GOVERNING KNOWLEDGE
## Inspection and the Governing of Education in England

Jenny Ozga
(jennifer.ozga@education.ox.ac.uk)

UNIVERSITY OF
OXFORD

GOVERNING BY INSPECTION
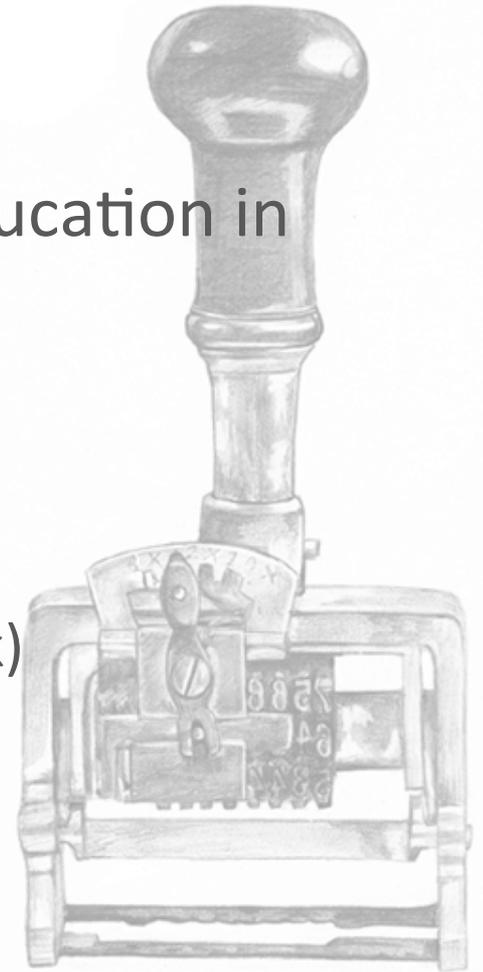
The Argument (based on research- details at end)

Changes in Governing/Governance and changes in Knowledge are interdependent:

-In the neo-liberal imaginary, society is organised in networks constructed and held together through the flow of comparative knowledge and data;

-As governing becomes more networked, more flexible and interrelated, so too does knowledge change, moving from disciplinary silos into a more problem-based form, involving new actors in its production;

-Valued Knowledge identifies 'the policy options that need to be manipulated' and such 'practical knowledge' 'provides knowledge that identifies the levers for action' (Grundmann and Stehr 2012 p 179).

-Inspectors (especially in England) are 'coded' by data so that their work is increasingly 'political work'

Changing Governance (adapted from the project 'The Changing Role of Knowledge and Policy in health and education': www.knowandpol.eu)

Bureaucracy

- National State-centred
- Hierarchical organisation/ formal regulation
- Main actors: formal policy makers, professionals
- Actors and organisations defined by state and sector
- Action through norms: changing rules

Post-Bureaucracy

- Poly-centric-inter/trans-national
- Diversity of actors, public/ private hybrids, non-formal actors (consumers, 3rd sector)
- Networked, fluid, blurred hierarchy
- Knowledge (data) based action

Changing Knowledge

Knowledge

- Dominant legitimacy: Scientific/Professional knowledge
- Limited knowledge holders
- Disciplinary knowledge- segmented, specialised
- Slow circulation within closed systems

Knowledges

- Legitimacy varies-know how, experiential and scientific, data-based
- Diversity of recognised knowledge holders
- 'what (ever) works'-usable, auditable, translatable – containing 'levers for action'
- Fast-moving, internationalised

The data-based world and its consequences……

'This is a world where massive amounts of data and applied mathematics replace every other tool that might be brought to bear. Out with every theory of human behavior, from linguistics to sociology and psychology. Who knows why people do what they do? The point is that they do it, and we can track and measure it with unprecedented fidelity.

With enough data, the numbers speak for themselves'

(Anderson 2008 quoted in boyd and Crawford 2012)

The Popular and Official Currency of Data

Data are no longer produced for and distributed among the bureaucratic elite but distributed and doing political work in the wider population, and not only for politicians and civil servants.

Data now have both *popular* and *official* currency (Pietrova 2014). They legitimise governing through rendering an account to taxpayers (Ozga, Segerholm, and Simola 2011, 92–93) while making populations legible and amenable to intervention.

