

The Government of Quality.

Reconstructing a neoliberal art of government in the field of further education.

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Introduction

Since the beginning of the 1990s quality management concerned not only economic entrepreneurs, but also the section of education and further education. Quality management was discussed highly emotional in the field of education, because of the cut of public financing for German adult education centres. The government forced the educational institutions to act in a more effective and economic way by establishing more self-responsibility in the educational system.

This development was embedded in a (as Foucault would say) neoliberal art of government, which stands for a economic, calculable and efficient behaviour in all spheres of life. We can find this neoliberal rationality in the section of health, crime prevention, security, education etc. For that formation, the term of “the Economisation of the Social” is nowadays quite common.

With the concept of “Governmentality”, Michel Foucault invented an analytic frame which enables studies of the art of government in different historic time periods. In Foucault’s terms, Governmentality describes power as “*the conduct of conducts*” (Foucault 1987: 255), as an effect on the behaviour and action of others. With this notion it is possible to analyse the discursive production of a (here: neoliberal) rationality and its most common technologies, which seek to implement the rationality into reality, and furthermore the construction of subjects as enterprising selves. Not only individuals are interpellated as enterprising selves, but also collective subjects like educational institutions. The term of interpellation, which goes back to Louis Althusser (1977), tries to explain how subjects are created in modern societies. A desirable form of subjects - according to the current politic rationality - is proclaimed, and implicates how individuals and institutions should govern themselves. An advanced liberal interpellation operates with two major concepts. On the one hand, the rationality provides a huge assurance of success for those who govern themselves in the right economic way. On the other hand, this assurance implies a threat to be unsuccessful for those who do not act upon that common rationality.

Educational institutions for instance are told to be a lot more a effective and efficient if they use technologies of quality management, otherwise they are promised to lose participants and money. So the educational institutions are positioned into an area of conflict between the advantage of quality-assuring technologies and the danger of losing their funds and participants, and in addition to be responsible for that loss.

In this paper I try to analyse elements of an neoliberal rationality in the field of further education. Therefore, I will introduce the concept of governmentality and the genealogy of the governmentality studies. I will identify a few elements of the common art of government, which are presented in the studies of governmentality. Afterwards, the debate about quality management in German adult education is explained, and common models of quality assurance are introduced. In the next step, these two parts will be combined.

Governmentality and Governmentality Studies

In Foucault's work, you can find this strong will to disengage from the thought of a power which is oppressive only. In "Discipline and Punishment" (1994a) and in the first part of the "History Of Sexuality", in German "Der Wille zum Wissen"(1983), he invents the idea of a productive form of power. While individuals are disciplined and normalised in institutions, society/population is governed by statistical methods (Biopolitics).

In the lecture "Security-Territory-Population" from 1978, Foucault developed the notion of governmentality by analysing the difference between a sovereign form of government from the Book "Il Principe" by Niccolo Machiavelli, and a later upcoming art of government, which aims to bring wealth and fortune to the population. Governmentality is a two-level-concept: The government of the self is connected to the government of others. According to Foucault, this connection can also be seen in the constitutive elements of governmentality.

Foucault himself analysed a few historic periods like liberalism, neoliberalism or the Christian form of guidance, pastoral¹ power. In the next few paragraphs I like to focus on Foucault's main concepts within the notion of governmentality.

Political Technology and Political Rationality

Foucault invented the idea of political technologies and political rationalities which have an inseparable connection. Peter Miller and Nicolas Rose (1994) explain these terms colourful. They emphasise a discursive production of rationality. Only through language it is possible to transform perceivable phenomena into information. This information constructs an object which becomes governable. So rationality is regarded as a theoretical adaption of reality, while political technologies seek to implement this rationality back to reality. Political technologies are understood as practices, institutions, apparatuses which enable the government of objects/topics and subjects in a society in a way which corresponds with its rationality.

For instance: Quality management systems can be considered as political technologies which try to implement the common rationality of economic values into the institutions of education. In reality, educational institutions are characterised by mismanagement, which should be overcome by inventing quality management technologies, which transform the institutions into enterprises.

Technologies of the Self and Technologies of Domination

Another core element in Foucaults notion is the assumption of technologies of the self and technologies of domination. Foucault positions both terms on opposite ends of a continuum. They are connected by the notion of governmentality. While technologies of the self are based upon a the thought of self-realisation, the technologies of domination contain asymmetric power relations. This is associated along with Foucaults bilateral understanding of the subject: "*Das Wort Subjekt hat einen zweifachen Sinn: vermittelt Kontrolle und Abhängigkeit jemandem unterworfen sein und durch Bewußtsein und Selbsterkenntnis seiner eigenen Identität verhaftet sein*" (Foucault 1987: 246). The potency of this kind of government lies in the indirect conduct of the self government of others. People are smoothly forced to manipulate their self government.

