

Re-Visioning Quality Assurance in Higher Education.

Aine O'Reilly

EDUCATION DOCTORATE

NUI Maynooth

Faculty of Social Sciences

Education Department

Head of Department: *Dr. Pádraig Hogan*

Department of Adult and Community Education

Head of Department: *Josephine Finn*

Supervisor: *Professor Anne Ryan*

March, 2014

Table of Contents

<i>Glossary of abbreviations</i>	vii
<i>Abstract</i>	viii
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION.	1
1.1 <i>Overview</i>	1
1.2 <i>QA: Rationalities and critiques.</i>	2
1.2.1 Rationalities: Measuring quality	2
1.2.2 Critiques: QA mechanism and HE formations.....	4
1.3 <i>Rationale for this study</i>	5
1.4 <i>Key concepts</i>	7
Neoliberalism	7
Neoliberalisation	8
Regulation	9
Governmentality; rationalities of governing	9
Discourse; discourse; discursive formation; discursive field	9
Subject; subjectivity	10
1.5 <i>Actually existing neoliberalism: Conceptual and methodological possibilities</i>	10
1.6 <i>Studies in actually existing neoliberalism</i>	11
1.6.1 Path dependency	11
1.6.2 Adaptability.....	12
1.6.3 Instances of neoliberalisation	12
1.6.4 Neoliberalism and critique.....	13
1.6.5 Education policy as neoliberalisation.....	13
1.7 <i>The approach of this inquiry: QA as actually existing neoliberalism</i>	14
1.7.1 The framework.....	14
1.7.2 The analysis.....	15
QA as mechanisms: Regulating towards an ideal.....	15
QA as future vision: Ideals adjusted towards.....	16
1.7.3 Sustaining the ideal: Dismantling critique	17
1.7.4 QA in different contexts: Professional and academic	17
1.8 <i>The Research Questions</i>	17
1.9 <i>The significance of this study.</i>	19
1.10 <i>The research journey: the structure of the thesis</i>	20
1.11 <i>Conclusion</i>	21
CHAPTER 2. POSITIONING THIS INQUIRY: DIFFERENT VIEWING POINTS.....	23
2.1 <i>Introduction</i>	23
2.2 <i>Researcher engagements 1: Critically positioning this inquiry</i>	23
2.2.1 Critical reflections: Power and knowledge	24
2.2.2 Disciplinary reflections: Challenging disciplinary boundaries	25
2.2.3 Personal Reflections: My locations and engagements.	26
2.3 <i>Researcher engagement 2; Theorising QA.</i>	28
2.3.1 QA as social practice: Connecting the local and the global.....	28
2.3.2 Conceptualising QA as regulatory mechanism: Governmentality.	29
2.3.3 Conceptualising QA's context: Social formations and transformations.....	32
2.4 <i>Conclusion</i>	36
CHAPTER 3. INVESTIGATING QA FROM WITHIN DIFFERENT PARADIGMS.	37
3.1 <i>Introduction</i>	37
3.2 <i>Inquiring into QA: Paradigms and their possibilities</i>	37
3.2.1 QA as policy field	37
3.2.2 Critical studies of QA.....	39

3.2.3	Critical studies in regulating HE: Investigating neoliberalism	40
3.3	<i>Conceptualising transformed regulatory architecture in New Times : Locations and mechanisms</i>	41
3.3.1	Changing locations.....	42
	Geographical locations.....	42
	Institutional arrangements	43
	Self regulation	43
3.3.2	Changing mechanisms	44
	Steering HE: Soft regulation	44
	Technologies of power: Accounting for ourselves	45
3.4	<i>Conclusion</i>	46

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY: TOWARDS A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSING TEXTS AND CONTEXTS.....47

4.1	<i>Introduction</i>	47
4.2	<i>Critical Discourse Analysis as an approach</i>	47
4.3	<i>Data Selection</i>	52
4.3.1	Selecting data types: Regulatory texts	52
4.3.2	Choosing documents as data	52
4.3.3	Documents as case studies	54
4.4	<i>Data analysis</i>	54
4.4.1	Documents and Internet as data sources	54
4.4.2	Developing Contexts	56
4.4.3	Moving outside the text: Conceptualising global interconnected social space	60
	Network analysis.....	61
	Gloucal Agency Heuristic.....	62
	Applying these analytic frameworks	62
4.4.4	The value of additional frameworks	63
4.5	<i>First stage of analysis. Describing contexts and developing research tools</i>	64
	Context 1: The socio-political context.....	64
	Context 2: Intertextuality.....	66
	Context 3: Institutional contexts.....	67
	Context 4: Textual context.....	69
4.6	<i>Second stage of analysis: Questioning the documents</i>	71
4.7	<i>Third stage of analysis: Drawing conclusions</i>	72
4.8	<i>Organising the analysis and presenting findings</i>	73
4.9	<i>Assessing methodological contributions</i>	74
4.10	<i>Conclusion</i>	75

CHAPTER 5. THE DOCUMENTS: TEXT AND CONTEXT.76

5.1	<i>Introduction</i>	76
5.2	<i>The wider context of quality</i>	76
5.2.1	The higher education framework	76
5.2.2	The professional Framework	79
5.2.3	The wider European context.....	81
5.2.4	Mapping the QA path	82
5.3	<i>The Documents: ESG and TAC</i>	87
5.3.1	ESG.....	87
	The Document.....	87
	Producing and sustaining the document	89
5.3.2	TAC.....	90
	The Document.....	90
	Producing and sustaining the document	92
5.4	<i>Addressing the research questions</i>	94
5.4.1	HE formations: Discourses of imagined futures.....	94
5.4.2	QA mechanisms: Soft regulation and discourses of community.....	96

5.4.3	Formations of autonomy: Convergence not compliance.....	98
5.4.4	Whose formation? Locating governing.....	99
5.5	<i>Conclusion</i>	100
CHAPTER 6. THE DISCURSIVE FIELD: INTERTEXTUALITY, RECONTEXTUALISATION AND DISCURSIVE CHANGE.....		103
6.1	<i>Introduction</i>	103
6.2	<i>Intertextuality: Forming, positioning and legitimating QA</i>	103
	Chains of texts and authors.....	104
	ESG – chains of texts	105
	Forming and contesting ESG.....	106
	TAC	108
	TAC - chains of texts.....	109
6.3	<i>Recontextualisation: transforming discursive formations</i>	124
6.4	<i>Addressing the research questions</i>	125
6.4.1	HE formations and QA mechanisms.....	125
6.4.2	Amenable subjects and possibilities for critique.....	125
6.4.3	Scales of intertextuality and possibilities for critique.....	126
6.4.4	Policy actors and strategic positions.....	126
6.5	<i>Conclusion</i>	128
CHAPTER 7. INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS AND NETWORKS: CREATING, SUSTAINING AND DEPLOYING QA. 130		
7.1	<i>Introduction</i>	130
7.2	<i>Mapping institutional landscapes: Some limitations</i>	130
	Identifying institutional actors.....	130
	Describing institutional actors and networks.....	131
	Discursive power.....	131
7.3	<i>Institutional actors and networks</i>	132
7.3.1	Institutional actors.....	132
7.3.2	ENQA.....	143
7.3.3	Bologna Process.....	144
	BP goals and QA mechanisms.....	145
7.3.4	EAP.....	147
7.3.5	The EU.....	150
7.3.6	International Organisation.....	159
7.4	<i>National and Local Agency: The example of Ireland</i>	161
7.4.1	The formation of QA in Ireland.....	161
7.5	<i>Addressing the research questions</i>	169
7.5.1	QA mechanisms.....	169
7.5.2	Discourses of steerage: Convergence/divergence.....	169
7.5.3	Who steers: The actors.....	170
7.5.4	Whose knowledge.....	170
7.5.5	What knowledge:.....	171
7.6	<i>Conclusion. The work of this chapter</i>	171
CHAPTER 8. DISCOURSE AND TEXT: EMBEDDING QA IN DISCURSIVE AND TEXTUAL STRATEGIES.....		174
8.1	<i>Introduction</i>	174
8.2	<i>Discourses, genres and styles</i>	174
8.2.1	ESG.....	174
	Global Problems and community solution: Adjusting to globalisation.....	175
	Steering towards neoliberal solution.....	176
	Including wider discourses; globalisation, Europeanisation and neoliberalism.....	179
	Proceduralisation: Promotion through self-reflection.....	181
	Future work.....	181

8.2.2	TAC.....	182
8.3	<i>Addressing the research questions</i>	184
8.3.1	Legitimising particular identities.....	184
	The HE ideal	184
	Participation in achieving the ideal	185
	Managing difference	185
	Communicating with an audience.....	186
8.4	<i>Conclusion</i>	188
CHAPTER 9. DISCUSSION: ASSEMBLING MEANING FROM DISPERSED LOCATIONS.		190
9.1	<i>Introduction</i>	190
9.2	<i>Adjusting towards a neoliberal ideal</i>	190
9.2.1	Networks of governance: Functions	191
9.2.2	Networks of governance: Configuration	193
9.2.3	Network effects: inscribing neoliberalism	195
9.2.4	Resisting networked governance: Critique	196
9.3	<i>Assembling meaning in particular locations: Examples</i>	199
9.3.1	Managing differences: The example of university rankings.....	199
9.3.2	Compelling neoliberal pathways: Law, governmentality and governance	200
9.4	<i>Europeanisation</i>	203
9.5	<i>Dismantling critique</i>	205
9.6	<i>Conclusion</i>	206
CHAPTER 10. CONCLUSION.		209
10.1	<i>Introduction</i>	209
10.2	<i>Revisiting the research: Approach and findings</i>	209
10.3	<i>Contributions</i>	213
10.4	<i>Implications</i>	216
10.5	<i>Limitations and further work</i>	220
10.6	<i>Reflections</i>	221
REFERENCES		223
APPENDICES		271
<i>Appendix 1. Acronyms: Descriptions and websites</i>		271
<i>Appendix Part 2: Examples of methodologies</i>		273
Appendix 2.1.	Education Policy Network in UK	273
Appendix 2.2.	Glonacal Agency Heuristic.	274
<i>Appendix Part 3: Extra-national Organisations</i>		275
Appendix 3.1:	European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education [ENQA].....	275
Appendix 3.2	European Association of Psychotherapy [EAP].....	276
Appendix 3.3	European Union [EU].....	277
Appendix 3.4	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD]	278
Appendix 3.5	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO]	279
Appendix 3.6	Council of Europe	280

List of Figures

Figure 1. Principal and subsidiary research questions	18
Figure 2. The Research Journey: From questions to methodology	22
Figure 3. Texts as Social Event	51
Figure 4. Framework for analysis of documents	56
Figure 5. Relating contexts, levels, analysis and chapters.	58
Figure 6. Socio-political context: Themes	65
Figure 7. Socio-political context: Analytic tools	66
Figure 8. Intertextual context: Analytic tools	67
Figure 9. Institutional contexts	68
Figure 10. Textual context of QA: Themes.	70
Figure 11. Textual contexts of QA: Analytic tools	71
Figure 12. Analytic Frame	73

List of Tables

Table 1. Wider socio-political contest of Quality	84
Table 2. Intertextuality: ESG	110
Table 3. Intertextuality: TAC	120
Table 4. Constructing ESG in organisational networks.	131
Table 5. Constructing TAC: Organisational Authors.	138
Table 6. Bologna Process Ministerial Conferences	146
Table 7. The treaty basis for EU policies in education and training: Regulatory Framework	153
Table 8. Irish organisation involved in QA	166

Glossary of abbreviations

2012 Act	Qualifications and Quality Assurance (Education and Training) Act, 2012.
BP	Bologna Process
BFUG	Bologna Follow Up Group
CHIU	The Conference of the Heads of Irish Universities (CHIU)
DES	Department of Education and Skills
EAP	European Association of Psychotherapy
EC	European Commission
ECP	European Certificate of Psychotherapy
EFTA	European Family Therapy Association
EI	Education International
ENQA	European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education
ESG	Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area
EU	European Union
EQD	European Qualifications Directive
FTAI	Family Therapy Association of Ireland
HEA	Higher Education Authority,
HETAC	Higher Education and Training Awards Council
HE	Higher Education
HEI	Higher Education Institution
ICP	Irish Council for Psychotherapy
IHEQN	Irish Higher Education Quality Network
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INQAAHE	International Network for Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education
IUQB	Irish Universities Quality Board
NQA	National Qualifications Authority of Ireland
PTF	Psychological Therapies forum
TAC	Training Accreditation committee, European Association for Psychotherapy. Vienna, February 22nd , 2003; Version October 9th, 2010 <i>also</i> Accreditation of Training Institutes for European Certificate of psychotherapy Award
EQD	European Qualification Directive
OMC	Open Method of Communication
QQI	Quality and Qualifications Ireland

Abstract

A central organising theme of this study is that the regulatory landscape of HE is transforming in ways that are reconstituting Higher Education [HE]. The purpose of this study is to contribute to understandings of the dynamic interaction between regulation and HE.

This study focused on Quality Assurance [QA] as a key policy concern and regulatory mechanism of HE at national, European and global levels (L. Harvey, 2005). Drawing on poststructuralist and critical theories I located QA as a mechanism of governing HE and neoliberalism as a key rationality of governing HE. Following Brenner & Theodore (2002), I distinguished between neoliberalism as an abstract idea of the extension of market based values into political, social and personal life and neoliberalisation as the context-dependent process by which neoliberalism takes hold.

My data was derived from two key European QA texts: *European Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area* (ENQA, 2009) and *European Association of Psychotherapy Training Accreditation Committee* (EAP, 2012a). Using Critical Discourse Analysis as overall methodological framework, these texts were analysed in terms of their institutional, intertextual, discursive and textual contexts through two dialectically related categories: QA as a mechanism of transformation and HE as emerging form – the ‘imaginary’ of the QA project. I examined emerging means by which QA operates, locations in which it occurs, rationalities that underpin it and consequences of its application.

My findings identified regulatory transformations involving emerging mechanisms of steering of HE, such as ‘soft’ and ‘hard’ regulation working together. They identified emerging conceptualisations of quality in HE as an objective, measurable entity and an accountability task, and an emerging ideal of HE that dismantles boundaries between HE and the socio-economic sphere. They identified neoliberalism as one rationality underpinning these transformations and also alternative rationalities, strategies and technologies that affect the trajectory of QA and the formation of HE. Alternatives included challenges to neoliberal ideals, alternative knowledges about QA and HE, and alternative practices of QA. My findings identified pathways of neoliberalisation in HE

as neither uniform nor consistent and trajectories of QA and HE as contingent on historic conditions and activities of policy actors.

My contribution to the study of HE is to provide new understandings of regulatory landscapes of HE, of how neoliberalism has taken shape in HE spaces utilising regulatory mechanisms and how policy actors insert different alternative meanings in order to contest neoliberal trajectories of HE.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge most gratefully the teaching staff on the Ed.D. programme for their encouragement and support. I would like to thank particularly my supervisor, Professor Anne Ryan, who was unfailingly supportive, insightful and encouraging. My classmates were also a great support and I am grateful for their encouragement. I am privileged and honoured to have been a part of the Ed. D. learning community.

I wish to acknowledge the support and encouragement of my work colleagues. Their commitment to quality in education has inspired this work.

I would like to acknowledge my husband, Olan, and my sister, Jacinta, for their support and encouragement. I would particularly like to acknowledge and thank my children, Oisín and Caoimhe. Their passion for education and their joy in learning sustained me throughout this challenging period.

Thank you to all.

Chapter 1. Introduction¹.

1.1 Overview

Over the past several decades Quality Assurance has become a central concern of Higher Education systems at national, European and global levels (L. Harvey, 2005). This concern has been linked with ensuring quality of Higher Education [HE] is maintained during times of global change in HE and in wider social contexts (European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education [ENQA], 2009)². In this vision HE and HE institutions [HEIs] are required to adjust to a new, transformed, landscape: globalisation. The adjustment envisaged allows HEIs to make use of social transformations in order to achieve best possible outcomes: programmes that are high quality and achieve social goals, and HEIs that are effective, efficient and continuously improving quality (Department of Education and Skills [DES], 2011).

This study questions the rationality of this connection between HE and QA and the position of QA as a logical, expected and accepted best practice solution to a range of policy problems. I argue that QA is formative of HE rather than a means of accounting for HE activities. This study sets out to explore the impact of QA on formations of HE through providing case examples of QA trajectories in academic and professional HE. The study also seeks to explore the extent to which these trajectories can be considered as processes of neoliberalisation and how contestation and difference affects these trajectories. This is carried out through an empirical inquiry into institutional, discursive and textual pathways of significant QA regulatory texts.

In the following section I describe the focus of this study, QA, and some of its critiques. In section 3 I describe the rationale for this study. Section 4 describes some key concepts and their use in this study. Section 5 and 6 describe principles and some applications of actually existing neoliberalism, an empirical approach that is adapted to my study in section 7. Section 8 develops my research questions. Section 9 outlines the contribution of this study and in section 10 I describe the structure of this thesis.

¹ I am required to clarify that the views and opinions expressed in this research are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the policy or position of any organization with which the author is affiliated.

² The first edition of ESG was in 2005. The first edition was a report to the Bologna Process Berlin meeting in 2005. I use the third edition, the text of ESG currently available on the ENQA website, throughout this analysis.

1.2 QA: Rationalities and critiques.

1.2.1 Rationalities: Measuring quality

QA has been a primary policy concern in Higher Education (HE), since the 1980's in the UK (L. Harvey, 2005) and the 1990's in Ireland (Kenny, 2006a, 2006b), though it has a much longer history in the US (Rhoades & Sporn, 2002). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO]³ (2013) describes QA as “the systematic review of educational programmes to ensure that acceptable standards of education, scholarship and infrastructure are being maintained” (para. 1). The UNESCO - CEPES publication *Quality Assurance and Accreditation: A Glossary of Basic Terms and Definitions* (Vlăsceanu et al., 2007) defines QA as:

the process of evaluating (assessing, monitoring, guaranteeing, maintaining, and improving) the quality of a higher education system, institutions, or programmes. As a regulatory mechanism, quality assurance focuses on both accountability and improvement, providing information and judgments (not ranking) through an agreed upon and consistent process and well-established criteria (p.74).

Assuring quality in HE is not new. The quality of HE was traditionally embedded in peer review mechanisms such as the External Examiner system (Cuthbert, 2012; Morley, 2003). From this perspective quality in HE was seen as context dependent and the meaning of quality could differ between contexts. However over the last three decades the meaning of quality has transformed from context dependent, internal activity of HEIs based within peer review and external examiner systems to a regulatory mechanism based on externally derived standards and mechanisms (L. Harvey, 2005).

The emergence of QA as an explicit, measurable evaluation and assurance process is a distinctive feature of the last three decades, coinciding with changes in HE and the social context in which HE operates (L. Harvey, 2005; Campbell & Rozsnyai, 2002). Internally HE is undergoing rapid expansion with substantial increases in student numbers and diversity of programmes (DES, 2011). Externally globalisation is transforming the social context of higher education provision - requiring that HEIs respond to internationalisation of HE markets and increased mobility of students (Marginson & van der Wende, 2007). This evolving landscape for HE requires new

³ There are a significant number of acronyms used in this study. This results from the large number of institutions, organisations and processes involved in the QA policy area. For ease of access appendix 1 contains a list of acronyms and reference to related websites.

ways of managing HE institutions and regulating HE programmes, involving increased scrutiny of, and greater requirements for accountability by, HEIs. Central to accountability is ensuring that academic awards maintain academic standards and that these standards can be described and accounted for across nations and cultures (Dill, 2007; Altbach, Reisberg and Rumbley, 2009). QA has emerged as a mechanism of accounting for standards and therefore as a mechanism of regulating HE programmes (L. Harvey, 2005). In Ireland the growing centrality of QA in HE is underpinned in recent developments in legislation (*Qualifications and Quality Assurance (Education and Training) Act, 2012*; [2012 Act]), policy (DES, 2011) and structural change (such as the establishment of the statutory body with responsibility for quality and standards in HE, Quality and Qualifications Ireland [QQI] in 2012 (Quality and Qualifications Ireland [QQI], 2013)).

QA in HE today is different to traditional concepts of quality as an internal concern of HE embedded in peer review systems. In its current form QA is considered from the perspective of multiple internal and external stakeholders instead of from the perspective of peers. Quality is judged against sectoral, national or extra-national standards instead of against standards established by HEIs. QA establishes generic methods of data collection and assessment against standards. Mechanisms for assuring quality are seen as intricately bound with trust in the standards of HE and the quality of graduates produced (Dill, 2007; L. Harvey and Green, 1993).

In addition QA has emerged as an extra-national concern. Common requirements for national systems were defined at European level as part of the Bologna Process. The Bologna Process [BP] is a voluntary process of European nations aimed at creating, consolidating and operationalising a European HE space, the European Higher Education Area [EHEA]. A key objective of BP is comparability of qualifications. Common requirements for national systems were defined at European level to improve the consistency of QA schemes across Europe. European Standards and Guidelines [ESG] (ENQA, 2009) have also been developed for internal and external quality assurance in order to provide universities and QA agencies with common reference points.

Reviews of the effectiveness of QA point to the success of the form that has emerged (e.g. ENQA, 2012). From a student perspective QA has required the inclusion of their voice in policies and practices of HE (European Students Union [ESU], 2012). QA

facilitates massification of HE, creating access possibilities for larger numbers, though by no means equally (Altbach, Reisberg and Rumbley, 2009). From an academic perspective QA is associated with increased quality, mobility and transparency (Loukkola and Zhang, 2010).

This account of the relationship between HE and QA presents HE as adjusting to external and internal challenges and QA as a tool that assists that adjustment. However this accounting does not examine underlying assumptions about the particular vision of HE that QA seeks to achieve.

1.2.2 Critiques: QA mechanism and HE formations.

Normative accounts of QA present quality as an uncontested concept and its assurance as a neutral act of measurement and comparison. Challenges to these accounts of regulation and regulatory mechanisms draw attention to assumptions on which they are based. Some authors point to the restructuring of regulatory authority based on decreased state control and increased interconnectedness of the market, the state and the HE institution (Ball 2012a, 2012b; Morley, 2003; Rhoades & Sporn 2002; Sporn 2003). Others describe new mechanisms of regulation that connect programme recognition – including accreditation and validation of programmes and funding of HEIs - and mechanisms of accounting for HE, such as QA, with particular neoliberal rationalities of governing (Ball, 2003b). Some of these challenges to normative accounts argue that regulation is connected with neoliberal rationalities of governing HE. Davies and Bansel (2010), for example, describe how “[t]he market becomes the singular discourse through which individual and institutional acceptability will be recognised” (p.5).

Similar critiques of the part regulation plays in forming HE is evident within my own discipline, psychotherapy. Driven by concerns for client welfare and professional recognition and by an increasingly regulatory social context, psychotherapy is actively seeking statutory recognition as a profession (Psychological Therapies Forum, 2008; Lees, 2010). Associated with this is a move from informal professional training to formal HE. Formalising psychotherapeutic training requires that it is: measured against national standards; has in place procedures for QA; is subject to periodic reviews against criteria established at (mostly) European or National level; is shaped by

modularisation and is measured by assessments that fit with specified – and again externally established – norms⁴.

The manner in which HE regulation has and will continue to shape psychotherapy education is a matter of some debate within the profession. One perspective argues that academic regulatory mechanisms construct, normalise and place beyond question a particular view of objective, cumulative knowledge and rational, individual subjects (I. Parker & Revelli, 2008; Reeves & Mollon, 2009⁵). This is a concern of the HE community, rather than merely psychotherapy, Burman (2001) argues: “continuities between developments in therapeutic and Educational practices ... [h]ighlight areas of ambivalence and tension *within* each arena” (p.314). For Burman (2006) academic regulatory requirements are intensely problematic, closing down possibilities for interpersonal, creative, reflexive encounters “in favour of integrated, autonomous, rational, unitary life-long learning subjects” (p.447).

From these perspectives the current form of QA is not inevitable and its trajectory is not accounted for by an inherent unquestionable logic. Instead regulatory mechanisms such as QA are formative of HE and linked with particular positioned rationalities of HE.

1.3 Rationale for this study

The manner in which HE regulatory processes conceptualise and shape HE is, as Burman (2001) argues, a concern common to professional and academic communities. This study builds on critical perspectives on regulation in HE in order to further conceptualisations of these regulatory processes and their consequences. Within critical inquiry knowledge is seen as partial and positioned, as serving particular interests (Stanley & Wise, 1993) and as embedded in particular rationalities that shape particular policy trajectories (Ball, 1998). This study questions, with reference to QA, (i) whose knowledge gets to count and to what effect and (ii) what these knowledges render permissible, what they prohibit and what they require (Rappaport & Stewart, 1997).

⁴ Statutory and regulatory requirements for the recognition of HE are undergoing considerable change, as is described in this thesis. Regulatory provisions are being developed by the body established in the *2012 Act*, QQI. National standards for HE are established in the National Framework of Qualifications [NFQ], a single structure mechanism for recognising all education and training in Ireland (NQAI, 2006). It is linked to similar initiatives that are taking place throughout Europe such as the European Qualifications Framework (European Commission [EC], 2013a). A national policy framework for HE is contained in the *National Strategy for Higher Education* (DES, 2011)

⁵ Some of the different perspectives within psychotherapy are contained within a series of articles on statutory regulation contained in the journal of the British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy [BACP] “Therapy Today” (BACP, 2011)

I do this through undertaking a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of two key European regulatory texts in order to examine the trajectory of QA from its emergence in HE as a tool of accounting for standards and quality to its current key policy and legislative position. The texts I use are: ESG, which relates to academic QA, and *European Association of Psychotherapy Training Accreditation Committee* (European Association of Psychotherapy [EAP], 2012⁶; henceforth **TAC**), which regulates QA in psychotherapy training. Applying conceptualisations of neoliberalism and Foucauldian concepts of governmentality, I examine regulation in HE as discursive formation arising from within dominant rationalities of governing (Foucault, 2002; Dean, 1999).

This locates QA as a formative mechanism that governs HE and neoliberalism as a key rationality of governing. Neoliberalism is a key descriptor of dominant modes of governing where market rationalities dominate, competitiveness and entrepreneurship are core virtues and sovereign government is decentred by new mechanisms of networked governing (D. Harvey, 2007). From this perspective QA as a *policy field* can be seen as mobilising HE to move towards a neoliberal imaginary and QA as a *mechanism* can be seen as adjusting HE to be that neoliberal imaginary (Davies & Bansel, 2010; Peck and Theodore, 2010).

This study is intended to contribute to conceptualisations of the role of regulation in shaping HE trajectories. For Davies & Gannon, (2006) conceptualising formations of HE and their consequences is part of the work of educators:

Our responsibility, as educators and as social scientists, is to understand, to the extent that is possible, the complex conditions of our mutual formation. And we must seek to understand our own contribution to creating and withholding the conditions of possibility of particular lives. (p 182)

Examining QA as contributing to the formation of HE is, from this perspective, an ethical as well as a theoretical and empirical activity. As I see it, this inquiry contests the view of QA as a neutral act of measurement and comparison because this critical work is an intrinsic part of education practice. However ethics is also a situated activity and I situate my ethical position within critical traditions. As I describe in chapter 2, this grounds my approach to this inquiry and my conceptual framework. It also grounds my personal commitment to and engagement with this inquiry. Over many years of involvement with counselling, therapeutic and advocacy groups I have come to see

⁶ The first edition of TAC was 2002. I use the 2012 version (EAP, 2012) throughout this analysis.

regulation as shaping possibilities for living. I see regulation as a path of connection between the social and the personal, as one way in which the social plays out in the personal lives and relationships of us all. I see regulatory mechanisms as shaping personal and interpersonal worlds, including engagements between professionals and their students/clients. Most significantly for this project, I see regulation as having many possible paths rather than one logical, rational path; as reflecting different interests and as having different effects. There is, therefore, great hope and potential in working with regulation. Where regulation is seen as a multiplicity of possible pathways rather than one objective, inevitable entity then the forms that emerge can be examined in terms of whose interests it serves and what effects it has, and it can be changed to foster greater possibilities for individuals and communities.

1.4 Key concepts

In this study there are several key concepts that are used frequently. These terms are used as follows in this study:

Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is used here as a critical term that challenges the truth status of particular logics, as I describe further in chapter 2. This use is intended to challenge assumptions of inevitability and naturalness associated with globalisation through highlighting the political components of social transformations (Larner, 2006). Indeed this use of the conceptual category of neoliberalism as object of critique dominates its more recent use (Peck, 2010) even within liberal literature (Cohen, 2012).

From this perspective neoliberalism can be seen as a transformation of post war liberalism that utilises global and technological shifts and changes to create a more efficient, every growing global society (D. Harvey, 2007). In this new construction of the world primacy is given to “the rise of the markets and the cultural dominance of commodity forms ... [where] consumption becomes a primary source of identity” (Kenway, Bigum, & Fitzclarence, 2007, p.6). In social transformations associated with globalisation neoliberalism is the extension of market conceptions, such as competitiveness and competition into all areas of political, social and personal life and commodification of all areas of society (Peck & Tickell, 2002).

Neoliberalism as a description draws attention to connections between social transformations, such as those I described in relation to HE, and the wider social and political contexts of these transformations. Neoliberalism is implicated in global, national and local change such as the deregulation and privatization of industry and public services and the dismantling of welfare policies (Ball, 1998; Wacquant, 2010). It is also implicated in identity formation, with neoliberal subjectivity describing the individualistic, responsible autonomous citizen (Davies & Bansel, 2010; Perez & Cannella, 2012). Its practices can be traced into global institutions such as the International Monetary Fund [IMF] and World Bank “which sought to disseminate what they saw as neoliberal “best practice” in economic policy making” (Bondi & Laurie, 2005, p.395).

In this study neoliberalism is positioned as a *discursive formation* (Foucault, 2002) that re-orders social space in terms of the logics of marketplace capitalism. As such it is a particular *rationality of governing*. Neoliberalism as a descriptive category focuses on the meaning being produced and the interests being served. However this descriptive version of neoliberalism is questioned in this chapter in terms of its usefulness as an analytic device (Bondi & Laurie, 2005). Neoliberalism as an idea conceptualises the ideological component of social transformations but it does not capture how social transformations are mobilised in particular ways with particular effects (Larner, 2000, 2003).

Neoliberalisation

Neoliberalisation, following Brenner and Theodore (2002), is used to describe the context dependent path by which elements of neoliberalism take hold. It is intended to capture the changing forms and process that neoliberalism takes in different times and across different locations. It is used analytically to delineate and describe how neoliberalism emerges and operates and is related to other aspects of social life. It places neoliberalisation as one variable, rather than the totality, of social formation. It recognises that neoliberalism as a descriptive category does not allow analysis of the varied pathways by which rationalities of governing come into existence and take hold. It facilitates a focus on how neoliberal trajectories emerge and operate within already existing institutional, policy and regulatory landscapes and actual trajectories of contestation and dispute that shape the actual pathways that emerge (Leitner, Peck, & Sheppard, 2007a). It assumes, for example, that neoliberalisation of HE and of primary

education are both similar and different, that neither pathway is predictable and that the actions of these education communities impact upon the actual pathways that emerge. Its empirical application, *actually embedded neoliberalism* (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p.349), is described in sections 1.5 and 1.6.

Regulation

The dominant legal conceptualisation of regulation is as an act of a sovereign state that controls specified activities. These are acts of administrative bodies that have the force of law. Regulation is “a rule or order issued by an executive authority or regulatory agency of a government and having the force of law” (*Merriam-Webster’s*, 2000, p. 415). From this perspective legislation prescribes general rules whereas regulation intervenes in the relationships between particular groups of people and the state. QA is grounded both in law – such as the *2012 Act* – and regulation – currently being devised by QQI. However this conception of regulation is problematised in this inquiry, particularly in chapter 3 where I argue that new modes of regulating, associated with new modes of governing, are emerging.

Governmentality; rationalities of governing

Governmentality as Foucault described, is the “conduct of conduct” (2002, p.220). It brings to bear multiple elements, relations, principles, practices, problems and solutions on any arena to be governed. Governmentality links the technologies of governing – how governing occurs – with the rationalities of governing – the system of assumptions and beliefs, activities and imaginaries within which governing occurs (Dean, 1999). This linkage shapes the research questions, described in section 1.8. In this study neoliberalism is examined as one rationality of governing.

Discourse; discourse; discursive formation; discursive field

Following Foucault discourse is used here as systems of representation rather than as a linguistic concept (Hall, 2001). Discourse refers to a “domain of statements” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 124) that provides a particular way of representing the social world (Hall, 2001). Through shaping representation, discourse positions people as particular types of subjects (such as teacher or student) living in particular kinds of relationships (Hall, 2001; Van Dijk, 2006). Discourses about a topic - such as QA - are contained in multiple sites (including texts such as ESG and practices such as teaching).

They are the “state of knowledge at any one time” (Hall, 2001, p. 73), the conditions of possibility formulated in discourse (Foucault, 2002). For Foucault a particular domain is brought into being through discursive formation – the range of discursive practices that state knowledge about that domain. The consistency with which a topic is represented within seemingly unconnected domains identifies the *discursive formation* of that topic (Foucault, 2002). Discursive formations are not based on the essence of an object, but on the regularity of formation of the object in many different sites. They do not illuminate essence or reality, but instead construct a truth regime (Foucault, 1982). Thus discursive formations maintain and preserve a “regime of truth” (Hall, 2001). The consistency of discursive formations in different domains dominates the formation of an object but is not the totality of social formations; it can give the illusion of truth, but that truth co-exists in relations of power with other truths. Therefore where there is the appearance of truth there is also resistance (Foucault, 1982). While the discursive formation is the process by which a topic is brought into being, *the discursive field* is the location where the formation plays out:

the space in which discursive happenings are situated. It is in the field that the questions of the human being, consciousness, and the subject, manifest themselves, cross over, become embroiled, and define themselves (Peci, Vieira & Clegg, 2009, p. 382)

Subject; subjectivity

The subject is envisaged here, following Foucault (1982), as *discursively formed* rather than any essential essence of a person. Subjectivity is the embodied experience of being subjected. Subjects are positioned through the multiplicity of discursive formations. The subject, then, is not a unified centralised being - that is in itself a subject positioning - but instead the site of operation of power. Subjectivity is “embodied in bodies that are diversified, regulated according to social protocols, and divided by lines of inequality” (Rose, 1998, p. 7). Blackman, Cromby, Hook, Papadopolous & Walkerdine (2008) distinguish between “subjects as produced in power/knowledge and subjectivity, which we could call the experience of being subjected” (p.6)

1.5 Actually existing neoliberalism: Conceptual and methodological possibilities

My study adapted an approach suggested by Brenner & Theodore (2002) in relation to the geographies, which they term “actually existing neoliberalism” (p.349), to enquiry

into QA. This approach examines the process of neoliberalisation rather than neoliberalism as an outcome. It emphasises trajectories of neoliberalisation as contextually embedded. These trajectories are seen as emerging and operating within already existing “institutional frameworks, policy regimes, regulatory practices, and political struggle” (p. 349). Instead of the predictability of outcomes suggested by neoliberalism, trajectories of neoliberalisation adapt to, appropriate and transform their landscapes, creating “a new institutional fix” (Peck & Tickell, 1994, p.280), a reshaping of existing institutional landscapes. These trajectories also reshape challenge and contestation through appropriation and dismantling of critique, a reformation of individual and community identities, commitments and dispositions (Davies & Bansel, 2010). However these appropriations are neither total nor totalising. Actually existing neoliberalism conceptualises neoliberalism as one influence, but not the totality of influence, on actual pathways. Therefore neoliberalisation and its contestation are articulated together in order to describe how different practices shape, as well as are shaped by, neoliberal pathways (Leitner et al., 2007b).

1.6 Studies in actually existing neoliberalism

Some themes that emerge in studies in actually existing neoliberalism that have particular significance for my study are as follows:

1.6.1 Path dependency

Brennan and Theodore (2002) formulate and describe this approach in relation to the emergence of neoliberal cities by examining the path-dependency of neoliberal urban reform. They describe how neoliberal policies act on European and American cities, and how cities have their own institutions, policies and pathways that interact with how these policies are rolled out. MacLeod (2002) describes Glasgow as a particular example of a city faced with escalating inequalities and social unrest that managed its crises through different, sometimes conflicting, policy initiatives. This is crisis management, according to Jones and Ward (2002) - successions of regulation intended to manage the contradictions of previous rounds of regulation. This actually existing neoliberalism is not a smooth path towards an ideal but a bumpy ride with an uncertain future.

1.6.2 *Adaptability*

These studies also throw into focus the adaptability of neoliberalism to actual pathways. When one pathway does not work, such as urban entrepreneurialism in Glasgow, another pathway is tried, such as confining socially excluded populations to localised impoverished spaces (MacLeod, 2002). In a similar vein Cahill (2013) examined relationships between think tanks and government in Australia and concluded that:

neoliberal think tanks, instead of imposition of a unitary neoliberalism were more successful in articulating discursive frames that legitimated neoliberal policies and demonised opponents of neoliberalism than in wielding direct policy influence over neoliberal governments. (p. 71)

Jessop (2002) also found differences between the theory of neoliberalism and the actual pathway of neoliberalisation in his analysis of a policy document, *World Report on the Urban Future 21* (World Commission, cited in Jessop, 2002). He argues that the form and implementation of this document was changed as a result of challenge and contestation. Neoliberal normalisation, it appeared, was not sufficient in the face of widespread discontent.

1.6.3 *Instances of neoliberalisation*

This empirical approach utilises case studies of neoliberalisation to illuminate instances and experiences of neoliberalism. Empirical studies of policy areas and policy texts, for example, are particularly useful in illuminating the centrality of discursivity in creating, normalising and achieving neoliberal subject positions. Mitchell (2006) examined EU inclusion policies and argued that rhetorics of social inclusion become attached to the formation of mobile, flexible, self-governing European labourers and detached from ideas of equality and integration. For Ball and Junemann (2012) this included the experience of rapid change, which created difficulties for empirical studies and critical reflection.

These situated studies of neoliberalism trace particular neoliberal pathways through institutional and discursive change using detailed case studies. Examining neoliberal identity formation can illuminate the mechanisms, and the pervasiveness and persistency, of neoliberalisation at the personal and community level. The use of creativity in education policy texts, argue Hay & Kapitzke (2009) is not a roll-back of neoliberal values to allow in consideration of non-market based constructions of

identity. Instead creativity is recontextualised as productive, for a purpose; it connects the ideal neoliberal subject with the global knowledge economy.

1.6.4 Neoliberalism and critique

Another defining feature of these studies is that they describe instances of contestation and reappropriation of contestation. From this perspective evolving modes of neoliberal restructuring and policy formation also create possibilities for contestation and difference. Actually existing neoliberalism uses detailed case studies to articulate neoliberalisation and its contestation together, centring contestation as interrupting and shaping neoliberalisation, albeit slightly and temporarily (Leitner et al., 2007a). Actual contestations of neoliberalism in particular places and moments in time are used to challenge the idea of neoliberalism as all pervasive and totalising. This includes the insertion of community agendas such as Lerner and Butler's (2007) "communitization" where the work of community organisations included community interests in state agencies. In a similar vein Bond and McInnes (2007) describe community opposition where local organizations used collective action and alliances to challenge neoliberalisation in South Africa. In Bondi's (2005) account voluntary counsellors resist the individualisation of neoliberalism through the reformulation of communal, institute based responsibilities that challenge neoliberal identities of individualised accountable subjects.

Leitner et al. (2007b) identify engagement, opposition, disengagement and decentring neoliberal truth claims through alternative knowledge production as strategies of contestation of neoliberalism's ideals and strategies. These studies provide ways of describing processes of contestation, particularly where critique appears invisible, in order to decentre neoliberalism's own totalising ideal of itself.

1.6.5 Education policy as neoliberalisation

In applications of actually existing neoliberalism to Higher Education in the UK, India and Chicago, Püschel and Vormann (2012), Kamat (2009) and Lipman and Hursh (2007) respectively trace the emergence of education policies that facilitated corporate and political control over schools. These policies and resulting change to urban and educational landscapes emerge not as a unified plan but as particular responses to local conditions and resistance. Nonetheless policy changes move these locations in a particular direction, towards market-oriented, commodified, segregated education and

“gentrification” of urban landscapes. Pathways, it appears, may differ but the direction of change is remarkably similar across locations.

These education studies map national policy trajectories rather than specific policy areas, such as QA. These studies occur within specific national locations. My focus is different. My object of study is a policy area, QA, and the extra-national and local, as well as national, effects on its policy trajectory (Marginson and Rhoades, 2002). This study uses and adapts actually embedded neoliberalism to map the trajectory of QA across European space.

1.7 The approach of this inquiry: QA as actually existing neoliberalism

1.7.1 The framework

Distinguishing features of inquiries into actually existing neoliberalism are (a) the focus on a particular arena of operation and (b) the examination of its path-dependent trajectory in terms of institutional frameworks, policy regimes, regulatory practices, and struggles over reform. The focus is on the area of operation and the particular conditions of the formation. This brings to the fore the contextual embeddedness of neoliberalism in contrast to its own decontextualised perspective (Brenner & Theodore, 2002).

In this inquiry I take QA as the focus of study as an actual existing practice of neoliberalisation. A key task is to examine the production of QA as a specific neoliberal project through tracing institutional, policy and regulatory formations. I do this through:

- (a) A specific focus on QA that draws on poststructuralist and critical theory to develop key theoretical conceptualisation of QA as regulatory mechanism in HE. This is described in chapters 2 and 3.
- (b) The development of a methodology specific to the study of QA that illuminated the institutional framework, policy and regulatory fields of QA in HE. This is described in chapter 4.
- (c) Choosing data from two different contexts, academic and professional HE, to examine affects of context on QA mechanism and HE outcomes. The different institutional, policy and regulatory frameworks of academic and professional HE, and the different contestations and appropriations, allowed a comparison of

different trajectories in different contexts. This allowed an examination of context as a variable influencing QA mechanisms and HE outcomes.

(d) Developing research questions focused on QA as actual existing practice through two dialectically related categories:

- How QA operates to transform HE – the means of the QA project. This examines QA as mechanism, how QA operates through particular activities to steer HE in particular directions.
- What form of HE is emerging – how the ideal of the QA project is shaped and changed by the contexts of its production.

These categories were used to develop research questions as described in section 4. Together they examined QA as formative of HE.

1.7.2 *The analysis*

The dialectically related categories I use are QA as mechanism and HE as ideal. An overarching theme is how difference is managed within social formations of QA.

QA as mechanisms: Regulating towards an ideal.

Market-based reforms emphasise technical solutions to ethical and political problems (Davies & Bansel, 2010; Ball, 2003b). This brings to the fore “mundane practices” such as measuring, auditing and evaluating “through which neoliberal spaces, states, and subjects are being constituted in particular forms” (Larner, 2003, p.511). This is the regulatory aspect of QA, one thread of the contextual landscape into which neoliberal practices are placed (Brenner and Theodore, 2002).

Regulation is an interface between state and higher education. QA is positioned within HE discourses and practices as a particular tool for managing that interface. First, QA provides a *mechanism of accountability* for HEIs. HEIs are required to account for their standards of education and the effectiveness and efficiency of their performance. QA allows institutions to be measured against national policies for education, such as standards of qualifications. Second QA provides a *mechanism of comparison* of performance between HEI’s within and across national boundaries. This allows streamlining of the HE sector nationally and across national boundaries. Third QA

provides a *mechanism for defining quality* that allows such comparisons to be made. Within QA that which is measured and compared is quality. This allows descriptions of quality – such as student profiles, numbers and completion rates – to be linked with national policies in these areas. Conversely, that which cannot be measured is not counted as within the meaning of quality – it exists outside of the conditions of possibility for QA.

This inquiry examines QA as an example of how regulation adjusts towards an ideal rather than requires particular activities. I suggest that regulation needs to be formulated not as the imposition of sovereign power but as occurring in sites of networked governance and occurring through means of steering rather than imposition. This I do in chapters 2-3.

QA as future vision: Ideals adjusted towards

Neoliberalism draws attention to how technologies are not merely produced and utilised, but are produced and utilised in particular ways that reflect various beliefs, positions and commitments. From this perspective technologies of accounting such as QA are not only instruments that make visible the actions of HEIs: they bring into being social space as a particular entity. This involves the production of an imaginary, the ideal, and the production of accountable subjects who move towards that ideal (Davies & Bansel, 2010).

National reports such as the Department of Education and Skills (DES) *National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030* (DES, 2011; the “Hunt Report”), extra-national process such as the BP and institutions such as the European Union [EU] present a similar vision of the future of HE. The National Strategy for Higher Education (DES, 2011), for example, an Irish report on national policy in HE, states:

In the intensely competitive global environment, the economic fortunes of every country are increasingly determined by the quality of its national education and innovation systems. (DES, 2011, p.31)

This same vision of a societal future intertwined with HE and dependent on “quality” is provided by the key European text shaping Quality Assurance, ESG (ENQA, 2009):

if Europe is to achieve its aspiration to be the most dynamic and knowledge-based economy in the world (Lisbon Strategy), then European higher education will need to demonstrate that it takes the quality of its programmes and awards

seriously and is willing to put into place the means of assuring and demonstrating that quality. (p.10)

In this imaginary the values and constructions of the marketplace govern the conditions of possibility for HE. QA steers HE on a particular trajectory towards a particular ideal. This is the neoliberal imaginary; of what HE is and should strive to be. This inquiry examines how this ideal is presented as uncontested and beyond question, and QA is presented as a mechanism of measurement, a technical device for achieving this ideal.

1.7.3 Sustaining the ideal: Dismantling critique

Davies and Bansel (2010) describe “dismantling critique” (p. 5) as one of the features of neoliberalism. This inquiry examines how QA constructs a particular rationality of adjustment towards an ideal and also how it manages other different rationalities and other different ideals. For example what does QA “do” with the concept of QA as context dependent? What does it do with national and local differences in implementing its particular rationalities?

1.7.4 QA in different contexts: Professional and academic

Brennan and Theodore (2002) describe path dependency as shaped by prior institutional, regulatory and political arrangements. In this study I examined two historically and institutionally separate contexts: that of professional psychotherapeutic training and academic HE. This allows examination of similarities and differences between, as well as within, contexts of QA operation. These are also the contexts in which I work. I am familiar with the changes across time in both contexts and with implicit knowledge in both arenas – how these communities of practice speak about and understand themselves.

1.8 The Research Questions

The research questions were designed to focus on the object of study, QA, and the entwined trajectories of HE and QA. This was the starting point for my principal research questions:

Principal Research Questions:

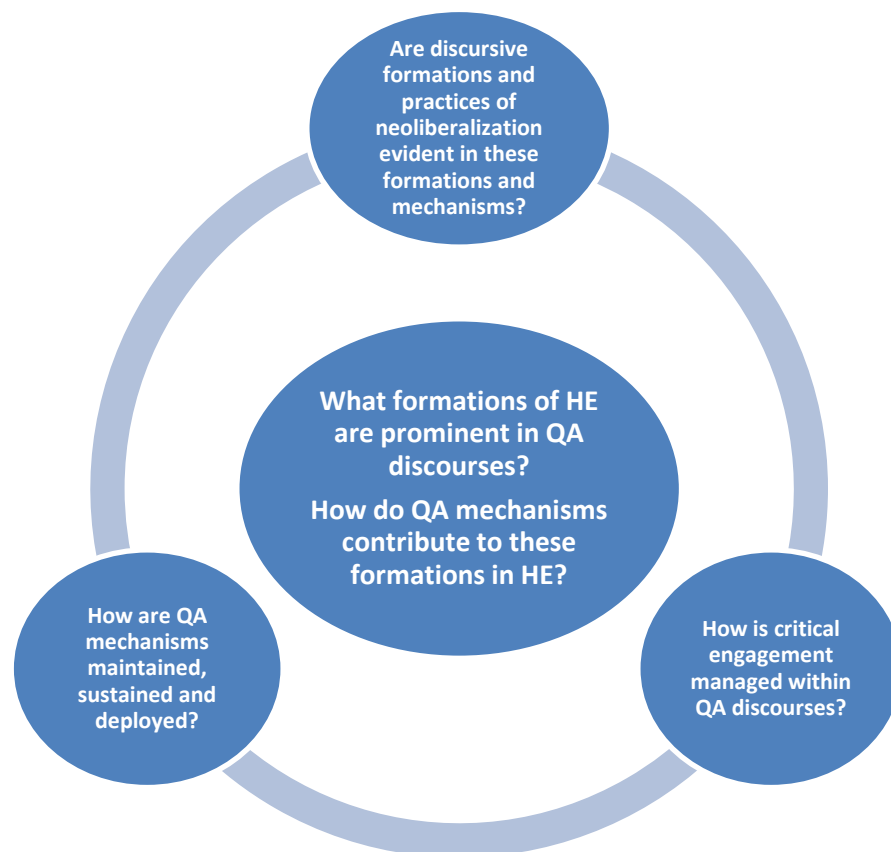
- **What formations of HE are prominent in QA discourses?**
- **How do QA mechanisms contribute to these formations in HE?**

A number of areas were of interest under these principal questions:

- **Are discursive formations and practices of neoliberalisation evident in these formations and mechanisms?**
- **How are QA mechanisms maintained, sustained and deployed?**
- **How is critical engagement managed within QA discourses?**

The research questions are illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Principal and subsidiary research questions.



The first principal question viewed HE as socially embedded, formulated within and between institutions, practices and discourses (Foucault, 2002; Morley 2003; Fairclough, 2003). This focused on formations of HE in discourse - what it is seen to be, and the goals towards which HE is steered. This is the imaginary towards which HE strives, the ideal of the HE community. As an imaginary it is positioned as naturally and

unquestionably the desire of all. This question examined the ideal as a rationality of governing, the logic by which HE is formed, brought into being and positioned through discourse. The second principal question focused on how this formation and QA are articulated together. This viewed QA as mechanism of governing, and examined how QA steers HE towards its ideal. The subsidiary questions focus on the path dependent trajectory of QA, on what QA does in texts and in institutions. These questions engaged with neoliberalisation as a particular rationality of governing, an assemblage of discursive practices and institutional arrangements that steer HE towards naturalisation of particular ideas of what it should be. In particular they focus on neoliberalism as a particular logic based on market place constructions, relationships and values. These questions asked: at what moment, in what location, within what text or event or institution or interaction was neoliberalisation visible, and to what effect.

1.9 The significance of this study.

This study has the potential to contribute conceptually and empirically through:

- Drawing on and adding to critical inquiries into neoliberalism as a particular experience whose effects are dispersed across disciplinary, sectoral and temporal boundaries (Leitner et al., 2007b). This line of study draws from and develops new work in critical geography to study events of educational formation as instances of “actually existing neoliberalism”; that is as context dependent, provisional pathways contingent on institutional and discursive change.
- Drawing on and adding to studies of governmentality in HE through focusing on (a) the ideal of HE; the imaginary that HE is steered towards and (b) how QA is utilised to work towards that ideal. This fits within existing studies of governmentality in HE that analyse regulatory policy as mechanism of formation rather than policy options or best practice solutions (e.g. Davies & Bansel, 2010). However its empirical approach adds to this body of knowledge through situating governmentality in the world of education practice rather than solely in the realm of theory.
- Drawing on and adding to conceptual understanding of mechanisms of formation of HE such as regulation, networked governance, and Europeanisation.

- Drawing on and adding to methodological possibilities for investigating neoliberalism through the development of a methodology specifically tailored to its object of study, QA. QA operates discursively, as text, events and practice and also operates through institutions and networks of institutions. Investigating the path dependent trajectory of QA involves analysing how these contexts operate separately and together.

1.10 The research journey: the structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of 10 chapters divided into two parts. The first part consists of this introduction and the following three chapters, illustrated in figure 2. This part describes my conceptualisation and approach towards this study and the methodology I use in this study. This introduction describes and situates my study. Chapter 2 describes my conceptual framework; my personal, professional and theoretical locations and positions. There I locate my study within critical traditions and describe theoretical framework for conceptualising QA as a mechanism that steers HE towards particular ends. In chapter 3 I examine QA as a particular instance of regulation in HE. Here the view of QA as a discursive field extends the study into the global arena and into the complex interrelationship between emerging social transformations, neoliberal rationalities of governing and QA in HE.

The second part consists of the remaining 6 chapters, which focus on my empirical study. In chapter 4 I describe Critical Discourse Analysis as the overall methodological framework used in this study. I identify Marginson & Rhoades (2002) glonacal agency heuristic and Balls network analysis (Ball, 2008; Ball & Junemann, 2012) as providing frameworks for analysis of wider contexts. I present a rationale for the choice of two particular documents as examples of regulatory policy in HE. I describe the steps that were taken to adapt my methodology to the object of study, QA. I describe the methods used to manage and analyse the large amounts of data produced.

I present the analysis in four chapters, as I describe in chapter 4 (figure 5). Chapter 5 looks at the documents I have chosen as texts embedded in contexts and at the partiality and position of quality in HE. In chapter 6 I look at how the documents are embedded in and work with chains of texts and events – intertextuality – to construct QA as a particular definable entity. I examine how this discursive field of QA is incorporated into local meanings and practices – recontextualisation – and the resulting social

formation of quality in HE. Chapter 7 focuses on institutional frame in which quality is formed, sustained and deployed. Here I examine the discursive power, material conditions and strategic actions of different institutions involved with QA. In chapter 8 I focus on the textual and linguistic strategies that position QA, and therefore HE, as particular, positioned formation of meanings and practices.

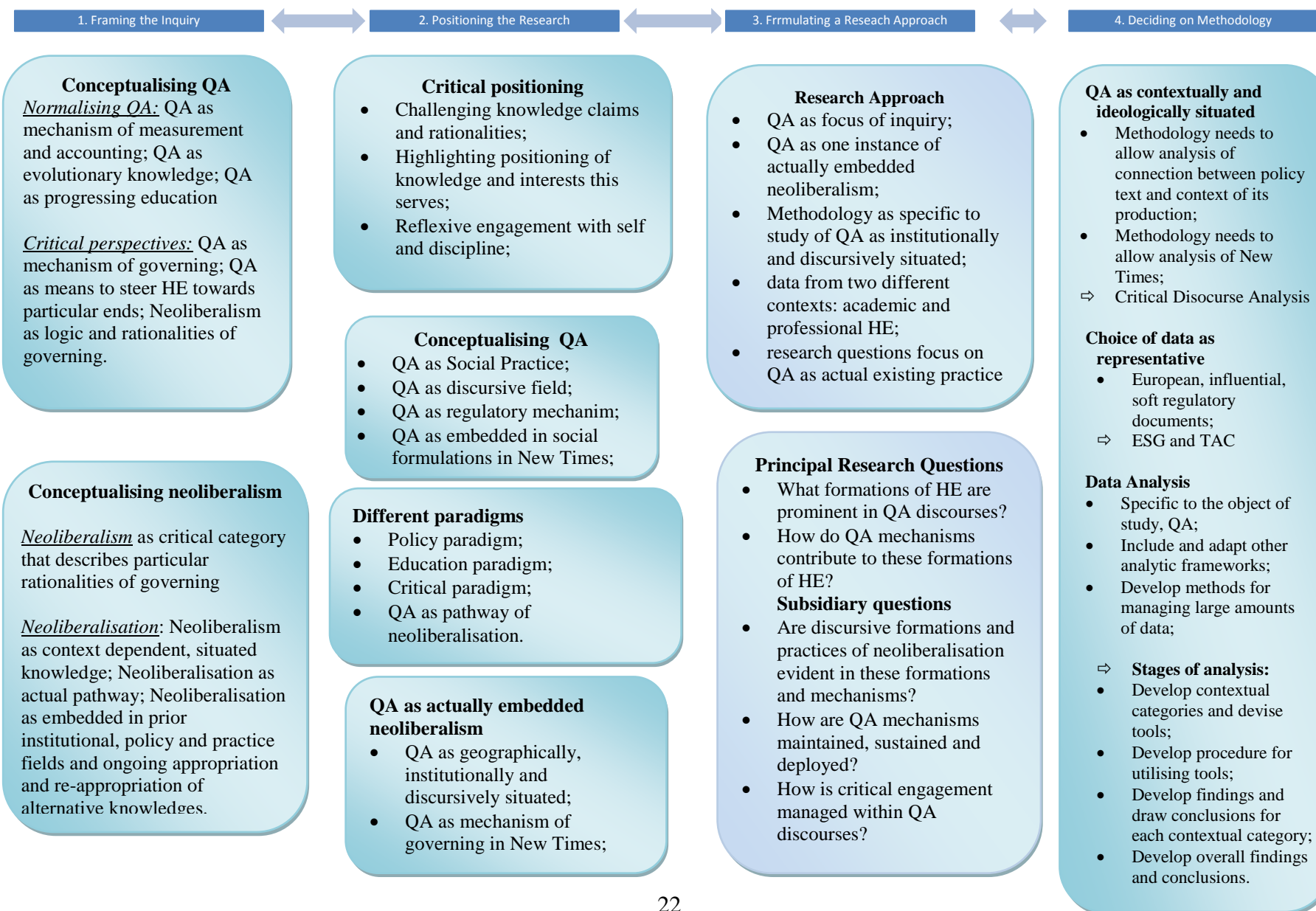
Chapter 9 links together the different threads of the analysis with wider social transformations. Using examples of emerging practices – such as university rankings and soft regulation – it describes how regulation shapes HE, moving it in particular directions and changing its meaning in the process. There is, I conclude, much at stake in these formations, a theme that shapes the conclusion in chapter 10.

1.11 Conclusion

In this chapter I have identified QA as the object of my study and its place in the formation of HE as the focus of my study. I have placed my study within critical traditions that inquire into whose knowledge gets to count and to what effect. I have described key terms used in this study and identified neoliberalisation as a key descriptive and analytic device for this inquiry. I have described actually embedded neoliberalism as an approach adapted to this study and identified my research questions. This provides the foundation for the next chapter where I describe my conceptual framework.