When data dominate high stakes processes like testing or school inspection, the formerly passive observers or subjects of social statistics are gradually transformed into data users and then into data demanders (Espeland and Sauder 2007).

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Data 'make people up'

Data translate people into quantifiable, enumerable, calculable, & encodable characteristics

— Data software 'captures' people (pupils/learners/teachers)

— Enables classification & sorting of people

— Generates individualization, personalization, & differential treatment
    Kitchin & Dodge 2011

— Data act as powerful knowledge for 'making up people'
    —Hacking 2007

[Adapted with permission from Ben Williamson 2014]

Dataveillance

Dataveillance constructs 'predictive' profiling, where the future behaviours of an individual are calculated and then acted on pre-emptively, using 'actionable intelligence' to make decisions and set priorities.

Data determine who an individual is, classifying what they are and evaluating what they may become.

This may construct 'statistical discrimination' as individuals are re/classified in particular groups, and included/excluded on the basis of the attributes of these groups and data 'segments' to which they are assigned. (Selwyn 2014)

Schooling as a computational project

Digital data enable schools and entire sectors of society such as education can be seen as 'computational' projects.

The 'modelling' of education through digital data creates algorithmically driven 'systems thinking' – where complex (unsolvable?) social problems are converted into complex (but solvable) statistical problems.

Thus, digital data produce 'solutionism'.

Data analysis thus begins to *produce* education settings, to the same degree as education settings produce data.

(Selwyn 2014)

Data based governing practices: an example

Because we had some targets or goals that were public, we started from the targets. So we worked back from a target. So if you're talking about the patterns, we're looking for things that indicate we're on track or not to meet the target. (…) That's basically all we did. (…)

So we didn't go into it with a kind of open research point of view where we say what are the many questions we could ask about this data. That's a perfectly valid thing to do but it wasn't our job. So we're going in with a particular perspective… Because we were very focused on delivering the outcomes.

(Barber, 2014, p.77-78) [Sir Michael Barber was head of PM Blair's Delivery Unit, before going to McKinsey and then Pearson]

'Objective' governing by data-an example

''…..because when you sit up to your neck in the Scottish system, everything is Scottish. Everything is Scottish. [You feel] This is our system, we defend it as a fortress and all these influences from outside, they should be kept away.

By sitting here and making comparative analysis, we identify what is specifically Scottish to the Scottish system. What is it that you should actually defend to keep these roots in national culture and national institutions ….. We know it, we have the information, we have this distance that is necessary to do it. And we can compare and find out what is it that shines in the Scottish system.'

[Senior EU Analyst]

Governing by Data in England

'.....its interesting to reflect on how the work of a central government policy department has evolved....In fact actually we've been developing a concept here in the Department which we've called 'the bridge' where we corral all of this data and information and at a glance now across all local authorities in England you can go downstairs and look at a big screen and you can look across all the key performance areas and that's actually across all the social care areas as well as education....

So we're doing quite active performance management of the system and that's quite a powerful tool' (Senior DfE official)

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Collection
National pupil database

Pupils into performance data

NPD_Data_Sources_by_Year.xls [Compatibility Mode] - Microsoft Excel

A1 · Details of all data sources contained within the National Pupil Database, and the academic years for which they are available

Details of all data sources contained within the National Pupil Database, and the academic years for which they are available

Data Source	95/96	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/00	00/01	01/02	02/03	03/04	04/05	05/06	06/07	07/08	08/09	09/10	10/11	11/12	12/13	13/14
Census/PLASC [1]							✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔		✔
PRU Census														✔	✔	✔	✔		
Early Years Census										✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔		
Alternative Provision										✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔		
Early Years Foundation Stage Profile [2]						✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔			
Year 1 Phonics*																✔	✔		
Key Stage 1			✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔		
Key Stage 2	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔		
Year 7 Progress Tests [3]						✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔							
Key Stage 3			✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔		
Key Stage 4 Awarding Body data					✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔			
Key Stage 4 Achievement & Attainment Tables data [4]						✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔		✔
Key Stage 5 Awarding Body data						✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔			
Key Stage 5 Achievement & Attainment Tables data [5]							✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔		
Individualised Learner Record [6]						✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔		
HESA data										✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔		
Children Looked After [7]											✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔		
Children In Need [7]														✔	✔	✔	✔		
PLAMS [8]												✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔		

School performance tables

Share   Print

Find schools in England and view school performance, characteristics and spend per pupil data and for academies, their latest set of financial accounts. You can find schools using a map, search or follow the quick links.

