of schools, schools' self-evaluations and ultimately student outcomes in maths and literacy through the feedback during inspection visits and in inspection reports, the setting of expectations through standards and the publication of inspection results and actions of stakeholders, and consequences of school inspections (sanctions and support).

So far, inspections in the social domain have a different set-up. Standardized national tests to measure student achievement are widespread in the cognitive domain, but in the assessment of school quality instruments for measuring social competences play, at best, a modest role (see also Chapters 5-8). Many countries also feel that maths and literacy should be the core focus of teaching and learning in schools, and over the last decades social quality and social competences of students have often taken a backdrop in national improvement plans and initiatives, and are left to the school and its stakeholders.

Mechanisms of inspecting social quality: Quality and acceptance of feedback

Above, we have seen how school inspections have an effect when high-quality feedback is given to schools about their strengths and weaknesses and about how they can improve their weaknesses. High-quality feedback includes clear and specific recommendations that are relevant to the school and included in improvement plans and followed up by school inspectors on subsequent visits.

We expect that inspection feedback can improve the social quality of schools and their performance in teaching social and civic competences.

This requires inspections to provide sufficiently specific and frequent feedback on the social quality of schools. This feedback should be geared towards the situation of the school but also link up with external standards if the school's ambitions are too modest or where the school adopts narrow implementations, which may occur when schools, for example, primarily focus on safety and social skills and pay too little attention to civic competences or focus too much on school-internal cohesion and not enough on external cohesion. Some inspection frameworks, however, tend to equate social quality with a safe environment conducive to learning and ignore broader notions of social outcomes as part of the social quality of the school.

The feedback must be sufficiently specific to the school because of the highly diverse ways in which teaching aimed at the development of social competences may be organized. Particularly where the social dimension is regarded as 'soft' and vague, where the social goals of the school have been formulated in abstract terms, and where the teaching programme is not very systematic and poorly defined, it is important that the feedback is sufficiently specific. Feedback needs to be relevant and aligned to the school's activities 'on the ground' and what is required for future development. Such feedback will motivate schools to acknowledge the inspection feedback, as they will feel supported and feel the feedback is appropriate to what the school needs.

It is also relevant that the feedback relates efforts to results, particularly where schools are more focused on preventing anti-social behaviour and on the process of learning than on the impact on learner outcomes. If the focus of the feedback is on effective school characteristics and teaching conditions in the cognitive domain, school inspections will probably have less impact on social quality and social competences than on academic performance.

Sufficient feedback requires that inspection frameworks include indicators of social quality and social competences and assess these as part of regular inspection visits to schools or regular monitoring of the school by the inspectorate. Early warning analyses, which are part of risk-based inspections, identify potentially failing schools, and these models should also include indicators of risks of social safety and school climate and social outcomes of schools. If the indicators and the way in which the inspectorate organizes the feedback do not include systematic feedback concerning social quality and social outcomes, the contribution of school inspections to school improvement in the social domain will be limited.

Feedback on social quality and social competences is, however, currently limited also because of a lack of tools to measure effectiveness in this area.

Most countries, for example, have no standardized tests to measure student achievement in relation to social competences, and there are no league tables that provide schools with feedback and benchmark information on their performance in the social domain in relation to other schools.

On the one hand, the lack of knowledge about what constitutes good social quality of schools and how it contributes to the social competences of students means that little is known about the relative importance of the various indicators. The need for a better understanding of validity and reliability also means that, for the time being, school inspections should primarily focus on evaluation in the form of elucidation, performance feedback and benchmarking, and that it is best to adopt a modest approach to high-stakes incentives (see below). On the other hand, particularly because there is little available knowledge, school inspections may render important contributions in the form of systematic assessments of teaching and learning and the information this provides about effective methods of teaching. The expertise of inspectors based on comparative knowledge of different school practices, the exchange of knowledge and the identification of good practices can play an important role in this respect.

Mechanisms of inspecting social quality: Publication and parental choice

As we described in a previous section, league tables of cognitive outcomes of schools are used sparingly by parents choosing schools and might lead to unintended consequences instead of motivating school improvement. Studies indicate that parents use other indicators than student achievement in cognitive subjects to choose a school. According to Bosker & Scheerens (1999), the OECD (2008) and De Moor (2009), the factors most important for parents in choosing their children's school are: the proximity of the school, the pedagogical climate, the reputation of the school, the school's focus on social skills, student counselling, the school's anti-bullying policy and its atmosphere. Many of these indicators are related to the social quality and social competences of the school. We therefore expect the publication of the school's functioning in these areas to affect parental choice and may, more than league tables of cognitive outcomes, motivate school improvement.

Publishing information about the social quality of the school and their social outcomes is expected to raise awareness of the importance of these indicators, and may be a reason for schools to redirect their resources to improve their social quality and their teaching of social competences. League tables of social outcomes or inspection reports of schools with exemplary social quality and conditions for high social outcomes can set standards for good practices that schools can implement in their school improvement.

Information about the social quality of the school will also provide a broader and more valid impression of the school and will do justice to the characteristics and efforts of the school in domains other than the core curriculum. It is to be expected that such information will also meet the needs of parents, who include social aspects in their considerations for choosing a school. Extending the available information about educational quality in the social domain thus meets one of the demands set for the publication of performance information by inspectorates and other parties (Karsten et al. 2010).

Mechanisms of inspecting social quality: Standard setting and performativity

Standard setting is an important mechanism for the impact of school inspections. Inspection frameworks create expectations of good education for schools and their stakeholders, and improvement efforts in schools are often targeted towards the indicators in these frameworks. Ehren et al. (2013) describe how standards are set when schools take heed of the information included in inspection standards and procedures, reflect on it, process it and adapt their goals and their practices in such a way that they come closer to the desired image of schools communicated by the inspection. Segerholm (2011: 1) also explains how “evaluative activities, and perhaps specifically if they are carried out systematically, regularly and comprehensively like school inspections, may impact on our perception and understanding of ourselves and the surrounding world in particular ways that are expressed in the values permeating these activities”. As far as the social quality of schools is concerned, it is not only important that external standards help prevent inertia resulting from overly modest ambitions or divergent organizational interests. External standards for social quality contribute to the clarification and specification of goals and aspiration levels which – due to the various flavours these may be given depending on the context in which they operate – are often diffuse and general in nature. External standards also help prevent the goals of a school being based on limited context-specific orientations and the focus on internal social cohesion (of the school and stakeholders around the school) having a negative impact on learning goals promoting external cohesion (see also Chapter 10).

Mechanisms of inspecting social quality: Sanctions and support

The research discussed in Section 3.3 shows that a strong support base and willingness to take action alone are not sufficient to realize improvement.

The school must also have the capabilities to do so. This means that support – for example in the form of knowledge sharing, training and aiding innovation and improvement – is an important element of the mechanism through which school inspections can contribute to school improvement. It is reasonable to assume that this also applies to the improvement of social quality and perhaps even more so because of the diffuse nature of the outcomes in this domain and our limited understanding of effective approaches. Support (e.g. knowledge sharing or specific school development) can thus have a substantial effect. Inspectorates can make a contribution, for example by disseminating knowledge useful for school improvement or incorporating peer evaluation (by school leaders and teachers) into their inspections so that the knowledge of schools about the use of indicators can contribute to more output-directed teaching. This may prove to have a positive effect, particularly in the social domain where the focus usually lies on learning processes instead of learning outcomes.

With respect to negative incentives in the form of substantial sanctions, a restrained use seems appropriate at this time. The as yet modest empirical foundation of assumptions about effective forms of teaching in the social domain means that we need a better understanding of the validity and reliability of assessments before making them the basis for imposing repercussions. This implies that there is currently limited justification for motivating the impact of school inspections on the social domain through substantial repercussions. Exemptions to this statement are, however, when schools grossly fail to meet minimum standards and/or take too long to implement necessary improvements to meet a minimum standard. Examples include not conforming to basic democratic values, not confronting risks to the social safety of students, and having a curriculum that does not satisfy statutory requirements or in effect neglects teaching in the social domain. More generally, clear indicators and judgements (also about undesirable practices) are important for specifying what constitutes good education, even if no sanctions are imposed.

Towards a model for inspection of the social quality of schools

If we assume that effective supervision in the social domain should fulfil one or more of the accountability, school improvement and consumer information functions (Karsten et al. 2010), the above allows us to infer the building blocks for the organization of school inspections of social quality that are listed below.

To do so, we will formulate assumptions about the intended state of the subject (what is the desired situation), what should be done to achieve that

situation, through which processes will outcomes be affected and under which conditions are these processes expected to operate (see Donaldson 2007). Because a detailed account of a program theory falls outside the scope of this study, we will limit ourselves to a brief sketch of the main elements (for examples of detailed accounts of school inspection in the academic domain in the Netherlands and Sweden, see Ehren 2011 and Gustafsson & Myrberg 2011).

Accountability. Accountability concerns providing an insight into the extent to which the intended goal (and the level of effectiveness) is achieved. Although there may be differences due to the nature of the goal, the desired situation contains information about the provision, process and/or results of teaching. An illustration of the latter would be the scores on a standardized social skills test. Collection of such data requires objective measurement methods and criteria for school-independent assessment. At the very least, accountability in the social domain focuses on an understanding of the results of education in the form of social and civic competences of students. Depending on the goal, it may also encompass the quality of the educational process (including pedagogical behaviour and school climate) and curriculum content.

School improvement. School inspections for school improvement aim to provide information for improving the quality of teaching in such a way that the school is willing and able to undertake the activities required. The school's willingness to take action may be based on internal incentives (e.g. the belief that improvement is necessary and feasible) and/or external incentives (e.g. receiving support for school development or avoiding damage to the school's reputation). When internal incentives predominate, it is important that supervision contributes to convincing teachers and school managers that the school's social quality can be improved and helps them understand how. This requires information-rich evaluations providing an insight into the processes of teaching and learning. It is also necessary that the school recognizes itself in the information and feedback and buys in to the inspection findings.

Consumer information. Supervision aimed at informing parents about quality in the social domain should primarily provide data about the extent to which the teaching fits their characteristics and goals. Parents, for example, will be interested in the school's social climate; the social, societal, religious and/or moral goals pursued by the school; and the way in which it achieves

these goals. They want to know to what extent the teaching and the climate are appropriate to their children. Pedagogic quality and school climate are thus important elements in consumer information.

Components inspecting social quality

Although the weights attached to these goals might differ across countries, in practice the functions of school improvement, consumer information and accountability will often be combined. Effective supervision in the social domain will then include:

- *A coherent system of standards*: clear standards that give good insight into the goals to be pursued and the various components of social quality;
- *Outcome indicators*: knowledge of the students' social and civic competences as an indicator of educational outcomes, with a view to accountability and (in the case of public inspection reports or league tables) providing incentives for quality improvement;
- *Insight into curriculum content and teaching process*: knowledge of the quality of teaching and learning, particularly in order to provide insight into options for educational improvement;
- *Ownership of the school*: involvement of school management and teachers in the quality assessment in such a way that they can own the results and are willing and able to work with them;
- *Insight into pedagogical quality and school climate*: knowledge that parents can understand and is relevant to their situation, so that they can make choices that best fit the developmental needs and characteristics of their children.

Depending on the actual weights of these components, the mechanisms that lead to quality and stimulate school improvement are provided by the combination of *i*) standards directing the efforts made by schools; *ii*) information required for educational improvement; *iii*) incentives for school improvement (including, for example, public information about the quality of schools); and *iv*) dissemination of the results.

Because it makes the social quality and the results of the school in this domain more visible, supervision not only provides more knowledge about options for quality improvement but is also expected to make it more relevant. Because social quality becomes a more prominent element of the school's public profile, reputation effects are likely to occur that will stimulate schools to improve their quality. As the meaning attached to social quality increases, so will its visibility and status, and this will have a positive effect on the allocation of resources within the school. School

authorities and school managers are expected to be more inclined to use social quality as a guideline for action. Particularly where teaching and learning in the social domain has not yet been formalized to any degree, greater visibility of social quality within and outside the school is expected to increase its relevance.

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4. Linking citizenship education policy to students' citizenship competence in the Netherlands, Norway, Scotland and Sweden

Remmert Daas

The previous chapters showed that education not only serves to promote cognitive abilities but also has a role in promoting students' social and civic competences. While social competences are often considered in conjunction with school climate, citizenship competence poses an interesting case since it exposes the link between current behaviour (at school) and preparation for future engagement with society. Considering the importance of social and civic competence for both individual and society, the extent to which schools have taken up this responsibility expresses an indication of the extent to which schools are able to fulfil this function. The extent to which schools have taken up this role appears to differ both between and within countries (Eurydice 2012). Comparative studies into students' citizenship competence provide valuable insight into the school's contribution to these developments (see Schulz et al. 2010; Torney-Purta et al. 2001).

This chapter aims to provide insights into educational practice by combining an overview of citizenship education in practice with data on students in lower-secondary education's citizenship competence. To this end, this chapter provides both a discussion of the prevalent aspects of citizenship education in each country, combined with a brief account of the developments that have taken place. For more detailed country descriptions, we refer to Part II.

The analyses employed here use data from the 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS; Schulz et al. 2010). This study assessed around 3,000 students in each of 38 countries on a range of citizenship aspects, including civic knowledge, attitudes and behaviour.¹ These measures were allocated to 25 scales relating to students' citizen-

¹ The final set included 1,964 students in the Netherlands, 3,013 in Norway, and 3,464 in Sweden. While the response rate in the Netherlands failed to meet set standards, the results are still considered to be representative (Maslowski et al. 2012). Scotland did not partake in the ICCS 2009 study.

ship competence. In this chapter we use five selected scales: citizenship knowledge, support for democratic values, attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups, expected electoral participation, and civic participation at school.

This chapter considers the features of citizenship education in the Netherlands, Norway, Scotland and Sweden, and links these to student citizenship competence (except in the case of Scotland). Student outcomes are *italicized* in the country sections.² In the final section we consider some cross-national issues including school effect size and the implications of different approaches taken to measurement and assessment.

4.1 Citizenship education in the Netherlands

Citizenship became a statutory part of education in the Netherlands when in 2006 a law took effect whereby primary and secondary schools in the Netherlands became lawfully obligated to provide schooling in active citizenship and social integration. Active citizenship refers to the readiness and ability to make an active contribution to the community. Social integration refers to participation in society and its institutions regardless of ethnic or cultural background and familiarity with Dutch culture (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap 2005). This explicit link between citizenship and integration has had consequences for the implementation of citizenship in the curriculum. Implementation is largely considered a school responsibility. School autonomy in the Netherlands is the highest of all OECD countries, with around 85 percent of decisions taken at the school level (OECD 2012).

Citizenship education policy

Prior to its lawful footing, the Education Council defined citizenship to be composed of two aspects; 1) what citizens may and must do (the formal political-juridical side of citizenship), and 2) what citizens can and want to do (the social side of citizenship). The report focuses mostly on the second aspect by promoting the ability and willingness to participate in and contribute to society (Onderwijsraad 2003). This distinction typically reflects much of the writing done on citizenship in the Netherlands. Much focus is placed on the social aspects of citizenship whereas political content appears

2 Average student performance is graded 'low', 'average' or 'high' compared to whether there is a significant difference with cross-national ICCS average.

to focus mostly on democratic values (see Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2006). Citizenship is presented in conjunction with stimulating social cohesion and integration (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap 2005).

Citizenship is not offered as a school subject but is cross-curricular. Core objectives are set for primary and lower-secondary school, several of which are related to citizenship (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap 2006a, 2006b; see also Chapter 5). Bron (2006) concludes that these core objectives and the overall (policy) aims stated for citizenship only partially connect. Though the core objectives provide a basis for active citizenship, they focus on knowledge and skills, while citizenship aims are largely based on values and democratic principles. Terms such as willingness and participation are not reflected in the core objectives, while these are central to the aims set for citizenship. Furthermore, core objectives relating to providing an active contribution to society are lacking.

While the line from policy to school objectives shows discrepancies, there are further indications that the continued line for (envisioned) practice is also flawed. Both primary and secondary school boards view citizenship education as a primary task (Bronneman-Helmers & Zeijl 2008). However, while they show substantial support for teaching social skills and basic democratic values, attention for democracy and other cultures is much less prominent (Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2010, 2013). Furthermore, most schools are found not to operate from a planned approach but provision often involves patchwork (Bron & Thijs 2010, 2011; Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2011). Though the majority of schools report working on the development of their citizenship education, the development of schools practice shows little progress (Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2010, 2011; Peschar et al. 2010). Classroom practice appears generally non-democratic (Sandström Kjellin & Stier 2008), and teachers are critical of the attainability of the social competence goals associated with citizenship education (Leenders et al. 2008; Zwaans et al. 2006). Finally, pupils' citizenship knowledge at the end of primary school is found to be unsatisfactory (Wagenaar et al. 2011). In sum, it appears that the line from citizenship education policy to teaching practice and student competence shows large discrepancies. While this lack of alignment can be expected to be reflected in Dutch students' score on civic knowledge, *Dutch students score close to the international average on citizenship knowledge*. It seems a lack of clarity on the subject does not lead schools to refrain from spending time on citizenship education. Nonetheless, Dutch students are outperformed by students in most other European countries.

Themes in citizenship education

Besides the discussions on citizenship education policy, a number of themes can be identified which can be considered to characterize citizenship education in the Netherlands. We briefly discuss some of the most prevailing and typical of these.

Fundamental democratic values. Schools are expected to adhere to and promote seven basic democratic values which support peaceful cohabitation and citizenship: freedom of expression, equality, understanding of others, tolerance, autonomy, rejecting intolerance and rejecting discrimination (Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2006; see Appendix I). Citizenship is based on the support of these democratic principles. Though these values present a reasonable core on which to found citizenship, they allow for a wide range of elaborations. Furthermore, as argued above, there is reason to believe that provision by schools is prone to circumstance. While these basic aims will generally be supported, little explicit teaching appears to be devoted to them. Indeed, *Dutch students score low on support for democratic values.* It seems that students are disengaged with this topic.

Equal rights and integration. Citizenship education in the Netherlands focuses largely on social cohesion and integration. The debate on immigration can be considered prominently visible both in and outside the political arena (Doppen 2010). Some researchers have noted that integration as envisioned in the Dutch debate expects a one-sided effort from the side of immigrants, compelling non-Western immigrants to assimilate (Leeman & Pels 2006; Stolz 2011). This notion can be considered to convey some sense of suspicion towards minority cultures. Schools appear to spend less time on teaching about other cultures than other aspects of citizenship (Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2013). However, both teachers and schools appear to generally attach more importance to the development of attitudes than other aspects of citizenship (Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2010, 2013). While the image does show some problems in terms of 'how equal' equality should be, there appears to be much attention for the development of these attitudes. The ICCS data however, show *Dutch students score low on support for equal rights for immigrants.* It would appear that the significance attached to this topic by schools and teachers is not (yet) shared by Dutch 14-year-olds.

Participation. Some researchers argue convincingly that citizenship education is at risk of promoting future citizenship, where it should regard

children as young citizens (see Lawy & Biesta 2006). Emphasising current citizenship behaviour as opposed to preparing students for future citizenship has implications for envisioned practice. Schools that actively promote citizenship appear to favour an emphasis on the development of students' social skills, with schools acting as a practice place (Hilbers et al. 2010). When schools are successful at adopting this approach, we can expect positive results on students' citizenship competence. The expectation is, however, that this approach is adopted only in a small proportion of schools, as they are free to choose their own approach, and citizenship education appears to be low-key for most schools. This notion is reflected in the ICCS scores, as *Dutch students score low on civic participation at school*. In fact, the score is far below the international average, indicating some serious issues in this area.

Summary

The development of citizenship education in the Netherlands has been most influenced by discussions on social integration and participation. This has led to aims for citizenship education being formulated in terms of making an active contribution and participation regardless of one's personal background. Through the statutory aims of citizenship since 2006, all schools are obligated to promote citizenship. Provision is complicated, however, as analysis shows discrepancies between general aims for citizenship and the core objectives for schools. This is further complicated by the freedom that schools are given to determine their own approach, which amplifies differences. The Inspectorate finds that the development of citizenship education is stalling, and for most schools, citizenship education appears to be low-key (Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2011, 2012). Dutch students show civic knowledge scores close to the international average. However, scores on support for democratic values, equal rights and civic participation at school are all shown to be below the international average, leading to problematic Dutch students' citizenship competence.

4.2 Citizenship education in Norway

Norwegian educational policy is largely decentralized through reforms over the past decades. Kindergartens, primary and lower secondary schools are operated by the municipalities, while county authorities have responsibility

for upper secondary education and training.³ Over 60 percent of decisions are taken at the local level, compared to the OECD average of nearly 20 percent (OECD 2013b). Schools have autonomy to interpret the national attainment targets set for the different subjects as well as in their choice of teaching materials (Mikkelsen & Fjeldstad 2013).

Current educational policy is based on a number of key documents. The Core curriculum (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2006a) describes the fundamental values and views of humanity underlying education. It expands on six themes: moral outlook, creative abilities, work, general education, cooperation and natural environment. Based on these six themes, the document describes the student characteristics to be fostered by education. The Quality framework (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2006c) summarizes and elaborates the central curriculum aims for schools and education as a whole. It explicates two school responsibilities related to citizenship education: social and cultural competence, and pupil participation. Subject syllabi set goals for what pupils should know after years 4, 7 and 10 and contain a distribution of teaching hours.

Citizenship education policy

A survey of human rights and democracy in the Norwegian curriculum concludes that all subjects can be said to cover democratic issues (Utdanningsdirektoratet 2012). However, some subjects can be considered to be more closely aligned with these issues than others. Here we discuss the subjects of social studies, pupil council work, and religion, philosophies of life, and ethics.

Social studies ('samfunnsfag'). Throughout primary and lower secondary school, pupils are taught social studies through History, Geography and Sociology (and, since 2013, Exploring). "The purpose of the social studies subject is to help create understanding and belief in fundamental human rights, democratic values and equality, and to encourage the idea of active citizenship and democratic participation" (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2013). Though there is no formal decree that citizenship is primarily part of social studies, Mikkelsen & Fjeldstad (2013) propose that informally, social studies teachers are probably regarded as those best qualified to teach civic and citizenship education. Christophersen et al.

3 Approximately 50 percent of the kindergartens are privately owned. Municipalities must approve kindergartens and provide guidance to them.

(2003) found the revised social studies subject placed more emphasis on active participation by students since the 1990s, but teachers appeared to maintain traditional ways of teaching. Pupils' political and democratic engagement appeared to be mostly influenced by factors outside school (e.g. media and parents), as teachers strongly emphasized the teaching of formal political institutions.

Pupil council work ('elevrådsarbeid'). Norwegian schools have a longstanding tradition of pupil councils. Pupil councils have been mandatory since the 1960s. Børhaug (2010) remarks that Norway seems to be the only country that elaborates on pupil councils in the national curricula – in addition to making them statutory by law. In lower secondary school, all pupils are taught 71 hours of 'pupil council work'. The subject focuses on developing pupils' ability to express their opinion and to function in various roles and groups, and developing pupils' understanding of democracy and participation in democratic processes. Pupil performance in the subject is not graded or tested. From 2014-2015, 'pupil council work' will no longer be a statutory subject but integrated with social studies. Additionally, pupils will be able to attend the voluntary subject 'democracy in practice'.

Participating in a pupil council appears to have a positive effect on pupils' citizenship. Lauglo & Øia (2006) find very strong effects for participation in school council on all measures of civic engagement. While the presence of pupil councils is generally applauded, their focus and activities are not without criticism. Børhaug (2006, 2010) paints a picture of student councils doing valuable work and being positively regarded in schools by head teachers, teachers and students. However, he also finds their activities are mostly aimed at practical tasks originating from management and the contact teacher, and their practice does not adhere to democratic standards. In line with Børhaug, Soløst (2011) finds that schools have untapped potential for student participation and activities relating to citizenship education. Notwithstanding these critical notes, *Norwegian students score high on civic participation at school*, indicating that the current approach is beneficial to students' participation.

Religion, philosophies of life, and ethics ('religion, livssyn og etikk'). Religion, philosophies of life, and ethics is taught in primary and lower secondary school. While religion takes a major portion of teaching time allocated to the subject, the values and virtues discussed through philosophies of life and through ethics can be considered relevant to citizenship education. These include competence aims such as "enable pupils to talk about ethnic,

religious and ethical minorities in Norway, and reflect on the challenges of multicultural society” (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2006b). While it is unclear how effective these aims are taught, the fact that they are not only part of the core curriculum but also an integral part of the curriculum can be considered to contribute to students’ support for democratic values. Indeed, *Norwegian students score high on support for democratic values.*

Themes in citizenship education

Besides the discussions on citizenship education policy, a number of themes can be identified which can be considered to characterize citizenship education in Norway. We briefly discuss some of the most prevailing and typical of these.

Attention for citizenship. Pupil performance on the 2001 Civic Education Study shows generally favourable outcomes for Norwegian 14-year-olds (Mikkelsen et al. 2002). However, these positive results for students’ citizenship competence at the start of the century do appear to also have a negative side. Stray (2009) concludes that relatively little attention is paid to citizenship education and democratization, as strengthening citizenship education is not an issue in Norwegian education discourse (see Mikkelsen & Fjeldstad 2013). After the poor performance of Norwegian pupils on early PISA surveys and the relatively high scores of Norwegian pupils on the 2001 international democracy survey Civic Education Study, the focus shifted towards knowledge and skills. This can also be seen to be reflected in the educational discourse surrounding the 2006 Knowledge Promotion Reform focusing on pupil performance, with less attention for the role of school as an arena for democratic citizenship. Given that explicit attention for citizenship competence can be considered particularly necessary for the development of citizenship knowledge, Norwegian students’ citizenship knowledge could suffer. However, this is not reflected in the ICCS, as *Norwegian students score high on citizenship knowledge.*

Democratic participation. Considerable attention in the discussion of citizenship education in Norway goes to the type of political participation that is promoted. Somewhat paradoxically, Fjeldstad & Mikkelsen (2003) find Norwegian 14-year-olds score low on conventional types of participation but high on modern types, while educational policy and practice are aimed mostly at conventional citizenship, emphasising normative issues and representative democracy (see Biseth 2009; Samuelsson 2013; Solhaug

2003). Students' actual political involvement is thought to manifest itself in more modern social expressions (Fjeldstad & Mikkelsen 2003; Lidén & Ødegård 2002; Rye & Rye 2011). There appears to be little indication of students' dissatisfaction with politics and political issues, but also little engagement with these topics through conventional means. This trend is also found in the general population (Listhaug & Grønflaten 2007), and is addressed through student elections (parallel to national elections) and a recent pilot allowing 16-year-olds to vote in one-quarter of municipalities in the 2011 local elections. Possibly reflective of this attention for democratic engagement, *Norwegian students score high on adult electoral participation.*

Equity and equality. Norway is renowned by the OECD for its higher-than-average scores in PISA and the low impact of socio-economic status on performance (OECD 2004, 2013a, 2013b). Education policy restricts group setting based on abilities, sex or ethnicity except to respond to a defined pedagogical need for a short time. While the OECD reports are generally optimistic, Norwegian researchers appear to remain critical of inequalities in the educational system and continue to stress its importance (see Opheim 2004; Bakken & Elstad 2012). The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training (2008) maintains that to ensure equity in education for all, positive discrimination is required, not equal treatment. It appears then that within-country evaluations of equity in Norwegian education are critical and continue to emphasize the importance of increased attention, while in cross-country comparison Norway stands out positively. Interestingly, discussions on the integration of minorities and equal opportunities appear far less prominent in Norway than in other countries. The Directorate of Integration and Diversity (2009) concludes that public opinion towards immigrants in Norway is, in most cases, clearly on the liberal and tolerant side of the average. It appears then that Norway fosters a policy based on equitable beliefs, and support for equal opportunities appears evident. These values are also reflected in *Norwegian students scoring high on attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups.*

Summary

Students' citizenship competence in Norway is generally shown to be developing well. Education policy during the past decade has focused largely on cognitive outcomes, but mechanisms to promote students' citizenship can still be identified embedded in the curriculum. Discussions on young people's citizenship appear mostly to focus on the type of political engagement that is developed, though arguably other aspects of citizenship have

become so evident they are hardly problematized. Norwegian students score high on all aspects of citizenship competence included here.

4.3 Citizenship education in Scotland

The development of citizenship education in Scotland is often considered in comparison to developments in England. However, although citizenship education in England has definitely been of influence, the development of 'education for citizenship' in Scotland has been distinctively – and continues to be increasingly – different from the English case (Kerr et al. 2008). Notably, while attention for citizenship education in England has focused on compensation for the 'democratic deficit', non-cognitive outcomes such as citizenship have from the outset been conceived as crucial components of Scotland's 5-14 programme in the early 1990s (Carr 2003).

A general discussion of the state of education for citizenship in Scotland is complicated by the fact that there has yet to be any major research in Scotland on the implementation of education for citizenship across the country (Munn & Arnott 2009). While national curricula are set centrally, most decisions are taken at the local or school level, comparable to the OECD average (OECD 2012).

Citizenship education policy

Early this century, the National Advisory Group 'Education for citizenship in Scotland' published two papers on the implementation of education for citizenship in the Scottish curriculum (LTS 2000, 2002). The papers provided the official framework for education for citizenship. They proposed a view of young people to be regarded as citizens of today rather than citizens in waiting and advocated an active approach that enables young people to act and participate in various communities. Several years after the framework for citizenship, the Curriculum for Excellence (CfE) was introduced. The new curriculum is generally considered to be in line with the ambitions of the 2000 Education act and the 2002 Education for Citizenship in Scotland framework (HMIE 2006a; Munn & Arnott 2009).

Evaluation by the Inspectorate in 2006 showed that schools are gradually improving their citizenship practice (HMIE 2006a, 2006b). Schools are generally found to have increased their emphasis on citizenship. However, practice is uneven across schools, and some note that more effort is needed to fulfil the aspirations that were set out (Kisby & Sloam 2012).

Themes in citizenship education

A number of themes can be identified which can be considered to characterize education for citizenship in Scotland. The following section describes some of the prominent themes in education for citizenship policy.