This conceptual framework is required to provide an overarching rationale for my approach; a guide to theoretical, ethical and methodological choices I make to progress this study. This raises the question, in this contextual exploration, of what counts as context; where can a line be drawn between what should and what should not be included within this study. In particular, in a contemporary society where wholesale processes (globalisation, Europeanisation, neo-liberalism, postmodernism, to name but a few) impact on the lives, practices, structures and relationships of us all, how can this study, itself embedded in these wider movements, proceed in any manageable way? Figure 2 outlines these choices and the next 2 chapters describe my rationales for these choices. In the next chapter I describe the conceptual framework that I utilise to manage and delimit my approach. This includes my personal and professional engagements with this study.

Figure 2. The Research Journey: From questions to methodology



Chapter 2. Positioning this inquiry: Different viewing points.

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to describe conceptual frameworks within which I approached this study. This research was carried out from within critical traditions, which draw attention to the part the researcher plays in any inquiry and the impact of researcher locations on the knowledge produced. My personal and professional commitments, described in section 2, shaped the choice of theoretical perspectives I included in this inquiry, discussed in section 3. These personal, professional and theoretical engagements shaped my choice of directions for this inquiry, outlined in figure 2.

2.2 Researcher engagements 1: Critically positioning this inquiry

My position as researcher is shaped by my “particular locations, engagements and perspectives” (Madden & Moane, 2006, p.281). Making visible my positions and decisions indicates how I formulated, approached and addressed the questions I raised and opens this inquiry to the collective engagement with the quality and usefulness of this project (I. Parker, 2002).

I locate myself, and therefore this inquiry, within critical traditions. This is both a research position and a statement of my own personal and community commitment to the value of research in furthering specific critical aims. From my perspective this positioning connects the personal and the political, theory and action, writing about experience and actual lived experience (McLeod, 2001). At the same time it questions those commitments: as Bondi & Laurie (2005) write “there is no uncontaminated form of, or space for, political resistance” (p.399). Critical inquiry requires a disciplinary reflexivity, a reflection on one’s own knowledge and practice positions and their consequences (I. Parker, 1999; Wilkinson, 1988). It also requires individually reflective positions that make explicit the personal, social and historical position of those who produce knowledge (Stanley & Wise, 1993; Wilkinson, 1988; Ryan, 2011). Therefore in this section I locate my choice of theoretical focus in my critical positioning. First, I look at how my critical positioning focused my theoretical inquiry on QA as formative of knowledge. Second, I look at how it shaped my choice to include different

disciplinary perspectives. Third, I look at why I chose to carry out this particular research, with its focus on quality in HE, from this particular perspective - exploring the role of policy, and the activities of policy communities, in shaping HE.

2.2.1 Critical reflections: Power and knowledge

This study is positioned as a critical inquiry. Critical inquiry connects particular knowledges with particular kinds of actions and outcomes (Stanley & Wise, 1993). Knowledge, from this perspective, is never abstract, neutral or true (Rappaport & Stewart, 1997). Therefore the intent of this inquiry was to inquire critically into QA as a particular type of knowledge with particular consequences. In a critical framework regulatory discourses and practices are seen as establishing norms and values as rational, inevitable and beyond question (Foucault, 1979, 1988; Lange, 2011). From this perspective linkages between policies and associated practices in HE and the social context of their production is not always visible. Therefore the aim of this study as critical inquiry is to make visible contextual influences on formations of HE, to denaturalise that which is presented as natural and to uncover the operation of power in established norms and values (Madden and Moane, 2006).

This critical positioning underlies my rationale for this inquiry (section 1.3) and shapes my conceptual framework - the knowledge I produce, like the knowledge I examine, is partial and positioned. My critical positioning shapes my own reflections upon this inquiry, and the directions this inquiry takes. As critical research this inquiry is committed to particular types of exploration based on particular values and commitments (Madden & Moane, 2006). 'Neoliberalism', for example, is used to challenge rather than further particular rationalities of governing. Criticality commits to including large-scale cultural forces as well as local contexts of practice in order to challenge progressive views of knowledge and the naturalness of the subjectivities reflected and constructed in these knowledges (Rappaport & Stewart, 1997; Stanley & Wise, 1993). This is a particular feature of my study. Critical enquiry explores the relationship between power and knowledge and how some knowledges are privileged over others: therefore this study traces knowledge production in institutional and textual formations of QA and HE.

Locating this as a critical inquiry had particular consequences for the manner in which I approached this research. First, critical inquiry, as I see it, involves the exploration of

power as constitutive of knowledge, of knowledge as positioned and partial rather than as natural and objective; and of power and knowledge as intricately connected (Foucault, 2002; Rose, 1985, 1990; Ryan, 2011). This critical disposition towards knowledge shaped the evolution of this inquiry and is a constant thread throughout this inquiry. Second, critical inquiry requires, I suggest, a continual rethinking of how we professionals “do” education practices (Madden and Moane, 2006). One aim of critical inquiry is reflection on and contribution to practice. In my final chapter I return to the extent to which this study does, and does not, achieve this aim. I now turn to these researcher engagements

2.2.2 Disciplinary reflections: Challenging disciplinary boundaries

Critical inquiry in HE questions how we as professionals give shape and meaning to our education communities. Ethically we all carry responsibility for the implications of our practice, and therefore practitioners and administrators (such as myself) are required to interrogate their own actions and outcomes. This critical reflexive engagement with our own professional practices is different to personal reflexive engagement with research – an additional but separate and distinct form of critical engagement. This “disciplinary reflexivity” (I. Parker, 1999, p.6) requires that we reflect on and challenge the actions that we as professionals engage in and the outcomes that emerge.

Inquiries from within any discipline occur within that discipline’s specialised linguistic and conceptual framework (I. Parker, 2002). This can both perpetuate the blind spots of the profession and miss the contributions to understanding that come from different knowledge bases. Shaped by these considerations, this inquiry intended to allow connections between other critical traditions to emerge in order to allow some of the questions and dilemmas that form the basis for this inquiry to be explored differently (I. Parker, 1999). I included critical studies from within different disciplinary perspectives such as: educationalists (Ball, 2012a), geographers (Brenner & Theodore, 2002) psychotherapists (I. Parker, 1999) psychologists (Madden & Moyne, 2006) and lawyers (Cippitani & Gatt, 2009). This can challenge my assumptions and illuminate alternative ways of thinking and acting.

This stepping outside a particular disciplinary domain of practice opens up possibilities for difference and resistance (I. Parker 1999). However it is a position not without difficulty. The concern is that moving beyond one’s own discipline and into a

“disciplinary eclecticism” (Dale, 2007, p.149) can lead to a lack of rigour, a lack of a specific theoretical and methodological framework that provides a distinct, strategic approach. However as Dale (2007) also points out, critical projects aim for usefulness, for justice, for finding ways to name and counter oppressive practices and this on balance seems at least an argument to try. Perhaps a more relevant argument is that that people in real life cross disciplinary boundaries and that understanding actual modes of living requires that professionals do the same. I remain convinced that understanding the relationship between the social and the local, between self and context requires going outside the comfortableness of one’s own discipline and including perspectives from other traditions and knowledges.

In this research I attempt to situate myself respectfully and also critically towards multiple somewhat conflicting positions, those described here and many not described. This is, undoubtedly, not always achieved. The act of writing is itself an attempt to open up this engagement to the voice of the reader, for challenge, critique and change.

2.2.3 Personal Reflections: My locations and engagements.

I have sketched my commitment to critical perspectives and its impact on this inquiry. This commitment is located in my personal/professional story. I came at this inquiry from an insider position – inside the education and psychotherapy field, as family therapist, trainer and policy analyst; and also as a student in the education field. In addition I came to this inquiry with a history of past engagement with regulatory arenas - as researcher in constructing a code of ethics for my professional body the Family Therapy Association of Ireland [FTAI], as a former solicitor, and through involvement with various regulatory processes in different professional and voluntary bodies. I also bring a personal history, of being female, middle class and rural, and a strong theme within my family history of women struggling to find spaces to learn amidst social expectations that they care for those around them. Learning, in those contexts, is not so much a lifestyle choice as a mechanism for survival.

I now find myself working within that personally valued space of HE, where I contribute to the development of policies and practices that define, describe and formulate what quality in HE might mean. My background provides useful knowledge and skills, such as the reading of regulatory documents, and also positions me in a particular relationship to the knowledges I utilise and produce. My location as a family

therapist attunes me to marginalised voices, and to my own capacity to marginalise. I see professional relationships as embedded in powerful positioning, knowledges and practices that can obscure, silence and, as G. Lerner (2005) describes, do violence to the others' worlds. From this perspective critical ethical positioning is more than preventing prohibited behaviour; it is about reflexive engagement with professional knowledges and practices. This shaped my decision, also grounded in my theoretical approach, to focus on the process of policy formation – of constructing that which comes to be seen as normal and beyond question - rather than on marginalised, problematic identities that these normalities can produce. As I see it, it is how we normalise that positions others (and sometimes ourselves) in marginal, excluded space. My concern with this area of inquiry centres on this normalisation of HE as a particular kind of entity, and who is included and excluded in this construction. QA is central to my work, and my concern is also with my part in this inclusion/ exclusion.

This is a requirement of therapeutic practice: that every now and then we turn our gaze onto ourselves, look at our own normalising tendencies and allow some space to the other who is so often the subject of our scrutiny. Challenging who gazes, with what effect and under what authority is also a personal path, fostered within my professional and personal communities. This challenging may not remove a person from being located in space by discursive formations of who one is and should be, but it can provide moments where those formations are no longer experienced as true or real or the only conditions of possibility by which lives can be lead. This challenging can allow alternative knowledges in, and therefore alternative possibilities for living. This study, therefore, scrutinises the work of policy making and policy makers – such as myself – rather than the activities and subjectivities of the subjects of policy. Therefore I chose to focus on how HE is being formulated in social spaces; through practices, (such as my own) of policy formation; rationalities that underpin these formations (such as neoliberalism); and what happens when those rationalities sit uneasily for HE communities (such as texts that challenge or differ from dominant perspectives on what HE is or should come to be). In the next section I explore the theoretical perspectives that I chose to include in this exploration

2.3 Researcher engagement 2; Theorising QA.

In order to examine QA as actually existing neoliberalism I needed a theoretical framework that connected QA as a local practice with wider contextual institutional, regulatory and political arrangements.

Social practice perspectives provided a framework for conceptualising how local QA practices reflect, recreate and transform wider understanding and practices. Foucault's conceptualisation of discursive formation was used to delimit QA as an object of focus and of governmentality to distinguish QA as regulatory mechanism that steers HE towards an ideal type. I used globalisation and neoliberalism to conceptualise the wider social contexts in ways that rendered them available to empirical study. Together these perspectives were used to conceptualise the specific contexts in which QA emerged and its path-specific trajectory. The regulatory context was particularly important in conceptualising QA as a mechanism of governmentality, steering HE towards an ideal type.

2.3.1 *QA as social practice: Connecting the local and the global*

Social practice perspectives provided a way of visualising actual existing neoliberalism as social formations of meaning played out in local arenas by individuals and communities. They conceptualised how QA activities such as staff performance reviews are experienced as normal while containing within them meanings that are shaped within wider social contexts. They conceptualised social practices as reproducing themselves and also varying over time and space.

Social practice as conceptual framework has been described in differing forms and within a range of disciplines (Foucault, 2002; Bourdieu 1977; Giddens, 1984; Brown & Duguid, 2001). Practice perspectives ground knowledge in social action rather than in abstract constructions of knowledge as separate from knowers. Social Practice, as Reckwitz (2002) describes, is:

a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge...[A] practice represents a pattern which can be filled out by a multitude of single and often unique actions reproducing the practice. (p.249-250)

In practice theory, social practices shape and are shaped by human agency and the contexts of their production. For instance there are shared cultural knowledges of family meals and student assessments that guide the actions of those who participate. Actors act out of, but actions are not determined by, this understanding. In Bourdieu's (1977) terms, practices can be seen as enacted by individuals from within their habitus, their "systems of durable, transposable dispositions" (p.77) learned through immersion in a culture, and experienced as natural rather than constructed.

Practice perspectives provide a conceptual understanding of QA as actual existing neoliberalism playing out differently in local arenas. First, practice perspectives tie wider social formations to actual events. Representation of social knowledges are internalised as implicit knowledge, as schema that shape individual actions (Van Dijk, 2006). The HE ideal towards which neoliberalism works, for example, is represented in multiple texts as "how things might or could or should be...[P]rojections of possible states of affairs, 'possible worlds'" (Fairclough, 2003, p.207). The more persistent and pervasive the representation within a culture, the more likely it is to form the background to cultural and individual actions. The schema shapes but does not determine a particular localised pathway. Second, they provide a vision of language (or representation) and actions operating together. QA practices such as performance evaluations play out in ways that are shaped by implicit knowledge of what constitutes an evaluation in a particular interaction. Thus QA is a variable practice at local level; the actual pathway it takes is unpredictable. Third, practice perspectives include the institutional and structural contexts in which local practices are played out. As in Brenner and Theodore's (2002) conceptualisation of actually existing neoliberalism, these contexts shape particular pathways in local arenas. In this inquiry QA practices are conceptualised as social practices, reflecting and recreating social formations and also the actions of actors who apply implicit knowledge in different, sometimes surprising ways.

2.3.2 Conceptualising QA as regulatory mechanism: Governmentality.

Exploring QA in this inquiry required some sense of how QA operates as a mechanism that regulates and steers HE, the purpose it serves and the authority it operates under. From a conceptual perspective theorising regulation is also theorising the relationship between a sovereign state and its civic sphere. The different theoretical lenses that are

used to understand regulation shape its analysis and also restrict the analysis within a particular framework.

The dominant legal description of regulation is an act of a sovereign state that controls specified activities. Regulations are seen as administrative acts that have the force of law and can only occur within the legislative framework that they seek to implement (*Merriam-Webster's*, 2000). Regulation, from this perspective, is hierarchically imposed and contained within distinguishable boundaries of production and implementation. In this view the state has sovereign power that legitimises its rule and from which the authority to legislate and regulate is derived. QA, from this perspective, is the means by which sovereign power acts upon HE. In a constitutional democracy such as Ireland executive policy decisions are enacted as legislation by the legislature and implemented in regulations by administrative bodies. On a national level, HE regulation is traceable, from its source – the legislature, empowered by the people - to its effects – the administrative acts of regulatory bodies such as the HEA and QQI.

From this perspective there is a clear distinction between QA regulation as sanctions based activity, imposed on HE by legislative acts of a sovereign state, and QA as the autonomous actions of HEI's. This view of regulation is not merely in the legal domain, (such as the *2012 Act* and the *Universities Act, 1997*). It dominates a good deal of the policy and academic literature. ESG, for example, describes itself as non-regulatory and TAC describes itself as a voluntary QA mechanisms. The Conference of the Heads of Irish Universities (CHIU), in its influential framework for QA in Ireland, connects this absence of legislative regulation with “freedom from bureaucracy” (2003, p.7).

However, freedom from legislative control does not necessarily imply autonomy. Governmentality, a concept associated primarily with Foucault, conceptualises the operation of regulation differently. Power and control do not reside solely, or even principally, in a nation state; regulation is not necessarily traceable to a source and does not operate within distinguishable boundaries. Instead Governmentality:

[I]s any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge that seeks to shape conduct by working through our desires, aspirations, interests, and beliefs, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects, and outcomes. (Dean, 1999, p.11)

Governmentality, as Foucault described, is the “conduct of conduct” (1980, p.220). It utilises multiple elements, relations, principles, practices, problems and solutions on any arena to be governed. Governmentality links the technologies of governing – how governing occurs – with the goals of governing – the imaginary towards which governing is directed (Dean, 1999). In this study this linkage is between QA as technology and the goals towards which QA strives, the HE ideal. This linkage occurs through the subject who is governed, the form of subjectivity brought into being in QA activities or in Dean’s words “who we are when we are governed” (Dean, 1999, p.26).

Governmentality draws attention to the multiple discursive sites of construction of a particular field of operation (Springer, 2012). Regulation, from this perspective, is governing. It is intended to affect and shape human activity in particular ways. Regulation as discursive formation is a blending of discourse and practice within which the work of governing occurs (Foucault, 2002). Regulating HE from this perspective is for the purpose of steering in a particular direction and is carried out through multiple discursive and non-discursive practices: laws, regulations and also the structuring, administration, organisation and practices of the regulatory apparatus. QA as regulatory mechanism fits within this complex mix.

Governmentality as a view of governing draws attention to multiple sites and mechanisms of regulation and to the embeddedness of regulation in governmentality. This decentres the state as the site of regulation and focuses on the part played in regulating by multiple actors. Governing is not an act but instead an assemblage of discourses from multiple sites where legal, administrative and institutional arrangements, policies, processes and procedures and guidelines and best practice initiatives establish, construct and constrain particular types of arrangements. Ball (2009) describes this regulatory landscape as a shift from government to governance. He describes changes in the structure and agencies of governing - in actors who govern, in discourses that shape governance and in subjectivities that are governed.

Through a Foucauldian lens (Dean, 1999; Foucault, 2002), governmentality includes both state politics and also a wide range of regulatory mechanisms and practices – technologies of self - that have as their end the maintenance of an ordered and happy population (Dean, 1999; Foucault, 2002). A discursive regime constitutes and is constituted by the language practices around it and also by these technologies of self – the actions, procedures and devices that surround the discourse and put into practice the

discourse (Foucault, 2002). They are "technologies imbued with aspirations for the shaping of conduct in the hope of producing certain desired effects and averting certain undesired ones" (Rose, 1999, p. 52). These technologies allow us to shape and measure ourselves in ways that align us with particular types of being. In the education world assessments, performance measures, appraisals, reviews and measurement of student retention modify all of us involved in them. QA is not merely an act of regulating; it is a multiplicity of mechanisms that shapes subjectivities and activities.

From a governmentality perspective the absence of state-sanctioned regulation is not autonomy, and is certainly not freedom. QA as a voluntary mechanism provides considerable scope for differences in practice, as DIT's external review (Kenny, 2005) and the EUA practices in external review (Kenny, 2006a) demonstrate. And also it is formative; it brings into being HE as a particular entity, and those who work and live within HE as particular kinds of beings.

2.3.3 Conceptualising QA's context: Social formations and transformations

Delimiting, describing and analysing these wider contexts provided a particular challenge for this inquiry. There are multiple competing descriptions that obscure and reveal different aspects of the contemporary social context in which regulatory practices are shaped and formed. The challenge here was to find conceptual frameworks that furthered this study of QA in what Hall & Jacques (1989) refer to as "New Times".

A common thread throughout descriptions of New Times is transformation and change, in particular changing technological, social, political, cultural, economic fields, at least in western worlds. These changes have been variously described as late modernity (Giddens, 1991), late capitalist (Fairclough, 1993), neoliberal (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001; D. Harvey, 2007), postmodernity (Hutcheon, 2002; Jameson, 1991) and globalisation (Jessop, 2000, Appadurai, 2001). A variety of conceptualisations are used to make sense of shifting economic, social and cultural relationships in areas such as identity, (Giddens, 1991) culture (Hall, 1997) and policy (Ball, 2012a, 2002b) and within specific disciplines such as geography (Kelly, 1999), law (Vogel & Kagan, 2004) and education (Ball, Dworkin, & Vryonides, 2010).

These descriptions theorise a transformed and transforming world at global, national and local levels impacting on public and private arenas (Marginson and Rhoades, 2002.

Globalisation, as a description of New Times moves away from ideas of local practices determined by social structures, from a focus on nation states as sources of power, from causal relationships as explanation towards a focus on flows (Urry, 2002, 2005), mobilities (Urry, 2000) and networks (Ball & Junemann, 2012). Descriptions of globalisation capture the paradoxical and contradictory nature of contemporary societies where the local and the global, the personal and the political intertwine and subjectivities are linked to wide scale social forces (Ball & Junemann, 2012). Globalisation, similar to a practice perspective, draws attention to social action as occurring differently in different locations and positions. Globalisation provides a lens through which to theorise “a complex and multiple set of economic, political, and cultural processes with contradictory consequences” (Larner, 2003, p. 509).

Globalisation provided a theoretical background to this inquiry that allowed conceptualisations of transformations in regulation and its impact on HE. The approach taken in this inquiry was to use globalisation as a conceptual device that rendered visible different elements of New Times. Crucially, this also allowed me to connect this inquiry to theoretical and empirical work on globalisation. For example in my methodology I utilised Ball and Junemann’s (2012) ‘network analysis’ and Marginson and Rhoades (2002) ‘glonocal agency heuristic’, which are very different studies of global formations.

Conceptually globalisation studies drew attention to emerging social formations arising from changes in the social context. This included new relationships – such as interactions between the global, local, national and extra-national spheres (Marginson and Rhoades, 2002), - and new social structures – such as new institutional forms where policy is devised and enacted (Ball, 2012). Descriptively, globalisation gave a sense of transformations in contemporary society, drawing attention to connections between technological advances and contemporary economic, political and social arenas and characterised by interconnections and flows of people, information, goods and services, both globally and locally (Giddens 1991, 1998; Urry, 2002).

Globalisation as a description of New Times is characterised by intricate chains of cause and effect and transformations of taken for granted categories, identity and subjectivity (D. Harvey, 2007; Urry. 2002). This has far reaching implications for a study such as this that examines education regulatory policy. The nation state, for example cannot be either discounted or seen as the (only, or indeed principal) source of regulation in HE;

there are global and local actors who carry at least as much weight. Regulation, in this transformed world, is more than rule-bound, required actions of HEI's and instead includes networks of actors who contribute to the regulatory domain.

Globalisation provides routes into understanding New Times, but it is not without difficulties. Globalisation can paint a differentiated world as if it were experienced the same across vastly different locations and positions (Appadurai, 2001; Hirst & Thompson, 2009). It can also compound different process as if they were the same, such as scientific and technical advances and the ideological uses to which these might be put. As the editors of the Journal *Globalisation, Societies and Education* (Editorial, 2003) point out Globalisation is used normatively and analytically, sometimes blurring the distinction between beliefs in what should be and an analysis of what is. For Ball and Junemann (2012) this blurring occurs in a context where our conceptualisation of the global is inadequate to the task of making sense of the contemporary world.

Neoliberalism, used as a critical category, also draws attention to social transformations, as I describe in chapter 1. Similar to globalisation, neoliberalism and neoliberalisation can be used imprecisely, as a storehouse for different and differing logics that are treated as one unified whole. As Peck (2010) states,

It might be said about dominant policy paradigms like neoliberalism that it can be difficult to think *about* them when it has become so commonplace to think *with* them. The conventional wisdom can seem ubiquitous, inevitable, natural, and all-encompassing. To many, neoliberalism...seems to be everywhere, and it seems to be all that there is. (Preface, para. 1)

In this mix neoliberalism can lose its usefulness as a critical analytic category, particularly given its linguistic and historical connections with philosophical, economic and political fields of Liberalism. Therefore it is important to distinguish liberalism as diverse and historically contingent philosophical, economic and political fields and neoliberalism as a critical category.

As a philosophy, liberalism sees liberty and freedom as natural states, though in different forms, and individual freedom, democracy and the rule of law tend to be of primary concern, though with different emphasis (Gaus & Courtland, 2013). Different emphasis and perspectives within liberalism ground different policy and practice positions. Gaus, & Courtland (2013), for example, distinguish between classical and new liberalism, the former centring a connection between private property and free

markets and the later emphasising the role of the state in tempering market forces. Politically these liberalisms diverge in areas such as relationships between private property, individual freedom and nation states. The historic evolution of post-war liberalism in the US can be seen as a political form of new liberalism, associated with democratic politics, which aims to improve social and economic conditions through policies such as subsidising housing, education and health care (Bell & Stanley, 2012). Classical liberalism, on the other hand, positions market based order based on private property as essential to liberty. Historically this is associated with institutions such as the Mont Pèlerin Society, an international organisation established in 1947, aimed at restoring free society through the free markets, and the Chicago school, based at the Economics Department at the University of Chicago (Hartwich, 2009). These organisations and their shared associated economists and philosophers, while describing themselves in terms of classical liberalism, are most frequently associated with the formation of the critical category of “neoliberalism” (Van Horn & Mirowski, 2008).

Neoliberalism is also a historically and nationally situated self-description of economic and political positions. The evolution of neoliberalism from a term of self description to a critical category spans a good deal of the 20th Century. According to Hartwich (2009) neoliberalism as self-description originated in pre-war Germany, as an argument against state intervention in market forces and as a third way between communism and capitalism. Its evolution is characterised by fractures and discontinuities rather than a singular uncontested path. In pre-war Germany neoliberalism, a term then associated with the economist Rüstow, was based on a “system of a market economy under the rules of law and limited government” (Hartwich, 2009, p. 14). The theme of the need for a new liberalism, and the descriptive term “neoliberalism” were taken up by in 1938 at a Paris meeting of liberals organised by the French philosopher Louis Rougier (Thorsten, 2011). In the Mont Pèlerin Society, which originated at a meeting convened by the economist perhaps most associated with neoliberalism, Friedrich Hayek, in 1947 and included Karl Popper, Ludwig von Mises, George Stigler, and Milton Friedman the focus shifted from pre-war concerns with defining a “new” liberalism towards preserving and fostering classical liberal ideas (Thorsten, 2011; Mont Pelerin Society, n.d.). Post war political developments then led, in the main, to the term neoliberalism being dropped as self description, in favour of, in Germany of the term ‘social market economy’ and classic liberalism in both MP and Chicago school (Hartwich, 2009).

The term neoliberalism, according to Hartwick (2009), ceased to be widely used from the 70's, resurfacing, with some exceptions, as a critical term, an attempt to analyse the logics of political trajectories, in particular their impact on practices and policies (Peck, 2010). From a critical perspective delimiting neoliberalism is intended to highlight its political-economic practices and policies and questions the inevitability, as well as the consequences, of this trajectory (Peck, 2010). As a critical term, neoliberalism examines particular constructions within different historical, national and geographic locations, and different pathways by which its logics shape personal, community, national and global worlds. As Peck (2010) describes, critical perspectives on neoliberalism do not intend to identify the essence or fundamental principles of neoliberalism as a system of thought. Instead it is it is intended to delimit a rationality that plays out differently in different places:

“neoliberalism is a set of economic policy proposals which is most often advocated, at least in the Western world, because it is thought that they will reinforce traditionally liberal goals such as democracy, individual liberty, and private property rights.” (Thorsten, 2011, p. 185)

It is this rationality, and some of its pathways, which this inquiry sought to bring to the fore. How I did this is one theme of the next chapter.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has developed a conceptual framework for this inquiry grounded in personal, disciplinary and theoretical positions contained within an overarching critical approach. This framework has specific applications in my study. Social practice and Foucauldian conceptualisations of governmentality were utilised in my analysis in part 2 of this thesis (chapters 4-10). Globalisation provided a framework for analysis that was utilised in conceptualising QA and its relationship with HE in chapter 3 and a methodology in chapter 4. Neoliberalism, as I described in chapter 1, challenged the ideological basis of globalisation (Clarke, 2003; Kelly, 1999; Larner, 2003; MacLeod, 2001). Globalisation and neoliberalism were positioned in this inquiry as theoretical and analytic devices that draw attention to particular aspects of the world. They resembled lenses that direct vision in particular ways, illuminating different aspects of the world and its formations in ways that allow a particular kind of seeing.

Chapter 3. Investigating QA from within different paradigms.

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I examine the growing body of literature that appraises QA. In section 2 I categorise this large body of work in terms of different approaches arising in different fields of inquiry –in particular policy, education and critical inquiries. I place my study within critical approaches that conceptualise QA as a mechanism of regulation and steering of HE. In section 3 I examine QA as one instance of regulation situated within the emerging architecture of regulation in New Times. I examine this architecture in terms of changing locations in which regulation occurs and changing practices by which it is carried out.

3.2 Inquiring into QA: Paradigms and their possibilities

3.2.1 *QA as policy field*

One particularly influential line of research is QA as public policy. QA discourses and practices link HE agendas with social agenda issues such as standards of qualifications, access to programmes and strategic planning. This connection between government policy agendas and HE through QA places QA as an object of study within the public policy rather than the education research arena (Perellon, 2007). Policy research, according to Perellon (2007), tends to focus on how policy work gets done within a policy cycle of formation, dissemination and implementation. This focuses analysis of QA on the increased potential for effectiveness of QA in achieving policy goals of HE, including social policy and economic goals. This policy positioning, according to Blackmur (2007), shapes Education research in QA through focusing it on concerns of effectiveness and efficiency of QA as a tool (Perellon, 2007). This can constrain Education research on QA within a technical-rational approach, while the “underlying paradigms that influence research on quality have remained alarmingly under-researched” (Blanco Ramirez, 2013, p. 126).

One line of research that that goes against this trend brings together policy and academic fields to critically engage with the assumptions and effects of policy positions.

Perellon (2007), for example, arguing for a transdisciplinary approach, describes the role of policy research in HE in analysing policy paradigms that shape policy approaches rather than solely policy instruments. Similarly the Journal “Quality in Higher Education” brings together both policy and academic perspectives on quality in HE, at times challenging established policy positions. This international journal is produced in association with the International Network for Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education [INQAAHE] most of whose members are QA agencies. In 2010 two special issues were produced, with papers reflecting on 15 years of QA since the Journal began. These special issues engage with the concepts and practice of QA from both academic and policy perspectives. Their publication coincided with the launch of the EHEA, the goal of BP, which is critically examined by some of the contributors (Huisman & Westerheijden, 2010; Amaral & Rosa, 2010). Some papers question policy paradigms, such as Brown’s (2010) critique of UK policy as responding to political concerns with risk rather than academic concerns with quality enhancement. Academic perspectives included Little & Williams’ (2010) study of the effects of constructions of students as consumers, associated with QA practices, on student engagement. Similar critiques straddle the policy-academic divide, such as Saarinen’s (2010) reflexive engagement with discursive change in the quality debate, where she describes a move from QA as politically contested arena to one of everyday practice. Similarly Rozsnyai (2010) links policy and practice in her description of the proliferation of tools and agencies around QA. She argues that within this proliferation the essence of QA as academic quality needs to be preserved.

These studies argue that QA as a policy approach to HE has not been successful in addressing issues of academic quality. L. Harvey (2005) in an analysis of the history of QA summarises some of the difficulties that critique of QA brings to the fore:

Quality monitoring in the UK has been beset by overlapping and burdensome processes, competing notions of quality, a failure to engage learning and transformation, and a focus on accountability and compliance. (p. 271)

In 2007 L. Harvey and Newton argued along similar lines that what is required of QA is change, grounded in critique. They question particular normative paradigms and principles of QA, the relationship between QA and quality, how QA constrains HE and what other mechanisms might be available. They ask why this form of mechanism has taken hold to the exclusion of other mechanisms, a question reiterated by other authors who focus on paradigms and principles rather than mechanisms of QA.

These studies, while illuminating QA and its limits, tend to leave the knowledge position of QA and its connections with social contexts unexplored. They tend to exclude consideration of the formative aspects of QA in shaping the HE domain and the subjectivities of those who inhabit this domain. Therefore they have limited application in this inquiry. Critical studies, on the other hand, aim to make visible connections between QA and its context, and to investigate QA as constitutive of knowledge about HE. This critical positioning is more fitting to the aims and conceptual framework of this inquiry.

3.2.2 Critical studies of QA

Critical studies engage with questions of meaning, values and subjectivities and their formation within QA (Davies & Bansel, 2010; Lange, 2011). In this approach QA cannot be examined in isolation; instead it is intricately connected with the wider contexts from which it emerges and the local contexts in which it is implemented. From a Foucauldian perspective these studies see QA as part of the discursive formation of HE, with knowledge and power operating through QA to reshape the boundaries of HE and subjectivities of its participants (Lange, 2011).

One line of critical inquiry examines how relations between governments and the education field are reformulated through mechanisms such as QA (Sporn, 2003). Similar to policy research, these studies examine national QA systems in terms of how they link HE with social policy concerns, reformulating HE in the process. Instead of assuming a naturalness of the link, they examine how QA highlights particular agendas for HE - such as efficiency and effectiveness, privatisation and accountability - and excludes others - such as social justice and transformative agendas. For example L. Harvey (2005) in the UK and Davies and Bansel (2010) in Australia trace national HE policy from the 1980's to examine how audit mechanisms such as QA were used to connect HE performance with economic goals. They describe national trajectories that are both specific to national conditions and also surprisingly similar across nations. Both authors describe how their national contexts increasingly emphasised the need to develop, and continuously improve, measures of performance for HE. This culminated

in key policy texts in both countries⁷ that recommended the development of performance measures and movement towards *dependence* rather than *linkage* between funding and performance. This particular policy trajectory required a measure to link HE with economic goals, and QA was one mechanism for measuring the quality on which (economic) performance could be based.

In these accounts linkages between QA and HE goes beyond accounting and is instead a mechanism of steering HE in particular, economic, directions. Unlike some policy approaches that argue that because public funds require accountability mechanisms such as QA are expected (Blackmur, 2007), these studies question why a particular form of QA has emerged within this particular socio-political context. For Davies and Bansel (2010) in particular this steering uses neoliberal means and is in a neoliberal direction.

3.2.3 *Critical studies in regulating HE: Investigating neoliberalism*

Theoretical and empirical studies of connections between changes in the HE field and wider social forces, in particular globalisation and neoliberalism, are evident in the critical literature. These studies aim to analyse contributions to and rationalities of the discursive formation of HE. First, they describe the changing *structures and locations* of HE steering (e.g. Shore and Wright, 1999). Apple (2005) argues that HE is reshaped not only in the connections between government and education, but in the connections between neoliberal states and HE. The dominance of neoliberalism as a driving force for changes in HE, it is argued, can be seen in the increased interconnectedness of the market, the state and the HE institution (Morley, 2003; Rhoades and Sporn 2002; Sporn 2003).

Second, these studies describe the changing *mechanism* by which HE is steered. The move towards public accountability through evaluation, quality control and “new” management instruments is seen in terms of steering of HE in particular neoliberal directions (Apple, 2005; Sporn, 2003; Clark, 2003). Associated with this reshaping of the HE landscape is a reformation of subject positions within HE. Neoliberalism and its technologies, it is argued, are part of the discursive formation of self-activating, self-responsible, goal directed students (Fejes, 2008,) responsible, autonomous academics

⁷ These policy documents were, in the UK the White Paper of 2003, Future of Higher Education (In Harvey, 2005) and the Australian, ‘Our Universities: Backing Australia’s Future’ (Nelson, 2003, in Davies and Bansel, 2010).

(Davies & Bansel, 2010) and discrete, cumulative knowledge (Burman, 2006). In this marketplace formation students become consumers of learning, teachers become providers of learning and knowledge becomes a commodity. The ‘knowledge economy’ is seen as the goal, the ideal towards which education is directed and responsible citizens direct their behaviour (Brine, 2007).

These are mechanisms of inclusion of prescribed identities within HE and they are also mechanism of exclusion. Those who do not fall within prescribed identities are marginalised: the non-achieving student (Fejes, 2008), the caring academic (Lynch et al, 2012), the non-performing teacher (Ball & Olmedo, 2013), non-segregated education landscapes (Püschel & Vormann, 2012). Identities can also be pathologised, as Brine (2007) argues, based on her analysis of discourses of knowledge society and knowledge economy in European Commission documents. She describes the “dual society” (p. 651) of the high knowledge-skilled learner of the knowledge *economy* characterised by opportunity and the low knowledge-skilled learner of the knowledge *society*, characterised by needs, and increasingly the source of risk to the knowledge economy goals.

These lines of inquiry trace conceptualisations of neoliberalism into instances of social life as actual experiences of neoliberalisation, a focus that has considerable bearing on my study. These studies provide a place from which to see QA as steering HE in particular directions.

3.3 Conceptualising transformed regulatory architecture in New Times : Locations and mechanisms

Critical studies in neoliberalism conceptualise transformations of regulatory space as transformations of socio-political landscapes where the relationship between the public and the private sphere is being reconfigured (Black, 2002; Braithwaite, 2000). The emergence of a “new regulatory state” (Davidovitch, 2011, p. 126) is associated with new locations of governance that work with mechanisms of regulation in this transformation. In terms of *location* this reconfiguration involves decentralisation of regulatory authority, increased complexity of regulatory systems and fragmentation of regulatory knowledge and power (Black, 2002; Ball & Junemann, 2012). In terms of *mechanisms* regulation is reconfigured from compelling actions to shaping and steering towards multiple, often enmeshed policy initiatives with decreasing emphasis on

enforcing regulatory obligations (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Rosenau, 2007). In this section I examine changing locations in terms of changing geographical locations, institutional structures and discursive formations. I examine changing mechanisms in terms of changing practices and changing tools of regulation.

3.3.1 Changing locations

Geographical locations

Global reconfigurations of the landscape of regulation include changes to the relationships between local, national and extra-national sites of regulatory power (Rhoades, 1997; Rosenau, 1995; Ball, 2012; Ball & Junemann, 2012). In practice this translates into the difficulty in locating regulation in physical space. Geographical location of regulation – in nation states and regional authorities for example - is transformed into regulatory authority located between global, national and local arenas. This draws attention to the dialectic relationship between the global and the local, where policies devised globally impact differentially locally and local agendas impact on extra-national policy formation (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002; Vidovich, 2004; Vidovich and Slee, 2001). The E4 group, for example, the principal authors of ESG, is a network of European organisations: ENQA, The European Quality Assurance Register for Higher Education [EQAR], the European Students' Union [ESU], The European University Association [EUA] and European Association of Higher Education Institutions [EURASHE], while ENQA is an association of primarily national QA agencies.

Physically locating regulation also draws attention to the large arrays of actors from multiple locations and with more complex relationships. This complex location is analysed by Ball in relation to education as networked governance (Ball, 2012a, 2012b; Ball & Junemann, 2012). Networked governance is characterised by “the involvement of additional actors beyond sovereign states operating through a web of connections, reports and guidelines” (Brown, 2002, p. 4). Ball describes the growth in influence of philanthropy, particularly corporate philanthropy, and business interests in networked governance in UK education. He argues that networked governance in education is towards a particular ideal, one influenced by business interests, though the strength and breadth of that influence is not always easy to identify. This is not merely a

reconfiguration of sovereign power, but a reconfiguration of locations of power towards neoliberal ideals.

Institutional arrangements

Networks are new locations of regulatory power, and also they are new institutional structures that produce and shape policy directions in the interest of particular sections of society. Policy is being ‘done’ in a multiplicity of new sites “tied together on the basis of alliance and the pursuit of economic and social outcomes” (Ball 2008, p. 761). This, Ball (2008) argues, is indicative of a restructuring of governing “a new ‘architecture of regulation’ based on interlocking relationships between disparate sites in and beyond the state” (p. 761). These sites are fluid, flexible and difficult to identify with any certainty (Ball & Junemann, 2012).

This does not remove the state from the policy arena, but instead shifts its position to one of meta-management (Urry, 2005). There is also a shift in processes of legitimation of policies; from constitutional and legislative authority towards contractual mechanisms of agreement reaching by multiple stakeholders (Buitrago, 2013). Central amongst emerging new stakeholders are business interests, as Ball has demonstrated in various studies of the role of corporate philanthropy in education policy and governance (2012a & 2012b).

In the HE sphere, for example, QA agencies have responsibility for external review of HEI’s. They are tied to national and, increasingly, European infrastructures. EQAR manages a register of QA agencies operating in Europe that are compliant with ESG. These agencies may have various relationships with state authorities. For example the UK agency QAI is a company limited by guarantee funded in part by HEI subscriptions (L. Harvey, 2005) while the Irish organisation QQI is state managed and funded in part by fees for its services (QQI, 2013).

Self regulation

The source of regulation is increasingly moving from the state to a network of sites of regulation that include the self. Regulation, rather than merely requiring rule-based compliance, increasingly includes responsibility-based self-management. This is more than a change in regulatory responsibility; it is a change in discursive formations of subjectivity that positions the neoliberal subject as individualistic, responsible and

autonomous (Davies & Bansel, 2010); Perez & Cannella, 2012). This is a regulation of dispositions towards certain ways of being, where efficiency and performativity are individual characteristics (Lynch et al., 2012). HE practices such as Performance Management Appraisals, self-reflexive reports and strategic planning construct particular ways of knowing and judging oneself as individuals and communities (Davies & Bansel, 2010).

State regulation and self imposed regulation are entwined in this regulatory apparatus of governmentality. In the QA arena HEI's are envisaged as committing to disposition of quality enhancement, entrepreneurship and a knowledge economy (DES, 2011). Universally applicable standards and competencies are translated into measurable, objective occurrences and are measured through techniques of accountability – such as the everyday practices of QA that require measurement, judgement and reflection (Davies & Bansel, 2010). The HE ideal, that effective, efficient, high quality commodity, becomes linked with the ideal subject, the responsible autonomous subject (Davies & Bansel, 2010). Here the focus is less on actions and more on disposition (Foucault, 2002), less on compliance and more on arrangements, processes and reflexive engagement. In new regulation, responsible choice is transformative; the requirement is not only to act but to be (Grek et al, 2009).

3.3.2 Changing mechanisms

Emerging mechanisms of regulation include new governance tools of statistical analysis, comparison and benchmarking that render visible areas for governing (Greer & Vanhercke, 2010). They also involves new practices of “soft” regulation, exemplified by the EU “Open Method of Communication” (Radaelli, 2003) which I return to in chapter 7.

Steering HE: Soft regulation

‘Hard’ regulation is characterised by legal or administrative sanctions while ‘soft’ regulation derives its authority from contractual-type agreement rather than legislation (Davidovitch, 2011; Greer and Vanhercke, 2009; Braithwaite et al., 2008). Hard regulation is self-imposed, self-adhered to and optional. It is presented as a natural and progressive, emphasising “regulation for results rather than specification of specific

actions” (May, 2007, p.8). Soft law responds to current concerns and provides them with ‘best practice’ solutions rather than obligations to act (Novoa and Lawn, 2002).

In this new regulatory architecture diffuse sites of governing are mirrored by diffuse networks of hard and soft regulation, requiring both action and disposition (Braithwaite et al., 2007). In a globalized world regulation is less concerned with preventing and requiring specified behaviour and more about steering activities and events towards policy initiatives (Burbles & Torres, 2000). Regulatory texts within this new architecture can cover a wide range of authoritative positions, from legally binding Acts, such as, in Ireland, the *2012 Act* to best practice initiatives such as the Irish Universities Quality Board [IUQB] Good Practice Guides (IUQB, n.d.). At European level, texts mixing hard and soft regulation are particularly efficient in reshaping the boundaries and forms of HE from national to European level. Two particular examples are ESG and TAC, texts I return to in relation to data selection in chapter 4. Both are authored by non-statutory bodies that have no legal mandate in Europe or Ireland. Both are given authority and status through governance networks and both are in the process (though at very different stages) of achieving national legal standing. Both require internal quality mechanisms to be devised by HEIs and made visible to external experts – though again in very different ways. These texts, in their similarities, provide particular examples of what Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) refer to as informal regulation or law-making and, in their differences, the phenomena of local variation within globalised processes.

Technologies of power: Accounting for ourselves

The new regulatory landscape emphasises accountability and requires the constant production of evidence of performance (Lynch et al., 2012). New tools – performativity, accountability, QA – provide new ways of regulating based on what Eggers (2008) refers to as “no longer on managing people and programmes but organising resources – often belonging to other people – to produce public value” (p.23). HEI’s increasingly are required to demonstrate performance along centrally prescribed lines (Apple, 2001). Academics increasingly are required to engage with techniques of accountability within which neoliberal spaces and subjects are made and given shape (Lynch et al., 2012). A neoliberal analysis draws attention to how terms of accountability and measurement, positioned as natural, inevitable and rational, are those set by marketplace norms mediated through regulatory discourses and practices (Ranson, 2003). This coupling of

ideology and mechanisms through evidence of performance occurs through discourses of competition, markets, and choice articulated with discourses of accountability, performance objectives and standards (Apple, 2005; Lynch et al, 2012).

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has placed this inquiry within theoretical and empirical studies of QA. First I examined how QA is conceptualised and investigated within different paradigms, and I concluded that critical inquiry into knowledge production is most fitting for my inquiry. Second I examined studies in regulation that contribute to conceptualising how QA operates to shape HE. I examined changing locations in which regulation occurs and changing practices by which it is carried out. These are descriptions of what Ball (2008) describes as “knowledge architecture” (p. 760), where and how knowledge is produced, sustained and deployed.

However this line of inquiry is not without difficulties. Blackmur (2007) cautions against assuming that accountability mechanisms are in themselves indicative of market forces shaping education. Connections between neoliberal theory and social transformations can present neoliberalism as a unitary totalising force where the contextually specific nature of neoliberalisation can go unexamined (Peck and Tickell, 2007). This can fail to account for differences in neoliberal pathways and obscure their contingency - the existence of different actual pathways of neoliberalism within specific contexts, dependent on historic, political, legal and institutional conditions. Neoliberal accounts of QA do not necessarily account for different trajectories such as the QA contributions to access to education and including student perspectives referred to in my introductory chapter. Furthermore they can provide a picture of contestation as without effect. Actually embedded neoliberalism, on the other hand, articulates neoliberalisation and its context – including institutional constraints and contestations – together to describe, in relation to an object of study, how neoliberalism actually works.

In the next chapter I turn to the methodology I devised that was specific to the focus of my inquiry. There I describe how I adapted and incorporated different theoretical and methodological frameworks in order to analyse neoliberalism as situated and contingent. This required the analysis of the specific historic conditions of QA and specific political, legal and institutional contexts in which QA operates. This methodological approach is, I suggest, one particular contribution of this study.

Chapter 4. Methodology: Towards a framework for analysing texts and contexts.

4.1 Introduction

The task of this chapter is to describe my research questions, methodology and methods (figure 2). This journey was influenced by the considerations raised by I. Parker (1999):

Instead of trying to construct a discourse analytic machine which we could then use to shred all varieties of text... Every discourse analytic researcher has to go through that process of arriving at an appropriate method themselves if they are to be true to the text. We see discourse analysis as being characterized by a sensitivity to language above any `steps` to analysis. (p. 2)

In this chapter I move between theory and methodology. In section 2 I outline Critical Discourse Analysis [CDA] as the overarching methodology within which this inquiry is based. I describe my decision to use particular documents as data and outline how these documents provided places of entry into the discursive field of QA. In section 3 I describe my approach to data selection. Section 4 describes the data analysis and how I managed the vast array of documents and institutions concerned with QA in order to identify and analyse its discursive and institutional contexts. Sections 5, 6 and 7 describe my staged approach to analysis. First, I constructed specific contexts of inquiry and associated questions to translate the documents into data. Second, I applied the questions from each context to each of the documents using specific steps that moved between documents and contexts. This provided analytic perspectives on the research questions for each context. Third I documented and analysed each context separately. This provided a structure for the analysis, described in section 8 and illustrated in figure 5. Section 9 examines the methodological contributions of this study.

4.2 Critical Discourse Analysis as an approach

I placed my methodology broadly within CDA. CDA aims to inquire into social issues and their connections with ideology and power, and to uncover the operations of power and knowledge in social discourses and practices (Fairclough, 1989, 1992b, 2001a, 2003, 2010; Wodak & Meyer; 2002; Wodak, 2002a; I. Parker, 2002; Willig, 1999,

2003). CDA aims systematically to explore dialectic relationships between discursive events such as talk or text, social practices such as QA and wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes (Reid, 2009). Its particular emphasis is on meaning construction (Pujol and Montenegro, 1999). Some authors link CDA's analytic approach with its potential, and indeed responsibility, for grounding action (Luke, 1997, 2002; Wodak, 2002a; Taylor, 2004)

The choice of methodological framework was grounded in the fit between CDA and the conceptual framework of this inquiry. CDA is more than a methodology: it can be seen as a disposition, a positioning in relation to knowledge, one which is committed to critical inquiry and therefore to challenging the implications of the operation of power (Wodak, 2002b; Fairclough, 2010). CDA sees discourse as intertwined with social practice similar to the practice perspective described in Chapter 2 (Fairclough, 2003). CDA is a critical approach that traces empirical inquiries into multiple levels of social contexts, including extra-national, national and institutional levels of analysis, and includes global perspectives in the analysis of wider contextual forces on social events (Fairclough, 2003, 2005; Wodak & Fairclough, 2010). This is similar to the critical approaches I describe in chapter 3 as most useful for my study. CDA is an approach to analysis of social events, such as texts, as both discourse and social practice (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2002; Fairclough, 2001, 2003, 2010; van Dijk, 2002). CDA challenges assumptions and normalisation processes in the social sphere and how they play out in representations, and therefore fits with my personal and disciplinary positioning described in chapter 2.

There are many possible ways to proceed within CDA, none of which are mutually exclusive or in themselves complete, and the researcher is responsible for methodological choices. On a textual level the focus may be on the linguistic structuring of the text (e.g. Young & Harrison, 2004; Halliday, 2002, 2003; Butt, Fahey, Feez, Spinks & Yallop, 2003) or dialogue (Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Potter, 1992; Wetherell, 1998). The socio-political level can focus on the historical (e.g. Wodak & Meyer, 2002) or the social and political context (I. Parker, 2002; Fairclough, 2003) of the text and the ways in which social relations and identities are discursively constituted. Investigations concerned with discourse, power and subjectivity draw from the works of Foucault and tend to focus on wider contexts rather than linguistic features of the text (Taylor, 2004). On a cognitive level social cognitive structures can be seen as

mediating the relationship between local and global meaning (Van Dijk, 1993, 2006). Combinations of these approaches are particularly important in moving from description to analysis (Fairclough, 2003) as well as in triangulation of analysis (Wodak, 2002b). This potential for combining approaches in ways that fit with the object of study proved particularly valuable in my methodology as I describe in section 5.

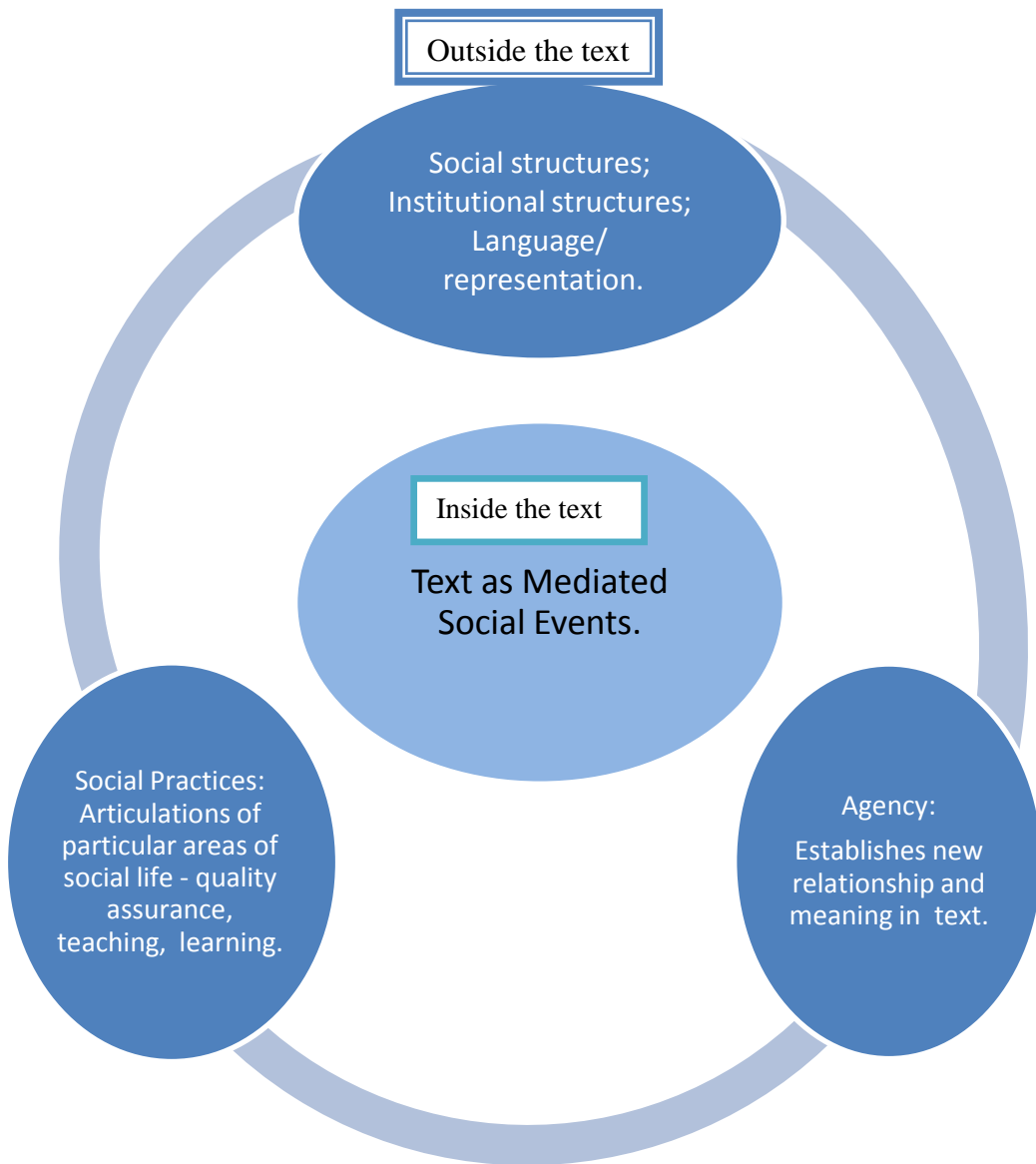
Fairclough (2003) describes a dual approach of CDA that includes both textual and socio-political analysis. This was particularly pertinent to this study's focus on QA as contextually embedded. CDA provides a particular perspective on texts as data that goes beyond the immediate text and includes wider contexts of production and use. From this perspective texts are mediated events, as figure 3 illustrates. The content of the text, which I refer to as the "inside" of the text, is shaped and constrained by social structures, institutions and practices – referred to here as the "outside" of the text. Fairclough (2003) describes a text as a social event reflecting and reconstituting social structures and social practise and also the choices of social actors. Texts contain within them traces of discourses and practices, reflecting social contexts of their production.

This approach allowed texts to be positioned as data and also as openings into wider socio-political contexts, including institutional contexts of their production and national contexts of implementation. The task of analysis is to move between the inside and the outside of the text to illuminate the discursive field (Fairclough, 2003). One QA document that I use here, ESG, for example, describes how it "is not and cannot be regulatory" (ENQA, 2009, p. 34). This regulatory/best practice positioning is indicative of wider social discourses and practices regarding regulation in New Times that are not discernible from *inside* the text, as I describe in chapter 8. However a focus on *outside* of the text, in particular how this positioning can be traced through other related texts, as I do in chapter 6, illuminates the operation of the text. Conversely inside the text can illuminate the outside. ESG describes its location within a chain of texts and events, including prior research carried out by ENQA, that impacts on its reluctance to define and describe quality as I describe in chapter 5. This chain of texts is difficult to identify in the wider context – instead ESG describes its location within these chains of texts and draws attention to the construction. Thus inside and outside of texts operate together to illuminate the arena of inquiry; in this case QA.

While CDA provides a methodology for analysis, its application is dependent on the aims and focus of the inquiry (Fairclough, 2001c). I needed to apply methods that fit this inquiry within the overall discourse analysis approach (I. Parker, 1999). In this inquiry I adapted CDA to the analysis of QA as I describe in the remainder of this chapter. This required taking into account distinguishing features of QA as an object of study: it operates at global/European as well as national and local levels; it is saturated with texts and events; it is both regulatory and best practice. This adaptation of CDA to specifically fit with the analysis of an object of study that displays the fluid, entwined, networked characteristics of governing in *New Times* is a particular contribution of this study. I return to this in the final section of this chapter

The remainder of this chapter describes how I approached rendering the QA field (somewhat) visible. First I turn to the data I used, a crucial choice in shaping this inquiry. I examine my choice of a particular type of text – soft regulatory texts – and then the particular documents I chose as data.

Figure 3. Texts as Social Event



4.3 Data Selection

4.3.1 *Selecting data types: Regulatory texts*

First I examined the type of document that would be used as data in this inquiry. Generally in CDA data selection, collection and analysis are not distinct phases but instead are part of the process of inquiry. The selection is not about representativeness of the data. Instead CDA tends to deal with small selections of material regarded as being typical of certain discourses (Meyer, 2002).

The type of document was determined by the research aims, objectives and questions. I chose to focus on key texts that were particularly influential in shaping QA in the European arena. One aim of this inquiry was to find empirical means to address the theoretical /ethical questions raised by Stanley & Wise (1993): “*whose* knowledge, seen in *what* terms, around *whose* definitions and standards, and judged by *whose* as well as *what* criteria” (p. 202). The choice of particular documents⁸ was influenced by their potential for influence in order that the data could illuminate the actors who construct QA. I focused on European rather than national or local texts. This was due in part to the different national mechanism for QA in different sectoral (e.g. University, Institute of Technology, private colleges) and professional bodies (such as FTAI and the Irish Council for Psychotherapy [ICP]) all of which reference the European texts⁹. However this European focus was also important in allowing issues of policy formation and governing to be traced beyond national boundaries. It allowed a particular focus on Europeanisation, a local application of dynamics of globalisation that emerged as a central theme of this analysis, and one that can be easily lost in a focus on global forces. I chose soft regulatory documents that shaped the practice of QA but did not have legal authority. This allowed an exploration of the operation of regulation in New Times.

4.3.2 *Choosing documents as data*

The next step was to choose the particular documents for analysis. There is no right way in CDA of selecting and collecting data (Wodak, 2002a). Instead, similar to grounded theory, data collection is a matter of initial selection providing indicators for further data (Glasser & Strauss, 1967). Data selection is not complete until the inquiry is complete,

⁸ In order to distinguish between texts as events and the particular texts I analyse I use the term “text” to refer to texts in general and the term “document” to refer to the particular documents analysed in this inquiry: ESG and TAC

⁹ This difference is lessening with the implementation of the *2012 Act* and the establishment of QQI.

and new questions may require new data to be collected or earlier data is re-examined (Glasser and Strauss, 1967).