¹ Foucault analyses the genealogy of pastoral power starting from the hebrew idea up to the alliance between the christian ideal of pastoral power an the reason of state (cf. Foucault 1994b).

For instance: educational institutions provide soft skill-courses like “How to develop an effective time management”. Those offer aims to the self-conduct of individuals as well as to a neoliberal employment market.

Genealogy of the Governmentality Studies

At the Beginning of the 1990s, Foucault’s notion of governmentality became quite popular - mainly in Great Britain, Canada and in the USA. The first programmatic anthology “The Foucault Effect - Studies in Governmentality” was published by Burchell, Gordon and Miller in 1991. This was followed by hundreds of short essays and a few monographs. In Germany, or in the area of German language, the book “Gouvernementalität der Gegenwart” by Ulrich Bröckling, Susanne Krasmann and Thomas Lemke (2000) started the debate about neoliberal governmentality. As an interdisciplinary research design, it combines the plural fields of government like the government of children, of pregnancy, of genetic engineering, and many more. In response to the publication of Foucault’s lectures in 1978/1979, the popularity of the notion even increased in the last year (cf. Foucault 2004). The governmentality studies design a “history of the present”. In the foreground is the analyses of the production of “regimes of truth” (cf. Marshall 1998: 73). It is questioned how these accepted regimes are generated.

Another main scope is the reconstruction of neoliberal subjectivities. The governmentality studies seek to explore how these subjectivities are produced and conducted. The analytic level rarely abandons the programmes of conduct, so there are only very few empirical studies which analyse how the programmatic level of rationalities is translated into an empirical measurable reality. On the one hand, this is the common research design, on the other hand, this is also the main problem of the studies, because they can not make a statement about reality itself. Furthermore, there are problems how to conceptualise the outline of the state and to deal with the lack of methodology and the inconsistent usage of the term of governmentality. Huge advantages of the studies are to be seen in the avoidance of traditional dichotomies like state vs. society.

In the next few sections I am going to reconstruct some of the main fields and subjects of the governmentality studies. Therefore, I argue, that subjectivation, responsabilisation, the conduct of risk and morality, and the appearance of new communities are neoliberal artefacts.² Later I try to combine this with the field of quality management in German adult education.

Subjectivation

The process by which individuals are turned into subjects is called subjectivation. This can happen in different ways, but one of the key modalities is what Althusser called “interpellation”. It is about a common view in society about how the desirable subject has to be. In a neoliberal society, a responsible rational-calculating independent subject is favoured. Indirect government actions like technologies of domination and current political rationalities have an impact on the self-government of the subject. According to Foucault we have a double-bind (subdued & possibility of self realisation) conception of subjects, whose production is questioned by the governmentality studies. The concept of the “*entrepreneurial self*” is to be found at the bottom of all ideas of neoliberal subjectivation.

² There is also the governmental artefact of “heterotopia”, which describe “Orte der Andersheit” as places where whether excluded or included parts of the population are governed. In consideration of the time, I left it within this lecture.

Entrepreneurial Self

According to Masschelein and Simons (2005), the entrepreneurial self inhabits the European space of higher education. It is embedded in a neoliberal rationality which forms a subject that is responsible for all its actions, that is permanently improving its (soft) skills, that acts about rational-choice decisions, that is able to learn self-directed and that makes – following Nikolas Rose – a project out of itself (cf. Rose 2000b: 14). All these elements and learning techniques lead to an investment in the own human capital.

The improvement of the self is never finished, because there are always parts of the self which are worth to be optimised. Ulrich Bröckling coined the term “*Subjekt im Gerundivum*” (Bröckling 2002: 179) for that conclusion. Further on, he quotes that a special type of personality is to be found underneath the entrepreneurial self. It is explained in the expressions and modalities of a corporate identity. Different parts of the personality act as costumers, employees, supplier and associate partners of the self. The model of organisation in enterprises is translated into the self government of the entrepreneurial self, both strategies of government are based upon similar technologies. In Germany’s industrial sociology, the notion of the “*Arbeitskraftunternehmer*” by Voß and Pongratz (1998) is evidence of the rapid structural changes in work organisation. They locate a transformation from a type of employees towards a type of entrepreneurs.

Education

In the area of education, this form of subjectivity is also evident. Programmes of lifelong and self directed learning programmatically construct an active learner. It is not questioned whether the empirical learner is able to learn self directed or not (cf. Forneck 2001: 4). Masschelein and Simons describe the activity of learning as followed: “*learning is an activity that has to be performed in an autonomous way by the learner herself; where the learner is someone who is positioned in an environment, and who directs her learning on the basis of her individual needs and potential – needs and potential that can be made visible and knowable through certain procedures, instruments and techniques; and where this making visible is undertaken increasingly by the learner herself*” (Masschelein/Simons 2002: 593). So she gets the responsibility of her learning activity and also for evaluating her needs, which was in former times the job of professional adult educators or teachers.