Participation. Earlier approaches to education for citizenship emphasized participation as a social aspect of citizenship, with less attention for the political and democratic dimension (see Biesta 2009; Munn & Arnott 2009). This claimed lack of attention for politics is remarkable considering youth's reported political disengagement (Maitles 2000; Munn et al. 2004). Recently, however, political participation appears to have gained more attention (see Education Scotland 2013a). Given the Scottish government's intention to allow 16 and 17-year-olds to vote in the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence, it is considered essential for young people to develop their political literacy and engagement (Education Scotland 2013b). A recent survey finds that young people in Scotland do not appear less interested in politics than the overall population and are largely willing to participate in the referendum (Eichhorn 2013). These findings lead one to expect students to have a general affinity with political matters but little active engagement, thus *Scottish students are expected to have average adult electoral engagement.*

Pupils are expected to develop a positive attitude by being engaged with school life and participating in decision-making in the school community (LTS 2007; Maitles & Deuchar 2007). Pupil participation in school is, moreover, believed to foster effective citizens and active community involvement in later life (Deuchar 2003; HMIE 2006a). While the attention for school ethos and pupil participation has not been without problems, there appears to be broad support for their importance as a way of promoting students' citizenship competence. Cowan & McMurtry (2009) found that by 2004 about a quarter of schools had established a progressive approach to education for citizenship, while at the other end of the spectrum a quarter of schools appeared to take a minimalist approach. By 2008, Cross et al. (2009) found that the vast majority of schools had developed plans to encourage pupil participation and emphasized opportunities for pupils to be involved in decision-making over other forms of participation. Assuming this trend has continued, *Scottish students are expected to score high on civic participation at school.*

School councils. Earlier this century, the most common approach toward a participative school ethos was the establishment of a school council

(Deuchar 2003; HMIE 2006a). In 2002, 83 percent of primary schools and 96 percent of secondary schools had a School Board (Scottish Executive 2002). School Boards were abolished and replaced by school councils in 2006 (Scottish Executive 2006). Most schools have established a school council to allow pupils to participate in decision-making (Ross et al. 2007). These are generally aimed at improving practice rather than challenging existing systems (Munn & Arnott 2009). However, while senior students in both primary and secondary schools are actively engaged, this is argued to be much less the case for younger students in each school type (Deuchar 2009; LTS 2007). Only in half of the schools are all years represented in the school council (Cross et al. 2009). There is mixed evidence of the effects of school councils: while HMIE (2006a) finds that schools are increasingly realising positive effects, other research observes that practice is predominantly weak and few students have a say in what is taught and how they want to learn (Maitles & Deuchar 2007; Mills 2004; Potter 2006). Considering that the attention for school councils seems less prominent in contemporary documentation, and given the different findings considering effectiveness, *Scottish students' civic participation at school is expected to vary across schools.*

Modern Studies. Modern Studies is offered as a social subject – beside History and Geography – and is considered to pose a particular distinctiveness to the teaching of education for citizenship in Scotland (Munn & Arnott 2009). Overall, learning and teaching in social studies is found to be strong, effective and improving, with ample examples of good practice (Education Scotland 2013c). An inventory of the possible contribution of the social subjects to citizenship education shows that all three subjects offer significant opportunities for the development of knowledge and understanding and skills relevant to citizenship (Munn et al. 2004a). While the contribution of Geography and History varies greatly, Modern Studies offers a whole-school citizenship resource, particularly in political literacy (Education Scotland 2013c; HMIE 2007). Some even go so far as to say the existence of Modern Studies has meant an evolution in approaches to citizenship education (Kerr et al. 2008). However, since Modern Studies is not compulsory, only one in three students on average is likely to receive formal citizenship education (Andrews & Mycock 2007). Consequently, students who attend Modern Studies can be expected to score favourably on citizenship knowledge, but those who don't could very well be at a disadvantage. Again, since there is a lack of insight into students' citizenship knowledge performance, these

conclusions remain tentative. The expectation here is that *Scottish students score average on citizenship knowledge.*

Equity and equality. Equity and equality have been considered a fundamental characteristic of Scottish education. While the workings of these features have been questioned, they are still thought to influence education and education policy (Freeman 2009; Munn & Arnott 2009; Priestley & Humes 2010). Whether or not Scottish education achieves equitable results is a matter of debate (see OECD 2007), but the focus on these fundamental values indicates that they remains a key ideology of the Scottish education system (McCrone 2003). General support for equality can therefore be expected to somehow permeate education and consequently affect students' value development. Immigration in Scotland appears low-key, with close to 95 percent of students in primary and secondary schools classified as 'White-UK' (Scottish Government 2013). The Scottish Social Attitudes survey shows that most Scots are supportive of ethnic diversity, but there is a substantial minority who hold discriminatory views (Ormston et al. 2011). These views are found to have slightly changed in a negative direction over the past years, though the authors remain optimistic that views are more tolerant with younger generations and increased education attainment. Considering that equality appears to be a fundamental value in education, that immigration is low and that young people score relatively high on ethnic tolerance, *Scottish students are expected to score high on attitudes toward equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups.*

Summary

Education for citizenship in Scotland is promoted in a cross-curricular manner as part of the Curriculum for Excellence and social studies. The aims for development of citizenship are one of five central priorities of education. Education for citizenship in Scotland can be characterized by attention for student participation, the position of school councils, the 'Modern Studies' subject, and the value of equity and equality. Based on the account given above, Scottish students are expected to score average on expected electoral participation, high on civic participation at school, average on citizenship knowledge, and high on support for equal rights. Furthermore, students' participation at school is expected to vary significantly between schools. Unfortunately, there is currently no data available to further examine these expectations.

4.4 Citizenship education in Sweden

Much of how citizenship and citizenship education in Sweden are thought of seems to have its roots in the social democratic model of Swedish society since the end of the Second World War. The developments that have taken place since then have shaped the way development of citizenship among young people is promoted. Though Sweden has traditionally placed much emphasis on equality and uniformity, the present reform cycle shows these are gradually replaced by diversity and liberty which has increased school segregation and differences between pupils (Arnesen & Lundahl 2006; Lundahl 2002; Skolverket 2013). The National Agency of Education recognizes four themes in recent development tendencies: segregation, decentralization, streaming and individualization (Skolverket 2009b). Evaluations indicate growing differences in grades and achievements related to gender, social and ethnic background (Lundahl 2005), and large variations between municipalities (Skolverket 2009b). Education is now much more recognized as a sorting mechanism than before (Lindblad et al. 2002), and school-level effects have been reported to have intensified (Skolverket 2006). In terms of levels at which educational decisions are taken, Sweden is very close to Scotland and comparable to the OECD average (OECD 2012).

Citizenship education policy

The changes in Swedish education over the past decades have had a large impact on the way citizenship among young people is viewed. Stolz (2011) argues that Swedish education policies no longer emphasize equality aimed at individual children, and while citizenship was emphasized in the 1968 and 1991 upper secondary education reforms, democracy or citizenship are left unmentioned in the 2009 reforms (Lundahl et al. 2010). Bernitz (2012) concludes that citizenship is currently not a big political issue and that a weakening of the concept has occurred. The current national school curriculum stresses citizenship development in terms of norms and values. It directs that “schools should actively and consciously influence and stimulate pupils into embracing the common values of our society, and their expression in practical daily action” (Skolverket 2011a). A number of goals and guidelines are set for schools, based on fundamental values and tasks of the school.

The overarching goals and guidelines do not, however, directly correspond to the perceived practice in the classroom. Aldenmyr, Wigg and Olson (2012) typify Swedish education policy as neo-liberal for the stress that is put on developing autonomy through choice. At the level of teachers,

these authors find this to be overshadowed by the opinions of what teachers believe the students should become. This leads them to conclude that the envisioned active citizen is one who is active, competent and self-made in a certain fixed and pre-defined way. The ideal citizen is, then, one who shows exemplary behaviour without addressing fundamental questions of equity and authority (see Arensmeier 2010; Skolverket 2004).

Themes in citizenship education

Besides the discussions on citizenship education policy, a number of themes can be identified which can be considered to characterize citizenship education in Sweden.

Civics ("samhällskunskap"). Citizenship is offered as a separate subject of Civics and a cross-curricular theme through whole school promotion of the fundamental goals and objectives specified in the curriculum. Civics is specified in terms of subject aims as well as core content and knowledge requirements. The 2000 and 2008 syllabus for Civics formulated most aims for pupils in terms of developing knowledge (Skolverket 2009a). The 2011 curriculum still features a knowledge component, but added a set of ability aims. Pupils are to be equipped with the tools necessary for dealing with the attitudes and values of citizenship education, but how teachers should become equipped in delivering these is not specified (Sandström Kjellin & Stier 2008). However, this does not appear to be of concern, as teachers of social studies are reported by most pupils (88 to 90 percent) to teach well (Skolverket 2004). As the earlier syllabi for Civics place the most emphasis on the development of knowledge, and as teachers highly prioritize knowledge of civic rights and obligations (Ljunggren & Öst 2010), provision in this domain can be expected to be fairly effective. Indeed, *Swedish students score high on citizenship knowledge*.

Democratic values. Citizenship education in Sweden has been noted from an international comparative viewpoint to place much emphasis on the education of values. The emphasis on values is reflected in the fact that citizenship education is often referred to as 'values-based education' in policy documents (Mikkelsen 2004; Council of Europe 2005). Though this focus on values in policy documents has been acknowledged, it is also noted that the course literature focuses on democracy as a decision-making process (Bernmark-Ottosson 2005). This inconsistency between policy and practice has also been noted from a teacher's point of view. In 2000, only approximately half of the teachers felt that school is successful in com-

municating basic values and traditions (Skolverket 2001). Staff and students have a high awareness of the values system, but nonetheless evaluations indicate clear deficiencies in basic values' application in everyday school activities (Skolverket 2004). Lack of explicitness of democratic values and principles is also found in schoolbooks (Arensmeier 2010). Civic education is a normative subject that could result in normative dilemmas when wanting to discuss different political and normative values (Ljunggren & Öst 2010). Teachers have been noted to consider themselves unable to use appropriate strategies to do this (Skolverket 2001).

The cause for this inconsistency between policy, practice and the perceived high levels of awareness of values could be envisioned to lie outside the school. The high awareness of values can be explained when the school is envisaged not as a place where learning about society takes place, but as a public sphere that is influenced by the society in which pupils participate (Amnå et al. 2010). The high level of value awareness outside the school permeates into the classroom. Swedish students have been found to consistently and strongly support democratic principles (Eriksson 2006). Somewhat surprisingly then, *Swedish students score average on support for democratic values*. This could indicate that schools and teachers are indeed experiencing difficulty in promoting these values.

Equality. Arensmeier (2010) finds that youth's support for equality is obvious (see Eriksson 2006), but not explicitly voiced. This could be because these values are taken for granted by the students. Though the concept is not explicitly voiced, it can be regarded as being an integral part of Swedish society as similarly discussed for democratic values. The social democratic model introduced after the Second World War particularly promoted equality, and it is thought to still be prevalent in present-day society and thus reflected in schools (see Kerr et al. 2010). ICCS results confirm this picture showing *high support for equal rights for all ethnic groups among Swedish students*.

Democracy in schools. In 2002, students' right to participate in school planning, even at young ages, was enhanced (SOU 2002). This is reiterated in the 2011 curriculum, which stated that teaching should not only impart knowledge about fundamental democratic values, democratic work forms should also be applied in practice and prepare pupils for active participation in society (Skolverket 2011a). Studies on participation in schools, however, show contradictory findings.

At the school level, students do not regard school to be a democratic arena but instead talk about education for democracy in later life, after

their school years (Arensmeier 2010; Eriksson 2006). Opportunities for pupils to exercise influence and to have an impact on schools are relatively limited (Skolverket 2009b). Democracy in schools was found to conflict with schooling for democracy, where student influence had a negative effect on the fostering of values and equality of citizenship education (Almgren 2006). Democratic opportunities were found to differ among pupils, which increases inequality.

At the classroom level, the picture is somewhat more optimistic. The majority of upper secondary students consider the classroom climate democratic (Skolverket 2003). Teachers are generally sympathetic to student participation and school democracy (Skolverket 2011c). Ljunggren and Öst (2010) even conclude that education consists of a communication climate mainly characterized by free speech and open discussion.

These combined findings present a picture in which whole school democracy appears problematic, but teachers appear to be supportive of fostering a democratic climate. While the selected ICCS scale considers the school level, *Swedish students score average on civic participation at school*. This could indicate that the dichotomy illustrated above between classroom and school level is not a strict separation, and that participation occurs at both levels.

Political participation. Based on interviews with ten focus groups of young people, Arensmeier (2010) finds that young people support the idea of democracy but that their feelings towards politicians are mainly negative. This finding also comes forward in other discussions, as Eriksson (2006) reports politicians are frequently discussed in her interviews, and the tone of such comments tends to be critical. Bernmark-Ottosson (2005) concludes that young people in Sweden are generally interested in politics. The image is complex, however, as the percentage of young people who vote in public elections is decreasing – albeit still higher than in most other countries – as is the readiness to engage in traditional party politics, while interest in single-issue movements is increasing. This gap between young people's single-issue interest and traditional politics means that the youth are increasingly distanced from democratic participation and political activism. This gap does not appear to be bridged by citizenship education, as Amnå et al. (2007) consider Swedish politics to be marked by an intertwined social and political concept of citizenship, but attention must now focus on the political side of citizenship. Students' disengagement with traditional politics is confirmed, as *Swedish students score low on expected adult electoral participation*.

Summary

Sweden is noted for its promotion of a highly social political program after the end of the Second World War, which has been shown to largely align with the values and ideals of active citizenship. Much has happened since, however, as the focus of education shifted to the individual in the 1970s and liberal influences increased throughout political and educational policy. Though compared to fifty years ago, Swedish policy is now much more liberal, it is still noted from a European perspective to have a strong social character. As these values can by now be expected to have perpetrated daily life, they are expected to have positively influenced citizenship development among young people; both inside and outside of schools.

Overall, Sweden has traditionally been one of the high-scoring countries on citizenship in Europe. Contemporary changes have shown to somewhat negatively influence outcome measures, but Swedish students still perform well in international comparison. Swedish students score high on citizenship knowledge, average on support for democratic values, high in support for equal rights, average on civic participation at school, and low on expected electoral participation.

4.5 Students' citizenship competence in cross-national comparison

This section considers in some more detail the ICCS results for students from the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden.⁴ Table 4.1 presents the mean scores and standard deviations on the selected scales for each country. The scores are normalized internationally to have a mean of 500 and standard deviation of 100 for citizenship knowledge, and a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10 for all other scales.

Possible causes and implications of students' performance are discussed in the preceding country sections. The results generally show clear differences between students' citizenship competence in the selected countries. The overview shows that Dutch students score significantly below the international mean on all scales except citizenship knowledge. Norwegian students on the other hand score significantly above the international mean on all selected scales. The image is more mixed for Swedish students, who score above the mean on knowledge and support for equal rights, but below the mean on electoral participation. The differences are generally small but

4 As mentioned before, Scotland did not partake in the ICCS 2009 study.

statistically significant. For a more detailed analysis of students' citizenship competence in these countries, we refer to the respective country reports for the Netherlands (Maslowski et al. 2012), Norway (Mikkelsen et al. 2011) and Sweden (Skolverket 2011b).

Table 4.1. Average citizenship competence per country (ICCS 2009)

	Netherlands			Norway			Sweden		
	Mean	sd.	ISC	mean	sd.	ISC	Mean	sd.	ISC
<i>Citizenship knowledge</i>	493.61	91.10	.59	514.87 \triangle	95.97	.12	531.02 \triangle	97.64	.15
<i>Democratic values</i>	46.25 \blacktriangledown	9.28	.08	50.63 \triangle	10.31	.02	50.46	10.81	.06
<i>Equal rights</i>	47.07 ∇	10.01	.08	51.63 \triangle	10.57	.03	52.00 \triangle	11.17	.07
<i>Electoral participation</i>	46.56 \blacktriangledown	9.69	.13	51.83 \triangle	10.51	.05	49.01 ∇	9.59	.07
<i>Participation at school</i>	42.70 \blacktriangledown	10.65	.18	54.02 \blacktriangle	9.75	.04	50.43	9.60	.09

\blacktriangle More than 3 score points above ICCS average (excluding knowledge)

\triangle Significantly above ICCS average

\blacktriangledown More than 3 score points below ICCS average (excluding knowledge)

∇ Significantly below ICCS average

ISC Intra-school correlation [.05 small; .10 medium; .15 large (cf. Hox, 2002)]

School effects

While the ICCS assesses individual students' citizenship competence, multilevel analysis allows us to investigate to what extent these results can be ascribed to differences between schools (see Hox 2002). The intra-school correlation (ISC) in table 4.1 can be interpreted as the proportion of students' citizenship competence that can be considered common to students attending the same school.⁵ In other words, the ISC indicates whether it makes a difference if students attend one school or another. While the question of whether these differences are the result of school effort or pre-existing difference in student population remains, the ISC does provide some indication of school effectiveness.

A number of interesting results emerge from the ISCs presented in table 4.1. First, differences between schools are the largest in the Netherlands and the smallest in Norway. This corresponds to large differences

⁵ ICCS sampled one class per school, so the ISC represents both class- and school-level variation. In the Netherlands, some schools sampled two classes, which could affect the estimates in Table 4.1.

in school autonomy between the selected countries (see OECD 2012), and is likely (also) influenced by the differentiated structure of Dutch education. Second, all countries show a medium to large effect size on citizenship knowledge. This can be considered an indication that schools have a considerable effect on students' citizenship knowledge development, and that effectiveness differs between schools (the effect size for the Netherlands is very large, likely magnified by differences in citizenship competence between educational tracks; see ten Dam & Volman 2003). The effect sizes for citizenship knowledge are comparable to the analysis by Schulz et al. (2010), who find ISCs between 6 and 52 across countries, with an average of 28.⁶ In comparison to these figures, the ISC for citizenship knowledge can be considered small in Norway and Sweden and large in the Netherlands. Third, differences in students' participation at school show medium to large differences between schools in Sweden and the Netherlands respectively, which indicates schools differ in the extent to which they (effectively) provide for this. Finally, ISCs are small for democratic values and equal rights, which could mean two things: either schools' approach to development of these values are very similar within countries, or students' development of these values occurs mostly independent from school. Which explanation is chosen also affects the approach to the assessment of school and students. If schools are believed to have little effect on the development of values but a large effect on knowledge, this has implications for the type of assessment that can be deemed suitable.

Measuring and assessing citizenship competence

The type of assessment employed by tests such as the ICCS is not without criticism. The approach taken can be considered similar to other international studies such as PISA. Some would argue such an approach to measuring citizenship competence fails to capture the complex, contextual nature of the development of citizenship. Given that the preceding analysis showed that effectiveness in citizenship education differs between schools, this brings up the question what approach best allows us to capture and support both student and school development.

While Parts II and III of this study will consider in more detail the approaches taken to assessing social and civic competences and school quality, some interesting points can be made in comparative respect.

6 The analysis by Schulz et al. (2010) only featured citizenship knowledge and excluded the Netherlands, as the country did not meet the required sample size.

Most notably, in Scotland the use of outcome measures to judge school and pupil performance is considered undesirable (HMIE 2006b; Munn et al. 2004b). While assessment outcomes are shared with schools to compare performance, these are not published nationally (Scottish Executive 2009). Instead, the Inspectorate takes an enabling approach by promoting a culture of self-evaluation whereby schools improve their own performance through provided audit materials. This contrasts with the approach taken for example in the Netherlands, where insights into the quality of schools' citizenship education are sought after (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap 2013; Onderwijsraad 2012). The approach taken to assessing schools and students has consequences for the type of instruments that can be considered most suitable. It seems evident that an instrument that tests students' knowledge compared to a set standard is less suitable to provide schools with practical directions for school improvement than feedback provided by the Inspectorate. The characteristics and effects of different models of school inspection are further elaborated on in Part III of this study.

Discussion

To support the analyses conducted in this chapter, five of a total 25 scales from the ICCS were selected. The analysis rests on the assumption that the scales present an accurate measure and are representative of the notions discussed. Results might have been different had different scales been selected, but the results showed a coherent picture overall. By combining a synthesis of citizenship education in each of these countries with student performance data, this chapter aimed to further add to the growing knowledge base on (the development of) citizenship education. While the context of this chapter did not allow for an exploration of all relevant complexities, it is believed that the images portrayed provide an accurate general account.

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Part II

Assessment of social outcomes through school inspections

5. Evaluation of social outcomes in the Netherlands

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5.1 Context: The Dutch education system

Size and scale

In the Netherlands, approximately 7,300 primary schools are responsible for the education of school-age children. Another 650 schools provide secondary education and approximately 60 regional education centres offer intermediate vocational education. Compulsory education in the Netherlands starts at the age of five and ends at age seventeen or eighteen, depending on when students graduate. Over 1.5 million students are enrolled in primary schools and approximately 1 million in secondary schools. A good half a million students follow intermediate vocational education programmes. The Dutch government's efforts towards realizing social and civic goals through education largely target these areas of education.¹

Parents and students are free to choose the school of their preference. The majority of Dutch schools are either public or private (Catholic, Protestant or non-denominational). A few other religious groups (e.g. orthodox Protestants, Evangelicals and Muslims) also have their own schools. Still others cater to specific pedagogical affiliations. The smaller religious and pedagogical schools typically offer education that reflects specific religious or pedagogical convictions. They stand out on account of a specific normative profile and a community of parents who usually choose the school for that very reason. The profiles of Catholic and Protestant schools, which together with the public schools represent the main educational traditions, are usually less explicitly religious (see Dijkstra & Dronkers 2001).

Autonomy and regulations

Schools in the Netherlands have always been highly autonomous. The principle of freedom of education is laid down in the Dutch Constitution. 'Freedom of education' includes the right to express philosophical (religious

¹ Statistics reflect numbers of schools and students in October 2013 (Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science 2014). We will not discuss higher vocational or university education in this overview of the Dutch education system.

or pedagogical) beliefs in education, the right to shape the content and organization of education and the right to found schools based on these philosophical premises with government funding. Educational funding is the responsibility of the government, as is the quality assurance of education. However, the government is expected to exercise restraint. In order to qualify for funding, schools must fulfil quality requirements as laid down in education acts. The government provides guidance through funding guidelines, legislation and quality control through educational supervision.

The school authority is responsible for the school's administration and management, and hires the managerial staff of schools. The authority is also responsible for maintaining the school building, purchasing and maintaining equipment, choosing appropriate teaching methods and selecting textbooks, determining curriculum content, monitoring and improving educational quality, etc.

Legislation

The laws governing the organization and content of education also determine how, in actual practice, educational freedom and legislative requirements are balanced. In the Netherlands, legislation is not subject to constitutional review; government and parliament decide which legislation is in accordance with the Constitution. In addition to the Constitution guaranteeing the freedom of education, legislation governing the different sectors of education plays an important role in the day-to-day practice of schools.

There are statutory regulations prescribing, for example, what subjects schools must teach. Core objectives are set for each subject, specifying knowledge, skills and attitudes that students are expected to have acquired by the time they finish primary school and halfway through their secondary school career. These core objectives, however, are broadly formulated and set target levels rather than specific target results. Schools are free to determine how they achieve these targets and how much effort they wish to dedicate to them. In addition, examination programmes further specify the level of knowledge expected of students upon completion of secondary education. In 2016, so-called 'reference levels' will set the minimum achievement levels for a number of subjects in the cognitive core curriculum.

In terms of the social and civic goals of education, we will later see that both legislation and the way it translates into core objectives are important. The acts governing regular and special primary and secondary education oblige schools to promote 'active citizenship and social integration'. In addition, core objectives for primary education and the initial years of

secondary education include a number of key targets for the social and civic domain. These core objectives – formulated in general terms – define the knowledge, attitudes and skills that students are expected to acquire. Regulations derived from this legislation, such as explanatory memoranda or government answers to parliamentary questions, are a further source of interpretations of specific laws. The Inspectorate's supervision frameworks as approved by the Minister of Education are also considered part of these derived regulations. Hence, at the highest level, the legal parameters for the social and civic task of schools consist of statutory provisions governing primary and secondary education. The core objectives form the next tier. The lowest level is formed by the supervision frameworks of the Inspectorate.

Assessment of educational quality by the national government

Quality assurance of education is based on the Education Supervision Act. The Inspectorate of Education ensures that statutory requirements (often formulated in general terms, sometimes in the form of specific rules) are met. The areas where these apply have been established by law and include the academic performance and development of students, the curriculum, teaching and learning, catering to students with special educational needs and quality assurance. The aim of quality control is to report on the quality of schools and the school system and – more generally – to stimulate the quality of education.

The system of school inspections is risk-oriented, which means that the frequency and intensity of inspections depend on the school's level of quality. The assessment of the basic quality of primary and secondary schools is primarily based on an annual assessment of student performance and identifying signs of problems. Once basic quality is assured, assessments of a limited number of quality aspects are conducted on a regular basis (approximately once every four years). If the school fails to achieve the basic quality, inspections are stepped up.² The school is then instructed to improve its quality within one to two years, so as to meet basic quality requirements. In addition to these risk-based and periodic quality inspections, schools may be included in nation-wide assessment samples. Thus all schools are periodically subject to quality control. These inspections provide an overall impression of the quality of the Dutch education system, as reported in the annual State of Affairs in Education report.

² The overall quality of schools is defined as 'adequate', 'weak' or 'very weak'. In the near future, the Inspectorate will assess schools from a broader perspective, which means that schools can also be labelled as 'good' or even 'excellent' (see Section 5.6).

5.2 Inspecting social outcomes

Concept and background

In terms of attaining social and civic goals, government control of this aspect of education has only recently taken shape, and the government is exercising restraint in its control. Up to the 1960s and 1970s, socialization as a task of education was primarily associated with denominational schools. The social tasks were considered to belong to the religious principles or denominations to which the school adhered, while public schools were valued for their neutrality. Public management and quality monitoring by the government focused on the academic core curriculum. Gradually, and particularly from the 1990s onwards, the central government started paying more attention to the socialization function of education.

This shift was underlined in reports by influential advisory councils (see RMO 2006; WRR 2003) such as the 2003 report by the Education Council (Onderwijsraad 2003; see 2012). In 2005, this led to the reform of legislation governing primary, secondary and special education to include explicit attention to the promotion of citizenship. In this same period, the core objectives of primary and secondary education were reformulated to reflect social and civic competences as educational goals. Moreover, in 2006 the statutory regulation requiring school authorities and municipal councils to annually consult with each other was amended to include the promotion of citizenship and social integration as official educational goals.³ In 2012, schools were tasked to devote attention to sexual diversity. These developments show that there has been increasing support over the past decades for the idea that the socialization task of education is one of the responsibilities of the national government.

Legal basis (i): Core objectives

Since 1998, goals have been formulated as ‘domain-transcending’ objectives, which specify that schools are expected to teach their students to come to terms with their own potential and limitations (e.g. self-confidence, impulse control and sticking up for oneself and others) and the need to live with others (having respect for other people and their situations and behaving in accordance with generally accepted norms and values). The

3 This statutory obligation of consultation is part of the ‘Local Educational Agenda’. The promotion of citizenship, which is one of the topics of this consultation, has also been integrated as an educational goal in earlier laws governing municipal policies to combat educational disadvantages (e.g. ‘removing barriers to “full citizenship”’, 1998).

2006 version of the core objectives that is currently in force includes six (primary education) and seven (lower secondary education) core objectives that directly or indirectly apply to the development of social and civic competences (see Appendix I).

This does not mean, however, that the government decides which knowledge, attitudes and values must be taught. In addition to teaching skills such as reading, writing and information processing, schools are required to instill in their students the competences necessary to make well-considered choices, develop moral values, respect diversity and so on. How the school realizes these core objectives is its own responsibility. Thus, schools may not only differ in the way they translate these objectives into practice but also on how actively they pursue them. However, if schools wish to qualify for government funding, they must make a visible effort towards realizing the core objectives.

Legal basis (ii): Promoting citizenship

To date, the most explicit policy measure aimed at strengthening social cohesion through education has been the statutory obligation for schools to pay attention to the promotion of citizenship that came into effect in 2006. Since 2005, the education acts include an article that instructs schools to ‘promote active citizenship and social integration’ in their teaching:⁴

Among other things, education ...

- a) is based on the idea that students grow up in a pluralist society,
- b) promotes active citizenship and social integration, and
- c) ensures that students have knowledge of and become familiar with the backgrounds and cultures of their peers.

According to the government, active citizenship refers to the willingness and ability to belong to a community and to actively contribute to that community. Social integration refers to participation in society and its institutions and familiarity with and involvement in manifestations of Dutch culture. In keeping with the freedom of education principle, it is left to the school to determine how to achieve these goals. Schools are expected to publicly document their efforts in this area in school plans and school prospectuses, and the Inspectorate checks whether they do so.

4 Active Citizenship and Social Integration Act, 9 December 2005, art. 8.3 (primary education), art. 17 (secondary education) and art. 11.3 (special education).

The explanatory memorandum to this Act underlines the importance of promoting citizenship and integration, as social bonds among citizens and also between citizens and the state have become weaker. Other motives given are diminishing notions of citizens' rights and duties and the fact that not all parents and children are accustomed to citizenship traditions and social mores. Ideas about the erosion of social capital (less participation and trust), unease in the face of increasing individualization and the stagnating integration of migrant groups clearly echoed in these motives.

Supporting the individual needs of students, school climate and social safety

The quality of education in the social domain is also reflected in other aspects than citizenship and core objectives, for example support systems provided to students based on their individual needs, the school climate and policies aimed at ensuring social safety.

Special needs. Support for students with special needs is usually primarily focused on identifying and addressing learning and developmental problems (mainly in the cognitive domain) of students. However, schools also need to provide support for students with behavioural problems or problems related to social or emotional development. The weight given to this quality aspect depends on the student population of a school. Obviously, it is more prominent in special education, where all schools are obliged to use an instrument to assess their students' development in this field.

School climate and social safety. The school climate is also one of the elements of the inspection framework and concerns student-student and student-teacher interactions as well as the actual and/or perceived social safety and well-being of students. In the current system of risk-based supervision, this quality aspect is emphasized in schools where problems have occurred. Although the school currently has few statutory obligations in this area, the Inspectorate does check whether schools have a policy for ensuring the social safety of students and teachers. This means that schools must have an understanding of the safety perception of students and staff and an insight into specific incidents concerning social safety and should have a policy for preventing and handling such incidents. The Inspectorate is of the opinion that school safety and school climate as elements of social quality should be given more weight in the assessment of school quality than they have at present (see Section 5.6).

5.3 Inspection framework

The government does not prescribe the way in which schools should pay attention to citizenship and social integration. This means that supervision should be restrained. There are many ways in which a school can promote civic engagement. In doing so, it may take into account local circumstances, the composition of the student population, the desires of parents and/or its vision and founding principles. Although legislation does not specify how schools should go about this, it does oblige schools to invest time and energy in promoting active citizenship and social integration.