I chose two texts as representative of quality discourses in HE. The first document, ESG, *The Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area* (ENQA, 2009¹⁰), is described as:

the most significant outcome of the Bologna Process quality assurance agenda to date. ..[It] can be conceptualised as a supranational Bologna policy ...Although implementation of the ESG is not, in the strict sense, mandatory, failing to implement it may have unwanted consequences. (Kohoutek, 2009b, p. 17)

The second document chosen was TAC, the *European Association of Psychotherapy Training Accreditation Committee* (EAP, 2012a)¹¹. TAC is both the name of a committee and the name of a document produced by this committee that establishes criteria for recognition and quality assurance of psychotherapy training institutes. The document outlines procedures and standards required of psychotherapeutic training. EAP is one of the major European Psychotherapy bodies. It is a recognised NGO at the Council of Europe, and its TAC document is being considered as a precedent for statutory recognition of psychotherapists in Ireland (ICP, n.d.-b).

The chosen documents are produced and reviewed by particularly powerful networks of actors. These networks include but are not confined to the principal authors. These principal authors – ENQA and EAP - have no legal power to compel actions and can only act through soft regulatory means (Cini, 2001). However both documents are associated with significant European processes that are impacting on HE across Europe: BP in relation to ESG and the European Council and Parliament (2005) European Qualifications Directive [EQD] in relation to TAC. ESG was produced on a mandate given to its authors by the Berlin 2003 meeting of BP (2003). In 2005, the ESG was adopted by BP ministerial summit in Bergen (BP, 2005). TAC is designed to fit with EQD (European Parliament and Council, 2005) and it is a strategic aim of EAP that it will define the profession of psychotherapy in Europe. (EAP, n.d.-h)

¹⁰ The first edition of ESG was in 2005. The first edition was a report to the Bologna Process Berlin meeting in 2005. I use the third edition, the text of ESG available on ENQA website, throughout this analysis.

¹¹ The first edition of TAC was 2002. I use the 2012 version now available on the EAP website throughout this analysis.

These documents are regulatory in the sense that they speak persuasively and with authority. While the authors have no legal power to act, the network of actors surrounding these documents include powerful process that can mobilise sovereign power at both national and EU level: with ESG, BP, a network of Education Ministers, can influence national legislation and policy and with TAC the EQD can position TAC as a regulatory mechanism for psychotherapy. These policy networks are examples of the emerging architecture of regulation in New Times (discussed in chapter 3). They are therefore particularly relevant to the research questions described and the theoretical considerations described above.

4.3.3 Documents as case studies

Each document grounded a case study that allowed rich data to be gathered. The purpose of a case study is to explore the focus of inquiry in depth. Here the number of institutions and texts involved in the construction, review and operation of ESG in particular influenced the depth of exploration. As with Ball and Junemann's (2012) study, outside of the text proved so complex that the data sacrificed richness and depth for breadth and reach.

The case study approach, and the epistemological basis of this study, does not claim predictability – that QA will play out in a particular way in a particular arena or that other policy arenas will play out in the same way as QA (Yin, 1994; Flyvbjerg, 2011). Its generalisability is at a more abstract theoretical level: it asks how theory helps us understand the world of practice. This fits with studies of actually existing neoliberalism, as I describe in chapter 1, and with case studies as an approach to examine emerging theory (Yin, 1994).

Together these documents crossed disciplines and regulatory arenas, and in particular the academic – professional divide. Much less data was available on professional context than HE context, and therefore TAC is used mainly as comparative analysis.

4.4 Data analysis

4.4.1 Documents and Internet as data sources

Following Fairclough (1989), the analysis focused on both the inside and the outside of the text (figure 3). Fairclough describes how texts convey messages from inside the text and also, through linking texts with social meanings, from outside of the text. Each

focus provided different data. First, detailed and close readings of the documents were used to examine the documents (Fairclough 2003) – the discourses, genres and styles and the linguistic elements of the documents. Second, detailed and extensive internet searches were used to examine the context of the documents – the authors, the wider discourses and the social actors surrounding the documents. This second approach to data collection was based on Ball (2008) and Ball and Junemann (2012). These authors explain how their internet searches are difficult to describe, and I have similar difficulties. My searches involved using website links to trace descriptions, relationships and connections as well as disputed and difficult to find meanings. For example European Student Union [ESU] critiques of QA and BP were found through searches of ESU website and not through links from other organisations. EU contributions required searches of EU databases through its own search engine, EUR-Lex, which provided direct access to EU law. I used both data sets to identify and describe the policy actors, their connections and relationships.

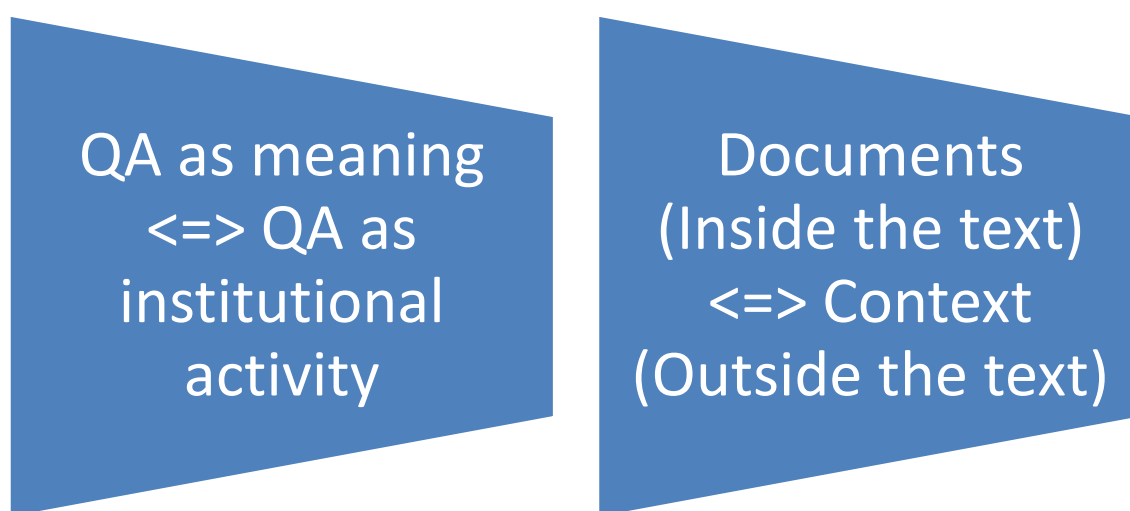
I also used these data sets to examine connections between the inside and the outside of the documents. In examining the institutional context, described in chapter 7, I began with the documents to identify key organisations who were (i) authors and (ii) key stakeholders, or policy actors. Then I followed Ball and Junemann's (2012) approach and used internet searches of organisations to examine descriptions, connections and links. In examining intertextuality, (chapter 6) I treated the documents in ways similar to Ball and Junemann's treatment of policy actors; they were the subject of internet searches. Example include searching for ESG in EUR-lex, which identified EU discourses about ESG, and searching for TAC within the European Federation of Psychologists' Associations [EFPA] (2010) website, which identified differences between psychologists and psychotherapists on the meaning of psychotherapy.

In this way I worked with both inside and outside the text to produce a rich but by no means exhaustive description of interconnections between texts and actors. ESG, for example, referred to prior ENQA studies that formed chains of texts within which ESG was embedded. Here the content of the text directed the contextual examination of the document. Conversely the contexts of the documents were used to inform the readings of the documents. EAP website containing TAC describes TAC as quality assurance exercise (EAP, n.d.-g), a position not made clear in the TAC document, that influenced the manner in which the document was read. This approach to data collection allowed a

movement between inside and outside of the text and between QA as meaning construction and QA as institutional activity as illustrated in figure 4.

As Fairclough (2003) describes, new communication technologies such as the internet allow “more complex chaining and networking relations between different types of text” (p. 31). The position of these documents as (primarily) internet rather than hard documents allowed them to be embedded in complex relationships with other texts and events, which is examined in chapter 6. The use of internet as data, in particular the use of search engines and website links, brought out ways in which institutions and texts interact with each other that could not be visible in printed texts. This study has indicated the impact of multimedia and the internet on discourse analysis as an area for further investigation.

Figure 4. Framework for analysis of documents



4.4.2 *Developing Contexts*

The data was then organised into contexts that related broadly to Wodak’s (2002b) four levels of analysis:

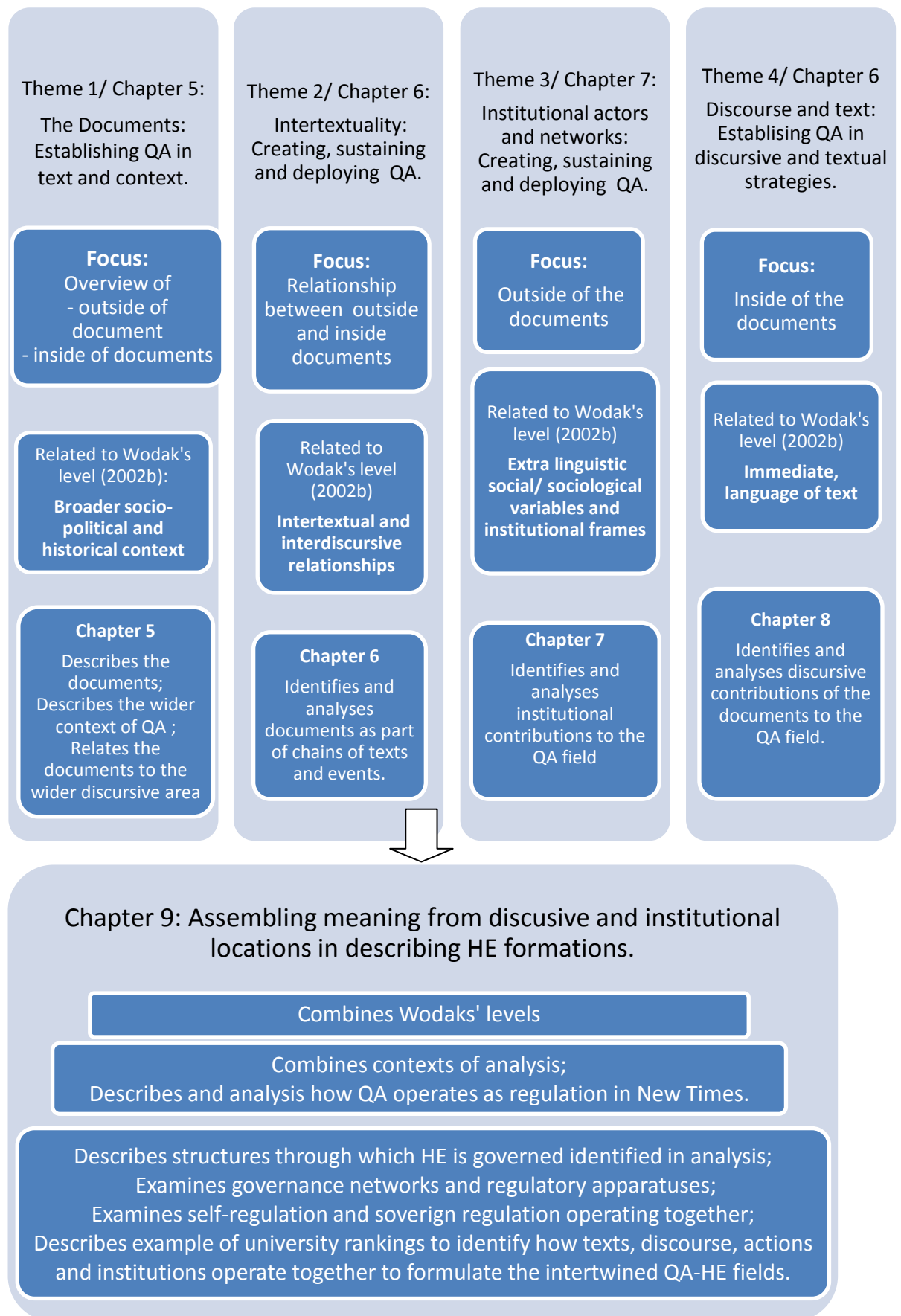
- (1) the immediate, language or text internal co-text,
- (2) the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses (discourse representation and allusions or evocations),
- (3) the extra linguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific 'context of

situation' (Middle Range Theories) and (4) the broader socio-political and historical context. (p. 67)

I adapted these levels to identify four *contexts of analysis* for my documents: socio-political, intertextual, institutional and textual, as I describe in section 5. These different contexts triangulated the analysis and therefore were important in validating the analysis (Wodak 2002a, 2002b; Wodak and Chilton, 2005; Wodak and Meyer, 2001). Each context required particular tools of analysis. The focus and questions were adapted in particular from Fairclough (in particular 2003) and are described in section 5. The relationship between Wodak's levels, the contexts I developed and the presentation of my findings is described in figure 5. In the remainder of the thesis the separate contexts of analysis are described in separate chapters.

Similar themes were explored in the different contexts, such as the regulatory position of ESG, in order to provide a picture of similarities and differences in discursive formations in different locations. This form of exploration, inevitable, is repetitive, particularly where there is replication across contexts – as occurs with the formation of an HE ideal. However this repetition itself is significant, in that it demonstrates consistency in discursive formations across locations. Differences are also significant, in particular where they ground different forms of contestation. For example, ESG appears as non-regulatory, optional and a best practice option in the textual analysis in chapters 5 and 8, emerges as closer to regulatory and required in intertextual connections in chapter 6 and to sanctions based regulatory requirement in institutional networks described in chapter 7. Contestation of ESG based on its best practice textual position includes selective application of its provisions – HEI's chose what they will include in their own QA practices. However as ESG is increasingly linked to accreditation, validation and funding where non-compliance has considerable consequences for HEI's then this option is less possible. Instead, critique, challenge and alternative knowledge production become more useful forms of contestation.

Figure 5. Relating contexts, levels, analysis and chapters.



Chapter 5 analysed the QA field through a focus on social context of QA, textual context of QA and the connections between them. This set the scene for the following chapters and indicated themes for further exploration. Chapter 6 focused on intertextual and interdiscursive contexts. Chapter 7 focused on the institutional context. Chapter 8 returned to a specific focus on the documents.

Separating the contexts allowed different theoretical perspectives to be included in different focuses of analysis. For example, analysis of institutional context in chapter 7 included network analysis of institutional actors as networks of policy makers (Ball & Junemann, 2012) and analysis of the documents in chapter 8 included Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday, 2002, 2003). This also allowed different tools to be developed for each context. For example institutional contexts required considerable description of the array of and connections between institutions involved in QA while the documentary context required examination of the linguistic devices used in the documents.

Each context produced its own findings. I then surveyed the findings for common threads and related them to the theoretical considerations in chapter 2 and 3. This is the focus of chapter 9, where I draw conclusions about the interrelationship between QA and HE and how this interrelationship has developed within the path dependent trajectory of QA. An example is the area of “soft” regulation where soft regulatory documents, particularly at European level, operate within chains of discursive and material practices – such as national legislation and programme accreditation - to position themselves differently in different national and sectoral contexts, sometimes as sanctions based or “hard” regulation, sometimes as guides to practice.

This method highlighted the role of the researcher in interpreting the data. Questions provided rich data and thick descriptions rather than objective data (Geertz, 1973). As researcher I interpreted rather than discovered different meanings in the data. The analysis was an interaction between myself as researcher and the data (Altheide & Johnson, 2011.). The credibility of this approach, from a qualitative perspective, is grounded in the adequacy of the investigation and the communication of that investigation (Altheide & Johnson, 2011; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Therefore I have attempted to describe my methods and approach in detail. This is particularly relevant where I encountered difficulty and needed to vary my approach, as I describe in the next section.

4.4.3 *Moving outside the text: Conceptualising global interconnected social space*

CDA allows for – indeed expects – that not all runs to plan in analysis, that methodology does not lead to conclusions by a straight path. Sometimes analysis creates more haze and less clarity. This was the case in this analysis when I moved outside the text to map the intertextual and institutional landscape in chapters 6 and 7. There the dizzying array of interconnected texts and institutions defied representation and comprehensive description.

In CDA sense making is seen as enhanced by a dialogue with other theories (Fairclough, 2003) and the integration of different theoretic and analytic approaches to address social dimension (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). In order to identify useful analytic approaches I identified particular aspects of my analysis within CDA that appeared to lack clarity. I then examined empirical studies in education policy focusing on goodness of fit between the theoretical/analytic frameworks of these studies and this inquiry. I identified two analytic frameworks that could be adapted for this inquiry – Ball's network analysis (Ball, 2008, 2012a; Ball & Junemann, 2012) and Marginson and Rhoades's (2002) glonacal agency heuristic.

The unclear aspects of my analysis and analytical frameworks that conceptualise these aspects were as follows

- Intertextual and institutional analysis. Identifying discrete texts and institutions was difficult. Instead networks of texts and actors, operating at global and national levels and involving diverse (and sometimes invisible) actors, influenced QA policy and regulatory frameworks at different levels. When I applied Wodak's model, the intertextual and institutional frames of these texts appeared to defy description. This is described in Ball's (2008; 2012a, 2012b) and Ball and Junemann's (2012) empirical studies in networked governance in education policy as one of the features of transformed governance architecture associated with New Times. These authors describe transformations in the education policy landscapes and how policy work is now being done in complex policy networks. This is seen as a shift from government to network governance. Their empirical studies utilise network analysis, also called network ethnography, to describe and analyse governance networks.

- Analysis of regulatory documents. The documents acted to regulate HE in uncertain and unpredictable ways. There was no identifiable source of regulation, as one might expect in hard regulation, and yet sanctions - such as lack of accreditation for education programmes, lack of funding and lack of recognition - were attached to these documents. Extra-national, principally European, constructions of education shaped the operation of QA across national boundaries, but not in any predictable or uniform way. National and local differences shaped QA practices in different locations. ESG was implemented differently at national and sectoral levels, reshaping the meaning of ESG. Kohoutek (2009a), for example, describes from the perspective of a number of Central and Eastern European countries [CEE] countries how compliance with ESG can be used as an accreditation measure, while EUA describe how ESG can be ignored or selectively applied within some university contexts (Loukkola & Zhang, 2010). My application of Wodak's "levels" model did not capture the role of national and sectoral actors in reshaping the QA field. Marginson and Rhoades (2002) describe the interplay of actors' practices and texts between extra-national, national and local (or "glonacal") levels. They describe a "glonacal agency heuristic" (p. 288) that captures the different impact of glonacal actors. This heuristic has been used to examine areas such as global competition in HE (Portnoi & Bagley, 2011) and international education policy and strategy in Canada (Zha, 2011).

The additional frameworks I included were as follows.

Network analysis

Ball and Juneman (2012) draw attention to changing structures of governing education, from hierarchies to networks, and difficulties in analysing and representing networked governance. Ball describes their method of "network analysis" as a form of ethnographic study of governance (Ball 2012b). This reflects a shift of focus from social structures to networks and flows. Network governance is an attempt to make sense of the dense, interconnected relationships between policy actors that is emerging in education, a "method, a technique for looking at, thinking about and representing the structure of policy communities and their social relationships" (Ball & Junemann, 2012, p. 14), Network analysis is intended to render visible the complex influences on education policy formation through mapping actors, relationships and "the form and

content of relationships in a policy field” (p. 13). Network analysis is an attempt to describe actual experiences of governing and being governed, a new formation of governing, shaping and forming education practice. These authors utilise network analysis in mapping the place of philanthropy and business in the UK education landscape. They map the policy actors and the relationships that congregate around a particular policy area. An example taken from Ball’s (2008) representation of UK education policy network that includes philanthropic, corporate and voluntary actors is presented in Appendix 2.1.

Glonacal Agency Heuristic

Margenson and Rhoades’ (2002) description of “glonacal agency heuristic” (p. 288) emphasises networks and flows between and within global, national and local - “glonacal” - dimensions. This heuristic conceptualises systemic influences between levels and interactions between levels rather than distinct and discrete hierarchical levels:

At every level - global, national, and local - elements and influences of other levels are present. A glonacal agency approach leads us to trace these elements and domains. (p. 289-290)

Their term “agency” refers to global, national and local agencies that impact on policy making and also the exercise of agency by these collectives: “the ability of people individually and collectively to take action ... at the global, national, and local level” (p. 289). Their illustration of glonacal agency heuristic is reproduced in Appendix 2.2. The focus is on reciprocity – mutuality of flows – and also on differing strengths and influences of flows – the power to influence may be greater for national administrative bodies than local HEI’s so the reciprocity does not signify equal influence.

Applying these analytic frameworks

I used Marginson and Rhoades’ (2002) heuristic to analyse transformations in regulation, where soft regulation shapes and steers a policy arena and at the same time instils autonomy, diversity and local application as core pillars of its activity. Soft regulation involves reciprocity, but not equality, of influence between network members. This was particularly relevant in examining ‘globalisation’ and ‘Europeanisation’ as central themes in understanding the operation of QA in HE (O’Mahony, 2007).

I used Network Analysis in examining the increasingly complex networks of influence of texts (chapter 6) and institutions (chapter 7) on the formation of QA. It was also used to render visible the interaction between QA and other policy arenas such as the economic agenda of the Lisbon strategy and the internationalisation agenda of BP.

In relation to Institutions (chapter 7), following Ball, I used extensive network searches to provide (relatively) thick descriptions of nodal or core institution. I adapted Ball's approach to fit with the object of my study, the large, complex organisations involved in QA at global level. Here, unlike in Ball's analysis, individuals are in the main anonymous and different related and devolved organisations and projects play key roles (such as CDESR in the Council of Europe and the Lifelong Learning Programme of the EU; see Appendix 3.3). I mapped institutional structure, membership and key activities to examine where they fit in the QA network (see chapter 7 and Appendix 3) and how they relate to other institutions.

Analysis of intertextuality required further adaptation. First, I identified key authoring institutions (such as ENQA) and then identified their key texts. I ordered these texts in terms of themes (such as QA, modernisation and internationalisation) and position/effects (such as ENQA workshop reports and EU directives and communications). I described key texts in order to give a picture of how they operated in the QA field. I tabulated them in order to picture their relationships with other texts and institutions. The tables were intended to give a snapshot of the discursive area rather than detailed information of each text; however they also facilitated the tracing of chains of texts – such as reviews of ESG or the construction of the meaning of psychotherapy, themes I return to below.

4.4.4 The value of additional frameworks

Interestingly, those aspects that I had described as unclear became central to my analysis after I included these additional analytic frameworks. Addressing the research questions emerged as requiring conceptualisation of the emergence and operation of QA in networks and of QA as soft regulation, and these analytic devices allowed this conceptualisation to occur. The inclusion of these analytical frameworks allowed surprising relationships and influences to emerge. For example, in examining relationships between organisations through membership, the EU emerged as intricately connected with most of the European organisations I describe.

However, these did not resolve all the limitations of this inquiry. As with Ball and Junemann (2012), representation was always an issue (see also Goodwin, 2009). The representations of these analytic frameworks reproduced in Appendix 2 could not be adapted to the complexity of QA field, and instead I used tables and static figures. This limited the value of this study in capturing the complexity of QA networks. Identifying and representing discursive and institutional power was also difficult. The EU, for example, emerged as particularly significant in the QA field but the extent of its influence is difficult to represent. My analysis covered actors and also relationships between actors in order to give some indication of their different potential for influence, As R. Parker (2007) argues, not all networks, or network members, have the power to govern. This is discursive power, according to Fairclough and Wodak (1997) where different actors have different potential to constitute reality through discourse, to produce subject positions through discourse and to insert their influence to change discourse. Discursive power, therefore, is different for different actors. It is also different across time. It shifts and changes as institutional structures and relationships change and as actors insert their relative influences. While the different potential for influence of bodies such as ENQA and ESU is described in chapter 7 there is limited analysis of discursive power in this study.

4.5 First stage of analysis. Describing contexts and developing research tools

The first stage of analysis involved constructing a method of translating the documents into data. I did this by deciding on specific contexts to be used in this analysis. I then constructed questions as research tools for each context. These questions linked the research aims and research questions with the texts. They were devised to relate specifically to the object of study, QA (Wodak, 2002a). The questions were adapted in particular from Fairclough (2003). Other contributions are noted in the discussion.

Context 1: The socio-political context.

This stage of this analysis involved examining the wider context of QA as illustrated in figure 6. First the thematic area – Quality - was identified and contextualised as a field common to both academic and professional texts and also as differently arising from different (academic and professional) contexts. The resulting analysis is described in the first part of chapter 5. In the second part I traced these contextual influences into the documents. This described the documents as actually existing neoliberalism; as situated

examples of how social discourses operated in regulatory documents. This drew attention to how the documents were produced, reviewed and interpreted (Jager, 2001). This is similar to Wodak's description of "Socio-diagnostic critique" (2002b, p. 88) as concerned with demystification. This includes questions of authority and voice (Luke, 1995; Jager, 2001).

Analysis of the documents was guided by context-specific themes (figure 6) and foci for questioning (figure 7). The method of questioning, the second phase, is described in the next section. This reading identified both discursive strategies and institutional arrangements for sustaining and maintaining QA discourses. This opened up pathways for further analysis by

- Identifying associated chains of texts and events to be carried into explorations of intertextuality (chapter 6)
- Identifying institutional actors and their relative influence to be carried into explorations of the institutional field in chapter 7
- Identifying themes for further exploration of the textual field in chapter 8. These themes also provided a thread for identifying common themes between chapters in order to ground the findings of this inquiry. This is explored further in chapter 9.

Figure 6. Socio-political context: Themes

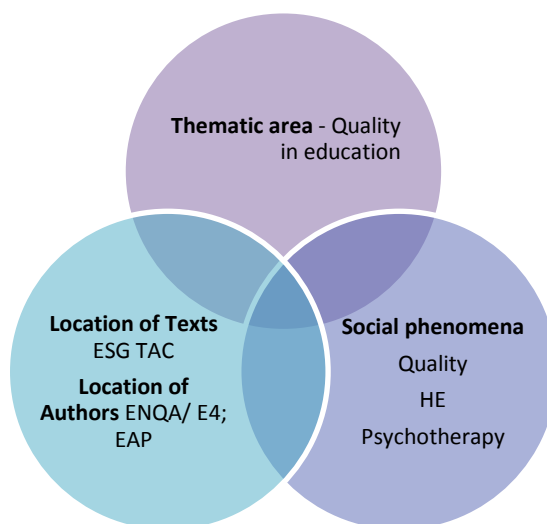
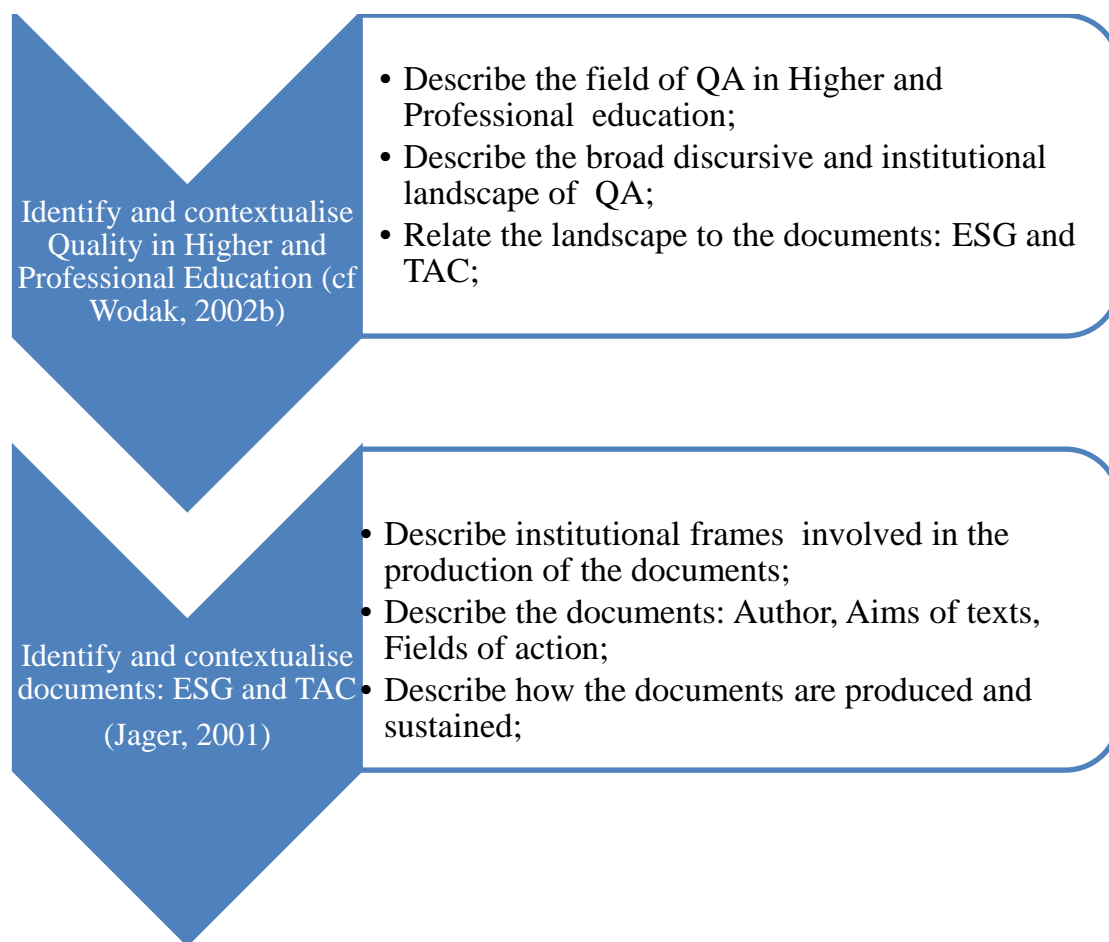


Figure 7. Socio-political context: Analytic tools



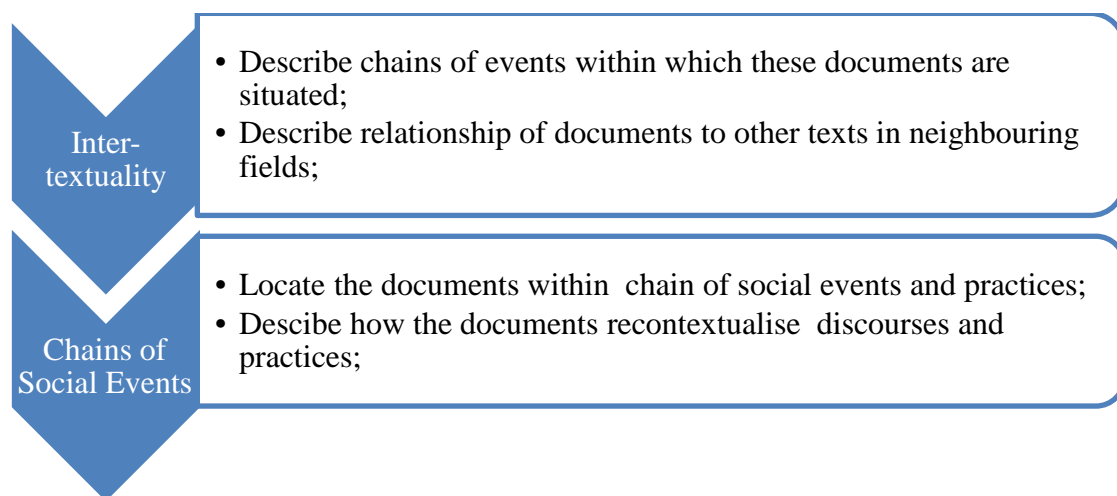
Context 2: Intertextuality.

Intertextuality illuminates the dialectic relationship between the inside and the outside of the text (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough describes intertextuality as the manner in which the content of texts draws on other texts. This can be explicit as in academic writing or assimilated, contradicted, merged or otherwise incorporated. Analysis of intertextuality was guided by the foci of questioning identified in figure 8. This placed the documents in their wider intertextual contexts – how they relate to, work with and are in opposition to different texts.

Recontextualisation describes how particular meanings and values can work across policy fields, with particular texts incorporating elements from other texts, making them their own (Fairclough, 1992a, 1993). The focus here is on chains of texts, and on the effects of agency and strategy in shaping events (and texts) over time (Fairclough, 2003, 2010; Wodak and Fairclough, 2010; Wodak and Chilton, 2005). Intertextuality and

recontextualisation examine the connections between texts, and therefore the chain of constructions of “normal” and “best” practice on which regulatory texts are based. Intertextuality also highlights the connections between institutional authors of texts and the authority of the texts. For example both ESG and TAC were embedded in complex EU soft and hard regulatory mechanisms (table 7 gives an overview of this complexity). Together the chain of texts and chain of institutions authoring texts provides a map of how particular constructions of QA arise and are sustained while others are muted. This is the focus of chapter 6.

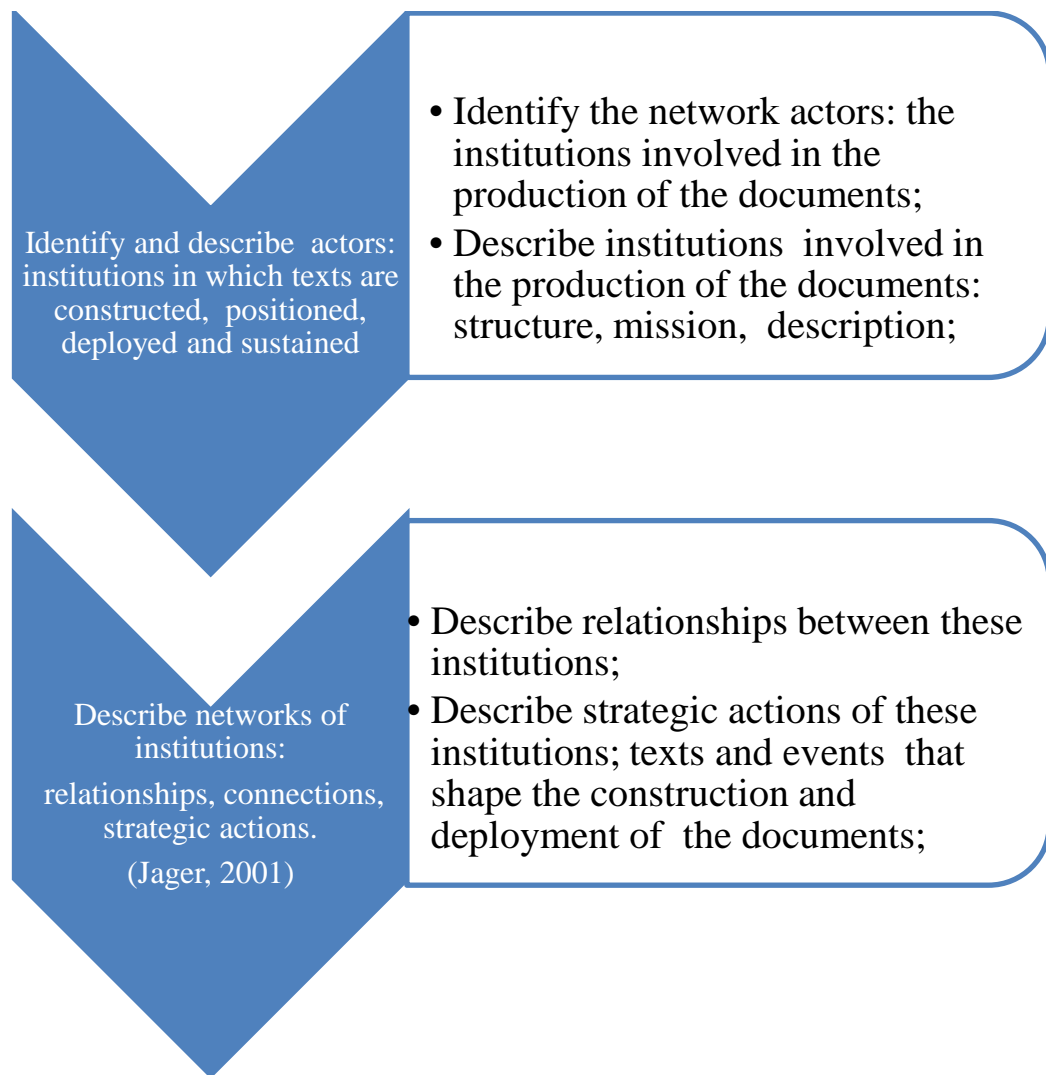
Figure 8. Intertextual context: Analytic tools



Context 3: Institutional contexts

Analysis of this context identified and explored institutional contributions to the QA field in HE through an exploration of institutional actors. The focus of this analysis was the outside of the documents – on the institutional mechanisms by which these documents are formulated, sustained, positioned and deployed, and through which particular policy trajectories and imaginaries are cemented within the HE field. Analysis of the institutional contexts of documents was guided by the foci of questioning identified in figure 9.

Figure 9. Institutional contexts.



Context 4: Textual context.

The focus here was on the content of the documents. Social practices and linguistic devices work together within the content to naturalise and solidify particular meanings. Social practices mediate between social contexts and social events; they provide the framework from which social actors act. The stability and durability of their presence renders them as invisible background; the function of analysis is to make more visible their existence and operation. I focused on the following four dimensions of social practice described by Fairclough (2003):

1. Representation of Social Events. The focus here is on how elements of social practices are included and excluded, including representations of actors, actions and activities. This gives a perspective of the objects and the use that objects are put to within the constitutive field of the texts, such as what student assessment looks like, and how it is classified, categorised and reported. This is also connected with the background context of identity - what constitutes a student or teacher within the documents.
2. Genres. Fairclough sees genres as relatively fixed representations of actions: ‘the specifically discursive aspects of ways of acting and interacting in the course of social events’ (2003, p. 65). An analysis of a text in terms of genre can reveal how recurrent representations of actions shape the social events to which they refer. Managers, students, administrators are allocated ways of acting by the chosen texts. This relates to the Action dimension of meaning – what actions are to be owned by different subjects of texts.
3. Discourses, according to Fairclough, are ‘ways of representing aspects of the world,’ (2003, p. 124) that position their subjects in particular ways – as certain kinds of people who exist in certain kinds of contexts and have certain kinds of subjectivities. Discourses produce representational aspects of meaning about the world, such as what education and learning mean and what a college campus is and is not.
4. Style refers to the particular presentations of self evoked by the text. Texts put forward certain subjectivities and not others. Students, for example, can be seen as self-contained, rational, autonomous beings characterised by mobility (and therefore without caring responsibilities) self-interest (and therefore not community interest)

and achievement (and therefore not failing). To fall within the bracketed, excluded identity is to be something else, something not envisaged within education.

In addition I focused on linguistic strategies and how they legitimise the content of the text. Legitimation according to Reyes (2011) “refers to the process by which speakers accredit or license a type of social behaviour...[as] a justification of behaviour, the right thing to do, the appropriate way to proceed” (p. 781). The focus here is how legitimisation is also formation. Texts utilise both rhetorical strategies, including authorisation and rationalisation (Van Leeuwen, 2005, 2007; Suddaby and Viale, 2011) and textual strategies - where sentence, phrases, and words operate together in creating particular types of meaning (Fairclough 2003) – in legitimising texts.

Analysis of the content of the documents was guided by context-specific themes (figure 10) and questions (figure 11).

Figure 10. Textual context of QA: Themes.

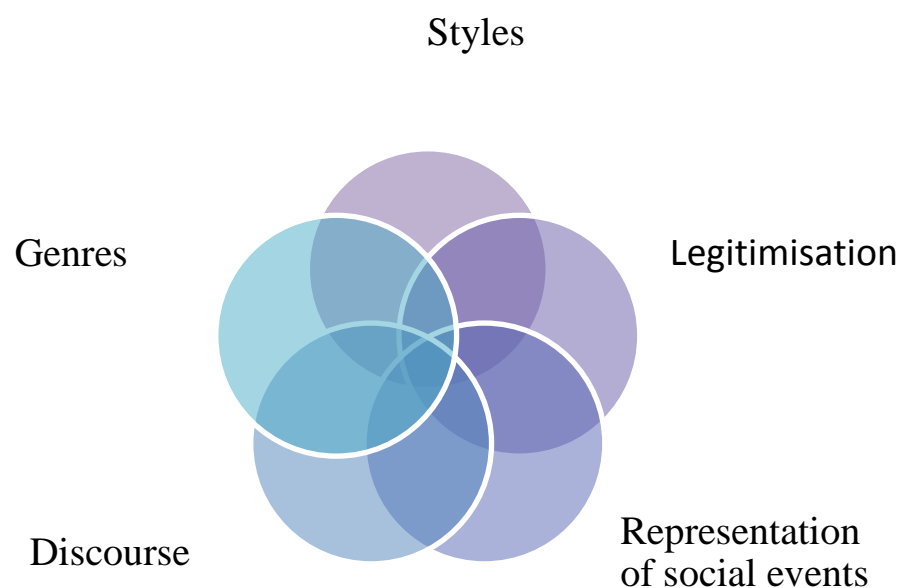
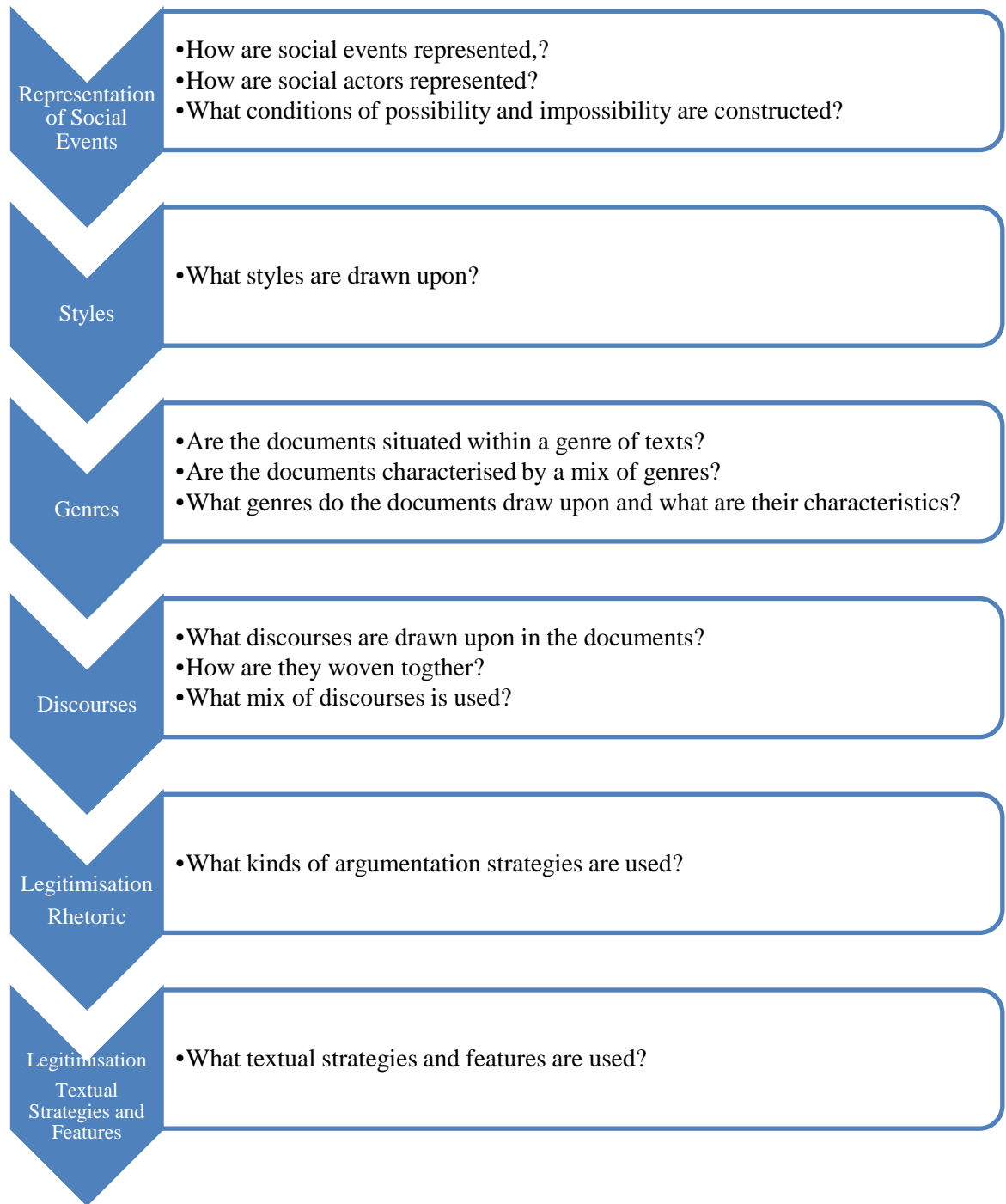


Figure 11: Textual contexts of QA: Analytic tools.



4.6 Second stage of analysis: Questioning the documents

The second stage of this analysis involved applying the questions from each context to each of the documents. I applied the following steps:

- I examined theoretical discussions about the area of questioning, (such as intertextuality in context 2 or assumptions in context 4).

- I read each document with the particular question and theoretical considerations in mind and asked how the documents addressed this question. For example ESG gave a clear description of its authors.
- Where the document appeared silent or incomplete about a question I looked to the authors and/or to related texts. For example ESG's regulatory position as "guidelines" or "regulations" appeared somewhat unclear and I followed this through chains of texts.
- Where a clear position in a document appeared to be challenged within chains of texts then I followed this through chains of texts. For example the authorship of ESG appeared to become less clear as I followed this through chains of texts.
- I recorded the information gathered, my impressions of the information and the questions I was left with in a separate file.

This stage was heavily dependent on researcher choice and interpretation. The answers that I read in the text were my interpretations; the theoretical discussions I read were numerous but incomplete; the chains of texts were so numerous that it was not possible to follow all questions thoroughly. Decisions made about what to include and what not to include involved considerations of manageability. However my intention was to see what combining different visions of the documents from different perspectives might add to understanding QA and therefore there was a certain sacrificing of thoroughness in order to serve the breadth of vision that this provided.

4.7 Third stage of analysis: Drawing conclusions.

The analysis then needed to be brought back to the wider theoretical framework to see how it addressed the research questions.

Conclusions drew on the analytic frame illustrated in figure 12. First, drawing conclusions involved moving between the documents and their contexts. This gave a sense of the manner in which inside and outside of the documents worked to shape or shift actual QA pathways. TAC, for example, appeared to move descriptions of psychotherapy towards a standardised description while ESG did not establish a standard meaning for quality, thereby allowing different meanings to emerge. Second, there was a movement between description and analysis. The questions provided particular descriptions – of genres or connections between texts, for example – that were then grounded in theoretical analysis of the operation of the document. Third, there was

a movement between analysis and theory, where theory illuminated the description and analysis. These steps were intertwined. For example the description of links between QA with the EU Lisbon agenda in chapter 7 and the analysis of promotional genres in the documents in chapter 8 provided concrete descriptions of marketisation discourses.

Figure 12. Analytic Frame



4.8 Organising the analysis and presenting findings

The documents I used do not state a fixed policy or regulatory position. Instead they are in a constant cycle of construction, interpretation, implementation and review at local, national and European level. In order to make sense of this complexity I adapted contexts of analysis based on Wodak (2002b, 2011) and Fairclough (2003) to organise the analysis and structure the presentation of findings in this thesis.

Chapter 5 explored the broader context of quality and its relationship to the documents. The policy cycle proposed by Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992) - contexts of influence, contexts of text production and practices/effects - was applied in describing and tracing contextual influences in the documents. Chapter 6 examined intertextuality; how chains of texts and events work together to produce the emerging discursive field of QA. Chapter 7 examined the institutional context of the documents. Chapter 8 looked more closely at the immediate text, introduced in chapter 5. Here the documents were explored as constitutive not only of the field of QA but also of the relationships and identities of those who inhabit QA. Each chapter drew its own conclusions. Chapter 9 took a meta-perspective, examining QA as exemplifying regulatory means and ends in New Times.

Throughout the analysis I gave particular attention to theoretical categories identified in the literature as emerging aspects of regulation of HE. These included: contestation and

conflict in policy development (Brenner & Theodore, 2002); reciprocal influence between glonacal levels (Marginson and Rhoades, 2002), regulation as a changing arena of power (Eggers, 2008; O'Mahony, 2005; Taylor, 2007) and the influence of agency on policy trajectories (Jakobi, 2007, 2009; Ball, 2012).

4.9 Assessing methodological contributions

I have accounted for my methodology in some detail in order to make visible my particular approach. This was an adaptation of various conceptual and empirical approaches to fit with the aims of my inquiry and the object of study. My inquiry extended into the global arena and theories of globalisation drew attention to new, different modes of knowledge and power that operate through intertwined social spaces. According to Appadurai (2001), including this globalised world in research requires rethinking how research is approached, and its complexity challenges our theoretical and analytic imagination. Considering globalisation at all runs the risk of normalising rather than describing the social world (Ball, 2008). As Ball (2012a) points out we lack the tools and perspectives for much of this work. Globalisation shifts and changes at a greater rate than our conceptualisations of it (Appadurai, 2001) and our work is out of date before it is finished (Ball, 2012). This was certainly the case with my study where analysis had at times no sooner begun than the context changed. For example the *2012 Act* changed the landscape of QA in Ireland and revisions planned for ESG (Official website of the ESG revision, 2013) may or may not change its text and its position.

If, as Foucault (2002) argues, critical research is aimed at disrupting and destabilising our certainty about our knowledges and the ease with which we know, then we need to find, as Appadurai (2001) has asserted, new visions and new methods by which we come to know. There were times when my attempts to do this came close to being defeated by the complexities of globalised worlds, and I have made visible the steps I took to manage this. The principle by which I operated followed those suggested by CDA: the inclusion of different theoretical focuses and methodological possibilities. This is one contribution to knowledge of this inquiry. The methodological approach I describe allowed the large amounts of texts and events that surround regulatory texts in New Times to be made (somewhat) visible, and the multiplicity of authors of regulatory texts to be documented and their activity described, though not completely. As Ball and Junemann (2012) point out, this attempt to describe complex networks of policy formation is never complete. However the purpose of including globalisation in

empirical studies is to contribute to an emerging understanding of social formations, of how things are experienced and how they are changing (Ball & Junemann, 2012, p. 15); a central concern of my contextual approach.

A second methodological contribution is my focus on breadth and range of discursive construction of QA. A focus on any of the contexts of formation I have identified would have produced a deeper, richer analysis of that area, but my choice was to examine all of these different contexts and see how they interact. This arose in part from my application of actually existing neoliberalism and its emphasis on how institutions, discursive fields and practices operate as existing landscape to shape trajectories (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). It also arose from my intention to explore consistencies and differences in social formations across contexts to be explored. Consequently I focused on describing how different contexts work together, and sometimes in opposition, to construct (and at times deconstruct) a discursive field.

A third methodological contribution is the use of the internet in discourse analysis and in actual existing neoliberalism. The complexity of transformed structures and dislocated locations that I describe in chapter 3 requires shaping inquiries to capture these formations. I have described internet based research approaches as one possibility utilised in my study. This is a promising area of research methodology that could be examined further.

4.10 Conclusion

In this chapter I described how I managed the vast array of documents and institutions concerned with QA in order to describe and analyse discursive and institutional contexts. I describe my adaptation of Ball and Jungemann's (2012) Network Analysis and Marginson and Rhoades (2002) Glonocal Agency Heuristic to this inquiry and the stages of analysis that I used. I described three stages of analysis aimed at producing and categorising data from the documents. In the remainder of this thesis I present my findings, I documented and analysed each context separately in chapters 5-8 and documented findings from the interaction between these contexts in chapter 9. This is illustrated in figure 6.

Chapter 5. The documents: Text and context.

5.1 Introduction

The task of this chapter is to explore QA as “actually existing neoliberalism” (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, p.349). I do this through examining the broader context of quality and how this is reflected in the documents identified in Chapter 4. Section 2 examines the social context of QA. This describes the broader contextual context in which QA, in its abstract form, has emerged. Section 3 looks at the documents as examples of specific path-dependent applications of QA. The fourth part looks at emerging themes that addressed the research questions (figure 1).

5.2 The wider context of quality

QA, as described in chapter 1, is an evaluative regulatory mechanism used in recognition, accreditation and valuation of HE programmes (Vlăsceanu et al, 2007). QA has a variety of applications across nations, institutions and disciplines. Both documents I examine are devised at European level and applied nationally and locally: TAC by the EAP and ESG as part of the BP. In this section I describe the wider context in which both documents work.

5.2.1 *The higher education framework*

Quality discourses in Higher Education have come into prominence in particular with BP¹². In an intergovernmental initiative, Ministers of Education came together in the Bologna Declaration (1999) aimed at creating an EHEA within 10 years. This began BP, a bottom up approach, based on agreements by participatory states to implement its decisions. This left the implementation at national levels to national governments and HEIs (Cippitani & Gatt, 2009). BP Ministerial meetings occurred every 2 years to review the process and to set future goals. An earlier coming together of ministers of four nations resulted in the Sorbonne Declaration¹³ (Association of European Universities, 1998), aimed at the harmonisation of a European HE area. This aim was changed in the Bologna Declaration to greater “compatibility and comparability”

¹² The Bologna Process is described further in chapter 7

¹³ The Sorbonne Declaration was signed in Paris at the Sorbonne, on May 25, 1998, by France, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom. This was a joint declaration on harmonization of the European HE system. It aimed to promote promote co-operation, enhance mobility and promote the mutual recognition of qualifications.

(Bologna Declaration, 1999, para. 7) a not insignificant shift that reflected the difficulty in harmonising differences between nation states (Rhoades & Sporn, 2002).

In its first paragraph, the Bologna Declaration (1999) describes how it developed in response to “a growing awareness” held in common (“this awareness occurs in large parts of the political and academic world and in public opinion”) that there is “a need” for action aimed at strengthening “intellectual, cultural, social and scientific and technological dimensions”. Its aim is enrichment and growth and also to give “its citizens the necessary competences to face the challenges of the new millennium” in order to fulfil its EHEA goal: “European co-operation in quality assurance” and the promotion of a “European dimensions in higher education” are specific agreed objectives.

BP encourages mobility between and comparability of different HE systems and European co-operation and comparability in QA (Kenny, 2006b). ENQA¹⁴ was formally established in 2000 to promote European co-operation in the field of QA and is funded in part by the European Commission [EC]. In 2005 ENQA’s ESG; (ENQA. 2009) was adopted by the Bologna participants. The ESG were produced on foot of a mandate from BP ministers to meet the need for a common understanding of QA in European higher education (BP, 2003). The mandate covered two areas - an adequate peer review system for quality assurance agencies and to develop an agreed set of standards, procedures and guidelines on quality assurance (BP, 2003).

In addition to BP there is the EU contribution to Quality in Education (EU, 2010). The Lisbon Strategy¹⁵ (European Council, 2000) was launched in 2000. In its first paragraph (part 1.1) it describes itself as responding to a “new challenge...a quantum shift resulting from globalisation and the challenges of a new knowledge-driven economy”. The EU “is confronted with” this challenge, and must “shape these changes” in response; “people” are affected, but appear as the passive recipients of change. This problem definition paves the way for a solution – “building knowledge infrastructures, enhancing innovation and economic reform, and modernising social welfare and education systems” (para. 1.2). This grounds the reformulation of European social space

¹⁴ ENQA was called the European Network for Quality Assurance in Higher Education at this time. It changed its name to the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education in 2004 but kept its original abbreviation.

¹⁵ The Lisbon Strategy is set out in Lisbon European Council 23 and 24 March 2000 Presidency Conclusions (European Council, 2000).

into a knowledge-based economy (Dunkel, 2009), a discourse that came to prominence with the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] 1996 document *The knowledge-based economy*¹⁶. The Lisbon strategy goal for the EU was “to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion” (European Council, 2000, para. 5). This was to occur in particular through the improvement of the quality and effectiveness of EU education and training.

This Lisbon strategy goal links the HE arena to economic conditions of growth. This was reaffirmed in its mid-term review in 2005 (Barroso, 2005; European Council, 2005a). The review introduced the knowledge triangle: the interaction between research, education and innovation, as key driver of a knowledge-based society. This envisaged society based on the modernisation of universities and the enhancement of quality education as the basis of European growth and competitiveness (EC, 2005; European Council, 2005a, 2005c). Central to the modernisation agenda is the autonomy of HEI’s, a freedom from national regulation and an emphasis on public accountability through mechanisms such as QA, audit and review (European Council, 2007, 2008; Cippitani and Gatt, 2009).

The Lisbon and BP goals appear both natural and progressive and also aligned with each other. Key concepts such as HEI autonomy, education in the service of the state and the need to respond to global changes are accepted by multiple stakeholders. Key players appear in all forums. Universities are involved, through their representative organisation, EUA, in consultation processes with BP and EU. The EU funds projects by BP, ENQA and university and student bodies. BP has EU representatives on its follow up processes, the Bologna Follow Up Group (BFUG). Student representatives are involved in both BP and EU initiatives. This theme of common interests and aims is taken further by the launch of the EHEA in 2010 at the Budapest-Vienna Ministerial Conference (BP, 2010). The goals of the next phase set at this meeting focus on areas such as the social dimension of education, lifelong learning, employability and student

¹⁶ This built on a number of OECD reports, including OECD (1989) *Education and Economy in a Changing Society* and OECD (1994) *Jobs Study – Facts, Analysis, Strategies*. According to Duff (2011), “Human capital” is central to the OECD’s view of economic development (Duff, 2011, p. 3)

centred learning. This operates alongside the University modernisation agenda of the EC that calls for greater autonomy alongside greater accountability (BP-EHEA, 2010a; BP-EHEA, 2010b). This places regulation as the framework for managing the university-state relationship.

In this alignment it can be difficult to see differences and tensions between the two processes, but their goals are not the same. BP emphasises compatibility and diversity while Lisbon emphasises marketability and, referring back to the Sorbonne Declaration (Association of European Universities, 1998), harmonisation. BP emphasises a shared vision of a future, a need, and overcoming challenges whereas Lisbon speaks of risk and demand. The alignments and tensions between these processes are central to making sense of the social practice of Quality and its mechanisms (Keeling, 2006, Dunkel, 2009) and I return to these in chapter 7.

5.2.2 The professional Framework

In Ireland psychotherapy does not currently have a legislative base. Instead professional accreditation of training occurs through a variety of schools or modalities of therapy, some of which are affiliated to Irish or European professional bodies such as ICP and EAP. EAP produces training standards for psychotherapists. Compliance with EAP training requirements, established in their Training Accreditation Document, TAC (EAP, 2012a), is a requirement of accreditation of training programmes with ICP (n.d.-b)¹⁷. These criteria do not utilise Bologna framework tools such as European Credit Transfer System [ECTS] and the National Framework of Qualifications [NFQ]. They do, however, include requirements for practice and personal therapeutic work historically associated with psychotherapy training and not envisaged in NFQ. Instead the professional accreditation process focuses principally on curriculum.