→ **News and Announcements**

→ **Academies' Spend Data**

→ **Academies' Funding Agreements**

→ **2013 Performance Tables - Statement of Intent**

→ **User guide and resources**

→ **Performance Tables 1994-2012**

→ **Reform of Performance Tables**

By type of school/college

◉ All ○ Primary ○ Secondary ○ 16-18 ○ Special ○ Academies

By postcode

| Enter a postcode | 1 mile ▾ | Search |

By school name or town

| Enter a school name or location | Search |

By region

◉ Local authority ○ Parliamentary constituency

Region | All of England ▾
Local authority | All local authorities ▾

Go

Quick links

› Primary
› Secondary
› 16-18
› Special
› Academies
› All

› Download Data

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RM Education

School Finder

Provided free to parents from the leading supplier of education resources to UK schools.

Shortlist

Compare

Search

30%

1 What do the pupils achieve?

We'll tell you about:

Pupil results from Primary School tests (Key Stage 2), GCSE (and equivalents) and A-level (and equivalents)

Pupil progress

School performance in headline performance indicators

Performance by subject (Primary and GCSE).

Source: Department for Education

2 What do the Ofsted inspectors say?

We'll give you:

A summary of school inspection outcomes for all maintained schools including pupil achievement, teaching, behaviour and school leadership

A link to the most recent school inspection report.

Source: Ofsted

3 What are the pupils like?

We'll fill you in on:

Pupil numbers

Profile of pupils including number of pupils with SEN, English as an Additional Language and Free School Meals

Pupil absence and behaviour

School funding.

Source: Department for Education & Ofsted

4 What are the staff like?

We'll tell you all about:

The number of teachers and teaching assistants

The quality of teaching

Source: Department for Education & Ofsted

5 Will I be able to get a place at the school?

The million dollar question... we can tell you:

The school capacity and number of pupils currently at the school

The proportion of pupils in your area attending the school.

Source: Department for Education

6 How does the school describe itself?

You'll see how the school has chosen to describe itself, their School Profile, How Parents are Involved, Facilities and Resources and Extra Curricular Activities, dates for the next Open Days and a link straight through to the school's website.

Source: School's own words

What happens? Before the Inspection…

The lead inspector analyses evidence including:

-the summary of the school's self-evaluation (if available)

-data from RAISEonline report, the sixth form performance and assessment (PANDA) report, the learner achievement tracker (LAT) and available data about success rates from the school data dashboard the Level 3 Value Added (L3VA) data.

- the previous inspection report

- the findings of any recent Ofsted survey and/or monitoring letters

- responses from parents/carers on Parent View (Ofsted's online survey available for parents)

- issues raised about, or the findings from, the investigation of any qualifying complaints about the school

- information available on the school's website, which may include a prospectus and other information for parents.

Pre-Inspection Data Analysis includes

- pupils' attainment in relation to national standards (where available) and compared with all schools, based on data over the last three years where applicable, noting any evidence of performance significantly above or below national averages; trends of improvement or decline; and inspection evidence of current pupils' attainment across year groups using a range of indicators, including where relevant:

–   the proportion of pupils attaining particular standards

–   capped average points scores

–   average points scores

–   pupils' attainment in reading and writing

–   pupils' attainment in mathematics

And then…….the report

An inspector finishes an inspection ….has to write a report the following day. No arguments, that's the timeline set by Ofsted, the commercial timeline that we have to meet. That report is then subject to QA [Quality Assurance] reading..… there's a number of musts: must be included on this, must say this, must say that…Then there is a compliance zone, things that must, must be in the report, any of those are missing…that's a bit of a no-no really. Then we have things around the quality of the writing. And we have to meet those five criteria to make sure that the report is published. And essentially within that process the QA is a day.
…..in the end what inspectors are doing is saying ok well I have to follow this rule….there isn't a rule but I have to follow it….' (Contract Inspector 012).