The Inspectorate's role in enforcing this obligation has been regulated in a supervision framework. It is important that the school take a view on the issue and on the way in which it wishes to exercise its responsibility of promoting active citizenship and social integration. Schools are required to report on their activities in this area. It is also important that schools address specific circumstances in and around the school which may stimulate or, conversely, threaten active citizenship and social integration among its students. Schools must remain alert to risks, such as tendencies of intolerance or radicalization among the student population, and must respond adequately to these risks. The assessment of citizenship education is included in the standard inspection frameworks for primary and secondary education and governed by its general principles such as its risk-based orientation and proportionality.

As can be deduced from the above description, a good balance between the freedom of schools and the Inspectorate's supervision is important. This balance is achieved by the layered structure of the inspections, which can be summarized in three questions. Based on the goals and content (first layer) adopted by the school and the observation of classroom practices (second layer), the Inspectorate assesses whether the teaching is adequate and of sufficient quality to realize the school's targets (third layer) by asking the following questions:

- Does the school explain what it is doing (does the school sufficiently account for the way in which it is fulfilling its statutory obligations and does this approach indeed lead to meeting these obligations and the associated attainment targets)?
- Does the school practice what it preaches (does the school accurately document its teaching and learning)?
- What is the quality of the teaching (is it of sufficient quality given the targets and content adopted by the school to fulfil the task of furthering integration and citizenship and given the social context within which the school operates)?

This layered structure allows the proportionality of the inspections to be expressed, ranging from – based on necessity – limited assessments to more detailed inspections. The first layer, accountability, is therefore often the major reference point, also as a condition for horizontal types of accountability.

Indicators for active citizenship and social integration

To check for compliance with the statutory task of promoting citizenship and integration, two quality indicators are currently part of the inspection frameworks (for future developments, see Section 5.6). The first indicator involves the curriculum and scope of the teaching. The second indicator pertains to safeguarding the quality of teaching. The framework comprises several components to assess the school's quality on both indicators (for details, see Appendix III).

Indicator: Active citizenship and social integration included in the curriculum⁵

“The school provides education aimed at furthering social integration and active citizenship, including the transfer of knowledge and introduction to social diversity.

Explanation: In terms of the curriculum, the Inspectorate determines whether the education offered by the school a) contributes to students' acquisition of competences that promote active citizenship and social integration, b) is aimed at providing students with an introduction to and knowledge of the different backgrounds and cultures of their peers, c) is in part based on the principle that students are growing up in a pluralist society, and d) offers substance to the related core objectives.”

Assessment aspects of active citizenship and social integration

- Social competences: the school devotes attention to promoting social competences.
- Openness towards society and diversity: the school devotes attention to society and its diversity, furthering social participation and involvement.
- Core values and democracy: the school promotes basic values and the knowledge, attitudes and skills needed for participation in a democratic society.
- School as a “practice ground”: puts citizenship and integration into practice.

5 Source: Inspection Framework for Active Citizenship and Social Integration. Inspectorate of Education 2006.

Basic values of the democratic constitutional state

Although schools are allowed to express their own values in their teaching, there is, nevertheless, a 'lower limit': the requirement that the teaching does not conflict with the basic values of the democratic constitutional state and, moreover, promotes these values. This concerns the transfer of fundamental democratic values as a minimum condition for social cohesion and people living together in peace, as laid down in the Dutch constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In addition to these common values, specific religious belief systems, worldviews and ideologies also provide values and norms, which often reinforce or legitimize these basic values. Tolerance and non-discrimination, for example, are important core values since they are fundamental to democracy and human coexistence. Referred to as the 'basic values of the democratic constitutional state', these values are included in the supervision framework (see Appendix I).

Indicator: Assurance of quality in promoting active citizenship and social integration⁶

"The school assures the quality of education aimed at furthering social integration and active citizenship, including the transfer of knowledge and introduction to social diversity.

Explanation: The Inspectorate determines quality assurance for this component based on the school's vision as stated in the school plan and school guide, and the way in which the task is achieved. It is also important that the school is aware of the educational outcomes and that its curriculum is in harmony with the specific conditions in and around the school which may affect or jeopardize integration and citizenship."

Assessment aspects of assurance of quality

- Vision and planning: the school has a vision on citizenship and integration, which is systematically carried out.
- Accountability: the school is able to justify its vision and the methods it uses to achieve results.
- Evaluation: the school evaluates whether the intended citizenship and integration goals are achieved.
- Risks: the school adapts its curriculum to address risks and undesirable views, attitudes and behaviour of students concerning citizenship and integration.

6 Source: Inspection Framework for Active Citizenship and Social Integration. Utrecht: Inspectorate of Education 2006.

5.4 Instruments

The Inspectorate uses the inspection framework and the indicators and assessment items it contains to assess the quality of education. Assessment rules are used to determine whether the school's teaching is adequate or inadequate in terms of the assessment items. The Inspectorate has worked out the inspection framework in more detail in various internal documents containing supplementary instructions for observations and the application of indicators.

In school inspections, the Inspectorate stimulates schools to use instruments to evaluate educational quality and assess goal attainment in the social domain. Schools use several types of instruments for this purpose: non-standardized instruments; questionnaires for students, parents and teachers taken from self-evaluation instruments that schools use for quality assurance and standardized tests (as listed in the Inspectorate framework for assessing student performance and progress; see above). If necessary, the Inspectorate will use a student questionnaire to assess the students' perception of social safety and well-being (see Section 5.6).

As part of its ongoing efforts to assess the social quality of schools, the Inspectorate piloted an updated framework in 2012-2014, which includes updated versions of the indicators described above and additional indicators for assessing social outcomes, school climate (including the pedagogical skills of teachers) and curriculum content. As part of this framework, the Inspectorate developed instruments for assessing student well-being and social safety, curriculum content, school climate and quality assurance. These instruments include scoring formats for indicators, school and lesson observation forms, interview formats, a student questionnaire and criteria for indicator assessment.

Reporting

The findings of the school inspection are reported in a school report. The report is sent to the school authority and made available to the public on the Inspectorate website. The reports provide information on all investigated aspects of quality and contain the assessments accompanied by a brief explanation. If social quality indicators have been investigated, these are also included in the report. In addition, the Inspectorate submits an annual national report on the quality of the education system, including aspects of social quality, to the Minister of Education and parliament.

5.5 Outcomes of inspection

In general, little is currently known about the effects of educational policies aimed at the promotion of civic competences. Many schools are still in the various stages of implementation. Methods are being developed and more are becoming available and so are measurement instruments for social skills. There is little empirically sound knowledge about effective approaches and methods to stimulate social and civic competences, however. Our understanding of the presumed effects is limited (see Bronneman-Helmers & Zeijl 2008; Peschar et al. 2010; Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2010; Onderwijsraad 2012). Dutch citizenship education policies do not provide for a formal evaluation, which means that an understanding of the effects of citizenship education is mainly be derived from Inspectorate surveys and academic research. The results in this section are based on the results for the indicators described above from the Inspectorate's assessments of citizenship education between 2008 to 2012.

Outcomes of citizenship inspection

As part of its ongoing evaluation of the quality of Dutch education, the Inspectorate monitors to what extent and in what ways schools comply with their statutory obligation to stimulate citizenship among their students. The Inspectorate uses two types of sources for this purpose. First, the evaluation of citizenship education is part of the regular assessment of educational quality. Second, the Inspectorate has conducted annual research in representative samples of schools in order to follow the implementation and development of citizenship education at the system level. In this section we will describe findings from the first source. We will limit ourselves to the results for primary education, as the results in secondary education are to a large extent similar.

Evaluations by school inspectors are based on document analysis, classroom observations, and interviews with students, teachers and school management. Both indicators consist of four subindicators. The assessment decisions are based on a set of uniform rules. The indicators were evaluated in nationally representative samples of schools. Table 5.1 summarizes the assessments in consecutive samples between 2008 and 2012.

The first indicator of quality assurance shows a sufficient score for every two out of three schools. Although the scores became slightly higher over a period of five years, what is more remarkable is the lack of substantial improvement. Around eighty per cent of the schools do not

evaluate the extent to which they reach their targets and the outcomes of the teaching.

The second indicator (curriculum content) was positive for nearly all schools, and the same is true for the four subindicators. The high percentage of schools given a positive assessment is partly explained by the nature of the criteria applied. As described before, the evaluation by the Inspectorate is limited to identifying whether the relevant elements are part of the curriculum. Their content and quality fall outside the scope of the assessment.

Table 5.1 Inspectorate assessment of citizenship education, primary schools 2008-2012

A. Percentage of schools with adequate quality assurance

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
<i>Indicator</i>					
Assuring the quality of citizenship education	62	62	68	67	64
<i>Assessment aspects</i>					
– Vision and planning	59	64	69	71	74
– Accountability	50	56	58	62	66
– Evaluation	17	22	19	20	22
– Pro-active attitude towards risks in student body	92	96	99	99	98

B. Percentage of schools with adequate curriculum content

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
<i>Indicator</i>					
Curriculum aimed at citizenship education	94	94	98	97	99
<i>Assessment aspects</i>					
– Social competences	95	94	98	96	96
– Openness towards society and diversity	91	92	97	93	94
– Core values and democracy	91	91	98	95	97
– School as ‘practice ground’	88	88	90	87	87
N schools	364	365	338	390	387

Source: Dutch Inspectorate of Education

Measuring social competences

One of the assessment items of the quality assurance indicator refers to the evaluation of the goals adopted by the school, one aspect of which is measuring the social competences of students. The supervision framework

for primary schools contains a separate indicator for this purpose: the level of the students' social competences. To what extent these can be assessed depends on the availability of measurement data collected by the school using standardized instruments. One out of four schools uses a test that can be evaluated according to these external standards (this number is growing and has increased by about ten percent over the last year; *Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2014*). At nearly all these schools, the students' social competences are at a sufficient level. The standards define the average lower limits; schools are assessed as 'inadequate' on this indicator if their results have been inadequate over a number of years.

Social safety

As we have seen, the annual random inspections to assess the quality of schools also include assessing the school's social safety policy. In the most recent assessment (school year 2012/2013), the school's policy for preventing incidents and handling incidents that did occur was assessed as adequate in approximately 90 percent of all primary schools. About 70 percent of schools have an insight into the safety perception of their students.

Consequences

The assessment of these aspects of social quality is included in the Inspectorate's report about the school, which is public. If the assessment result is 'inadequate', an improvement directive may be issued. Although a school is expected to improve its teaching after it has been assessed as inadequate – and schools do so to a greater or lesser extent – citizenship is usually not the object of an improvement directive. However, a directive is issued when social safety is at risk. As the figures presented show, inspectors assess about 40 percent of schools as inadequate on citizenship education quality assurance. Although the Inspectorate has the option to impose sanctions, this is hardly ever done for these two citizenship indicators.

5.6 Evaluation

A first evaluation of social and citizenship outcomes

Now that several years have gone by since the statutory obligation for citizenship teaching came into effect, the Inspectorate of Education is of the opinion that schools are in a good position to implement a curriculum geared towards citizenship (*Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2008*). The Inspectorate also emphasizes that a continued effort is needed to develop

citizenship education. It is important that schools articulate a vision on how they intend to strengthen citizenship and that they implement this vision in their teaching and in a well-defined curriculum. The Inspectorate also concludes that it is necessary to support schools in this respect. Expertise and teaching materials should be disseminated. The development of best practices and effective materials must be encouraged. Initially, it was believed that the slow progress was caused by the short period the schools had to prepare for this task. However, subsequent Inspectorate investigations showed that schools were slow to develop citizenship education. The Inspectorate therefore concluded that development of citizenship education seemed to have stagnated (Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2010).

The Education Council concluded that the pioneering phase had come to an end and that an evaluation of activities and materials in terms of feasibility, costs and effectiveness was due (Onderwijsraad 2007). In 2012, the Education Council recommended reinforcing educational development by strengthening the knowledge base and support for schools. It further suggested simplifying the statutory task of promoting citizenship (Onderwijsraad 2012). In response, the State Secretary for Education announced in 2013 that incentive measures would be taken, including the production and dissemination of knowledge, the development of instruments for measuring social and civic competences and support materials for teachers and school managers.

The near future: New developments in Dutch supervision of social outcomes
The importance of considering the extent to which education is successful in achieving social goals is based on a combination of arguments. These relate to compliance with and attainment of the goals of education as laid down in laws and regulations. Expectations within society about the goals and outcomes of education are also important, as is the intrinsic value of the socialization function of education for a well-functioning economy and vital society.

Against this background, the Dutch inspectorate wants to enhance the assessment of the social quality of schools as part of the overall evaluation of schools. Although a number of requirements are included in education acts and statutory regulations, these requirements (e.g. core objectives) play only a limited role in the monitoring. In addition to these requirements, new attainments targets were formulated and included in the supervision framework of the Inspectorate at different points in time, and more are expected to follow. An integrated approach to these aspects of social quality is being developed at present and will be piloted in 2015. The Inspectorate

aims for a balanced assessment scheme related to both the academic and social outcomes of education.

In 2012, the Inspectorate started pilot studies aimed at exploring the possibilities for expanding the assessment of the social quality of schools and the development of methods to do so. In 2013/14 these pilots were completed. Some of their components are expected to be included in the supervision framework from 2015/16 onwards. This assessment scheme focuses on evaluating the actual acquisition of social and civic competences by students, the school climate, the well-being and social safety of students, and the schools' policies for quality assurance.

As we have seen in Section 5.4, the framework that is being developed targets four aspects of social quality: the social and civic competences acquired by students, school climate and the pedagogical behaviour of teachers, the quality of the curriculum, and quality assurance. The social safety and well-being of students also plays an important role.

The results of the pilot studies discussed above show that the social and civic competences of students are a relevant starting point for the assessment of quality if schools use instruments with which these competences can be measured. This is increasingly the case in primary education. In secondary education, this development (which could be stimulated by school inspections and the government's intention to promote the development of measuring instruments) is still in its infancy. Monitoring the well-being and safety perception of students also plays an important role because it provides both an insight into the school's social climate and an indication of the results of the teaching in the social domain. This makes the school climate and the way the school assures social quality other important elements of assessment. Because the schools are given a significant amount of leeway concerning the organization and content of their teaching, forms of self-evaluation are also promising since this provides schools with an insight into their own situation and options to improve this situation. The way in which self-evaluation by the school and external evaluation by the Inspectorate can be effectively linked requires further investigation.

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6. The Norwegian approach to inspecting the social quality of education

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6.1 Context: The Norwegian education system

Size and scale

In Norway, most primary schools are owned by local municipalities or county authorities. There are about 2,957 primary schools which are controlled by the 428 local municipalities, and 427 upper secondary schools which are controlled by the 19 county authorities. About 94 percent of the schools in Norway are public schools and 6 percent are independent schools. The county governor offices inspect the public schools owned by the local municipalities. The directorate of education instructs the county governor offices on both what to inspect and how to carry out the inspections. The Directorate of Education and Training inspects the almost 300 independent schools. Both independent school authorities and public school authorities (municipalities) are autonomous legal entities, and cannot be inspected outside the scope of the Education Act. There are about 800,000 students in public schools (primary, secondary and upper secondary schools). Within the corps of inspectors at the county governor offices, there are about 40 full time equivalents carrying out inspection. These offices also have a variety of other areas both supportive and governing.

The municipalities also have responsibility regarding kindergartens. They are operating 47 percent of the 6,273 kindergartens in Norway. The rest of the kindergartens are private, and the municipalities are responsible for inspecting these private kindergartens. The County Governors inspect the municipalities' responsibility to inspect and follow up their own- and private kindergartens.

In light of the resources dedicated to inspection, it is impossible to inspect all schools and school owners every year. It is also a challenge to reach all school authorities within a reasonable inspection cycle. It is therefore necessary to use risk assessments to allocate the inspection resources. Inspectors use risk assessments to prioritize the subject of the inspections. The Education Act on which all inspections are based is a comprehensive act with a broad and numerous amount of articles and regulations.

At this time, the Directorate is working on a new approach to structure the inspections based on the amount of resources the different inspections demand. In the new approach, inspectors will categorize the inspections in four different categories and give a certain amount of points relating to the category. The county governor offices will get a total amount of points every year. 50 percent of these points are dedicated to national prioritized subjects. The remaining 50 percent are dedicated to local challenges. All inspections are carried out according to a common methodical approach. National inspections are also based on a detailed framework relating to the subject of the inspection.

The different local and national bodies involved in inspection

Municipalities are the owners of some kindergartens and all primary and lower secondary schools and are subject to inspection. There are 428 (local) municipalities in Norway. Through legislation, the Norwegian parliament has given the municipalities the responsibility for many fundamental national welfare tasks. Among other things, the municipalities have responsibilities regarding kindergartens, compulsory schools, health care and social services.

Counties are the school owners of secondary education and training (upper secondary schools) and subject to inspection. There are 19 county municipalities in Norway. In addition to their responsibility for upper secondary education and training, they are responsible for public dental service, public health care, county roads etc.

The *County Governor's office* is the government's regional offices with a wide range of tasks for following up governmental policies. There are 18 County Governor's offices in Norway. One of their main tasks is to carry out inspections of public schools and of kindergartens (together with the responsible municipalities). Inspections are carried out towards both Counties and municipalities.

The County Governors are based on a continuity that goes back to the 1660s. Their tasks, expertise and insight make the County Governors the most important link between national government and local municipalities. The County Governors are regional-based national administration offices. They are governed by ministries, directorates and national inspection organizations. And they have mainly the municipalities (local and county) as their addressee. They have a wide and varied list of tasks and the important relation they have with the local municipalities is special.

Important tasks for the County Governors are: they are the sector authority in many important policy areas; they are the regional coordination

authority on behalf of the national government; they are a legal authority as an administrative appeal body for complaints on decisions made by local municipalities and they are responsible for inspection in many important areas. As the government's regional representative, they should undertake such initiatives as is best for the county, and they shall keep the national government orientated on important issues and questions asked in their county.

The *Directorate for Education and Training* reports back to the Ministry. The Directorate is a full range Directorate. In addition to inspection, the Directorate's main tasks are to promote quality development, quality assessment, analysis and documentation in primary and secondary education and training. It also performs administrative tasks connected with primary and secondary education and training, and bears the overall national responsibility for supervision of primary and secondary education and training and kindergartens.

The *Department for Inspection* has the national responsibility for inspection; e.g. instruction and guidance work towards the County Governor's offices. The Directorate for Education and Training carries out inspections of the private schools and 'folk high schools'. These inspections follow the same principles and methodology as inspections of public schools. In addition, inspection of private schools also focuses on their use of financial subsidies. The statutory requirements are generally the same, with the exception of the economic element that is characteristic of the private schools.

The *Ministry of Education and Research* bears the overall responsibility for the Education Act, the Private School Act and the Folk High School Act which are the laws covering school inspection. The Ministry has delegated the management of inspection to the Directorate for Education and Training.

The Education Act as a framework for inspection

The education sector is one of many public sectors with responsibility for the municipalities, county authorities and private institutions. The municipalities and counties are not a part of the hierarchical national government system. The municipalities and counties are by law established as independent legal bodies. The government therefore needs the legislation to intervene the local autonomy.

The Education Act is a comprehensive and detailed act. It regulates how education should be carried out, the responsibilities of each party, the rights of the students and the procedures for how to complain. The placement of legislation in the public system is described as follows:

“National legislation for primary and lower secondary education and training contains a number of rules that as a whole shall contribute to the individual pupil (...) receiving a safe, qualitative and quantitative education in line with the Storting’s¹ intentions. In order to ensure compliance with this body of rules, it is necessary for school owners to be subject to inspections and controls.”

The Inspectorate’s main duty is to contribute to improving compliance with the rules in the entire educational sector. School authorities who are not subject to direct inspection will also learn by observing the inspection of other school authorities. It is therefore of importance that the Inspectorate communicates the inspection results to the entire sector. Inspections at public and private schools are fundamental instruments to guarantee that children and adolescents receive their legally established right to a balanced education of the highest quality.

Legal regulation has always been the preferred management instrument in Norway. All sectors both private and public have to meet the requirements set by the law. Within the Education Act, however, there is considerable opportunity for local adjustments. It is therefore important that all inspections are based on a common national interpretation of the Education Act. It is important to mention that both the law and other frameworks secure civic citizenship competences, social competences and democratic values for students. It is also important to mention that inspection is a part of a bigger toolbox (e.g. guidance, subsidies).

Methods and reactions

In the last national inspection, regarding the theme psychosocial environment, about 20 percent of all public schools and 60 percent of all public school owners were inspected. In addition to this, there have been many other themes inspected in the same period.

School visits in all inspections usually takes two days (one day for follow-up inspections) as well as about one week studying documents and writing the report. Not all inspections include school visits. The inspections include two main activities: *i*) investigate the practice of the school owner and in the school, and *ii*) make orders to correct practices that conflict with relevant laws.

1 The Storting is the Norwegian Parliament. It is the supreme arena for political debate and decision-making in the Kingdom of Norway.

Before an inspection starts, all available information about the theme for inspection is collected. This information is used for preparation, and also helps the inspectors to prepare questions for their interviews. The inspectors prepare a post-inspection report for each inspected school. However, the reports are always addressed to the school owner, who is responsible for the school. The inspectors can only give public schools corrections. The corrections consist of a description of what to do in order to obtain a practice in accordance with the law.

When it comes to inspections of private schools, the directorate first gives corrections in the same way as with public school. This is the most common consequence. In addition, it is possible to withdraw the approval of the school. All private schools that are approved according to the Private School Act are state-funded for 85 percent of the average student cost in public schools. Related to this, a third and fourth consequence of private schools can be withdrawal or holding back of the funding until the school has repaired the illegal practice. As for public schools, the school authorities can complain if they don't agree with the inspector's interpretation of the law, or if they don't agree with the inspectors' understanding of their practice. The school authorities have a right to complain if they disagree with the inspectors' interpretation of the law, the facts in the report or the report conclusions.

The results from the inspection are first presented to the school authority and the school in a descriptive report. This includes part conclusions but no final general conclusion. The inspection can sanction independent schools with withdrawal of approval, or withdrawal of subsidies. The inspection reports are published, and in cases where there is a significant amount of media attention, a press release is issued.

6.2 Concept - Inspecting social outcomes in schools

In Norway we do not inspect in particular the social outcome of education. But in the national inspection in 2010-2013 (which was carried out all over the country), we inspected the schools to prevent abusive behaviour, what they do when abusive behaviour occurs, and how the students and parents are involved in the preventive work in the schools. Inspections are mainly focused on the schools' input, but nevertheless it is possible to get information about the outcome based on the input from the schools relating to e.g. democracy work and citizenship.

Concept of citizenship

The Norwegian Education Act, Section 1-1 states the objectives of education and training (paragraph 5-6) as:

“The pupils and apprentices shall develop knowledge, skills and attitudes so that they can master their lives and can take part in working life and society. They shall have the opportunity to be creative, committed and inquisitive. The pupils and apprentices shall learn to think critically and act ethically and with environmental awareness. They shall have joint responsibility and the right to participate. Schools and training establishments shall meet the pupils and apprentices with trust, respect and demands, and give them challenges that promote formation and the desire to learn. All forms of discrimination shall be combated.”

It is obvious that a good psychosocial environment is vital to reach the objectives of education and training. Therefore, this has been an important theme for inspection. A good psychosocial environment is also a vital assumption for the students to “...develop knowledge, skills and attitudes so that they can master their lives and take part in working life and society”. School plays a crucial part in students’ lives. This is where they spend most of their days. School is a place for learning and development, and should provide a basic feeling of safety, belonging and inclusion.

The goal of all education activities and inspections is to ensure that every student is given an equal education within the scope of the Education Act.

The inspection regarding the psychosocial environment looks at how schools prevent and handle abusive behaviour, and how they involve students and parents.

Legal Status

The municipalities and counties are not a part of the hierarchical national government system. The municipalities and counties are by law established as independent legal bodies. The government therefore needs the legislation to intervene. The local authority’s freedom to make priorities, make their own choices and adapt the policy to local needs and assumptions has varied through the years. It has varied from great local autonomy combined with little intervention by the national government to a stronger integration up to the 1970s. From the middle of the 1980s, there were several initiatives and reforms with the aim of strengthening local autonomy. Later, the development characteristics have gone into another direction.

Today we have a so-called system where the municipalities are generalists. This means that all municipalities are given the same tasks through legislation, the same financial system is valid for all municipalities, and the same legislation gives the same framework for the organizing and governing of the municipalities. It also means that all municipalities shall take care of democratic functions, provide services for their citizens, be the executive authority and take care of planning and developing tasks within their local community independent of population, settlement structure and other characteristics.

The Directorate and other different national bodies have different tools to make sure that national policy is carried out in the different local authorities and schools. As mentioned, the Norwegian parliament has through legislation given the municipalities the responsibility for many fundamental national welfare tasks.

Even though the national authorities run different welfare sectors through legislation, there is also a certain freedom for local authorities to decide how they will fulfil national ambitions and goals set up through legislation. Local autonomy has always had a strong position in Norway, and the government's policy for governing and cooperating with the municipalities has always been based on mutual trust. Even though there is a certain freedom and opportunity for local adjustments, it is also a common democratic value that all citizens should be treated *equally, without any discrimination, and should have the right to predict what they can expect from both local and national authorities*. In addition, all citizens should have the right to oppose a decision if they feel their safety has not been properly ensured.

Inspections in Norway are based on minimum requirements deduced from current legislation. The control itself is based on how the school owners make sure that their schools follow up the demands in the law. This means that the inspection is grounded on some selected indicators and criteria derived from the law. The actual investigation can be carried out at the schools, but it is always the municipalities/county authorities who are responsible.

Inspections have to be carried out by the following administrative requirements for exercising authority and applying the law: predictability, equal treatment / non discrimination, verifiability, and the right to oppose.

6.3 Inspection framework

Indicators used

All inspections are legally based. The Education Act and its regulations are part of the Norwegian framework. In addition, Norway has a national cur-

riculum which has the status of a regulation. When inspecting the schools' psychosocial environment, a list of 36 'control questions' is used. This is a list of minimum requirements deduced from law requirements. This is not necessarily a complete list of all legal requirements but a selection of the most crucial indicators in order to determine the schools' work on their psychosocial environment (see Appendix II).

Psychosocial environment

Examples of minimum requirements: Regarding the schools' preventive work, we have controlled several aspects of this, for example: "Can the schools verify their work in creating a good psychosocial environment?"

In this question, we ask for the schools' plans or routines for handling situations regarding the psychosocial environment. Findings from this question² show that almost 30 percent of the schools inspected lack such plans or routines.

Another question in this part of the inspection is: "Does the school have goals for improving the psychosocial environment?"

We look for written goals with strategies and action points on how to reach the goals. Findings from this question show that almost 10 percent of the schools inspected lack such written goals with strategies and action points on how to reach the goals for their psychosocial environment.

A third question is: "Do the schools have knowledge about the individual student's experience of the school environment?"

The schools need to map the individual student's well-being at school – for example, if they have routines for individual student and parent meetings. Results on this question: Only about 5 percent of the schools received a correction regarding this question in the inspection.

A fourth question is: "Do the schools evaluate their plans and routines?"

The school needs to show the inspectors how they have evaluated their plans and routines. It is important that plans and routines are updated. Results on this question: About 45 percent of the schools could not provide such documentation and therefore received a correction to this question in the inspection.

² All findings referred to in this section are from the first two periods of this inspection (2010-2011).

Handling abusive behaviour

We have also controlled how the schools handle abusive behaviour by asking: “Do the employers (teachers and other staff) know what is required of them if abusive behaviour occurs?”

Teachers and other staff at schools have to know what they are expected to do when different situations involving abusive behaviour occur. Results on this question: About 15 percent of the schools received a correction regarding this question in the inspection.

Another question in this part of the inspection is: “Does the staff intervene when they suspect or know that abusive behaviour is occurring?”

Results on this question: Only about 5 percent of the schools received a correction regarding this question in the inspection.

A third question is: “Does the school make written decisions if a student or parents ask for action to be taken regarding the psychosocial environment?”

According to the Education Act, the school has to handle every approach from students or parents regarding the psychosocial environment with written decisions. Very often the school says that they haven't had such requests. In that case, the inspectors can ask for templates illustrating how they would handle such requests. Results on this question: More than 40 percent of the schools received a correction from the inspectors on this question.

A fourth question is: “Does the school handle requests from students/parents as soon as possible?”

According to the Education Act, the school is obliged to handle requests from students and parents as soon as possible. This means that the requests must be handled within a reasonable time and without delay. Results on this question: Approximately 10 percent of the schools received a correction regarding this question in the inspection.

A fifth question in this part of the inspection is: “Does the school inform students and parents about their right to have a request handled with a written decision from the school when they contact the school regarding the psychosocial environment?”

The question assumes that students or parents have contacted the school regarding the psychosocial environment. It is not enough that the school has general information about this on their website. For parents and students to be aware of this right, it is important that they are familiar with the right. Results on this question: More than 30 percent of the schools received a correction regarding this question.

Student and parent involvement

In the third part of the inspection we have focused on how the school involve and engage the students and parents in their work to create a better psychosocial environment. In this part of the inspection we asked: “Does the school have routines to involve the students in their work to improve the psychosocial environment?”

This is a general question. The school has to have a routine on how they involve all students in this work, not only those represented in the different councils mentioned below. Results on this question: Approximately 50 percent of the schools do not have routines on how they shall involve all students in the work to improve the psychosocial environment.

Another question is: “Has the school created collaboration councils?” (e.g. student councils, parents councils, joint committees (of the two above), school environment council).

In this aspect we asked whether the school has created different groups (councils) in which students and parents can discuss and give their opinions to the school on specific topics regarding the psychosocial environment. Well-functioning councils provide a good arena to teach the students democratic values and how to express their opinions. Results on this question: Almost every school inspected had created student and parent councils but more than 30 percent had not created the school environment council according to the law.

Further questions asked include: are the councils active?; are relevant cases discussed in the councils?; are the councils informed about the conditions of the school environment?

The inspection has also disclosed that even if the necessary councils are created, they do not have frequent meetings. This also affects students' ability to become involved and engaged. It is therefore important to motivate the schools to create the council by making them understand that a good psychosocial environment is based on all stakeholders being able to influence the schools' work and express their opinions. In this aspect it is also important that the schools inform students and parents about the conditions of the school environment. Results on this question: 20 percent of the schools do not ensure that the councils have frequent meetings. And even more (30 percent) of the schools do not appropriately ensure that relevant cases are discussed in the meetings.

“Do the council members have a realistic opportunity to make their statements?” To make sure that students and parents' voices are heard, it is necessary for them to have enough time to give their feedback to the school regarding the conditions, plans and routines that are submitted. Results on

this question: The inspections have disclosed that many of the councils are not informed properly about the schools' work, which means that students and parents do not get a realistic opportunity to become involved and express their opinion. They thus do not have a real opportunity to affect the schools' work.