However this is changing, with QA becoming a required feature of professional training (Allegrante et al., 2009; Kazi, 2000). EU initiatives in mutual recognition of professional qualifications and mobility of professions again place “quality” at the forefront of recognition processes (see chapter 7). Nationally, this is mirrored in the

¹⁷ TAC principles have also been incorporated into the Psychological Therapies Forum consultation document for statutory registration (Psychological Therapies Forum, 2008). However not all psychotherapy and counselling bodies, in Ireland or Europe have accepted these principles.

development of Awards Standards for Counselling and Psychotherapy by the statutory body QQI in consultation with the profession (QQI, 2013b)

This is not merely an imposed trajectory for professional training, but instead represents a strategic direction argued for within the profession. One argument for QA is that this is necessary if psychotherapy training is to respond to the current marketisation of training programmes. Bernal (2009), writing in relation to family therapy in the US, notes that professional body regulatory mechanisms have focused mainly on pedagogical methodologies and curriculum rather than fiscal and management policies. She emphasises the need for accountability and performativity requirements in the provision of quality education, particularly in a climate where training programmes compete for self funding students¹⁸. This is reflected in the practice of training accreditation, where EAP (n.d.-g) positions review of training institutes in terms of TAC as a QA exercise. Similar to trends in the academic sphere, professional training is beginning to move towards recognition and validation of programmes based on QA.

In the Irish context professional involvement in including QA in training requirements occurs not only through incorporating academic QA discourses within psychotherapy, but also through changes in institutional arrangements. In late 2013 QQI produced Draft Awards Standards for educational and training awards in Counselling and Psychotherapy, intended to provide “a reference for benchmarking intended programme learning outcomes when specific programmes are being (re-)validated” (QQI, 2013b, para. 4). These standards are tied to statutory recognition processes that centre QA, use ESG in determining quality and require the use of Bologna framework tools. In addition these standards tie the standards for, and therefore the curriculum of, professional training programmes to NFQ, in considerable detail. Different possible formations, such as more general or abstract standards that allow different psychotherapy modalities to adapt the standards to their theoretical and practice bases, appear surprisingly absent. Self alignment by the profession was central in producing these standards through a “developmental group” (QQI, 2013b para. 2) consisting of professional body members and HEI’s, listed on the QQI website. The alignments and tensions within the

¹⁸ This is particularly relevant in family therapy where practice component requirement include 300 hours of live supervision. Live supervision is a team based activity where clients are seen by a supervising therapist and a team of 3 to 5 students. This provides considerable learning opportunities, student support and client protection but is labour intensive and considerably more expensive than most training practices in psychotherapy. The quality of this practice is, therefore, dependent to some extent on how effectiveness and efficiency are measured.

psychotherapy field regarding this significant change in the psychotherapy landscape are visible in the “Feedback from the public” arising out of a consultation process (QQI, 2013c). There, different perspectives are expressed not only in relation to what constitutes appropriate “competencies” for the profession, but also in terms of the meaning of counselling and psychotherapy. Academic standards, in these accounts, appear to be about professional identity as well as identifying an objective, accepted set of knowledge, skills and competencies that define and delimit the profession.

5.2.3 *The wider European context*

Institutions such as the EU and the BP Ministerial meetings are by no means the only contributors to the quality debate in HE and process such as those of Bologna and Lisbon are by no means the only chains of events in which quality is shaped and formed. The socio-political contexts in which quality and QA discourses emerge are described in table 1. At institutional level bodies such as the OECD (Appendix 3.4), UNESCO-CEPES (Appendix 3.5) and Council of Europe (Appendix 3.6) as well as various bodies within the EU (Appendix 3.3) have also become involved in ways that impact on the construction and operation of QA in national and organisational contexts (Keeling, 2006; Dunkel, 2009). In addition sectoral interest groups such as NGO’s, professional bodies and the co-authors of ESG, the E4 group¹⁹ contribute to emerging meanings and practices at national, extra-national and local level as I describe in chapter 7. A global network of QA institutions, practices, texts and conversations is emerging within which QA is continually redescribed, positioned and legitimated.

These extra-national processes contribute to articulating goals for HE, and for positioning QA as a mechanism for achieving these goals. These positions are sometimes different to those of BP and EU. For example, mobility of citizens, a prime goal of BP and Lisbon and EAP, has a legislative base in the Council of Europe/UNESCO (1997) *Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications concerning Higher Education in the European Region*, [Lisbon Recognition Convention]. This international convention requires mutual recognition of degrees and periods of study through processes other than QA. In the professional arena the European Council Directive on the recognition of professional qualifications (Professional Qualifications Directive [PQD]; European Parliament and Council, 2005) provides a framework for

¹⁹ The E4 group are ENQA, representing QA bodies, ESU (representing students), EUA (representing universities) and EURASHE (representing HEIs that offer professionally oriented programmes).

recognition of professional qualifications between nations. This directive is increasingly using QA as a mechanism of comparability, whereas the Lisbon Recognition Convention does not. The inclusion of QA in managing the complexities of global education is not uniform but varies over time and between organisations, as I discuss in chapter 7.

These reforms have resulted in considerable changes in the HE landscape in Europe, and the progressive aspects of this change are noted by many sectoral interest groups (ESU, 2010, 2012; ENQA, 2012). Professionals, students and staff have significantly greater opportunities for mobility between European states. Students' rights as consumers are asserted through processes such as student access, transfer and progression (NQAI, 2006). However as the different processes converge, differences and tensions between participants and different perspectives on the value of these changes become more visible. The differences and tensions draw attention to the values and assumptions underpinning QA and challenge its positioning as the inevitable and natural pathway to quality in HE.

5.2.4 Mapping the QA path

The concept of quality, despite being central to its assurance, remains elusive in the QA discursive field (L. Harvey, 2005; Saarinen, 2005, 2010). Vidovich and Currie (2010) describe how quality refers to a range of concepts (such as regulatory standard and the more abstract excellence) and processes (including quality control and also more abstract concepts of improvement). It is perhaps not surprising that multiple terms (such as quality, quality assurance, quality enhancement, quality control, total quality management) can be used interchangeably (Saarinen 2005, 2008). Indeed this conflation of meaning is noted both in policy texts such as Higher Education and Training Awards Council [HETAC] (2011) and in Vlasceanu et al, (2007) who note that "Quality may thus take different, sometimes conflicting, meanings" (p. 70). And yet within this multiplicity of meanings of quality the aim is for commonality and comparability of quality systems.

Quality from this perspective does not denote any inherent characteristics of HE. Instead it operates as a rationality of governing within a complex, intertwined network of textual and institutional meaning making connected with wider socio-political context in both academic and professional education. This is illustrated in table 1. Its

emergence and evolution differs in different education contexts, in ways that are intricately connected with the paths of its production and use. This path-dependency I explore in the remainder of this chapter in relation to the evolution of the QA documents in academic and professional HE. This path-dependency is carried into the following chapters in relation to specific contextual influences on the respective paths.

Table 1: Wider socio-political contest of Quality

	Academic	Professional
<p>The broader contexts of quality in Higher Education</p> <p>(1) (legislative and regulatory)</p> <p>1. <i>Macro level:</i> European Law Regulation</p> <p>2. <i>Meso level:</i> National Law regulation</p> <p>3. <i>Micro level:</i> National Institutions</p>	<p>Macro level</p> <p><u>EU</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Treaty of Lisbon, (2009) (Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union, 2010 O.J. C 83/13 Maastricht Treaty (1992) (Treaty on European Union (Maastricht text), (July 29, 1992 O.J. C 191/1) Treaty of Rome (1957) (Treaty Establishing the European Economic Community, Mar. 25, 1957, 298 U.N.T.S. 11.) <p><u>EU and Quality Assurance in HE</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> European Parliament and Council (2006). Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 15 February 2006 on further European cooperation in quality assurance in higher education [Official Journal L 64 of 04.03.2006]. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2006:064:0060:0062:EN:PDF European Commission (1998). Report From The Commission To The European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic And Social Committee And The Committee Of The Regions on the implementation of Council Recommendation 98/561/EC of 24 September 1998 on European cooperation in quality assurance in higher education /* COM/2004/0620 final */ http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!DocNumber&lg=en&type_doc=COMfinal&an_doc=2004&nu_doc=0620 European Council (1998) Council Recommendation (EC) No 561/98 of 24 September 1998 on European cooperation in quality assurance in higher education [Official Journal L 270 of 07.10.1998] http://eur-lex.europa.eu/Notice.do?val=229763:cs&lang=en&list=229763:cs,227340:cs,&pos=1&page=1&nbl=2&pgs=10&hwords=&checktexte=checkbox&visu=#texte Decision No 1298/2008/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 16 December 2008 establishing the Erasmus Mundus 2009-2013 action programme for the enhancement of quality in higher education and the promotion of intercultural understanding through cooperation with third countries (Text with EEA relevance) (OJ L 340, 19.12.2008, p. 83–98) 32008D1298 	<p>Macro level</p> <p><u>EU</u></p> <p>EU Directive (European Parliament and Council, 2005) on the recognition of professional qualifications 2005/36/EC (Official Journal L255 of 30 September 2005).</p>

	<p><u>Council of Europe/ UNESCO</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications concerning Higher Education in the European Region), 1997 (ETS No. 165) (Ratified by Ireland 1/2/1999) <p>National Level <i>Legislation:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Qualifications and Quality Assurance (Education and Training) Act 2012; Universities Act 1997; Higher Education Authority Act 1971 Institutes of Technology Acts 1992 to 2006 <p><i>Policy Framework</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> DES: National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030 (DES, 2011) HEA Policy Framework (HEA, n.d.) QQI Policy Development Programme (QQI, 2013) 	<p>National Level <i>Legislation:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regulation in some countries requires psychotherapists to have a psychiatric or psychological background and others requiring specific postgraduate psychotherapy training. Currently no legislation in Ireland Health and Social Care Act may apply to psychotherapy in the future, QQI (2013b) Draft Awards Standards for Counselling and Psychotherapy will have regulatory effect when implemented – ie will be a requirement for accreditation and validation <p><i>Policy Framework</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Department of Health and Children. (2006) “A Vision for Change” Report of the Expert Group on Mental Health Policy QQI (2013b) Draft Awards Standards for Counselling and Psychotherapy
<p>The broader contexts of quality / assurance (soft regulation) “Soft law” 1. Macro level: European</p>	<p>Macro level</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bologna Process (See Table 6) (No legal bases at European level. Implemented nationally by Ministers for Education.(Kapustin, 2007)) <p><i>EU and Quality Assurance in HE</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 98/561/EC: <i>Council Recommendation of 24 September 1998 on European cooperation in quality assurance in higher education</i> (OJ L 270, 7.10.1998, p. 56–59) 31998H0561 Lisbon /strategy includes soft law options:(see table 7) OECD usually uses soft measures based on expertise and research such as recommendations (e.g. with UNESCO: Guidelines on Quality Provision in Cross- 	<p>Macro level</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> European Association of Psychotherapy (no legal basis; contractual relationship with members) Produces statutes that define its area of operation and standards for psychotherapy Strasbourg definition of psychotherapy (EAP, 1990) TAC (EAP. 2012b)

<p>Policy/ best practice 2. <i>Meso level:</i> National Policy/ best practice 3. <i>Micr o level:</i> HEI Policy/ best practice</p>	<p>border Higher Education. (see Shahjahan, 2012)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> UNESCO sets standards as well as producing legally binding instruments - members can opt out through abstaining. (Hartmann, 2010) World bank – usually contractual adherence involving binding funding contracts (Samoff & Carrol, 2003) <p>Sectoral players:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ENQA; No statutory basis. Produces good practice documents/ guidelines. E4 members: ENQA; ESU; EUA; EURASHE; Produce practice guides for members <p><i>National Level</i></p> <p><i>HEA IUQB</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Quality Reviews catalogue (Universities) (IUQB, n.d.-a) Good Practice Guides (IUQB, n.d.-b) <p><i>Irish Universities Association</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>IUA and IUQB (2007) A Framework for Quality in Irish Universities</i> <i>IUA (2012b) University Governance Report to the Minister for Education and Skills</i> 	<p>Modalities (Schools)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Produce ethical guidelines, standards and good practice guides for their modality European Association of Family Therapy (EFTA) European Confederation of Psychoanalytic Psychotherapies (ECPA) Network of the European Association. for Person-Centred and Experiential Psychotherapy & Counselling (PCE Europe) <p><i>National Level</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Psychological Therapies Forum (2008) QQI (2013c) Feedback on Draft Awards Standards for Counselling and Psychotherapy
---	--	---

5.3 The Documents: ESG and TAC.

5.3.1 ESG

The ESG (ENQA, 2009) was adopted by ministers in the Bergen meeting of BP (2005). ESG sets standards for internal and external QA arrangements for HE institutions and standards for QA agencies. ESG describes the conduct of different aspects of QA in HE. The ESG are intended to cover all HE institutions and programmes in the EHEA, “irrespective of their structure, function and size, and the national system in which they are located” (ESG, p.11).

The Document

The ESG is named as a report, written in response to the Berlin communiqué of BP (2003). The *content* covers

Foreword by Christian Thune, President of ENQA

Executive summary covering the results, recommendations and implications

1. Context, aims and principles
2. European Standards and Guidelines – the regulatory section consisting of 3 parts:
 - I. Internal quality assurance of higher education institutions (seven standards)
 - II. External quality assurance of higher education (eight standards)
 - III. Quality assurance of external quality assurance agencies (eight standards)
3. Peer review system for QA agencies
4. Future perspectives and challenges

The organisation is fairly standard for policy documents. The introduction contextualises the document, giving it legitimacy and situating it intertextually. The forward by Christian Thune, then president of ENQA, sets the scene of the text. It is in a more conversational style than the main text, inviting readers to become part of something important and worthwhile, aimed at a common goal, achieving “the ambitions of the Bologna Process” (p. 5). The text is presented as ideational (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Fairclough, 2003), that is its representation presents a certain view of reality; it constitutes and naturalises a particular world and the place of the

reader in that world. This naturalised view grounds a strong commitment to an outcome which is taken up and emphasised in Part 1.

Part 1 describes how the implementation of the text will lead to something better: consistency and mutual recognition and also increased trust and credibility. The aim of better quality becomes translated into recognition and measurement of quality as if both quality and its assurance were the same. This has elements of legitimating by common sense (Fairclough, 2003), and quality as something else becomes unthinkable.

The middle regulatory section defines what should be done. The final section concludes with what needs to be done. There are distinct differences between the different sections of the document, Part 2 and 3 contain the main regulatory features in terms of what “should” be done. “Should” is a high modality auxiliary verb – that is it demonstrates strong commitment to action. “Should” is a particular feature of official regulatory documents, such as guidelines, and figures largely in these sections. The other parts are more conversational with tendencies to use less strong modalities – their communicative intent is ideational rather than regulatory.

The purpose of ESG, stated in the BP Ministers direction to ENQA, is to provide minimum standards for transparency and quality. The standards are intended to reflect “basic good practice” (p. 15) and the guidelines describe the good practice interpretation of standards. It is asserted that within the guidelines “The generic standards ought to find a general resonance at the national level” (p. 11) but the basis for that assertion – or what to do if that is not the case – is not mentioned. Their application is intended to be implemented nationally and locally in contextually appropriate ways (Stensaker, Harvey, Huisman, Langfeldt & Westerheijden, 2010). The focus is on “what should be done” (p. 12) rather than how, with the detailed procedures being seen as essential to HEI autonomy. This context-independent feature of neoliberal documents, described in chapter 1, is tempered with the inclusion of autonomy and responsibility, qualities of the neoliberal ideal subject and institution (Davies & Bansel, 2010). Within this construction HEI’s and their staff have responsibility for adjusting their area of operation to the procedures, and therefore ideals, of ESG rather than the policy network being required to take into account context. This is a change from the previous ENQA study on quality convergence which emphasised the context dependency of quality, and therefore its assurance (Crozier, Curvale, & Hénard, 2005)

Producing and sustaining the document

The text is clear on authorship, readership, source of authority and responsibility for change, unlike many policy texts where sources of power and authority can be implicit rather than explicit (Yeatman, 1990). This makes visible, rather than assumes, the legitimacy of the document. This can be seen as a particular function of soft regulatory instruments where voluntary involvement is based on incentives and therefore the potential of involvement to deliver the incentives needs to be established.

The authors of the text are ENQA in consultation with E4 partners. ESG states that it was “invited through its members, in cooperation with the EUA, EURASHE, and ESU, to develop an agreed set of standards, procedures and guidelines on quality assurance” (p. 5). ENQA were asked “to take due account of the expertise of other quality assurance associations and networks” (p. 10). Legitimation of the document is grounded externally in the wide consultation process and its position within BP, and internally in its intertextuality (discussed in chapter 6). From a cognitive perspective (Van Dijk, 1995) the assumptions within the text operate to construct a particular natural view of the world and contribute to legitimation of the values and beliefs of the text.

ESG as a report is addressed to BP Ministers and also to the QA community. ESG does not apply obligation, instead it is “a source of assistance and guidance” (p. 13). ESG envisages that its operation is mediated by national actions; the *position* of the ESG is explicitly stated as not regulatory:

The EHEA operates on the basis of individual national responsibility for higher education and this implies autonomy in matters of external quality assurance. Because of this the report is not and cannot be regulatory but makes its recommendations and proposals in a spirit of mutual respect among professionals. (p. 34)

However there is a potential for ESG to become regulatory based on national principles “Some signatory states may want to enshrine the standards and review process in their legislative or administrative frameworks” (p 34). Therefore their position as regulatory, policy and/or good practice is dependent on *national* contexts rather than any European activity. This regulatory position is facilitated by the standards and guidelines in the three parts that are clear about obligation and necessity.

This steering at a distance through straddling of hard and soft regulation is somewhat problematic in its enactment. It is perhaps not surprising that regulatory positioning of ESG is one of the contested spaces where actors insert their own positions. This tension between the ESG as regulatory system or reference document continues in its current review (Official website of the ESG revision, 2013), where there is considerable variation at national level, as I describe in chapters 7 and 9. The effectiveness of ESG as a mechanism for deployment of QA is, it appears, intricately connected with how the document is positioned.

5.3.2 TAC

The European Association for Psychotherapy (EAP) awards the “European Certificate for Psychotherapy” [ECP] (EAP, n.d.-f) as part of what it describes as “its initiative for quality control of psychotherapy in Europe” (EAP, n.d.-g, para. 1). EAP awards are presented to graduates of accredited institutes – EAPTI’s – or to individuals who can demonstrate equivalence. TAC is the accreditation requirements for EAPTI’s.

The Document

TAC is presented as Regulations (n.d.-g) in the form of questionnaire and procedures to be completed by HEI’s. Its name is the same as its authors – TAC or the Training Accreditation Committee of EAP – the composition of which is stated in the first paragraph. As with ESG, TAC is clear on authorship, readership, source of authority and responsibility for change. As with ESG, the authors are representatives of different organisation-wide stakeholders; here the executive committee of EAP, consisting of national and European psychotherapy organisations. These are also the organisations involved in deciding the outcome of the review under these procedures.

The content consists of:

- *Preamble* setting out principles – of membership of TAC, of subsidiary and psychotherapy as an independent profession.
- *Section 1*, a questionnaire that gives information on procedures, such as who and what is involved in decision making, and requirements, such as trainers qualifications, and programme content and duration.
- *Section 2* describes procedures for QA review including a site visit by independent experts

- *Section 3* references other regulations and procedures devised by EAP
- The final implementation section (para. 23) describes the construction of the document, in particular the ratification process.

The organization of the document is somewhat different to ESG. It is a mixture of genres, including questionnaire and legislative, and of discourses, including policy and regulatory. The first and last sections give it legitimacy based on consultation procedures. Legitimation through intertextuality is mainly confined to EAP documents. Interspersed within the document are descriptions of what is required and references to EAP regulations that contain further requirements. This lack of wider embeddedness in institutional and academic textual constructions can be seen as allowing potential for challenge to the legitimacy of TAC. Waller (2001) for example, raises questions of what and whose descriptions of “psychotherapy” and “European” is being used in the document. Evans (2001) argues that the lack of sociological and political analysis underpinning the recognition objective of TAC is reductionist and works against psychotherapy’s diverse contextual approach.

TAC is constructed more in terms of hard regulation with inflexible requirements. *Should* occurs only once (“each trainer should”) and “*must*” occurs 13 times. *Must* is a stronger modality auxiliary verb associated with stronger truth commitment and greater authorship/institutional power (Fairclough. 2003). As with ESG, the principle of subsidiarity applies, but here within strict limits. TAC will take into account only “slight variations” (p. 1) of their regulatory requirements. The focus is on both what should be done and how it should be done; unlike ESG autonomy is not encouraged.

The incentives for involvement in this voluntary mechanism – essentially mobility and qualifications recognition between countries - are the express purposes of TAC and its related documents, as is the professional aim of client protection (EAP, n.d.-d). TAC is intended to “protect the interest of this profession and the public it serves, by ensuring that the profession functions at an appropriate level of training and practice” (EAP, 2012b, p. 1). This is intended to ensure that psychotherapists are trained to the EAP's standards which in turn, it is asserted, will result in the dual aim of fostering “the interest of this profession and the public it serve” (EAP, 2012b, p. 1). The contestation between different claims to the title of psychotherapists based on different views of psychotherapy goes unmentioned and obscured in this description. The Psychologists Association, EFPA, produce an alternative description of standards based on a view of

psychotherapy as a branch of psychology rather than an independent profession (EFPA, 2010).

TAC does not appear to sit as firmly within soft regulatory discourses as ESG. Nevertheless its production and implementation within a networked policy field without any regulatory authority, and the voluntary nature of inclusion, positions it as soft rather than hard regulation. TAC demonstrates similar concerns to ESG with utilising “toolkits” of resources - such as QA, accountability, accreditation, public registers of “high quality” HEIs. While ESG is based firmly within BP and EU constructions of HE that utilise mechanisms of comparison – such as ECTS - and incorporates wider educational discourses – such as lifelong learning and internationalisation of education – TAC appears to straddle professional and education discourses. TAC requirements are based around hours, in an apprenticeship model, rather than credits in an academic model and around content of curriculum rather than standards. The emphasis in TAC appears to be on content and particular requirements are stated, such as qualifications of trainers and hours of training. This regulatory construction is more similar to hard regulatory compliance exercises than a voluntary exercise in guiding good practice. This makes it particularly useful in recent developments in EU professional recognition processes (which I return to in chapter 7). It also avoids some of the difficulty with whether it is used as a compliance tool or a guide by positioning itself within the compliance arena. TAC sits alongside national law, and unlike ESG does not provide for national recontextualisation of TAC requirements. This brings other difficulties - where this is a voluntary exercise without much potential to translate into national and local contexts then the compliance requirements can result in few HEIs becoming involved in the QA exercise. This is perhaps a contributory factor in the limited *influence* of TAC in professional realm to specific local arenas. EAPTI institutions – those accredited under TAC – are listed in the EAP website (EAP, n.d.-g). Of the 60 accredited institute in 20 countries, most are in France (13) and Hungary (9), with most countries having one (such as Ireland) or two (such as the UK).

Producing and sustaining the document

The authors of the text are the TAC section of EAP - itself a network of psychotherapy organisations – composed of EAP, national and psychotherapy schools representatives. The readership is addressed to the psychotherapy field, particularly training institutes, but as with ESG the potential for promotion of the field is contained within it. The

document is used at EU level to argue for the recognition of psychotherapy based on this document. This promotional aspect of QA is reflected in its discourses.

The explicit *position of* TAC is as a voluntary quality assurance and accreditation system (EAP, n.d.-g). Accreditation allows a training institute to call itself and be publicised on EAP website as an EAP accredited Institute - EAPTI - and to guarantee students that they are entitled to be awarded the European Certificate of Psychotherapy [ECP] on successful completion of their programme (EAP, n.d.-j). The aim of this initiative is to create a European quality standard that identifies quality HEI's in the European marketplace. In addition it is intended to support the development of psychotherapy in a European and international context. This again places quality in the promotional arena

In contrast to ESG, which attempts to work with national legislation and policy, TAC places itself beside and somewhat in opposition to national law. TAC calls itself a European rather than a national award. TAC highlights that it is in conflict with some national laws, but asserts the right of psychotherapists in these countries to hold this award. This opposition highlights rather than obscures conflict – somewhat unusual in regulatory documents. The intent of EAP to challenge national laws through European legislative and policy arenas is explicit on its website (EAP, n.d.-h). Therefore TAC's position as regulatory, policy and/or good practice, while dependent on national contexts, is through the combined actions –networking - of EAP and EU.

TAC works with other EAP regulations to construct psychotherapy in a particular manner: as grounded in the separateness of the discipline established in the *Strasbourg Definition of Psychotherapy* (EAP, 1990), as upholding EAP ethical principles (EAP, n.d.-e) as based on education competencies (EAP, n.d.-f, n.d.-i), as carried out by recognised institutions (EAP, n.d.-g). It distinguishes between what counts as a modality or school of therapy and what does not. Recognised schools of therapy “must be well defined and distinguishable from other psychotherapy modalities and have a clear theoretical basis in the human sciences” (EAP, 2012b, p. 4). The arbitrator of what counts is EAP - “The scientific validity of the modality must have been accepted by the EAP” (EAP, 2012b, p. 4). This includes and excludes some forms of psychotherapy. In TAC the contestation over meanings and values in and about psychotherapy becomes reduced to the technical question of recognition and the technical process of demonstrating compliance through answering a questionnaire. Where TAC remains a

voluntary system of recognition carried out by networked professionals then there are possible spaces for excluded meanings and communities of psychotherapy to exist. Where TAC becomes recognised within powerful European and national regulatory mechanisms – as appears to be occurring (discussed in Chapter 7) then exclusion poses a real threat to unrecognised schools of therapy.

5.4 Addressing the research questions

This study set out with the principal aim of examining formations of HE in QA discourses and the contribution of QA to these formations (figure 1). In this section I identify themes emerging from this chapters' contextual focus that address these questions.

5.4.1 *HE formations: Discourses of imagined futures.*

The discourses of QA in the documents and the wider context of QA are not about quality as a definable, distinguishable characteristic of HE but about the assurance, the measurement, of quality. The BP theme of QA as facilitating comparability and compatibility of national HE systems is presented as a common good, acceptable and beyond question. In both HE and professional arenas there is an emphasis on voluntary participation by different interest groups towards this common goal. In ESG difference is not only acceptable but fostered, required by principles of autonomy and recognition of cultural variations.

Quality remains implied and vague rather than specified (Saarinen 2005, 2008) at the same time as its measurement – the Assurance of Quality - moves towards convergence, based on jointly agreed objectives enabled by comparative technologies such as standards and benchmarking. The difficulties in finding converging meanings of Quality was described in the ENQA Quality Convergence study (Crozier, Curvale & Hénard, 2005). This study, referred to in ESG and undertaken by ENQA prior to writing ESG, found that understanding a HE quality system required “a total immersion in the different cultural situations” (p. 20). Quality itself was not a definable entity; instead “The notion of quality can be seen as a result of the function of systems and of interaction between the various stakeholders/actors” (p. 21). There appeared to be no quality outside and apart from its HE context that could be measured. This conclusion impacted on ESG, where there is no attempt to define either quality or particular QA

mechanisms. Instead there is the construction of an “ideal” the aspiration for what HE should be. In the Context section of ESG, Extract 1 quoted above, “Europe” has aspirations, and they are a European ideal, explicitly stated as, in brackets, “(Lisbon Strategy)” (p. 10). We, the HE community are included in this vision for HE, are a part of this Europe and the Lisbon strategy is part of our common knowledge, needing no source, reference or description. The Lisbon strategy and associated European aspirations are presented as there, an incontestable reality. In this imaginary “Europe” is a singular communal body within which dissent is unimaginable. HE has no separate existence from “Europe” and the aspirations of HE have no separate existence.

The ideal actor is also constructed in the ESG. Ideal HEI’s and their staff take into account their “heavy responsibilities” (p. 16). This involves institutional autonomy, which is of “central importance” (p. 11), but this autonomy is for the manner in which proceduralisation occurs rather than whether it occurs: HEI’s “should have...procedures” (p. 7) that address specific areas such as QA and external review. HEIs are accountable for the procedure they develop. The ideal actors are autonomous, responsible, work towards common goals. Similar to the construction of identity in Davies and Bansel (2010), there is a form of ritualised behaviour inscribed for ideal actors, and the measure of value of actual actors is the quality by which they carry out the ritual. Dissent is outside the ritualised behaviour, it becomes unthinkable. As Davies and Bansel (2010) describe, critique is dismantled in the rationality of the construction of QA.

Dissent, however, is not the same as difference. There is recognition that different parties have separate interests and the intent is to allow for institutional autonomy by allowing HEIs to develop their own accountability mechanisms. This allows divergence at local levels as well as at national implementation level. What this obscures is convergence in outcomes. The use to which QA is put in steering HEIs in specific nationally and extra-nationally defined directions is not visible in the procedural parts of the text

The naturalness and inevitability of the QA project is part of the construction of QA in these documents and in wide discourses. This places QA beyond question through “legitimizing by common sense” (Fairclough 2003, p. 2). This renders invisible the partiality of QA, the interests it serves, the other possible trajectories of Quality in HE.

5.4.2 QA mechanisms: Soft regulation and discourses of community

The discourses of autonomy and responsibility are associated with neoliberal subject formation (Davies & Bansel, 2010). They are also associated with soft regulatory mechanisms. Discourses of autonomy, difference and voluntary participation distinguish these documents from hard, legally enforceable regulation. There are incentives rather than requirements for HEI's to participate in complying with ESG. Participation in these QA processes is contractual rather than legislatively imposed – 'stakeholders' sign up to the process and agree to abide by the regulations. The discourse of QA as voluntary rather than required, provider owned rather than centrally devised and disseminated, agreed rather than imposed surrounds and inhabits these documents.

BP, the origin of ESG, is presented as a partnership process involving consultation and dialogue with HE stakeholders. According to the BP Berlin Communiqué (2003) "it is ultimately the active participation of all partners in the Process that will ensure its long-term success" (p. 5). The picture is one of mutuality, equality of voice and contribution based on mutual respect and shared goals. And that in part is reflected in ESG and its chain of texts (described in chapter 6) where multiple organisations with different interests feed into ESG, its review and change. The explicit references to the EUA (2003) *Graz Declaration*, the European Consortium for Accreditation (2004) *Code of Good Practice*, the EU funded and ENQA-coordinated Quality Convergence Study (Crozier et al., 2005) and the "Transnational European Evaluation Project" (ENQA, 2006a) serves to emphasise multiple contributions to, and overarching agreement with, ESG. The incentives to participate are explicit in the text. ESG lists, in bullet points, benefits that implementation will bring to HE in including "consistency...common reference points...mutual trust...mutual recognition" (p.6). These incentives are reflected in wider discourse about QA; transparency and comparability, student centeredness, lifelong learning, mobility, recognition of qualification are commonly cited as benefits of QA (EU, 2010).

The professional document, TAC, lists similar incentives to participate, but includes incentives specific to the professional context. QA operates to protect the public through ensuring a minimum acceptable standard of quality and performance (EAP, n.d.-d). HEI's are encouraged and incentivised, rather than required, to take part. Voluntary involvement brings particular benefits to HEIs such as European recognition for their

qualifications and public recognition of their HEI through listings on the EAP website (EAP, n.d.-g).

However there is also a caution against non-participation implicit in the websites surrounding EAP. EAP is explicit about its moves to have TAC recognised through EU regulatory mechanisms as the criteria for recognition to the profession (n.d.-h). In Ireland the ICP website is clear that recognition as a psychotherapist in Ireland is based on TAC compliance (ICP, n.d.-b). Participation may be voluntary but non-participation may lead to non-recognition of professional qualifications.

Both documents utilise the twin drivers of coercion and persuasion, hard and soft regulatory options to steer education in particular directions and achieve particular outcomes. Both documents use a participatory model and persuasion to encourage participation in their QA systems. However, less visible is the coercive element: the risks associated with non-compliance. The voluntary position works with activities outside of the text to establish a somewhat less than voluntary position, and to question the extent to which HEI's, and indeed nations, can chose *not* to implement these documents. ESG leaves open the possibility that "Some signatory states may want to enshrine [ESG]... in their legislative or administrative frameworks" (p. 34). This is phrased more starkly in one ENQA report that describes the voluntary position of ESG as relating to how ESG is to be positioned "in a specific national context." (Bozo et al., p.6) and not whether HEI's or indeed nations can decide to implement some or all of ESG. That decision is already made through membership of BP, a condition of which is that "the ESG are to be implemented in all signatory countries of the Bologna Process," (Bozo et al., 2009, p. 6). Institutional autonomy, it appears is limited to how ESG is to be implemented.

Similarly, changes to the professional recognition legislation at EU level are moving TAC towards a position of QA as regulation rather than guidance. TAC is a voluntary QA mechanism, but the aim of EAP for European recognition of psychotherapy based on TAC criteria is evident in the websites surrounding the document (EAP, n.d.-a). The mechanism for this is the EQD, and EAP lists its activities in striving for TAC to be the entry criteria for the profession of psychotherapy (EAP, n.d.-h). This would remove the voluntary positioning and make TAC compliance a requirement for professional practice. This envisages a significant change in the landscape of psychotherapy – in particular it's theoretical and practice diversity – that would require comparability

between vastly different belief systems such as cognitive behavioural and psychoanalytic therapy. How a hard regulatory system, without a possibility of opting out would manage these potential sources of conflict remains to be seen.

5.4.3 *Formations of autonomy: Convergence not compliance*

These documents are neither regulatory nor not regulatory. They shape but do not determine behaviour. Indeed they require autonomy. They are examples of “soft” regulatory mechanism that facilitate “steering at a distance”. These are not *legal* mechanisms but *discursive* mechanism that envisage working with legal mechanisms such as national law (ESG) or EU regulations (TAC). These documents can both present themselves as voluntary collaborative ventures and also envisage regulatory impact through external positionings of their texts. Policy trajectories are shaped, though not entirely, at extra-national level and cemented through hard regulatory force through European (TAC) and national (ESG) legislative mechanisms.

This steering at a distance facilitates similarity in policy without requiring a unified policy across nations (Jacobsson, 2004). The principal concept used in measuring whether ESG has achieved its goals of consistency and common principles is “convergence”, a term that suggests similarity rather than sameness. The aim of convergence is:

to reach a voluntary co-ordination and adaptation of member state policy. ... convergence of objectives, performances and to some extent of policy approaches, but not of means (institutions, rules and concrete solutions). (Jacobsson, 2004, p. 357)

Convergence as a term emphasises variability and autonomy while requiring and setting the direction of adaptation. It is a more acceptable concept than regulatory terms such as compliance, as ENQA’s study of terminology on QA demonstrates (Crozier et al, 2006). This ENQA study, carried out with representatives from 16 different countries and covering 12 different languages, examined the meanings associated with English terms relating to regulatory effects such as compliance, convergence, harmonisation and standardisation. Convergence, the study found, was a more acceptable term that “conjured up an image of different systems moving together to a single point.” (p, 10), compared with Compliance which carried “connotations of external control/compulsion...Standardisation [which] signalled the end of diversity and autonomy” (p.10).

These documents tie together institutional arrangements, such as national and European legislative frameworks, and discursive formations, such as “quality” and “convergence” to move HE towards particular ends. However there is no direct causal relationship. These documents work with other texts, events and institutions (Vögte, Knill, & Dobbins, 2011). They work within institutionalized policy networks and chains of texts and events, such as the two yearly meetings of ministers in BP and BFUG, and inputs from other policy actors, such as ENQA. These institutional arrangements monitor review and define future objectives for achieving compatibility and comparability in QA.

This movement towards convergence through procedural means rather than hard regulatory mechanisms is a distinctive feature of soft regulatory approaches. This steering at a distance mechanism can be seen as a new form of governing based on soft regulation that is incentive rather than sanctions based (Radaelli, 2003). However there can be considerable tensions in its application. The EU steering at a distance mechanism of Open Method of Coordination [OMC], which I return to in chapter 7, is a case in point, where there are different mechanisms and agendas at play across nation states. As a result “The ideal-typical sequence of ‘guidelines-indicators-national plans-evaluation’ is subverted in some policies” (Radaelli, 2003, p.9). This tension between the ideal of soft regulation and its practice occurs in different areas of QA implementation. This can be seen as opening up spaces for contestation and difference, as is discussed further in future chapters.

5.4.4 Whose formation? Locating governing

The complexity of the outside of the text is evident in table 1. The authors of ESG, the E4 group, consist of ENQA, EUA, EURASHE and ESU. The E4 group are themselves organisations of organisations networked together. ESG was produced on the direction of BP, who set the terms of reference and subsequently ratified the document. BP is composed of national ministers of education who nationally produce their own texts. In addition ESG emerged as linked to wider European and particularly EU processes such as the Lisbon agenda. The EU is a major funder of ENQA, increasingly involved in BP and an increasingly significant influence on HE.

Even from a preliminary analysis, the outside of ESG and TAC appears endless. It includes networks of policy actors connected with diverse elements of HE. This

networking of policy actors is referred to in globalisation literature as a distinctive feature of New Times, related to the idea of governance as power operating through informal networking arrangements (Ball & Junemann, 2012). Networking links national, local and global arenas of operation in ways that were not necessarily hierarchically related (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002). This policy networking represents “both a real change in the structure of the polity and an emergent and distinct form of governance” (Ball & Junemann, 2012, p. 3)

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have challenged the naturalisation and normalisation of the QA project. QA presents itself as a natural, inevitable development of HE towards quality, devised by autonomous HEIs and supported and facilitated by extra-national processes. I have described Quality as a rationality of governing rather than an inherent dimension of HE. I have described how QA is not merely about quality in education, but instead quality texts operate with their contexts to steer HE towards a particular European ideal. These documents do not merely serve a higher education agenda. They are connected with and serve the interests of wider European movements, such as BP and the Lisbon Process, and equate HE with their own visions for a European future. These different agendas and goals are centred around knowledge as an economic resource and education as a commodity: comparable, measurable and marketable. This as a prominent ideal towards which HE strives in both documents, but considerably more so in the academic field of ESG.

I identified various mechanisms in the documents that steer HE towards that ideal. They demonstrate a particular emphasis on measurement or assurance rather than the meaning of quality. This allows convergence of outcomes and processes rather than harmonisation. One consequence of this particular trajectory is to place quality as a measurable discrete entity rather than context-dependent, contested description of what is considered “good” in HE. Similarly, psychotherapy is a definable distinguishable discipline in TAC, its meaning uncontested and the diversity of the field subsumed under one meaning.

Both these documents are soft regulation operating without legal force. The mechanisms by which they operate suggest ways in which soft regulations establish their legitimacy and ensure continued compliance. Both documents use similar means to

establish legitimacy: the authority of their authors, derived in part from the discursive and institutional power of the authoring institutions; their connections to other authoritative texts – intertextuality – and their connections to other authoritative institutions, such as BP and the EU. They require compliance through discourse of autonomy and responsibility coupled with best practice. There are persuasive mechanisms to encourage opting in – such as common goals and purpose – but these are contractual, not legislative, and the message to nations and HEIs is that you are responsible, accountable for this choice. This obscures the question of how free HEI's are to opt out, when the consequences can be so significant – such as where QA is a measure used in funding or accreditation, or the EQD may be used as the basis for national regulation of a profession. That soft regulation are not so soft, are not freely entered into contracts but contain disciplinary elements is a theme that runs through this analysis and is taken up in chapter 9. Variability is also encouraged, and also is not quite what it appears. The closing down of possibilities for variation, in outcomes or in defining ones' own goals, for example, is not made visible. Again the potential for variability is shaped and limited within wider social, legislative and funding structures rather than the documents.

These mechanisms are shown to operate together in these documents to dismantle critique. The documents position QA positions as a technical mechanism by which to reach the normal and inevitable goals to which we aspire. This reformulates quality as a technical problem, and engages the policy community in improving this technology. In this construction the ideological basis of this particular construction is rendered invisible and conditions for critical engagement do not exist. Soft regulatory mechanisms and discourses of convergence-divergence engage us in the task of making better tools. They require autonomy, innovation, and creativity in the implementation of QA – appealing and seductive forms of engagement - at the same time as constructing a boundary that positions some differences as impossible. Critique becomes outside the boundaries of the possible not only through constructions imposed on us but also through our engagement with the QA project.

The effectiveness of these documents as soft regulation is suggested by their effects. They have been incorporated in European HE as descriptions of QA, though ESG more widely than TAC. They are differentially incorporated into national and local policies and practices in ways that shape national and local education provision. They are

examples of extra-national policies that centrally shape national and local constructions of QA and at the same time operated differentially at these levels (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002).

This chapter indicates that structures as well as mechanisms contribute to the formation and deployment of QA. It has highlighted the extensive, dense network of policy actors and processes involved in shaping and legitimising particular policy trajectories of QA.

One function of this chapter has been to sketch the QA landscape so that it can be subject to analysis. This chapter identifies some of the institutional actors and their relative influence in constructing and maintaining QA discourses. These actors include the authors of these documents, but authorship itself is brought into question as a discrete, identifiable category. Instead authorship is seen as occurring within policy networks, where different institutional actors have different influence on regulatory texts. This I turn to in chapter 7. This chapter has identified discursive influences on the documents and the operation of discourses within the documents. This includes the textual strategies used in sustaining and deploying particular meanings, identities and positions which I address in chapter 8. It also includes the wider intertextual contexts of the documents – how they relate to, work with and are in opposition to different texts, and to how their institutional authors operate within the policy field. This is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 6. The discursive field: Intertextuality, recontextualisation and discursive change.

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I address the research questions through analysing these documents within chains of texts and events. I use intertextuality and recontextualisation as analytic tools. Intertextuality places texts within ongoing chains of texts (Fairclough, 2003). In policy documents the implicit evolutionary development is from less knowledge to more knowledge. The discourse of evolution of objective knowledge is challenged in intertextual readings that locate the documents in time and space, as I explore in section 2. Intertextuality, as Kristeva points out, implies ‘the insertion of history (society) into a text and of this text into history’ (as cited in Fairclough, 1992a, p. 70). Intertextuality also makes visible the policy actors and their relationships, which I return to in chapter 7. Recontextualisation, examined in section 3, is the manner in which texts are transformed in ways that make sense in the receiving context through adapting original meanings (Fairclough 2010). Recontextualisation explores the historical trajectories of formations in HE policy fields rather than assuming their inevitability.

Together intertextuality and recontextualisation provide a picture of how the discursive field of QA in HE emerges in a particular form within wider social formations. They operate to contextualise and situate QA as particular positioned knowledge and thereby de-naturalise QA as a body of knowledge. This I examine in section 4. Of particular note is how assumptions are incorporated and legitimated and how conflict, dissent and difference are managed, themes that run through all of these analytic chapters.

6.2 Intertextuality: Forming, positioning and legitimating QA

Both ESG and TAC carry within them complex textual references to chains of texts. This is much more the case for ESG than TAC, and the picture that emerges is one of QA in HE as more complex, intertwined and densely networked than professional QA. Therefore I approached these texts differently. In ESG describing intertextual chains (i) identified the complexity and scale of the construction of QA in texts, (ii) identified QA

policy actors that were different to ESG authors (iii) distinguished visible and less visible chains of texts.

Chains of texts and authors

The construction, operation and implementation of ESG is based on series of texts covering the domain quality/assurance within ENQA, its E4 partners, consultative partners and associated organisations. The E4 authors of ESG - ENQA, ESU, EUA and EURASHE - are identified in table 2 along with some of their ESG associated texts. This table includes texts concerned with the review and revision of ESG. ESG is not an isolated event; instead it is reviewed, reflected upon and challenged as it moves through time and across locations. These textual conversations reform the QA field, allowing differential deployment in different national and local contexts. They also reflect the strategic action of actors – particularly institutions that insert their own positions, interests and agendas into the construction and deployment of the QA field.

Table 2 illustrates the scale of text production relating to QA in HE, where I note only the most central texts. The scale of intertextuality is worthy of note. The difficulty in even representing the intertextual arena is indicated by the difficulty in reading these tables; there are too many texts, too many ideas and absorbing the scale of texts, never mind their content, is not easy. This I think is indicative of the part texts and their interconnections play in global policy formation which, as Fairclough (2003) describes, is discourse driven and discourse led. The difficulty in identifying and representing policy networks of policy actors is described by Ball and Jungemann (2012) as a feature on networked governance. It is even more difficult in relation to mapping the vast amount of texts that these actors produce. This is a finding that I see as particularly significant, and I return to this below. For the moment I have sketched rather than exhausted the intertextuality of these documents in tables 2 and 3.

ESG was produced at the request of the BP (2003) Berlin communiqué (involving national ministers of education, who consult with relevant national and local bodies involving considerable textual production some of which is available on the EHEA/Bologna websites; table 6). ESG therefore is embedded in BP chains of texts - including submissions and reports made to each Bologna meeting, and communiqués arising from each meeting - and chains of events, including BP and BFUG meetings, described further in chapter 7. ENQA was given the task of producing ESG, in part due

to its own chain of texts and events (table 2, row 1). These ENQA authored texts embed ESG in a particular view of QA and also link ESG to EC chains of texts. ENQA activities were in the main funded by the EC and fitted within their priority policy areas, a steering of ENQA described both in its own history (Kristoffersen et al., 2010) and in studies of ENQA (Ala - Vähälä & Saarinen, 2007, 2009).

ESG – chains of texts

There are a number of chains of texts in which ESG is embedded, some of which are more visible than others. The most visible chains are accessible through ESG itself and through the ENQA website. These texts are described in the first row of table 2. In this category I identified three chains of texts. First, the most visible chain is explicit; it includes the chains of texts to which ESG refers (Fairclough, 2003). It includes a survey of QA practices (ENQA 2003) and a study of QA terminology²⁰ (Crozier, Curvale, Dearlove, Helle & Hénaud, 2007). Another chain contained on the ENQA website is ENQA texts that consider and review ESG. These texts explicitly refer to and consider texts of other organisations, principally E4 partners. The MAP-ESG project texts that reviewed ESG, for example, contain summaries and analysis of ESU, EUA, EQAR and EURASHE contributions to the review (ENQA, 2012). A further, less visible chain arises in the contributors to the MAP-ESG project of the E4 partners in their own words, identified in rows 2, 3 and 4 of table 2. An even less visible chain is the contribution of advisory body organisation for the MAP-ESG project, BusinessEurope and Education International [EI]²¹ (table 2, row 5). These less visible texts, many of which are referred to by ENQA, at times contested and challenged ESG in ways that were not visible in the ENQA (2012) report of the MAP-ESG project.

A further chain of texts implicit rather than explicit on the ENQA website is contained in the BP website (table 2 row 7). These are contained in the archives of the EHEA²², the official repository of BP documents. BP is the central process from which ESG derives its legitimacy and authority and is therefore a central force in shaping ESG's direction. The importance of QA to BP is indicated by the scale of texts relating to QA

²⁰ Some of these, such as the terminology paper (Crozier et al., 2007), proved useful as my inquiry proceeded. It proved important to track each document through a brief sketch and internet link, so I could return to the paper. Again this procedure depended on internet tools, particularly links, and could not have been possible with hard copies

²¹ These organisations are also members of the Bologna Follow Up Group (BFUG), and are discussed further in see chapter 7.

²² Available at <http://archive.ehea.info/about>

in these archives. Between the start of BP in 1999 and 2012, 63 documents relating to QA were produced. Most occurred in the years 2007-2008 when ESG was being applied nationally and the Lisbon Process review had brought HE into focus. These EHEA QA-related texts also refer to numerous other documents, conferences, interest groups and bodies, and build on textual constructions of key words such as knowledge economy, transparency and mobility constructed in other texts. This scale and breadth of texts and interconnections between texts is itself a feature of policy fields in New Times (Ball and Juneman, 2012). Here my attempts at tracing texts relating to ESG to give a picture of its distribution and effect (Fairclough 1992a) was defeated by the scale of events and institutions and the interconnections between them.

The EC sits somewhat uneasily in chains of intertextuality. It emerged as holding a different but influential position in relation to QA field. It is named in central texts as funding and partially instigating the review of ESG (ENQA, 2011; EU, 2010) and as funding many aspects of the formation of ESG and indeed ENQA (Ala - Vähälä & Saarinen, 2009). It is an “additional full member” of BP (BP-EHEA, 2010b). Its texts are in general not traceable through ENQA, E4 and BP websites and instead are available through its own websites. However it also reviews, contests and challenges ESG from the powerful position of funder and its “special position” in BFUG. I return to this complex positioning in chapter 7 in relation to its institutional position and include its contribution to intertextuality in the next section.

Forming and contesting ESG

The different documents in table 2 carry out conversations with each other, affirming and contesting each other’s positions on issues that appear as settled and beyond question in ESG - such as what QA is, and the future of HE. A particularly strong challenge to the HE ideal is contained in the ESU document “Bologna with Student Eyes (ESU, 2012). The introduction challenges the HE ideal contained in BP. Using metaphors of damage it describes:

real fractures...[in the]...EHEA vision...Students and academics alike have protested against some of the changes in higher education policy, most notably concerning the perception that higher education is being turned into a commodity through introducing more and higher fees and emphasising primarily the individual benefit. (p. 1)

Instead it puts forward an alternative vision, which it calls on “ministers, governments, higher education institutions and stakeholders” (p. 3) to follow. This vision is underpinned by values: “academic freedom, personal development and citizenship” (p. 3).

This fundamental challenge to the EHEA appears to go unnoted in the more visible chains of texts. The mandate of the BP Bucharest communiqué that requires review of ESG is “to revise the ESG to improve their clarity, applicability and usefulness, including their scope” (BP, 2012, para. 14) - and not of the vision they are intended to achieve. The ESU argue that “the purpose” (2012, p. 9) of ESG should be a key term in its review, but this is not part of the current review terms. The ideal, it appears, remains beyond question. And, according to the EHEA website this ‘reality’ has already been achieved with the Budapest-Vienna Declaration of March, 2010 (BP-EHEA, 2010a).

This muting of challenges to the HE ideal stands alongside challenges to the technology of HE which are the subject of the ESG review. One example is how reviews of QA agencies should be carried out. ESG formalised an emerging procedure, a register of QA agencies (Part 3 of ESG), and suggested it was carried out by ENQA. In fact this resulted in a new agency, EQAR, founded by E4 members rather than ENQA alone (Kristoffersen et al., 2010). The story of EQAR’s founding when traced through consultation document from E4, EC and BP emerges as contentious and as a struggle for power and influence. Its human face is perhaps most visible in ENQA’s account of its own history where ENQA’s disappointment and muted disapproval becomes apparent (Kristoffersen et al., 2010). The resulting QA landscape appears to have somewhat decentred ENQA; EQAR is managed by the E4 along with Social Partner and government members²³. From ENQA perspective this structure sits somewhat uneasily in the European QA field - EQAR uses ESG criteria for inclusion in the register, a hard regulatory use of a best practice guidelines (Kristoffersen et al., 2010). The relative positions of EQAR and ENQA is highlighted in many of the texts in table 2, and appears likely to be included in the review of ESG, under the review terms of clarity and scope (Official website of the ESG revision, 2013). Unlike principles, purpose and vision, QA mechanism, it appears, are central in the QA and EHEA debates.

²³ The social partner members are BuisnessEurope and Education International (EQAR, n.d.-b) who are also main partners of ENQA (ENQA, n.d.-b). EQAR lists 31 national government members, all of whom are signatory countries of the Bologna Process (EQAR, n.d.-b).

The extent to which ESG as a technology becomes a nodal point around which discussions of quality and its meaning occur is illustrated by the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency [EACEA] document *Bologna Process Implementation Report* (EACEA, 2012). EACEA is a dissolved agency of the EU (see Appendix 3.3). This document used Bologna scorecard indicators to measure convergence with the ESG throughout the EHEA. It concluded that while there have been “impressive changes ... in the landscape of higher education quality assurance ... [T]here is still considerable room for improvement” (p. 70). The difficulties they identify include the reluctance of many countries “to devolve responsibility for external quality assurance beyond national boundaries” (p.11). Why this might be required, or even desirable, is difficult to locate in ESG. Who carries out reviews of ESG, and with what authority, based on whose criteria is not explicit in either ESG or the EACEA (2012) text, and did not appear to be evident in any of the texts in table 2. Judgements of what quality in HE is and how it can be described and measured appear to have moved into many different forums and taken on different meanings in that journey.

As this account illustrates, intertextuality brings not only history into texts; it also brings in relationships, including tensions and separate interests, contested positions and struggles over meanings. The interaction between ENQA and EQAR over their relative positions in the QA field demonstrates this. From ENQA’s perspective, ENQA is a key driver of meaning and process in QA in HE and EQAR is a “register, information tool on trustworthy agencies” (ENQA, n.d.-d, para. 9). From EQAR’s perspective ENQA is one of a number of organisations that are “predominantly membership bodies providing a network, services and support to their members” (EQAR, 2009, p.2) and EQAR’s Mission is “to further the development of the European Higher Education Area by increasing transparency of quality assurance, and thus enhancing trust and confidence in European higher education” (EQAR, n.d.-c, para. 1). The position of ESG, as developmental tool emphasising quality enhancement or compliance tool in regulation, is a particularly significant site of contestation between European players that plays out, and is impacted upon by, national and local institutions, I return to this in the following chapters.

TAC

TAC identifies itself as “voted on” (p. 4) – rather than authored – by a network of organisations not explicitly stated, but implied as all or some of the organisational

members, principally national or European psychotherapy modalities. Amendments are voted on by the Training Standards Committee (ETSC), and the Training Accreditation Committee, also called TAC. The TAC criteria are based on European – that is EAP – rather than national criteria. TAC criteria derive from a particular perspective of what psychotherapy is – an independent profession rather than a subdiscipline of psychology or psychiatry. This perspective is enshrined in EAP statutes as the *Strasbourg Declaration on Psychotherapy* (EAP, 1990). The chain of texts and events associated with this definition, as I describe in the next chapter, indicate that this is more than a theoretically based description; it also reflects the strategic intent of EAP to prevent ownership of psychotherapy by other disciplines. However it highlights its best practice position rather than its strategic position. It draws on:

the aims of the World Health Organisation (WHO), the non-discrimination accord valid within the framework of the European Union (EU) and intended for the European Economic Area (EEA), and the principle of freedom of movement of persons and services. (EAP, 1990, p. 1)

This is an impressive array of authoritative bodies and accepted knowledge, and is therefore difficult to challenge. However the particular manner in which connections are made between these organisations' aims and principles and EAP's positioning of psychotherapy is difficult to identify.

TAC - chains of texts

While TAC is not as deeply embedded in chains of texts – or at least texts freely available and accessible to internet searches – the scale and breadth of its embeddedness is evident from table 3. This table suggests a similar structure of intertextuality to ESG – networks of explicit references to other institutions and texts and lack of reference to dissent or difference. Again this does not mean that dissent is absent, merely less visible. Some national laws, as TAC notes, define psychotherapy differently, embedding psychotherapy in specific professions. Different psychotherapy bodies also have different descriptions. EFPA, for example, challenge both the definition of psychotherapy and TAC criteria (Lane & Althaus, 2011). The partiality of TAC becomes apparent in these other chains of texts where different positions are also grounded in best practice and professional knowledge, but with different conclusions.