It is less expensive and more effective for the political system if learners do not need institutions for learning anymore. Furthermore, you can determine a de-contextualisation of former critical notions like autonomy (cf. May 2003; Masschelein 2002: 129/130). It is now used to describe a new form of flexibility and responsibility that belongs to the new neoliberal educational ideal of “employability”, which means the ability to cope with and to adapt to the requirements of a rapidly changing employment market.

Responsibilisation

This term describes an increasing top down allocation of responsibilities from the state to the institutions and individuals. The functions and tasks of the state transform into the direction of activation. A keynesianistic welfare state is devaluated as patronising and as an obstacle for the development of the entrepreneurial self. This attitude establishes a form of “*Survival of the Fittest*”, as Bröckling remarks (cf. Bröckling 2002b: 672). The interpellation of self government implies a “Care of the Self”. We can not interpret this as a total retreat of the state, but as an immense change in the art of government.

Risk and morality

The notion of risk in the governmentality studies is often compared to the conceptualisation of a risk society according to Ulrich Beck (1986). While Beck believes risks in modern societies to be a not calculable reality (everyone got the same risks), the governmentality studies determine risks according to Francois Ewald as a produced and therefore calculable and categorised rationality. Risks are categorising, because they group individuals with similar calculated risks - for instance of dying on cancer- into risk populations.

The imagination of worst case scenarios implies an indirect motivation to behave in a risk-minimizing way. The attendance to cope with risks becomes one of the core components of self government. In a neoliberal conception, risks represent the level of rationality. That means, they are constructed in an discursive area. This construction has an activating effect on the individuals, who should be prepared for eventually worst case scenarios. Therefore, Bröckling developed a picture of a two-sided medal (cf. Bröckling 2000: 162). On the one hand, people are promised to lead a good and successful life, if they are able to deal with risks in a responsible way. On the other hand, they are threatened to be called into guilt, if they fail. This idea of risk involves a transformed notion of morality. Failures or accidents can not be explained by exterior arguments. This constitutes and establishes a mentality which always blames the self.

The connection between an optimised risk-managing lifestyle on the one side and morality on the other seems to be a strategy to produce morally responsible subjects. There is evidence that lifestyle provides a visible sign for a felicitous or for an abortive self government. According to Susanne Krasmann, morality has lost its former values and is replaced by principals of efficiency (cf. Krasmann 1999: 114). In the same time, morality becomes a punishing instance because of the immanent mentality of "blaming the self". In Nikolas Rose's terms: *"Those who refuse to become responsible, to govern themselves ethically, have also refused the offer to become a member of our moral community."* (Rose 2000c: 335). Furthermore, a society-based explanation of mass phenomena like unemployment are rejected. The responsibility for unemployment and poverty is laid back into the responsibility of the individuals, just like the former theory of liberalism suggested.

Communities

With that transformation of the state a new territory and art of government is born. The "retreat" of the centralised state evokes the formation of different communities, who are to be governed and activated and also govern themselves. Nikolas Rose argues that the construction of the "social as a whole" departs into different decentralised communities (cf. Rose 2000a: 79). Within these communities, individual subjects are activated to a loyal and active behaviour. In this respect communities are composed out of moral subjects whose duty is to be self-responsible and above all to be proactive. In addition, they have controlling and normalising means. So on the one hand, we can talk about a new method of governing, and on the other hand, we also have a new territory of government. Communities are a part and a result of the process of responsabilisation. The direct government action, whose function was to regulate the social (system) is disappearing, because it is declared to be unnecessarily patronising. Power and responsibility is laid into the guidance of the communities who have to deal with this new art of government.

Quality management in Germany

In this section I will describe the debate about quality in the 1990s and the special notion of a quality of learning, before I come to an introduction of quality management systems used in the fields of adult education.

The debate about quality in the 1990s.

In the beginning of the decade, systems of certification or quality management concepts invaded from the economic system into the field of further education. The idea of the process-orientated “Total Quality Management” (TQM) became quite popular and displaced the paradigm of quality control. At the same time, the funds of the public adult education centres were cut, and the institutions were forced to work more effectively and economically as they did before. The result of that development was the upcoming of an anxiety, that remaining public funds would depend on the implementation of recent quality management systems.

