

BEYOND QUALITY IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION AND CARE – LANGUAGES OF EVALUATION

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The problems which the managerial state is intended to resolve derive from contradictions and conflicts in the political, economic and social realms. But what we have seen is the managerialisation of these contradictions; they are redefined as "problems to be managed". Terms such as "efficiency" and "effectiveness", "performance" and "quality" depoliticise a series of social issues (whose efficiency? effectiveness for whom?) and thus displace real political and policy choices into a series of managerial imperatives. (Clarke 1998, 179)

We live in an age of quality. Every product and service must offer quality; every consumer wants to have it. In this historical context, quality has become reified, treated as if it was an essential attribute of services or products that gives them value, assumed to be natural and neutral. The problem with quality, from this perspective, is its management. How can quality be discovered, measured, assured and improved? What goals, to be achieved by technical means, will enhance performance and increase value?

Early childhood education and care has not escaped the increasing attention paid to quality; research and policy have become increasingly devoted to the subject. "Quality" is generally understood as an attribute of services for young children that ensures the efficient production of predefined, normative outcomes, typically developmental or simple learning

goals. Presence of quality is usually evaluated vis-à-vis expert-derived criteria, associated in research with achieving these outcomes. A recent report from a UK government agency, for example, commissioned a research review that identified seven factors "indicative of good quality pre-school provision" for their impact on child development: adult-child interaction that is responsive, affectionate and readily available; well-trained staff who are committed to their work with children; facilities that are safe and sanitary and accessible to parents; ratios and group sizes that allow staff to interact appropriately with children; supervision that maintains consistency; staff development that ensures continuity, stability and the improvement of quality; and a developmentally appropriate curriculum with educational content (National Audit Office 2004, 39).

Nearly ten years ago, together with Alan Pence, we published a book, *Beyond Quality in Early Childhood Education and Care* (Dahlberg, Moss and Pence 1999), that addressed an emerging and very different problem of quality, a problem not with the management of quality but with the very concept itself. It relativised quality, arguing that it was one way of talking about and practicing evaluation, that quality was neither natural nor neutral, and was not therefore to be taken for granted. It was, to use the subtitle adopted for the Italian edition of the book and subsequently adopted for the second English-language edition (Dahlberg, Moss and Pence 2007), just one of the many possible "languages of evaluation". In this paper, we discuss the "problem with quality" as we identified it in *Beyond Quality*, and consider "another" (not "the" other) language of evaluation, one that treats evaluation as primarily political rather than technical. In the process, we link the debate about quality to a larger debate in the early childhood field (but extending into many other areas): a debate about paradigm and the very different perspectives on early childhood education and care that different paradigms create.

The problem with quality

Particularly as of the early 1990s in the early childhood field, the concept of quality as an inherent



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