Table 2. Intertextuality: ESG

Insti tution	Text/Event	Themes / Focus
ENQA	<p><u>PUBLICATIONS</u></p> <p>Campbell & van der Wend (2000), <u>International Initiatives and Trends in Quality Assurance for European Higher Education. Exploratory Trend Report</u>. ENQA Occasional Papers 1. Helsinki: ENQA. Retrieved from http://www.enqa.eu/files/initiatives.pdf</p> <p>Middlehurst, R. (2001). <u>Quality Assurance. Implications of New Forms of Higher Education. Part 1: A Typology</u>. ENQA Occasional Papers 3. ENQA: Helsinki: Retrieved from http://www.enqa.eu/files/newforms.pdf</p> <p>ENQA (2003) <u>Quality Procedures in European Higher Education</u> ENQA Occasional Papers 5 Helsinki: ENQA Retrieved from http://www.enqa.eu/files/procedures.pdf</p> <p>ENQA (2004) (TEEP 1) _ Occasional Papers 6, Helsinki: ENQA http://www.enqa.eu/files/TEEPmethod.pdf</p> <p>Crozier, Corvale & Henard (2005). <u>Quality Convergence Study TEEP 1</u> ENQA Occasional Papers 7. Retrieved from (01. Mar. 2005) http://www.enqa.eu/files/Quality%20Convergence%20Study.pdf</p> <p>ENQA (2006) <u>Transnational European Evaluation Project II</u></p>	<p>ENQA Occasional Papers 1. A review of trends in international quality assurance.</p> <p>ENQA Occasional Papers 3. An exploration of new forms of higher education and implications for approaches to quality assurance.</p> <p>ENQA Occasional Papers 5: A survey on quality assurance procedures in Europe.</p> <p>ENQA Occasional Papers 6. TEEP pilot project to investigate the operational implications of a European transnational quality evaluation in three disciplines (Physics, History, Veterinary Science)</p> <p>ENQA Occasional Papers 7 follow-up to the ENQA Survey on Quality Procedures in Higher Education, examines the possibilities for convergence of national quality assurance systems in Europe through six samples.</p> <p>Occasional Papers 9: follow-up to TEEP I, TEEP II was a European-wide transnational quality evaluation scheme that aimed to identify means and common</p>

<p>(TEEP II) - Methodological Report ENQA Occasional Papers 9 (07. Jul. 2006) Retrieved from http://www.enqa.eu/files/TEEP%20II%20Methodological%20report.pdf</p> <p>Crozier, F., Curvale, B., Dearlove, R., Helle, E., Hénard, F. (2006). Terminology of quality assurance: towards shared European values? (Occasional Paper 12). Retrieved from http://www.enqa.eu/files/terminology_v01.pdf</p> <p>Costes, N., Crozier, F., Cullen, P., Grifoll, J., Harris, N., Helle, E., . . . Sohm, K. (2008). Quality Procedures in the European Higher Education Area and Beyond – Second ENQA Survey <i>ENQA Occasional Paper 14</i> (Occasional paper 14 ed., Vol. 14). Helsinki: ENQA Occasional Paper 14. Retrieved from http://www.enqa.eu/files/ENQA%20Occasional%20papers%2014.pdf</p> <p>Kristoffersen, D., Thune, C., Williams, P., & Curvale, B. (2010). ENQA: 10 years (2000 - 2010) - A decade of European co-operation in quality assurance in higher education (pdf). <i>ENQA Occasional Paper 16</i>. Retrieved from http://enqa.eu/files/ENQA%2010th%20Anniversary%20publication.pdf</p> <p>ENQA (2011) Mapping the Implementation and Application of the ESG (MAP-ESG Project) (2012). Final report of the project Steering Group (08. Mar. 2012) (ENQA Occasional Paper 17) Retrieved from http://www.enqa.eu/files/op_17_web.pdf</p> <p>Grifoll, J., Achim Hopbac A., Kekäläinen , H., Lugano, L., Rozsnyai , C., Shopov T. (2012) .Quality Procedures in the European Higher Education Area and Beyond –</p>	<p>elements for quality assurance in the Joint Masters Programmes in three subject areas (water management, cultural and communication studies, law and economics).</p> <p>ENQA Occasional Papers 10: ENQA’s history told by first three Chairs and Presidents Christian Thune, Peter Williams and Bruno Curvale, and member of steering group, Kristoffersen.</p> <p>Occasional Paper 12. Incorporates two reports: Language of the European Quality Assurance and the final report of the second Quality Convergence Study (QCS II). Both reports aim to contribute to understanding of the different concepts and notions of quality assurance across languages,</p> <p>The project responds to the need to map the implementation and application of the ESG, and was incorporated into the ENQA report on the project (ENQA, 2012). The partners of this project are the higher education stakeholders known as the ‘E4 Group’. The main outcome of the project is a survey based report on how the ESG have been implemented in the EHEA. The joint E4 report was presented in ENQA 2011 and was presented at the BFUG meeting in 2012 in Copenhagen.</p> <p>Publications post 2011 financed by the “ProENQA 2010-2012” project (510499-LLP-1-2010-1-FI-ERASMUS-EMHE) with the support of the Lifelong Learning Programme/Erasmus sub-programme.</p>
--	--

Visions for the future Third ENQA Survey occasional I papers 18 . Retrieved from http://www.enqa.eu/files/ENQA_op18.pdf

ENQA(2012) [Guidelines for external reviews of quality assurance agencies in the EHEA \(pdf\)](#) (07. Dec. 2012) Occasional Papers 19. Retrieved 1st May 2013 from <http://www.enqa.eu/files/Guidelines%20for%20external%20reviews%20of%20quality%20assurance%20agencies%20in%20the%20EHEA.pdf>

WORKSHOPS / SEMINARS

Quality Assurance and Qualifications Frameworks: Exchanging Good Practice (pdf) (20. Aug. 2012)

Based on ENQA workshop Dublin, Ireland, February 2012

Internal Quality Assurance and Benchmarking (pdf) (23. May. 2012)

Based on the annual ENQA Internal Quality Assurance seminars held on 16-17 June 2011 in Helsinki, Finland.

ENQA STATEMENTS TO THE BOLOGNA PROCESS:

1. ENQA Statement to the Conference of European Education Ministers in Prague (doc) (2001)
2. ENQA Statement to the Conference of European Education Ministers in Berlin (pdf) (2003)
3. ENQA Report to the European Education Ministers meeting in London (pdf) (2007)
4. ENQA Report Standards and Guidelines for Quality

(ENQA, 2011a, 2011b)

WORKSHOPS / SEMINARS

Guidelines for QA agencies. The Guidelines apply irrespective of whether the review is co-ordinated by ENQA or another body.

ENQA STATEMENTS TO THE BOLOGNA PROCESS:

These are ENQA's principle inputs into the Bologna Process. They include

Document 3 – ESG

Document 6 - Addresses enhancement and accountability functions of QA and commitment of ENQA to both

Document 12 refers to the relationship between ENQA and EQAR

	<p><u>Assurance in the European Higher Education Area - 3rd Edition (pdf) (2009)</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. <u>ENQA Position Paper in View of the Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve conference (English) (2009)</u> 6. <u>ENQA Statement on the European Commission's Report on Progress in Quality Assurance (pdf) (2010)</u> 7. <u>ENQA Report to the Anniversary Bologna ministerial meeting of March 2010 (pdf) (2010)</u> 8. <u>ENQA Position Paper on Quality Assurance and Transparency Tools (English) (2011)</u> 9. <u>ENQA Report to Ministers responsible for Higher Education in the EHEA (pdf) (2012)</u> 	
<p>E4 European University Association (EUA)</p>	<p><u>Trends Reports</u></p> <p>Trends I: Trends in Learning Structures in Higher Education By Guy Haug and Jette Kirstein, 1999</p> <p>Trends II: Towards the European higher education area – survey of main reforms from Bologna to Prague By Guy Haug and Christian Tauch, 2001</p> <p>Trends III: Progress towards the European Higher Education Area By Sybille Reichert and Christian Tauch, 2003</p> <p>Trends IV: European Universities Implementing Bologna By Sybille Reichert and Christian Tauch, 2005</p> <p>Trends V: Universities shaping the European Higher Education Area by David Crosier, Lewis Purser & Hanne Smidt, 2007</p>	<p>These are EUAs input into the BP Ministerial meetings. For each of the Ministerial conferences since the Bologna Conference (1999) one report has been prepared. Each reports focuses on particular issue or BP objective.</p> <p>These reports are summarised in http://www.eua.be/fileadmin/user_upload/files/Lisbon_Convention/Lisbon_Declaration.pdf</p> <p>Since Trends IV, the focus of the reports has been on the impact of BP on HEI development in different national contexts. Trends 2010, examines the decade of change since BP against a background of wider changes in HE</p>

Trends 2010: A decade of change in European Higher Education

By: Andrée Sursock & Hanne Smidt 2010

Quality Assurance and Transparency Projects

- POC – Promoting Quality Culture in Higher Education Institutions (EUA n.d.-a)
- RISP – Rankings in Institutional Strategies and Processes (EUA n.d.-b)
- EUREQA – Empowering Universities to fulfil their responsibility for Quality Assurance (EUA n.d.-c)
- Rankings Review project (EUA n.d.-d)

POLICY POSITIONS

2001 The Salamanca Convention (EUA, 2001)

- Two years later, the Graz Declaration (2003) called for a

PQC in partnership with the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA), the University of Duisburg-Essen, the University of Lisbon and the University of Zagreb. Focused on increasing capacity for implementation of Part 1 of ESG – internal QA procedures

RISP in partnership with the Dublin Institute of Technology (DIT), the French Rectors' Conference (CPU) and the Academic Information Centre (AIC) in Latvia is a pan-European study of the impact and influence of rankings on European universities

EUREQA - project in the Western Balkans support universities in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo in improving their internal quality assurance (QA) processes.

Rankings Review project Ongoing review of University Rankings. See Rauhvargers (2011 and 2013).

POLICY POSITIONS

2001 Salamanca Marked the creation of EUA in 2001, stated the central importance of quality for European universities. It links quality, accountability and autonomy as the key aspects of the universities'

	<p>European QA code of principles. (EUA, 2003)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>EUA's QA policy position</u> 2004 in Marseille, France. (EUA 2003/4) <p><u>Glasgow Declaration</u> of March 2005 (EUA, 2005b)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EUA's <u>Lisbon Declaration</u> 2007 (EUA, 2007) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The <u>Prague Declaration</u> (EUA, 2009) <p>The most recent EUA policy document on quality and quality assurance in the European Higher Education Area was adopted by the EUA Council in October, 2010, (EUA, 2010)</p>	<p>responsibility to society and the public.</p> <p>2003 Graz called for a European QA code of principles.</p> <p>2004, Marseilles stated EUA position in relation to QA action lines of the Berlin Communiqué.</p> <p>2005 further developed and specified universities' in areas such as links between quality funding and autonomy</p> <p>2007 highlighted, among others, the importance of linking external quality mechanisms to internal processes, so as to ensure their wide-spread acceptance within the university, and to benefit from synergies and keep bureaucracy to a minimum.</p> <p>2010 EUA position on quality as based on institutional responsibility and autonomy of universities and the diversity of the sector. Encourages governments “ to ensure that external quality assurance frameworks focus on promoting quality cultures aiming at institutional development rather than attempting to measure quality in quantitative terms.” (p. 1)</p>
<p>E4 European Students' Union (ESU)</p>	<p>PROJECT/PUBLICATION</p> <p>Enhancing The Student Contribution To Bologna (ESCBI) ESU project which has run from October 2008 to 28 February 2011. (ESU, 2011) “<u>Bologna With Student Eyes</u>” (ESU, 2012)</p>	<p>Enhancing the Student Contribution to Bologna ran from October 2008 to September 2010. This project aimed at increased student participation in education reform</p> <p>The 2009 version of Bologna with Student Eyes fed into the BP Louvain Ministerial Conference in April 2009</p>

	<p><u>Bologna With Student Eyes</u>, training materials</p> <p>Bologna Information Days, (ESU, 2011)</p> <p><u>Bologna at the Finish Line'</u> (ESU, 2010)</p> <p>QUEST - <u>Quest for Quality for Students: Going back to basics</u> (Gavra et al, 2012) Series of workshops <u>29 November - 1 December 2012, Valletta, Malta - QUEST Consultation Conference</u> <u>4 - 8 July 2012, Bucharest, Romania - QUEST Workshop 3</u> <u>8 - 12 February 2012, Brussels, Belgium - QUEST Workshop 2</u> <u>13 - 16 July 2011, Edinburgh, UK - QUEST Workshop 1</u></p> <p>ESU involvement in the <i>MAP -ESG</i> project. Blättler et al., (2012).</p>	<p><u>Bologna at the Finish Line'</u> (ESU, 2010) investigated the difference between the situation in 1999 and the situation at the launch of EHEA in 2010.</p> <p>QUEST</p> <p>ESU launched the QUEST project in 2010. It aims at defining a concept of quality based on a student based concept of HE..</p> <p>The quest project involved a series of workshops and consultation events on the QUEST project aimed at exploring students' views on tools such as quality assurance</p> <p>This describes the ESU involvement in mapping the implementation of the ESG, a project that involved the E4 partners. The ESU MAP-ESG project also fed into the ENQA mapping project (ENQA, 2012) This document provides a particularly student perspective.</p>
<p>European Association of Institutions in Higher Education (EURASHE)</p>	<p>EURASHE Seminar on Implementation of Internal and External Quality Assurance 27-28 September 2012, Nicosia (Cyprus) (EURASHE, 2012)</p> <p>EURASHE is involved in a range of projects covering activities related to quality in professional and vocational education and training, These include</p>	<p>The project responds to the need to map the implementation and application of the ESG, and was incorporated into the ENQA report on the MAP-ESG project (ENQA, 2012). The partners of this project are the higher education stakeholders known as the 'E4 Group'. The main outcome of the project is a survey based report on how the ESG have been implemented in the EHEA. The joint E4 report was presented in ENQA 2011 and was presented at the BFUG meeting in 2012 in Copenhagen.</p>

	<p>Articulation between vocational and academic learning in University Education (EQF PRO) (EQF PRO, n.d.)</p> <p><u>Tempus SCM project ‘Promoting the External Dimension of the Bologna Process: QA in a National and Transnational Context’</u></p>	<p>The EQF PRO project attempts to identify and address potential confusion between academic and professional classifications of qualifications on the EQF.</p> <p>Tempus SCM project This project focused on implementing the standards of Quality Assurance in ESG in partner countries Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan).</p>
	<p>ENQA’s “Main Partners”/ “Important Stakeholder” in ESG Review (MAP_ESG)</p>	
<p>BusinessEurope</p> <p>Education International (representing)</p>	<p>BusinessEurope</p> <p>Represents 41 central industrial and employers’ federations from 35 countries (BuisnessEurope, 2013)</p> <p><u>Plugging the skills gap - The clock is ticking</u> (BuisnessEurope, 2011)</p> <p><u>Educate for employment</u> BusinessEurope, 2012</p>	<p>BusinessEurope describes its Mission and Priorities as follows: “Its main task is to ensure that companies’ interests are represented and defended vis-à-vis the European institutions with the principal aim of preserving and strengthening corporate competitiveness.” BuisnessEurope, 2013)</p> <p>Deals with “the urgent situation concerning STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) skills shortages in Europe and what measures governments, EU institutions, business and education providers should undertake to address it.” (BuisnessEurope, 2011)</p> <p>Educate for employment: call for modernisation and reform of education...and putting labour market needs at the centre of education and training.</p> <p>Education International describes itself as promoting “quality Education the interests of teachers and other education employees. And equity in society.”</p>

<p>teachers and education workers worldwide)</p>	<p>EDUCATION INTERNATIONAL Education International represents thirty million education employees in about four hundred organisations in one hundred and seventy countries and territories, across the globe. (Education International, 20 Representing teachers and education workers worldwide</p> <p>[2007] Assessing higher education learning outcomes: “PISA” for Higher Education? (Education International, 2007)</p> <p>EI [2010] Enhancing quality - Academics' Perceptions of the Bologna Process On the Occasion of the Bologna Process Celebration Conference (EI, 2010)</p>	<p>(Education International, n.d.)</p> <p>Critically examines OECD proposals to develop tools for assessing effectiveness of HEI’s modelled on the OECD’s Program for International Student Assessment (PISA),</p> <p>Presents analysis of academics perceptions of the impact of the Bologna Process with an examination of how this has affected academics in particular,</p>
<p>EQAR</p>	<p>European Quality Assurance Register for Higher Education</p> <p>EQAR founded by ENQA, ESU, EUA and EURASHE, It manages a web-based register of quality assurance agencies that substantially comply with ESG.</p>	<p>EQAR contributed to the project as a member of the Advisory Board. It provided written input on ‘strengths and challenges’ when using the ESG in evaluating applications from 35 QA agencies since it opened for applications in August</p>
<p>Bologna Process (BP)</p>	<p>PROMOTION</p> <p>Bologna Seminars²⁴ E.g. March 2002. “Working on the European Dimension of Quality” Amsterdam Sept. 2008.: Quality Assurance in Higher Education Strasbourg</p> <p>Bologna Promoters²⁵</p>	<p>Bologna Seminars</p> <p>Focus on particular BP objectives or issues e.g. quality assurance</p> <p>Bologna Promoters²⁶</p>

²⁴ A full list of Bologna seminars is available on the official website of the Bologna Process, <http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/BolognaSeminars/BolognaSeminars2005-2007.htm>

<p>E.g. Irish Bologna Experts (July 2011-December 2013)</p> <p>European Union Contribution to EHEA (European Union, 2010) Strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training ("ET 2020") http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-policy/policy-framework_en.htm Lifelong Learning http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/index_en.htm The Higher Education Modernisation Agenda http://ec.europa.eu/education/higher-education/agenda_en.htm</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MONITORING</p> <p><i>Biannual ministerial meetings</i></p> <p><i>Bologna Follow-up Group (BFUG)</i></p>	<p>Networks of professionals in Bologna signatory countries. Function: dissemination of information related to the Bologna process assist HEIs/stakeholders implementing BP</p> <p>European Union Contribution to EHEA (European Union, 2010) Overall approach to Education and Training is contained in "ET 2020". This approach contains individual themes, such as modernisation and internationalisation in the HE arena and Quality in all areas of education. See EC website Strategic framework for education and training at http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-policy/framework_en.htm</p> <p>Ministerial meetings are described in table 6</p> <p>BFUG s produces stocktaking reports. Uses <i>Bologna scorecard</i>, for evaluating country performance. The scorecard was revised following Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve meeting to take into account revised BP goals. Stocktaking report against these revised goals in 2012 was produced by Eurydice network', / Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency, an agency of the EC (EACEA, 2013)</p>
--	---

²⁵ Description is available at <http://www.eua.be/bologna-universities-reform/information-project/bologna-promoters-who-are-they.aspx>. Mandate and organisation is available here <http://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/Docs/02-EU/040128bolognapromoters.pdf>. Details of Irish Bologna experts are available here <http://www.eurireland.ie/bologna-process/irish-bologna-experts.290.html>

²⁶ Description is available at <http://www.eua.be/bologna-universities-reform/information-project/bologna-promoters-who-are-they.aspx>. Mandate and organisation is available here <http://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/Docs/02-EU/040128bolognapromoters.pdf>. Details of Irish Bologna experts are available here <http://www.eurireland.ie/bologna-process/irish-bologna-experts.290.html>

Table 3. Intertextuality: TAC

Institution	Text/Event	Themes/Focus
<p>EAP</p>	<p>[1990] Strasbourg Declaration on Psychotherapy (EAP, n.d.-d)</p> <p>[2002] Statement of Ethical Principles (EAP, n.d.-e)</p> <p>European Certificate for Psychotherapy (ECP) (EAP, n.d.-d)</p> <p>Register for ECP-Psychotherapists (EAP, (EAP, n.d.-j)</p> <p>EAPTI - European Accreditation Professional Training Institute (EAP, n.d.-g)</p> <p>The Professional Competencies of a European Psychotherapist : A Project of the EAP (EAP, n.d.-h)</p>	<p>This definition acts as “bedrock of ... commitment to creating a compatible and independent profession of psychotherapy across Europe.” (EAP, n.d.-d)</p> <p>These ethical principles are binding on members of EAP</p> <p>EAP accreditation requirements for individuals and HEI’s (involves national and European modality specific professional organisations). Requires fulfilling of particular criteria – outlined in TAC – either by demonstrating compliance or through training in an accredited HEI – called an EAPTI</p> <p>Register of ECP holders and EAPTI institutions</p> <p>Training Institutes that demonstrate compliance with TAC through an accreditation procedure are designated as EAPTI. This is described as “part of its initiative for quality control of psychotherapy in Europe” ((EAP, n.d.-g)</p> <p>This project aims to “define and establish the professional competencies of a European psychotherapist, with the intention of allowing this project to act as a set of principles or guidelines for ministries of health; national associations of psychotherapists in various countries; other professional psychotherapy associations (often representing a modality or method of psychotherapy); psychotherapy training organisations; and all other individuals and associated bodies in relation to the professional practice of psychotherapy, in</p>

		all its various forms, across Europe.” (EAP, n.d.-h)
NATIONAL ORGANISATIONS		
<u>National Umbrella Organisations</u>	National Umbrella Organisation (NUO) represent a number of modalities at national level	National Umbrella Organisations (NUO) are required to demonstrate that its training and accrediting process are at least at the level of the European Certificate for Psychotherapy (ECP). (EAP, n.d.-d)
<u>In Ireland: ICP Irish Council for Psychotherapy</u>	<p>ICP (2013)</p> <p>ICP is involved in a range of activities such as:</p> <p>Statutory Registration (ICP, 2013a)</p> <p>National Register of members (ICP, 2013b)</p> <p>Awarding Body for EAP (ICP, 2013c)</p> <p>Regulates Ethical codes and Complaints procedures of member organisations (ICP, 2013d and 2013e)</p>	<p>ICP is the professional organisation which represents psychotherapists in Ireland. It represents over 1,250 psychotherapists, who practise in a number of different sub-disciplines.</p> <p>ICP play a key role in the Government’s plans to develop legislation for the statutory regulation of psychotherapists in Ireland. its proposals at the Psychological Therapies Forum which was set up by the Department of Health & Children</p> <p>National Register contains the names of all psychotherapists currently members of the Irish Council for Psychotherapy.</p> <p>ICP acts as an awarding body on behalf of the European Association for Psychotherapy, conferring the European Certificate of Psychotherapy (ECP)</p> <p>Requires member sections to have a published Code of Ethics and Practice and Complaints Procedure approved by ICP</p>
<u>National Awarding Organisations</u>	National Umbrella Organisation (NUO) has to demonstrate that its training and accrediting process is at least at the level of the European	According to the EAP statutes a National Umbrella Organisation (NAO) has to be a psychotherapy organisation which represents the broadest range of differing psychotherapy approaches and contains the largest number

	Certificate for Psychotherapy (ECP).	<p>of practitioners in that country. Organisational membership within the EAP is a prerequisite for the acceptance as NUO. Therefore the organisation must possess an accountable administrative structure (a constitution) that is compatible with the EAP Statutes and a written code of Ethics.</p> <p>Once accepted NUOs have to nominate a representative to participate in the EAP Board meetings who has a vote in the National Umbrella Organisations Committee (NUOC) and the Board. Regular presence at the EAP Board meetings is highly appreciated. (EAP, n.d.-d)</p>
European Wide Organisation (EWO)		<p>According to the EAP statutes a European Wide Organisation (EWO) has to be a psychotherapy organisation which provides training in at least six European countries in a modality that is scientifically valid by the EAP. Organisational membership within the EAP is a prerequisite for the acceptance as EWO. Therefore the organisation must possess an accountable administrative structure (a constitution) that is compatible with the EAP Statutes and a written code of Ethics. (EAP, n.d.-c)</p>
For FT EFTA European Family Therapy Organisation	<p>http://www.europeanfamilytherapy.eu/</p> <p>Minimum Training Standards (EFTA, 2013a)</p> <p>Code of Ethics (EFTA, 2013b)</p> <p>Official journal. <i>Human Systems: The Journal of Therapy, Consultation and Training</i> (EFTA, 2013c)</p> <p>Run congresses and events (EFTA, 2013d)</p>	<p>These Minimum Training Standards are required standards for recognition as a Family Therapist, Family Therapist training Institute and Family Therapy Supervisor</p> <p>This code of ethics is binding on all members of the EFTA</p> <p>This is the official journal of EFTA</p>

<p>The European Association for Integrative Psychotherapy (EAIP)</p>	<p>http://www.europeanintegrativepsychotherapy.com/index.asp</p> <p>European Certificate in Integrative Psychotherapy. (EAIP, 2013a)</p> <p>Training Standards Criteria (EAIP, 2013b)</p> <p>Ethical Guidelines (EAIP, 2013c)</p> <p>Produce Scientific Validation Criteria for Integrative Psychotherapy. (EAIP, 2013c)</p>	<p>European Certificate in Integrative Psychotherapy is awarded by EAIP</p> <p>Training Standards Criteria are required for membership of the European Association for Integrative Psychotherapy (EAIP, 2013b)</p> <p>These Ethical Guidelines form the basis of member organisations Ethical Codes (EAIP, 2013c)</p> <p>This document argues the Scientific validity of Integrative Psychotherapy, a requirement for recognition by EAP.</p>
---	--	---

6.3 Recontextualisation: transforming discursive formations

Recontextualisation is one way of accounting for the place of regulatory documents in the emergence of QA as social formation that impacts extra-nationally, nationally and locally. ESG actively encourages the recontextualisation of its text as central to HEI autonomy (“it will be for the institutions and agencies themselves, co-operating within their individual contexts, to decide the procedural consequences of adopting the standards” (ESG p. 12). Numerous best practice guides, reports and conferences expand, shape and describe what ESG might look like at institutional or national level, with students, teacher, and administrator eyes. From this perspective the emergence of QA is not a top-down process imposed hierarchically but is a multi-level process of simultaneous and interacting change that occurs (though with different force, at different speeds and in different ways) at multiple levels.

TAC recontextualises psychotherapy from separate trajectories of diverse theories and practices to an “independent scientific discipline” (EAP, 1990, p. 1) capable of being delimited on the basis of professional competencies derived from quality assured training. This blends discourses on QA with discourses on professional recognition. Recontextualisation of QA allows it to be attached to different agendas and interests, to different already existing meanings and practices, to different goals and desired outcomes, changing itself and its recipients in the process.

Again there is no singular unitary path to new formations through recontextualisation. Extra-national policies, such as ESG and TAC are recontextualised in different and sometimes conflicting national situations (Wodak & Fairclough, 2010; Saarinen, 2005). This results in different processes and spaces emerging within EHEA. TAC, for example, can be implemented in countries where only specific professions can use the title psychotherapist and TAC graduates are not recognised as psychotherapists. ESG guidelines require that HEI’s should “provide poor teachers with opportunities to improve ... and should have the means to remove them” (ENQA, 2009, p. 18) – a requirement that can conflict with national employment law and labour agreements (ENQA, 2011, p. 49). In both situations local recontextualisations find a fit. There are similarities here with the EU “Open Method of Co-ordination” – a soft law resolution to national variability that allows local contexts to partially implement and avoid aspects of implementation in ways unthinkable with hard regulation (Radaelli, 2003).

Soft regulation can be seen as working with recontextualisation to partially establish centrally devised meanings. Recontextualisation facilitates the incorporation of extra-national discourses and practices into diverse national and local contexts through a process of local fit with sometimes conflicting and contradictory requirements. In soft regulatory mechanisms standardisation flexibly accommodates different interests, agendas, structures and beliefs. As with Marginson and Rhoades' (2002) glonacal model, this form of regulation is not a hierarchically imposed system of meaning and practice, but a local construction of education practices engaged in by local actors within a particular meaning framework devised extra-nationally. Understanding policy formations requires seeing the differential operation of policies at different levels and in different contexts. And it also requires seeing the convergence of policy meanings and practices. QA, in the 25 years of its making in Europe, translates quality into QA, both retaining and changing meaning until we are fluent in this new language and we can accommodate different local and national practices within our overall understanding of QA. We not only understand it, it becomes a part of us.

6.4 Addressing the research questions

6.4.1 HE formations and QA mechanisms

Complex chains of texts incorporate wider socio-political visions of HE future into the documents. This vision is given legitimacy through the breadth and powerful positions of those that speak to and review these documents. The ideal to which HE is being adjusted remains assumed rather than made implicit. In ESG, chains of texts refer to how BP aims are furthered (“ENQA welcomed this opportunity to ... further the aims of the Bologna Process”: ESG, p. 10), or the Lisbon process is referred to rather than described (“if Europe is to achieve its aspiration ... (Lisbon Strategy)” (ESG p. 10). These chains attach and naturalise particular interests in the discursive formation of HE (such as the EC and BP) through QA mechanism.

6.4.2 Amenable subjects and possibilities for critique

These chains are in the main good practice documents, exploring how we, the HE community, can increase the quality of our practice. That is part of their work, and also part of the effectiveness of their dissemination. Improving quality is a seductive rallying

call, and to critique is to argue, on one level, against improving quality. The system operates not by dismantling but by appropriation, that:

secures the amenability of the subject. It does so, not by unravelling prior commitments and investments such as collegiality, equity and individual merit, but by appropriating them within more compelling regimes of logic and practice. That which might otherwise be grieved for and its loss resisted is still present in a truncated form, and in lingering patterns of desire. (Davies & Bansel, 2010, p. 16)

Critique is dismantled in the breadth and scope of texts that appear on the surface to speak with one voice about an uncontested present and a communal, ideal future. Critique does emerge, such as ESU's (2012) "*Bologna with Student Eyes*" which names and challenges this ideal as the commodification of HE. This challenge is then reappropriated in the terms of reference of review of ESG, but the reappropriation is not complete; ESU has its own website where its challenges are made visible.

6.4.3 Scales of intertextuality and possibilities for critique

These documents exemplify neo-liberal practices, cementing particular, partial and positioned constructions of QA, and therefore HE, as natural and beyond question. Positioning constructions beyond question is one aspect of the "dismantling of critique" of neo-liberalism (Davies & Bansel, 2010). Here critique is rendered unimaginable in the scale of intertextuality, the seamlessness of recontextualisation, the logic of the discursive formations that result. Where these visions and positions come from is impossible to trace in the range of texts available. Where quality became a procedural or best practice question or where these documents linked themselves with regulatory mechanisms is not evident in my exploration. There are just too many texts. The naturalisation of QA occurs in part in the volume of texts – it is (almost) impossible to argue with such a large field. But intertextual connections also contain differences and contestation that become visible through analysis. Chains of texts both conceal and reveal the possibility of critique. Again there is a cycle of appropriation, reappropriation and adjustment.

6.4.4 Policy actors and strategic positions

Intertextuality makes visible policy actors in QA beyond the authors of the documents. This includes strategic partners such as BusinessEurope, and non-HE organisations such as the EU with its "special position". Intertextuality is an empirical means to address the

critical questions raised by Stanley & Wise (1993) “*whose* knowledge, seen in *what* terms, around *whose* definitions and standards, and judged by *whose* as well as *what* criteria” (p. 202). My analysis points to the difficulty in answering these questions in relation to these documents. There are no identifiable origins. Meanings – quality, assurance, convergence – move across disciplinary and institutional boundaries. Organisations have different roles – authoring texts (ENQA) or ratifying reports (BP) – some of which are more obscure than others. For example it is difficult to understand the status and influence of EU texts, or their contribution to documents such as ESG through intertextual analysis (see e.g. Ala-Vähälä & Saarinen, 2009) – though institutional analysis does shed light on the strategic interest of EU in the HE QA arena, and what interests ESG might have for it (as I return to in Chapter 7). Ball and Jungemann’s (2012) question of whose text – authorship and influence– or Dean’s (1999) question of how this particular regime came into being are obscured at least in part in too many texts. In these chains of documents the imagined future and the mechanism of adjustment just are; they have no origin or source. They are not attributable.

However intertextual analysis provides possibilities for locating influences on shaping and contestations of particular visions of HE. Networks of authorship, including those involved in ongoing revisions of texts, emerge as similar to Ball and Jungemann’s (2012) descriptions of network of governance, where multiple new actors and organisations with new interests, methods and discourses, impact in new ways on the production of HE. Examining networks of texts, as I do here, highlights particular influences and directions that HE is steered along by various institutions. The EACEA document (2012) moves QA towards a European review mechanism, associated with the European vision for an EHEA future contained in ESG. EQAR moves ESG towards a hard regulatory position (Kristoffersen et al., 2010). ESU moves HE towards a different vision of HE grounded in critique of BP (ESU, 2012). These are partial knowledges, serving particular interests, through ESG.

Different organisations have different power to disseminate their particular interests. ESU’s challenge to BP appears to be lost in the ESG review and the EHEA development. ENQA’s prominence in defining QA knowledge did not extend to the construction of an agency for review of QA agencies. EAP’s influence does not allow it to define psychotherapy in Europe. The partiality, as opposed to naturalness, of these

documents position becomes visible in the contesting chains of texts. How muted or different voices insert themselves is also beginning to appear in this analysis. There are different perspectives and voices, and also different potentials for influence. How ENQA and its E4 partners might view ESG differently – and whose voice is given prominence in ESG and its reformations - and how BP and the EU influence ESG's development are at least in part functions of discursive power. This organisational context is the focus of my next chapter.

6.5 Conclusion.

This chapter analysed the documents as parts of chains that create and sustain a particular positioned imaginary of HE. This analysis presented Quality in HE as discursively constructed through chains of texts. The analysis of chains of texts highlighted similar processes to those found in chapter 5; chains of texts bring into the QA field connections between HE and wider social discourses such as the commodification and marketisation of HE, and wider social processes such as the Lisbon agenda. The chaining together of texts adds to the naturalisation of these positions within the texts. This is a pathway of neoliberalisation; where market-based values, norms and goals become naturalised and placed beyond question.

This chapter examined how chaining of texts and events formulates the field of QA and through this the field of HE. Intertextuality and recontextualisation were analytic devices used for this task. ESG is embedded in chains of texts networked together and chains of non-discursive elements such as institutions and social relationships. Some of these chains are heavily ritualised practices, involving networks of organisations and texts such as the BP chain. Some are less predictable and visible. The chaining together of the Lisbon Process with ESG that occurs in its text is an example of this where social processes such as Lisbon are recontextualised in the ESG text in ways that link QA and the Lisbon agenda. This complex linking of texts and institutions provide the setting in which the discursive field of QA emerges, is sustained and deployed.

The field of QA takes on particular positioned meanings in these chains. In TAC a chain of texts is built in particular on the idea of psychotherapy as an independent profession (EAP, 1990). This description is then imported into TAC and related documents and shapes possibilities into the future, where divergence between psychotherapeutic schools becomes less imaginable. Similarly ESG imports into itself

previous reports by ENQA and its partners (funded, in the main, by EU), and connects them with Bologna and Lisbon processes. In this manner cultural, national and institutional dissimilarity and divergence dwindle but are not extinguished.

There is little predictability in the emergence of particular formations at particular times. As Fairclough (2003) illustrates the linking together of new genre chains can be seen as an exercise in power, where new social practices reflecting powerful interests begin to emerge. However of considerable importance is also how different voices can be heard through similar disruptions and reforming of genre chains. If genre chains are seen as linking what is and what is not possible, then changes in genre chains introduce different realities and possibilities. ESU's input at Leavern meeting of BP, (ESU, 2010, undated) for example, challenged BP in terms of its lack of inclusion of a social justice agenda and its assumptions about the benefits of university rankings for students. This appears at least to have influenced increased commitment to social justice. Their input on University ranking did not change the event (university rankings are being put in place) but did open up new possibilities (that university rankings do not serve the interest of students and can be rejected). This public dissent could be seen as introducing a different genre into BP, one that is argumentative and conflictual rather than participatory and consensual.

In this chapter I traced interconnections from texts outwards through texts. In the next chapter I start with institutions and move inwards towards the text. Institutions, I have suggested in this chapter, move along similar lines of force as discourses, positioning and constructing QA as a particular entity with particular effects. But institutions also have a materiality of their own, particular mechanisms through which they operate, and this is also part of the construction and deployment of QA.

Chapter 7. Institutional actors and networks: Creating, sustaining and deploying QA.

7.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to identify and explore institutional contributions to the QA field in HE through an exploration of institutional actors and actions. I look at the particular kinds of meanings emerging and their links to neoliberal agendas and formations. I examine institutional networks as an emerging and different mechanism by which neoliberal discourses are formulated and take hold in HE space.

I have identified institutional structures and relationships as of particularly significant in forming the QA and HE fields. Discursive formation in New Times is no static affair; meaning (and with it power) flows within and between networks of institutions and is exercised by actors in networks (Ball & Junemann, 2012). The task of analysing and making sense of institutions and their networks is:

to identify the actors in these networks, their power and capacities, and the ways through which they exercise their power through association with networks of relationships. (Dicken et al. 2001, p.93)

Identification and description of policy actors and their ways of acting is the aim of, and provides the structure for, this chapter. I draw on Balls (2012) network analysis and Marginson and Rhoades (2002) glonacal agency heuristic to make sense of the institutional domain. This involves both description and analysis, an accounting for how “some...or more precisely some of the more visible aspects” (Ball, 2012, p. 14) of networks appear to be. In this chapter I first turn to some of the difficulties involved in mapping the QA policy arena. Then I describe one possible map, rather than a definitive map of the QA policy landscape. In section 3 I identify and describe policy actors, their networks and relationships. In section 4 I examine the Irish context. Section 5 examines how these findings address the research questions,

7.2 Mapping institutional landscapes: Some limitations

Identifying institutional actors

I identify key institutional actors in the QA field through an examination of the websites of principal authors of key QA texts, the documents. Identifying institutional actors is a

complex task; actors can be difficult to discern, networks of actors can shift and change and website links can obscure some significant actors. The clustering of institutions around the authorship and review of these documents is one way of identifying key actors, but can also leave some actors hidden (Ball and Juneman, 2012). This points to the difference between identifying authors of a text and identifying policy actors in relation to a text. Some significant actors may not be immediately visible. The EU, for example, has a special position in relation to significant process such as BFUG but its documents tend not to be accessible through QA websites. The EU significance is discernible through the effects of its texts – their regulatory positioning and how they are taken up and utilised by other organisations - as well as through its networking arrangements – such as its special position in organisations such as BFUG.

Describing institutional actors and networks

Network relationships and alliances provide a greater potential to effect policy fields than the sum of the actions of individual actors (Dicken et al., 2001). The institutional descriptions in this chapter therefore also focus on institutions positions within networks. This gives some sense of their network effects (Ball & Junemann, 2012; Dicken et al., 2001). These descriptions of networks are provisional as network relationships move across space and time, with relationships forming over specific policy areas – such as QA – and diminishing when the policy area is settled (Ball, 2012).

Discursive power

Networks themselves are relationships of unequal power, with some network members having the power to legislate and mobilise economic resources, both features of sovereignty. Globalisation focuses attention on shifts of power from the centre to the margins, from sovereign power to disciplinary power, but sovereignty provides legal and economic power to further strategic aims (Marginson and Rhoades, 2002). However sovereignty is not the only source of discursive power. How institutions act to produce and disseminate texts requires a focus on their material conditions, in particular their ability to mobilise discursive resources. HEI's QA policies and EU conclusions on QA may have the same lack of legal force, but they operate differently in the QA field. Hook (2001) argues that understanding how some knowledges become dominant while others are disqualified and muted requires tracing knowledge to "*the material*

conditions of possibility, to the multiple institutional supports and various social structures and practices underlying the production of truth” (p. 525-526, emphasis in the original).

7.3 Institutional actors and networks

7.3.1 Institutional actors.

Key policy documents are authored, reviewed and changed within policy networks (Ball & Junemann, 2012; Ball & Exley, 2010; Rhoades, 1997). The principal institutional actors in the QA policy field are identified in table 4. These were identified through authors’ websites. With ESG I used the ENQA website to identify (1) ENQA’s main partners, which included the E4 group (ENQA, n.d.-b); (2) key stakeholders in ESG described by ENQA as “key European partner organisations” (ENQA, n.d.-b, para. 1). I also recorded what ENQA describes as (3) key stakeholders in the QA domain (ENQA, n.d.-f) and (4) “Organisations with keen interest in higher education QA” (ENQA, n.d.-f, para. 3), though it was not possible to examine all of these organisations. I searched the websites of each organisation for references to ESG and QA in HE. This produced vast numbers of institutions - similar to the vastness of the textual domain - and I include here only what appeared most fitting to telling the institutional story of QA.

The principal institutional actors in the QA policy field in psychotherapy are identified in table 5. I used the EAP website to identify categories of organisations: members (EAP, n.d.-j); National Awarding Organisations (EAP, n.d.-c) and European Wide Modality Organisations (EAP-n.d.-b). The latter two are part of the validation process of TAC. I carried out internet searches in relation to TAC and QA. This provided few documents, suggesting much less, or much less visible, embeddedness of QA and TAC in the psychotherapy field.

I used descriptions of institutions from their websites to examine their missions and aims and linked this to particular positions taken in the documents. I examined institutional structure and connections with other institutions in order to map the QA policy network. I identified nodal institutions –those who “occupy multiple positions and who are adept in the arts of networking ... they join things up” (Ball, 2008a, p.753). I have summarised some nodal institutions in appendix 3.

Table 4. Constructing ESG in organisational networks.

ORGANISATION	WEBSITE	ORGANISATION DESCRIPTION IN THEIR OWN WORDS. WEBSITE/KEY TEXT DESCRIPTION
KEY AUTHORS / NODAL ORGANISATIONS		
ENQA	http://www.enqa.eu/index.lasso	ENQA (the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education) disseminates information, experiences and good practices in the field of quality assurance (QA) in higher education to European QA agencies, public authorities and higher education institutions.(ENQA, n.d-a, para. 1)
Bologna Process	History and links to biannual meetings: http://www.ehea.info/article-details.aspx?ArticleId=3 BP EHEA: http://www.ehea.info/	The Bologna Process is a voluntary process of European nations aimed to create the European Higher Education Area (EHEA). Initiated by (The Bologna Declaration, 1999). Every second year, Ministers responsible for higher education in the 46 Bologna countries meet to measure progress and set priorities for action. The Bologna Process launched the European Higher Education Area in 2010 (EHEA, 2010b, para. 1.)
EUA European University Association	http://www.eua.be/eua-membership-and-services/Home.aspx	The European University Association (EUA) is the main voice of the higher education community in Europe. EUA membership is open to individual universities and national rectors' conferences, as well as associations and networks of higher education institutions. With approximately 850 members in 47 countries, EUA is building strong universities for Europe through targeted activities aimed at supporting their development. (EUA, n.d.-a, para. 1)
European Students' Union (ESU)	http://www.esu-online.org/	The European Students' Union (ESU) is the umbrella organisation of 47 National Unions of Students (NUS) from 39 countries (December 2012). The NUSes are open to all students in their respective country regardless of political persuasion, religion, ethnic or cultural origin, sexual orientation or social standing. Our members are also student-run, autonomous, representative and operate according to democratic principles. (ESU, 2011, para. 1)
EURASHE	http://eurashe.eu/	EURASHE is the European association of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) that offer professionally oriented programmes and are engaged in applied

		and profession-related research within the Bologna cycles. Currently, more than 1.200 higher education institutions in 33 countries within and outside the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) are affiliated to EURASHE. (EURASHE, n.d., para. 1)
EQAR	http://www.eqar.eu/about/introduction.html	EQAR, the European Quality Assurance Register for Higher Education , was founded by ENQA , ESU , EUA and EURASHE , the European representative bodies of quality assurance agencies, students, universities and other higher education institutions, respectively, to increase the transparency of quality assurance in higher education across Europe. EQAR will publish and manage a register of quality assurance agencies that substantially comply with the European Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance (ESG) to provide the public with clear and reliable information on quality assurance agencies operating in Europe. (eqar, n.d.-a, para. 1)
CONSULTATIVE PARTNER; KEY EUROPEAN PARTNER		
BusinessEurope	http://www.besnesseurope.eu/Content/Default.asp?	BusinessEurope plays a crucial role in Europe as the main horizontal business organisation at EU level. Through its 41 member federations, BusinessEurope represents more than 20 million companies from 35 countries. Its main task is to ensure that companies' interests are represented and defended vis-à-vis the European institutions with the principal aim of preserving and strengthening corporate competitiveness. BusinessEurope is active in the European social dialogue to promote the smooth functioning of labour markets.(BusinessEurope, 2013, para. 1)
EI - Education International	http://www.ei-ie.org/en/websections/content_detail/3247	Education International represents organisations of teachers and other education employees across the globe. It is the world's largest federation of unions, representing thirty million education employees in about four hundred organisations in one hundred and seventy countries and territories, across the globe. Education International unites all teachers and education employees. (Education International, 2013, para. 1-2)

STAKEHOLDERS		
<p>European Commission (Observer member)</p>	<p>http://ec.europa.eu/atwork/index_en.htm</p> <p>In particular The European Commission - Directorate General of Education and Culture, Brussels, Belgium</p> <p>http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/education_culture/index_en.htm</p>	<p>The European Commission represents the interests of the EU as a whole. It proposes new legislation to the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union, and it ensures that EU law is correctly applied by member countries. (EC, n.d., para. 1)</p>
<p>ENIC - & NARIC –</p>	<p>http://www.enic-naric.net/index.aspx?s=n&r=g&d=about</p>	<p>The NARIC network is an initiative of the European Commission and was created in 1984. The network aims at improving academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study in the Member States of the European Union (EU) countries, the European Economic Area (EEA) countries and Turkey. The network is part of the Community's Lifelong Learning Programme (LLP), which stimulates the mobility of students and staff between higher education institutions in these countries. (ENIC-NARIC, 2012-2014, para. 4)</p>
<p>EACEA</p>	<p>http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/index_en.php</p>	<p>The Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA) is responsible for the management of certain parts of the EU's programmes in the fields of education, culture and audiovisual. Fully operational from the 1st of January 2006, the Executive Agency operates under supervision from its three parent Directorates-General of the European Commission: (EACEA, n.d.-a, para. 1-2)</p>
<p>Higher Education and Research Division of the Council of Europe</p>	<p>http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/highereducation/default_en.asp</p>	<p>The work of the Council of Europe in the field of higher education and research focuses on issues related to the recognition of qualifications, public responsibility for higher education and research, higher education governance and other fields relevant for the establishment of the European Higher Education Area by 2010. The Council of Europe also supports reform of higher education in the so-called priority regions, mainly the South East Europe, South Caucasus and CIS countries (Council of Europe, 2012a, para. 1)</p>

ORGANISATIONS WITH KEEN INTEREST IN HIGHER EDUCATION QA		
INQAAHE –	http://www.inqaah.org/	<p>The International Network for Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education (INQAAHE) is a world-wide association of over 200 organisations active in the theory and practice of quality assurance in higher education. The great majority of its members are quality assurance agencies that operate in many different ways, although the Network also welcomes (as associate members) other organisations that have an interest in QA in HE.</p> <p>INQAAHE offers members many services, including a Journal, a Bulletin, a Query service, a Good Practice database, and a Professional Qualification in QA. There are also Conferences and Forums at least annually. (INQAAHE, 2013, para. 1-2)</p>
CHEA	http://www.chea.org/	<p>Council for Higher Education Accreditation. A national advocate and institutional voice for self-regulation of academic quality through accreditation, CHEA is an association of 3,000 degree-granting colleges and universities and recognizes 60 institutional and programmatic accrediting organizations. (CHEA, 2013, para. 1)</p>
Eurydice	http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice/index_en.php	<p>The Eurydice Network provides information on and analyses of European education systems and policies. As from 2013 it consists of 40 national units based in all 36 countries participating in the EU's Lifelong Learning programme (EU Member States, Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Iceland, Montenegro, Serbia, Turkey, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland). It is co-ordinated and managed by the EU Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency in Brussels, which drafts its studies and provides a range of online resources. (EACEA, n.d.-b, para. 1)</p>
UNESCO	http://en.unesco.org/about-us/introducing-unesco	<p>In 1945, UNESCO was created in order to respond to the firm belief of nations, forged by two world wars in less than a generation, that political and economic agreements are not enough to build a lasting peace. Peace must be established on the basis of humanity's moral and intellectual solidarity.</p> <p>UNESCO strives to build networks among nations that enable this kind of solidarity (Unesco, n.d.-a, para. 1)</p>

World Bank,	http://www.worldbank.org/en/about/what-we-do	<p>The World Bank is a vital source of financial and technical assistance to developing countries around the world. We are not a bank in the ordinary sense but a unique partnership to reduce poverty and support development. We comprise two institutions managed by 188 member countries: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association (IDA). The IBRD aims to reduce poverty in middle-income and creditworthy poorer countries, while IDA focuses exclusively on the world's poorest countries. These institutions are part of a larger body known as the World Bank Group.</p> <p>Established in 1944, the World Bank is headquartered in Washington, D.C. (The-World-Bank, 2013, para. 2)</p>
ACA	http://www.aca-secretariat.be/	<p>The Academic Cooperation Association (ACA) The Academic Cooperation Association (ACA) is a dynamic think tank in the area of international cooperation in higher education. Its goal is to promote innovation and internationalisation of European higher education while maintaining a global outreach. ACA's activities include research and analyses, evaluations, consultancy for private and public bodies, advocacy, publications, and much more.</p> <p>The Academic Cooperation Association is a not-for-profit pan-European network of major organisations responsible in their countries for the promotion of internationalisation in education and training. ACA's Secretariat is located in Brussels – a privileged position to create and maintain close working relations to the European institutions. (ACA, 2012, para. 1-2)</p>
CERI	http://www.oecd.org/edu/ceeri/	<p>The <i>Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI)</i> does extensive research work which covers learning at all ages, from birth to old age. It goes beyond the formal education system. While having a particular concern with emerging trends and issues, CERI reflects on the futures of schools and universities. CERI often has a longer timeframe than most work, typically aiming to set an agenda for the future, with a goal to ensure that the work is thoroughly integrated with empirical analysis and innovation awareness. Specific emphasis is put on accumulating statistical evidence to the value of its research work.</p>

		(OECD, n.d.-d, para. 1)
IMHE	http://www.oecd.org/edu/imhe/aboutimhe.htm	<p>The OECD's Higher Education Programme has established a permanent forum in which education professionals can exchange experiences and benefit from shared reflection, thought and analysis in order to address the issues that concern them.</p> <p>The Programme's work has a global reach and includes monitoring and analysing policy making; gathering data; and sharing new ideas, as well as reflecting on past experience. (IMHE, n.d.,-e, para. 1)</p>
EAIR	http://www.eair.nl/EAIR/about.asp	<p>EAIR, The European Association for Institutional Research, is a unique international association for higher education researchers, practitioners, managers and policy-makers.</p> <p>EAIR has established itself since its inception in 1979 as an association of experts and professionals interested in the relationship between research, policy and practice in higher education. EAIR has developed from its roots as a European version of the US-based Association for Institutional Research (AIR), widening its sphere of interest to policy at all levels, institutional, national and international. In 1989 EAIR became an independent membership organisation. Although the initials refer to institutional research, EAIR formally added 'The European Higher Education Society' to its logo and then appended the strap-line 'Linking Research, Policy and Practice'. This reflects the direction that EAIR has taken: it crosses boundaries between types of activities and seeks a mix of researchers, lecturers, administrators, managers and policy-makers. Crossing boundaries means sharing best policy and management practices, learning from peers and exchanging and reflecting upon research findings. (EAIR, n.d., para. 1)</p>

Table 5. Constructing TAC: Organisational Authors.

ORGANISATION	WEBSITE	ORGANISATION DESCRIPTION IN THEIR OWN WORDS. WEBSITE/KEY TEXT DESCRIPTION
EAP	http://www.europsyche.org/	<p>The EAP, European Association for Psychotherapy represents 128 organisations (30 national umbrella associations, 17 European-wide associations for psychotherapy) from 41 European countries and by that more than 120.000 psychotherapists. Membership is also open for individual psychotherapists. Based on the "Strasbourg Declaration on Psychotherapy of 1990" the EAP represents high training standards for a scientifically based and stands for a free and independent practice of psychotherapy. (EAP, n.d.-a, para. 1)</p>
<p>NATIONAL UMBRELLA ORGANISATIONS</p> <p>A National Umbrella Organisation (NUO) has to demonstrate that it's training and accrediting process is at least at the level of the European Certificate for Psychotherapy (ECP). (EAP, n.d.-c)</p>		
<p><u>In Ireland:</u> <u>ICP Irish Council for Psychotherapy</u></p>	<p>http://www.psychotherapy-ireland.com/ ICP members/modalities Members consist of sections:</p> <p><u>Psychoanalytical</u></p> <p>The Irish Group Analytic Society http://www.igas.ie/cms/ Irish Analytical Psychology Association I.A.P.A. http://www.jungireland.com/ Irish Psycho-Analytical Association IPAA http://www.psychotherapy-ireland.com/disciplines/psychoanalytic-therapy/irish-psycho-analytical-association/ Irish Forum for Child and Adolescent Psychoanalytic</p>	<p>Irish Council for Psychotherapy is the professional organisation which represents psychotherapists in Ireland. The Irish Council for Psychotherapy represents over 1,250 psychotherapists, who practise in a number of different sub-disciplines. The primary aim of the Irish Council for Psychotherapy is to serve clients, patients and psychotherapists by encouraging and maintaining the highest standards of practice. (ICP, n.d.-d, para. 1)</p>

	<p>Psychotherapy IFCAPP http://www.psychotherapy-ireland.com/disciplines/psychoanalytic-therapy/irish-forum-for-child-and-adolescent-psychoanalytic-psychotherapy/</p> <p>Northern Ireland Institute of Human Relations NIIHR http://www.psychotherapy-ireland.com/disciplines/psychoanalytic-therapy/northern-ireland-institute-of-human-relations/</p> <p>Irish Forum for Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy IFPP http://www.ifpp.org/</p> <p><u>Couple and Family</u> Family Therapy Association of Ireland FTAI http://www.familytherapyireland.com/</p> <p><u>Cognitive Behavioural</u> National Association of Cognitive Behaviour Therapies (NACBT) http://tnmracing.com/nacbt/index.html</p> <p><u>Constructivist</u> Irish Constructivist Psychotherapy Association, http://www.irishconstructivists.org/about.php</p> <p>Humanistic and Integrative Irish Association of Humanistic and Integrative Psychotherapy IAHIP http://iahip.org/</p>	
<p>NATIONAL AWARDING ORGANISATIONS</p> <p>A National Awarding Organisation (NAO) has to be a psychotherapy organisation which represents the broadest range of differing psychotherapy approaches and contains the largest number of practitioners in that country. Organisational membership within the EAP is a prerequisite for the acceptance as NUO. Therefore the organisation must possess an accountable administrative structure (a constitution) that is compatible with the EAP Statutes and a written code of Ethics. (EAP, n.d.-c)</p>		
<p><u>In Ireland:</u> ICP Irish Council</p>	<p><u>See above</u></p>	

<u>for Psychotherapy</u>		
<p>EUROPEAN WIDE ORGANISATION (EWO)</p> <p>A European Wide Organisation (EWO) has to be a psychotherapy organisation which provides training in at least six European countries in a modality that is scientifically valid by the EAP. Organisational membership within the EAP is a prerequisite for the acceptance as EWO. Therefore the organisation must possess an accountable administrative structure (a constitution) that is compatible with the EAP Statutes and a written code of Ethics. (EAP, n.d.-b)</p>		
<p>For Family Therapy: EFTA European Family Therapy Organisation</p>	<p>http://www.europeanfamilytherapy.eu/</p>	<p>The European Family Therapy Association (EFTA)...is a non-profit organization that proudly represents more than 1000 individual family therapists, 120 training institutes and 28 national organizations of family therapy from the different countries of Europe.</p> <p>Its aim is to connect family therapists and systemic practitioners, trainers, researchers and consultants who are committed to advancing systems science, theory and practice for families, groups and broader social contexts. Through the diversity of its membership, their interdependence and their ongoing mutual exchange of ideas and practices, EFTA provides a forum that fosters collaboration that contributes to high quality in psychotherapeutic services and furthers development in our field.. (EFTA, 2013, para. 2)</p>
<p>Wider Involvement</p>		
<p>World Council of Psychotherapy</p>	<p>http://www.worldpsyche.org/cms-tag/125/world-council-for-psychotherapy</p>	<p><u>World Council for Psychotherapy (WCP)</u>. WCP - Goals and responsibilities</p> <p>To promote psychotherapy on all continents of the world (in accordance with the Strasbourg Declaration on Psychotherapy of 1990)</p> <p>To enhance the conditions for psychotherapy patients</p> <p>To cooperate with national and international organisations in peacekeeping and conflict management</p>

		<p>measures</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To create an international information centre for psychotherapy To reach a counselling status as a Non Governmental Organisation (NGO) of the United Nations (UN) To establish international ethical guidelines for psychotherapists To support all efforts to achieve and maintain human rights To establish international working groups on special topics The exchange of training standards world-wide To support its members in all psychotherapeutic concerns <p>(WCP, n.d. para. 2)</p>
The European Commission	http://ec.europa.eu/index_en.htm	<p>The EAP EU platform committee work includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of the Directive 2005/36/EC • Template of a national psychotherapy law • <i>European Conference February 2010</i> on the political and legal status of psychotherapists from professionals and clients protection point of view organised by the EAP in Vienna. • EC meeting with professional organisations on the evaluation of the professional qualifications directive in Brussels <p>(EAP, n.d.-h)</p>
Council of Europe		<p>The EAP is a Non Governmental Organization (NGO) with consultative status at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. (EAP, n.d.-d; Council of Europe 2012b)</p>

7.3.2 ENQA

ENQA is a primary body in the development of QA in the European, and increasingly worldwide, quality movement (see Appendix 3.1). Its function is

to contribute significantly to the maintenance and enhancement of the quality of European higher education at a high level, and to act as a major driving force for the development of quality assurance across all the Bologna signatory countries. (ENQA, n.d.-c, para. 1)

Structurally, it is composed of a General assembly, board and secretariat and has members, affiliate and applicant members (ENQA, n.d.-a). ENQA's origin were as a network of emerging QA agencies – as a loose policy arena of those involved in developing QA, and its descriptions of its history present it as such a body. This history, (Kristoffersen, Thune, Williams & Curvale, 2010), written in 2010, describes how ENQA developed from a discussion forum of QA “enthusiasts” (p. 4) into a network of QA agencies and from there “into an elaborated association with a wide membership across Bologna signatory countries in Europe with a firm political role” (p. 4). The inclusion of a political role in ENQA's brief resulted from a vote by members, at the instigation of its chairperson (Thune, 2010). ENQA members chose that its functions should include mutual support and also a political role in the European process.

This change from a loose policy arena to political actor is particularly significant. ENQA actively sought a governance role of steering directions and influencing behaviour (Kristoffersen et al., 2010). This changed its position from “just networked” to “network governance (R. Parker, 2007, p. 113). This was not inevitable, but demonstrates the agency of individuals and institutions in steering of policy arenas (Ala-Vähälä & Saarinen, 2009). Prior to BP, QA had been of considerable interest nationally and at EU level, with national, transnational and EU trajectories occurring alongside the development of ENQA. In the 1990's the EC introduced a European dimension to QA as a means to promote and achieve its own strategic aims (see section 5). Various European projects aimed at exploring European dimensions to QA emerged (ENQA, 2003). These included the EUA “*Promoting a “quality culture “in universities”*” project (EUA, 2005a), the EUA-EC “*Tuning*” project (González & Wagenaar, 2003) and discipline specific comparisons of national programmes, such as the Danish evaluation agency, [EVA] study of Agricultural Science (Hansen, 2004). Many of these programmes were supported and funded by the EC (ENQA, 2003). The EC also became the principal

funder of ENQA projects aimed at examining European dimensions to QA (ENQA, 2003, n.d.-e; Ala-Vähälä & Saarinen, 2009). At the same time ENQA became a focus point within BP for development of QA in HE (ENQA, 2003). Both BP and EU could be seen here as nodal organisations (Ball & Junemann, 2012), joining up separate interests and agendas of the EU and nations. ENQA became a prominent actor in the QA field emerging from its work in European dimensions to QA and its relationship with these institutions (ENQA, 2003).

7.3.3 Bologna Process

The Bologna Declaration (1999), the principal agreement that began BP, was signed in 1999 by the ministers of education of 29 countries. It was a voluntary initiative that involved a commitment by each signatory country to reform its own HE system aimed at creating overall convergence at European level and enhancing the competitiveness of the EHEA. However BP is not only a network of nations. In the Prague BP meeting (BP, 2001), the EC and EU were included within the emerging structure of BP²⁷.