That fear never became truth but it evoked a heterogeneous period of innovative quality projects. The influence of the economic system grew, and an evidence for that development was to be found in the absorption and acceptance of economic concepts and terms. These notions, as for example the “Bildungsmanager” instead of the “Hauptamtlich pädagogischer Mitarbeiter”, bring an economic rationality into the field of education. The actors of further education seem to split into two different positions. One side declared that both systems are contradictive, and the other part believed that quality management systems are a chance to assure themselves and others of their work’s already existing quality (cf. Krug 1999: 21).

After that diffusion of projects, the actors of the field attempted to design a corporate quality model, which should include all existing models. Further on, there are some attempts to act in accordance with the demand of the costumers.

The term of quality in the educational field

The notion of quality in the educational field is very special and differentiates from more common quality ideas, because there is no finished product that can be evaluated by defined standards. The learner, is always the co-producer of the product of the invisible learning process and this internal activity can not be objectified. And the learner is not only the co-producer of that learning product, moreover she is also the co-producer of the quality of those learning process.. Or in the terms of the adult educational scientist Rolf Arnold: *„Die Eigentümlichkeit von Bildung liegt nämlich darin begründet, dass das lernende Subjekt und das »Produkt« identisch sind, und auch die Qualität des »Produktes« Bildung ist deshalb nicht so ohne weiteres von dem Aneignungsprozess losgelöst zu definieren. Vielmehr sind die »Kunden« bzw. »Abnehmer« - um diese unpassende Begriffe zu verwenden – im Bildungsbereich innigst selbst an der Qualitätserstellung beteiligt, sie sind Teil des Produktes und somit Teil dessen Qualität. Die Qualität von Produkt und Abnehmer fallen deshalb zusammen.“* (Arnold/ Faber, 1997, S. 152)

So in short: further education cannot guarantee the success of learning processes. So it is at the meantime very important to the Profession to emphases on these limits of measurability to avoid an equalisation between an industrial fabricated quality product and the product and quality of learning processes. The government of quality in education, thus, can only take place by including the participants of learning processes. This is the important difference to other concepts of quality.

To come closer to an understanding of quality, an instrument was developed which should evaluate the general conditions or the environments of learning. Therefore, (adult) educational scientists differentiate between four central parts of pedagogic quality:

The *Quality of the Institution* describes the structure of organisation and the settings, while the *Quality of Programmes/Offering* evaluates the curricular plans and the information printed in the programmes. The interaction between learner and teacher is part of the *Quality of Performance*. The *Quality of Success* can be measured by analysing the rates of failed or aborted courses (cf. Heinen-Tenrich 1999: 117). There are varieties of models which seek to describe the environments of learning. In most cases they follow a logic of Input-Performance-Output.

All of these attempts to classify the different quality areas of learning intend to disclose pedagogic qualities in order to make them manageable. In most cases this classifications were developed as a pattern for evaluation instruments. Evaluation is a technology which generates and categorises a new theoretical and practical knowledge within an (educational) organisation, which can be governed afterwards.

In the drafted period of heterogeneous quality projects, one can differentiate between three main concepts. Legal regulations of quality imply that the legislation provides certain standards and that funds are depended on full filling them. The possibility of choosing between different quality systems is given by voluntary systems. An institution is not forced to implement such systems, but otherwise it is to blame for losing participants because of a lack of quality. The idea of consumer protection emerged in the last years and reveals the “importance” of screening through autonomous and rational choosers-subjects on the market of further education.

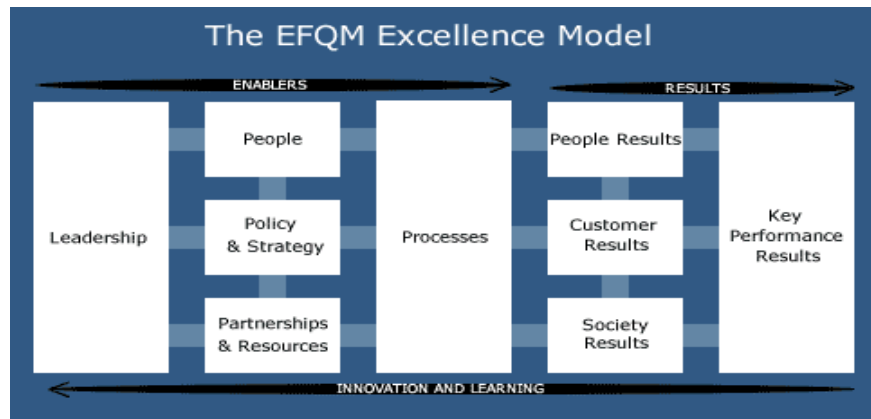
EFQM

The European Foundation of Quality Management was founded in 1988 in order to develop a lasting quality management system for organisations across Europe. The foundation is considered to be a European version of Total Quality Management. The EFQM Excellence Model was introduced at the beginning of 1992 and overworked in 2003. The EFQM Excellence Model is described as “a practical tool” that can be used in a number of different ways:

- “As a tool for **Self-Assessment**
- As a way to **Benchmark** with other organisations
- As a guide to identify areas for **Improvement**
- As the basis for a common **Vocabulary** and a way of thinking
- As a **Structure** for the organisation's management system”

(EFQM.org: <http://www.efqm.org/Default.aspx?tabid=35>)

The EFQM Excellence Model is a framework based on nine criteria. Five of these are “Enablers” and four are “Results”. The Enabler criteria cover what an organisation does, while the Results criteria describe what an organisation achieves. Results are caused by Enablers and Enablers are improved by using feedback from Results. (cf. EFQM.org)



[fig.1 EFQM Excellence Model http://www.cfm.eucontrol.be/news/issue_7/images/self_assessment.gif]

The Result and Enabler criteria symbolise a dynamic logic of the model, which is also called **RADAR-Logic** (**R**esults, **A**pproach, **D**eployment, **A**ssessment and **R**eview) With that conception a quality circle is implemented.

The criteria underlie a differentiated emphasis. Enablers and Results are given 50% each. The strongest emphasis lies on the costumer results with 20%. During a self-evaluation the percentage is translated into a Point System, where 10 percent accord to 100 points.

The advised strategy to improve the effort of organisations is represented in self- assessments. Weaknesses and strengths of the organisation become visible through documentation practices of operational procedures. In this understanding, quality is – contradicting to concepts which involve minimum standards - never enough, never finished, because one can always find things and processes to document and to improve. In addition to that model it is possible to take part in the European Quality Award (EQA). Therefore, the criteria are assessed by exterior experts to allow the comparison and competition with other organisations. The highest ever achieved points are around 700 of 1000 possible points. With that optional competition the special economic method of benchmarking³ becomes visible. Benchmarking assigns the comparison to other organisations on the market. The comparison should help to motivate the own organisation and lead to a higher mode of productivity (cf. Heinold Krug et al: o.J.: 56). The EQA participants and their achieved points enable a ranking list. Members of EFQM are able to compare their results achieved in the self evaluation with this ranking list of the EQA participants, in order to locate their quality position in the field. Therefore EFQM is a System of self evaluation which covers all areas of organisations and it gives the opportunity of an exterior assessment by taking part at the European quality award.

The German Institute of Adult Education (Deutsches Institut für Erwachsenenbildung, DIE) released an EFQM version for educational organisations. The differences do not lie in the structure, but in the use of different terms. The method the DIE used is simply a translation of the EFQM Model into the particularities of the further educational field. For instance, the costumer (in Costumer results) of EFQM turns into costumer and participants (results) because the costumer of further education is not mandatory the participant - when you think of vocational training courses, where employees are sent by their employer. The last main distinction lies in the substitution of the term of “Führung” (leadership) by “Leitung”

³ Benchmarking is an analyse instrument that enables the continuing comparism between products, services and fabrications. This instrument aims to discover the causes for disadvantages in competition in order to correct them.

(leadership). So the version for further education can be described as an translation, which keeps the structure of the original.

LQW: Lernerorientiertes Qualitätstestat

This is the only project which was developed especially for the sector of further education between 2000 and 2002 by the Artset Institut for critical social research. By now over 400 institutions received the certificate or are in progress to.

The crucial point in their argumentation is that quality of learning cannot be regulable or even controllable, because of the internal activity of the learners. Since it is impossible to determine the learning process, quality involves the improvement of the learning environment. So the concept aims to enable learning processes.

They also have established a quality circle similar to EFQM. The first step is the self-evaluation of the institution and a compilation of a mission statement. After that, the programme of the institution is planned and deployed, while every step is written down in a transparent documentation. Afterwards, the institution is evaluated by an external assessor and with him goals for the next three years are negotiated. The circle takes place in 12 areas of quality.



[fig. 3: Quality Areas of LQW. cf. <http://www.artset-lqw.de/html/verfahren.html>]

If the quality of the institution is accepted, it gets a ceramic tile as an donation, which symbolises the membership of the LQW community, which arranges annual meetings to keep in touch with its members.

Another feature of this model is a system-theoretic reason for the procedure. The difference between the inside and outside is evident. An organisation is limited in the ability to analyse its own processes and blind spots occur. The system is intransparent to itself. So it needs impulses from the outside through external assessors to bring self-reflexivity back into the organisation.

Cachets and Quality Circles

As cachet or quality circles one can understand communities who declare minimum standards or even quality management systems which, are obligating for every member. Normally, cachets consists of voluntary advisory committees who decide standards and evaluate new

members. The “Weiterbildungsverein” (association of further education) in Hamburg and Hessen are examples for that (cf. Krüger 1999).