Statistics from the inspection period 2010-2013

At the end of 2013, almost 60 percent of the municipalities were inspected with regard to the schools' work on the psychosocial environment. During this last stage of the inspection period the findings were more or less the same as the above-mentioned findings. Even though in 2013, 82 percent of the municipalities received at least one consequence at one or several of their schools that were inspected, it is important to mention that the findings indicate that the municipalities and schools do a significant amount of good work regarding the psychosocial environment. The 2010-2013 inspection has been a relatively detailed inspection.

Table 6.1 Percentage of municipalities and schools that received corrections, inspection of psychosocial environment, 2010-2013

	Dimension 2010-2013	Percentage corrections 2010-2011	Percentage corrections 2012	Percentage corrections 2013
<i>Municipalities</i>	60% (N = 448 municipalities)	95	75	82
<i>Schools involved</i>	20% (N= 3,000 schools)	87	80	70

The control questions were divided into four categories which could all lead to a standardized consequence. Each school was judged based on these areas, and if a question was answered "no", that meant that the school/municipality was not operating according to the Education Act.

In 2013, 80 (new) schools were inspected, so the maximum number of corrections possible was 320. There were 186 corrections, which works out to 50 percent. In 2012, corrections were given out in 60 percent of the possible situations (percentage schools without corrections 2010-2012: 15). This indicates a positive progress for 2013. All in all, this also means that there were fewer violations of the law in 2013 than in earlier years (percentage schools without corrections 2013: 16).

With the approach of the inspection this detailed, almost every school has received some corrections points on one or more control questions. This does not automatically indicate that the situation is critical at almost all the inspected schools. It could be that there was only one negative finding and 37 positive findings, but in our inspection approach, one negative finding was enough to give out a correction.

Example of how pupils and young people can get involved in democratic processes

Some municipalities have created something called youth councils and youth municipal councils. Youth municipal councils have a number of meetings per year and consist of representatives from the school councils within the municipality. One of the main purposes of these councils is to give young people an opportunity to present advice and ideas and to propose suggestions that are discussed at schools to the local administration and politicians. Every year, the youth municipal councils get to allocate funds for the improvement of the local environment. Different proposals are prioritized by 'the council' and the highest prioritized suggestions are delivered to responsible persons in the municipality for further follow-up. When the municipality also has a youth council, this could be a promoter for following up suggestions from the youth municipality council.

When there is a youth council, this is mostly initiated by the local politicians or the administration at a municipality and not very often by the young people themselves. The youth council should be politically anchored. How this council is assembled and what kind of influence it wields varies. The composition should reflect different sides of the youth culture. The ideal composition reflects different ages, geographical proliferation, gender and different interests.

Criteria used

The criterias used for inspecting civic education include a well-functioning and active student council.

- Students and parents experience a reliable handling of requests regarding the student school environment.
- The school has active action plans, and carry out preventive work for the psychosocial environment
- These plans and the schools' work are known by teachers, parents and students.

6.4 Instruments used

When inspecting, we use several instruments, such as questionnaires for students, self-evaluation by the schools, interviews, and analysis of school documents by the inspector. Interviews are held with the school leader, the school authority, teachers, students, parents and other persons connected to the school in light of the subject under inspection.

6.5 Outcomes of inspection

The inspection reports include the feedback to the school and municipality based on the findings of the inspection. Furthermore, the report requires that any change in practice to be carried out must be done in accordance with the Education Act. All reports contain:

- A description of the theme inspected and the purpose of the inspection.
- The legal basis for the theme.
- A summary of the process in the inspection.
- A description of the practice found in the schools and an assessment of this practice.
- An overview of the evidence (documents, interviews, questionnaires, etc.) on which the conclusions are based.
- A description of the need for a change in practice.
- A deadline for the school authorities to report back to the inspectors that the practice has been changed.

The school authority always gets an opportunity to refute the report before the report is final. Public schools also get time to adjust their practice before the report is final. If the final report concludes that there is a need for a change in practice, the report will contain consequences for the school owners. These consequences are legal correction points. If the school authority disagrees with the conclusions in the final report, they can complain to the Ministry of Education and Research. Complaints can be based on the interpretation of the law, the facts in the report or the report's conclusions. If school owners still do not agree with the final conclusions from the Ministry of Education and Research, they can take the complaints to the Court.

6.6 Evaluation of inspections

Inspection is an instrument that is in constant need of change in order to meet the needs of the society we live in. Through our development work, we try to involve all parts of the sector and get feedback on our approach. This feedback has given us relevant input to make necessary changes for improvement.

In a not finalized, unpublished survey study from the University of Oslo, a number of schools and municipalities have been asked their opinions on the national inspection of schools' work on students' psychosocial environment. About 80 percent have answered that they believe inspection is an important corrective to their organization, and about 70 percent answered that the feedback they received from their latest inspection was very positive for the school's development. Almost 80 percent answered that the inspection contributed to changes in the school's procedures, and more than 70 percent answered that the school had a clear picture of what the criteria was for assessment.

Follow-up inspections

In the national inspection on schools' psychosocial environment, the County Governors carried out some follow-up inspections on schools/municipalities where they previously had carried out ordinary inspections. In 2013, there were in total 57 follow-up inspections. The main purpose of these inspections was to control whether the school authorities had changed their practice in accordance with the previously given corrections from the inspectors. In these inspections there were significantly fewer corrections:

- Municipalities without corrections 58%
- Schools without corrections 51%

This is, of course, not a full-scale evaluation on the effect of the inspection. However, it indicates that many of the inspected schools/municipalities actually are making efforts to change their practice in accordance with the corrections pointed out in the inspections. The findings from these follow-up inspections could also indicate that it has been useful with a long-lasting focus on this subject at the national level.

New approach for inspection 2014-2017

To further strengthen our inspection process, we have developed a new approach that will be implemented in our national inspection for the period 2014-2017. This approach includes guidance and an offer of self-assessment

both in the period before inspections are opened and during the inspection. It will also include guidance during the inspection period based on the findings. The main purpose of this approach is to make sure that the schools and school authorities being inspected understand and learn what is expected of them. It is also a goal to increase the number of school owners involved by having the guidance sequences include all school owners. The idea is to increase the effect of the inspection by involving every school owner in either the inspection or the guidance.

This new national inspection will be a voluminous inspection regarding the subjects included. We have therefore divided the inspection into three parts. Each part constitutes a thematic inspection.

The first thematic inspection relates to all students getting an assessment in accordance with national requirements and the school leader's responsibility in this respect. This inspection also includes the schools' work relating to the national curriculum. The second thematic inspection focuses on the schools' competence in administrative procedures (individual decisions relating to students with special needs). The third thematic inspection includes school self-evaluation. Here we assess whether the activities of the schools contribute to and are sufficient to reach the goals in the national curriculum.

The main goal in these three inspections is to reach all students and all student groups. In particular, we aim to inspect the schools' efforts to give every student a satisfactory outcome by making the necessary adjustments within the ordinary education programme or through special needs education. During the time frame 2014-2017, school authorities will be given guidance based on the findings from the inspections.

7. Evaluating Social Outcomes. Inspection methods in Scotland

Stewart Maxwell

7.1 Context: The Scottish education system

Size and scale

In Scotland in September 2012 there were 2,064 primary schools, 365 secondary schools and 155 special schools. These include 377 state-funded faith schools, of which 373 Catholic, one Jewish and three Episcopalian. In Scotland, parents have the right to send their children to a faith school, but Religious and Moral Education is a statutory element of the curriculum for all schools in Scotland. There are 104 independent or private schools across Scotland. 370,680 young people attended primary schools, 293,562 young people attended secondary schools. 6,976 young people attended special schools (Source: Scottish Government).

Young people start primary school around the age of 5. They attend primary school for seven years. Young people are usually 11 or 12 when they start secondary school. They can leave secondary school after turning 16. This is usually after their fourth year. However, many young people choose to stay on to complete the fifth and sixth year and leave at the age of 18.

Scottish ministers (Scottish government) have overall responsibility for the development and oversight of the education system in Scotland. The provision of publicly funded pre-school and school education is the responsibility of 32 local authorities.

The work of HM Inspectors within Education Scotland

In July 2011 a new education improvement agency called Education Scotland was established through the amalgamation of Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIE) and Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS) which has led curriculum development and teacher support. Strategic priorities for the inspection and evaluation functions of the new agency include:

- Giving assurance and bringing about improvements in standards and quality through inspection and review.
- Building capacity for improvement.
- Giving professional evidence-based advice.
- Securing internal improvement.

Education Scotland's powers to inspect educational establishments and services for children are set out in legislation. Current inspection programmes include inspection of early year centres; publicly funded and independent primary, secondary and special schools; further education colleges; education provision in prisons; community learning and development services; voluntary organizations; educational psychology services and initial teacher education. To clarify the use of terminology, Scotland schools are subject to inspection, not supervision.

Inspectors are civil servants. As of March 2014, there were 65 HM Inspectors of Education. Inspection teams often include, in addition to inspectors who are permanent members of Education Scotland staff, associate assessors who are practitioners in schools, community learning, colleges or other sectors, and 'lay' members of the public with no specific knowledge of education. College reviews also include student team members who can offer the perspective of the student learner.

In a report by the Organisation for Economic and Co-operation and Development (OECD) on the Quality and Equity of Schooling in Scotland (2007), HMIE is described as "an inspectorate that aims at cultural change and strategic action".

7.2 Concept of Scottish education

Social outcomes are not specifically inspected. There is no dedicated inspection quality indicator. However, young people are encouraged to be active and responsible citizens throughout their education journey. Social studies and Religious and Moral Education are two of the eight curriculum areas within the new Scottish Curriculum for Excellence. Through these curriculum areas, children and young people develop their understanding of the world by learning about other people and their values. Children and young people learn about human achievements and about how to make sense of changes in society, of conflicts and of environmental issues. They deepen their understanding of religious and cultural diversity and learn to reflect on their own stance for living. With greater understanding comes the opportunity and ability to influence events by exercising informed and responsible citizenship. This aligns well with Scottish government objectives to improve people's life chances and build individual and community capacity at a time of significant pressure on public spending.

In and out of schools, young people are encouraged to contribute positively to society. Young people volunteer in their local community on

a regular basis. Young people often work towards nationally recognized awards such as “The Duke of Edinburgh Award” which recognize the contributions they make to their local communities. Opportunities to participate in decision-making both locally and nationally are good. The idea of promoting responsible citizenship within a concept of lifelong learning is at the heart of major changes to curriculum taking place across Scotland.

Curriculum for Excellence - Learning throughout life

Scottish education is currently going through a period of transformation that is affecting all learners. Curriculum for Excellence aims to provide a coherent, more flexible and enriched curriculum for young people aged 3 to 18. The curriculum includes the totality of experiences that are planned for children and young people through their education wherever they are being educated, not just in school. The need for change was identified as follows:

- Need to have in place an Education system fit for the 21st century.
- Need to best equip young people to compete in a changing world.
- Change in secondary (high school) sector was required.

“We need a curriculum which will enable young people to understand the world they are living in, reach the highest levels possible of achievement, and equip them for work and learning throughout their lives” (Curriculum for Excellence 2007).

The curriculum aims to ensure that all children and young people in Scotland develop the knowledge, skills and attributes they will need if they are to flourish in life, learning and work, now and in the future. The purpose of the curriculum is encapsulated in the four capacities – to enable each child or young person to be a successful learner, a confident individual, a responsible citizen and an effective contributor.

“Meeting the ambitions for this curriculum involves pre-school centres and schools working in learning partnerships with colleges, universities, employers, partner agencies, youth work and the voluntary sector to provide a coherent package of learning and support based around the individual learner and in the context of local needs and circumstances”.

“All establishments will work with a range of partners to address the needs of all children and young people and provide motivating and challenging opportunities, particularly for those who may require more choices, more chances. Action to address the needs of learners requires an integrated approach across children’s and young people’s services with strong links to community learning and development and community regeneration” (Building the Curriculum 3 Scottish Government 2008).

Learner entitlements

Curriculum for Excellence states that all young people should have access to the following six entitlements:

- a coherent curriculum from ages 3 to 18;
- a broad general education, including the experiences and outcomes well planned across all the curriculum areas, from early years through to S3;
- a senior phase of education after S3 which provides opportunity to obtain qualifications as well as to continue to develop the four capacities;
- opportunities for developing skills for learning, skills for life and skills for work with a continuous focus on literacy, numeracy, and health and well-being;
- personal support to enable them to gain as much as possible from the opportunities that Curriculum for Excellence can provide; and
- support in moving into positive and sustained destinations beyond school.

Senior phase

The purposes of the senior phase are to provide all learners, whatever their individual needs, with:

- an experience that builds on their learning from nursery to S3 with scope to develop their individual potential;
- a broad preparation for adult life, whether their own next stage is further/higher education or employment or volunteering, and for participation in wider society;
- opportunities to extend their own abilities and interests;
- opportunities to study at as advanced levels as possible, to a high degree of rigour;
- opportunities for a range of personal achievements, in or out of school;
- recognition of achievement, both attainment of qualifications and wider achievements; and
- continued emphasis on literacy, numeracy, health and well-being and the development of a wide range of skills for life and skills for work

7.3 Inspection framework

External scrutiny in Scotland is designed to serve three main purposes:

1. Inspections provide assurance and public accountability, informing parents, schools and colleges, other providers of education and Scottish ministers about standards and quality in education.

2. They are designed to promote the adoption of high-quality professional practice by identifying key strengths, indicating where improvement is needed and offering suggestions on ways of drawing on best practices that inspectors have seen elsewhere.
3. The evidence deriving from inspections and reviews plays an important part in informing the development and review of educational policy and practice, providing policymakers with analysis based on a rich base of independent, firsthand evidence of what is happening in schools and other sectors of education across the country.

In the words of the OECD report: “By creating an interactive situation of ongoing dialogue, inspection promotes a culture of self-reflection and evaluation.”

Influences and recent developments in inspection in Scotland

A number of factors have led to recent and ongoing changes to inspection processes in Scotland. These include the maturation of self-evaluation in schools and other education sectors such as Community Learning and Development (CLD) and in the support and challenge functions of local authorities; a national drive to reduce the perceived burden of inspection upon those being inspected; an increasing emphasis on the need for partnership between education and other services for children to achieve better outcomes for all children, particularly the most vulnerable children (“Getting it Right for Every Child”); the introduction of a new curriculum for ages 3 to 18 in Scotland (Curriculum for Excellence) and the need to ensure the most effective and efficient use of HM Inspectors’ expertise and resources.

Education Scotland is currently reviewing the framework for school inspection to take account of these and other contextual factors. Possibilities for further evolution will need to take account of possible risks and benefits and the ways in which local authorities are likely to engage with their schools in relation to self-evaluation and improvement in future.

Current approaches to school and learning community inspections

In response to these factors, new models of inspection were introduced in August 2008. The models are designed to be more proportionate and to give greater emphasis to capacity building. Proportionality is achieved by building on the school’s own self-evaluation and concentrating on the aspects that have the most important impact on children and young people. Inspection seeks to build capacity by creating scope for inspectors to engage

in professional discussion with teachers and providers during an inspection. As part of the process, inspectors assess the school's own self-evaluation. A summary document submitted to inspectors in advance offers the school the opportunity to clearly set out what it sees as its main strengths and areas for development. This important document is the starting point for any inspection. It also forms the basis of the initial discussions between the school management and inspectors at the start of the inspection. School staff are also actively involved in the inspection processes, with senior school staff undertaking joint activities with HM Inspectors including classroom observations and attending inspection team meetings.

Inspections identify a number of strengths as well as key recommendations for improvement. Experience has shown that schools and education authorities take these recommendations from HM Inspectors very seriously and take action to bring about improvement. Following an inspection, Education Scotland may continue to work with schools and local authorities to support continued improvement and, if necessary, further inspection can take place until HM Inspectors are satisfied the school has the capacity to support its own continued improvement (see section on continuous engagement).

A similar approach operates across CLD or learning community inspections. National strategic guidance on CLD published by the Scottish government in 2012 makes clear that CLD should focus on:

- Improved life chances for people of all ages, through learning, personal development and active citizenship.
- Stronger, more resilient, supportive, influential and inclusive communities.

CLD partners such as youth workers, further education colleges, health professionals, leisure and sports, police, voluntary sector and churches play an increasingly significant role in supporting and recording the wider achievements of young people both in and out of school. Partners help young people to grow in confidence and improve their life skills. More regular sharing by external partner agencies with schools of young people's achievement (gained out-with school) ensures that a fuller picture of a young person's achievement is effectively captured and celebrated within the school. This is particularly important for those young people who may not achieve well academically but succeed in other areas.

When a secondary school is being inspected, a separate team of CLD inspectors also inspect the local community in terms of opportunities for young people, adults and communities. The focus is the impact on individu-

als and communities as a result of participating in community-based youth work and adult learning programmes. The information gathered in learning community inspections is shared with school inspection teams. This helps to create a fuller picture of the young people and their abilities than just academic achievement within a school context. A publicly available learning community report is published at the same time as the school report.

Secondary school and learning community inspections are increasingly interlinked to help build a full picture of how young people are supported to gain social outcomes through a variety of engagements.

Inspectors use a six-point scale when making judgements. The following table explains the words used:

Excellent	– means outstanding, sector-leading.
Very good	– means major strengths.
Good	– means important strengths with some areas for improvement.
Satisfactory	– means strengths just outweigh weaknesses.
Weak	– means important weaknesses.
Unsatisfactory	– means major weaknesses.

Secondary school inspection teams consist of up to seven members. These include a Managing Inspector and Deputy Managing Inspector plus an assigned inspector for meeting learner's needs. In addition, there will be a CLD inspector, a health and nutrition inspector, associate assessors and a lay member. Secondary school inspections start on a Monday afternoon. Inspectors meet with school senior management to discuss the school's own self-evaluation. On the following Friday morning, the inspectors verbally share their findings including indicative evaluations for each quality indicator (QI) based on a six-point scale. Details of all quality indicators are publicly available and shared with openly through *How Good Is Our School?* Over the course of the week, the team review data, engage with focus groups of staff and young people, and conduct interviews. Inspectors also carry out classroom observations or "Learner Episodes". All of these inspection activities contribute to the overall inspection evaluation.

Learning community inspection teams consist of four members. These include a CLD Managing Inspector (who is also part of the school team) and three CLD associate assessors. Similar to the school model, the inspection starts on a Monday with the inspection team meeting with local CLD partners to discuss the self-evaluation and build up a picture of what it is like to be a young person/learner in that community. Over the course of

the week, the team review data, engage with focus groups of young people, adult learners, community groups members, CLD partners and staff. Again on the Friday morning the inspectors verbally share their findings including indicative evaluations for each QI based on the six-point scale and using QIs described in *How Good Is Our CLD?*

How we inspect? A framework for evaluating the quality of services and organizations

A common review framework structure based on European Foundation Quality Model (EFQM) is used for both school and CLD inspections. This is in line with other Scottish public service evaluation frameworks. The framework is rigorous, robust, systematic and consistent. It provides a set of overarching challenge questions. Inspectors use whatever QIs are relevant to their particular area of interest.

Inspectors draw on a combination of evidence: from what service users / learners say; from analyses of performance data; from observations of what's really going on; and by triangulation of evidence. In advance of a school inspection, inspectors receive detailed statistical information on the school and its surrounding area. This includes local deprivation information and attainment performance data highlighting the school's performance against national and comparator authorities. Inspectors also receive an analysis of questionnaires completed by young people, parents, teaching and non-teaching staff in advance of the inspection (for children and young people's questionnaire, see Appendix II).

7.4 Instruments used

Inspection questions

School inspections answer the following key overarching questions:

- How well do young people learn and achieve?
- How well does the school support young people to develop and learn?
- How well does the school improve the quality of its work?

Learning community inspections answer the following key overarching questions:

- How well are partners improving learning, increasing life chances, promoting and securing well-being?
- How well are partners working together and improving the quality of services and provision?

Questions inspectors ask in relation to social outcomes? What do inspectors look for?

- Evidence that young people are becoming active citizens and effective contributors in line with the four capacities of Curriculum for Excellence.
- Focus on learner achievement in addition to attainment.
- That you feel safe and cared for in school.
- The contribution of partners to help young people achieve.
- Focus on sport, citizenship and cultural activities.
- Young people's contribution to the local community is captured and valued.
- Recognition and celebration of achievement in and out of school.

Learner's experience

During the course of the week, inspectors meet with focus groups of young people across the school population. Young people are encouraged to share their experiences and also to outline the impact this is having on them. Part of the discussion focuses on what opportunities young people have to take on leadership roles, volunteering/engaging within the local community and how the school captures and celebrates their achievement outside school.

Safety

The safety and well-being of children and young people is a key area of concern during inspection. All inspectors are required to follow a clearly laid out code of good practice. A questionnaire completed by children and young people in advance of the inspection includes a specific question about feeling safe and cared for in school (see Appendix II). During inspection, within focus groups young people are again asked about feeling safe in school. In addition the school / establishment's Child Protection Co-ordinator is required to complete a Safeguarding form (see Appendix II). This is the subject of further discussion with the managing inspector to confirm robust and effective safeguarding procedures are in place.

Achievement

Inspectors engage with senior school managers around the following:

- Range of accredited awards (non-academic) offered.
- Numbers of young people successfully progressing.
- How are young people's achievements outside of school (in the local community) recorded / celebrated?
- How well does the school engage with its local community?
- What opportunities are there for young people to learn through volunteering?

Partnership working

Inspectors engage with senior school managers around the following:

- Range of partners contributing to school.
- What structures exist for joint planning/evaluation across partners – how effective are they?
- What difference do partners make to young people's learning? How do you know?
- How well do partners feel valued in their relationship with the school?
- What role do parents play in supporting young people's learning?

Partner's contributions

Inspectors engage with a range of partner agencies (including local employers) around the following:

- Contribution / support by partners in delivery of wide range of accreditation awards in and out of school
- How well do partners share young people's outside achievements with the school? How does the school value and celebrate this achievement?
- How well are young people supported by youth workers to participate in decision-making structures at both the local and national level?
- What contribution do partners make in supporting young people to progress to positive destinations such as further/higher education, training or employment?

The national guidance for CLD places emphasis on targeting engagement on more disadvantaged young people. Similar to schools, inspectors meet with focus groups of young people to discuss the impact that participation in youth work activities or in the local community is having on them as individuals. The focus is on what has changed as a result of participating and how learning is being applied elsewhere in their lives. Good examples of impact and individual success are shared with the school inspection team where relevant.

7.5 Outcomes of inspection

The Record of Inspection Findings

The Record of Inspection Findings (RIF) is the set of notes used by both school and learning community inspection teams for the discussion of findings on the final day of the inspection visit. It may also contain information that was not required in the discussion. The RIF is checked and edited to

ensure that individual members of staff and individual learners cannot be identified and that it conforms to Scottish government guidelines on the disclosure of data. The RIF is not an exclusive record of all of the evidence underpinning the inspection evaluations as expressed in the published letter, and should not be regarded as such. The RIF is provided to support the head teacher/centre manager/learning community partnership in leading improvement. It is a technical document designed to support improvement, and careful thought should be given to how it is shared. An RIF is not intended to be copied and distributed in its entirety. The sharing of the RIF has been welcomed by schools as a helpful tool for them to take forward improvements. It also demonstrates openness and a willingness to adopt more of a partnership approach.

Continuing engagement

At the end of every inspection, Education Scotland inspectors can choose from four options or continuous engagement (CE) activities that best represent the outcome of the inspection. There are four broad continuing engagement activities; not all are mutually exclusive. The following are brief descriptions but there is flexibility to enable us to ensure we provide the best support for improvement to a school/learning community.

No continuing engagement. In this option, inspectors are satisfied with the overall quality of provision. Inspectors are confident that the establishment's self-evaluation processes are leading to improvements. As a result, inspectors will make no further visits in connection with this inspection. The local authority or Board of Governors will inform parents about the establishment's progress as part of their arrangements for reporting to parents on the quality of their establishments.

Additional support. Inspectors are satisfied with the overall quality of provision. Inspectors are confident that most of the school's self-evaluation processes are leading to improvement. With support from the local authority or Board of Governors, and possibly Education Scotland, the establishment will be able to make the necessary improvements. The Area Lead Officer (Education Scotland) or independent schools link inspector, along with the local authority or Board of Governors, will discuss the most appropriate support in order to build capacity for improvement and will maintain contact to monitor progress. Parents will be informed of the extent to which the establishment has improved.

Further inspection. As a result of our inspection findings, inspectors think that the establishment needs additional support and more time to make necessary improvements. Our Area Lead Officer or independent schools link inspector, along with the local authority or Board of Governors, will discuss the most appropriate support in order to build capacity for improvement, and will maintain contact to monitor progress. Inspectors will return to evaluate aspects of provision and the progress in improving provision within an agreed timescale following publication of the inspection letter. Inspectors will then issue another letter to parents on the extent to which the establishment has improved. In that letter, inspectors will inform the school and the education authority if inspectors will carry out a further inspection visit.

Innovative practice visit. Inspectors are satisfied with the overall quality of provision. Inspectors are confident that the establishment's self-evaluation processes are leading to improvements. There will be no further evaluative visits in connection with this inspection.

During the inspection, inspectors identified an aspect or aspects of innovative practice that inspectors would like to explore further in order to share the practice with others. As a result, inspectors will work with the establishment and the local authority or Board of Governors in order to record and share more widely the innovative practice. Inspectors will ask the establishment, in discussion with the local authority or Board of Governors, to let parents know the outcome of the innovative practice visit(s).

How do inspectors report on continuing engagement?

Where further inspection activity is carried out, inspectors will report publicly to parents and stakeholders by letter. The letter will report on the three key questions being used in the School Inspection Framework. The Managing Inspector will also report on continuous improvement and, to an appropriate extent, the school's capacity for improvement. A technical report called a Record of Visit will be shared. Other continuing engagement activities will be reported to parents and stakeholders using the local authorities' normal reporting procedures.

Consequences/sanctions

As previously stated, Scottish ministers (Scottish government) have overall responsibility for the development and oversight of the education system in Scotland. HM Inspectors report directly to Scottish Ministers.

Where an inspection identifies main areas/actions for improvement (as previously mentioned under reporting), HM Inspectors will conduct a further follow-through inspection one year following publication of the original inspection report. This follow-through inspection seeks to identify clear progress made against the set of improvement actions agreed during the original inspection. Where clear progress has not been made, further follow-through inspections will take place. Education Scotland will also engage with senior education management within an authority to discuss ongoing issues with a view to agreeing solutions. Where a local authority school is not seen to have made sufficient progress, there is legislation in place that allows Education Scotland to refer it to the Cabinet Secretary for Education and Lifelong Learning. This could result in a school being closed. However, these powers have never been invoked as Education Authorities, working with Education Scotland, have always ensured satisfactory improvement. All independent schools need to be registered with Scottish ministers through the Registrar of Independent Schools. The Registrar ensures that independent schools take due care of the health, welfare and education of children. Where this is identified as an issue, the Registrar of Independent Schools has the power to close the school.

7.6 Evaluation of inspections

The impact of inspection is reported at a number of levels. In 2007 the Scottish government introduced the National Performance Framework (NPF). The NPF is made up of 50 national indicators which are used to measure progress against 16 national outcomes. Two of the set of 50 national indicators and targets included in the NPF are based on evidence from the inspection programmes conducted by Education Scotland in pre-school, primary and secondary schools. They are:

- Increase the proportion of pre-school centres receiving positive reports.
- Increase the proportion of schools receiving positive reports.

A summary of quality indicator results from Education Scotland inspections are used to inform the NPF baseline summary.

Education Scotland publishes a summary of its inspection findings. These publicly available documents offer a summary of findings and identified trends from across all inspection programmes over the preceding three-year period. *Improving Scottish Education 2005-2008* was published in 2009.

The most recent publication, *Quality and improvement in Scottish Education – Trends in inspection findings 2008- 2011* was published in June 2012. Between April 2008 and December 2011, Education Scotland inspected 166 local authority secondary schools. This included schools of different sizes in both rural and urban settings. A summary of the key strengths and aspects for improvement identified within this publication can be found below under Findings.

In Scotland, pre-school, primary and secondary school and learning community inspections are all publicly reported to stakeholders. These stakeholders include: parents, young people and key partners. All school reports take the form of an online letter to parents responding to the set of overarching questions mentioned before (see Section 7.4) clearly setting out what inspectors found in terms of strengths and areas for improvement.

As a result of the inspection, a series of key improvements known as main points for action are agreed with the school. These action points are also publicly reported.

Learning community reports, while not a letter, adopt a similar online format responding to the overarching questions mentioned in Section 7.4. As above, a series of key improvements known as main points for action are agreed with learning community partners. Again, these action points are publicly reported.

Education Scotland also meets with other national external scrutiny bodies as part of what is called the Local Authority Network or LAN. There is a LAN group for each of the 32 Scottish local authorities. LAN groups agree an overall risk assessment for the authority. Inspection performance is key in determining the overall level of risk.

Post-inspection, all head teachers are invited to submit a questionnaire evaluating the effectiveness of the inspection. This unpublished information is used to inform Education Scotland senior management and SG ministers on the effectiveness of inspection. Feedback over the period between April 2012 and March 2013 was generally favourable, with 93 percent of respondents rating the sharing of self-evaluation as either very good or good. 86 percent evaluated the methods and procedures used as either very good or good. 93 percent evaluated the quality of engagement with inspectors as either very good or good. Overall, 86 percent of respondents rated the inspection in terms of helping the school to improve as very good or good. These responses would suggest that the current model of inspection is engaging well with schools and is helping them to identify and bring about improvements. However, we at Education Scotland have not been

complacent. Over the session 2014-15, Education Scotland will undertake a major review of our approaches to inspection and review, seeking the views of our stakeholders across Scotland. Most recently, we have been piloting new shared approaches to public scrutiny, working jointly with other scrutiny agency such as the Care Inspectorate, HMI Police, Health and Social Work. Education Scotland will be exploring how this work can be strengthened and further support improved social outcomes across all sectors of our population.

A more pro-active, partnership approach between Education Scotland and education authorities is emerging. Documents called partnership agreements are being established between the authority and the Education Scotland Area Lead Officer. Area Lead Officers are HM Inspectors who act as the key link with each local authority. These documents clearly set out agreed areas of support whereby Education Scotland specialist staff will make a specific support contribution. This includes areas for improvement identified during inspection. Recent poor inspections are also discussed with the authority, including progress and actions being taken.

Findings

The *Social Studies 3-18* paper published by Education Scotland (September 2013) evaluates current practice in social studies, identifies good practice and highlights areas for discussion and further development. The evidence for this report came from a series of focused inspection visits between January and March 2012 and an analysis of relevant evidence from inspections and engagements over a four-year period. This report tells us that children and young people are developing a range of knowledge, understanding and skills in social studies. Curriculum for Excellence has stimulated debate and changes to learning and teaching. It also highlights that teachers and other professionals are keen to meet the challenges presented.