Goals were set at two-yearly meetings of ministers where inputs from member organisations led to decisions agreed upon by ministers in their communiqués (see table 6). These chains of documents set the priority policy areas of BP, and ministers from the signatory nations undertook to implement these decisions in their national contexts. Despite the implementation of the EHEA in 2010, these meetings continue to occur and implementation of goals continues to be monitored through the BFUG.

One of its principal action programmes was the creation of a European dimension in QA, with comparable criteria and methods. This envisaged that national QA frameworks would be shaped by a European (and increasingly global) level policy framework where qualifications and awards were compatible and comparable and therefore students and workers were mobile and transferable across and beyond Europe (Bologna Declaration, 1999). By 2003 BP's aims had moved from compatibility to

²⁷ The Prague declaration states that "Ministers ...confirmed the need for a structure for the follow-up work, consisting of a follow-up group and a preparatory group. The follow-up group should be composed of representatives of all signatories, new participants and the European Commission, and should be chaired by the EU Presidency at the time. The preparatory group should be composed of representatives of the countries hosting the previous ministerial meetings and the next ministerial meeting, two EU member states and two non-EU member states; these latter four representatives will be elected by the follow-up group. The EU Presidency at the time and the European Commission will also be part of the preparatory group." (BP, 2001, para 16) Other organisations such as EUA, EURASHE, USI and the Council of Europe were to "be consulted in the follow-up work" (BP, 2001, para 17)

coherence and cohesiveness (BP, 2003), implying that qualifications needed to be not only comparable across national boundaries but also in some manner equivalent to each other. Central to this goal was the development of agreed QA standards, procedures and guidelines, which became the responsibility of ENQA under the Berlin Communiqué (BP, 2003).

BP goals and QA mechanisms

BP is part of a chain of local, national and extra-national developments in convergence, competitiveness and mobility, not all of which utilise QA as a principal mechanism. The Council of Europe/UNESCO (1997) Lisbon Recognition Convention²⁸ and prior Council of Europe conventions focused on the mutual recognition of entrance qualifications, study periods and academic qualifications, degrees and diplomas without centralising QA. There was no reference to QA in the Sorbonne Declaration (Association of European Universities, 1998) which contributed to the shaping the objectives of BP, in particular mobility and comparability and transferability of qualifications.

This reliance on QA as a tool to achieve Bologna goals is intertwined with particular rationalities and technologies for HE. BP utilises common tools to facilitate mobility and comparability, such as ECTS and the Diploma Supplement. These tools allow programmes and qualifications awarded in one country to be described and compared across local and national contexts. QA provides measurement of the elusive concept of “quality” that can be described and also compared across HEIs and nations.

QA therefore becomes an accountability mechanism and a comparative measure through which convergence and divergence can be seen, discussed and judged. At national level the discourse of convergence/divergence can be used as a steering mechanism aimed at achieving particular extra-national goals. As described in chapter 5, convergence/divergence allows divergence of processes while requiring convergence of goals; it allows (and requires) institutional autonomy and responsibility for procedures while requiring a particular direction for HEI’s (see e.g. ENQA, 2006; EEACA, 2011; Bozo et al, 2009). QA is one measure of HEI performance along the convergence/divergence continuum. Divergence is identified, for example, in relation to

²⁸ All BP members are signatories to the Lisbon convention.

nation states such as CEE nations, who tend to use ESG as the basis for accreditation of HE programmes (Kohoutek, Pasáčková & Rendlová, 2009). Divergence is also identified within the provisions of ESG, with internal QA requirements less likely to be applied by HEI's than external QA requirements (L. Harvey, 2010). In the QA arena convergence with ESG appears to be framed in the main as a measure of achievement of BP goals and divergence as the emergence of new policy problems. Convergence of countries outside of Bologna signatories is taken to support its good practice and naturalised position, particularly where institutional, discursive and intertextual influences on convergence are not made visible (Vogel & Kagan, 2004; Vögtle et al., 2011). Divergence, on the other hand, is a policy problem requiring explanation and solution (Fairclough, 2001b). CEE nations are seen as acting from within their own history, which includes a rapid ending of state control of HE and the use of ESG to fill the regulation gap (Kohoutek et al., 2009) and Irish universities are seen as insufficiently performance oriented (OECD, 2004). This policy problem can then become a matter for hard legislative and policy intervention, as I discuss in relation to Ireland in section 4.

Table 6. Bologna Process Ministerial Conferences

Ministerial Conference	Link to conference websites	Declaration / Communiqué
Bologna, 18-19 June 1999		<u>Bologna Declaration</u> : Joint declaration of the European Ministers of Education (<i>Bologna Declaration, 1999</i>)
Prague, 18-19 May 2001	http://bologna.msmt.cz/PragueSummit/index.html	<u>Prague Communiqué</u> : <i>Towards The European Higher Education Area.</i> (BP, 2001)
Berlin, 18-19 September 2003	http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/	<u>Berlin Communiqué</u> : <i>Realising the European Higher Education Area.</i> (BP, 2003).
Bergen, 19-20 May 2005	http://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/	<u>Bergen Communiqué</u> : <i>The European Higher Education Area - Achieving the Goals.</i> (BP, 2005).
London, 17-18 May 2007	http://www.dcsf.gov.uk/londonbologna/	<u>London Communiqué</u> : <i>Towards the European Higher Education Area: responding to challenges in a globalised world.</i> (BP, 2007).
Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve, 28-29 April 2009	http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/	<u>Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué</u> : The Bologna Process 2020 - <i>The European Higher Education Area in the new decade.</i> (BP, 2009).
Budapest/Vienna, 10-12 March 2010	http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/	<u>Budapest-Vienna Declaration</u> : <i>Budapest-Vienna Declaration on the European Higher Education Area.</i> (BP, 2010).

Bucharest, 26-27 April 2012	http://bologna-bucharest2012.ehea.info/	<u>Bucharest Communiqué:</u> <i>Making the Most of Our Potential: Consolidating the European Higher Education Area.</i> (BP, 2012).
Yerevan, 2015		

7.3.4 EAP

In the professional realm EAP represents 128 psychotherapeutic organisations (28 national umbrella associations, 17 Europe-wide associations) from 41 European countries and over 120.000 psychotherapists (EAP, n.d.-a). The EAP (Appendix 3.2) was founded in 1991 as a non-profit organisation with a principal aim to “unite psychotherapy organisations into a common association, and organises individual psychotherapists of different orientations in Europe” (EAP, n.d.-d, p.2) on the basis of the *Strasbourg Declaration of Psychotherapy* (EAP, 1990). Its aims include promoting interests of psychotherapists and clients. The education of psychotherapists, the basis for recognition by professional bodies, is positioned as a key component of serving both interests. EAP, like BP, has specific mobility aims of ensuring that “in the future psychotherapist, who have been educated according to EAP standards, to move more easily from one European country to another” (EAP, n.d.-d, p.2).

EAP has participatory status in Council of Europe (2012b; EAP, n.d.-d). It participates in Conference of INGOs, one section of Council of Europe “quadrilogue” which includes the Committee of Ministers, the Parliamentary Assembly and the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities (Council of Europe, 2012b).

In its statutes and publications EAP links the definition of psychotherapy as an independent profession and the standards and quality of its training to the twin goals of professional recognition and mobility and client protection/social good (EAP, n.d.-d). Professional recognition for psychotherapists is a complex and contested arena, raising questions such as what counts as psychotherapy and who can call themselves a psychotherapist. A major difference between psychologists and psychotherapists is whether psychotherapy is a specialisation of psychology as the European psychologist body EFPA argues; (EFPA, 2010; Lane & Althaus, 2011) or an independent profession and therefore open to other disciplines such as the Strasbourg Declaration of Psychotherapy argues (EAP, 1990). National variations in legislation cover similar

differences. Some countries (at the time of writing: Germany, The Netherlands, Lithuania, Switzerland, Italy, Russia) require psychotherapists to have a psychiatric or psychological background and others (at the time of writing: Austria, Finland, Romania) recognise psychotherapy as an independent profession. Some, like Ireland, have no national laws and the definition of psychotherapy remains as yet unsettled.

Both EAP and EFPA have utilised EU initiatives such as EQD to argue their cause. The right of nations to pursue their own professional recognition criteria (the subsidiarity principle) is recognised by the EC and indeed the EC have used this to argue against inclusion of psychotherapy in its EQD (European Parliament and Council, 2005). In 2000 the EC described how different national legislation regarding recognition of psychotherapy would not allow the application of prior professional directives to psychotherapy (EC, 2000). This position has been reiterated at EC level on various occasions (EC, 1998a). However legislative, policy and practice changes appear to have shifted this towards the right of citizens to have qualifications recognised. European Case law established that whether a nation can differentially treat different professions is dependent on their being a different *quality* of professional training and practice, rather than merely national definitions of competent professionals (Solleveld & van den Hout-van Eijnsbergen v Staatssecretaris van Financiën, 2004). Again the mobility of professionals in the EU is a driver and QA is a mechanism for mobility.

QA is a significant mechanism used by EAP in arguing for European recognition. Its goal is “mutual recognition and equal conduct of psychotherapy in Europe” (EAP, n.d.-a, para. 2) through providing objective and comparable information on training of psychotherapists across national boundaries. In both EU and EAP’s vision for psychotherapy the place of decision making about what constitutes the profession appears to be Europe – or the EU – rather than nation states. The latest professional recognition directive, EQD, (European Parliament and Council, 2005) came into force in 2007 and has been evaluated and amended since then, in order to ease national restrictions in favour of mobility (e.g. EC, 2011a, 2011b). EAP has used this directive to considerable effect in promoting their vision of psychotherapy (Lane & Althaus, 2011). In 2011 the EC submitted a proposal for modernizing the EU’s Professional Qualifications Directive to the European Parliament and the European Council (EC, 2011b). This proposal has been subject to wide consultation with professional organisations, including EAP (EC, 2010). It aims to simplify the process and streamline

recognition of professional qualifications, replacing common platforms which proved too complex to work.

The Irish Presidency of the Council of the EU (1 January - 30 June 2013) made professional recognition a priority task. This resulted in a political agreement regarding the need for a revised Professional Qualification Directive by the European Council, European Parliament and Commission in June 2013 (Council of the European Union, 2013). During the latter half of 2013 various procedural and strategic changes are underway. These are described in the EC *News (Free movement of professionals)* website (EC, 2013b), which is frequently updated to include new regulatory provisions, consultation process, mechanisms and implementation strategies. Mechanisms for mobility and comparability include recognition tools (such as a European professional card – an electronic certificate) and a “one stop shop” for qualifications recognition. Procedures include the introduction of a “Mutual Evaluation Exercise” where professions are already regulated nationally – to examine justifications for national regulation requirements²⁹.

What is at issue here is not the validity of arguments, but the method and consequence of argument. QA is a mechanism that can be used by different groups to further their strategic interests. QA provides “evidence” of quality, in a form embedded and solidified in powerful processes such as BP and EU education frameworks. QA therefore provides the basis for redrawing the contours of professions across Europe, even where nations and professions had drawn these boundaries differently. Where QA is allied with legislative and regulatory mechanisms such as EU directives then these constructions are embedded in structures and practices – in hard law – that erodes possibilities of different competing constructions. Different arguments – based for example on the history, traditions and theories of a profession – hold little sway against the formidable QA argument.

²⁹ The complex development of and current position of the Professional Directive is described on various websites.

The European Commission website on the single market describes its evolution and current, changing position http://ec.europa.eu/internal_market/qualifications/index_en.htm.

Developments, including consultations, are described on its “news” website (http://ec.europa.eu/internal_market/qualifications/news/index_en.htm).

There is also a database of regulated professionals available at http://ec.europa.eu/internal_market/qualifications/regprof/index.cfm?fuseaction=home.links#sites.

There are contact points in every EU country that give specific information on recognition in different jurisdictions within EU. The Irish site is available at www.education.gov.ie

7.3.5 The EU

The EU is a complicated organisation, with particularly complex ties to HE in general and QA in education in particular (see Appendix 3.3). It has a significantly greater potential for both economic and legislative involvement in a wide range of policy areas in national contexts than other extra-national organisations. This is demonstrated in table 7. These EU documents were not visible in institutional websites for policy actors such as ENQA and EAP³⁰. Instead they were sourced through EU websites and the EU search engine EUR-lex. Again the complexity of texts and their interaction are significant. This table, like intertextual tables, is difficult to read, contains too many texts and too much information. What is significant here is the extent and breadth of EU involvement in HE – an area outside its legislative remit. Its involvement has occurred through two mechanisms: (1) soft regulatory approaches such as communications and resolutions and (2) tying HE field to economic and social fields that come within the remit of EU. This is particularly evident in the “modernising universities” thread, aimed at “enabling” (EC, 2005, title) universities to contribute to the economic agenda of the Lisbon Process. The manner in which HE is tied to economic goals is particularly striking in this chain.

The primacy of the economic sphere is part of the history of the EU. The *Treaty of Rome* (1957) established its predecessor, the EEC, an economic union, aimed at facilitating free trade. Renamed the EU by the *Maastricht Treaty* (1992), it moved towards a social and political union among member countries (Dale and Robertson, 2002, p. 24). The *Maastricht Treaty* (1992) acknowledged the EU’s role in promoting cooperation within education among European countries. However its legislative and administrative power in relation to education remained limited. Treaty provisions establish a supportive and facilitative role rather than a governance role for the EU in education other than in vocational education identified in the *Treaty of Rome* (1957) as an area of Community activity. The *Maastricht Treaty* (1992) is clear that Member States are in charge of their own education systems, but they co-operate within the EU

³⁰ The institutional websites of ENQA, EAP, their stakeholders and partners refer to and acknowledge the role of various EU bodies in funding and supporting their projects. Documents available through these websites frequently refer to EU legislative initiatives. However the breadth and influence of various EU texts only becomes apparent through the EU website, and in particular the EU’s own search engine EUR-LEX. In addition the extent to which the various EU bodies are involved in, support and shape various HE initiatives only becomes apparent through reading the various EU directives. This complex area of the manner in which HE discourses and EU discourses on HE intertwine is indicated in this study but it is not explored in depth.

framework in order to achieve common goals. This was not changed by the *Treaty of Lisbon* (2010), which updated the Maastricht Treaty.

However the EU's legislative and policy involvement in HE is substantial, particularly since the beginning of the Lisbon process. Table 7 identifies significant EU regulatory provisions in the area of HE through two chains of texts: the Lisbon Process and Higher Education. These chains overlap, particularly after the Lisbon Process midterm review in 2005. Most of these legislative provisions are soft regulatory (such as recommendations) rather than hard regulatory options (such as directives), as envisaged by the introduction of Open Method of Communication (OMC) in the Lisbon strategy as an additional means of EU policy coordination. OMC provided a methodology of soft regulation for working towards EU goals while allowing national differences and diversity in implementation (Radaelli, 2003). The Lisbon Process (European Council, 2000), in particular since its mid-term review in 2005 (Barossa, 2005; EC, 2005, 2006; European Council, 2005a, 2005b), linked economic goals to HE. It emphasised knowledge-based economies and the knowledge triangle of research, education and innovation. This direction was furthered by the Education and Training 2010 work programme (European Council and European Commission, 2010) that emphasised the modernisation of education at national level through reforms of lifelong learning and qualifications systems. Education, it appears, is intricately linked to areas firmly within EU legislative powers: work, mobility, economic development. This increased potential for hard law involvement in HE operates alongside the OMC formalisation of soft law possibilities.

These changes and shifts at EU level coincided with changes in the networking arrangements that I have described as configuring around QA in HE, where the EU institution and EU goals became entwined with HE, and QA (and more specifically ESG) became a mechanism for achieving these goals. The discourses together recontextualise EU goals for HE as *European* goals, the natural unquestionable goals of (all) Europeans, and the ideal towards which HE strives. To be European and not share these goals is not conceivable in this imaginary. The EU utilises rationalities (including concepts such as mobility and policy frameworks such as Education and Training (European Council and European Commission, 2010) and technologies (such as ESG and OPM) in constructing and maintaining this imaginary. Linking education and economic arenas occurs through rationalities such as Lifelong Learning and Quality and

technologies such as QA. In this reconfiguration Education and economic civic spheres become entwined. Education, work and entrepreneurship become a singular category. Again what is at issue here is not the “rightness” of this trajectory – undoubtedly considerable benefits accrue to participants in HE as a result of such movements – but the particular trajectory that this constructs for HE. In this trajectory it is difficult to see how education has a purpose or function – or even an existence – outside the economic sphere and workplace achievements. These reformations of HE and recontextualisation of discourses of HE are indicative of neoliberal ideals and mechanisms of steerage.

Table 7. The treaty basis for EU policies in education and training: Regulatory Framework

**Treaty of Rome in 1957 established Vocational Education as an area of Community action),
Maastricht Treaty 1992 established the European Community and formally recognised education as an area of European
Union competency
The Treaty of Lisbon, in force since 1 December 2009, did not change the provisions on the role of the EU in education
and training.**

EU Legislation (“Hard”)

Regulations, **Similar to a national law but applicable in all EU countries.**

Directive **Set out general rules to be transferred into national law by each country as they deem appropriate.**

Decision **A decision only deals with a particular issue and specifically mentioned persons or organisations.**

Other EU Official Documents (“Soft”)

Resolutions **may be issued by the European Council, the Council and the European Parliament. They set out jointly held
views and intentions regarding the overall process of integration and specific tasks within and outside the EU.**

Recommendation; Conclusion; Communications Reports: non-binding tools that occur within a commonly agreed framework,
(EC, 2001) White Paper on European Governance, COM (2001) 428,)

THE LISBON PROCESS: EUROPE 2000-2020

Europe 2020

European Council (2010) **Europe 2020: A New European Strategy for Jobs and Growth 25/26 March 2010**

Conclusions Euco 7/10 Co Eur 4 Concl 1 Brussels, 26 March 2010.

http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/113591.pdf

European Commission (2010) **Communication from the Commission. Europe 2020 A strategy for smart, sustainable and
inclusive growth.** Brussels, 3.3.2010 COM(2010)

<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2010:2020:FIN:EN:PDF>

Europe 2010. Lisbon Strategy

European Commission (2000): **The Lisbon European Council – An agenda of Economic and Social Renewal for Europe.** COM(2000) 7. http://ec.europa.eu/growthandjobs/pdf/lisbon_en.pdf [22 March 2008].

European Council (2000): **Presidency Conclusions – Lisbon European Council 23 and 24 March 2000, DOC/00/8.** http://consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/00100-r1.en0.htm [22 March 2008].

European Council (2005). **Presidency Conclusions – Brussels, 22 and 23 March 2005. 7619/1/0 REV 1.** Retrieved from http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/84335.pdf.

QUALITY ASSURANCE

European Commission (2009) Report from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions - Report on progress in quality assurance in higher education /* COM/2009/0487 final */. [http://eur-](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/Notice.do?val=501137:cs&lang=en&list=501137:cs,&pos=1&page=1&nbl=1&pgs=10&hwords=report%20on%20progress%20in%20quality%20assurance%20in%20higher%20education~&checktexte=checkbox&visu=#texte)

[lex.europa.eu/Notice.do?val=501137:cs&lang=en&list=501137:cs,&pos=1&page=1&nbl=1&pgs=10&hwords=report%20on%20progress%20in%20quality%20assurance%20in%20higher%20education~&checktexte=checkbox&visu=#texte](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/Notice.do?val=501137:cs&lang=en&list=501137:cs,&pos=1&page=1&nbl=1&pgs=10&hwords=report%20on%20progress%20in%20quality%20assurance%20in%20higher%20education~&checktexte=checkbox&visu=#texte)
European Parliament And Council (2006). **Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 15 February 2006 on further European cooperation in quality assurance in higher education** [Official Journal L 64 of 04.03.2006]. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2006:064:0060:0062:EN:PDF>

European Commission (1998). **Report From The Commission To The European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic And Social Committee And The Committee Of The Regions on the implementation of Council Recommendation 98/561/EC of 24 September 1998 on European cooperation in quality assurance in higher education** /* COM/2004/0620 final */ http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!DocNumber&lg=en&type_doc=COMfinal&an_doc=2004&nu_doc=0620

European Council (1998) **Council Recommendation (EC) No 561/98 of 24 September 1998 on European cooperation in quality assurance in higher education** [Official Journal L 270 of 07.10.1998] <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/Notice.do?val=229763:cs&lang=en&list=229763:cs,227340:cs,&pos=1&page=1&nbl=2&pgs=10&hwords=&checktexte=checkbox&visu=#texte>

Modernising universities

European Commission (2006) **Communication of 10 May 2006 from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament – Delivering on the modernisation agenda for universities: education, research and innovation** [COM(2006) 208 final - Not published in the Official Journal]. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:52006DC0208:EN:HTML>

European Commission (2005). **Commission Communication of 20 April 2005 – "Mobilising the brainpower of Europe: enabling universities to make their full contribution to the Lisbon Strategy"** [COM(2005) 152 final - Not published in the Official Journal].
http://eurlex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!DocNumber&lg=en&type doc=COMfinal&an doc=2005&nu doc=152

European Commission (2003). **Communication from the Commission, dated 5 February 2003 – "The role of the universities in the Europe of knowledge"** [COM(2003) 58 final – Not published in the Official Journal]. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!DocNumber&lg=en&type doc=COMfinal&an doc=2003&nu doc=58

Reviews

European Commission, Commission Staff Working Document (2012). **Education and Training Monitor 2012, Accompanying Communication from the Commission Rethinking Education: Investing in skills for better socio-economic outcomes (November 2012)** <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=SWD:2012:0373:FIN:EN:PDF>

European Council and European Commission (2012). **Education and Training in a smart, sustainable and inclusive Europe. 2012 Joint Report of the Council and the Commission on the implementation of the Strategic Framework for European cooperation in education and training (ET 2020) (March 2012)** <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2012:070:0009:0018:EN:PDF>

European Council (2011). **Benchmark for learning mobility. Council conclusions on a benchmark for learning mobility (December 2011)** <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2011:372:0031:0035:EN:PDF>

European Commission, Commission Staff Working Document (2011). **Progress towards the Lisbon objectives in education and training - Indicators and benchmarks 2010/2011 Commission Staff Working Document (April 2011)** http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-policy/doc/report10/report_en.pdf

European Council and European Commission (2010). **Key competences for a changing world . 2010 Joint Progress Report of the Council and the Commission on the implementation of the Education & Training 2010 work programme**

(January 2010) <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2009:0640:FIN:EN:PDF>
 European Commission, Commission Staff Working Document (2009). **Progress towards the Lisbon objectives in education and training - Indicators and benchmarks 2009.** Commission Staff Working Document (November 2009)
http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-policy/doc/report09/report_en.pdf

European Council and European Commission (2007). **Delivering lifelong learning for knowledge, creativity and innovation. Joint Council/Commission Report on the implementation of the Education & Training 2010 work programme (February 2008)**

European Commission, Commission Staff Working Document (2007). **Progress Towards the Lisbon Objectives in Education and Training based on indicators and benchmarks.** Commission Staff Working Document (October 2007)

European Commission (2007). **A coherent framework of indicators and benchmarks for monitoring progress towards the Lisbon objectives in education and training.** Council conclusions (May 2007)

European Commission (2007). **Establishing a coherent framework of indicators and benchmarks for monitoring progress towards the Lisbon objectives in education and training.** Communication from the Commission (February 2007)
http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-policy/doc/report09/report_en.pdf

Training: follow-up to the Lisbon European Council. Communication from the Commission (November 2002) <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2002:0629:FIN:EN:PDF>
 (2012/C 393/02)

European Commission and European Council (2004) **"Education & Training 2010" The success of the Lisbon strategy hinges on urgent reforms — Joint interim report of the Council and the Commission on the implementation of the detailed work programme on the follow-up of the objectives of education and training systems in Europe.** 2004/C 104/01 Retrieved from [http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:52004XG0430\(01\):EN:NOT](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:52004XG0430(01):EN:NOT)

European Commission (2003) **Communication from the Commission - "Education & Training 2010" : The success of the Lisbon Strategy hinges on urgent reforms (Draft joint interim report on the implementation of the detailed work programme on the follow-up of the objectives of education and training systems in Europe)** {SEC(2003) 1250} /* COM/2003/0685 final */ Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:52003DC0685:EN:NOT>

Higher Education

European Council, (2011). **The modernisation of higher education. Council Conclusions (November 2011).** <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2011:372:0036:0041:EN:PDF>

Supporting growth and jobs – an agenda for the modernisation of Europe's higher education systems. Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions (September 2011) <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2011:0567:FIN:EN:PDF>

European Commission, Commission Staff Working Document (2011). **Accompanying document to the Communication "Supporting growth and jobs: an agenda for the modernisation of Europe's higher education systems". Commission Staff Working paper** (September 2011) http://ec.europa.eu/education/higher-education/doc/wp0911_en.pdf

European Council, (2010). The internationalisation of higher education. **Conclusions of the Council (May 2010)** <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2010:135:0012:0014:EN:PDF>

European Commission (2009). **Report on progress in quality assurance in higher education. Report from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions (September 2009)** <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2009:0487:FIN:EN:PDF>

European Commission (2009). **A new partnership for the modernisation of universities: the EU Forum for University Business Dialogue: Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions (April 2009)** <http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2009:0158:FIN:EN:PDF>

European Council, (2008). **Report on the Council Resolution of 23 November 2007 on Modernising Universities for Europe's competitiveness in a global knowledge economy. Report from the Commission to the Council (October 2008)** <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/08/st15/st15292.en08.pdf>

European Commission, Commission Staff Working Document (2008). **Accompanying document to the report on the Council Resolution of 23 November 2007 on Modernising Universities for Europe's competitiveness in a global knowledge economy. Commission Staff Working paper** (October 2008) <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/08/st15/st15292-ad01.en08.pdf>

European Council, (2007). **Modernising universities for Europe's competitiveness in a global knowledge economy: Council**

Resolution (November 2007) <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/07/st16/st16096-re01.en07.pdf>

European Commission (2006). **Delivering on the modernisation agenda for universities: education, research and innovation. Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament (May 2006)** <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2006:0208:FIN:EN:PDF>

European Council and European Parliament (2006). **Further European cooperation in quality assurance in higher education. Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council (February 2006)** <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2006:064:0060:0062:EN:PDF>

European Commission (2006). **From Bergen to London . The contribution of the European Commission to the Bologna Process Commission Progress Report (January 2006)** <http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/educ/bologna/report06.pdf>

European Council, (2005). **Mobilising the brainpower of Europe: enabling higher education to make its full contribution to the Lisbon Strategy - Resolution of the Council and of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States (November 2005)** <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2005:292:0001:0002:EN:PDF>

European Commission (2005). **Communication from the Commission. Mobilising the brainpower of Europe: enabling universities to make their full contribution to the Lisbon Strategy {SEC(2005) 518}- Commission Communication (April 2005)** <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2005:0152:FIN:EN:PDF>

European Commission (2003). **The role of the universities in the Europe of knowledge. Commission Communication (February 2003)** <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2003:0058:FIN:EN:PDF>

Detailed work programme on the follow-up of the objectives of Education and training systems in Europe. Work programme of the Education Council in cooperation with the Commission (February 2002)
http://eurlex.europa.eu/pri/en/oj/dat/2002/c_142/c_14220020614en00010022.pdf

European Commission (2001). **Strengthening cooperation with third countries in the field of higher education. Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council (July 2001)** <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2001:0385:FIN:EN:PDF>

7.3.6 *International Organisation*

These brief snapshots of central processes and organisations show the complexity of network arrangements, and their change over time. ENQA, a network of QA agencies became networked with BP, a network of nations. ENQA in the academic sphere and EAP in the professional sphere became networked with complex extra-national pre-existing institutions that both legitimised and shaped their trajectories. These included EU (appendix 3.3), OECD (Appendix 3.4), UNESCO-CEPES (appendix 3.5) and Council of Europe (appendix 3.6) and BP in the case of ENQA. These networks join together through different mechanisms such as the chaining together of texts and membership of each other's organisations, meetings and conferences (table 4 and 5). Each of these organisations brings their own beliefs, values and missions to the network and work to steer QA agenda in particular directions.

The OECD, for example, was first founded in 1947 to run the US-financed Marshall Plan for post-war reconstruction and was reformulated as the OECD in 1960 when Canada and the US joined (OECD, n.d.-a.; see appendix 3.4). The OECD Directorate for Education covers areas such as “Tertiary Education for the Knowledge Society” and “Feasibility work on the Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes (AHELO)” (OECD, n.d.-b). The OECD's mission is to help its member countries to achieve sustainable economic growth and employment and to contribute to the development of the world economy (OECD, n.d.-f).

In its education role, the OECD focuses on evaluation and improvement of educational outcomes, including adjustments to a global economy (n.d.-e). It produces statistical analyses and comparison of national education that have considerable impact on national policy and discourses (OECD, 2013; Figazzolo, n.d.; Stack, 2006). Its work in policy areas such as global testing and ranking (AHELO) and Management in HE (IMHE) emphasise performativity, link education to economic indicators and – as is a mark of neoliberal policies – change the relationship between education and economic spheres. Currently OECD consists of 34 member countries worldwide and a “particular position” for the EC, resulting from a Supplementary Protocol to the Convention, a structure that mirrors the EU position in relation to BP (OECD, n.d.-c)³¹. This could be

³¹ The supplementary profile stated that “European Commission should take part in the work of the OECD. European Commission representatives work alongside Members in the preparation of texts and participate in discussions on the OECD's work programme and strategies, and are involved in the work of the entire Organisation and its different bodies. While the European Commission's participation goes well

seen as a new networking arrangement where formerly national networks are reformed to accommodate a particular position for the EU, as also occurred in BP.

UNESCO is an important contributor to HE global discourses and is the only UN organisation working in education. Its mission is to “contribute to the building of peace, the eradication of poverty, sustainable development and intercultural dialogue through education, the sciences, culture, communication and information.” (UNESCO, n.d.-i, para. 2). Like EU and OCED it is involved in HE regulatory mechanisms – such as setting standards and producing legally binding instruments (Hartmann, 2010; Shahjahan, 2012). However its focus on HE includes a social agenda, emphasizing human rights and cultural diversity which can put it in a conflictual position with other organisations and nations (Hartmann, 2010; Shahjahan, 2012). The withdrawal of USA and UK from UNESCO in the 1980's, for example, according to Hartmann (2010) was due to policy differences, including UNESCO's unwillingness to include outcome measure in its strategy for HE (Jakobi, 2007) resulting in marginalisation of UNESCO and considerably reduced funding (Hartmann, 2010).

The intertwined relationships of UNESCO, OECD and others such as the Council of Europe and the World Bank with processes such as GATS and BP are both complex and enlightening (Jakobi, 2009). Space does not permit an appropriate exploration. However complex strategic actions of these organisations have contributed to the HE landscape and the place of QA in those landscapes (Hartmann, 2010; Jakobi, 2007; Shahjahan, 2012). And where there is strategising there is contestation. Hartman (2010) describes how the 2003 UNESCO/OECD development of guidelines on Qualifications Recognition have been criticised as supporting GATS requirement for promoting a global free market in HE. This initiative was challenged as trade and market-oriented, aimed at pressurising governments to reduce the restrictions placed on foreign training providers, at the World Conference on Higher Education +10 (Altbach, Reisberg & Rumbley, 2009). However, as Hartman (2010) argues, the criticism was muted but not eliminated. Struggles over discursive and institutional power remain, and HE becomes shaped in the process (Hartmann, 2010).

beyond that of an observer, it does not have the right to vote on decisions or recommendations presented before Council for adoption” (OECD n.d.-c, para. 3)

7.4 National and Local Agency: The example of Ireland

7.4.1 The formation of QA in Ireland

Ireland is a particular example of how global initiatives in QA play out at national and local levels. Linkage between education, economic growth and rationalisation of HE funding and structures was recommended by a number of reports during the 1990's. The 1992 report from the Industrial Policy Review Group emphasised the need for education to address skills needs as well as requirements for further linkages between HE and industry (White, 2001; Duff, 2011). This influenced the 1992 Green Paper³² *Education for a changing world* (Department of Education and Science [DES], 1992), which emphasised “utilitarianism in education, certification and qualifications framework arrangements; and governmental control through „ quality assurance” (Duff, 2011, p. 5). QA principles of accountability and public responsibility were enshrined in legislation in the 1990's with both the *Universities Act 1997* and the *Qualifications (Education and Training) Act 1999*.

Subsequently a series of reports in Ireland, including The Skilbeck Report (Skilbeck, 2001) and the Cromien Report, (DES, 2000), as well as a special report by the Comptroller and Auditor General (2010), sought to rationalise structure and funding of HE and to introduce performance-based funding measures. QA emerged as a significant tool for measuring performance and for assessing effectiveness and efficiency. The Lisbon treaty's goals for knowledge-based economies shaped the HEA strategy statement 2004-2007 (HEA, 2004) and were an explicit consideration in an OECD country review (OECD, 2004). The OECD report recommended “a common quality assurance scheme” (p. 21.) something they felt could be achieved through European processes in education, principally BP and the EU.

Irish University bodies were also involved in this movement towards QA as a basis of accountability. The most significant Irish organisations involved in HE are described in table 8. CHIU was established in 1999 through the HEA and in 2003 produced a Framework Document for QA in the University sector (CHIU, 2003) that outlined the

³² The green paper explicitly referred to national and extra-national reports including “National Economic and Social Council reports Education and Training Policies for Economic and Social Development, 1993 and A Strategy for Competitiveness, Growth and Employment, 1993, the European Union's White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness and Employment 1994, and the OECD Jobs Study - Facts, Analysis, Strategies, 1994” (DES, 2002, p. 79)

creation of the Irish Universities Quality Board (IUQB). The primary remit of this board was to increase inter-university co-operation on QA and represent Irish universities nationally and internationally. CHIU's framework document made explicit connections between European level policy (particularly the Bologna Declaration) and Institutions (particularly ENQA and EUA), and Irish legislation and policies. The first series of external reviews of Universities was commissioned jointly by the IUQB and the HEA and undertaken by the EUA in 2004-5. Two reports evaluated the overall outcome - EUA (2005c) sectoral report and a HEA appointed external panel report (HEA, 2005). Both these documents note the effectiveness of QA, described by EUA as “unparalleled in any other country in Europe, or indeed in the United States and Canada” (2005c, p. 14), and also areas for development, such as introducing cross-departmental reviews. In 2007 the CHIU framework document was updated to include developments in the QA area, such as the incorporation of ESG (IUA & IUQB, 2007).

Despite the similarities in trajectories of university QA practices and government HE policies, the QA landscape has continued to change, and indeed transform. The most recent government policy paper, the *National Strategy for Higher Education* (DES, 2011), has required further changes to the HE landscape. This report, similar to reports in the UK (L. Harvey, 2005) and Australia (Davies & Bansel, 2010), recommended the development of performance measures and movement towards dependence rather than linkage between funding and performance. In Ireland the National Strategy (DES, 2011) was given effect in the *2012 Act*. This Act covers two main arenas; regulatory compliance and policy development. Both of these functions are embedded in the new Authority created, Quality and Qualifications Ireland (QQI). QQI amalgamated three bodies that had awarding and QA responsibilities: the Further Education and Training Awards Council (FETAC), HETAC and the National Qualifications Authority of Ireland (NQAI). QQI assumed all the functions of the three legacy bodies as well as the external quality assurance function of IUQB.

Within this institutional, legislative and policy change QA emerges as a significant area of concern for existing and new HE organisations, as table 8 describes. Existing statutory bodies, such as DES and HEA, and non-statutory bodies such as IUA (formerly CHIU), include QA in their activities (e.g. IUA, 2012a). More recent organisations – as their names suggest - such as QQI, and non-statutory bodies such as IUQB and the Irish Higher Education Quality Network (IHEQN), are focused

principally around QA. IHEQN, for example, originated in a BP discussion in 2003 as a network of organisations with an interest in QA in Ireland. Its focus is on developing a common national position on key quality assurance issues and informing the debate on those same issues at a European level.

The rationalisation of institutional structure, funding, legislation, policy and regulation is presented in key policy documents, such as the Comptroller and Auditor General (2010) report, the *National Strategy for Higher Education* (DES, 2011) and HEA (2012a, 2012b) framework for its implementation, as a necessary logical step in achieving a unitary unquestionable ideal. Performance oriented funding, for example is used to steer institutions towards fulfilling government policy initiatives – such as completion rates and lifelong learning - and Innovation-profile oriented funding is applied on a competitive basis allowing prioritisation targets funding at certain policy priorities such as inter-institutional collaboration, innovation and quality improvement (see Government of Ireland, 2007).

This vision of a uniform path towards an ideal future does not reflect the totality of policy implementation in HE. The tensions between setting national priorities and devising nationally consistent means of measurement with HEI perceptions of their own needs and vision is currently a matter of consultation and dialogue between HEIs and HEA³³. The HEA (2012c) analysis of institutional responses to its Framework document is one example of a disconnect between HEI's and government strategy: HEA is clear that HEI plans will not achieve national goals and this requires central steerage while IUA (2013) reject this contention, and challenge the HEA “landscape” process as:

comprising a top-down desk-based exercise by the international panel and a bottom-up process via individual institutional submissions, and a further desk based “gap analysis” could never be expected to yield a coherent blueprint for the evolution of the Higher Education system.” (p. 4)

Critiques of the reformulation of the HE landscape, rather than specific policy initiatives, include academics who argue that regulatory instruments and strategic aims can be seen as steering HE in particular predetermined directions, directions that reflect

³³ This process is summarised on the HEA website page (HEA, 2013b). The HEA produced their Framework document in February 2012, along with an initiation of a “strategic dialogue” process where HEI's were asked to describe their planned institutional profiles and performance indicators (HEA, n.d.-b). The results were analysed in Institutional Responses to the Landscape Document (HEA, 2012c) in November 2012. This was circulated to HEI's along with The HEA (2012b) “Van Vught Report” which proposed a reconfiguration of the Irish HE System including merging Irish institutions.

national, European and global neoliberalising agendas and interests. Lynch (2006a; 2006b) in particular has questioned the neoliberal direction of this trajectory, and analysed consequences for Irish HE and society of this pathway in both academic texts and in public media. Lynch, Gommell & Devine (2012) trace the pathway of neoliberalism in New Managerialism and analyse its consequences for HE culture. Fisher (2006) questions the impact of economic conceptualisations of the public good role of HE and its implications for students, HEIs and society. In the policy arena the Skilbeck report (2001), despite its outcome, describes the shift in positioning of universities from places for critical thinking to serving the knowledge economy, and the “contemporary cohabiting phenomena of strategic steering, devolution and accountability” (p. 36).

These challenges remain part of the intertwined trajectories of neoliberalism and dissent. However, given the direction of policy and legislative changes in Ireland the impact of critique can be difficult to identify. Coate & Mac Labhrainn (2009) and Holborow, (2012) have examined both neoliberalisation of HE and trajectories of resistance and dissent, including the part played by universities in opposing parts of the Universities Act (1997) that resulted in some, albeit minor change³⁴. Similar dissent occurred in relation to the 2012 Act. Whether the National University of Ireland (NUI) would be fully included in the new body to be established under the 2012 Act (QQI) was a matter of contention between universities and government (e.g. National University of Ireland [NUI], 2009). The original intent of the Bill, to dissolve NUI (*Dáil Éireann Debate*. 2012a) was opposed by NUI. The final position of the 2012 Act was to dissolve IUQB and retain NUI, restructuring the HE university sector but still retaining historic institutions in place (*Dáil Éireann*³⁵ Debate 2012b). The connections between dissent and change are difficult to establish, though these Dail (Parliamentary) debates continually refer to NUI challenges as impacting on this trajectory.

These dissenting forces are difficult to locate and trace in the rapidly changing institutional, legislative and policy landscapes in Ireland, but they do occur and, it appears, they do impact upon HE trajectories. However as this brief sketch of QA indicates, HE trajectories in Ireland are embedded in a converging policy direction that links HE with economic gain, and HE structure and funding with economic goals. It is

³⁴ This included two existing HEI’s retaining their names: University College Dublin and University College Cork.

³⁵ Dail Eireann is the Irish Parliament

interesting to note its similarities to trajectories inside and outside the EHEA such as UK (L. Harvey, 2005) and Australia (Davies & Bansel, 2010). In both these countries restructuring of HE throughout the 80's and 90's increasingly connected HE performance with economic goals, and stressed the need to develop measures of performance for HE (L. Harvey, 2005). This culminated in key policy texts³⁶ followed by legislative and institutional change, requiring performance measures and moving towards dependence rather than linkage between funding and performance. Both the trajectories and the timescale were similar to the Irish context, and also, it appears the methods. Under this architecture for HE performance needs a measure, and QA is a mechanism for measuring the quality on which performance can be described and judged.

However the centring of measures of accounting such as QA as a means towards rationalising HE is by no means a straight pathway and its actual outcomes in particular contexts are by no means predictable, as recent developments in standards development in counselling and psychotherapy, described in chapter 5, demonstrate. The development of QQI (2013b) standards through consultation with professional bodies appears to have resulted not only in considerable alignment of professional standards with academic standards but also an emphasis on explicit and detailed descriptions of what constitutes valid knowledge and competencies in psychotherapy. The draft standards suggest that the counselling and psychotherapy field is moving its own professional education towards convergence with higher education regulatory systems. However the particular form these standards will take remains unsettled. These standards are, at the time of writing, at consultation stage - a process that has been used to generate different, alternative perspectives on professional knowledge and identity (QQI, 2013c). Within this trajectory for psychotherapy education a new institutional mix is emerging, which centres statutory agencies such as QQI³⁷, and de-centres professional bodies, but the discursive power of the profession, it appears, allows possibilities for shaping the particular pathway that does emerge

³⁶ This included the UK White Paper of 2003, Future of Higher Education (DES, in Harvey, 2005) and in Australia, 'Our Universities: Backing Australia's Future' (Nelson, in Davies & Bansel, 2010).

³⁷ With statutory registration this will also include the professional regulatory body the Health and Social Care Professionals Council [CORU].

Table 8. Irish organisation involved in QA

Organisation (website)	Statutory base	Structure/ Membership	Responsibility/ Role	Quality	Publications	Networking - National	Networking (international)
Department of Education and Skills http://www.education.ie/en/The-Department/Management-Organisation/	Government Department	10 Areas, including HE. HE Area divided in 3; Equity of Access; <u>Policy and Skills</u> ; <u>Research and Funding</u> ;	Education, policy planning, quality assurance, resourcing, regulation and evaluation, support services for the education sector.	Overall legislative and policy framework/ Oversight	The <u>National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030</u> , which was launched in 2011 (DES, 2011) and Implementation Plan (HEA, 2012a, 2012b)	National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030 Implementation Oversight Group	DES international section manages the Department's engagement with international institutions, including the European Union, Council of Europe, OECD and UNESCO, Includes involvement in EU's Education Council; EU's Strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training EU's Lifelong Learning Programme
QQI http://www.qqi.ie/Pages/default.aspx	<u>Qualifications and Quality Assurance (Education and Training) Act</u> (Act, Number 28 of 2012)	Governing Authority 8 business sections including Quality Assurance Services	Quality and Qualifications	External review of HEIs; Validate programmes and make awards mainly for private HEI's	Developing Comprehensive Policy Development Programme.	Business sections include Industry & External Partnerships Section Provider Relations Section	Qualifications recognition ERIC – NARIC Standards development (QQI, 2013b)
HEA http://www.heai	Higher Education	Authority and members	Statutory planning and	Irish Universities	Publish statistics, policy and good	Funding of designated	National Agency for the Lifelong Learning

e/	Authority Act		policy development body for HE and research in Ireland; strategic developmental and advisory functions; Funding authority for the universities designated higher education institutions.	Quality Board Review and more generally the Strategic Innovation Fund.	practice documents. Carry out reviews e.g. Review of Quality Assurance Procedures in Irish Universities With IUQB	institutions. Supports exchanges between HEI's and HEI's and industry/enterprise. E.g. Horizon Scanning HEAnet (National Education and Research Network)	Programme: Erasmus; National Contact Point for the Tempus Programme; National Structure for Erasmus Mundus and has a key role in furthering the aims of the Bologna process EURIreland website
IUA formerly Conference of the Heads of Irish Universities (CHIU) http://www.iua.ie/	No statutory base. Company limited by guarantee, having charitable status.	Representative body for Ireland's universities. Board of Directors and Council is comprised of the Presidents and Provost of the Universities	Irish universities' representation, support and advocacy organisation for matters of shared sectoral concern.	Support the universities in developing sectoral policies and strategies	IUA Submission on Higher Education System Configuration Jan 2013 Careering Towards The Knowledge Society	Operate through a network of standing committees, sub committees and working groups,	International section - EURAXESS Ireland help-desk – information provision on mobility for researchers
IUQB http://www.iuqb.ie/en/homepage.aspx (Prior to 2012 Act)	No statutory base Company limited by guarantee Voluntarily strike-off IUQB as a company on establishment of QQI	Established in 2002 Consisted of Board and Management committee Consisted of a representative from each of the Universities and 7 external members. and an Executive Committee, consisting of 2 members from	Prior to 2012 Act •conducted external reviews of QA in Irish universities •provided information on QA published national guidelines of good practice	Produced Good Practice Booklets Carried out external quality reviews of Irish universities Produced University Quality Review Reports	Good Practice Booklets and University Quality Review Reports E.g. National Guidelines of Good Practice for the Approval, Monitoring and Periodic Review of Programmes (2012)	Linked to Universities through membership;	Defines core activity as including: co-operate with national and international organisations (IUQB, n.d.) Lined to European organisation through Board (e.g. EUA) and membership of external bodies - e.g. Member ENQA. On EQAR register,

IHEQN Irish Higher Education Quality Network	No statutory base IHEQN originated within BP, held under the aegis of the DES. Established in 2003 by Decisions of the governing authorities of universities	each university, Membership consisting of the principal stakeholders - practitioners, policy makers and students - involved in quality Assurance in Irish higher education and training.	Provide a forum for discussion of QA Provide a forum for the dissemination of good practice in QA, develop common national principles and approaches to QA		Principles of Good Practice for Quality Assurance / Quality Improvement in Irish Higher Education and Training' (IHEQN, 2005).	active cooperation Between the IUA and the IUQB through the work of the IUA Quality Committee. (see publication IUA & IUQB, 2007)	
---	--	---	---	--	--	---	--

7.5 Addressing the research questions

Here I draw together some themes emerging in this analysis to examine formations of HE prominent in QA discourses and how QA mechanisms contribute to these formations.

7.5.1 *QA mechanisms*

The Irish example with its similarities to the Australian and UK trajectories provides one example of how soft regulation, such as QA, is increasingly linked with legislation, policy and funding in steering towards policy goals. This can be seen as a transformation in policy fields, embedded in wider social transformations such as Europeanisation (e.g. Bache, 2006; O'Mahony, 2007), Globalisation (e.g. Ball 2012) and Neoliberalism (e.g. Shore and Wriqth, 1999). In addition the sites of policy construction and implementation have changed (Ball & Junemann, 2012) from central government to networked governance, but by no means entirely. In the Irish context state-initiated change at institutional, legislative and policy levels are reforming the HE landscape without, it appears, much network involvement. Policy and good practice guides, working with measurement instruments such as QA and performance indicators, on the one hand discursively produce a particular compelling ideal of HE. However they also measure the performance of HEIs against national standards on the basis of which their sustainability, and future existence, can be determined at national level. QA, it appears, is a mechanism that can be used both to persuade and to compel.

7.5.2 *Discourses of steerage: Convergence/divergence*

The discourse of Convergence-Divergence was introduced in Chapter 5 as working with soft regulatory mechanisms such as ESG to allow local variations of central requirements. Convergence is not a measure of uniformity, but a movement towards common goals (Crozier et al, 2006). Convergence-divergence as a discourse can be seen as working with QA as a technology to produce a particular way of describing a policy field that suggests certain solutions. Who defines what is acceptable (convergent) and unacceptable (divergent) difference is not made visible within this construction. Again this rationality is not uncontested. EUA (2009) question the legitimacy of convergence as an evaluative mechanism, challenging its inability to consider culture and foster diversity. ENQA's quality convergence study argues that quality as a culturally

embedded concept cannot be measured in terms of convergence (Crozier et al., 2006). These challenges suggest that convergence/divergence can be seen as a measure of what is permissible rather than what is quality.

7.5.3 Who steers: The actors

The policy actors, identified and examined in this chapter, are different to the authors of texts, explored in the previous chapter. The EU, for example, is absent from authorship, but of considerable significance in the institutional domain. In addition a textual focus and an institutional focus provide different pictures of the institutions and their relationships. In this institutional focus the EU emerges as no mere light touch funder, but as a significant institutional actor.

7.5.4 Whose knowledge

This analysis shows the different potentials for influence residing both in traditional (sovereign) and emerging (networks) sites of power and knowledge. The exercise of sovereign power through national legislation and policy can radically affect QA at local levels, as the case of Ireland demonstrates. States selectively create and sustain QA in their HE legislation and policy and the force and import of QA resides partly in these acts of states. But sovereignty and nations are no longer synonymous and extra-national bodies can steer or determine HE practices such as QA. The EU has both soft and hard options for regulating member states. Other extra-national organisations – such as OECD, UNESCO and Council of Europe - also produce legal instruments with contractually binding effects imposed with the agreement of nation states. QA is formed and sustained in these extra-national contexts, particularly where it is aligned with other discursive fields and policy directions, such as economic growth and recovery in the EU Lisbon process. And there are other contributors to and mechanisms for the QA field. Soft regulation is often the instrument of choice even for those who have hard legislative power, such as the EU. Local and sectoral institutions act to influence QA through networkings and partnerships. Quality discourse and practices originate and are assembled, deployed and sustained in multiple sites at local, national and extra-national level involving multiple mechanisms.

7.5.5 What knowledge:

Dense networking around QA and institutional focus on QA occurs at both Irish and European level. The discursive field of QA emerged as situated within networks of institutions where constructing QA was connected, in part (in particular within EU contexts) but not completely (e.g. ESU, 2012; EI, 2007; Crozier et al., 2007), with economic goals and marketplace values for HE.

The actual trajectory of QA arose within disputed territory occupied by competing claims to meaning (such as what is quality) and authority (such as whether ESG should be a guide or regulation). Institutional arrangements as well as texts shaped its actual path. ENQA was positioned as an expert in the QA field and EAP as an expert in the psychotherapy field in part through their relationships with powerful European processes such as BP and EU. These institutions also used their own strategies to further their own cause, aligning themselves with discourses of these powerful institutions. These alignments shaped institutional fields of operation; ENQA was directed to develop QA standards that allow *comparability*, rather than the focus of the TEEP project (ENQA, 2009) on *cultural diversity* in quality. EAP was required to develop definitions of psychotherapy that allow centralised decision of what it is and is not, rather than allow the diversity of meanings to emerge from the practice context. These positions are associated with desired outcomes - mobility, recognition, and internationalisation. My analysis suggests that these positions were also associated with institutional strategic aims.

In this institutional landscape critique is rendered difficult but not impossible. Critique emerges - such as ESU (2012) – sometimes in surprising places – such as in the Silberg report (2001) – though it appears to have little effect on what appears to be an unrelenting neoliberalising pathway. However there is a continual interplay between agreement and dissent, with networks becoming places of disagreement as well as co-operative systems.

7.6 Conclusion. The work of this chapter

The aim of this chapter has been to render the institutional field more visible and more manageable. The first task was to identify institutions and their networks. These institutional sites were not always discrete, obvious or visible and were difficult to see,

describe and represent. Networks were identified, though not entirely, through internet searches tracing inter-organisational connections through texts. In this way I identified networks of institutions held together by relationships and connections that change over time. It seems reasonable to assume that much is hidden in my account. There appears to be layers of decreasing visibility - as with criticisms of UNESCO (Hartman, 2010) - and also layers of overwhelming visibility where content becomes obscured by multiplicity of texts, as with the EU.

The second task was to examine how institutional networks constructed and utilised QA and how this shaped the HE field. I examined how institutions linked together around the policy field of QA and utilised QA in forming HE as a particular entity that fitted with their strategic aims. For EAP, for example, quality training in the discrete, definable discipline of psychotherapy allowed the profession to fit within the EU EQD, and therefore move towards European recognition. In this way my examination of policy networks provided (i) an understanding of QA as embedded within the strategic actions of institutional actors rather than a tool by which best practice solutions are implemented and (ii) ideals of HE as arising from institutional missions and values, embedded in their histories and beliefs, rather than natural and inevitable.

This chapter described how institutional networks cluster around QA and produce texts about QA that shape HE. ESG and TAC were formulated at European level and disseminated to networks of members, who in turn have responsibility for national and local implementation. In Ireland bodies such as QQI do this task at national level and HEI's reinterpret and recontextualise national policy at institutional level. Implementing ESG therefore involves multiple organisations at different glonacal levels with different potential for influencing the implementation of ESG in local contexts. This reframes the regulatory arena from a hierarchically imposed rule to a network of actors all involved in recontextualising the QA field and making it their own. On the one hand this shifts discursive power from the centre towards the margins. On the other hand institutional, discursive and material power is identified in this chapter as significant in steering HE in particular directions, in particular where strategic interests coincide. For example the EU Lisbon strategy can impact with surprising force and be taken up with surprising zeal in seemingly separate arenas such as BFUG and the terms of reference for the OECD (2004) review of HE in Ireland. The EQD is significantly impacting on the description of psychotherapy as a profession. The implications of such linkages include

a reshaping of the HE landscape, linking HE and economic spheres and reframing HE in terms of the marketplace values.

The picture of QA that is emerging is as intricately connected with other areas of HE, such as funding and strategic development, rather than as a discrete field. In my account QA is not the work of discernible institutions with identifiable agendas that illuminates the interests behind the strategy. There is no sovereign source to QA. Instead QA is the work of all of us who are policy actors engaged in QA. As the QA area expands QA actors become synonymous with HE actors. QA requires engagement with the policy; on particular terms and within particular limits, but engagement nonetheless. Within this QA network there are multiple agendas, visions, beliefs and practices, and some of them are our own. In that multiplicity critical engagement becomes difficult to imagine; it resides outside of the conditions of possibility established within the QA field. However, as this chapter demonstrates, critique co-exists with neoliberalising trajectories in HE. This suggests that neoliberalisation is one, and not the totality of HE trajectories. There are other discourses, practices and possibilities evident within HE.

In this account I highlighted some troublesome aspects of QA: its connections with wider social processes such as the economic agenda of the Lisbon Process; differences between discourse and practice in areas such as the autonomy of HEIs; the shaping of meaning and values through, for example, positioning quality as a measureable entity and psychotherapy as a particular object. It is likely that much remains hidden in my account. Despite its shortcomings this chapter provided a picture of the QA policy area. It reigned in a seemingly unmanageably complex environment. In doing so it contributed to making sense of the QA policy landscape.

This institutional landscape works with texts in forming QA. In the next chapter I turn to examining the QA policy documents and their contribution to the QA policy field.

Chapter 8. Discourse and text: Embedding QA in discursive and textual strategies.

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to identify and analyse discursive contributions of these documents to the formation of QA and the steering of HE towards an ideal. The focus of this chapter is the documents themselves and how they actually embed discourses through textual and linguistic strategies. Building on the preliminary analysis of texts in Chapter 5, this chapter describes how the documents work within institutional networks and chains of texts and events.

Section 1 examines discourses, genres and styles as elements related respectively to representing, acting and interacting. Section 2 examines how textual and linguistic strategies operate as actually existing neoliberalism. Neoliberalism draws attention to shifts in subjectivities from the liberal subject who acts at a distance from and engages in critique of centralised, sovereign activities and the neoliberal subject who engages in sovereign acts, who govern themselves (Davies & Bansel, 2010; Rose, 1989). I examine how these documents create the ideal to which neoliberal subjects aspire and the mechanism by which neoliberal subjects are engaged in the project of reshaping the boundaries of HE.

8.2 Discourses, genres and styles

8.2.1 ESG

ESG is structured in a fairly standard form for reports. It has an introduction, the problem to be solved; the solution/aspiration to be achieved and the place of this text in the problem/solution, though not necessarily in that order. This is the basic form of 'problem-solution' found in hortatory discourses that aims to persuade their subjects to carry out the requirements named in that discourse (Kirkpatrick, 1999; Hollingsworth, 1980). Hortatory discourses describe a problem (reason for action) and response/solution (including the specific actions required by different subjects), and motivate subjects to act in the specified ways (Kirkpatrick, 1999). They shape

behaviour through steering by coercion/persuasion rather than argument and therefore the basis of the argument tends to be assumed rather than made explicit.

Global Problems and community solution: Adjusting to globalisation

The following extract exemplifies the framing of the problem and the move to solution, through persuasion rather than argument.

Extract 1. ESG p. 10

Quality assurance in higher education is by no means only a European concern. All over the world there is an increasing interest in quality and standards, reflecting both the rapid growth of higher education and its cost to the public and the private purse. Accordingly, if Europe is to achieve its aspiration to be the most dynamic and knowledge-based economy in the world (Lisbon Strategy), then European higher education will need to demonstrate that it takes the quality of its programmes and awards seriously and is willing to put into place the means of assuring and demonstrating that quality.

The problem is presented as real and unquestionable, part of our global HE community experience. It is not a newly identified problem, but is reflected in multiple texts (Chapter 6) and institutional discourses (chapter 7); it is part of the implicit knowledge of the HE community. “Concern” “achieve” “need to” are lexical indicators of the problem-solution type (Kirkpatrick, 1999). Here the growth and cost problem of HE is faced by HEIs and therefore the readers; and requires of the readers a solution. This problem description – seemingly insurmountable, in that it needs to balance increased student numbers with decreased funding - is answered by a solution – a demonstration of commitment to quality. This is concretised by putting in place a mechanism, QA.

The rhetoric here is one characteristic of policy genres; a move from problem to solution (Mulderigg, 2011). The problem is not presented dialogically – there is no invitation to explore what the problem might be, who identifies the problem, how it might be described differently and other possible solutions might emerge. Instead there is an assertion that runs from problem to solution and a closing down of other possibilities. The relationship between problem and solution is represented in terms of both social necessity and individual responsibility (Davies & Bansel, 2010). The socio-economic context, where shifts towards massification of education with declining funding occur, is rendered unproblematic and beyond question. Instead there is a sifting of responsibility for managing the “problem” downwards, to HEI’s and their staff. The

problem “is” and the solution – quality and its assurance - is the natural inevitable solution. Individuals and HEI’s become responsible for the problem and simultaneously for implementing the particular solution; commitment to and assurance of quality. In this sense ESG is regulatory: it requires particular actions, one particular trajectory. The rationality of the approach renders the underlying argument invisible and beyond critique.