Coding Inspection

'and what was interesting was there was no way in which you could say this was a failing school, my professional judgement was telling me absolutely that this school was not in that category..... But I could easily have made it a failing school because the data was pretty basic in terms of *irrefutable facts*, what people at Ofsted would say were irrefutable facts -but we, the team and I were absolutely clear that without the effort that staff had put into the school, it would be a whole lot different, really awful.

And they had made a real difference in very difficult circumstances, but trying to use the Ofsted framework to say that is really difficult, my report was really difficult to write.

-And so that's why a lot of my colleagues have stopped leading inspections
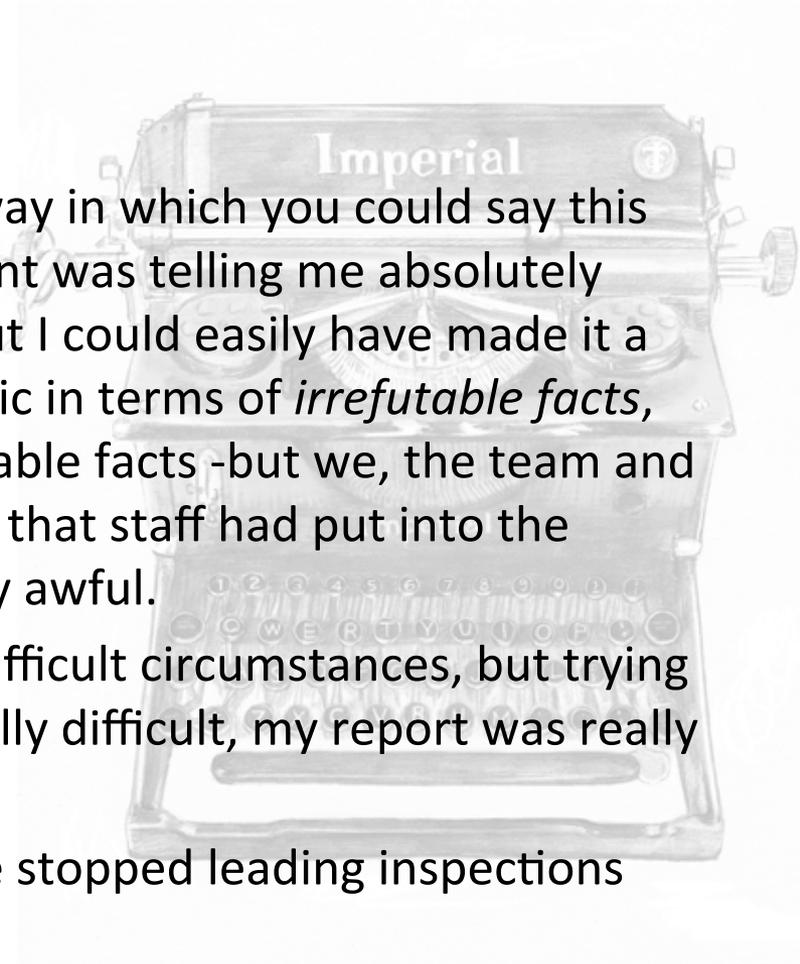
Changing Frameworks

'This change in the framework is a massive test for us as an inspectorate. It is very high stakes-if the proportion of failing/satisfactory schools doesn't start to fall, the credibility of inspection as an agent of improvement falls' (HMI20).

'the verbal and textual recommendations [of inspection] become much more important, so its really very dependent on the skills of the inspector and the need to be specific, to make clear recommendations and to be careful not to start instructing the school: there has to be a balance: its important to be more specific but be careful' (Ofsted Senior Manager02).

'one of the things we find is that people drop out of inspecting because, well it is very onerous, the task of looking a Head in the eye and saying no this school is inadequate is one of the most daunting jobs you could do in education because the chances are that if that head has been leading the school for some time then that head will go and that's what the statistics tell us' (Head of Inspection Services xxxx).

Governing by Inspection?

Ofsted is positioned as a disciplining force, an enforcement agency deriving authority from identification of failure-within a sharpened, tougher regulatory regime (requires improvement);

Yet its knowledge-base and knowledge production processes are incoherent: as is the system and the 'project' within which they operate;

This limits Ofsted's capacity to:

(a) construct a persuasive narrative of its own authority (especially as it is aligned with political priorities-academisation)

(b) construct a professionally-incorporating narrative that builds teacher identification with a governing project (in contrast to Scotland).