The Quality and improvement in Scottish Education – trends in inspection findings 2008-2011 (Education Scotland 2011) draws on inspection evidence over the period 2008-2011. This report highlights some important high-level messages such as the fact that within secondary schools young people are developing and applying enterprise, citizenship and leadership skills through a range of school and community activities.

As stated earlier in this chapter, social outcomes are not specifically inspected by Education Scotland. However, through inspection and the ongoing engagement of inspectors, the importance placed on young people achieving better social outcomes has improved. The introduction of the current school and learning community inspection models in 2008 has

contributed to this improvement. Through inspection, schools are increasingly aware of the need to ensure that young people get access to quality learning experiences that allow them to contribute positively to society.

In addition, there is increased emphasis and recognition that other partners can and do make a positive contribution to young people's learning. This message has been consistently shared by inspectors both during inspection and also during any support visits. Since 2008 inspectors have been pro-active in identifying and sharing good examples of practice relating to social outcomes for young people. This not only helps build capacity, it also recognizes the hard work of those involved. The sharing of information between inspectors has also improved in recent years. However, there is scope for a further increase in awareness and knowledge of inspectors in relation to helping secure positive social outcomes for young people.

8. Social outcomes. Inspection methods in Sweden

Per Ingvar de la Motte

8.1 Context: The Swedish education system

The Swedish school system

According to the Swedish Education Act, all children and youths shall have equal access to education. All children shall enjoy this right, regardless of gender, where they live, or social or economic factors. The Education Act states that education shall provide the pupils with knowledge and, in co-operation with the pupils' families, promote their harmonious development into responsible human beings and members of the community. Consideration shall also be given to students with special needs. The Education Act also states that all education throughout the public school system shall be free of charge. There is usually no cost for students or their parents for teaching materials, school meals, health services or transports.

The curriculum, national objectives and guidelines for the public education system are laid down by the Swedish parliament and government. Within the objectives and framework established by the government and parliament, the individual responsible authority – a municipality or a board of an independent school – may determine how its schools are to be run. A local school plan describing the funding, organization, development and evaluation of school activities shall be adopted.

The Swedish public school system is made up of compulsory and non-compulsory schooling. Compulsory schooling includes regular compulsory school, Sami school, special school and programmes for pupils with learning disabilities. Non-compulsory schooling includes pre-school, pre-school class, upper secondary school, upper secondary school for pupils with learning disabilities, municipal adult education, and adult education for adults with learning disabilities.

The nine-year compulsory school programme is for all children between the ages of 7 and 16 years. Upon request of the parents, a child may begin school one year earlier, at the age of six. Almost all compulsory school students continue on directly to upper secondary school, and the majority of these complete their upper secondary education in three years.

There are 5,070 primary and secondary schools which are controlled by the 290 municipalities. About 21 percent of schools (1370) are independent schools. All schools must follow the same regulations, and all schools are inspected by the Swedish Schools Inspectorate. Both independent and public schools are autonomous legal entities, and cannot be inspected outside the legal regulations.

The Swedish inspectorate

It is the municipality or the operator of an independent school that is responsible for its quality and results. The role of the Swedish Schools Inspectorate is to monitor and scrutinize. In connection with these supervisory and quality auditing activities, the Swedish Schools Inspectorate provides advice and guidance as to what a school needs to rectify on the basis of the requirements of legislation.

Sweden has had a system with regular educational inspection since 2003. The Swedish inspection model was created to respond to the needs of national evaluation, audit and accountability in a highly decentralized system of governance with a high degree of local responsibility.

Given the position as an independent national agency alongside the National Agency for Education, the Inspectorate has no official advisory tasks towards the Ministry, although in some matters advice is asked and given. As the municipalities are free to choose in what way they are going to work with the national objectives, the inspectorate is very reluctant in giving advice to schools about fulfilling their duties. Advice and guidance is more about explaining the meaning of the legal regulations.

The Swedish Inspectorate has about 300 inspectors working in five regional offices. Since 2003, all schools in Sweden (7,000 schools) have been inspected twice in regular inspection. In addition, some of the schools also have been inspected in the thematic inspection.

Regular inspection

The Swedish Schools Inspectorates conducts regular supervision of all municipal and independent schools, from pre-school to adult education. Activities are scrutinized on a number of points. Our decision states in which areas a school is failing to meet national requirements. At a seminar with those responsible from the municipality and school, we discuss the areas where improvements are needed.

In the inspection framework there are three Key Areas for assessments: i) students' progress towards objectives; ii) leadership and development of education; and iii) individual student's rights.

There are three types of inspection: Basic – a visit for approximately half a day, focus on leadership; Intermediate – visit duration for 1-3 days depending on the size of the school; and Detailed – visit duration for 1-3 days.

All schools and all municipalities are inspected at least every five years. These inspections are flexible and proportionate based on risk analysis. As mentioned earlier, judgments and assessments are based on law and regulations within certain areas that are important for the creation of successful schools.

Quality audits (Thematic inspections)

Quality audits deal with well-defined areas (topics) – for example a special matter or problem area within the school. Every school we scrutinize receives a decision about what it needs to develop and improve in that area. The experiences gained are summarized in a joint report published on the website (www.skolinspektionen.se).

Anyone may make a complaint

Anyone, for example parents and students, may report grievances to the Swedish Schools Inspectorate. These might relate to degrading treatment or support a student should have been given, but also to other problems. The Swedish Schools Inspectorate investigates these matters and makes a decision as to what the school needs to do.

The Child and School Student Representative (BEO)

The Child and School Student Representative, BEO, has an independent role at the Swedish Schools Inspectorate. BEO is appointed by the government to come to a decision about complaints relating to degrading treatment in schools. BEO may, on behalf of a student, call for damages from the principal organizer and pursue these matters versus municipalities and independent principal organizers. BEO also has an informatory role with regard to legislation governing the protection of children and students against degrading treatment.

Licenses and applications

A license is necessary to be allowed to start or extend an independent school. The Swedish Schools Inspectorate makes decisions about these licenses and also checks that the school is starting in accordance with the license conditions. The Swedish Schools Inspectorate also receives applications from schools, independent as well as municipal, that want

to conduct some of their lessons in English, operate compulsory school education without applying the timetable or implement proficiency testing from year 4.

8.2 Concept of Swedish education

Citizenship and democracy in the regulations

A clear change concerning the social democratic functioning of teaching took place during the 1990s, as expressed in the school's curricula from 1994. The normative, critically questioning and democratic education emphasizing equality as expressed in the primary school curriculum from 1980 came to be replaced by the traditionally functionalist vision of democracy. This meant that democracy became merely an area of knowledge that, like other subjects, contains facts that students must learn. The social democratic task of developing students' teaching skills through collective, real student influence and through deliberative conversations was toned down.

The idea of the documents governing education during the 1970s was that students with their knowledge of democracy and politics would have tools to change social conditions, such as democratize working life – that is, affect slightly more than their own self and their individual life situations. In the 1990s, policy documents emphasized that students shall have the opportunity to influence their own situation. The key words were now freedom of choice for the individual, for example with regard to the choice of school and courses, and partly also the freedom of choice regarding the content and organization of teaching. But more than at any time in the past, public education was expected to contribute to fostering active, participatory democrats, and democratic values would be highlighted in the teaching. The school would not remain neutral – everyone in the school should defend and promote democratic values.

Legal base

The Education Act, the curriculum, as well as national objectives and guidelines for the public education system are laid down by the Swedish parliament and government.

Within the objectives and framework established at the national level, a school authority – may determine how its schools are to be run. The head teacher of the school has a budget to spend and employs teachers and staff. The teachers are given a large amount of pedagogical freedom and can

themselves make decisions on content and methods, that is, on what and how to teach.

The Swedish school inspections are meant to check whether the municipalities and the schools are fulfilling their responsibilities in relation to the regulations set out in the Education Act. The inspectorate also has to evaluate how well educational activities and schools are functioning in relation to the national objectives and the national curriculum. Above all, the inspectorate checks whether the municipalities and schools have systems for self-evaluation and strategies for self-improvement.

The inspection areas are chosen with respect to local responsibilities and the autonomies of the schools. The education system has a two-part task, which is strengthened in the new Education Act, concerning the transfer and rooting of both knowledge and democratic values. It is a matter of educating aware and competent members of society who are able to manage the knowledge and fundamental values that Swedish society is built on; to take responsibility for the development and stability of society in accordance with the ideal of democracy, respect for human rights and the equal worth of all people. That these ideals are of the highest importance and that democracy should never be taken for granted have been highlighted by the events of recent years occurring in the world around us – not least the ongoing unrest in Europe where somewhat undemocratic forces are making themselves felt in country after country.

This training aims to, in cooperation with homes, promote children's, and students' all-round personal development of active, creative, competent and responsible individuals and citizens.

Training should be designed in accordance with basic democratic values and human rights, the integrity of human life, individual freedom and integrity, equality and solidarity between people, all of equal value.

Everyone involved in education should promote human rights and actively discourage all forms of abusive treatment.

Education should be built on a scientific basis and proven experience.

Education at a school should be non-denominational.

The Swedish Education act, 1st chapter 4- 5§ and 10§, states the aims of education as:

The aims of education within the school system are that children and pupils should acquire and develop knowledge, skills and values. The education should promote all children and students' development and learning and a

lifelong desire to learn. Training should also supply and anchor the respect for human rights and fundamental democratic values that Swedish society is based on.

The education should take into account the different needs of children and students. Children and students should be given support and encouragement so that they develop as far as possible. The ambition should be to compensate for differences in children's and students' opportunities to benefit from the education.

The education also aims to promote, in cooperation with children's and students' homes, the personal development to become active, creative, competent and responsible individuals and citizens.

The education framework should be designed in accordance with basic democratic values and human rights as the sanctity of human life, freedom for the individual and integrity, all people are of equal value, equality, and solidarity between people.

Everyone working in education has to promote human rights and actively combat all forms of degrading treatment.

In all education and training under this Act related to children, the child's best should always be a starting point. By child, we mean every human being below the age of 18.

The child's attitude should as far as possible be clarified. Children should have the opportunity to express their views freely in all matters affecting him or her. Opinions of the child should be given due weight in accordance with their age and maturity.

5th Chapter, 3 and 5 §, Security and study environment:

The Education should be designed in such a way that all students receive a school and learning environment that is characterized by security and peacefulness.

Regulations for conduct should be provided for each school unit. The regulations should be established with the participation of the students and followed up on each school unit.

6th Chapter, 6 § Actions against abusive treatment:

The responsible authority shall ensure that there is, within each specific activity, a goal-oriented work to counteract abusive treatment of children and students.

Curriculum (extract)

Fundamental values. The national school system is based on democratic foundations. The Education Act (2010: 800) stipulates that education in the school system aims at pupils acquiring and developing knowledge and values. It should promote the development and learning of all pupils and a lifelong desire to learn. Education should impart and establish respect for human rights and the fundamental democratic values on which Swedish society is based. Everyone working in the school should also encourage respect for the intrinsic value of each person and the environment we all share.

The inviolability of human life, individual freedom and integrity, the equal value of all people, equality between women and men, and solidarity with the weak and vulnerable are the values that schools should represent and impart. In accordance with the ethics borne by Christian tradition and Western humanism, this is achieved by fostering in the individual a sense of justice, generosity of spirit, tolerance and responsibility. Teaching in the school should be non-denominational.

The task of the school is to encourage all pupils to discover their own uniqueness as individuals and thereby be able to participate in society by giving their best in a responsible form of freedom.

Understanding and compassion for others. The school should promote understanding for other people and the ability to empathize. Concern for the well-being and development of the individual should permeate all school activity. No one should be subjected to discrimination on the grounds of gender, ethnic affiliation, religion or other belief system, transgender identity or its expression, sexual orientation, age or functional impairment or other degrading treatment. Such tendencies should be actively combated. Xenophobia and intolerance must be confronted using knowledge, open discussion and active measures.

The internationalization of Swedish society and increasing cross-border mobility place high demands on the ability of people to live with and appreciate the values inherent in cultural diversity. Awareness of one's own cultural origins and sharing a common cultural heritage provides one with a secure identity which is important to develop, together with the ability to understand and empathize with the values and conditions of others. The school is a social and cultural meeting place with both the opportunity and the responsibility to strengthen this ability among all who work there.

Objectivity and open approaches. The school should be open to different ideas and encourage their expression. It should emphasize the importance

of forming personal standpoints and provide opportunities for doing this. Teaching should be objective and encompass a range of different approaches. All parents should be able to send their children to school, fully confident that their children will not be prejudiced by any particular view.

All who work in the school should uphold the fundamental values that are set out in the Education Act and in the curriculum, and clearly dissociate themselves from anything that conflicts with these values.

An equivalent education. Teaching should be adapted to each pupil's circumstances and needs. It should promote the pupils' further learning and acquisition of knowledge based on pupils' backgrounds, earlier experience, language and knowledge.

The Education Act stipulates that the education provided in school or in a leisure-time centre should be equivalent, regardless of where in the country or in what venue it is delivered. National goals specify the norms for equivalence. However, equivalent education does not mean that the education should be the same everywhere or that the resources of the school are to be allocated equally. Account should be taken of the varying circumstances and needs of pupils. There are also different ways of attaining these goals. The school has a special responsibility to those pupils who for different reasons experience difficulties in attaining the goals set up for education. For this reason, education can never be the same for all. The school should actively and consciously further equal rights and opportunities for women and men. The way in which girls and boys are treated and assessed in school, and the demands and expectations that are placed on them, contribute to their perception of gender differences. The school has a responsibility to counteract traditional gender patterns. It should thus provide scope for pupils to explore and develop their ability and their interests independently of gender affiliation.

Rights and obligations

The school should make it clear to pupils and parents what the goals of education are, what requirements the school imposes, and what rights and obligations pupils, parents and guardians have. A prerequisite for pupils, parents and their guardians to be able to use their right to exercise influence is that the individual school is clear in specifying its goals, content and working forms. This is important not least as a basis for the individual to make choices in school.

It is not in itself sufficient that teaching imparts knowledge about fundamental democratic values. Democratic working forms should also be

applied in practice, and pupils should be prepared for active participation in society. This should develop their ability to take personal responsibility. By taking part in the planning and evaluation of their daily teaching, and being able to choose courses, subjects, themes and activities, pupils will develop their ability to exercise influence and take responsibility.

Requirements for the school

The requirements for the school are to promote learning by stimulating the individual to acquire and develop knowledge and values. In partnership with the home, the school should promote the all-round personal development of pupils into active, creative, competent and responsible individuals and citizens. The school should be permeated by concern for the individual, consideration and generosity.

The school has the task of imparting fundamental values and promoting pupils' learning in order to prepare them to live and work in society. The school should impart the more unvarying forms of knowledge that constitute the common frame of reference that all in society need. Pupils should be able to keep their bearings in a complex reality, where there is a vast flow of information and where the rate of change is rapid. This is why study skills and methods of acquiring and using new knowledge are important. It is also necessary for pupils to develop their ability to critically examine facts and relationships, and appreciate the consequences of different alternatives.

Language, learning and the development of a personal identity are all closely related. By providing a wealth of opportunities for discussion, reading and writing, all pupils should be able to develop their ability to communicate and thus enhance confidence in their own language abilities.

Creative activities and games are essential components of active learning. In the early years of schooling, play in particular is of great importance in helping pupils to acquire knowledge. The school should strive to provide all pupils with daily physical activity within the framework of the entire school day.

An important task for the school is to provide a general but coherent view. The school should stimulate pupils' creativity, curiosity and self-confidence as well as their desire to explore their own ideas and solve problems. Pupils should have the opportunity to take initiatives and responsibility, and develop their ability to work both independently and together with others. In doing so, the school should contribute to pupils developing attitudes that promote entrepreneurship.

In all education, it is important that overall, well-balanced perspectives are established. A *historical perspective* enables pupils to develop an under-

standing of the present and preparedness for the future, and develop their ability to think in dynamic terms.

An environmental perspective provides opportunities not only to take responsibility for the environment in areas where they themselves can exercise direct influence, but also to form a personal position with respect to overarching and global environmental issues. Teaching should illuminate how the functions of society and our ways of living and working can best be adapted to create sustainable development.

It is important to have an *international perspective* to be able to understand one's own reality in a global context and to create international solidarity, as well as prepare for a society with close contacts across cultural and national borders. Having an international perspective also involves developing an understanding of cultural diversity within the country.

An ethical perspective is of importance for many of the issues that are taken up in the school. This perspective should permeate schooling in order to provide a foundation and support pupils in developing their ability to form personal standpoints.

The school should stimulate each pupil towards self-development and personal growth. It should focus not only on intellectual but also practical, sensual and aesthetic aspects. Health and lifestyle issues should also receive attention. Pupils should have the opportunity of experiencing knowledge in different ways.

This necessitates continuous review, following up and evaluating results, as well as assessing and developing new methods. Such work has to be carried out in active co-operation between school staff and pupils, and in close contact with the home and the local community.

The goals of the school are that each pupil...

- can consciously determine and express ethical standpoints based on knowledge of human rights and basic democratic values, as well as personal experiences,
- respects the intrinsic value of other people,
- rejects the subjection of people to oppression and degrading treatment, and also assist in helping other people,
- can empathize with and understand the situation other people are in and also develop the will to act with their best interests at heart, and
- shows respect and care for both the immediate environment as well as the environment from a broader perspective.

Guidelines

All who work in the school should:

- contribute to developing the pupils' sense of togetherness and solidarity, and responsibility for people outside the immediate group,
- contribute in their activities to the school being permeated by a spirit of solidarity between people,
- actively resist discrimination and degrading treatment of individuals or groups, and
- show respect for the individual pupil and carry out their daily work in democratic ways.

Teachers should:

- clarify and discuss with pupils the basic values of Swedish society and their consequences in terms of individual actions,
- openly communicate and discuss different values, views and problems.

Knowledge

The school should take responsibility for ensuring that pupils acquire and develop the knowledge necessary for each individual to be able to function as a member of society. This will also provide a basis for further education.

The school should support the harmonious development of the pupils. A sense of exploration, curiosity and a desire to learn should form the foundations of school activities. The school should provide pupils with structured teaching under the teacher's supervision, both as a whole class and on an individual basis. Teachers should endeavour in their teaching to balance and integrate knowledge in its various forms.

Goals

The school is responsible for ensuring that, on completing compulsory school, each pupil:

- can make use of critical thinking and independently formulate standpoints based on knowledge and ethical considerations,
- has obtained knowledge of society's laws and norms, human rights and democratic values in school and in society,
- has obtained knowledge about the prerequisites for a good environment and sustainable development,
- has obtained knowledge about and an understanding of the importance of the individual's own lifestyle and its impact on health, the environment and society.

Syllabuses

The aim of the education system's work with democracy and fundamental values is to promote democracy and combat undemocratic expressions. In order to achieve this, fundamental values need to be integrated into educational goals. The education system should, according to the curriculum, both transfer fundamental values and encourage the pupils' learning to prepare them for living and working in society.

The syllabuses have three parts. The first part is called Aim. This is a description of the subject and what the purpose of this subject is. The next part is called Core content. This is a detailed description of the content of the teaching. The third and last part is Knowledge requirements for grade 3, 6 and 9 in compulsory school. Appendix I includes some examples that indicate that training of citizenship is a part of all subjects.

In the Swedish inspection process, the area of social outcome has three focus areas:

- Fundamental democratic values:
We inspect how the schools work with and how they implement human rights and also how they give students the opportunity to develop active citizenship and the ability to participate in society.
- Learning environment and safety:
We inspect the psychosocial environment and how schools work to prevent abusive behaviour, what they do when abusive behaviour occurs, and how the students and parents are involved in the preventive work in the schools.
- Students' influence and participation:
We inspect whether the students have the possibility of taking part in the planning of content and methodology.

The inspections are mainly focused on the schools' input, but nevertheless it is possible to get information about the outcome based on the input from the schools related to democracy work and citizenship, for example.

As mentioned above, inspections in Sweden are based on requirements deduced from current legislation. The control itself is based on how the school owners make sure that their schools follow up on the demands in the law. This means that the inspection is grounded on some selected indicators and criteria derived from the law. The actual investigation can be carried out at the schools, but it is always the municipalities that are responsible.

Inspections have to be carried out by following administrative requirements for exercising authority and applying the law. These administrative

requirements are: predictability; equal treatment / non discrimination; verifiability; and the right to a rebuttal.

8.3 Inspection framework

Inspectors use a framework with about 20 assessment points and about 100 indicators. The framework is built upon factors from research about successful schools. However, all assessment points and indicators must be based on the legal documents as an absolute base. This means that the inspector when criticising has to refer to the actual legal section. Different factors, often because of changes in the legal documents, have led to changing of the assessment framework. In the last revision, a new assessment point about active citizenship was added. One reason was the need to address growing xenophobia.

Assessment points for democratic values

Education anchors the respect for human rights and fundamental democratic values that Swedish society is based on:

- Teachers give students the opportunity to develop the ability to make and express informed ethical choices based on knowledge of human rights and fundamental democratic values as well as personal experiences.
- Teachers give students the opportunity to develop active citizenship and the ability to participate in society.

Indicators of democratic values

- Students are challenged by teachers in relation to norms, values, diversity of knowledge and perspectives.
- Under the teachers' management, students are able to exercise abstract, critical and independent thinking and to distinguish between general ethics from their own values.
- Teachers are able to take advantage of opportunities to clarify abstract and theoretical concepts or concepts related to standards and values, and can manage to balance the discussions that occur.
- Teachers are able to maintain an open/permissive classroom climate.
- Students can acquire the knowledge, values and abilities according to the curriculum goals, objectives and key content.
- The discussion climate in schools and classrooms is open and permissive.
- All students are included and can be prevailed upon to be involved in teaching, for example by questioning, query and getting clarification.

- Students are trained to be critical about evidence when analyzing different sources in relation to different perspectives.
- The principal and teachers show democratic ideals in both their words and actions and have a critical self-reflective approach.

Assessment points for a safe study environment

- Learning environment is characterized by safety and peacefulness.
- The school has a goal-oriented approach to counteract the abusive treatment of students.

Indicators for a safe study environment

- The school has regulations for conduct that have been established together with the students.
- The school follows the regulations when activities are used to ensure safety or to take action against inappropriate behaviour.
- The school strives to create good conditions for learning and development.
- The school is continuously working to prevent and stop abusive treatment.
- Staff that notice that a student has been exposed to abusive treatment shall report the cause to the school principal.
- Signs of abusive behaviour are reported to the responsible authority.
- The school has a plan against abusive treatment. This document describes the long-term routines and the work during the present year to prevent and stop abusive treatment. There is also an evaluation of this work over the last year.

8.4 Instruments used

Before the inspection and the visit to the schools, the inspectorate uses a web-based questionnaire. An information letter is sent to schools so that the links can be distributed to the respondents. This questionnaire is made up of multiple-choice questions.

Students in grade 5, grade 9 and year 2 in upper secondary schools, all educational staff in primary and secondary education, and parents of children in preschool, primary and vocational programmes are given the opportunity to answer the questionnaire. During a year, about 100,000 persons answer the questions (40,000 students, 15,000 teachers and 42,000 parents in 1,100 schools). Principals and also other persons responsible for

the school receive a different questionnaire which has open questions and is a kind of a self-evaluation.

The inspectors analyse the answers from the questionnaires together with other documents (document analysis). Interviews are held with the school leader, the school authority, teachers, students, parents, the school nurse and other persons connected to the school in light of the subject under inspection. In the regular inspection, observations are conducted, but to a limited extent (see examples in Appendix II).

8.5 Outcomes of inspection

Supervision should contribute to a good education in a safe environment. Inspectors can give specific advice and guidance and the decision can be a good starting point for development work. If the deficiencies are very serious, the School Inspectorate shall revoke an independent school or go in and take the steps deemed necessary on a municipal or Council school.

It is always the one that runs the school who has responsibility for addressing the deficiencies. When it comes to municipal schools, this is the municipality; for independent schools, this is the company or organization that owns the school. An appeal can be made to the administrative court on all decisions on fines, temporary bans, the withdrawal of approval of independent schools and state actions for redress against public schools. When finishing the school inspection, the inspectors give their feedback to the headmaster. This feedback includes a description of strengths and weaknesses and also a discussion about the coming report and the follow-up process.

Reporting system

After the inspection (maximal 30 days), a report (decision) is sent to the municipality as the one responsible for the school. A copy is sent to the school. A summary is also sent to the school for distribution to parents. All decisions are published on the web. The inspections result in a public report with demands for action to rectify shortcomings. All reports contain: a description of the school; an overall assessment; an assessment of the practice of the school with motivations and evidence on a legal base; a description of the need for a change in practice; a deadline for the school authority to report back to the inspectors that the practice has been changed; and a summary of the process in the inspection. The school

authority always gets an opportunity to produce a rebuttal to the report before it is finalized.

Assessments

The Swedish Schools Inspectorate may make use of penalties and apply pressure so that a principal rectifies its activities. If the principal does not take action or seriously disregards his/her obligations, the Swedish Schools Inspectorate may decide to impose a conditional fine or measures at the principal's expense. In the case of an independent school, its license to operate may be revoked.

The following assessments may appear in the reports: no intervention; remark (critical observation); injunction. Sanctions are: injunction combined with penalty fines; withdrawal of approval (independent schools) or state measures for correction (municipal schools); and temporary prohibition to operate.

Follow-up

Normally three months after the date for the decision, the actions taken by the school are followed up by the inspectorate. If the Inspectorate finds that the actions are sufficient, the case will be closed. Otherwise, a new injunction can be delivered with or without a penalty fine.

8.6 Evaluation of inspections

All head teachers in Sweden are invited to answer a questionnaire after the inspection, a so-called post-inspection questionnaire. The result from this study is often very positive, and headmasters express the opinion that the inspection has been a great help in terms of the development and improvement work in school. However, some results from the post-inspection questionnaire are the same as those from the National Audit Agency's investigation, for example that the inspections are too focused on plans and documents instead of the practice and the processes. This also means that qualitative aspects of the inspection areas can be improved. The National Audit Agency also concluded that the Swedish inspectorate has to improve its follow-up process after the decisions.

The statistics of the assessments of the social domain shows that 76 percent of the schools were safe and 43 percent of the schools were working consciously to counteract abusive behaviour. Students' influence on the

planning and content of the lessons is, as mentioned above, a very important part of the Swedish inspection and regarded as an important part of the training of social skills. 40 percent of the primary and lower secondary schools were in 2013 assessed to be not working well enough and received injunctions or remarks in this area. The corresponding figure for upper secondary schools was 50 percent.

Until now, the Swedish inspectorate has not focused on democratic abilities and knowledge in schools except students' participation and influence. The new assessment document from 2012 introduced a new assessment point and indicators, mentioned above, to improve the inspection of democratic values in a wider perspective. Unfortunately, very few schools have been criticized on this assessment point in the regular inspection. Among the inspected schools in 2013, as much as 99 percent of the schools convey and anchor respect for human rights. This is a good result for the inspected schools, but the high figures could also indicate that the inspectors feel unfamiliar with assessing democratic values.

To introduce the new assessment point and to build up experience, the chief inspector decided to conduct a quality audit (thematic inspection) of schools' work with democracy and fundamental values. The thematic inspection shows that in all the schools visited, there is a need for increased pupil influence or increased opportunities to participate and speak out in lessons, to allow practical democratic training to be combined with their educational development in various subjects.

The inspection shows that the education system's legally mandated missions tend to be implemented in parts, where pupils' knowledge development forms one part; a proactive approach to fundamental values forms another, and the fostering of democratic citizens is a third.

A conscious approach to teaching the fundamental values that permeate the schools' policies is central to creating and maintaining a safe and high-quality study environment where democratic teaching can be conducted. However, according to the Swedish Schools Inspectorate's assessment, awareness needs to be increased of what the assignment 'to foster democratic citizens' means among all those who work at various levels in the visited institutions. The schools inspected need to emphasize and clarify the democratic mission as part of the knowledge mission, in order to enable a dedicated development of the pupils' civic competences in the teaching of all subjects. This can be done in the form of well-structured teaching, which focuses on the central points of the curriculum but simultaneously allows for spontaneous elaboration of the subject in question. For example, this can be a case of in-depth discussion, starting from any questions the pupils might have.

The inspection shows that elements of fostering democratic citizens are found in the teaching of all subjects. However, all the democratic qualities in the form of knowledge, values and skills that according to the curriculum and syllabuses are supposed to be integrated into the teaching of all subjects have not permeated the teaching. These elements, for example in-depth discussion, critical reflection and analysis, are given too little time or conducted at a level that is not sufficiently intellectually stimulating for the pupils.

Implementing the democratic mission into the education system is a matter of integrating aspects of the fostering of democratic citizens into the teaching of all subjects, with the aid of the syllabuses. This has the potential of motivating pupils to learn and to participate actively in education, and by extension in civic life. According to the Swedish Schools Inspectorate's assessment, pupils must be able to practice abstract and critical thinking to a higher degree, where experience in teaching is connected to practical application and regularly highlighted in in-depth and philosophical discussions. For example, it can relate to separating public ethical principles from private morals in one's own actions.

The inspections show that in all the schools visited, there is a need for increased pupil influence or increased opportunities to participate and speak out in lessons, to allow practical democratic training to be combined with their educational development in various subjects.

Part III
Inspecting social outcomes in schools:
models of assessment

9. Evaluating social outcomes of schools. Models of assessment

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9.1 Assessment of social quality: A descriptive overview

Following on our sketch of the organization of school inspections in the social domain in Part II, this chapter will offer an analysis of the various types of inspection, the results they may produce and the characteristics of the various assessment models. Our focus is not so much on comparing the inspection systems in the four countries per se. Instead, we will use the descriptions of the national systems as a starting point for identifying general models for assessing the social quality of education in Section 9.2. In preparation, Section 9.1 will present a comparative description of the main characteristics of the national inspection systems and their similarities and differences.

The organization of school inspections

Although they vary in content and weight, two elements – the evaluation of quality and its improvement – play a role in the assessment of educational quality, and this is no different in the social domain. Basically, the inspectorates described in Chapters 5 to 8 are organized in two ways. Two inspectorates are independent agencies whose main responsibility is evaluation, inspection and compliance monitoring, while the other two are part of a broader national agency that promotes development, documentation, analysis and assessment within the education sector. This distinction also proves to be an important one in the models of school inspection (Section 9.2).