The implicit argument is that increasing lack of resources in HE can be resolved by the commitment to and measurement of an undefined concept, quality. Neoliberal constructions of policy arenas are evident in this construction. It removes the social context from the policy problem and places responsibility for policy solutions on the policy community, individuals and HE’s (Perez & Cannella, 2012). The solution is achieved by twin actions of adjustment of policy actors and proceduralisation.

Steering towards neoliberal solution.

Legitimation and persuasion

Policy texts steer their policy community towards their particular solutions through different mechanisms such as legitimation (utilising the force of law, institutional or discursive power) and argument. In ESG legitimation acts to establishing the authority of the text through its connection with discursively powerful actors and individuals: “This report ... comes with the endorsement of all the organisations named” (p. 5). The reader is invited into a common journey, a “long and possibly arduous route” (p. 5) but not as equal partners. There is an inscription of social relationships, where experts endorse but readers will find it “useful and inspirational” (p. 5). The action of advising/requiring/sharing good practice and being advised establishes a social relationship where contributions from the quality community are subject to the expertise of the authors. There is no critique or challenge envisaged. The end is “the establishment of a widely shared set of underpinning values, expectations and good practice in relation to quality and its assurance” (p. 5). No possible courses of action are envisaged for those who might not share the values and expectations. The difference between networks that govern, those that write the texts, and “just networks” (Goodwin, 2009) - those that talk about the texts - seems evident within this construction. Networks, as Goodwin (2009) points out, have their own power structures hierarchies, of social relationships that shape who can speak, about what and in what terms.

Legitimation elevates the status of a text and gives its view of reality authority but does not in itself steer towards action. Mobilising action towards its end occurs through persuasive/coercive means. ESG is positioned within BP, a process with no legal force but with the authority of ministers of education to provide legal standing, and therefore coercive force³⁸. ESG's approach in its text is more persuasive. It appeals to community, belonging and shared values and commitments. There is a joining here of the author and reader in an assumed common aim; "The realisation of the EHEA" (p. 16). ESG provides this goal as the aim of responsible subjects and also one pathway to achieve this aim. This locates QA "in a moral domain of responsible subjects" (Davies & Bansel, 2010 p. 11). Its regulatory effects are obtained through the twin constructions of autonomy and responsibility.

Modality and obligation: soft and hard regulation

ESG is ambiguous about its regulatory position, at times resembling hard regulation and at times soft regulation. It requires both autonomy and also specified actions. In ESG a fundamental principle is the "central importance of institutional autonomy" (p. 12). ESG described this principle as embedded in chains of texts that emphasise HEI's autonomy such as the EUA (2003) Graz Declaration and BP (2003) Berlin Communiqué. At the same time ESG's middle sections states specific actions required, of HEI's in their internal and external QA and of QA agencies. This is explained in ESG as a non regulatory positioning that envisages regulation.

Extract 2. ESG p. 34

[ESG] is not and cannot be regulatory but makes its recommendations and proposals in a spirit of mutual respect among professionals; experts drawn from higher education institutions including students; ministries; and quality assurance agencies. Some signatory states may want to enshrine the standards and review process in their legislative or administrative frameworks.

This ambiguous position around regulation-autonomy is encoded in the modality of the text. As I described in chapter 5, modality encodes obligation, the requirement for action (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough (1989) describes governance as exercised within a coercion-consent spectrum that lies along the hard-soft regulatory continuum. This spectrum is encoded in different lexical forms (Mulderrig, 2011): high modality

³⁸ In Ireland the 2012 Act requires QA, and links with ESG are established through administrative bodies such as QQI and funding agencies such as HEA.

obligations are associated with coercive governing and low modality obligations with co-operative governing. Policy genres are more abstract and generalised than legal genres, providing guides to what “should” be done rather than specific requirements for what “must” be done. “Must” is a higher modality word than “should”. Hard regulatory documents have a higher modality – a commitment to truth and obligation – and requirement for action than policy genres. In ESG’s middle section the term “should”, is used to describe the required actions. “Should” is used to identify the standards that must be reached - HEI’s “should”, for example, have QA procedures, review their programmes, have ways of assuring the competence of teachers (p, 8-10). These standards are further expanded in “guidelines [that] provide additional information about good practice.” (p. 16). These guidelines create snapshots of the area of regulation. Standards may require that “assessment criteria, regulations and procedures ...are applied consistently” (p. 17) whereas guidelines require that assessments are proceduralised through process such as formal approval and periodic reviews. It is difficult to see where autonomy lies in the totality of constructions of HE areas of practice.

One effect of this ambiguous positioning is that ESG can act along a continuum of soft and hard regulation. Neither ENQA nor BP has sovereign or legal power to implement ESG, and ESG’s language and modality reflects this position. The linguistic encoding of modality in ESG allows variability and selective application in different national context, particular where national law conflicts with ESG - such as the obligation to remove “poor teachers” (p. 18) described in chapter 6. This may require different national implementation to take into account employment law and agreements.

However soft regulation is not only facilitative of national sovereignty, it also operates differently, persuading towards rather than requiring actions. As ENQA’s review of terminology tells us, convergence is a much more acceptable concept, carrying implications of autonomy and difference (Crozier et al, 2006)³⁹. The reality of autonomy is questionable where the boundaries of convergence are drawn through institutional power rather than dialogue, as I argued in chapter 7, or where the complex construction of meaning in a text obscures or eradicates different meanings, as I argue

³⁹ This greater acceptability does not place the concept of convergence beyond critique. As I pointed out in chapter 7, EUA (2009) question the legitimacy of convergence as an evaluative mechanism and ENQA question its applicability in relation to contextually embedded concepts such as quality (Crozier et al., 2006).

here. However it is effective in both appropriating already existing principles and commitments of HE and in placing responsibility on HEI's for a commitment to "European" goals. As Davies and Bansel (2010) describe, appropriating existing discourses and shifting responsibility to individuals are both distinctive features of neoliberal steering towards neoliberal goals.

Embedding neoliberal ideal: Soft regulation and shaping desires

The problem is also presented as opportunity. ESG speaks of the "initiatives and demands" (p.10) already grasped, effectively, by the HE community ("The commitment of all those involved...augurs well for the fulfilment of a truly European dimension to quality assurance for the EHEA" (p.10)). We are well on our way towards our shared vision, a "European" vision. What is left to do is "reinforce the attractiveness of the EHEA's higher education offering" (p.10). There is an inspirational intent associated with soft regulation rather than a hard regulatory position where problem and solution are more explicit. There is a constructive and optimistic vision rather than a sense of risk and danger, often the driving force of change in globalisation (Giddens, 1991).

Davies and Bansel (2010) argue that discourses of risk and fear "produce a compliant subject" (p. 12) who is required to act. Here we see the operation of QA in its other manifestation, producing subjects who *want* to act. We are well on our way to achieving our aspirations, we are told, and ESG provides the roadmap for the final stage. This is a message that is particularly difficult to critique; it would require challenging the aims we have worked so hard to achieve, of stalling a project that is almost complete. In the place of risk and danger are appeals to loyalty and commitment, to hope and possibility, to the end of a journey towards something. To critique the QA path is to critique collegiality, hope, possibility and pride at achievement.

Including wider discourses; globalisation, Europeanisation and neoliberalism

In extract 1 above, ESG links global concerns ("All over the world there is an increasing interest in quality and standards") with European aspirations ("to be the most dynamic and knowledge-based economy in the world": p. 10). In the following extract European-ness becomes the solution to the problem of globalisation, and the path towards achieving aspirations.

Extract 3. ESG, p. 10 - 11

The initiatives and demands, which are springing up both inside and outside Europe in the face of this internationalisation of higher education, demand a response...The EHEA with its 40 states is characterised by its diversity...generally acknowledged as being one of the glories of Europe.

Globalisation, as a given, is the problem; European-ness provides the solution. Evident in this extract is what Fairclough (2003) refers to as: ‘The neo-liberal discourse of economic change’ (p. 100). Neo-liberal agendas, as D. Harvey (2007) points out, are not solely individualistic but mobilise nations in the actions of furthering markets. Internationalisation in education can be seen as connected with globalisation; in the imaginary of both internationalisation and globalisation the movement of consumers (students) and markets (of higher education) across national borders is facilitated at macro, meso and micro levels. The policies, practices, relationships and structures that support a move towards internationalization and mobility include qualifications recognition – NFQs, standards and QA of HE programmes (L. Harvey & Newton, 2004). Quality, therefore, moves from being an attribute of education to a being a mechanism for furthering economic agendas for HE.

HEI’s are required to adapt to this new landscape in particular ways.

Extract 4; ESG, p. 33

[ESG offers]...higher education institutions recognition and credibility and opportunities to demonstrate their dedication to high quality in an increasingly competitive and sceptical environment.

ESG links the discourse of the knowledge-society with economics of globalisation (Edwards & Nicholls 2001). The knowledge-society is characterised by the massification of education and QA ensures quality remains while numbers increase by promoting effectiveness and efficiency. But it is a specifically European vision, emphasising specifically “European dimension” of QA. It is informed by international practice but its purpose, specifically linked to the EU Lisbon strategy (Extract 1), is to market European HE. In this discourse the role of QA is self evident and ESG presents a procedural guide to how this might be done.

ESG’s discourse work is in defining a global problem that is reformulated as a problem of HEI’s who have a responsibility to act in specified ways to resolve the problem in order to achieve a particular vision of a future. Alternative questions – such as the implications of massification of education for the education work of HEI’s – and

alternative solutions – such as increasing funding - remains unconsidered, and potentially invisible.

Proceduralisation: Promotion through self-reflection

Fairclough describes the interlinking of promotion of goods and services with self-actualisation and reflexive engagement with the product being “sold”. This is particularly pertinent to the Self-evaluation reports required by ESG of HEI’s (p. 21 & 37) and QA agencies (p. 22 & 35). These reports could be seen as a new genre, requiring self-reflection on and self-evaluation of performance and achievement. They are also required to be made publically available: “Reports should be published in a readily accessible form” (ESG, p. 22). Thus personal and institutional reflexive engagement becomes information to potential consumers of the education commodity. In this positioning of self-evaluation reports critical engagement becomes captured by the logic of the marketplace; we reflect in order to sell ourselves. Again dismantling critique occurs not by coercion but by enlisting subjects into particular rationalities and identities. Self-identity and self-promotion become entangled (Fairclough, 2003).

Future work

The goals of the QA community which ESG will help achieve are summarised in the first part of the Executive summary (p.6). This section joins the HE community together in their vision for an ideal HE. ESG presents this vision as the outcomes of implementation of ESG, listed in bullet points. This is part of the work of discourse: to envisage a future. Here the view of EHEA with strong, autonomous and effective HEIs, valuing quality and standards, supported by credible QA agencies presents a particular future as the natural future of HE to which we all aspire. ESG presents a hopeful, inspired future: the creation of a knowledge-driven economy (OECD, 1996; Dunkel, 2009) based on quality education. The message is that this envisaged future can be achieved through a shared way of measuring quality.

ESG constructs a particular view of the HE ideal, of actions for HEIs, of moral responsibility that is naturalised and unquestioned within the text. The discursive work here is not merely persuasion to act in a particular way based on self interest. This is ideological work; a reformulation of the social construction of the world of education and its connection to civil society. The assumption is that the knowledge about HE inherent in the text is true, reasonable and unquestionable, that the future is desirable

and we travel a common path, guided by experts and our procedural expertise. In this alignment of personal and community desires with the vision of the future ESG dismantles critique.

8.2.2 TAC

TAC is a QA mechanism that provides “recognition” (p. 1) of psychotherapy qualifications. It specifies requirements for training recognition that include standards for HEI’s (including ethical codes and membership of professional bodies), trainers (including experience and qualifications; trainers are called teachers in ESG) and training programmes (including specified hours of teaching). While TAC is positioned as an exercise in “quality control” (EAP, n.d.-g, para. 1 & 2) the relationship between TAC requirements and quality, as in ESG, is assumed rather than made explicit.

TAC presents a definition of psychotherapy – the Strasburg Declaration – which alongside “our own EAP rules are the bedrock from which all requirements spring” (p. 1). The theoretical and ideological question of what psychotherapy is and who has discursive power to define it is reformed and solved in this sentence. Discursively, dialogue within and between schools of psychotherapy is closed down, as is dialogue about regulation of psychotherapy.

The potential for conflict and difference between EAP definition and national (legislative) definitions is highlighted in the first section (the practice of psychotherapy is *restricted by the local law* to psychiatrists and psychologists” (p. 1) but this seemingly insurmountable problem does not negate the power of EAP and the status of ECP: “In any case, ***a practitioner who reaches our requirements may obtain the ECP***, even if he is not allowed - at this moment - to be recognized as “psychotherapist” in his own country” (p. 1, emphasis in the original).

This is also a discourse of Europeanisation. The qualification obtained on the basis of TAC accreditation, the ECP, is described as “European recognition and not a National one” (p. 1). It stands alongside and, where TAC conflicts with national laws, in opposition to national qualifications. Unlike the soft law mechanism in ESG of allowing variability in implementation based on national law, TAC takes an oppositional stance. It is difficult to see how this might operate in conflicting national contexts.

TAC is a means to professional “recognition”. This is one aspect of discourses of Professionalization that operate to foster public trust, confidence and belief in their value and to promote and market the profession (Shirley & Padgett, 2004). These discourses are evident in the EAP websites where recognition based on standards and quality of its training is linked to the twin goals of professional recognition and mobility and client protection/social good (EAP, n.d.-d). Professionalization discourses also operate within professions to highlight common interests and obscure differences (Shirley & Padgett, 2004). In the definition of psychotherapy and its implementation in TAC the different theoretical base of different psychotherapeutic schools becomes obscured in one unified psychotherapeutic discourse.

There is future work being done here – psychotherapists may not “at this moment” (p. 1) be recognised, but this might change. Again the ideal is European; recognition at European level and membership of the European ideal. Discursively assumptions about psychotherapy and its future are presented as natural and alternative futures - the ideological component of the presented future - is left invisible

TAC uses homophoric reference, where the meaning of a reference is understood by reference to general culture (Paltridge, 2006). The webpage introducing TAC, for example, invites HEI’s to take part in this “initiative for Quality Control of Psychotherapy in Europe” (EAP, n.d.-g, para. 1) – with the assumption that QA is a locally understood term even though it is arguable if this is the case. However psychotherapeutic knowledge implies meaning into QA, recontextualising QA in its own terms. Psychotherapeutic practices such as “personal psychotherapeutic experience” (p. 3) and supervision are professional practices embedded within the history and theory of psychotherapy and required by TAC. These practices recontextualise QA in TAC as a specifically psychotherapeutic endeavour, comprehensible and manageable by psychotherapists. However QA also transforms psychotherapy training in the process. As my introduction describes, some psychotherapists argue that this is intensely problematic, that aligning psychotherapy training with academic regulatory requirements closes down the complexities of psychotherapy as interpersonal, creative, reflexive space “in favour of integrated, autonomous rational unitary life-long learning subjects” (Burman, 2006, p. 447; see also Burman, 2001; I. Parker & Revelli, 2008).

TAC asserts its authority and legitimates its content through similar mechanisms to ESG: through reference to expertise, collaboration and consultation and its relationship to other institutions and texts. Prominent on its last page are the structures within EAP that have “voted on” amendments to TAC, though who “voted on” the original document is not specified. These bodies are described in an “organigram” that maps organisational structure (EAP, n.d.-k) and highlights the many European and national organisations and experts associated with EAP. EAP’s standing is given further weight by its “folder” that maps that interconnections between EAP and international bodies such as Council of Europe (EAP, n.d.-d). These complex networkings ultimately give regulatory force to this document.

Regulatory authority in TAC operates by consent – similar to ESG there is no legal base on which these regulations can be required. Involvement in regulation is a moral affair – regulating professional definitions is “for the benefit of the general public” (EAP, n.d.-d, p. 2), as well as for the profession – and also a promotional affair – EAPTI status provides various possibilities for promoting programmes, such as use of EAPTI title and inclusion in EAP website (EAP, n.d.-g).

8.3 Addressing the research questions

In this section I focus on the formations of HE and its participants prominent in these documents. These documents are QA mechanisms and I examine how they contribute to establishing, positioning and deploying these formations of HE. I examine the position of these texts between soft and hard regulation, and how they speak to, involve and constitute us, their readers. I look at how the documents mobilise both fear and desire. I look at the particular regulatory work the documents do; how the particular genres and styles constitute social actors in a matrix of particular realities, relationships and actions.

8.3.1 Legitimising particular identities

The HE ideal

Policy and legislative genres establish a normative present and envisage a particular future based on particular values, aims and ambitions. In these documents knowledge and practices are presented as value-free and assumptions are presented as natural, rendering invisible alternative futures. The creation of “a knowledge-based economy”

(ESG, p.10) is presented as an aspiration common to the HE community - inevitable, naturally arising, requiring only the actions of experts to make it visible to the policy community. This ideal is already established, outside of the HE community; “the ambitions of the Bologna Process” (p. 5) and the Lisbon Agenda (p. 10) are European processes with wider agendas than HE. In ESG’s vision, the HE community internalises these goals, making them its own and obscuring other possible trajectories for HE.

Participation in achieving the ideal

The documents include their readers in this future visioning. There is an implicit suggestion that we are privileged by this belonging and as members of this privileged community are responsible for working towards specified goal. In ESG the goal is not inevitable; it must be achieved: “The realisation of the EHEA depends crucially on a commitment at all levels” (p. 12). Responsibility, in this construction, requires action: “Ahead lies more work” (p. 12), we are warned. And we have shown our commitment to this project our work has achieved something “The very existence of the report is a testimony to the achievement” (p. 33). This construction of the QA field and our part in it leaves little room for critical engagement with the knowledge presented and the practices required. Critique is dismantled; engagement is always towards a particular end and we are engaged as subjects in achieving that end.

This visioning of our own and our discipline’s future is already established, there is no dialogue about our future. In terms of speech function the documents are constructed principally of statements as opposed to questions and assertions as opposed to invitations to dialogue (Fairclough, 2003). Even futures are certain: “When the recommendations are implemented..... The mutual trust among institutions and agencies will grow”, ESG tells us (p.6). Statements like these are associated with truth claims and the imposition of obligations; regulatory acts. The documents present QA as a certain thing (strong commitment to truth) and therefore policy actors should behave in certain ways (strong obligation). The autonomous subjects of these documents are responsible community members; the documents present the pathways that responsible community members take. To critique this path is to be irresponsible, to let down the community, to be disloyal. Communal activity, it would appear, is of work rather than decision-making and not all community voices are represented or speak with their own voice.

Managing difference

Wodak, (2002a) and Fairclough (2003) describe how the production of a final regulatory text requires a position of certainty, and not a reference to multiple voices. Regulatory texts require commitments to acting in particular ways and not others. Regulatory genres move from problem to solution. To regulate behaviour the solution needs to be norm based, unambiguous and directive rather than discursive, with little room for interpretation and dialogue. The differences in positioning, values, beliefs of multiple authors that become visible in intertextual and institutional analysis are rendered invisible in the final document. Instead there is one ‘collaborative’ common position. Issues of power – whose voice is contained in the text, where and in what way – are not visible in these texts.

In TAC commitments are to specific measurable ends such as hours of training and qualifications of trainers. In ESG what is strongly committed to is more abstract and general – quality and the EHEA, as I describe above. In ESG standards require, and guidelines provide the measure of, *competence* of teachers, *relevant* information, and *appropriate* resources. These are judgements rather than measurements, and HEIs are called on to justify how they make their judgments rather than the judgements they make. This flexibility of regulatory requirements is associated with soft regulatory positions and ESG is careful to position itself in this realm. It invokes HEI autonomy in inviting recontextualisation –it is for “the institutions and agencies themselves” (p. 12) to decide on how ESG will be implemented. However this obscures the extent to which ESG brings into being quality as a particular characteristic of HE. Teacher competence and information provision are markers of quality; transformative learning, social justice, critical reflexive engagement are not. Questions of who has discursive and interpretive power can become invisible in these network structures and in discourses of autonomy and consultation, and this invisibility renders critique difficult.

Communicating with an audience

Genres can speak to local, delimited networks of social practices (such as HEI internal texts) or to wider networks, and their intended audience is related to the communicative technologies they use (Fairclough 2003). These documents are publicly available on the internet in the organization websites (as well as on other websites) and are embedded in chains of pages that reinforce and expand on the meaning in the document. The internet mediates their effect, moving meanings into and out of the text (Fairclough, p. 30). It is interesting to note how web-based documents are different to hard texts; they are

embedded in websites that cannot be avoided. In locating TAC, for example, the reader is required to visit many EAP websites. Values, beliefs and ethics are central themes of the EAP websites – in its homepage, folder, and statutes (EAP, n.d.-a; n.d.-d; n.d.-e) as well as its congresses, events and journal, linked to through the website. TAC is not only a document, but an *embedded* document, that works with its website connections. The reader learns about EAP as s/he locates TAC. This learning reinforces the requirements for acting contained in the text. ESG has a similar webpage placed positioning. The journey to ESG is through ENQA's home page, through its publications. In this journey the depth and breadth of its activities become apparent. ENQA, this journey tells us, has considerable recognition and expertise in the QA arena.

The audience for these documents is on the surface the particular community to whom it is addressed (BP meetings of ESG; the psychotherapy training community of TAC). However they are also aimed at a wider readership made available by their position of these documents on the internet. This wider readership is still selective – generally the potential QA community who can chose to commit to this particular vision. ESG is particularly interesting in that it is a report to a Bologna process meeting that is then utilized in communication with the wider community of HEI stakeholders, including students and staff. The documents' positions on the internet also contribute to the impact of intertextuality – the trek through websites to find a document is so obvious, and so common, that the impact of reading texts surrounding a document can go unnoticed. TAC, for example, is embedded within the EAP website, which also contains information on the work of EAP to establish psychotherapy as an independent profession, and links with EU mechanisms in furthering that goal. Reading through the website leaves little doubt about the importance of the project – without EAP psychotherapy becomes a branch of psychiatry or psychology, psychotherapists become redundant and clients lose the choice of therapeutic rather than medical based intervention. The community of psychotherapists is heavily invested in the TAC process, as these webpages make clear. This is a journey through persuasive arguments before TAC is even accessed. Similarly, ESG is embedded within numerous publications and strategic actions (including those indicated in table 2). The positioning of these documents communicates the work done by and reasons for their projects. The promotional genre surrounds as well as inhabits the text.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter has investigated these documents as case examples of emerging forms of regulatory practices organised along hard-soft/coercive-consensual/authority-collegiality. I examined how in this regulatory construction policy communities are persuaded into particular constructions of QA as a means to achieve an ideal of HE. QA as means is shaped rather than determined, but the vision of HE is established, naturalised and placed beyond critique.

This autonomy of means to achieve established goals is a convergence project that steers a policy field on a particular trajectory (Jackobsson, 2004). It is a mechanism that operates on large, diffuse, unspecified fields such as QA. It operates through subjects, who are given particular goals to aim for, the autonomy and responsibility to achieve these goals and the desires and ambitions to work hard towards these goals. Subjects of the policy are no longer mere regulated subjects instructed what to do, but policy actors, responsible for interpreting and implementing policies. At the same time their lack of discursive power in defining and describing the goals to be achieved is obscured in the naturalisation of goals and the discourse of autonomy. These are neoliberal subject positions, required and enticed into taking ownership of and responsibility for institutionally defined goals (Davies & Bansel, 2010).

And these are neoliberal visions of the future. The outcome envisaged is the replacement of multiple visions of HE with one vision, where HE is commodified and the logic of the marketplace steers HE activity. ESG and TAC are part of recent developments in naming and measuring quality that tie local discourses of education and training to wider glonacal discourses of recognition of education and comparisons of the quality of education. These documents promote a particular view of education as a marketable measureable entity, comparable with other educational products and a view of quality as a comparative measure that can be used to promote education products in an education market. Quality is reformed from a contextual, culturally described, local question to a European question within European terms aimed at marketing the European EHEA. These documents create and deploy particular views of HE that are both reflective and constitutive of their contexts. These documents utilise different discourses (such as education, marketisation and new management) genres (such as legislative and persuasive) and styles (the expert, the manager, the competent

teacher) and recontextualise these discursive aspects in particular ways that steer quality in HE, and HE in particular directions.

ESG and TAC associate QA as an emerging field with European goals of comparability of education and mobility of qualifications. This recontextualises quality from a property of programmes – the original focus of quality in HEI’s – into quality as a means to particular ends. QA has emerged as something different to and apart from programmes of learning, as a means to tie local HE programmes and wider strategic goals together. Quality in education, like the assurance practices that measure it, is definable and measurable, purposeful and productive (Keeling, 2006). Knowledge as commodity and learning, as increasing capacity for production are the underlying assumptions. Different temporal, geographic and national contexts may produce different versions of education, learning and measurement of quality but these are version of the one thing – knowledge – of which there is one varied method of accumulation – learning. We are all, ultimately on the one path towards a knowledge society.

This is a particularly powerful, but not the only meaning attached to quality. Local and national contexts may vary or locally implement their own translations of QA but this occurs within the already established framework of meaning negotiated, formulated and established at European level. QA in both the education and the professional realm is steered towards becoming a mechanism for deciding what counts as education and training, for deciding what is included and excluded from recognition.

In these documents the everyday practices of teaching, assessing, relating, reflecting are shaped and constrained by a particular vision of HE. This vision and its link to practices come from somewhere, is owned by someone, but its origins are not visible in the texts. Instead they appear natural and beyond question: the actions of responsible, autonomous individuals who are committed to community and take responsibility for their work. Within this vision of “us” critique is dismantled, not entirely through the hard regulatory mechanism of fear of consequences. To critique is to be disloyal, to reject our common project, to negate the work we have done, to turn against our colleagues and our community. These documents foreground community and collegiality and transform them in the process “by appropriating them within more compelling regimes of logic and practice” (Davies & Bansel, 2010, p. 16). In this neoliberal view of community there are further, compelling, prohibitions on critique.

Chapter 9. Discussion: Assembling meaning from dispersed locations.

9.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to bring together the findings from different contexts in addressing the research questions. In CDA theory and data intertwine to move thinking forward, and this shapes the structure of this chapter. Drawing on the previous chapters I examine some emerging themes in my findings and evaluate their significance. I revisit this research in section 2 to describe how QA and the networks that surround it are a means of governing HE. In the third sections I describe some practice examples of this trajectory; university rankings and the intertwining of hard and soft regulation. In section 4 I turn to a particularly important location of governing that has emerged in this inquiry and one not given much consideration: Europeanisation. In section 5 I draw some tentative conclusions about how critique of QA is dismantled. Finally I look at what this tells us about formations of HE and the contribution of QA to these formations.

9.2 Adjusting towards a neoliberal ideal

My findings have identified, through a focus on QA, how networks of institutions are sites of governance of HE, and texts and chains of texts are mechanisms of governing. I have identified two principal functions of the documents I analyse: forming particular meanings - of HE and QA, for example - and providing knowledge about HE that renders it governable – through linking knowledge about HEI's with funding, or requiring particular knowledge about teachers and students, for example. I have linked the rationalities by which HE is governed with neoliberalism, but the pathways that HE and QA take are dependent on their particular contexts. This account of the intertwined paths of QA and HE is an example of actually existing neoliberalism, where the rationalities of governing and the actual experience of being governed are different.

The path-dependent trajectory of ESG is an example of how networked governance actually works. In QA it operates (1) to obscure origins of knowledge in complex webs of construction, review and implementation of regulatory mechanisms (2) to obscure discursive and institutional power in descriptions of consultation, collegiality and review (3) to link together interests and agendas with the trajectory of HE. Therefore whose knowledge about HE gets to count in particular constructions of QA is invisible. It can be difficult to see how it occurs that a common vision for HE becomes so tied to an economic agenda, or how neoliberalising agendas take such an absolute hold within imaginings of what HE is and should be. The networking of discourses and institutions around QA has emerged as a significant force in embedding this vision of QA. My analysis of networks, discourses and practices within and surrounding ESG assists with understanding how HE is linked to national and extra-national interests and agendas, such as the Lisbon strategy, in ways that appear as natural and beyond question.

9.2.1 Networks of governance: Functions

My account sheds some light on how networks of governance in one policy field, QA, have contributed to neoliberalisation as a totalising affair in the HE field. ESG is a report written in response to Ministers of Education request at the Berlin meeting of the BP (2003). The ESG was written by ENQA in consultation with its E4 partners at the request of the Ministers in BP (See table 3). BP itself does not have legal power to act, but commitment to implementation is a condition of national membership⁴⁰. Consultative members include the E4 group and global organisation such as UNESCO. The EC is the sole “additional member” (BP-EHEA, 2007-2010a), though the difference this separate designation makes does not appear to be clear in public documentation. The EU has funded QA initiatives associated with BP since its inception (such as ENQA, EUA and ESU) and produced EC (1998b, 2009) European Council (1998) and Parliament (2006) Recommendations.

The report presented to the BP meeting– the document ESG – was adopted at the Bergin BP meeting (BP, 2005), which produced a communiqué committing Ministers to adopting ESG⁴¹. ESG was and continues to be interpreted, reconceptualised,

⁴⁰ The countries subscribing to the European Cultural Convention, signed on 19 December 1954 under the aegis of the Council of Europe, are eligible for membership of the EHEA, provided that they declare their intention to incorporate the objectives of the Bologna process into their own higher education system.

⁴¹ The Text of Bergen communiqué (BP, 2005) reads “We adopt the standards and guidelines for quality assurance in the European Higher Education Area as proposed by ENQA. We commit ourselves to

implemented, monitored, evaluated and changed nationally and locally. Bologna ministers charged ENQA and E4 with tasks such as reviewing and evaluating ESG, and these bodies report to each ministerial meeting. The EC also reviewed, evaluated and recommended on ESG, leading to multiple communications between multiple stakeholders. With the launch of the EHEA in 2010 BP consolidated its aims, which include keeping QA as a priority (BP, 2010). Following a major review of ESG by the E4 partners (in co-operation with EI, BusinessEurope and EQAR) the task of reviewing and changing ESG was charged to these bodies by the BP Bucharest communiqué of 2012 (BP, 2012).

Alongside and intertwined with the Bologna network of QA formation occurred the EU network of QA formation. The EU regularly considered QA in HE and recommended action, and continues to do so. A European Council Recommendation (1998) called for the establishment of transparent HE quality assurance systems. This was to be based on a series of “Indicative features of quality assurance” (annex, last page), including evaluation of programmes or institutions through internal assessment, external review, and involving the participation of students, publication of results and international participation, all of which are contained in ESG. Subsequently the European Parliament and Council (2006) recommended further cooperation in QA. It encouraged HEIs to develop internal procedures consistent with ESG and encouraged a European dimension, including utilising European wide – as opposed to national - QA agencies through a register of quality assured QA agencies. This last recommendation sits alongside the ESG recommendation for a European register of QA agencies, which eventually (and conflictually) resulted in the establishment of EQAR.

Associated with the EU involvement is the EC Lisbon Strategy which aims for the growth of EHEA based on a knowledge economy. In 2005 the EU reviewed the Lisbon strategy, found it to be not working and concluded that a focus on urgent action rather than goals was required (Barroso, 2005; European Council, 2005a, 2005c). Discourses of danger, risk and blame, identified by Saarinson (2008) as occurring within recent policy documents at extra-national and national level, are to be found in Lisbon documents from this time. EU reviews of the Lisbon agenda included a shifting role for Universities, which “have failed to unleash their full potential so as to stimulate economic growth, social cohesion and improvement in the quality and quantity of jobs”

introducing the proposed model for peer review of quality assurance agencies on a national basis, while respecting the commonly accepted guidelines and criteria.” (p. 3)

(Europa, 2006, para. 3). The result was to place universities as central in Lisbon strategy, and their responsibility as furthering “three poles of its knowledge triangle: education, research and innovation” (EC, 2005, point 1, para. 2). From this time in particular national funding was placed as steering devices for universities. Universities were required to seek diversity of funding through links with business, industry and household contribution and effective management (DES, 2011). This outcome of this steering is described as “modernisation” of universities (EC, 2005; European Council, 2005a, 2005c, 2008) – a term that signifies both the inevitability and the desirability of this particular direction.

QA is one mechanism (along with funding, itself tied to QA) for shifting HEI-state relationships, as well as for marketisation of the EHEA internationally. Post EHEA, the BP and EC positions on QA appear deeply entwined. The EU could be seen as a nodal point in the quality/HE discursive field, joining different actors, meanings and practices and acting as a catalyst for change (Ball, 2008b). Similar trajectories appear to occur outside the EU, such as in Australia (Davies and Bansel, 2010), and the relative influences of globalisation and Europeanisation are difficult to distinguish.

9.2.2 Networks of governance: Configuration

This analysis has identified networked governance as a structural reconfiguration associated with neoliberalism in HE. I have described emerging network configurations at extra-national level, with institutional actors having different roles and effects. BP, in its QA role, involved ministers of education as lead group within the process, taking on some key national government activities (such as ratification and national implementation) while leaving others governance activities (such as devising, writing and reviewing ESG) to network members. There were different responsibilities among various subsets of network members. Provan & Kenis (2008) refer to this as a “Network Administrative Organization” (p. 229) or NAO, where the NAO (in this case the ministers) is not merely another member organization with equal contribution, but steers aspects of the network.

However there appears to be some changes occurring in QA network configurations with the increasingly active role of the EU steering aspects of BP in particular directions. This has occurred in part through selective funding of particular policy initiatives devised at EU level (a steering mechanism that is isomorphic with national

steering mechanisms) and more recently through hard regulations and direct intervention. Crucially, NAOs, such as the EU, established network legitimacy using their own legitimacy to further the goals of the network. BP ministers utilised their national authority to implement BP decisions in their own countries. The EU used their legislative and financial authority to steer QA policy in particular directions. For example the current position of non-statutory professional bodies regulating their professions may change as a result of the modernisation of EQD. At European level the requirement for recognition of a profession is evolving as a common platform of professional education that tie in competencies, curriculum and QA mechanisms. This trajectory is decentring nations as regulating professions and substituting central, European, management of professions. This Europeanisation of professions is also facilitated by European frameworks for compatibility and comparability of HE in Europe. Even where national bodies have legislative responsibility for professional training standards, as is the case with QQI (2013b) development of psychotherapy awards standards in Ireland, benchmarking of standards against European recognition tools such as EQF inevitably result in a commonality of standards across Europe.

This structural change from national to national and European sites of regulatory authority also reconfigures professional identities. Under TAC the diverse collection of separate theoretical and practice professions who currently come under the title psychotherapist will be required to prove themselves “an independent scientific discipline” (EAP, 1990, para. 2). Who decides what is scientific is obscured in this description. This reshaping of the psychotherapy landscape is occurring within a network of policy actors that includes the EU, EAP and various other professional associations. The EU through its funding mechanisms has assisted with the development of this common platform for psychotherapy and with its legislative authority can and may require this platform as a condition of psychotherapeutic recognition. The aims of professional mobility and recognition drive this change – EU goals of free movement of professionals across national boundaries. Mechanism such as QA and criteria such as scientific validation provide the means to achieve these aims. This, as Guilfoyle (2009) points out, is a political reconfiguration of professional space that simultaneously dismantles critique: “resistance comes to look like a naïve and obstinate refusal of knowledge, of science, or – in the case of psychotherapy – of ‘empirical validated’ findings” (p. 159).

9.2.3 *Network effects: inscribing neoliberalism*

Establishing and maintaining policy frameworks such as QA occurs in multiple sites and utilises multiple textual, discursive and institutional processes, networked together in adaptable, variable structures. Extra-national bodies such as the EU do the policy work at a relatively abstract level, linking economic and education goals and reshaping the relationships between education and other areas of civil society and identity – work, recreation, self-fulfilment and community. Nationally and locally these abstractions are translated into actual practice – what counts as acceptable HEI structure and programmes and also who counts as acceptable student and teacher. This is the ideological ‘work’ of the abstracted policy formations at extra-national level – fostering some pathways of connections (such as education-economic advantage) and obscuring others (such as education-social justice). These policy networks appear to be in a state of constant communication, document production and change. Davies & Gannon (2006) describes this tendency as “constant motion” (p. 64), part of the neo-liberal project of self reflection and self-improvement, a constant reinvention of self as project (Rose, 1999). For Peck and Tickell, (2002) neoliberalism as a political-economic project, an “operating framework... for competitive globalization” (p. 380) emphasises the constant reinvention not only of the individual self, but of institutional bodies, relationships and processes. And the technologies of QA appear particularly pertinent to this constant improvement and change – reviews, self reflexive reports, peer and expert reports on self reflexive reports, implementation plans and quality improvement strategies are the lifeblood of QA.

Neoliberalism is not a unified notion, but a multiplicity of possibilities and constraints, devised (though somewhat abstractly) globally but playing out locally (Peck and Tickell, 2002; Larner, 2003). Networks form and maintain particular positions, but actors insert themselves into these networks and the spaces created by them. Crucially for this project, this conceptualising allows for creative possibilities as well as constraining moments (Peck & Tickell, 2002). The question of how can this be different revolves around, at least in part, locating and inserting oneself in these creative moments, finding “lines of flight” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988, p. 312) within the local field of operation. This account suggests that actors can insert themselves in new and surprising ways, with ENQA becoming political actor, EAP shaping the meaning of psychotherapy, the EC inserting itself in multiple forums.

9.2.4 *Resisting networked governance: Critique*

BP and the EU are powerful actors in networked policy development in HE. However they are not the only actors. Policy networks include multiple players with particular interests and strategies. Policy implementation involves even wider networks that include national and local agencies and agents. National organisations, such as those described above for Ireland, can change the manner in which extra-national policies are positioned and deployed. With soft-law options, such as ESG, the possibilities for local variations are many. Soft law options provide for central steering of local action, but not completely. Steering comes through the positioning and deployment of the policy – the manner in which it is given authority, legitimised, and also through the alignment of the interests, beliefs and values of local sites of implementation with the policy in question.

How actors at different levels implement policy, and how that is centrally steered is indicated by the differences in implementation. A review of ESG implementation, the MAP-ESG project, was launched by the E4 Group (ENQA, ESU, EUA and EURASHE) in order to gather information on how the ESG have been implemented and applied. ENQA's conclusions (2012) emphasise the success of the ESG project. The ESG as a means of providing a common framework for QA "was agreed to be a sound purpose," (p. 16) though not necessarily occurring uniformly. Differences over the purpose of ESG were a major source of tension. Some actors (principally ENQA, EUA and EURASHE) saw their general usefulness as a reference tool - and indeed this is the position stated in ESG. Others (EQAR, ESU) pointed to the limitations of value as a harmonisation tool and how in practice they were sometimes used as a compliance tool. ENQA notes that this is a source of "tension" (2012, p. 6) and suggested that the purpose of ESG is revisited in its current review

This tension is not particularly striking in the final MAP-ESG report (ENQA, 2012), but is more evident as contestation and conflict in the associated E4 reports, in particular ESU (Blättler et al, 2012) and EUA (Loukkola, & Zhang, 2010). These sector reports note that the ESG has been of considerable influence nationally and locally but the extent of influence varies considerably. In particular the application of the internal element of QA was varied. Loukkola, and Zhang's (2010) report found that "most institutions do not apply ESG as an integrated whole, but tend to show interest in one or several aspects of them" (p. 35). Internal quality processes were not necessarily linked to ESG or indeed to European QA developments, nor was the link between them and

European QA developments explicit. HEI's tended to implement the external elements and this was in general linked to national laws. This varied application, dependent on local interests, was also noted by ESU and EURASHE (ENQA, 2011)

It appears from these reports that ESG implementation in HEI's depends on national factors such as governmental decisions, national legislation and international pressure, and local factors such as fit with existing systems. The strength noted by ESU and ENQA – that ESG could be adapted to national and cultural contexts - was seen as a difficulty by ESU, as HEI's appeared to be able to choose what of ESG they complied with and what they did not. From a student perspective this maintained the exclusion of their voice from the quality debate (Blättler et al, 2012).

This varied application at national and local level appears to be a common theme in reviews of ESG. CEE countries, for example, implemented ESG during a time of major political and social change involving renegotiating of education-state relationships (Kohoutek et al., 2009). Implementing ESG became a thread of management of a changing social situation including the de-coupling of state and education and the devolution of management from state to institutional level. The use of ESG as compliance and recognition tool appeared to be the main feature of its implementation (Kohoutek, 2009a) with the focus on accreditation, accountability and compliance, resulting in some cases in “accreditation fatigue” (Kohoutek et al., 2009, p. 281).

L. Harvey (2010) found that in relation to external reviews that while ESG shaped the manner in which external reviews take place, there was considerable variation nationally and locally as to what a review requires of a HEI. How these reviews take place is in many cases regulated nationally – hard regulation requiring compliance - while the actual practice (such as the length of reports, and the emphasis on different requirements) is more usually a local matter, the subject of soft regulation. Interestingly student concerns were similar to those raised by L. Harvey and different to those raised by QA Agencies and the university sector: in the absence of hard regulation HEI's decide what counts as quality; and students' contribution to the quality debate can be diminished.

Again what is at issue here is not the validity of arguments, but the method and consequence of argument. What counts as quality and the measurement of quality is shaped within hard and soft regulatory processes for QA. QA is a mechanism that can

be used by different groups within these variable regulatory constraints. Hard regulatory mechanisms require compliance. Soft regulatory mechanisms move towards convergence while also allowing for divergence. Both have strategic potential for different sectoral interests. This difference can be a source of tension and dispute.

The tensions between the local and extra-national levels are evident in these reports. Local actors interpret and selectively apply ESG in ways that fit for their institution, other than where national legislation requires differently. Nations selectively implement in ways that fit with their own contexts. This, according to ENQA (2012), fits with the stated best practice aim of ESG and with the operation of BP where nations have responsibility for implementation of decisions. For ENQA, EUA and EURASHE a culture of compliance that can arise in application of ESG limits the autonomy of HEI's and works against a quality culture. For ESU, EQAR and some national contexts ESG is an accountability mechanism that allows comparability of HEI's and builds a sense of the responsibilities of HEI's. In practice it appears that consistent application of ESG standards occurs where compliance is required, and this can conflict with local culture.

In the absence of compliance requirements soft regulation can be somewhat irrelevant. The EUA describe how:

internal quality processes are not always linked explicitly to the ESGs; perhaps as a result, few interviewees – and then only the most senior ones – brought up the ESGs in describing the internal QA arrangements in their institution.” (Sursock & Smidt, 2010, p. 19)

These authors noted that recent developments in internal quality processes in teaching and learning have not necessarily been linked to European QA developments, particularly to the ESG. HEIs seemed to be responding to the external QA requirements imposed on them, and these requirements did not include the part of the ESG that applies to HEIs, nor was the link between them and European QA developments explicit.

The limitations of soft law options become visible in these interactions. Recontextualisation may or may not happen, institutions may at national and local level internalise policies and changes, or they may not. Shaping of social practices may occur, but tends to be variable and dependent on the institutional frame as well as the coherence of the soft regulatory. This appears to fit with theories of institutional change:

In the absence of hard regulatory consequences institutions will change only where it fits with their already existing way of being (Phillips et al., 2004).

9.3 Assembling meaning in particular locations: Examples

9.3.1 Managing differences: The example of university rankings.

The networks of organisations involved with reviewing ESG have vastly different aims, objectives and serve different interest groups - the consultative partners BusinessEurope and EI represent business and educators respectively, for example – resulting at times in conflict and dispute (e.g. ESU, 2012; Blatter et al, 2010). One task of a policy network is to manage different positions and interests.

University rankings provide one example of how this occurs in QA networks. BusinessEurope argue that university rankings compliment QA and are required to promote transparency (BusinessEurope 2009). Both EI (Fouilhoux, 2009) and ESU (n.d.) have taken a position against rankings, arguing for decoupling rankings from QA, and that rankings are not in the interests of either students or HEI's. EI has pointed to flaws in university rankings and their ties to economic agendas in HE (EI, 2012). The OECD's AHELO project is critical of the idea on similar grounds (Erkkilä & Kauppi, 2010). The UNESCO/ OECD conference on "Rankings and Accountability in Higher Education: Uses and Misuses" (2011) and UNESCO (2010) discussed some of these dilemmas, including differences in values as well as methodological difficulties with ranking systems. However these consultative processes took place in a context where university rankings appeared part of the landscape of HE (Erkkilä & Kauppi, 2010). At the time of the UNESCO conference the EC had already planned (since 2008) to create an alternative, multidimensional tool for the evaluation of world universities and had been working on a strategy. In June 2008, the European Union introduced a project on design and testing of the feasibility of a Multi-dimensional Global University Ranking. This has been criticised by Erkkilä and Kauppi (2010) as "reducing a highly complex and contentious policy field (higher education) into a data set, albeit a more sophisticated one" (p. 241).

The project is well underway, effectively ending the debate. The EU classification project 'U-map' provides an internet tool which has been developed to allow comparison of institutions with similar missions (U-Map, undated) and the U-Multirank for ranking HEI's of all types, is due to be implemented in 2013 (U-

Multirank, 2013). This closing down of dialogue about university rankings is perhaps indicative of the limits of a networking approach; it assumes an engagement of equals. Networks have no way of managing disengagement and unilateral action, particularly by institutions that have considerable access to discursive and material resources.

9.3.2 *Compelling neoliberal pathways: Law, governmentality and governance*

Soft regulation envisages that national and local arenas may operate differently, may behave in ways envisaged by a regulatory system and also fit with their cultural contexts. The ESG recognises national autonomy and also the possibility that “Some signatory states may want to enshrine the standards and review process in their legislative or administrative frameworks” (p. 34). The state, by this reckoning is not sidelined but the site of decision-making about the form of regulation; its sovereign power works with soft regulation to shape outcomes. Steerage through soft regulatory in itself allows considerable potential for resistance and difference. Hard law, on the other hand, does not (Cini, 2001; Lobel, 2001; Walby, 2007).

In Ireland ESG acts as soft regulation. It is utilised by, but not inscribed in, the *2012 Act*. It functions through different *strategies* (such as consultation, co-operation and partnership, rather than legal coercion); different *textual forms*, (such as guidelines and codes of practice rather than legislation); different *processes* – discursively, through shaping knowledge and being, meaning and desires as well as working alongside hard legislation. This is governing - control of control (Foucault, 2002; Dean, 1999). But it is not a break with the past or a substitution of new for old mechanisms and practices. It is a reconfiguration of power between extra-national, national and local levels (Cini, 2001). Sovereign power, whether of the state, or extra-national bodies such as the EU, plays a particularly significant role in deciding whether to invoke hard law. In my description of QA in Ireland the 2012 Act and HEA funding mechanisms are hard law/regulation options utilising QA, deriving authority from and implemented through sovereign power. The state therefore is emerging as a site of management of regulatory authority, one of the technologies of power utilised to govern (Walby, 2007).

The suggestion here is that the reconfiguration of HE occurs within a reformulation of the role of sovereign power and soft power. This interplay of hard and soft regulation can be seen in relation to QA in HE in Ireland. Prior to the 2012 Act QA was a statutory requirement, and the manner in which this was enacted was an administrative

regulation. The use of ESG was generally as a regulatory mechanism – a tool of compliance. HETAC and IUQB carried out external reviews and the ESG were central to the process. The IUQB report (2007) notes that Irish university quality system was already broadly consistent with the ESG and that a “minimum quality assurance objective for Irish universities is compliance with the ESG” (p. 41). University compliance was not in itself sufficient to keep them outside the hard regulatory net. The 2012 Act introduces a “hard law” provision that operates similarly across the different HEI sectors rather than distinguishing between universities and other sectors, as was the case with previous Acts. All external reviews are now the responsibility of QQI and the QQI can “issue such directions in writing to the National University of Ireland as it considers appropriate” (2012 Act, sect. 41), which the NUI is required to comply with.

This legislative framework shifts QA into the hard regulatory arena. It ties accreditation and validation of HE programmes, and recognition of HE institutions to QA. However the legislative arena does not work in isolation. As is made clear by the *National Strategy for Higher Education* (DES, 2011), steering mechanism for HE operate through interconnections between legislative, policy and funding initiatives. Funding is devised at administrative level and made contingent on HEI evaluations through mechanisms such as QA, programmatic review and external review – accountability mechanisms associated with neo-liberalism. The standards and criteria for measurement are set at legislative, policy and regulatory levels and reflect European and global policy. Funding formula calculation can be varied over time, reflecting the changes in the emphasis of Government strategies. In this way instrument such as QA link funding to strategic government initiatives and funding. This shifting in funding arrangements shapes HEIs toward particular construction of efficiency and effectiveness, where funding is allocated on the basis of apparently rational and equitable criteria.

This work of reconfigured hard and soft regulation is both coercive and persuasive. In its soft regulatory form it is constitutive of identity, roles and relationships and also in its hard regulatory form it requires actions of compliance. To need funding, recognition, accreditation or validation is to need to place oneself within the particular QA requirements devised externally. This is different to the possibilities opened up by soft regulation and (somewhat) envisaged by ESG where, for example, universities may chose not to implement (or even not to consider) the operation of internal QA procedures. The extent to which networked practices of QA can export their regulatory

work into national contexts is at least in part dependent on the hardness of the regulatory system that governs it at national level (or in some cases European level). As (Chunn, 2004) reminds us, “it continues to be important to attend to the different forms of regulation, the different sites, forms and levels of state and social policy and law” (p.226).

This linkage provides one example of how social practices, such as QA in HE, reflect both continuities with the past and transformations associated with New Times. Increasingly, in this account, QA has moved from steering to steering working with hard, coercive options. Legislation, policy and funding not only steer but direct towards policy goals. The manner of its operation can be seen as a transformation in regulatory fields, associated with New Times, embedded in wider social formations such as Europeanisation (Bache, 2006; O’Mahony, 2007; Risse, Cowles & Caporaso, 2001), Globalisation (Ball 2012a) and Neoliberalism (Shore and Wriqth, 1999). However traditional forms of state power remain of considerable significance. The sites of policy construction and implementation have changed (Ball and Jungemann, 2012) and also, my study suggests, retain the significance of state and sectoral power. In these interrelated processes the particular mixture of the old and the new contribute to the actual patterns of governance and practices, administrative structures and regulatory instruments that emerge.

QA is a visible change to the HE landscape, acting as a policy steering instruments that moves HEI in particular directions. But its significance is not only in its technical achievements (which can as the MAP-ESG project shows, be ignored; Loukkola, & Zhang, 2010) but also in its material application; its incorporation of HEIs into particular legislative, policy and funding systems. An analysis of this legislative and social policy framework – which is beyond the scope of this inquiry - is particularly important in drawing attention to the changing dynamics, rather than form, of regulation. Soft regulation has not so much replaced hard regulation, as hard and soft regulation operate together to align public policy goals with education. Technical instruments such as QA are the mechanisms which allow this alignment, but they do not operate on their own.

9.4 Europeanisation

Europeanisation, a less theorised social space than globalisation, has emerged as of central significance in this study as a location of the extra-national in HE formation. Europeanisation can be seen as a particular local application of dynamics of globalisation. One view of Europeanisation is as a process of national adjustment of member states to EU requirements (Radaelli 2003). More complex than an imposition of rule, Europeanisation can be seen as a translation (or recontextualisation) of EU positions into national and local context (Risse, Cowles and Caporaso, 2001). Others hold that Europeanisation refers to increased European co-operation and unification beyond the EU, including BP and Council of Europe initiatives, as well as co-operation at HEI and academic levels (such as EUA, ESU and EURASHE). Bache, (2006) suggests that these process are distinguished as EU-ization and Europeanisation, though as he points out “the reality is that EU actors and institutions, despite their formally low profile, are far from disconnected from this process of Europeanisation” (p. 232-233)..

From a policy perspective Europeanisation sees policy actors as employing European regulations, processes and initiatives for a particular result (O'Mahony, 2005; Wodak and Fairclough, 2010). For example, EAP's linkage with EC's legislative and policy framework on professional mobility is proving to be strategically useful in establishing psychotherapy as a separate profession, and CEE countries are using ESG to assist with managing the impact of political change on HE (Kohoutek, 2009a).

Europeanisation draws attention to regulation as a participatory affair involving active (but not equal) involvement of multiple actors across levels (extra-national, national local) and positions (state, corporate, professional, NGO) operating at the European level. From this perspective a European educational space is:

an ambiguous and fuzzy idea ... created by transnational governance, networks, cultural and economic projects. This is a new idea, recording the emergence of particular discourses and practices, but it is not clear what it is, even as it is being formed. It is being produced by national state collaboration, European Union (EU) guidelines and products, academic networks, social movements, business links and sites, city “states,” virtual connections. (Novoa and Lawn, 2002, p. 1)

The ESG is an example of this ambiguity. Its regulatory position differs nationally. It has been translated into national and local HE systems in very different ways – as a

guide, as an accreditation tool, as a measure of compliance. The policy networks surrounding it have different positions on how it should be.

The significance of the EU has emerged in this account as particularly noteworthy – as Bache (2006) suggests, EU-ization and Europeanisation are entwined. The European Commission is a particularly significant EU body in HE. EC's position in relation to BP has changed over the lifetime of the process. Originally a funder of various projects, the EC now sits on the BFUG and is an additional member of the BP (BP-EHEA, 2010b). The EHEA, originally the remit of BP, is subject of EC reports and recommendations. ESG is emerging as a significant tool of Europeanisation. The European Parliament and Council (2006) recommendations to member states “encourage” (para. 1 of Recommendations) the application of ESG in national territories and internal QA systems within HEI's. The drive here is toward conformity of application rather than diversity – something that would be furthered by a change in regulatory status of ESG and the use of European rather than national QA agencies in external reviews. In its 2011 Working Document the EC (2011c) has begun to move more directly towards initiating change. Echoing earlier EC recommendations (2009) it notes national failures in implementation of ESG and provides solutions, including the inclusion of quality criteria, such as employability. It states that:

The evidence from the range of reviews of BP indicates a number of areas where further progress is required to fully achieve the objectives of the European Higher Education Area. (p. 7)

Amongst the problems to be addressed is the “ongoing perception of variation in the quality of higher education between countries, which undermines the effective functioning of the EHEA” (p. 8).

As the ESG faces a major review (Official website of the ESG revision, 2013) it is difficult to predict EC influence on the outcome. However, some indication of the potential for influence of the EC on BP, and in particular QA, is given by Ala-Vähälä and Saarinen (2007 and 2009) interviews with ENQA. The authors argue that ENQA's development was due in part to the EU's support and steering and this was somewhat surprising (and at times uncomfortable) for ENQA itself. The current ESG review project is also funded by the EC although how this influences the review is unclear (Official website of the ESG revision, 2013). It does appear clear, though, that QA can be utilised as both soft and hard regulation, and ESG, despite positioning itself within

the softer realm, can be utilised as both. Who decides how it will be used appears, in the end, to lie with the traditional wielders of regulatory power, holders of sovereign power, nation states and the EU. How the EU might operate in the legislative area is uncertain, given its lack of remit in the education arena. However as is shown above in relation to professional education (and is reflected in vocational education arena, where the EU does have legislative powers) the EU can, when acting in accordance with its policy aims, wield considerable legislative power. The question of whose quality and whose QA will continue to be of considerable importance to HE as these changes unfold.

9.5 Dismantling critique

Neo-liberalism dismantles the will to critique, as Davies and Bansel (2010) describe. This analysis suggests some forces at work with this dismantling. Some tentative conclusions to the mechanisms involved in dismantling critique are as follows:

First, the vision of HE is seductive. The accessible, student-centred, quality university, contributing to economic regeneration, is a vision that permeates institutional discourses: EUA (2009), for example states that Universities are:

crucial for the future of Europe: through knowledge creation and by fostering innovation, critical thinking, tolerance and open minds we prepare citizen for their role in society and the economy". (First part, para. 1)

This coupling of an ideal with a neoliberal trajectory makes it difficult to critique the means without rejecting the vision for QA.

Second, QA reformulates quality as a procedural question and therefore the solutions appear to operate in the procedural domain. This is visible in the current ESG revision (Official website of the ESG revision, 2013) and past revisions (ENQA, 2012). Questions such as how to position ESG, who to include as stakeholders, what measures to use are included in these reviews. Critical and deconstructive questions - of values, of implications, of whose knowledge, for what purpose - can get lost.

Third, the creation of QA as a distinct body of knowledge, with associated experts in QA policy and technology, creates a boundary between policy actors – often the authors of policy texts – and participants. QA knowledge draws from policy paradigms rather than academic texts. Academic networks are relegated a different location in relation to QA (generally one of implementation) and one that does not, in the main, influence

policy. Academic critical perspectives on QA appear to have little discursive effect on policy arenas. At the same time the academic community is invited (and required) to participate in this policy community, to implement its vision and to do so responsibly. Critique is not of something out there, but of ourselves and of our colleagues.

9.6 Conclusion

This study found that QA creates spaces of possibility and impossibility for HE. TAC and ESG, European documents, set the boundaries of possibility for HE in their language, discourses, intertextual connections and institutional positions, but they do not determine national formations of HE. Translation into national legislation and policy - such as Ireland or CEE countries (Kohoutek, 2009b) – requires an interpretive leap to the particular national formation. The strategic intent of the state, local institutional arrangements, conflict and dissent are all involved in how QA actually steers HE at national and local level. This national diversity remains measured and managed at extra-national level through reports (such as the OECD country and EC regional reports) and reviews (such as current ESG reviews) operating with discursive constructions, such as convergence/divergence in ways that adjust HE.