Quality circles are also voluntary associations of institutions of further education. They are called quality circles, when - among other activities - concepts and implementations of quality management systems are agreed upon. The problem with those concepts is, that no external assessment is intended. The local value of the signs of quality can be questioned, especially when the minimum standards are low, so that every institution is able to full fill them. The value declines with the number of certified members. In the next step – as it happens in Hamburg now – “quality classes” and new hierarchies in the form of different level of certificates are invented, which can be described as a new form of social segregation.

Consumer Protection

In the late 1990s “consumer protection” happened to be a new ideal for orientation. The heterogeneous field of further education was multiplied by the great numbers of projects and the figure of the consumer of adult education was centred. A reason for that lies in the insight that all the projects did not help to create a transparent market of further education, and most certificates have no clear value to the costumers. Here the ideal of an active entrepreneurial learner, comes into play. She makes economically rational learning decisions and elects the best offering on the further education market. But this is a two-sided sword. With that ideal, the costumer is also responsible for the quality of the institution he has chosen. If the institution is bad, it is the fault of the costumer, because he made the wrong decision. The regulation of quality is shifted.

Examples for costumer protection are the “Stiftung Bildungstest” on the one hand. It is an agency of the “Stiftung Warentest”, which has a long tradition in Germany. Single courses are evaluated, and the results are published in their own magazine. On the other hand, “Checklists” from the DIE and the ministry of vocational training are provided to sharpen the focus of the learners. The participant costumer is activated to give good reasons for his decisions, because in the end, he has got all the responsibility if he fails. He could always be better informed.

Analyses

If we regard language as the core condition for governing a distinctive area, we have to take a closer look at the former transformations in German adult education. By practises of documentation and evaluation, new governable objects occur. Economic notions and concepts act upon adult education and its reality by determining what is able to be said in that regime of truth, or in other words, as Maarten Simons points out, in front of a permanent economic tribunal (cf. Simons 2002). This economic rationality is constructed through language, which transforms the learner into a costumer of adult education (cf. Bastian 2002). Or more general as the EFQM calls itself “*As the basis for a common **Vocabulary** and a way of thinking* “ ((EFQM.org: <http://www.efqm.org/Default.aspx?tabid=35>) The acceptance of an economic based conception like EFQM in the further educational sector is astonishing. The version provided by the DIE accepts and adapts to the model. Only few vocabularies are exchanged. One the one hand this could be an evident for the broad acceptance of a quality management mentality, while on the other hand it could also be a attempt to resist against the economic rationality by using the structure of quality management with the own vocabulary.

By the use of a defined vocabulary, it is possible to identify and analyse the underlying rationalities. As we said before, rationalities are implemented through political technologies as quality management. This helps to bring an economic rationality into the sector of education and learning. Quality management enables the regulation of quality, while its practises of documentation create a new knowledge about the organisation. This knowledge enables the government of quality. The first step towards a government of quality is therefore a pastoral confession of the organisation’s weaknesses. Through technologies of evaluation, benchmarking or certification, a government of quality becomes practicable. Benchmarking, for instance, reforms the relations between the institutions. It establishes rivalry and competition, and this implies a orientation towards the own organisation, in order to improve it. So the exterior force which acts upon the self management can thus be regarded as a complex of knowledge and power (cf. Foucault 1976: 198/199).

After the introduction of quality management models and its presentation as an governmental conduct practice it is now possible to point out how the elements of a neoliberal government as described before- are visible in the discourse of quality management.

Responsibilisation

As responsibilisation we have regarded the top-down directed cession of responsibilities. The main terms of regulation and deregulation imply some connotations which can be demonstrated in the image below:

Regulation	-	Deregulation
formal Government	-	informal Government
»social state«	-	enabeling state
»the social as a whole«	-	Communities

This scheme represents the two main argumentation lines in discourse. It could be reconstructed by the analyses of documented reports of conferences and lectures about quality management in adult education. While the practitioners claim for a regulated transparent area which should be governed by the political systems, actors of the political systems decline this

demand and favour a deregulation model. They argue, that the political system is neither competent nor responsible for the regulation of quality. They simply negate the responsibility and believe in a self-healing-competence of the market of adult education. *„Wenn wir auf die Optimierungs- oder Selbstheilungskräfte des Marktes hoffen, werden wir sicher ein Stück weiterkommen, und natürlich auch mit der Weiterentwicklung der verschiedenen Formen der Kooperation“*. (Boppel⁴; Qualitätspolitik 2000: 141).