Inspectorates use several approaches in their inspections. In all four countries, some of the inspections are conducted on a large scale, while the rest are smaller in scope. This requires different approaches to different inspections. Some inspections can be carried out by simply collecting written documents from the school or school authority, while at other times during an inspection cycle the school is visited. Such visits vary in duration and level of detail. Some inspections have a specific thematic approach where, depending on the reason for the inspection, attention is sometimes

paid to one or more social themes, while other inspectorates have adopted a procedure whereby systematic attention is given to one or more aspects of social quality. Combinations of the two approaches are also used.

Choices concerning the organization of school inspections in the social domain are influenced by the characteristics of the national inspectorate system, which means that existing procedures and principles play an important role. Where these have not been designed for evaluations in the social domain, as is usually the case, the organization of inspections in the social domain may not be optimal and must be made to conform to the constraints of a system in which other principles prevail. This situation reflects differences in the weight assigned to the various domains of education in a more general sense, but is also a consequence of a difference in 'seniority' and developmental phase. The development of school inspections in the past decades primarily focused on the cognitive core curriculum, to which more recently performance was added as a major focus. Although the socialization function of the school is as old as formal education itself (see Chapter 2), the social quality of education is nevertheless a relative 'latecomer' in terms of policy and supervision, which in many respects still has to earn its rightful place. Thus, when reflecting on our analysis of national inspection systems as the starting point for the design of inspection models in the social domain, the reader should consider that these national systems usually do not reflect optimal modes of inspection (from the social perspective) but are the result of the capabilities, constraints and compromises underlying the existing inspectorate systems.

Design of assessment frameworks

Despite differences in the assessment frameworks underlying school inspections, all frameworks are more or less defined in terms of minimum standards. In some countries, the frameworks take the form of an 'inspectorate-owned' document, updated regularly over the years. In other countries, frameworks are based on the national curriculum and/or statutory regulations. In both circumstances, however, it is not the inspectorates alone who decide what schools have to do to be assessed as functioning adequately in terms of the framework. Normally, developing a framework takes a lot of time and both the schools and the inspectorates must operate within this scope. This means that in all countries the assessment of social quality assumes interpretation of standards and criteria laid down in the framework, or while using the framework. In the same way, schools and school authorities are allowed some leeway to interpret the framework and make local adjustments where necessary, provided they do not deviate too much from the framework.

Some of the countries have combined guidance and inspection more than others, and some of the countries have clearly divided support from inspection. Some inspectorates focus mainly on what the schools *should be doing*, while others also focus on what the schools *could be doing* in addition to achieving the basic statutory requirements and quality standards.

The development of frameworks differs from country to country and also involves different parties. In all countries, frameworks are developed through open processes in which the relevant stakeholders are either actively involved or consulted.

Even if the frameworks have different forms, they all include more or less the same goals. All frameworks are meant to clarify the responsibilities of schools and school authorities for delivering educational quality. All frameworks are also influenced by both political directives and educational research. Although not all countries consider their education legislation as part of their framework and instead work on the basis of formal documents with operational standards and criteria, in all four countries aspects stipulated in education legislation must be taken into account in the inspections. The level of detail of these statutory requirements and the resulting level of control, however, differs for the various countries, and the same is true for the degree of specificity of the assessment schemes.

The inspection systems discussed in Chapters 4 to 8 differ slightly in terms of the level addressed by the inspections. In some of the countries, only the schools are included in inspections, while in others the school authority is also addressed. However, in all systems the main focus of evaluations of social quality in primary and secondary education is the school. The principle underlying these systems is that it is the school authority's responsibility to ensure the quality of education and compliance with the quality requirements. Conversely, it is the government's responsibility (implemented through inspection) to see to it that school authorities fulfil their responsibilities and, if they fail to do so, to stimulate improvement by employing various means. These means differ from country to country (see below).

The assessment of social quality

Despite the fact that the inspections in the countries described in Part II are carried out in different ways and that the frameworks used for these inspections are different, there are many similarities. Not all inspection systems include classroom observation, but in all countries interviews are held with key stakeholders in the school – students, teachers, school management, the school authority and parents. All inspectorates also scrutinize relevant documents written by the school management or school authority as part of

the inspection process. The use of self-evaluation documents produced by the schools is very different. In some systems they are not used, or hardly at all; in others, they have been given a place of prominence.

Another key element in all systems is that the assessment of school quality includes the assessment of processes. In this context, it is irrelevant whether schools are obliged to follow standards regarding processes stipulated in statutory regulations or other mandatory frameworks. Normally the framework decides the standards regarding processes that a school or school authority should follow. However, the level of attention paid to the educational process as a quality indicator does differ when it comes to giving schools leeway for making their own choices in this respect. In some of the countries, schools have a broader responsibility than others. This concerns both the demands made on the school and the level of detail of these demands. In some countries, for example, schools have a broader responsibility with respect to organizing social activities outside the core curriculum. This also affects the scope of the inspection. The inspection frameworks in the social domain differ, for example, with respect to the aspects of quality included and the level of detailing. To some extent, all inspectorates focus on continuous development, and this affects both the methods used for inspection and the themes and subjects included in the inspection.

Not all inspectorates in the countries discussed in Part II pay specific attention to the social outcomes of education. Nevertheless, all frameworks include – at least to some extent – goals regarding social cohesion and social integration, school climate, social safety, citizenship, critical thinking and understanding democracy. Although different in content, level of detail, and perceived relevance, all frameworks pay more or less attention to developing children's potential and preparing them for adult life by providing them with the knowledge, skills and attitudes they need to be in control of their lives, to hold a job and to function in society, to respect the intrinsic value of others and to empathize with and understand the situation of others. In some way, all inspectorates evaluate how schools and school authorities work with these goals that are embedded in education legislation and/or the assessment framework.

The different approaches to inspection also influence to what extent the inspectorate is able to investigate the realization of a certain goal, both with regard to the attention being paid to it by the school and the degree to which the teaching is successful in terms of what students learn. In some systems, inspectorates prefer to assess whether the school and school authority are taking the preferred actions (with respect to the content and approach to teaching and learning, for example). In other systems, inspectorates also

strive to include indicators of what students actually learn and also evaluate desired outcomes. The choice of whether to focus on efforts or results does not seem to be determined by specific reasons to choose one or the other but primarily by more general ideas about school inspection and its relevance to outcomes, aspects of process and performance and global notions of how outcome measurements can be realized.

Risk analysis

In various ways, all the inspectorates described in Part II base their inspections on risk analysis. Some of the inspectorates have a fixed schedule for inspecting schools and school authorities, while others do not. Risk analysis uses various types of data, and their effects on the inspection cycle are different. However, in all cases risk analysis does influence the intensity of scrutiny via the nature or frequency of the inspections. In the countries included in this study, risk analysis in the social domain is still limited in scope, particularly because of the limited availability of information. The main sources of information are signs of shortcomings or risk (or incidents), mainly concerning school climate and the social safety of the students or other problems in the social environment in or around the school.

In this respect, there are also differences in the decision-making about the inspection cycle. In some countries, the inspection cycle is determined at the national level. In other countries where inspections are carried out at the regional level, the regional offices have to make trade-offs, for example, with other departments responsible for the inspection of other domains. The status of the inspection schedule also differs, particularly when it is laid down in national legislation.

Parties addressed and consequences

Inspections may have varying consequences within the various inspection systems. In all situations, the inspectorate's observations lead to an assessment which – although using different scaling and formulated in different ways – could for example range from 'inadequate' to 'more than adequate', and may have implications such as injunctions or financial sanctions. All inspectorates give feedback to the school and/or the school authority, both orally during the school visit and in writing in their subsequent report. However, this feedback differs in terms of how the report is presented to the school and/or school authority (level of detail, main parties addressed, etc.) and how the findings are followed up. All inspectorates focus on giving descriptive feedback that informs the school and/or school authority about the results of the assessment. Although the degree to which school reports

are directed at school improvement differs, it is of decisive importance that schools understand what they have to do after an inspection has revealed that the school or the school authority are not complying with the quality requirements set out in legislation or frameworks.

Apart from feedback in the form of reports written for the school, other implications of inspection differ in the investigated countries. This concerns both positive and negative incentives, for example giving feedback and/or advice on how the school can change its practices to operate in accordance with national standards, and publication of the inspectorate's findings. In the latter case, publication of negative findings is in the nature of a sanction because it impacts the school's reputation. Other possible implications are specific instructions for school improvement or financial sanctions.

The inspectorates address the school and/or the school authority. Although formally speaking, the school authority is the primary actor in all situations, in some cases the reports are primarily aimed at the school management. There are also differences between countries in how the findings are presented to other stakeholders than the school and the school authority. Some inspectorates give concrete feedback to pupils, parents and other relevant stakeholders, while others only give feedback to the school management schools and/or the school authority. In some systems, findings are also made available to the general public.

In the design of the incentive system (the implications of inspection, like feedback, publication and more far-reaching measures such as directives or sanctions) and the assumptions of its effectiveness, none of the inspection systems discussed in Part II distinguish between domains of quality. This means that the measures that may be taken after quality assessments in the social domain are not based on specific ideas about the social task of the school and the mechanisms involved. We have the impression that inspectorates are on the side of caution – more so than in other domains – and hesitate to take far-reaching measures based on assessments of social quality. This situation seems to be the result of the generally moderate position taken by inspectorates with respect to the social domain – which is sometimes regarded as complex and normative (see Chapter 10) – and the amount of available objectifiable and unambiguous information.

A remarkable finding is that the inspectorates have no, or very little, hard data about the effects of school inspections in the social domain. Although they have various amounts of information on the effectiveness of school inspections in general, so far they have paid little attention to effects of inspections in the social domain (see also Chapter 3). The same applies to knowledge about the satisfaction of schools with school inspections. In

countries where the focus of inspection is on the cognitive core curriculum, schools state that this is too narrow a basis for the assessment of educational quality and point to other aspects, for example the way in which they handle the social and civic demands placed on them.

One way to obtain an impression of the effects of inspections in the social domain is to assess to what extent evaluations of aspects of the social quality of schools leads to 'negative' outcomes (such as the percentage of 'inadequate' assessments or sanctions), since it is doubtful whether effects of inspections can be said to even exist when quality assessments do not lead to distinctions being made between situations that do and that do not meet the requirements. The results available for the various countries (see Part II) show that quality assessments do indeed lead to separating 'adequate' from 'inadequate' schools. This suggests that effects may be expected from inspection assessments in the social domain. The lack of data makes it less easy to estimate the magnitude of these effects, which requires an understanding of both the implications of negative assessments (e.g. directives or sanctions imposed) and the actual improvements in schools resulting from these measures.

Although there is no hard evidence, there are also indications of effects at the system level. The fact that the social domain has been included in assessment frameworks demonstrates that it is regarded as a relevant aspect of quality that should be evaluated through school inspection. In addition, this sets standards through the explicit specification of elements of quality, which schools can use as guidelines (see Chapter 10).

Towards an effective assessment of social quality

Chapter 1 asked the questions *'Is it possible to measure outcomes of education in the social domain, and can the effectiveness of the school's efforts in this domain be assessed?'*

At this point we can conclude that these questions may be answered in the affirmative. The inspection systems discussed in Part II and the summary given in this section show that it is possible to evaluate the efforts of schools in the social domain and to measure them against quality standards. It has also become clear that the outcomes of such evaluations can be converted into assessments of the extent to which schools meet the expected level, and that the investigated countries use various quality indicators in the process. In addition to elements such as the content and organization of teaching and learning, the outcomes of education may also be used as a criterion. Both more qualitative, idiosyncratic evaluation methods and quantitative approaches based on student surveys and student tests are used for this purpose.

Above, we have also seen that – although the approaches adopted in the various countries show general similarities – there is great variation in methodology and priorities. Initially, these differences appear to be the result of differences in more general approaches to school inspections as adopted by the various countries and reflect the characteristics of the national context, for example the degree of central regulation. This variety in approaches does not seem inspired by specific ideas about the effective organization of school inspections in the social domain. Where such ideas do exist, they reflect more general notions of effective supervision. This underlines the observation made in Chapters 2 and 3 that the inspection of the social quality of schools so far only has a narrow theoretical and empirical basis. As mentioned before, we only have a limited understanding of the effects and effectiveness of inspections in the social domain. This means that questions about the underlying mechanisms, including the question which forms of inspection are effective in which situations, can only be answered up to a point at this stage.

We will not stop here, however, and will therefore shift our perspective and present several ‘ideal-type assessment models’ for the social domain in the next section. Based on the experiences obtained with the inspection systems in the four countries described in Part II, we will explore the main perspectives they present. Together with the exploratory analysis of effective evaluation in the social domain in Chapter 10, the next section thus provides building blocks for a provisional answer to the question about the effective organization of school inspections in the social domain.

9.2 Models of school inspection in the social domain

Chapters 1 - 3 presented various elements of school inspections in the social domain. Section 1.4, for example, distinguished various goals for which school inspections can be employed, such as accountability and school improvement. In Section 2.5, several aspects of quality were described, among them the quality of teaching and its results: the things students learn. Chapter 3 formulated several assumptions about the expected effects of school inspections in the social domain. The description of the inspection systems in Part II showed that there are many similarities in the building blocks comprising the assessment of school effectiveness in the social domain in the countries included in this study. This concerns both the aspects of quality distinguished (e.g. curriculum content, students’ well-being and social safety) and the instruments used (e.g. student questionnaires and stakeholder interviews). Nevertheless, both assessment frameworks and inspections differ in the four countries in terms

of the specific combination of building blocks, the relative magnitude given to different aspects and the weight attached to them, and this determines the shape of school inspections of social quality in these countries.

Once we look beyond this variety and pay attention to the key components in the various national assessment systems, three models can be distinguished. These should not be understood as a description of existing inspection systems and their functioning, but rather as 'ideal-type models' based on a variation in central characteristics of the focus of school inspections (what is the subject of assessment and what criteria are applied) and the purpose of inspection (what does assessment aim to achieve). Thus, the purpose is not to characterize national inspection systems – countries will generally show characteristics of each of the models – but to analyse the different mechanisms and features of systems of school inspection when it comes to social quality. The ideal-type models should primarily be understood as heuristic devices, and comprise the *process model*, the *school improvement model* and the *output model*.

Process model

In the process model, much emphasis is placed on assessing the quality of teaching and learning, covering aspects like curriculum content, the ways in which teaching and learning takes place and relevant constraints. The principle underlying the process model is that the way in which teaching and learning occurs should be central to the assessment of school effectiveness. This notion may be based on the idea that alternative approaches are lacking or less usable, or that the quality of the teaching processes within schools is a better indicator of quality – unlike the cognitive core curriculum – compared to indicators of what students actually learn. This is illustrated by the view that the school climate and the social safety of students are mainly important to realize optimal achievement in the cognitive core curriculum, and that the role of the school in the social domain is less central.

The main quality aspects in this approach are the quality of educational content (including the extent to which the curriculum meets national requirements as formulated in, for example, education legislation), the quality of its design (such as the inclusion of clear learning objectives, the included subjects and the timetable over the years), the classroom and school climate and the quality of the social context in which teaching and learning take place. Although attention to outcomes is not necessarily absent, student results primarily play a role as a point of reference for structuring and adjusting curriculum content and level. Examples include measuring how satisfied students, parents and other stakeholders are with the results of teaching

and learning, measuring student well-being, or using such measures for risk assessment, for instance as indications of poor school climate.

The process model pre-supposes a standard on the basis of which the quality of teaching and learning can be assessed. This standard can be based on national legislation if the requirements stipulated are sufficiently specific to determine content and quality. If standards are based on learning objectives set by the school, the emphasis will be on the quality of the process, that is, on the question whether the school indeed teaches the content it claims to offer. In this context, it is less important whether this complies with external expectations and or with what is seen as desirable from a broad societal perspective. Another interpretation of the process approach focuses on the quality of the school as a social community and places emphasis on school climate, student well-being and the pedagogical quality of the teachers. In this case, standards are primarily determined by the satisfaction of those involved, including the external stakeholders. This means that contextual factors – for example student background characteristics and school diversity – play an important role in assessing whether the school's educational quality is satisfactory.

Assessment of educational quality based on the quality of aspects of educational process generally requires more intensive data collection – e.g. school and classroom observations, interviews and document analysis – due to the scope of the areas to be included and limited possibilities for deriving valid generalizations from limited observations.

School improvement model

This approach focuses on school improvement as one of the possible functions of school inspections. Taking the school improvement model as the starting point for the organization of school inspections minimizes the constraints for successful school improvement, for example with respect to focusing on areas where educational improvement can be expected and school ownership can be achieved.

Apart from provision and process factors (e.g. the quality of teaching and learning), the conditions for school improvement also play a substantial role in the school improvement model. These concern the school's capability for improvement, which includes an understanding of its situation, the ability to perform self-evaluations, sufficiently developed quality assurance processes and the managerial skills of school management and school authority. The importance of school ownership has already been mentioned and may consist of involvement of teachers and management in data collection and data analysis, an understanding of the situation

and background of the assessments and acceptance of these assessments. The school improvement model will usually focus on the development of teaching and the quality of processes and – provided minimum output requirements are met – use performance information to guide the process of school development instead of regarding it as a primary indicator of quality per se.

Organizing school inspections so that they optimally fit the constraints of school improvement means that these constraints will play an important role in the organization of inspections. Usually, this will mean that forms of self-evaluation will take a prominent place within the inspections. This may concern collecting and analyzing information about the school on the basis of external standards and assessments based on evaluations performed by the school or peers with the help of external standards but also the setting of standards by the school and evaluations based on these standards. In the latter variant, the role of the inspectorate changes towards validating the school's assessments and taking a more active role in the event of risks, incidents and situations in which self-evaluation is inadequate.

The setting of standards plays a less important role in the school improvement model, which is one of its limitations. The impact of external standards is less great due to the importance of school ownership and the relevance attached to the school using methods for promoting involvement in and understanding of its own situation. It seems likely that there will be more variation in the way in which assessments are made because the school is allowed to collect and interpret its own data. This is not just an incidental effect but an intentional goal and will become even more prominent in situations where the school also formulates its own standards. The school's leeway decreases the normative effect of school inspections since it presupposes a reduction of external control. Another possible limitation is the reduced comparability of the outcomes of inspection. As opportunities for performing 'in-house' assessment increase, variations in the way in which these assessments are made will also increase. This variation within apparently similar assessments increases the chance that real differences between schools will not be identified. The limitations caused by the loss of standards at the supra-school level (as was also the case in the process model) – i.e., less impact due to a reduced role of the normative effect of school inspections and reduced identification of differences between schools – may thus play a role in this model too.

The school improvement model offers good opportunities for accepting the outcomes of quality assessment by the school and school authority, and the motivation to work towards school improvement based on these

outcomes. Another advantage is the validity of assessments: because external norms and their application in the specific situation of the school play a less important role, the assessments will usually fit the school's situation. Where the school improvement model leads to schools formulating meaningful standards, it will also be less hampered by a limitation of the other two models – the availability of clear external standards, given the restrained attitude of governments in the social domains of education. For similar reasons, the school improvement model could be an effective tool for improving educational quality. However, it is not possible to ascertain the plausibility of these two assumptions.

The broad scope of the school improvement model, which involves both provision and process factors and in-house quality assurance, pre-supposes relatively intensive forms of inspection that may include document analysis, interviews, observations and verification of the school's self-evaluations, depending on the weight given to self-evaluation and its validation in the inspection process (see also Section 10.3).

Output model

The output model assesses the social quality of schools primarily on what the students have learned. The underlying principle is that what primarily matters is students successfully acquiring social and civic competences.

As discussed in Chapter 2, outcomes can be determined in different ways: through tests measuring competences or components of competence (e.g. knowledge skills and attitudes in the social and civic domain); through evaluating well-being and school-safety indicators; and by assessing student activities or intentions. Because measurements of student satisfaction and well-being can be used as an indicator of social competence, many inspectorates can apply a more or less extensive output model of assessment. In practice, this is often not the case because these measurements are mostly limited to determining risks or problems in the social environment rather than assessing the average social skills of the schools' students.

Using competence tests or measurements of social safety has the advantage – especially when compared to the other models – that relatively little effort is needed to gather the necessary information. Another advantage is that it is relatively easy to apply standards based on a clear reference point (e.g. the national average). A limiting factor is the interpretation of the data, especially if the findings are used to assess the effectiveness of the school. Such an assessment assumes that the influence of the school can be distinguished from other factors affecting social competences of students, such as the family and the environment in which children grow

up. Although approaches that measure the school's 'added value' do not seem feasible at this time, there are several options for assessments based on test results. Particularly benchmark approaches, in which the results of the school are compared with those of other schools in similar situations or outcome-oriented approaches comparing results of the same school over time can be used for this purpose.

School inspections based on an output approach seem to offer good opportunities for addressing the social quality of schools through extensive monitoring in which outcomes are used as indicators of possible deficiencies in the quality of the school (a signal that improvement is required) and on the basis of which further assessment can be carried out. The main limitation of the output approach is the information relevant to school improvement and detailed information about school processes. An output model seems to offer fruitful opportunities, however, for broadening assessments of educational quality aimed at understanding potential weaknesses and strengths as an impetus for school improvement (see also Section 10.4).

Models of school inspection

Table 9.1 compares the main features of the three inspection models, which we will briefly explain below.

Setting standards. One of the mechanisms leading to inspections contributing to higher quality is the formulation of standards that provide schools with guidelines for the organization of teaching and learning. Output-oriented models in particular have this characteristic because of the usually specific (often quantitative) nature of output measures. This also applies to the process model, although to a lesser extent because of the more general nature of the teaching quality indicators. The process and output models also provide for clear standards. Examples are quantitative criteria (e.g. the percentage of students with higher-than-average scores on a nation-wide citizenship knowledge test) and the degree to which the curriculum realizes statutory requirements about content. Because the school improvement model gives schools significant leeway on these points, this model provides fewer guidelines in the form of external standards. This means that any standards used (which will be specifically chosen for a particular school) will be more relevant and valid, but also that there is less opportunity for central control than in the output model, and less insight into the results and functioning of the school system.

Consequences. As external standards become more important and more specified, it becomes easier to impose consequences on schools for insufficient quality. As standards become clearer, it becomes easier to assess whether a school conforms to the standard and there will be less reason to dispute the assessment, which will make it easier to impose sanctions. Clearer standards, as present in the output model for example, thus increase the likelihood of inspections leading to sanctions as a driver for change.

Focus on learning and results. There are clear differences between the models in terms of the weight given to provision and process factors and results as the principles underlying school inspections. Provision and process are not part of the output model but they are central to the two other approaches. Results play a limited role in the process model, while the school improvement model assumes the middle ground. Because of the great variation in classroom practices that may be used to realize the social goals of education, inspections focusing on the process of teaching and learning are best suited to accommodate variations in types of teaching and school situations. The school improvement and the process models are also accommodating to the intrinsic relevance of process factors (e.g. a positive school climate or the creation of situations in which social competences can be practised) to the social quality of the school.

Administrative burden on schools and inspectorates & risk assessment. The place of provision and process factors within school inspections also have an impact on the resources required of the schools and the inspectorate to implement assessments. As teaching and learning assume a more central position within the assessment, relatively labour-intensive instruments such as lesson observations, interviews and document analysis are used more often. This applies even more to the school improvement model (in which schools are given significant leeway in collecting and analyzing data and thus makes less use of standardized assessment methods) and – albeit to a lesser extent – to the process model (in which external standards allow for more standardized assessment methods). The difference in nature of the data required in the various models also means that risk-targeted supervision is feasible, particularly in output models.

Ownership and school improvement. Involvement of the school (e.g. in the weight attached to self-evaluation and the relevance of school ownership) plays an important role in the school improvement model. Inspections focusing on these aspects provide good opportunities for building on the

context, vision and culture of the school, which in many schools determine the quality of teaching in the social domain. In the externally oriented output model, elements such as self-evaluation and ownership play a secondary role. Process-oriented inspections assume the middle position in this respect too: although the inspection process (most of which takes place at the school) stimulates the school's involvement, the assessment is based on external, school-independent standards.

Table 9.1 Ideal-type assessment models of school effectiveness in the social domain

	<i>school improvement model</i>	<i>process model</i>	<i>output model</i>
standard setting	•	□	■
clear standards	•	□	■
focus on learning	■	■	•
focus on results	□	•	■
self-evaluation by schools	■	□	•
sense of school ownership	■	•	•
acceptance of findings by schools	■	□	•
focus on compliance	•	■	□
guidelines for improvement	■	□	•
consequences for schools	•	□	■
administrative burden on schools	■	□	•
intensity of inspectorate activities			
– <i>interviews with stakeholders in/around the school (incl. partner agencies and community partners)</i>	■	□	•
– <i>school and classroom observations</i>	■	□	•
– <i>document analysis</i>	■	□	•
– <i>achievement tests and student questionnaires</i>	•	□	■
– <i>desk analysis</i>	■	■	□
suitable for risk-assessment	•	•	■

Characteristic of assessment model:

- major
- partial
- minor / none

Towards effective assessment: Models of school inspection in the social domain

The models presented allow for a more detailed answer to the central question of this study: “Is it possible to measure outcomes of education in

the social domain, and can the effectiveness of the school's efforts in this domain be assessed?"

If we relate the experiences with school inspections in the social domain described in Part II with the combined question of what is the *object of evaluation* and what criteria are applied (the focus of school inspections) and what are the *reasons for evaluation* (the goal of school inspections), we realize that several answers may be given and that several approaches to school inspection can be distinguished on the basis of the position taken in these two dimensions. Thus, there are various answers to the question how inspections can be organized in the social domain – and various results to be expected – depending on the priorities chosen. These answers may be summarized by using the three models described above; once again, we should stress that these are ideal-typical models that offer an insight into possible approaches. In actual practice, combinations – with different weights given to the various elements – will usually be found. Table 9.1 summarizes the answers.

- *Output model.* In this approach to inspection, output in the social domain is the central issue. The focus is on assessing quality as reflected in the extent to which education realizes its intended goals. As Table 9.1 shows, this approach is characterized by a primarily external orientation: the impact of inspections mainly results from setting clear quality standards combined with a focus on the results of education and external improvement incentives. Characteristics of this approach are a relatively extensive inspection practice placing only a minor burden on the school, a central role for result indicators and limited attention for the teaching programme and process as long as the school meets output standards. The external orientation of this model implies a relatively restricted ownership of the school, which has to conform to external standards. The assessments do not necessarily indicate how improvement may be realized (see also Section 10.4).
- *School improvement model.* In many respects, the school improvement model offers the opposite perspective. It focuses on a school-oriented approach to social quality. The ideas and practices of the school are an important starting point for determining both goals and standards and the way in which the quality of education is assessed. The effects of supervision are not so much achieved by the external setting of standards and attention for their realization but by focusing on the process of education. In this approach, the primary mechanism is a dialogue about the quality of teaching and learning. The orientation on the school's internal processes broadens the support base for the inspection results and increases the motivation for school improvement. The school im-

provement model pre-supposes a relatively intensive effort made by the school and – partly dependent on the quality of the self-evaluations – the inspection. Because unambiguous standards are lacking in this model, it provides only a limited insight into what results are achieved at the school and the school system level (see also Section 10.3).

- *Process model.* A process-oriented approach to social quality is also mainly external in orientation but focuses more on the quality of teaching and learning than on results. Although external standard setting is again the primary mechanism underlying the inspections, its effect is less strong because of the variety of educational practices schools can use to achieve the social goals of education. In other words, the coercive effect of standards is smaller. Because the inspection assessments primarily target the way in which the educational process satisfies external standards, compliance with the standards plays an important role and inspections will focus on the extent to which elements of the curriculum and learning process satisfy quality demands. The central position of teaching and learning ensures that inspection assessments are recognizable and reflect the school practice, which broadens the support base for the assessments and increases their usefulness for school improvement. The evaluation of provision and process factors makes this a relatively labour-intensive form of inspection for both schools and inspectorate.

Application

As stated before, the choice for an appropriate form of inspection will in practice only partially be inspired by considerations concerning the effectiveness of inspections on social quality. Its embedding within the general approach to inspection, the legislative context and implicit assumptions about the effect of inspection models often play a substantial role. However, the above shows that when choosing a supervision approach, it is wise to take into account the mechanisms within the various forms of inspection and the effects these may produce.

To round off, we will briefly mention the main factors that may be involved in organizing school inspections in the social domain. Which factors are involved usually depends on the weight given to various elements such as:

- (a)
 - the importance attributed to monitoring clear minimum limits;
 - the extent to which there is confidence in the validity and relevance of the result measures;
 - a preference for extensive inspections, for example in the form of risk-targeted inspections;

- (b)
 - the importance attributed to assessing the quality of teaching and learning;
 - the extent to which external standards (legislation or consensus among stakeholders) are available or can be formulated;
 - opportunities for realizing more intensive forms of inspection;
- (c)
 - the importance attached to school improvement;
 - the importance attached to maximizing the school's autonomy;
 - opportunities for realizing more intensive forms of inspection.

If the elements under (a) are more important than those under (b) and (c), output-oriented forms of inspection will usually be the most suitable. If the (b) elements are the most important, some type of process-oriented inspection will be chosen, while in situations where the (c) elements prevail, the school improvement model is preferred.

10. Discussion. School inspections and school improvement in the social domain. The assessment of social outcomes of education

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10.1 Differences between assessment models in school inspections: What works?

Effective school inspections and supervision in the social domain

Good education is of great value to the society at large. It is understandable, therefore, that governments pay explicit attention to it and, in addition to regulation and funding, use supervision by school inspectorates as one of their instruments. In their endeavour to improve education and educational performance, many countries have carried out educational reforms or are still engaged in such reforms. Adjustments to control mechanisms are often part of these reforms; in many education systems these include increasing the influence of market forces and controlling output.

Much is known about the characteristics of effective education (see Teddlie & Reynolds 2000; Townsend 2007; Hattie 2009) and much research has been conducted into the functioning of educational supervision, a subject in which there is ongoing interest. Recently, comparative studies such as *Governing by Inspection* (e.g. Grek et al. 2013), the *Impact of School Inspections on Teaching and Learning* project (e.g. Ehren et al. 2013; Ehren 2014) or research by the OECD (2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2014) or the Standing International Conference of Inspectorates SICI (e.g. Gray 2014) have been carried out to obtain a better understanding of the effectiveness of school inspections and its contribution to educational improvement. To some extent, this seems to be a reaction to the emphasis over the last decade on performance data as an instrument for managing education and also points to the relevance of expert knowledge and self-evaluation, the stimulation of innovation and a continuous process of educational improvement (see OECD 2013; Donaldson & Homeier 2014).

Although the subject of this book cannot be regarded in isolation from the broader question of effective school inspections – and we have used

the results of this broader line of research throughout this study – our central topic is school inspections in the social domain and the aspects that are relevant to it. The reason for this is that our understanding of school effectiveness and school improvement in the social domain is still limited, and there is scant attention for effective school inspections of social quality.