There are quite sharp contradictions in the positioning of Ofsted in this disciplinary role, as it offers little scope for the *political work* of enrolment of support and mobilisation of values that may be necessary for successful governing

(see, for example Andy Smith Le Gouvernement de l'Union Européenne. Une sociologie politique, Paris, LGDJ, 2010).

GOVERNING BY INSPECTION
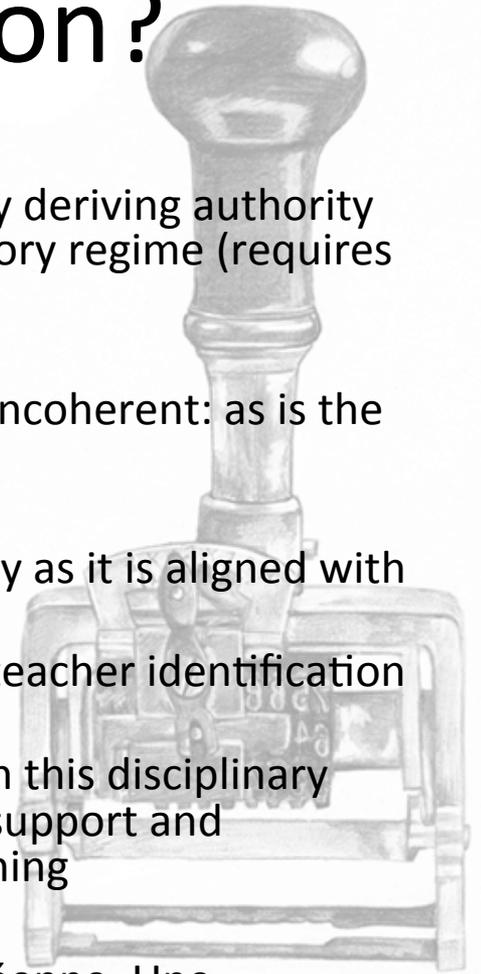
Selected Project Publications (on England)

Baxter J. (2013) Professional inspector or inspecting professional? Teachers as inspectors in a new regulatory regime for education in England *Cambridge Journal of Education* 43:4, 467-485,

Baxter J. & J. Clarke (2013) Farewell to the tick box inspector? Ofsted and the changing regime of school inspection in England, *Oxford Review of Education*, 39:5, 702-718

Baxter J and Clarke, J (2014) Knowledge, Authority and Judgement: The Changing Practices of School Inspection in England *Sisyphus*, Journal of Education (University of Lisbon) Volume 2 Issue 1).

Lawn, M (2014) Outsourcing the Governing of Education: the contemporary inspection of schooling in England Special issue of *Sisyphus*, Journal of Education (University of Lisbon) Volume 2 Issue 1).

Lawn, M. (2013) A Systemless System: designing the disarticulation of English state education *European Educational Research Journal* 12 (2) 231-241

Lindgren, J. & Clarke, J. (2015) The (C)SI effect – School Inspection as Crime Scene Investigation, in, M. Lawn & R. Normand (eds) *Shaping European Education: interdisciplinary approaches*. London: Routledge

Ozga, J. Baxter, J. Clarke, J. Grek, S. and Lawn, M. (2013) 'The Politics of Educational Change: Governing and School Inspection in England and Scotland' *Swiss Journal of Sociology* (vol 39/ issue 2 205-224)

CES Briefing No 65 'Governing by Inspection : Redesigning school inspection in England and Scotland' by John Clarke, Sotiria Grek and Jenny Ozga, based on the research, may be downloaded from this site: http://www.ces.ed.ac.uk/publications/briefings.htm

GOVERNING BY INSPECTION

Governing Education in Europe and (with)in the UK

Explored through a range of funded projects:

-Knowledge and Policy: www.knowandpol.eu

-Data and Education Governance
www.ces.ed.ac.uk/research/FabQ/index.htm

-Discourse of Policy:
www.ces.ed.ac.uk/research/Discourse/index.htm

And from 2010-2014

-Governing by Inspection: Education Governance and School Inspection in Scotland, Sweden and England (ESRC RES-062-23-2241) (Team from Umea, Mid-Sweden, Edinburgh, Open and Oxford. Sociology of Education, Social Policy, Political Science)

www.education.ox.ac.uk/governing-by-inspection/