The informal regulation of quality by the creation of communities, cachets, quality circles or other cooperations is acclaimed and based on the insight of an impossibility to regulate the heterogeneous market of further education. Here the political actors refer to the liberal idea of an “invisible hand” by Adam Smith.

The formation of the states’ organisation is transforming, and is expressed in the main task of moderating and animating, not regulating, the social as a whole. The quality of the system of further education depends in that context no longer on the educational policy, but is declared as the result of mismanagement in the single institutions. The practitioners and scientist of the field prefer and claim for a system, which is regulated by the educational policy. It is important to note that they do not interpret the current development as a gain of autonomy, as which they could see it.

Subjectivation

A core element of a neoliberal governmentality is the production of useful subjectivities in an open market. Both, collective and individual subjects are formed by different practices. First I would like to explain how the participant becomes an costumer of education, and, in the next step, how the institutions of education become enterprises.

The notion of a costumer in education was implemented by economic quality management models. A major characteristic of all quality management models is the ideal of a continuing developing quality. The traditional concept of “Teilnehmerorientierung” (orientation on the participant) is replaced by an interpellation as a costumer of education. The figure of that costumer includes the idea of an enterprising self. It is an active learner who is able to be self-responsible. A employee of the DIE describes the participating costumer as followed: *„Qualitätskonzepte gehen von einem aufgeklärten und souveränen Kunden aus, der maßgeblich (mit)bestimmt, was wie und wo angeboten wird“* (Gnähls 1997: 18). The costumer in and of education knows what she wants, and moreover, what she needs. She is able to decide among different offerings and able to justify that decision within a rational-choice-scheme.

The responsibility for succeeding learning processes is allocated among the costumers, not at last because of the impossibility of any quality management model to act upon the learning processes. Therefore, the costumer must be enabled to make rational decisions on a pluralistic further education market, which is intended by the introduction of costumer protection models like “Bildungstests” or “Checklisten”. By the use of these instruments, the costumer should be enabled to recognize minimum standard.

The notion of the costumer is broadly accepted and implies an orientation towards a market, which consists of competing institutions and selecting costumers. The institutions are interpellated as enterprises, who have to act in the name of costumer loyalty and profit. In the adult education centres in Germany, they try to invent a corporate identity for branding purposes. The institution needs to develop a profile, a mission statement, a quality

⁴ Werner Boppel is an employee at the ministry of “Bildung” and research.

management system etc. The adult educator Ekkehard Nuissl from the DIE comments this development: *“In welche Richtung muß die Einrichtung sich bewegen, um ihren „Marktanteil“ zu halten oder zu erweitern? Welches Profil, welches Image hat sie auf dem Markt? Plötzlich werden Strategien wie Marketing, Öffentlichkeitsarbeit, Corporate-Identity-Konzepte und anderes bedeutsam. Und plötzlich stellen auch Einrichtungen wie die Volkshochschulen, die bislang von einem Allzuständigkeits- und Generalitätsanspruch ausgegangen waren, fest, daß sie nur ein Teilsegment eines Marktes bedienen.“* (Nuissl 1995: 16) Here we can imagine the double bind of the promise of success and the threat to fail again. If the institution is able to gain costumer loyalty, a market share is guaranteed - if we follow a neoliberal suggestion. If the institution loses costumers, its existence on the market is insecure. The construction of a costumer implies the reorganisation as an enterprise. So this concept forms two kinds of subjectivities. On the one hand, collective subjects are animated by quality management to reorganise their institution as an enterprise, while on the other hand, individual subjects are interpellated and produced as rational-choosers.

Risk and morality

The transformation of the notion of risks includes the idea of worst case scenarios and at the same time the privatisation of risks. The idea of a worst case scenario establishes a norm of continuing quality improvement to prevent the worst from happening. In a general sense, life long learning and permanent further education can be regarded as “Präventive Weiterbildung”, as Aschmann quotes (cf. Aschmann 2000: 68). By the means of quality management as an instrument of permanent regulation, institutions or rather enterprises can act preventively on the market of further education.

Further education becomes –similar to the area of health- a measure of prevention, which should prevent unemployment on the individual level, and prevent the loss of market shares on the institutional level.