What works?

Paying attention to school inspections of social quality is important for various reasons. First, the social outcomes of education are of major social and economic interest. Second, including social quality leads to a broader and better understanding of the quality of schools and the education system, contributes to improvement and innovation of schools and education systems, and provides an answer to the bias in opinions about educational quality and its effects (e.g. narrowing of education) that may be an unintended consequence of evaluations focusing on the academic core curriculum only.

Chapter 9 provided a tentative answer to the questions around which this study revolves: *Is it possible to measure outcomes in the area of socialization, social competences and citizenship in relation to the work of schools?* and *Can school inspectors assess the effectiveness of the work done by schools in this domain and can school inspections stimulate school improvement in this area?*

As we have seen, the quality of education in the social domain can be successfully assessed with the help of standards for the quality of curriculum content, teaching process and the outcomes of education. Depending on the object and purpose of evaluations, several answers may be given to the question of what will be effective. Section 9.2 presented three ideal-typical models: the *output model*, the *school improvement model* and the *process model*.

The output model focuses on results and clear standards and standard setting. The school improvement model maximizes the involvement of the school by cooperating with schools in the assessments and using information provided by the school. One of the national inspectorates in this study recently adopted a system in which support and advice is an important element to a much greater extent than in the other countries. The process model, which focuses on the micro-processes of teaching and learning, seems to be mainly used for indirect assessments of the extent to which the school successfully provides the students with the knowledge and skills they need in the social and civic domains. The inspectorate in one of the countries studied sends students, parents and teachers questionnaires over the course of the inspection cycle to collect information on topics such as ‘safety’ and ‘democratic values’ (e.g. “In my school, students respect each other’s differences”). Thus information

on both process and output indicators is collected. All inspectorates have a clear focus on social safety and, in one way or another, on democratic values and human rights too. Some of the countries also emphasize the influence that students have on school affairs and their responsibility for their own learning, for example by giving them a role in lesson planning.

Motivation driven and compliance driven

Broadly speaking, two approaches can be distinguished in these models. The output model focuses on the assessment of quality by measuring the extent to which schools achieve the intended goals as evidenced by the results of their teaching. The central mechanisms leading to quality improvement consist of setting external standards to provide guidelines for the schools' efforts and disseminating the results as an incentive to improvement. The school improvement model focuses on the process of education, improvement of teaching and school ownership by involving the school in the setting of standards and the design and implementation of the evaluation. Quality is assessed in conjunction with the goals and practices of the school. The central mechanism for school improvement in this model is adaptation (when determining standards and assessing compliance with them). Underlying the two approaches are different driving forces behind school improvement: accountability and adaptation. These approaches may be characterized as compliance-driven and motivation-driven.

Each approach focuses on different characteristics of social quality to achieve improvement of education in the social domain, but their strong points also comprise their potential weaknesses. The compliance-driven approach, for example, provides transparent standards and assessments, which influences both the schools' efforts (directed by clear expectations) and the mechanisms for changing behaviour (public dissemination of results as an incentive to improvement). Because of the heterogeneous and sometimes diffuse nature of social quality, unambiguous standards and concrete output definitions can exert a strong influence on schools. At the same time, however, the validity of these definitions becomes problematic and their usefulness to the school suffers if they do not sufficiently fit the school's situation.

The motivation-driven approach places the school at the centre and focuses on school ownership in such a way that mechanisms for an intrinsic change in behaviour are stimulated: the school considers the inspectorate's delineation of its quality as relevant and is motivated to develop its teaching; the definition of quality is the one adopted by the school and the conclusion that improvement is worth the effort is to a large extent the conclusion drawn by

the school itself. The importance of school climate and school-internal aspects of behaviour for realizing social quality and the currently limited options for wide-ranging measurements of results means that the adaptation focus has a strong influence on the school's actions. However, as we have seen in Section 9.2, motivation-driven approaches are not designed to achieve external goals in the first place. They moreover have limited options for correcting inadequate internal control mechanisms (e.g. when the internal goals are too modest in scope) and do not necessarily provide much insight into results either.

We have also seen that the theoretical and empirical knowledge about 'what works' in school inspections in the social domain is still limited. Chapter 3 sketched the outlines of a model for assessing the social quality of schools. Based on the analysis of the work of the inspectorates in the countries investigated in this study, we added more detail to this model in Chapter 9. In the rest of the current chapter, we will complete our answer to the question of what constitutes an effective organization of school inspection in the social domain by further exploring the two central approaches: the one focusing on school improvement and the other on standard setting and output measurement. It is possible to formulate evidence-based *contours* of effective school inspection by combining the experiences in the four countries (see Chapters 5 to 9) with knowledge of the functioning of school inspections in the domain of the core curriculum (see Chapter 3). However, for the social domain, empirical knowledge and an understanding of the actual effects are not available, as is the case for unintended and differential effects (e.g. different effects on the distribution of student outcomes, general and vocational education, etc. (see Witschge & Van de Werfhorst 2014). This means that although the model we sketch may seem plausible, research into effects is necessary before the question about effective evaluation of the social outcomes and the social quality of schools can be answered in more detail. The results of recent studies of effective school inspections (e.g. Ehren 2014; Gustafsson & Myrberg 2014) – which point to the importance of clear standards, the involvement of the various parties within the school in the evaluation, and taking into account the self-evaluations conducted by the school – also support the plausibility of the results of the analysis presented here.

10.2 Methodological considerations

The legitimacy of a democracy depends on how citizens perceive the value of political decisions. This has two major components: citizens' access to and

understanding of information, and the mechanisms used by the government to realize political decisions that have been taken. These mechanisms are used to influence behaviour either directly or indirectly through norms and values. The type or combination of mechanisms available to an administration varies between different domains of society. Supervision is one such mechanism. A common element in supervisory activities is the implementation of political decisions based on a democratic process of law-making. The concept of supervision is often used to describe both socialization and the control mechanisms mentioned before. An important question regarding the effectiveness of supervision is whether school inspections serve the goals set by the executive and parliament as laid down in statutory regulations (Johansson 2006).

In the preface to this book, we stated that the goals of education are many and varied. As became clear in Part II, education systems – in spite of differences in the investigated school systems – have in common the goal of contributing to students' identity formation, their individual development and their social and cultural upbringing. In the background of our analyses, the question has been to investigate how inspections can ensure that this goal is fulfilled. Quality assurance means both the internal and external evaluation of quality. In this context, the school inspectorate is one of the agents that contributes to schools providing their students with the optimal conditions for achieving these goals. The school inspectorate operates directly as an external partner in the drive to assure quality and foster improvement and innovation, but can also contribute indirectly to promote the self-evaluation systems of schools through the priorities it sets for supervision.

School inspections and social science research

Although school inspections and social science research do not coincide, they do have characteristics in common. School inspections can be regarded as a form of systematic empirical research – sometimes referred to as 'disciplined inquiry' (Cronbach & Suppes 1969) – that meets the demands of objective, reliable and valid data collection and analysis (see Janssens 2005). Unlike social science research, the goal of which is generalizable descriptive or explanatory knowledge, school inspections draw conclusions about a single school; moreover, these conclusions may have repercussions. In both survey and experimental research, researchers try to control all factors that have an influence on independent and dependent variables. This is impossible in school inspections. Nevertheless, the aim of inspection is to find evidence for successful teaching and learning leading to good

learning results. There are several important differences between social science research and school inspections (see Johansson 2006).

The time factor is the first to be noticed. Compared to school inspections, research projects are usually long-term endeavours. In the four countries described in Part II, the amount of time allocated to individual inspections varies considerably, from half a day to five days. These time frames raise the question of how much areas of enquiry can be realistically covered in the time allocated. Is there sufficient time to allow for the relevant and reliable identification of and reporting on social outcomes?

Another difference is options for controlling the factors that influence the subject of inquiry. The assessment of social learning and social and civic competences is a complex task. Socialization is seen as a lifelong process whereby knowledge, norms, values, attitudes, socio-cultural orientations and roles are transferred to individuals. There are many agents, at different levels, who have an impact on the upbringing of children: parents, other adults in the environment of the child, peers, the media and so on. A few inspectorates studied in this book, however, focus on the contribution of other partners involved in young people's learning. This could be seen as an opportunity to capitalize on the specialist skills and knowledge of these partners that can enhance and expand young people's learning. Also, when interested in the schools 'added value' in the social domain, these student and context characteristics need to be controlled for (see Chapter 2).

An important difference is that inspections can force schools to act according to laws and regulations. Section 9.1 described how the countries in this study use different methods and impose different consequences such as sanctions and penalty fines. Some inspectorates will re-inspect or re-engage, depending on the outcome of the first assessment. Some inspectorates only focus on assessment, while others combine assessment and support. Some place more importance on self-evaluation and involvement of the school as a key partner in developing an improved school culture than others. However, there is a strong overall tendency to increase support and dialogue with the school during the inspection process, thereby facilitating improvement (see Gray 2014). As we have seen before, this seems a promising instrument in the social domain.

A fourth difference between research and inspection is the use of causations. In inspections, causation is mainly used to assume relationships and explanations. In inspections, some causations are grounded in statutory regulations. For example, if a school has adopted a plan to combat bullying, the assumption is that this will lead to students not being abused and the school climate becoming safer. For an effective assessment, both

aspects – have the regulations been met *and* have the intended results been achieved – are important.

The logic of school inspection is different from the logic of evaluation per se or that of social science research, for example because of the link between evaluation and the possible implications of negative conclusions. This is an important distinction for school inspection, particularly where the potential impact of the consequences imposed after a school has been assessed as ‘inadequate’ is concerned. As we have seen in Chapter 3, it is particularly the potential repercussions (‘high stakes’) that amplify the effects of quality assessments: e.g. damage to the school’s reputation, reduced autonomy when instructed to carry out improvements, or financial sanctions (see Bishop 1997; Coleman 1997; Fuchs & Wossmann 2007).

To counter unintended effects, particularly where the inspection of social quality should be developed further (see Section 3.4) it is necessary to strike a good balance between assessments and their implications (Ehren & Visscher 2006; Ehren et al. 2013; Altrichter & Kemethofer 2014). A phased approach, in which schools are assessed over a longer period without (substantial) consequences being imposed, seems appropriate in this respect. Evaluation could be used for diagnostic purposes, to establish trends, weaknesses and risks, and to assess the quality of the school’s teaching and results. Such an approach will provide opportunities for combining elements from the output model (external standards and output indicators) and the school improvement model (building on the capabilities and internal motivation for development within the school).

Constructed metrics

Discourses of school effectiveness and school improvement tend to apply what is known as positivist ideals, such as being able to control and measure outcomes of schools – academic as well as social. Qualitative research methods are generally accepted within the humanities and social sciences today. Polkinghorne (1983: 29) describes the origins of the positivist versus anti-positivist debate, starting with the first advocates of methods to explore human life and institutions other than those used by the natural sciences: “Human science research needs to address life in all of its manifestations. It needs to examine human actions and expressions: it needs to examine the patterns of social organization. In short, it needs to address the intersection of life patterns and the individual’s interpretive efforts toward meaning-giving.” At the same time, it is also generally recognized that qualitative interpretation – which in fact is also a component of quantitative research – inescapably contains a subjective aspect. This can be illustrated

by the following conclusions from a study by Hallencreutz (2012: 69-70) into organizational change management: “The importance of interpretation, meaning and sense-making has grown stronger. (...) There is such a distant gap between the measurable facts and social constructs of success and failure. Thus, there are no objective answers. The literature provides no clear evidence based guidance – there is no best practice. ‘Success’ and ‘failure’ are elusive phenomena which seem to relate more to social constructions among certain stakeholders than to hard metrics. The answer depends on who you ask. The social context, where the actual change is taking place, seems to override no matter what management concept you introduce.” (See also Ravitch 2014).

This does not mean that we should not aim for best practice and equivalence, but it does highlight the risks of trying to do so by applying ready-made models to real-life situations. In his discussion of quality endeavours in general, Hallencreutz (2012) argues that the well-known gap between theory and practice appears when theoretical aspects are ignored in favour of ‘quick fixes’ or ad hoc solutions. He also highlights the risk of becoming blinded by indicators (see Koretz 2008). In searching for evidence to prove certain socially constructed indicators, we may miss what is actually going on ‘out there’ in real life (see Dahler-Larsen 2013). This does not mean that we do not need indicators (see Section 10.4) – it does mean that we need to be aware of the risk of goal displacement when applying them.

10.3 School improvement

Rationale

As outlined in Chapters 2 and 3, the inspection of the social quality of schools has a narrow theoretical and empirical basis. There is a limited understanding and limited shared notion of what social quality is, how to define and measure the social and civic competences of students, and which school and teaching conditions effectively enhance the social quality of the school and the social competences of students. Ownership of the definition of social quality by the school and the school’s stakeholders is considered important due to the differences in the social, cultural and economic context of schools. These differences in context are likely to warrant different specifications of social quality and social competences, and a successful improvement of the social quality of schools requires the involvement of stakeholders at different levels in the design and implementation of change,

as well as the improvement of variables at different levels in and around the school (classroom, school, district, national).

Traditional centralized accountability systems are often not well equipped to operate in such a context. Their top-down frameworks and approaches do not cater to more localized standard-setting and improvement models. Such centralized models may also enhance ‘competence traps’ when they legitimize a ‘one size fits all’ strategy for success and disseminate and reinforce certain school and teaching conditions that not yet been proven to be successful (see Section 10.4). The limited knowledge base around effective practices in the social domain could be enhanced by more localized models of school inspections which allow for the dissemination and validation of context-specific information to and within networks. Such an approach would, according to O’Day (2002), involve connecting stakeholders in and across schools who can have a role in effective school improvement, for example through an open forum of feeding back inspection results and setting up target agreements between stakeholders. Such an approach would also entail analyzing, validating and disseminating good practices; describing why the good practice worked for the host school, how the host school created process knowledge (‘this is how we did it’), and making explicit the theory underpinning the practice (‘these are the principles underpinning why we did it and what we did’). Elements of such a model were described in Chapter 9 as a school improvement model of school inspections.

School improvement inspection model for social quality

Section 9.2 outlined the building blocks of a school improvement inspection model as a school-oriented approach to social quality: school ownership, self-evaluation, the school’s capability for improvement and a focus on the development of teaching and the quality of school internal processes, and where the inspectorate validates the school’s assessment on its own standards. The need for localized standard-setting, evaluation and improvement of social quality suggests that such an approach should enhance the collaboration between schools, communities and the inspectorate through the process of collaborative evaluation where the inspectorate is an active partner in a polycentric network where multiple actors are involved in the governance, evaluation and improvement of schools. Such an approach was previously described by Ehren, Honingh & Janssens (submitted) focusing on the academic core curriculum. In their description of such an inspection model (which they refer to as ‘polycentric inspections’), inspectorates evaluate and assess the quality and functioning of networks of schools and their

stakeholders, with the purpose of validating and supporting improvement at the local level. Such an approach includes the following elements:

- The agenda (e.g. standards) for inspection is also set by schools and stakeholders with the purpose of analyzing, validating and disseminating good practices of how to improve student achievement (describing why the good practice worked for the host school, describing process knowledge, and making explicit the theoretical assumptions);
- The inspection frameworks include standards on effective cooperation between schools and stakeholders;
- The inspection schedule includes visits to all schools and stakeholders at the same time;
- Inspection feedback is given to all schools and stakeholders in an open forum and agreements are made about a shared agenda for change.

These inspection models are different from the traditional centralized inspection models in that they adapt their evaluation schedules and frameworks to the local contexts of schools working in partnerships (with other schools and their stakeholders) to improve, and to local problems that are addressed in these partnerships. Inspection schedules and frameworks facilitate and support the creation of these networks and generate, validate and disseminate the context-specific knowledge about improvement that is developed in these networks (e.g. looking at good practices for improvement in networks of schools, analyzing the principles underlying these good practices and evaluating the extent to which these actually contribute to high levels of student competences in the social and civic domain).

10.4 Standard setting and output

Rationale

Schools are organizations founded for a purpose. Briefly, this purpose is stimulating the development of young people. Because young people develop in more than one domain, the goals of education are multifaceted and include, for example, stimulating cognitive and social development. There may be differences in the efforts required to formulate such goals unambiguously or differences of opinion about what these goals should be. The goals in the various domains may also be given different weights. Nevertheless, also where social goals are concerned, the quality of schools is higher as they are more successful in realizing the intended goals and

enable their students to learn and grow. In essence, school inspection in the social domain concerns the realization of goals and the possibility for schools to improve in this respect. This means that the primary criterion determining the effectiveness of school inspection in the social domain consists of the extent to which it provides an insight into what students learn, and the quality of the school conditions contributing to this learning.

This explains why the output model (see Section 9.2), with its focus on results and external standard setting, includes important elements of supervision because it opposes levelling and ineffective standards. Lacking standards of what students should learn, or using standards that make non-compliance virtually impossible, leads to an inspection process that does not provide an understanding of quality. Such standards do not produce relevant information about the development of students. They also do not hold schools accountable for inadequate teaching or students' poor performance, nor do they stimulate improvement.

This underlines once more the importance of external standard setting (see Coleman 1997; Levinson 2011). Although internal standards have advantages (e.g. ownership of the school and links with the local context; see Section 9.2), they only offer limited opportunities for quality assurance. Because meeting meaningful standards requires efforts, it can be expected that schools will take these efforts into account when formulating standards. Meeting a standard involves 'costs' (e.g. a more strict approach to students which may lead to negative effects on the school climate, or more school-wide coordination that may reduce teacher autonomy). That schools may choose standards that minimize the costs for the school illustrates this limitation. Moreover, schools are faced with opposing interests. On the one hand, intrinsic considerations and the expectations of parents and others will stimulate schools to realize social goals. On the other hand, they face the conundrum of every 'vendor': how to minimize the risk of being held responsible for the quality of the product supplied. Schools therefore have mixed interests in external supervision too: the advantages to external evaluation (e.g. an insight into their own quality and knowledge for improvement) must be weighed against the disadvantages of assessment, which, if negative, may lead to sanctions (e.g. a poor reputation). When the evaluation is given into the hands of stakeholders in or around the school, the school still has a major interest, if only because the interests of the school organization (e.g. autonomy, peace and quiet, continuity) usually coincide with those of the stakeholders.

Internal and external cohesion

Where social quality is concerned, a specific aspect also comes into play. Although the relationship with the context is important for teaching and learning in the social domain, it also poses a risk. On the one side, socialization concerns internal cohesion but on the other hand it also involves stimulating external cohesion. The school's social task pre-supposes that it transcends group boundaries, which becomes all the more relevant when people place a high value on such group characteristics. This creates a tension between internal standard setting – in which goals linked to internal cohesion (socio-cultural, religious, local or regional identities, etc.) may be dominant – and conflicting goals aimed at transcending group boundaries, such as a commitment to society in general and being open to 'outsiders'. This opposition not only occurs in schools having specific cultural or religious values or containing minorities with divergent ideas but in all situations where there are latent or manifest ingroups and outgroups, and schools – either intentionally or unintentionally – reflect the culture of the dominant social group (levelling). The stakeholders around the school are part of that system, which means that internal standard setting is influenced by the values that are dominant within the school context.

The school's internal standard setting thus has its limitations in the form of rational organizations that are not used to acting against their own interests, and the lack of a mechanism for balancing internal and external values. External standard setting and a focus on results, if necessary in combination with options to impose sanctions, are thus characteristics of effective supervision in the social domain and form an important distinction between the school improvement model and the output model.

Again, we should stress that these models (as was the case in Section 10.3) are used as heuristic devices. In reality, these types will not occur in their pure form. Instead, practical supervision will include combinations of their characteristics, with varying weights given to the various elements. The above also shows that effective supervision in the social domain provides for sufficient involvement of the school *and* takes external standards and stimuli into account, so that schools can actually be held accountable for inadequate results.

Neutrality and objectifiability

A similar risk occurs when inspectorates endeavour to conduct objective and neutral assessments. Although this is an elementary principle of supervision, also in the social domain, it may lead to overly restrained assessments, particularly in this domain, as values are closer to the surface

than those in the basic curriculum. This is the case when inspectors, in an attempt to minimize the risk of value conflicts, are reluctant in their observations and assessments and instead focus on procedural criteria (such as a safety plan). The often young tradition of school inspection in the social domain, combined with the use of diffuse quality criteria, may also lead to uncertainty on the part of the inspectors, with risk avoidance as a consequence. Inspectorates will then mainly point to situations where standards are patently not adhered to and for the rest write a lacklustre – and often positive – report. If clear criteria are lacking, there is also a risk that inspectors allow their personal opinions about values and the school's social task to resonate in their assessments, in a domain where it is eminently important that there is a clear distinction between the freedom of schools and the duties of government.

The notion that evaluating the social task of schools quickly leads to normative assessments is debatable. Not only do statutory regulations usually provide useful principles and boundaries, but schools implementing their socialization task – despite different religious or moral legitimizations – often adopt variations on the *regula aurea* ('the golden rule': treat others as you would want to be treated). Both the values embedded in this principle (see Dewey 1916) and its instrumental relevance (such as the importance of the transfer of the knowledge and skills necessary to adhere to it) lead to a common domain in which objectifiable standards can be formulated and evaluated (see Eidhof et al. 2013). Where religious and ethical principles lead to debates about the norm, these will usually concern topics – with the exception of the need to maintain basic democratic values – that transcend educational quality and will include the question whether school inspections are the right tool for resolving the underlying value conflicts. This means that inspectorates can take schools to task if they flaunt or neglect basic values (e.g. failure to address discrimination) but should not take a stand on moral issues (e.g. ideas about 'the good life'), as long as these do not contravene the law. With respect to social quality, this means that there is significant room for evaluations that meet the same requirements of neutrality and objectifiability as those in other areas. This is also true for statutory requirements and domains in which there is a high degree of inter-subjective conformity. The remaining area, where there is a legitimate diversity of values, is less suitable for inspection.

This does not mean to say that the sensitivity to values that may be part of the social domain is not relevant and may not, on occasion, lead to tensions. Nevertheless, we conclude that the perceived sensitivity to values is more

limited in scope than is often assumed and that there are no reasons for excluding evaluations of social quality in schools from inspections based on such grounds.

Assessment framework

This again points to the importance of a well-rounded supervision framework that takes school-specific characteristics into account, provides an operationalization of social quality in which unintended focus narrowing and goal displacement are minimized, and includes standards formulated in such a way that both schools and inspectors can use them to their advantage. The latter should include both a clear definition of the aspects of quality – i.e. all elements of provision, process and outcomes that are relevant (see Section 10.3) – and unambiguous criteria for assessment. The conclusion reached by the OECD (2013) that evaluation and assessment frameworks play a crucial role in educational improvement thus also applies to assessment frameworks for social quality and concerns, for example, clear specifications of the aspects that should be included and the criteria necessary to determine the levels of output and compliance.

This underlines what we stated before about external standard setting as one of the primary characteristics of an effective inspection model for the social domain. A clear and specified framework will give inspectors something to go on when selecting indicators and collecting and weighing data, and prevents uninspired, low-risk evaluations as a result of insecurity about the object of evaluation and the requirements that must be met. Where such frameworks are lacking and assessments of social quality produce lacklustre reports, these inspections will be regarded as hardly relevant and further development of supervision in the social domain might stagnate. Investing in adequate supervision frameworks is thus an important priority for the development of school inspection in the social domain.

Elements that are relevant in this respect include a strong support base in educational circles and the society at large for the standards to be used, such as desirable learning objectives and levels of competence (what students should learn); commitment on the part of the schools, particularly in the form of sufficient ownership of the standards; and inspectors who are sufficiently qualified to assess social quality.

As many inspectorates have only recently introduced inspections in the social domain, there is a lack of knowledge around what constitutes effective inspections in the social domain and how to assess good quality and measure social outcomes. As described in Part II, in one of the countries in this study few schools have been evaluated as failing on indicators around

social quality because school inspectors feel unfamiliar with assessing democratic values. As a result, school inspectors may also feel less confident and knowledgeable in evaluating these topics and providing schools with (informal) feedback on how to improve their social quality and the social competences of students. The attitude, skills and role of the inspector are important factors in supervision, while interacting with the object of assessment during the process of inspection, and the results will depend on this interplay (see Dahler-Larsen 2013). In view of the specific characteristics of the domain, specific training should be considered, especially where regular supervision focuses on the core curriculum and general processes of teaching and learning. This training of inspectors should focus on aspects such as pedagogical quality and school climate, effectiveness of teaching social and civic competences (does it lead to learning; does it fit the needs of students and society) and whether all students master the desired competences.

Unintended side effects

As we have seen in Chapter 3, school inspections in the cognitive domain can have a number of unintended consequences. Some of these unintended consequences may also apply to school inspections in the social domain. The way in which an inspectorate defines and measures social quality may, for example, lead to a narrow implementation of measures to improve the involvement of students in the school, such as setting up student committees that do not have a real voice in the functioning of the school. Another example is school inspectors asking schools for plans and protocols describing how the school deals with psychosocial issues in its student population. Having these plans and protocols does not necessary lead to high social quality within the school.

If possible, the social domain is even more susceptible to the risks of inspections with an overly narrow perspective (e.g. 'Does the school have a student committee?') or means-directed focus (e.g. 'Does the school have a safety plan?') while neglecting the purpose (e.g. student well-being) to which these means should be an end (goal displacement). If the intended results cannot be ascertained by limited observations or when the results may be highly diverse so that the observations require a greater effort, there is a risk that the inspection will be limited to indicators that are relatively easy to measure, leading to these measurements having insufficient validity.

Positive side effect: Counterbalance

A narrowing of the curriculum is an unintended side effect when schools focus on a limited set of indicators to measure the quality of education

(goal distortion). In this respect, including social quality in school inspections can have a significant positive side effect. We expect that inspections of social quality and social competences can counterbalance some of the unintended consequences of inspections in the core curriculum. Paying attention to aspects of social quality is an excellent counterbalance, for example, to the risk of tunnel vision, because of the differentiated nature of social education goals and the necessary input of the schools in the realization of these goals, which offers space for both qualitative aspects and quantitative elements outside the basic assessment scheme.

Apart from paying attention to social quality as a goal in itself, supervision in the social domain thus has an important effect on the quality of supervision of the cognitive core curriculum, as it broadens the definition of quality and counteracts the unintended narrowing of focus that occurs when schools view educational quality exclusively in terms of student achievement in the basic school subjects. Because of the nature of the learning objectives related to socialization, which essentially involve the realization of social development and induction into society's culture and which appeal to the formulation of moral and social goals for the school, paying attention to aspects of social quality is also expected to counteract myopia and ossification effects (see Chapter 3). In addition to the primary function of paying attention to aspects of social quality, this kind of educational supervision also fulfils an important secondary function in that it counteracts unintended side effects of the tendency in schools to focus on aspects that are formally assessed.

Need for indicators

The previous chapters indicated that the inspection frameworks currently in use in most countries only have limited sets of indicators of social quality and social competences. This is partly the result of the idea that government only has a limited responsibility in this domain. Some countries feel that social quality and social competences should be defined by schools, and that inspections only have a role in checking whether such definitions are in place and are acted upon. The relative complexity of measuring social and civic competences also played a role, and the interplay of these two factors means that this situation is only slowly changing. A favourable development is our steadily increasing knowledge about the role of the school. Although for a long time the level of understanding concerning the components of adequate teaching and the conditions of school organization that contribute to learning in the social domain lagged behind that in the cognitive domain,

this situation starts to change (see Torney-Purta et al. 2001; Keating et al. 2010; Schulz et al. 2010; Geboers et al. 2012; Isac et al. 2013).

This development can be accelerated by specifically investing in the further development of indicators and measures of social quality and social and civic competences; by research into the relations between school and school system factors, social outcomes and supervision (see Witschge & Van de Werfhorst 2014); and by developing strategies (e.g. public campaigns, public consultations) to ensure that measures and indicators are incorporated into the broader arena of policy and education in which schools function. Such an approach ensures that these indicators and measures will find their way into schools through school inspections and other channels, which in turn should strengthen the involvement of schools and wider educational circles as well as the support base for development and school improvement. Ball, for example, describes an inter-related set of ‘policy technologies’ (of which school inspections are a part) to transform the public sector (Ball 2008: 41). Such technologies involve the calculated deployment of forms of organization and procedures and disciplines or bodies of knowledge to organize societal forces and human capabilities into functioning systems. Examples in the cognitive domain include national reform programmes to improve student achievement in maths and literacy, international league tables in maths and literacy (PISA, PIRLS, TIMSS; see Section 1.2), legislation on student achievement targets, national curricula and assessments in maths and literacy, commercial products (e.g. textbooks, formative assessments, self-evaluation instruments) aligned to standards on maths and literacy, and professional development (including initial teacher training) in teaching maths and literacy. These ‘technologies’ create new ways of thinking about what we do, what we value and what our purposes are, and they drive the planning, self-evaluations and daily practices of schools. An example is offered by studies comparing civic education in various countries (*Civic Education Study CIVED* 1999; *International Civic and Citizenship Education Study ICCS* 2009;¹ Torney-Purta et al. 2001; Kerr et al. 2010, Schulz et al. 2010), which reveal sometimes large differences in the social and civic competences of students in these countries and sometimes also socially undesirable findings (see Chapter 4).

¹ In 1971, the first IEA Study of Civic Education was conducted (Torney, Oppenheim & Farnen, 1975). The next *International Civic and Citizenship Education Study* (which will include the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden among others) will take place in 2016.

Evaluation and support

Including social quality and social competences in inspection frameworks; making them a regular part of frequent inspection visits to schools; developing and using reliable and valid measures (e.g. observation protocols, interview guidelines, student achievement tests); publishing the school's performance in these measurements and setting high expectations; creating support for schools to improve in the social and cognitive domain; providing schools with examples of good practice in this area: all of these elements are therefore expected to enhance the institutionalization of standards of social quality and social and competences and the impact of school inspections on these indicators.

It is, however, important to understand that such institutionalization may also lead to a 'one size fits all' approach to improvement and a strong focus on inspection requirements and the measures used to evaluate these requirements, particularly when schools face severe consequences for not meeting these standards. Above, we have already described the importance of a balanced approach that combines elements of the school improvement and the output approach to provide room for school ownership and embedding in the school context. It is also relevant to distinguish between the evaluation of social quality and social outcomes and the dissemination of the results on the one hand, and the resulting consequences on the other hand. In situations where there is high-stakes inspection in which negative evaluation findings may lead to substantial sanctions, unintended effects such as a narrowing of focus and homogenization will more likely occur also within the social domain than when the focus is on standard setting and the dissemination of results without immediately imposing consequences. The latter situation gives schools leeway to choose their own priorities and to stand out through these choices in a system in which clear objectives have been formulated and results are visible.

10.5 The assessment of social outcomes of education

Because the development of a framework of indicators and standards for the assessment of social quality depends on the national context and the goals of education, and because there is as yet little knowledge about what constitutes effective teaching of social and civic competences, any design for the assessment of social quality will, of necessity, be general in nature. However, this does not mean that nothing more can be said about this.

In Chapter 3 we discussed the following principles of effective supervision in the social domain:

- *A coherent system of standards*: clear standards that give good insight into the goals to be pursued and the various components of social quality;
- *Outcome indicators*: knowledge of the students' social and civic competences as an indicator of educational outcomes, with a view to accountability and providing incentives for quality improvement;
- *Insight into curriculum content and teaching process*: knowledge of the quality of teaching and learning, particularly as a means to provide an insight into options for educational improvement;
- *Ownership of the school*: involvement of school management and teachers in the quality assessment in such a way that they can own the results and are willing and able to work with them;
- *Insight into pedagogical quality and school climate*: knowledge that parents can understand and is relevant to their situation, so that they can make choices that best fit the developmental needs and characteristics of their children.

Ten elements for inspecting social quality in schools

The following is based on the national studies in Chapters 5 to 8 and the analyses in Chapters 3 and 9. We will combine the available knowledge about effective education for the acquisition of social and civic competences and our exploration of characteristics of effective supervision in the social domain to identify ten elements which together make up the core of an integrated framework for school inspection of social quality. Although this proposal is not intended to be exhaustive and – depending on the characteristics of the national situation – will require more detailing (the Appendix contains several examples of indicators, guidelines, interview protocols, student questionnaires, etc. from the countries in this study to illustrate the aspects of social quality included in the inspection frameworks in the social domain), it does present the central elements that must be taken into consideration when assessing the quality of education in the social domain.

1. *Legislation*. Compliance with statutory requirements.
2. *Results*. Student performance (learner results). Relevant aspects for this element include:
 - that it can be measured objectively;
 - that it is possible to assess the relationship between the achieved results and the intended learning objectives;
 - that the results provide an understanding of how achievements comply with statutory requirements and/or expectations within society.

This may be done with standardized measuring instruments or other methods for measuring learning outcomes. Section 2.4 explained that measurements of the students' perception of social safety and student well-being are also an indication of the school's social outcomes.

3. *Climate*. The social climate in the classroom and the school at large. Relevant aspects include a correspondence of the climate with the goals the school wants to realize in the social domain.
4. *Pedagogics*. The pedagogical quality of the teaching, in which it is important that the pedagogical behaviour of teachers reflects the social and civic competences that the school wants to transfer (e.g. being respectful to each other).
5. *Teaching methods*. The didactic quality of the teaching. Important in this respect is that the didactic behaviour of teachers and the teaching methods adopted by the school promote the social and civic competences that the school wants to transfer (e.g. cooperating with others and taking responsibility).
6. *Safety*. The social safety of students and others in and around the school. An anti-bullying policy is an element of social safety. Offering a socially safe environment is not only important as a condition for learning but is primarily an indication of the desired school climate and the quality of pedagogical behaviour.
7. *Curriculum*. The organization and content of the curriculum. Relevant aspects for this element include:
 - that the content offered can be expected to contribute to the acquisition of social and civic competences by students;
 - that attention is paid to the main dimensions that are relevant in this respect, such as the transfer of knowledge, attitudes and skills; the various levels at which social and civic competences operate (e.g. school, neighbourhood, society; not limited to social safety and school climate, etc.); and divergent aspects of social upbringing (e.g. promotion of social norms *and* critical attitudes and autonomy; where appropriate, the transfer of specific values *and* common basic values);
 - that the content offered is logically structured in terms of school years and subject areas;
 - that the curriculum is appropriate to the characteristics of the student body and the school's context and that attention is paid to risks involved in not achieving socially desirable goals (e.g. prejudice and xenophobia).
8. *Objectives*. Clear learning objectives that are relevant to the school's mission.

9. *Student care*. The quality of student care, including attention paid to intrapersonal development (building self-confidence or addressing causes of anti-social behaviour).
10. *Mission & leadership*. The school's mission and the support base for this mission among teachers, parents and other relevant stakeholders. For the mission to be feasible, the school's leadership is important. It should be aimed at realizing the school's mission by way of the content and organization of the curriculum and appropriate pedagogical and didactic teacher behaviour. Aspects related to mission and leadership include:
 - the school's links with the social context and maintaining contacts with stakeholders;
 - the conditions necessary for realizing the school's mission, for example promotion of appropriate pedagogical and didactic teacher competences.

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Appendices

Appendix I

Examples of educational goals

Core objectives related to social and civic competences

The Netherlands (2006)

Core objectives for primary education related to social and civic competences

- 34 Students learn to take care of their own physical and mental health and that of others.
- 35 Students learn to behave appropriately in social terms, as participants in traffic and as consumers.
- 36 Students learn the principles of the structure of the Dutch and European states and the role of the citizen.
- 37 Students learn to behave based on respect for generally accepted standards and values.
- 38 Students learn the principles of the religious traditions that play an important role in the multicultural society of the Netherlands and learn to deal respectfully with the different views held by others.¹
- 39 Students learn to protect the environment.

Core objectives for first years of secondary education related to social and civic competences

- 35 Students learn about due care and to care about themselves and others and their surroundings, and how they can have a positive influence on their own safety and that of others in different living conditions (living, learning, working, going out, in traffic).
- 36 Students learn to ask meaningful questions about social issues and incidents, to adopt a substantiated standpoint and to defend it while dealing respectfully with criticism.
- 38 Students learn to use a contemporary view of their own surroundings, the Netherlands, Europe and the world in order to put incidents and developments in perspective.

¹ Since 2012, core objectives 38 (primary education) and 43 (secondary education) about diversity also include sexual diversity.

- 43 Students learn about similarities, differences and changes in the culture and way of life in the Netherlands, learning to see their own way of life and that of others in perspective and the social significance of respect for one another's views and way of life.
- 44 Students learn the principles of how the Dutch political system works as a democracy and they learn to see how people can be involved in the political process in different ways.
- 45 Students learn to understand the significance of European co-operation and the European Union for themselves, the Netherlands and the world.
- 47 Students learn to put current world tensions and conflicts in perspective against their own background while learning to see their effect (at the national, European and international levels) on individuals and society, as well as the high degree of interdependence in the world, the importance of human rights and the significance of international co-operation.

Fundamental democratic values

Basic values of the democratic constitutional state

The Netherlands (2006)

Freedom of expression: that you can say and write what you think and oppose the views of others. Everyone may thus also propagate his or her religion and express his or her opinion to others, provided applicable laws are observed.

Equality: that people are of equal value. In this respect, it does not matter what your ideas are or what you believe. You do not have to find these ideas or customs valuable, but you must treat people with different ideas and customs as equally valuable as yourself or your group.

Understanding of others: that you try to understand why people or groups have certain ideas or customs; what is the background, and why are these important to others?

Tolerance: that you accept the opinions or behaviour of others, even if you disagree with them entirely and that you allow others to hold such opinions or behave in this way. Needless to say, everyone must abide by the law.

Autonomy: that everyone can determine for himself/herself who they are and how they want to lead their lives. For example, everyone is free to

determine what ideas or what faith is important to him/her. To this end, the applicable laws must be observed.

The rejection of intolerance: intolerance is the opposite of tolerance. It means that you believe other groups or people should not be able to think, do or say things with which you do not agree, and that you do not believe everyone should be able to hold such an opinion or behave in such a way.

The rejection of discrimination: discrimination means that people or groups are disadvantaged compared to others or that you believe there should not be as much room for people with different ideas or customs, or that such ideas and customs should actually be prohibited.

Democratic values in Syllabuses

Sweden (2010)

Example from Biology

- In this way, teaching should contribute to pupils developing their critical thinking over their own results, the arguments of others and different sources of information. Through teaching, pupils should also develop an understanding that statements can be tested and evaluated by using scientific methods.
- Teaching should give pupils opportunities to use and develop knowledge and tools for expressing their own arguments and examining those of others in contexts where a knowledge of biology is of importance. As a result, pupils should be given the preconditions to manage practical, ethical and aesthetic situations involving health, use of natural resources and ecological sustainability.

Example from Civics

- Teaching in civics should aim at helping the pupils to develop knowledge about how the individual and society influence each other. Through teaching, the pupils are given the opportunity to develop an overall view of societal questions and social structures. In such an overall view, the social, economic, environmental, legal, media and political aspects are fundamental.
- Teaching should give pupils the preconditions to view societal questions from different perspectives. In this way, pupils develop their understanding

of their own living conditions and those of others, the importance of gender equality, how different interests and views occur, how they are expressed and how different actors try to influence the development of society.

- Teaching should give pupils the tools to manage information in daily life and studies and knowledge about how to search for and assess information from different sources. Through teaching, pupils are given opportunities to develop knowledge on how societal questions and societal structures can be critically examined. Pupils should also be given the opportunity to develop knowledge of social science concepts and models.
- Teaching should help pupils to develop their familiarity of human rights, democratic processes and ways of working. It should also help pupils to acquire knowledge about and the ability to reflect on the values and principles that distinguish a democratic society.
- Through teaching, pupils are given the opportunity based on their personal experiences and current events to express and consider their views in relation to others who hold different views. As a result, pupils should be encouraged to get involved and participate in an open exchange of views on societal issues.

Teaching in civics should essentially give pupils the opportunities to develop their ability to:

- reflect on how individuals and society are shaped, changed and how they interact,
- analyze and critically examine local, national and global societal issues from different perspectives,
- analyze social structures using concepts and models from the social sciences,
- express and assess different standpoints in e.g. current societal issues and arguments based on facts, values and different perspectives,
- search for information about society from the media, the Internet and other sources and assess its relevance and credibility,
- reflect on human rights and democratic values, principles, ways of working and decision-making processes.

Example from Swedish

- Pupils can talk about and discuss various topics by asking questions and expressing opinions with well-developed and well informed arguments in a way that takes the dialogues and discussions forward and deepens or broadens them.

- In addition, pupils can prepare and give well-developed oral accounts with well-functioning structures and contents and good adaptation to purpose, recipient and context.
- Pupils can apply well-developed and well-informed reasoning about the history of the Swedish language, its origins and special characteristics, and compare these with closely related languages and clearly describe important similarities and differences.

Appendix II

Examples of instruments

Questions for inspection school environment

Norway (2010)

The control questions are specific questions that must be answered during the inspection process to take a position on whether or not the municipality's practices are in accordance with the requirements of the law. This is a list of minimum requirements deduced from law requirements. This is not necessarily a complete list of all legal requirements but a selection of the most crucial indicators in order to determine that the schools are working on improving the psychosocial environment.

This inspection subject was divided three main categories. 1) Preventive work, 2) How the schools handle abusive behaviour, and 3) How the school involves and engages students and parents.

Based on the questions, there are criteria for what should be considered a violation or not.

Preventive work

- 1) Can the schools verify their work towards a good psychosocial environment?
- 2) Does the school have goals for the psychosocial environment?
- 3) Can the schools verify how they evaluate their work on improving the school environment?
- 4) Do the schools have knowledge about the individual student's experience of the school environment?
- 5) Can the schools verify how they follow up on the observations made through mapping/observations/ interviews?
- 6) Does the school have a clear oversight of who is responsible for carrying out action points regarding the preventive work?
- 7) Are the school leaders systematically involved in the daily work on a good school environment?
- 8) Has the school defined what they see as violating behaviour?
- 9) Can the school verify how staff, pupils and parents have been informed of what the school defines as insulting behaviour?
- 10) Can the school verify that plans and routines are carried out in practice?
- 11) Do the schools evaluate their plans and routines?

How the schools handle abusive behaviour

- 12) Do the employers (teachers and other staff) know what is required of them if abusive behaviour occurs?
- 13) Does the staff intervene when they suspect or know that abusive behaviour is occurring?
- 14) Does the staff know how to handle abusive behaviour?
- 15) Does the school have a routine that describes what to do when they suspect or have knowledge of a pupil being exposed to violating words or behaviour?
- 16) Does the school leader have routines on how to follow up on alerts from staff about violating behaviour?
- 17) Does the staff alert the school leader when they have knowledge of or are suspicious about insulting behaviour?
- 18) Does the staff have a common understanding of what they should inform/alert the school leader about?
- 19) Does the school make written decisions if a student or parents ask for action to be taken regarding the psychosocial environment?
- 20) Does the school handle requests from students/parents as soon as possible?
- 21) Does the school inform students and parents about their right to have a request handled with a written decision from the school when they contact the school regarding the psychosocial environment?
- 22) Does the school have a routine to assess when they should make a written decision when carrying out actions regarding a student that is decisive for his/her rights?
- 23) Does the school make written decisions regarding all requests they have concerning the school environment?
- 24) Do the written decisions describe action points (on how the school will handle the individual case)?
- 25) Do the written decisions give information about the Public Administration Act and its explanation of how parents/students can complain?

How the school involves and engages students and parents

- 26) Does the school have routines to involve the students in their work on the school environment?
- 27) Does the school have routines to keep the councils orientated on essential conditions at the school concerning the school environment?
- 28) Has the school established a school environment council, and is the composition of the council according to the Education Act?

- 29) Has the school established a collaboration council, and is the composition of the council according to the Education Act?
- 30) Has the school established a students' council?
- 31) Has the school established a parents' council?
- 32) Do the different councils have regular meetings (that is, are the councils active)?
- 33) Are relevant cases discussed in the councils?
- 34) Do the council members have a realistic opportunity to make their statements?

Questionnaire items to students and staff

Sweden (2012)

Students in grade 5 of primary school

- Participation and influence
- Students can influence the way in which they work

Students grade 9 in primary school and secondary school year 2

- Argumentation and critical thinking
- Discussing and debating issues during lessons
- In my school I am trained to argue and defend my opinions
- My teacher encourages us students to reflect on what we hear and read

Participation and influence

- Students have influence on the content of lessons
- Students have influence in the way in which they work
- Students have influence on the school environment

Teaching staff

- Argumentation and critical thinking
- We don't have time for reflections and discussions during lessons
- In my lessons we discuss and debate the content of the lessons
- I encourage my students to critically reflect

Participation and influence

- Students have the possibility of influencing their school environment
- Students can influence the content of the lessons
- Students can influence the way in which they work in the classroom

Questions in interviews

Sweden (2012)

- 1 The school's work with democracy and fundamental values – how is it carried out and how are the different parts ensured?**
 - The school's works with fundamental values
 - How is the school's democratic mission interpreted? Is it possible to educate pupils to become democratic citizens? How is democracy's ideal explained to the pupils?
 - Civic competence – how is this promoted, what is most important?
 - Follow-up, analysis and documentation of the schools' mission regarding democratic values. How does the school succeed?
 - Competence development concerning the schools' mission regarding democratic values; the teachers' ability to handle the mission; How does the principal receive information about what goes on in the classrooms?
 - Knowledge of legislation and steering documents concerning democratic values. Minority languages?
 - Is there a common ethos? Do the school's teachers discuss with each other the difficulties and possibilities of offering education that includes or is influenced by democratic values?

- 2 The climate of communication at the school – what is it like and how is a propitious climate ensured?**
 - Calm, safe and stimulating study environment?
 - The discussion climate at the school? Accepting/challenging? Are there any banned topics?
 - Respect between pupils/pupils, teachers/pupils? Is diversity appreciated? Can pupils and personnel be themselves? Give examples. Are there any pupils or groups of pupils that are not fully respected/included? Why not?
 - Are the school's norms and rules being made clear to the pupils (e.g., school/classroom rules, fundamental values)?
 - The personnel's readiness, ability and competence to meet differences/diversity as well as different values?
 - How are built-in paradoxes/dilemmas balanced in the democracy mission/diversity? Inalienable democratic/undemocratic values? Handling of that which violates fundamental values? Homophobia/racism/sexism/traditional gender roles?

- The school's work on preventing and counteracting degrading treatment? (e.g., the pupils' activities online).
- Are the prerequisites for performing the DV mission experienced as favourable?

3 Pupil influence – what form does this take and how is it ensured?

- Pupil influence in the planning of the activities? What is meant by pupil influence?
- Does the teaching provide pupils with the opportunity to practice working in democratic ways?
- Do the pupils get to learn how to influence things here and now, in school and in society?
- Is pupil influence desirable/realistic within all areas? What is most difficult?
- Information to pupils and parents? Do class councils/pupil councils/parent meetings take place?
- What is the purpose of class councils/pupil councils? What are we supposed to learn? Does the principal take part in pupil council meetings?
- How are the pupils encouraged to want to participate in making decisions?
- How do you take the pupils' views into consideration? How do you know if the pupils think they have enough influence? How do you find out?
- Is the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child discussed in school?

4 Knowledge and values – focus on what forms these take and how the lessons are planned/implemented so that this is ensured

- The connection between DV and the knowledge requirements in the subjects.
- What knowledge, values and abilities do the pupils need to achieve to have acquired “civic competences”?
- Are discussions about the fundamental values/democracy included in all subjects? (For example, are the contents of terms such as human rights – freedom of speech – courage/moral courage – tolerance – equality – respect – solidarity, discussed?)
- Is the following included/discussed, i.e. do the pupils get to learn about, different perspectives, norms, ideologies, hierarchies and traditions (e.g., religious, cultural, those of the school)? (compare area 7)
- How is behaviour that violates the school's fundamental values handled (e.g., racism, homophobia, sexism, devaluation of women) (compare area 2)

- Subject integration? (Overall perspective as well as areas)

5 All pupils' ability to voice their opinion and to speak and be heard – focus on the current situation and how lessons are planned/implemented so that this is ensured

- How is the lesson normally conducted: small groups – the entire class – individually – other? Are teachers aware of each other's teaching?
- How is an open and accepting classroom climate achieved in which all opinions and values are allowed and encouraged? What is the ideal – what does it look like?
- How do you work so that all pupils get the same amount of attention and the same room for expression? (e.g., quiet pupils)
- Are there classroom rules? How have they been developed? Variation between different classes?
- Individual adaptation?
- What are the attitudes to gender and how does the school work with gender issues?

6 Comprehensiveness, objectivity and critical discussion – focus on the current situation and how the lessons are planned/implemented so that this is ensured

- How and when are the purpose and objectives, etc. of the teaching clarified to the pupils?
- Are the pupils invited to submit opinions and suggestions for e.g., planning, content, examination?
- Are the pupils invited to have questions about or to question the subject the teaching concerns, in dialogue and discussion?
- Is critical and independent thinking encouraged (e.g., is there fear of conflict, is consensus problematized, contents of teaching material, how are internet/IT/computers used?)
- Time and space for reflection, discussion and debate in class.

7 An approach that criticizes the norm – focus on the current situation and how lessons are planned/implemented so that this is ensured

- Do personnel reflect together on their approach, work method, traditions, norms and values?
- Are different perspectives, ideologies, structures, norms in society and hierarchies included/discussed, i.e. are they problematized/how do you let the pupils learn about them? (compare area 4)

- Do pupils get to practice taking ethical viewpoints?
- Does the teacher account for, problematize (when necessary) and discuss openly different values, views and approaches – or is this avoided?
- How does the teacher, in their lessons, challenge the pupils' views in relation to both scientific knowledge and that based on experience, as well as to norms, values and different perspectives?

Observations - Examples that can be observed in the lesson visit

- Work carried out in a democratic way.
- The teacher encourages students to express their views. The study environment is characterized by security and the students dare to express their opinions. All students' contributions are valued.
- The teacher gives students choice and opportunity to formulate activities.
- Each student knows what he/she is expected to do and the teacher clearly shows that students are expected to do their best.
- All students are not working with the same thing, in the same way and at the same time.

Questionnaire items to children/young people in advance of inspection

Scotland (2012)

Insert Name of School:

Your views about the school:

Questions for pupils

We will inspect your school soon. Your views are important to us.

- *The questions will take you about 10 minutes to answer.*
- *Please read each statement and tick the answer that best describes what you think about your school.*
- *What you tell us is private. You should not share your answers with anyone. We will talk to you if we are worried about your safety, and then pass on what you have said to someone who can help.*
- *We may use this information for statistical purposes, but we will keep your answers private.*
- *You need to write and sign your name on the form to make it valid.*

Thank you for giving us your views. When you have filled in the form, please put it in the envelope provided, seal it and give it to your teacher. We always find what you tell us interesting and helpful. Inspectors will be around the school during the inspection and will be happy to talk to you.

Thank you for answering the questions.

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
We have numbered the boxes for our purposes						
1	The school is helping me to become more confident.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
2	I enjoy learning at school.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
3	I am getting along well with my schoolwork.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
4	Staff encourage me to do the best I can.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
5	Staff talk to me regularly about how to improve my learning.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
6	I get help when I need it.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
7	Staff listen to me and pay attention to what I say.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
8	I have a say in making the way we learn in school better.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
9	Staff expect me to take responsibility for my own work in class.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
10	Staff and pupils treat me fairly and with respect.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
11	I feel safe and cared for in school.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
12	I have adults in school I can speak to if I am upset or worried about something.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
13	I find it easy to talk to staff and they set a good example.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
14	Staff make sure that pupils behave well.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
15	Staff are good at dealing with bullying behaviour.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
16	The pupil council is good at getting improvements made in the school.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
17	The school encourages me to make healthy food choices.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
18	I take part in out-of-class activities and school clubs.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
19	I know what out-of-school activities and youth groups are available in my local area.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

Please use the space below to give us more information on any of the answers you have given. Please also tell us about anything else you think the inspectors should know. If you are worried about anything, you should speak to someone straight away. Tell your teacher or someone you know who will listen and be able to help you.

Thank you for giving us your views.

Safeguarding/child protection pro-forma

Scotland (2012)

PART A:

TO BE COMPLETED BY NOMINATED SAFEGUARDING/CHILD PROTECTION COORDINATOR

The Head of Centre/Headteacher/Principal/Head of Service/Director of Education should arrange for the nominated Safeguarding/Child Protection Coordinator to provide responses to the following questions. The Managing Inspector (MI) and/or delegated team member will discuss the information provided with the nominated Safeguarding/Child Protection Coordinator

during the inspection/review. This pro-forma must be signed and dated by the person who provides the responses.

Is there a current safeguarding/child protection policy framework in place?

YES

NO

What arrangements are in place to ensure that all staff (including volunteers) are aware of their responsibilities in relation to Child Protection/Safeguarding?

Head of Centre/Headteacher/Principal/Head of Service/Director of Education or nominee

Signature:

Name:

Post Held:

Date:

PART B:

TO BE COMPLETED BY MI/MEMBER OF THE INSPECTION TEAM

I have discussed with relevant staff the Safeguarding return provided by the establishment/service to the inspection/review team.

Based on the evidence provided by the establishment/service, as above, and by the inspection/review team's activities, the team identified aspects of safeguarding that required attention.

YES NO

A brief summary* of these safeguarding issues is set out below. These have been drawn to the attention of the head of the establishment /service and/or a representative of the education authority/council/Board of Governors/Management/proprietor.

Accountability for appropriate action being taken to address these issues now resides with the head of the establishment /service and/or a representative of the education authority/council/Board of Governors/Management/proprietor.

Signature:

Name:

Date:

Appendix III

Examples of indicators

Indicators for assessing citizenship education

The Netherlands (2006)

Assurance of educational quality in active citizenship and social integration

Indicator

The school assures the quality education aimed at furthering social integration and active citizenship, including the transfer of knowledge and introduction to social diversity.

Explanation

The inspectorate determines quality assurance for this component based on the school's vision as stated in the school plan and school guide, and the way in which the task is achieved. It is also important that the school is aware of the educational outcomes and that its curriculum is in harmony with the specific conditions in and around the school that may affect or jeopardize integration and citizenship.

Points for assessment

Vision and planning: The school has a vision on citizenship and integration which is systematically carried out.

- The school has a vision on the contribution it wants to make towards furthering the citizenship and integration of its students in society.
- As an extension of this vision, the school sets objectives.
- The school plans to achieve this vision and realize the objectives it has set as an extension of the vision.

Accountability: The school is able to justify its vision and the methods it uses to achieve results.

- The school justifies its vision and the derived educational goals with which it achieves the promotion of active citizenship and social integration.

Evaluation: The school evaluates whether the intended citizenship and integration goals are achieved.

- The school is aware of student progress and/or
- The school is aware of the extent to which it is achieving its goals.

Risks: The school adapts its curriculum to address risks and undesirable views, attitudes and behaviour of students concerning citizenship and integration.

- The school is aware of the citizenship and integration-related views, attitudes and behaviour of its students, and the social context in which the school functions in this regard, including the prevention of intolerance, extremist ideas, discrimination and the like.
- Wherever necessary, the school gears its teaching to those risks.

Curriculum aimed at active citizenship and social integration

Indicator

The school provides education aimed at furthering social integration and active citizenship, including the transfer of knowledge and an introduction to social diversity.

Explanation

In terms of the curriculum, the inspectorate determines whether the education offered by the school: a) contributes to the pupils' acquisition of competences that promote active citizenship and social integration, b) is aimed at providing students with an introduction to and knowledge of the different backgrounds and cultures of their peers, c) is in part based on the principle that students are growing up in a pluralist society, and d) offers substance to the related core objectives.

Points for assessment

Social competences: The school devotes attention to promoting social competences.

- The school offers structural education aimed at furthering social competences.

Openness towards society and its diversity: The school devotes attention to society and its diversity, furthering social participation and involvement.

- The school demonstrates an open and active attitude towards the local and/or regional society, bringing students in contact with the community,

both in terms of the diversity and background of peers and the diversity of faiths, ethnicities and cultures, views, ways of life and customs.

- The school offers structural education aimed at equipping students with competences that contribute to their participation and involvement in society; the school also promotes the active participation of students in society.

Core values and democracy: The school promotes basic values and the knowledge, attitudes and skills needed for participation in a democratic society.

- The education provided by the school is not in conflict with basic values and systematically corrects student manifestations that are in conflict with these values.
- The school offers structural education aimed at teaching these basic values.
- The school offers structural education aimed at teaching the knowledge, attitudes and skills needed for students to participate as citizens in a democratic society, including the knowledge of the principles of the structure of the Dutch state and of Europe.
- The school further its students' application of basic values and the principles of a democratic society.

School as a "practice ground": The school puts citizenship and integration into practice.

- The school offers a learning and working environment in which citizenship and integration are visible, puts them into practice and offers students the possibility to do the same.

Indicators for assessing social quality

The Netherlands (pilot studies Dutch Inspectorate of Education, 2012-2014)

Indicator of social outcomes

1. Pupils' social and civic competences are at a level that should be expected.

Indicator of the curriculum

1. The school provides a curriculum for developing social competences.
2. The school provides a curriculum for developing civic competences.

Indicator of the school climate

1. Pupils' perception of school climate and social safety are at a level that should be expected.
2. The pedagogical and didactical process within the school fosters the development of social and civic competences.
3. All actors within and around the school contribute to realizing a social and pedagogical community.

Indicator of quality assurance

1. The school ensures the quality of all provisions necessary for developing social and civic competences.
2. The school ensures the quality of its policies for ensuring the social safety of pupils and staff.

Appendix IV

Examples of case studies

Scotland (2013)

Case studies in the social domain

Case studies identified during inspections by Education Scotland (2013), demonstrating how young people are actively engaged in progressing social outcomes.

Liberton / Gilmerton Youth Activities and Facilities Review 2013

Since 2010, the Liberton / Gilmerton local neighbourhood partnership within the City of Edinburgh has supported processes to engage with young people. In 2011 it included 'Positively Engage Young People' as one of four key priorities within its 2011-2014 Community Plan.

The Partnership's Youth Issues Group made a clear commitment to improving local youth activities and facilities based on the young people. The participants agreed to undertake a review of activities and facilities in the neighbourhood. There had been a number of reviews in recent years, all carried out at a strategic and service-based level. However, it was time to let the young people take control. A core group of young people aged 13 - 18 recruited from two local high schools were supported by the local youth worker to help identify methods to engage with more young people. The purpose was to find out the views and opinions of local young people, and to look at what could change. As a result the Youth Activities & Review report was produced. The outcomes formed the backdrop for a major "Youth Talk 2013" event which took place on Friday 14th June in one of the high schools. The event brought together many of the young people involved in the review and key decision-makers such as locally elected representatives and youth providers to help identify positive change.

The "Youth Talk 13" event was the culmination of over 14 months of local engagement where over 1,500 views and opinions were identified. 120 delegates (50/50 young people & adults) met at a local high school and discussed the outcomes from the local Review of Facilities & Activities. This has helped identify a wide range of potential actions where at the neighbourhood level, the partnership can help young people take more

control of local youth-based activities and help to engage more young people in positive activity.

Tackling racism

As a result of experiencing racism in the local community as well as in school, two female students decided to actively promote positive equality in the school. As part of the school's strategy to deal with this issue, the girls spoke with a member of staff to discuss how they thought the school should tackle racism issues. Both of these young people were asylum seekers who felt that the profile of issues surrounding racism needed to be raised both locally and nationally.

The project was formed by the girls and is a student-led group based at their local regional equality council. The group is made up of young people and was founded with the objectives of campaigning against racism, discrimination, bullying and sectarianism while promoting good relations and inclusiveness. The aim of the group is to ensure that young people have a strong voice in raising awareness of the causes and consequences of racism and sectarianism. The group campaigns for young people's rights and organizes events to promote positive race relations. This has included a national conference led by the two girls for school-age students to raise awareness of the issues and to plan and promote solutions.

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Good education is of major public interest. Governments consider its quality to be one of their important responsibilities, and use educational supervision – as a tool for accountability and school improvement – as one of their instruments. Because young people develop in more than one domain, the goals of education are multifaceted and include both cognitive and social development. Educational goals in the social domain are expressed in curricula, but are usually not evaluated and measured on a regular basis.

Is it possible to measure the social outcomes of education and evaluate the ‘social quality’ of schools? Can school inspectorates assess the effectiveness of the work done by schools in this area and can school inspections strengthen school improvement?

Some national school inspectorates have already included (aspects of) of social outcomes in their assessment schemes. Their experiences provide an insight into the possibilities of the measurement of social quality. The analyses presented in this book are based on experiences in some of these countries – the Netherlands, Norway, Scotland, Sweden – and use insights from scientific research about the social outcomes of education and effective educational supervision.

The study describes possible approaches to inspecting educational quality in the social domain and what contributions and effects may be expected of them, and provides the building blocks to answer the question about effective organization of assessment and school inspection for accountability and school improvement in the social domain.

The study was conducted by a SICI Working Group of inspectors affiliated with the educational inspectorates in the Netherlands, Norway, Scotland and Sweden. SICI is the Standing International Conference of Inspectorates.