Prevention gets a moral practice. This is evident in the dissapearance of the figure of a victim of crimes, circumstances, destiny, etc. The victim diminishes because it always gets a part of the blame. It could have acted in a more preventive way. Preventive risk-management is a component of a neoliberal moral which abandoned all social values, in order to be geared towards efficiency. Benchmarking, which is most of all used or practised by EFQM, establishes also a moral practice of continuing improvement by constructing a permanent (smooth) pressure or a duty to comparison and competition. It is focused to improve the self management of an institution by comparing it with “best-practice”-examples constantly. Neoliberal morality ties the enterprising self down to its own preventive behaviour. In a more general sense, the government of the self is determined as a moral act or an ethically act as Rose would put it (cf Rose 2000d). Equally the connection of risk and morality includes practices of responsabilisation. So the enterprising self is to blame in the case of unemployment, because it obviously did not choose the right kind of advanced training.⁵

Communities

During the debate of quality, a lot of different communities were build to govern quality in adult education. On the contrary, these communities are governed through the method of responsabilisation. Quality circles, cachets and the network of LQW are examples for

⁵ Other examples for preventive actions through qualitymanagement can be benchmarking or the creation of communities, because they establish a special social pressure by the method of comparism and competition.

including communities (cf. Rose 2000a: 94) who have an important point of orientation in the ideal of enterprising selves.

The strongest bond within a community can be found in the network of LQW. By constant annual meetings and regular mailings, a community is constructed. Through that regularity, a reciprocal commitment to loyalty is established. In addition, every certified member of LQW gets an ceramic tile, which belongs to a greater picture where all member of the community are included. In that sense, the members are interpellated as a part of the innovative and active community as a whole. Logos and official seals function as symbols for membership, and represent it to the costumers.

Cachets and quality circles aim in another direction. Their members are committed to determined (minimum) standards. With the fullfillment, they also get an official sign to advertise their institution. Quality circles differ a lot, and range from the agreement to pay attention, to the questions of quality, up to the declaration of certain quality management systems (cf. Flüter-Hoffmann 2003).

The government of quality is also enabled by these communities. The educational policy retreats from a public responsibility and activates the formation of different self- responsible communities.

Conclusions

As we could see in this presentation, both institutions and individuals are governed by elements of a neoliberal rationality. Quality management can be regarded as a political technology which tries to transfer the economic rationality into reality by instruments like documentation, evaluation, benchmarking, competition etc.

The need to use the analytic frame of governmentality is founded in its critical impact. Foucault was often criticised for not answering certain problems in his theories. Responding to that he describes his analyses as followed:

Und wenn ich nicht sage, was zu tun ist, so nicht, weil ich glaubte es gebe nichts zu tun. Im Gegenteil, ich denke, daß es tausend Dinge zu tun, zu erfinden zu planen gibt von denen die – in Kenntnis der Machtbeziehungen, in die sie verwickelt sind – beschlossen haben, ihnen zu widerstehen oder ihnen zu entkommen. So gesehen beruht meine gesamte Forschung auf dem Postulat eines unbedingten Optimismus. Ich unternehme meine Analysen nicht, um zu sagen: seht, die Dinge stehen so und so, ihr sitzt in der Falle. Sondern weil ich meine, daß das, was ich sage geeignet ist, die Dinge zu ändern. Ich sage alles, was ich sage, damit es nützt. (Foucault 1997: 117).

Thus, this is Foucault's draft of critique. It is important to understand the power relations and rationalities in order to change them in the next step. So with that critical analytic frame, it was possible to discover the changing rationalities and therefore the shift from an emancipated notion of Bildung towards a neoliberal logic of training for an open market. This became apparent with the neoliberal reinterpretation of emancipative notions like autonomy or self-realisation.

The understanding of the current development implies the possibility to resist against its "regime of truth", which is formed by practices like subjectivation, responsabilisation etc.

The actual rationality in adult education – and not only there - is characterised by a "will to quality" (Simons 2002: 618), and a permanent mobilisation and activation of all actors in the field. A smooth and still inescapable pressure is established by indirect methods of governing. This forces the adoption of new quality management systems, which have an impact on the individual employees, the costumer - formerly known as learner- and of course upon the further educational institution itself.

At the moment, the German adult education reacts with a segregation into two parts. One side criticises the "Economisation of Bildung", while the other side believes quality management to be an opportunity to assure everyone of their work's always existing quality. This constitutes a breach and confirms the tendency of growing competition-measures in education. There is neither a dialog about new forms of exclusion which are involved by certificating and managing educational institutions. Nor is there a discussion about the question how to deal with these new exclusions, that will mainly concern the smaller institutions, who are not able to pay the -often expensive- certificates, or cannot afford the costs of being a member of EFQM, for instance.

To see quality management as an expression of a complex of knowledge and power would enable the actors and institutions to benefit from that conclusion by "not being governed (...) in a certain way and at a certain price." (Foucault 1992: 12) as Foucault would express it. They could use the new knowledge of their organisations to build up a perspective of "Bildung", which is contrary to a neoliberal utilisation.

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EFQM: Excellence Model: EFQM.org <http://www.efqm.org/Default.aspx?tabid=35>
 LQW: Verfahren : <http://www.artset-lqw.de/html/verfahren.html>