This cycle of implementation, review and adjustment appears, however, to be somewhat relentlessly towards neoliberal goals: HE as economic entity; commodified, measurable and marketable, and the products of HE – both students and institutions – as having marketplace value. These visions of HE are established in complex networks of institutions and texts, an array of interconnections that can obscure origins of meanings and strategic intent of actors. It can also obscure power. In this account HE is formulated in the main through institutional actions and discursive means. Some institutions have greater power to formulate and deploy visions of HE than others, and this becomes partially visible in the impact of institutional agendas on the HE field. The values of the Lisbon agenda and the EHEA run through all of contexts I examined as “goals” – visions of a future ideal place that a responsible, creative, HE community are working towards. As goals they operate not only to direct our future, but also to regulate the kinds of behaviour we can engage in in achieving that future, and to obscure or eliminate other possible futures. They set the conditions of possibility: we can be, are encouraged and required to be, autonomous (within certain invisible boundaries). We cannot be, and cannot imagine ourselves to be, critical of these goals.

Visioning a future, establishing goals to achieve that vision and determining the means to goals are aspects of governmentality – control of control (Foucault, 2002; Dean, 1999). My analysis suggests that governmentality in HE occurs through both persuasion and coercion, through alignment of interests and through sanctions. The state and its regulatory apparatus have not been dismantled but reformed. Governmentality involves both sovereign power and governance. Self regulation and state regulation are not opposites but co-operative possibilities of regulation.

The mechanisms for governing HE that I identify include discursive and institutional arrangements. Texts, discourse, actions and institutions operate together to constitute meaning (Phillips et al., 2004). Power operates differentially throughout these elements of social life. Some agents - such as the EU - have powerful advantages to manage discourse and language practices. Some linguistic practices - such as positioning the knowledge economy in multiple discourses - result in significant material practices such as the funding, accreditation and validation of education programmes. Legal discourses and practices have particularly significant effects - such as the Lisbon declaration (EC, 2000) and the *2012 Act*. Connecting texts with context highlights the recursive and unequal influence between texts, actions, wider discourses and institutional arrangements. Texts arise out of institutional arrangements; institutionalisation occurs, in the main and increasingly in New Times in textual and discursive process. But power operates differently in material and discursive worlds and each provides its own lines of flight and constraint. Institutions, not texts, fund HEIs; texts (or more accurately, representation), not institutions, create a picture of a future world.

The HE landscape is changing extra-nationally, nationally and locally in ways that are both continuations and reformations of the past. Students have increased access possibilities to HE, a voice, opportunities for progressing their studies and recognition of informal learning that they may not have had in the past. HEI communities have possibilities for international co-operation, recognition and professional development that they may not have had. HEI's have opportunities for funding, networking with other organisations, input into policies that may not have been available. These changes occur within an individualisation of the education project through an emphasis on personal responsibility of learners and teachers, a reshaping of academic freedom and autonomy in terms of individual and institutional accountability, a reforming of civil society which places HE as the source of solutions to economic risks and challenges. In

the education arena there are reconfiguration of power, structure, institutions and identities. In that reformulation there is much at stake.

Chapter 10. Conclusion.

10.1 Introduction

I set out in this study to challenge the view of QA as a technical device, as merely an act of measuring quality. Instead, I attested, QA is a formative process, steering HE along a particular pathway, towards particular ends. I set out to examine the rationalities that underpin these formations and questioned whether neoliberalism could be seen as a dominant rationality. I set out to illuminate these formations because they are the conditions of possibility for HE and the conditions of possibility under which the HE community live and work. My argument was that these formations matter, and they are hard to see, and the task of my study was to make them more visible. HE comes into being in the institutions, discourse, regulations, policies and practices that surround and inhabit it, I argued, and therefore this is where my study needed to go.

The aim of this chapter is to evaluate this study's approach, methodology, analysis and findings and to identify its shortcomings and contributions. I start by summarising this study in section 1. In section 2 I look at the implications and in section 3 the contributions of this study. In section 4 and 5 I examine some shortcoming of this inquiry and identify areas for further study. Finally I conclude with some reflections on this project.

10.2 Revisiting the research: Approach and findings

My route from initial questioning through to developing a methodology is illustrated in figure 2. In chapter 1 I questioned the view of QA as logical, expected and accepted best practice policy field. Applying Brenner and Theodore's (2002) actually embedded neoliberalism I developed research questions that attended to (1) how regulatory instruments such as QA operate as formative mechanisms of HE (2) the particular rationalities that underpin these formations. In chapter 2 I describe the conceptual, disciplinary and personal influences on my approach to this inquiry. I reconceptualised regulation as steering activities through shaping desires, aspirations, interests, and beliefs, rather than an imposition of legal sovereignty (Foucault, 1991; Dean 1999). In chapter 3 I situated my study within conceptual and empirical studies on QA and

Foucauldian constructions of governmentality. This extended my inquiry into the global arena, and into the complex interrelationship between emerging social transformations and rationalities of governing. I described these macro-level transformations, following Hall & Jacques (1989), as New Times and traced their effects into different structures and locations of HE. Inquiries that extend into this arena are, I suggested, limited by theoretical and methodological frameworks that are struggling to understand a world that is in constant motion, constantly changing, fluid and flowing. I attempt to address some of these shortcomings in my methodology and analysis in chapter 4 where I presented my methodological approach. CDA provided the overall methodological framework. I identified the need to adapt my methodology to the object and aims of my inquiry. I utilised and adapted Marginson & Rhoades, (2002) glonacal agency heuristic and Ball's Network analysis (Ball, 2008b; Ball & Junemann, 2012) to provide frameworks for analysis of institutional and intertextual contexts. I identified two documents, one professional psychotherapy QA document (TAC) and one academic QA document (ESG) as data sources; both European, both soft regulation, both significant in defining QA in their area of operation. Each document grounded a case study of actual existing neoliberalism in their particular context of operation.

I presented the analysis in four chapters (figure 5). Each chapter addressed the research questions (figure 1) within a particular context of operation of QA. Chapter 5 looked at the documents as texts embedded in contexts. I identified neoliberal ideals arising from the wider socio-political context in the discourses of the documents. I identified mechanisms of steering used in the documents, including the reformulation of quality as a measurable entity and an accountability task; their soft regulatory features; and their potential for linkage to hard regulatory mechanisms such as funding and legislation. I argued that QA serves socio-political agendas rather than purely HE agendas, and dismantles boundaries between HE and the socio-economic sphere. In chapter 6 I analysed the documents as parts of chains of texts that create and sustain a neoliberal imaginary of HE. This chaining of texts was identified as part of the reformulation of what HE is and can be. This chapter showed how intertextuality in QA chained together external processes and goals, such as the Lisbon Process (European Council, 2000) with HE. It identified the QA field as reframing ethical, moral and political questions as technical questions and the positioning of the HE community's contribution firmly within technical domains.

Chapter 7 identified structures (such as networks and policy communities) and processes (such as networked governance and policy formation) emerging in the QA field in New Times. It described the different potentials for influence residing both in traditional (sovereign) and emerging (networked) sites of power and knowledge. It identified how QA originates and is assembled, deployed and sustained in multiple sites at local, national and extra-national level involving multiple mechanisms. It described the shifts and flows of meaning and power in institutional contexts in New Times, such as the intertwining of discursive and institutional power and the reassemblies of HE in civic society in ways that link education and economics, quality and the marketing of education, qualifications recognition and education as product. It concluded that QA knowledge is not locatable and there is no identifiable source to QA. Instead QA was presented as the work of policy actors who engage in QA. However different policy actors were shown to have different discursive and institutional power to affect the QA project and this power differential was shown to be obscured within discourses of networks and consultation and processes of communal policy making.

Chapter 8 showed how these documents persuaded policy communities into particular formation of QA and imaginaries of HE. It identified autonomy of means to achieve established goals as a mechanism of steering of the QA policy field. This was identified as a process of neoliberalisation, operating on large, diffuse, unspecified communities such as HE and through constructing subject positions and identities. It demonstrated how policy communities are given particular goals to aim for, the autonomy and responsibility to achieve these goals and the desires and ambitions to work hard towards these goals. This translation of subjects of policy into responsible autonomous policy actors was shown to occur alongside the concealing of discursive and institutional power. This chapter identified how these documents utilised different discourses (such as education, marketisation and new management) genres (such as legislative and persuasive) and styles (the expert, the manager, the competent teacher) and recontextualise these discursive aspects in particular ways that formulated HE as a particular ideal realisable through particular QA activities.

Chapter 9 pulled together the contextual analysis and identified themes that illustrate how the HE landscape is changing extra-nationally, nationally and locally in ways that are both continuations and reformulations of the past. It identified QA policy trajectories as occurring within a landscape already inhabited by “institutional, policy

regimes, regulatory practices and political struggles” (Brenner and Theodore 2002, p. 349). This chapter described structures through which HE is governed, in particular governance networks and regulatory apparatuses that include self-regulation and state regulation operating together. Using the example of university rankings it identified how texts, discourse, actions and institutions operate together to formulate the intertwined QA-HE fields.

Most of the documents and institutions I examined compellingly and with considerable conceptual and empirical clarity endorsed QA, the EHEA vision of the BP and the Lisbon agenda vision of the EU, though not always entirely. Even in more critical forums such as ESU (2012) there was a consistency in the identification of the benefits that have been achieved, for example in access to education, opportunities for individual and national economic growth, recognition of achievement and a connection between HE and society that fosters the interest of both. My study does not dispute these achievements and benefits. But it does dispute that this is the totality of the consequences of this trajectory. Instead I describe how these benefits work alongside a movement of HE towards a particular future at the cost of other possible futures.

My study has found intertwined paths of HE as a neoliberal ideal and QA as a mechanism of adjustment towards that ideal in both academic and professional QA documents. It has illustrated how discursive and institutional formations of HE can be seen as a reassemblies of knowledge about HE through particular rationalities, strategies and technologies of governing such as QA. It has identified neoliberalism as one rationality underpinning these formations and also that there are other rationalities, strategies and technologies that also effect the formation of HE, such as challenges of a neoliberal ideal from students (ESU, 2012), of quality as context free from academics (Blättler et al, 2012) and of QA as a distinct, unambiguous regulatory regime from QA professionals (Kristoffersen et al., 2010). This study has distinguished between neoliberalism as its own ideal of a normal, rational, universally accepted, totalising rationality and its actual existence as context-dependent, contested, interpreted, appropriated and appropriating, embedded in institutional and discursive contexts and mobilising discursive and institutional power to embed its ideals and mechanisms in HE.

Movement towards a neoliberal ideal is identified as neither uniform nor consistent. Instead there are stops and starts – such as with the EQD which for a long time, its

review tells us, just did not work. There are contestations – over the “best practice” position of ESG or who should review QA agencies for example. And at times there are outright disputes, such as ESU’s (2012) stand on the failures and dangers of the BP. My study identified differences in the trajectories of these documents and connected these differences with different prior institutional and discursive arrangements in their respective fields of operation and different contextual influences, principally policy actors and academics who disputed the naturalised pathway of QA. However pathways of contestation are, like neoliberalisation, contingent and provisional. Processes of neoliberalisation, such as adaptation and appropriation, emerge as neutralising and incorporating differences. EC agendas for free movements of professionals and professional psychotherapeutic agendas for recognition on their own terms come together in the EQD, a measurement of what counts as psychotherapy in terms of measurable, objective standards and competencies. Challenges to constructions of quality in QA become subsumed in the technical question of how to measure “it”. Quality becomes, in this reformulation, the standards, practices and outcomes that are comparable and marketable. Neither neoliberalisation nor its contestations emerge as uniform, consistent movements towards a particular ideal. I am left with the impression that lived experiences of neoliberalisation and its contestations are much more messy, circuitous and labyrinthine than our theories suggest.

10.3 Contributions.

My contribution to the study of HE practice areas is to develop understandings of QA as a mechanism of formulation of, rather than merely accounting for, HE. I do this through my research questions that focused on (a) formations of HE prominent in QA discourses and (b) how QA mechanisms contribute to these formations. This fits within and extends existing studies of governmentality in HE that position regulatory devices as mechanism of formation rather than policy options or best practice solutions (e.g. Davies & Bansel, 2010).

In terms of its conceptual and empirical contributions this study drew on and extended fields of study aimed at illuminating the conditions of formation of HE and the implications of these conditions for what HE is and is becoming. Conceptually this study drew on and extended into HE policy studies the emerging fields of interest, originating in critical geography, in “actually existing neoliberalism” (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). I adapted and applied this field to formations in QA discourses and

structures as instances of actually existing neoliberalism. This line of study positioned policy trajectories of QA as contingent on contextual changes in institutional networks, discourses and practices, rather than a single, coherent, universal, neoliberal policy. The focus of this study on QA as actually existing neoliberalism, operating at local, national and extra-national levels within institutional-discursive contexts is a particular contribution to studies in Higher Education regulation, policy and practice.

This study drew on and contributed to studies of “actually existing neoliberalism” (Brenner & Theodore, 2002) by providing particular instances of how neoliberalism has taken shape in HE spaces utilising QA mechanisms. This study applied this approach to texts rather than its more usual focus on physical locations. Similar to studies of physical locations, this study found dislocated, contingent, contested pathways of neoliberalisation, where the practice differs from the ideal, as described in my introductory chapter. Formations of HE were shown to be contained in disparate texts and connections between texts, and mobilised through texts by different institutional contexts in different ways. The differences between the idea of neoliberalism and the practice of neoliberalisation was evident in differences between institutional actors such as ENQA and EQAR; texts that challenge the ideal worked towards such as ESU (2012), and policy actors who ignore key requirements such as academics who selectively apply ESG (Loukkola, & Zhang, 2010). This study furthers critical inquiries into contestations of neoliberalism, by centring difference, challenge and resistance to neoliberal pathways in HE (Leitner et al., 2007).

The empirical findings of this study on QA provide new understandings of conceptual categories in Higher Education policy research. These included:

- Europeanisation as both discourse and institutional arrangement. This extra-national level is both different to and associated with globalization and emerged in my study as of particular importance in HE formations.
- Reformations of hard law and administrative rule as a continuum of hard and soft regulation operating across the coercive/persuasive spectrum. These reformations emerged as particularly significant in regulating large, diffuse, diverse fields such as HE.
- Differences and connections between authors of policy texts and policy actors.

Methodologically I contribute to studies in this area by describing (a) the development of a methodology specific to a focus of study and (b) the development of methods for managing some aspects of the complex, networked social world associated with globalisation, including chains of texts that appear endless and networks of institutions that shift and change over time. I developed a methodology specifically related to the object of study, drawing on conceptual framework from diverse fields (such as geography and education) to identify key contextual influences (social/discursive/institutional/textual) on formations of HE in QA discourses. I surveyed each contextual area separately, and finally I put the context together and related them back to practice contexts. This process, first, illuminates the actual conditions of living within a particular neoliberal trajectory; second, identifies the contribution of each contextual influence to the whole; and third, denaturalises QA as an inevitable trajectory through identifying contextual effects on its actual pathway.

When the landscape of QA became too complex to manage within my CDA methodology I developed methods for managing that complexity. I developed a process for gathering and managing large amounts of data in both print and online form. I drew on and applied Ball and Juneman's (2012) network analysis and Marginson and Rhoades (2012) glonacal agency heuristic to make sense of the institutional and intertextual complexities of QA. My study suggests ways of adapting methodologies to the object of study.

It is a particular feature of my study that different frameworks and methodologies were incorporated in response to the need arising from the object of study. Conceptually, for example, QA acts as a regulatory device while positioning itself as non-regulatory (see e.g. ESG). Analysis of this regulatory position required revisiting legal constructions of regulation through a Foucauldian lense to construct a view of QA as regulatory device within HE.

This study's scope is large – I cover institutional, social, textual and intertextual contexts of QA - and as a result my contributions are more general than a narrower focus would provide. I produce exemplifiers of transformative processes rather than rich data that thoroughly mines the field (Geertz, 1973).. The reason for this broad scope was that conceptual, (D. Harvey, 2007) theoretical (Appadurai, 2001; Hall & Jacques, 1989) and empirical (Ball, 2012a & 2012b) studies point to the need to reconceptualise the totality of social formations in order to make sense of neoliberalism. This is both a

contribution, in terms of the breadth of data I include, and a limitation of my study in terms of its lack of depth of study in all of these areas.

A critical aim of this study that was indicated in chapter 2 was fostering self reflection by HE practitioners and highlighting the existence and effects of different knowledges. While this study contributes on a conceptual and empirical level to self reflection it does not in itself reach communities of practitioners. This study reflects on practice but does not make the leap of communicating that, or alternative ways of practising, to practitioners. This aim is not quite realised in this study and is a limitation of my study. For myself my study has brought to the fore different ways of being and acting in practice. I attend more thoroughly to the contexts of production of policy texts and their institutional and intertextual connections. I consider more consciously the consequences of my work: I attend more closely to my critical reflections; I search more energetically for other ways of doing than that which appears uncomfortable. I am more inclined to raise my own critical voice and I have identified other chains of contesting voices that I can refer to. This study forms the groundwork for these and other contributions to practice but it does not bring to the practice community these possibilities. That will require further work

10.4 Implications

Significant implications of this study relate to how regulation in HE is conceptualised and examined. Methodological findings, in particular, suggest particular empirical approaches to regulation. Other implications relate to how QA in HE is conceptualised and worked with by practitioners.

This study has implications for research into HE practices such as QA. It demonstrates how pathways of neoliberalisation are taking shape within HE, the internal rationalities of neoliberalisation of HE and the contributions of everyday practices and technologies of accounting and measurement to that neoliberalisation. In terms of studies of practices in HE this study suggests the importance of moving from a ‘technical rationalist’ approach to regulation in HE towards a critical approach that examines connections between mechanisms, practices and formations in HE.

Methodologically, my study supports Ball (2008, 2012a, Ball & Junemann, 2012) and Appadurai (2001) descriptions of difficulties with inquiries into globalisation, where its

complexity is difficult to conceptualise, analyse and represent. My study suggests (i) the value of including different methodological approaches in inquiries into globalisation; (2) that different disciplines can provide different conceptual and empirical approaches that benefit these studies and (iii) that new media such as the World Wide Web, can provide useful data for these studies.

This study also has implications for critical studies in HE. It demonstrates how pathways of neoliberalisation are not uniform, total and totalising. They also consist of “disruptions, shifts, and the emergence of different modes of thought” (Davies and Bansel, 2010, p.6). Social actors in HE are shaped and formed through neoliberal strategies as particular kinds of beings, but they are shown in this study to be more than containers of neoliberal identities. They act to shape and change seemingly inevitable pathways. This has implications for both critical inquiry in HE and critical practice within HE in terms of how neoliberal pathways can be conceptualised and analysed, and in terms of how pathways of neoliberalisation in HE can be reclaimed by other knowledges and practices. In particular it suggests the importance of articulating together contestation and neoliberalisation (Leitner et al., 2007). For example in the academic arena the appropriation and formation of conceptions of quality in QA is a site of contestation and dispute. It produces academic analysis of the confusion of meanings (L. Harvey, 2005; Saarinen, 2010) and also provides sites for contestation in practice as EUA demonstrates. Ideals as well as formations are challenged: HE is being commodified, state ESU (2012), and this is a matter for protest. These contestations seem small when weighted against the discursive and institutional formations against which they speak. But contestation in this form, as Leitner et al. (2007) argue, is *alternative knowledge production* and that this occurs at all is a challenge to the total, normal ideal that neoliberalism holds of itself. Neoliberalism therefore emerges in this study as one powerful, dominant, adaptable pathway, but not the only pathway, for HE and the social world. The implications for HE are that contestation impacts on neoliberal pathways; it makes a difference. The possibility of appropriation and assimilation of difference remains, but the picture is of articulation together rather than annihilation of contestation.

One implication of my study, from a critical perspective, is the importance to attending to differences to neoliberalism, as well as neoliberalism, in research into HE practices. Studies of contesting neoliberalism increase the conditions of possibility for critique

within the HE field. In my study these contestations arise to a large extent from commitments and dispositions to possibilities other than neoliberalisation. Contestation is in part grounded in prior knowledge, a remembering of different ways of knowing and valuing, such as EUA's and ENQA's commitment to quality as context dependent. Similar to Davies and Bansel's (2010) study, remembering different ways of being provides the basis for alternative knowledge production. For students, their contestation is described as grounded in an evaluation of consequences: the visible impact of policies seen through the eyes of students (ESU, 2012). The neoliberal identity, it appears, is one formation but not the totality of formation of identity and my suggestion is that critical studies need to investigate, describe and analyse these actual contestations. My sense is that the new architecture of regulation that I describe in this study exists alongside a new architecture of resistance, and it would serve the HE community well to attend more closely to how resistance operates in New Times.

This study has implications for the inclusion of critique in HE practices. One function of critical inquiries, such as my study, is to create conditions for critique, and this study illustrated how neoliberal trajectories close down and open up possibilities for critique. I have described, following Davies and Bansel (2010) some mechanism by which neoliberalism dismantles critique within the QA field. I have shown how dismantling occurs in part through discourses of community that connect QA to already existing constructions of loyalty, creativity and achievement and recontextualise them in the process. The dismantling of critique that I identify occurs in formations of personal and community identity and is facilitated by mechanism that require particular types of engagement with practice. QA self-evaluation reports are one example; these ritualised texts that form part of a chain of texts in QA reviews *require* critical reflexive engagement. In these reports critical engagement is appropriated and recontextualised as critical *of performance and achievement*, critical *in pursuit of excellence*. This form of critical engagement is not critical of knowledges and rationalities that underpin our work, but critical in order to demonstrate that we excel at quality. Critique and critical reflections, like autonomy, become a requirement, a marketing device and a means to achieve an already established goal. However, where neoliberalisation is not a totalising affair and contestations do arise and do take hold then re-appropriation of neoliberal discourses is also possible. The documents I analyse exist independently of authors; once written they are subject to critique. Self-evaluation reports are described as one form of reflection, but can include, and exist alongside, other forms of critical

reflection. There are various examples of these alternative pathways in this account. ESG and EUA challenge both the position and content of ESG; CEE use ESG as an accreditation mechanism, contrary to the ESG position, and in reflecting upon this Kohoutek et al., (2009) highlight the exhaustion this causes. Kenny (2005) describes the recontextualisation of Institutional Review, and the different perspectives brought to bear that transform it into a different process.

For practitioners, my findings contribute to understanding HE as formulated in multiple locations, reflecting multiple agendas and serving multiple interests. Policy, regulation, good practice guides, procedural requirements are shown to be neither inconsequential nor benign. Instead they shape what HE is and who those who inhabit it are. This suggests, I think, the importance of HE communities becoming experts in the policy and regulatory landscapes that surround and inhabit them. In the professional arena, for example, this draws attention to how counsellors and psychotherapists engage with, formulate, challenge and critique QQI (2013b) Draft Awards Standards for Counselling and Psychotherapy. It suggests seeing these standards as formative of the profession, rather than as objective descriptions of competencies, and also as seeing the profession's part in formulating these standards. It suggests the importance of critical questioning, that examine whose knowledge, whose description is represented in these standards, and with what implications and consequences. It draws attention to how the form these standards take is neither inevitable nor unitary. In my account regulation is shaped and changed by community engagement. Where regulation is seen as path dependent then how the profession engages with, accepts, contests and formulates different knowledges within institutional spaces such as consultation processes is of central importance to how the profession will be into the future.

My account also points to the importance of locations of challenge and dispute. Regulatory knowledge production occurs in institutional and discursive sites that also open up possibilities for challenge and dispute. Consultation and reviews are a part of regulatory knowledge production, and also they open up spaces for alternative knowledges. Reviews of ESG and QQI Standards provide examples of how these spaces can be used to introduce difference.

My account also raises questions of how academic knowledge can be utilised in regulatory arenas. Academic knowledge, in academic sites, does not automatically cross over to or influence sites of policy formation. My suggestion is that critiquing neoliberal

trajectories requires stepping outside the boundaries of academia and that the HE community needs to develop expertise in engaging with and challenging education formations within sites of policy and regulatory formation.

Seeing neoliberalism as one formation, not the totality, of the HE field has possible implications for how practitioners evaluate and assess their practice. QA, I have argued, is a neoliberal mechanism and HE is on a neoliberal trajectory, but not entirely. Organisations such as ESU and EUA appropriate and put to their own use aspects of this complex field. Some aspects of QA bring some benefits to some sections of the HE community and to society. This perspective allows different questions to be asked – such as who benefits, in what way, from what QA strategy, practice or activity, who does not benefit and how can QA be formed differently for greater social good. These questions are beyond the scope of this exploration, but I think become possible within this analysis of QA where pathways of neoliberalisation are not seen as totalising. These questions are provisional and tentative, particularly given the dance between critique and appropriation that I have described. But they are important questions; and part of the task of critical inquiry is to allow important critical questions to emerge.

10.5 Limitations and further work

Finally, a number of important limitations need to be considered. First, in focusing on the range of contexts I sacrificed richness and depth of detail for breadth and reach. There are many areas that could fruitfully be explored in more depth. In my study issues such as university rankings, chains of texts such as MAP-ESG and emerging regulatory processes such as shifts between hard and soft regulation are used as examples of formations of HE, but they deserve further exploration in their own right. This is particular the case with practice questions, such as the activities covered by the internal elements of QA identified in ESG. These include teaching and learning, assessment, quality of teachers and information provision - areas of considerable significance for academics and students that are touched on very sparingly in my account. Further research might explore how QA formulates these central areas of HE practice. For example: In what way might assessment practices contribute to the formation of neoliberal identities? How are relationships between students and academics being reformulated in the evolving competitive marketplace of HE? What differences are possible?

Second, a difficulty with this approach that challenges its usefulness is that it takes staying power, it requires too much of the critical community. Examining multiple contexts of meaning making requires attending to too many things, too vast a landscape. This replicates the problem I am attempting to address: in the vastness of normalising discourses critical voices can be lost. This is a theme throughout this work: that critical voices can be appropriated and neutralised within dominant discourses. In my attempt to be thorough in this inquiry I walk close to the possibility of creating confusion through excess. However this work needs to be seen in context. Its aim is to create a picture, a map, for critical work that allows the critical community the possibility of attending to one area while taking into account other areas. It says to the critical community that while you work on understanding texts, or discourses, or institutions there are these other contexts to be aware of. They contribute and interact with your focus.

The voices of participants in HE are absent. Some actors' voices are repressed in texts, but texts produce different information to conversations. One example is the difference sources of critique. Remembering comes across as a source of difference in Davies and Bansel's (2010) account, identified within conversations with academics. My account does not identify this source of difference, because the focus of this inquiry was texts. How embodied human beings challenge texts in practice is absent from this exploration. My sense is that this is a source of considerable possibility for reinstating critique and challenging normalisation processes.

Finally how resistance and difference operate to shape neoliberalising trajectories has emerged as significant in my study, which suggests that resistance is taking new and surprising forms. This includes the use of the World Wide Web to disseminate documents that challenge dominant discourses (ESU, 2012), selective implementation of soft regulation (Loukkola, & Zhang, 2010) and recontextualisation of regulations (Kenny, 2005). These forms of difference appear to me to utilise neoliberalising strategies and mechanisms to challenge and change neoliberalising pathways. My suggestion is that emerging architectures of resistance to neoliberalisation are worthy of study in their own right.

10.6 Reflections

I have been dogged throughout this inquiry by an inner voice that says how can I, a mere practitioner in HE, critique regulatory practices when major players in local,

national and European fields seem to have no trouble with them? There is a personal as well as a conceptual struggle involved in critical work in *New Times*. For me the struggle to maintain a critical position, so vividly described by Davies and Bansel, (2010) was around preserving a belief in my alternative voice. To critique neoliberalisation in the face of its potential to dismantle, as I see it, is to step into marginalised spaces, to take on a marginalised identity, to step outside the valued responsible, autonomous identity required of subjects in *New Times*. It is to be different, and that difference can be judged harshly. To take on critical work is to risk non-compliance with the requirements of an audit culture and also it is to risk being inscribed, and inscribing oneself, as a particular kind of person, whose position is neither sensible nor useful, whose voice is meaningless and irrelevant. Dismantling critique, from this perspective, acts out in the body and being of those who critique; it is in part the dismantling of the one who critiques.

From my perspective bringing together critical perspectives from different disciplines was not only useful for this inquiry, it was essential to preserve my own being as critical practitioner throughout this inquiry. Critique that occurs within a community of critical thinkers is validated, given shape and meaning, translated from a personal failing to a useful community exercise. And this inquiry contributed not only to a body of knowledge but to the preservation of my own critical voice in my daily life. For me, critical inquiry is deeply entwined with my understanding of education. It is not merely a choice of position; it is a matter of preserving one's own voice and therefore one's own being. This critical voice allows the community of HE to interrupt any trajectory – not only neoliberal trajectories – and ask, what is the consequence of our activities, our practices, our institutional arrangements, our discourses. And within those questions lie the possibilities for context dependent, community based and socially beneficial formations of quality in HE to emerge.

References

- Academic Cooperation Association [ACA]. (2012). *Who we are*. Retrieved from <http://www.aca-secretariat.be/index.php?id=30>
- Ala - Vähälä, T. & Saarinen, T. (2007). ENQA and the challenge of the Bologna process. (Draft) Paper presented to the 29th Annual Eair Forum 26 to 29 August 2007 Innsbruck, Austria. Retrieved from http://www.ihep.org/assets/files/gcfp-files/ENQA_and_the_Bologna_Process.pdf
- Ala - Vähälä, T. & Saarinen, T. (2009). Building European-level Quality Assurance Structures: Views from Within ENQA. *Quality in Higher Education*, 15(2), 89-103, doi: 10.1080/13538320902995741
- Allegrante, J., Barry, M., Auld, M., Lamarre, M. & Taub, A. (2009). Toward international collaboration on credentialing in health promotion and health education: The Galway consensus conference. *Health Education & Behavior*, 36(3), 427-438, doi: 10.1177/1090198109333803
- Altbach, P. G., Reisberg, L., & Rumbley, L. E. (2009). *Trends in global higher education: Tracking an academic revolution*. Paris: UNESCO, doi: <http://www.uis.unesco.org/Library/Documents/trends-global-higher-education-2009-world-conference-en.pdf>
- Altheide, D. & Johnson, J. (2011). Reflections on interpretive adequacy in qualitative research. In Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 581-594.
- Amaral, A. & Rosa, M. (2010). Recent Trends in Quality Assurance. *Quality in Higher Education*, 16(1), 59-61, doi: 10.1080/13538321003679515
- Appadurai, A. (2001). Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination. In Appadurai, A. (Ed.) *Globalization*, NC: Duke University Press. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from [:http://books.google.ie/books/about/Globalization.html?id=kMVCawrpcQEC&redir_esc=y](http://books.google.ie/books/about/Globalization.html?id=kMVCawrpcQEC&redir_esc=y)
- Apple, M. (2001). Comparing neo-liberal projects and inequality in education. *Comparative Education*, 37(4), 409-423, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0305006012009122>
- Apple, M. (2005). Education, markets, and an audit culture. *Critical Quarterly*, 47, 11–29, doi: 10.1111/j.0011-1562.2005.00611.x

- Association of European Universities (1998). *Sorbonne Joint Declaration - Joint Declaration on Harmonisation of the Architecture of the European Higher Education System, Paris*. Retrieved from http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/pdf/Sorbonne_declaration.pdf
- Bache, I. (2006). The Europeanization of higher education: Markets, politics or learning? *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44, 231–248, doi: 10.1111/j.1468-5965.2006.00621.x
- Ball, S. (Ed.). (1990). *Foucault and Education*. London: Routledge. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://books.google.ie/books/about/Foucault_and_Education.html?id=nkYOAA-AAQAAJ&redir_esc=y
- Ball, S. (1998). Big Policies/Small World: An introduction to international perspectives in education policy. *Comparative Education*, 34(2), 119-130, doi: 10.1080/03050069828225
- Ball, S. (2003a). The Risks of Social Reproduction: the middle class and education markets. *London Review of Education*, 1(3), 163-175, doi: 10.1080/1474846032000146730
- Ball, S. (2003b). The teacher's soul and the terrors of performativity. *Journal of Education Policy*, 18(2), 215-228, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0268093022000043065>
- Ball, S. (2006). *Education Policy And Social Class: The Selected Works Of Stephen J. Ball*. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://books.google.ie/books/about/Education_Policy_And_Social_Class.html?id=9DFLBFYWnMC&redir_esc=y
- Ball, S. (2008). New philanthropy, new networks and new governance in education. *Political Studies*. 56(4), 747–972, doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9248.2008.00722.x
- Ball, S. (2009). Beyond Networks? A Brief Response to 'Which Networks Matter in Education Governance? *Political Studies*, 57(3), 688-691, doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9248.2009.00805.x
- Ball, S. (2012a). *Global Policy Networks, Social Enterprise and Edu-business*. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from <http://bookshop.blackwell.co.uk/jsp/welcome.jsp?action=search&type=isbn&term=1136632832>

- Ball, S. (2012b). *Global Education Inc.: New Policy Networks and the Neo-Liberal Imaginary*. New York:Routledge. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from <http://books.google.ie/books?id=GimCy7xJYYgC&pg=PA6&lpg=PA6&dq=network+analysis+stephen+ball+education+governance&source=bl&ots=wpiobhKYD4Aw&ved=0CDMQ6AEwATgK#v=onepage&q=network%20analysis%20stephen%20ball%20education%20governance&f=false>
- Ball, S., Dworkin, A. & Vryonides, M. (2010). Globalization and Education: Introduction. *Current Sociology*, 58(4), 523-529, doi: 10.1177/0011392110367987
- Ball, S. & Exley, S. (2010). Making policy with ‘good ideas’: policy networks and the ‘intellectuals’ of New Labour. *Journal of Education Policy*, 25(2), 151-169, doi:10.1080/02680930903486125
- Ball, S. & Junemann, C. (2012). *Networks, new governance and education*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Ball, S., Maguire, M., Braun, A., & Hoskins, K. (2011). Policy actors: doing policy work in schools. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 32(4), 625-639, doi: 10.1080/01596306.2011.601565
- Ball, S. & Olmedo, A. (2013). Care of the self, resistance and subjectivity under neoliberal governmentalities. *Critical Studies in Education*, 54(1), 85-96, doi: 10.1080/17508487.2013.740678
- Barroso, J. (2005). *Communication. Working together for growth and jobs. A new start for the Lisbon strategy. Communication from President Barroso in agreement with Vice-President Verheuge*, {SEC(2005) 192} {SEC(2005) 193}. [Eur-Lex version]. Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2005:0024:FIN:en:PDF>
- Beck, J. & Young, M. (2005). The Assault on the Professions and the Restructuring of Academic and Professional Identities: A Bernsteinian Analysis. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 26(2), 183-197, doi: 10.2307/30036057
- Bell, J. & Stanley, T. (Eds.). (2012). *Making Sense of American Liberalism*. Urbana, IL, USA: University of Illinois Press, 2012.
- Bernal, A. (2009). Family Therapy Education and Higher Education Administration Policy: Facing New Challenges. *Contemporary Family Therapy*, 31:280–293 doi: 10.1007/s10591-009-9097-3

- Billig, M. (1999). Whose Terms? Whose Ordinariness? Rhetoric and Ideology in Conversation. *Discourse Society*, 10, 543-558, doi: 10.1177/0957926599010004005
- Black, J. (2002). Critical reflections on regulation. *Australian journal of legal philosophy*, 27, 1-35, doi: <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/17913/> ISSN 1440-4982
- Black, J. (2002b). Regulatory Conversations. *Journal of Law & Society*, 29(1), 163–196, doi: 10.1111/1467-6478.00215
- Blackman, L., Cromby, J., Hook, D., Papadopolous, D. & Walkerdine, V. (2008). Creating subjectivities (Editorial). *Subjectivity*. 22(1), 1-27, doi:10.1057/sub.2008.8
- Blackmur, D. (2007). The public regulation of higher education qualities: Rationale, processes, and outcomes. In Westerheijden, D., Stensaker, B. & Rosa, M. (Eds.) *Quality Assurance in Higher Education: Trends in Regulation, Translation and Transformation*, Springer: Dordrecht. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://books.google.ie/books?id=BEEd5t6yBFwwC&pg=PR3&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false
- Blanco Ramírez, G. (2013). Studying quality beyond technical rationality: political and symbolic perspectives. *Quality in Higher Education*, 19(2), 126-141, doi: 10.1080/13538322.2013.77480
- Blattler, A., Bollaert, L., Curvale, H., Helle, E., Jense, H., Loukkola, T., Michalk, B. & Nielse, K. (2009). *Creativity and diversity: Challenges for quality assurance beyond 2010. A selection of papers from the 4th European quality assurance forum. Paper presented at the 4th European quality assurance forum, Copenhagen business school, Denmark*, EUA Case Studies Series, Brussels: European Universities Association. Retrieved from http://www.eua.be/Libraries/Publications_homepage_list/Creativity_and_Diversity_Challenges_for_quality_assurance_beyond_2010.sflb.ashx
- Blättler, A., Heerens, N., Baumann, B., Ivosevic, V. & Päll, A. (2012). *The ESU consultation report of the MAP-ESG project*. Brussels: Author. Retrieved from <http://www.creup.es/documentos/esu-publicaciones/MAP-ESG-report.pdf>
- Bologna Declaration. (1999). The Bologna Declaration of 19 June 1999. Joint declaration of the European Ministers of Education*. Retrieved from [http://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/Docs/00Main_doc/990719BOLOGNA_DECLARATION.PDF](http://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/Docs/00>Main_doc/990719BOLOGNA_DECLARATION.PDF)

- Bologna Process - European Higher Education Area [BP-EHEA]. (2010a). *Home*. Retrieved from <http://www.ehea.info/>
- Bologna Process - European Higher Education Area [BP-EHEA]. (2010b). *How does the Bologna Process work?* Retrieved from <http://www.ehea.info/article-details.aspx?ArticleId=5>
- Bologna Process [BP]. (2007-2010a) *The official Bologna Process website July 2007 - June 2010*. Retrieved from <http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/>
- Bologna Process [BP]. (2007-2010b) *The official Bologna Process website July 2007 - June 2010. Participating countries and organisations*. Retrieved from <http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/pcao/index.htm#Participating%20organisations>
- Bologna Process [BP]. (2001). *Prague Communiqué*. Retrieved from http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/about/PRAGUE_COMMUNIQUE.pdf
- Bologna Process [BP]. (2003). *Berlin Communiqué*. Retrieved from http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/about/Berlin_Communique1.pdf
- Bologna Process [BP]. (2005). *Bergen Communiqué*. Retrieved from http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/about/050520_Bergen_Communique1.pdf
- Bologna Process [BP]. (2007). *London Communiqué*. Retrieved from http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/about/London_Communique18May2007.pdf
- Bologna Process [BP]. (2009). *Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué*. Retrieved from http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/about/Leuven_Louvain-la-Neuve_Communique%C3%A9_April_2009.pdf
- Bologna Process [BP]. (2010). *Budapest-Vienna Declaration on the European Higher Education Area*, Retrieved from http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/Declarations/Budapest-Vienna_Declaration.pdf
- Bologna Process [BP]. (2012). *Bucharest Communiqué*, Retrieved from <http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/%281%29/Bucharest%20Communique%202012%282%29.pdf>
- Bond, P. & McInnes, P. (2007). *Decommodifying Electricity in Postapartheid Johannesburg*. In Leitner, H., Peck, J. & Sheppard, E. (Eds.). (2007). *Contesting Neoliberalism: Urban Frontiers*, New York and London: Guilford Press. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://books.google.ie/books?id=Xb8rKxg3jbIC&printsec=frontcover&source=gs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

- Bondi, L. & Laurie, N. (2005). Introduction. *Antipode*, 37(3), 393-401, doi: 10.1111/j.0066-4812.2005.00503.x
- Bondi, L. (2005). Working the spaces of neoliberal subjectivity: Psychotherapeutic technologies, professionalisation and counselling. *Antipode*, 37(3), 497-514, doi: 10.1111/j.0066-4812.2005.00508.x
- Bourdieu P, & Wacquant L. (2001). Neoliberal newspeak: notes on the new planetary vulgate. *Radical Philosophy*, RP 105, 2-5. Retrieved from <http://www.radicalphilosophy.com/commentary/newliberalspeak>
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://books.google.ie/books?id=WvhSEMrNWHAC&pg=PA1&source=gbs_to_c_r&cad=4#v=onepage&q&f=false
- Bowe, R., Ball, S. & Gold, A. (1992). *Reforming Education and Changing Schools: Case Studies in Policy Sociology*, London, Routledge. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://books.google.ie/books?id=dUYOAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA6&source=gbs_to_c_r&cad=4#v=onepage&q&f=false
- Bozo, D., Damian, R., de la Rosa González, C., Helle, E., Imoda, F., Kohler, A., Papazoglou, V., Dalmau, G. & Shopov, T. (2009). *Current trends in European Quality Assurance*. ENQA Workshop Report 8 (Vol. 8). Helsinki: ENQA. Retrieved from http://www.enqa.eu/files/ENQA_wr8_current_trends_final.pdf
- Braithwaite, J. (2000). The new regulatory state and the transformation of criminology. *British Journal of Criminology*, 40(2), 222-238, doi: 10.1093/bjc/40.2.222
- Braithwaite, J., Coglianese, C., & Levi - Faur, D. (2008). Change and challenge in regulation and governance. *Regulation & Governance*, 2(4), 381-382, doi: 10.1111/j.1748-5991.2008.00049.x
- Brenner, N. & Theodore, N. (2002). Cities and the Geographies of “Actually Existing Neoliberalism”. *Antipode*, 34(3), 349-379, doi: 10.1111/1467-8330.00246
- Brine, J. (2006). Lifelong learning and the knowledge economy: those that know and those that do not—the discourse of the European Union. *British Educational Research Journal*, 32(5), 649-665, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01411920600895676>
- British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy [BACP]. (2011). Therapy Today.net. Retrieved from <http://www.therapytoday.net/article/search/?searchstring=statutory>

- Brown, J. & Duguid, P. (2001). Knowledge and organization: A social-practice perspective. *Organization Science*, 12(2), 198-213, doi: 10.1287/orsc.12.2.198.10116
- Brown, R. (2010). The Current Brouhaha about Standards in England. *Quality in Higher Education*, 16(2), 129-137, doi: 10.1080/13538322.2010.487699
- Buitrago, Á. (2013). *Missing biopolitics: Governance vs. governmentality in the management of the neighborhood movement in Madrid*. Retrieved from <http://baierle.me/2010/11/04/missing-biopolitics-governance-vs-governmentality-in-the-management-of-the-neighborhood-movement-in-madrid/>
- Burbules, N. & Torres, C. (2000). Globalization and education: An Introduction. In Burbules, N. & Torres, C. (Eds.), *Globalization and Education: Critical Perspectives* (pp. 1-22), New York: Routledge
- Burman, E. (2001). Emotions in the classroom: And the institutional politics of knowledge. *Psychoanalytic Studies*, 3 (3/4), 313-324, doi: 10.1080/14608950120103613
- Burman, E. (2006). I. Analytic Third or Law? Reflection vs. Regulation in Psychotherapy Case Notes. *Feminism & Psychology*, 16(4), 445-450, doi: 10.1177/0959353506068752
- BusinessEurope. (2009). *Meeting Between the Troika of the Education Council and Social Partners, Brussels*. Speech by Steven D'Haeseleer, Director, Social Affairs 25 November 2009. Retrieved from <http://www.businesseurope.eu/DocShareNoFrame/docs/2/EBKNKAOBEKBGELCKLMOANFDCPDBG9DPNPW9LTE4Q/UNICE/docs/DLS/2009-02628-E.pdf>
- BusinessEurope. (2012). *Educate for employment*. Retrieved from <http://www.businesseurope.eu/Content/default.asp?pageid=568&docid=30149>
- BusinessEurope. (2013). *Mission and Priorities*. Retrieved from <http://www.businesseurope.eu/Content/Default.asp?>
- Butt, D., Fahey, R., Feez, S., Spinks, S. & Yallop, C. (2003) *Using functional grammar: an explorer's guide*. Sydney NSW [Australia]: National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research, Macquarie University. [Academia.edu version] http://www.academia.edu/4019972/Using_Functional_Grammar_An_Explorers_Guide_Second_Edition

- Cahill, D. (2013). Ideas-Centred Explanations of the Rise of Neoliberalism: A Critique. *Australian Journal of Political Science*. 48 (1), 71-84, doi:10.1080/10361146.2012.761174
- Campbell, C. & Rozsnyai, C. (2002). *Quality Assurance and the Development of Course Programmes*. Bucharest: UNESCO-CEPES. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://www.google.ie/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&frm=1&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CC0QFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Funesdoc.unesco.org%2Fimages%2F012%2F001295%2F129526eo.pdf&ei=GrG5UfzFPIKv7AbQ64GQDA&usg=AFQjCNGWnAhjQwRI0bfk6_9Un9y3gYDj5A&sig2=o2CLnbmwmMjPLreCoqCxYg
- Campbell, C. & van der Wend, M. (2000). *International Initiatives and Trends in Quality Assurance for European Higher Education. Exploratory Trend Report*. ENQA Occasional Papers 1. Helsinki: ENQA. Retrieved from <http://www.enqa.eu/files/initiatives.pdf>
- Chouliaraki, L. & Fairclough, N. (1999). *Discourse in late modernity: rethinking critical discourse analysis*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press,
- Chunn, D. & Gavigan, S. (2004). Welfare law, welfare fraud, and the moral regulation of the 'never deserving' poor, *Social & Legal Studies*, 13(2), 219-243 doi: 10.1177/0964663904042552
- Cini, M. (2001). The soft law approach: Commission rule-making in the EU's state aid regime. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 8(2). 192–207, doi:10.1080/13501760110041541
- Cippitani, R. & Gatt, S. (2009). Legal developments and problems of the Bologna Process within the European higher education area and European integration. *Higher Education in Europe*, 34(3), 385, doi: 10.1080/03797720903355638
- Clarke, J. (2003). Turning inside Out? Globalization, Neo-liberalism and Welfare States. *Anthropologica*, 45(2), 201-214, doi: 10.2307/25606141
- Coate, K., & Mac Labhrainn, I. (2009). Irish Higher Education and the Knowledge Economy. In Huisman, J. (Ed.). *International Perspectives on the Governance of Higher Education: Alternative Frameworks for Coordination* . (pp. 198-216). New York: Routledge. Retrieved from <http://ir.library.nuigalway.ie/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10379/1822/CoateMacLabhrainn.pdf?sequence=1>

- Cohen, E. (2012). Liberalism in the post-war city: public and private power in urban renewal. In Bell, J. & Stanley, T. (Eds.) (2012). *Making Sense of American Liberalism*. Urbana, IL, USA: University of Illinois Press, 2012. (p. 135-155)
- Comptroller and Auditor General. (2010). *Special Report. Irish Universities Resource Management and Performance (no. 75)*. Dublin: Government Publications Office. Retrieved from http://www.audgen.gov.ie/documents/vfmreports/75Irish_Universities_Resource_Management.pdf
- Conference of the Heads of Irish Universities. [CHIU]. (2003). *A Framework for Quality in Irish Universities: Meeting the Challenge of Change*. Dublin: Author, [ERIC Version] Retrieved from <http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED476876>
- Council for Higher Education Accreditation. [CHEA]. (2013) *Council for Higher Education Accreditation*. Retrieved from <http://www.chea.org/>
- Council of Europe (2012c). *The Council of Europe in Brief - Council of Europe*. Retrieved from <http://www.coe.int/aboutCoe/index.asp?page=nosObjectifs&l=en>
- Council of Europe. (2001). *Compendium of texts governing the relations between the Council of Europe and the European Union*. Retrieved from http://www.coe.int/t/der/docs/MoU_compendium_en.pdf
- Council of Europe. (2006) *Parliamentary Assembly Recommendation 1762 (2006) Academic Freedom and university autonomy*. Retrieved from <http://assembly.coe.int/Main.asp?link=/Documents/AdoptedText/ta06/EREC1762.htm>
- Council of Europe. (2012a). *Council of Europe. Higher Education and Research Division*. Retrieved from http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/highereducation/default_en.asp
- Council of Europe. (2012b). *The Conference of INGOs in a nutshell*. Retrieved from http://www.coe.int/t/ngo/conf_intro_en.asp
- Council of Europe. (2012d). *The Council of Europe in Brief - How we work*. Retrieved from <http://www.coe.int/aboutCoe/index.asp?page=CommentTravaillonsNous&l=en>
- Council of Europe. (2012e). *Higher education and research: Fields of activities*, Retrieved from, http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/highereducation/Activities_en.asp

- Council of Europe. (2012f). *The Legitimacy of Quality Assurance in Higher Education. The Role of Public Authorities and institutions*, Retrieved from http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/highereducation/QA/Default_EN.asp#TopOfPage
- Council of Europe. (2012g). *Council of Europe Higher Education Forum Series*, Retrieved from http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/highereducation/Forums/default_EN.asp
- Council of Europe. (2012h). *Council of Europe Publishing*, Retrieved from, http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/highereducation/Source/2012/publications_CoEHE_EN.pdf
- Council of Europe/UNESCO. (1997). *Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications concerning Higher Education in the European Region, [Lisbon Recognition Convention]*. CETS No.: 165. Retrieved from <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/165.htm>
- Council of the European Union. (2013). *Agreement on the review of the Professional Qualifications Directive*. Brussels, 26 June 2013 No. 11493/13. Retrieved from http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/intm/137620.pdf
- Crozier, F., Curvale, B. & Hénard, F. (2005). *Quality Convergence Study*. Occasional Papers 7, Helsinki: ENQA. Retrieved from www.enqa.eu/files/Quality%20Convergence%20Study.pdf
- Crozier, F., Curvale, B., Dearlove, R., Helle, E. & Hénard, F. (2007). *Terminology of quality assurance: towards shared European values?* Occasional Paper 12, Helsinki: ENQA. Retrieved from http://www.enqa.eu/files/terminology_v01.pdf
- Cuthbert, M. (2012). The external examiner: how did we get here? *Presentation from the UKCLE/ALT workshop on external examiners, 6 June 2003*, Retrieved from <http://www.ukcle.ac.uk/resources/assessment-and-feedback/cuthbert/>
- Dail Eireann debate. Vol. 766 No. 1. 22nd May 2012a.*
- Dail Eireann debate. Vol. 766 No. 2. 23rd May 2012b.*
- Dale, R. (2007). Specifying globalization effects on national policy: A focus on the mechanisms. In Ball, S., Goodson, I & Maguir, M. (Eds.), *Education, Globalisation and New Times*, Abingdon, Oxen: Routledge, 64-83. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://books.google.ie/books/about/Education_Globalisation_and_New_Times.html?id=331AQRtzi80C&redir_esc=y

- Dale, R. and Robertson, S. (2002). The varying effects of regional organizations as subjects of globalisation of education. *Comparative Education Review*, 46 (1), 10-36, doi: 10.1086/324052
- Davidovitch, N. (2011). Legislation and social policy in the higher education system. *Asian Social Science*, 7 (12), 125-135, doi:10.5539/ass.v7n12p125
- Davies, B. & Bansel, P. (2010). Governmentality and academic work. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, 26(3), 5-20, doi:http://journal.jctonline.org/index.php/jct/article/viewFile/250/85
- Davies, B. & Gannon, S. (2006). *Doing collective biography: Investigating the production of subjectivity*. Buckingham, GBR: Open University Press.
- Davies, B., Flemmen, A., Gannon, S., Laws, C. & Watson, B. (2002). Working on the Ground. A Collective Biography of Feminine Subjectivities: Mapping the Traces of Power and Knowledge. *Social Semiotics*, 12(3), 291-313 doi:10.1080/10350330216374.
- Dean, M. (1999). *Governmentality: power and rule in modern society*. London & Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Deleuze, G. & Guattari, F. (1988). *A Thousand Plateaus: capitalism and schizophrenia*. London: Athlone Press.
- Department of Education and Science [DES]. (1992). *Green Paper, Education for a Changing World*. Dublin: Government Publications Office.
- Department of Education and Science [DES]. (2000). *Review of Departments operations, systems and staffing needs [The Cromien Report]*. Dublin: Author. Retrieved from <http://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Review-of-Department-s-Operations-Systems-and-Staffing-Needs-Cromien-Report-.pdf>
- Department of Education and Skills (DES). (2011). *National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030 ('The Hunt Report')*. Dublin: Author. Retrieved from http://www.hea.ie/sites/default/files/national_strategy_for_higher_education_2030.pdf
- Dicken, P., Kelly, P., & Yeung, H. (2001). Chains and Networks, territories and scales: towards a relational framework for analysing the global economy. *Global Networks*, 1, 89-112, doi: 10.1111/1471-0374.00007
- Dill, D. (2007). *Background paper. Quality assurance in higher education: Practices and issues*, Retrieved from http://www.unc.edu/ppaq/docs/Encyclopedia_Final.pdf

- Duff, T. (2011). Reflections on Ireland's education/training policy making-process leading to the National Framework of Qualifications: National and international influences. *Level3*. Retrieved from http://level3.dit.ie/html/issue9/duff/duff_1.html
- Dunkel, T. (2009). The Bologna process: between structural convergence and institutional diversity. Thematic issue on higher education and VET. *European Journal of Vocational Training*, 46(1), 174-195, Retrieved from <http://www.cedefop.europa.eu/EN/Files/46-en.pdf>
- Editorial. (2003). Editorial: Introduction. *Globalisation, societies and education*, 1(1), 3-11, doi: 10.1080/1476772032000061789
- Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency [EACEA]. (2013). *Higher education area in 2012: Bologna Process implementation report*. Brussels: Author, Retrieved from [http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/\(1\)/Bologna%20Process%20Implementation%20Report.pdf](http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/(1)/Bologna%20Process%20Implementation%20Report.pdf)
- Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency. (n.d.-a). *Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency*. Retrieved from http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/index_en.php
- Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency/Eur. (n.d.-b). *Eurydice*. Retrieved from http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice/index_en.php
- Education International. (2007). *Assessing higher education learning outcomes: "PISA" for Higher Education*. Retrieved from <http://download.ei-ie.org/docs/IRISDocuments/Education/Higher%20Education%20and%20Research/Higher%20Education%20Policy%20Papers/2008-00036-01-E.pdf>
- Education International. (2012). *The retreat of the government from higher education: the Italian case (13 November 2012)*. Retrieved from http://www.ei-ie.org/en/news/news_details/2353
- Education International. (n.d.-a). *About Education International*. Retrieved from <http://www.ei-ie.org/>
- Education International. (n.d.-b). *Higher Education & Research: What is the Bologna Process?* Retrieved from <http://old.ei-ie.org/highereducation/en/bologna.php>
- Edwards, D. (1997). *Discourse and Cognition*. London: Sage.
- Edwards, D. & Potter, J. (1992). *Discursive Psychology*. London: Sage.

- Edwards, R. and Nicholl, K. (2001) Researching the Rhetoric of Lifelong Learning, *Journal of Education Policy*, 16 (2), 103-112, doi: 10.1080/02680930010025310
- Eggers, W. (2008). The Changing Nature of Government: Network Governance. In Wanna, J. & O'Flynn J. (Eds.). *Collaborative Governance*. Canberra: ANUE Press. 23-29. Retrieved from http://epress.anu.edu.au/anzsog/collab_gov/pdf/whole_book.pdf
- ENIC-NARIC (2012-2014). *ENIC-NARIC. Gateway to recognition of academic and professional qualifications*. Retrieved from <http://www.enic-naric.net/index.aspx?s=n&r=g&d=about#About>
- Erkkilä, T. & Kauppi, N. (2010). Alternatives to existing international rankings. In Caillods, F. Jeanpierre, L., Demeulenaere, E. Denis, M. Jonkers, Koen & E. Morena E. (Series Eds.). *World Social Science Report. Knowledge Divides* Paris: UNESCO & World Social Science Council p 239- 244. Retrieved from : www.unesco.org/shs/wss
- Europa (2006) *Summaries of EU legislation > Education, training, youth, sport > Lifelong learning: Reform of the universities in the framework of the Lisbon strategy*. Retrieved from http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/education_training_youth/lifelong_learning/c11078_en.htm
- Europa. (2006). *Summaries of EU legislation > Education, training, youth, sport > Lifelong learning: Reform of the universities in the framework of the Lisbon strategy*. Retrieved from http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/education_training_youth/lifelong_learning/c11078_en.htm
- Europa. (n.d.-a). *How the EU works*. Retrieved from http://europa.eu/about-eu/index_en.htm
- Europa. (n.d.-b). *EU law*. Retrieved from http://europa.eu/eu-law/index_en.htm
- Europa. (n.d.-c). *EU institutions and other bodies*. Retrieved from http://europa.eu/about-eu/index_en.htm
- Europa. (n.d.-d). *EU bookshop - Education Policy*. Retrieved from <http://bookshop.europa.eu/en/education-policy-cbQN4KABste0YAAAEjFZEY4e5L/>
- European Association for Institutional Research [EAIR]. (n.d.). *About EAIR*. Retrieved from <http://www.eair.nl/EAIR/about.asp>

- European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education [ENQA]. (2003).
Quality Procedures in European Higher Education. ENQA Occasional Papers 5.
Helsinki: Author. Retrieved from <http://www.enqa.eu/files/procedures.pdf>
- European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education [ENQA]. (2004).
Transnational European Evaluation Project Methodological Reflections.
Occasional Papers 6. Helsinki: Author. Retrieved from
<http://www.enqa.eu/files/TEEPmethod.pdf>
- European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education [ENQA]. (2006).
Transnational European Evaluation Project II (TEEP II) - Methodological Report. ENQA Occasional Papers 9. Helsinki: Author. Retrieved from
<http://www.enqa.eu/files/TEEP%20II%20Methodological%20report.pdf>
- European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education [ENQA]. (2009).
Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area. (3 ed.). Helsinki: Author. Retrieved from
http://www.enqa.eu/files/ESG_3edition%20%282%29.pdf
- European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education [ENQA]. (2011).
ENQA Projects 2010-2012. Helsinki: ENQA/EACEA, Retrieved from
http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/llp/project_reports/documents/erasmus/multilateral_actions_2010/EMHE/510499-llp-1-2010-1-fi-erasmus-emhe_enqa_projects_2010-2012.pdf
- European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education [ENQA]. (2012).
Mapping the implementation and application of the ESG (MAP-ESG Project) (2011). Final report of the project steering group (08. Mar. 2012). Helsinki: Author. Retrieved from http://www.enqa.eu/files/op_17_web.pdf
- European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education [ENQA]. (n.d.-a).
Welcome to the website of ENQA. Retrieved from <http://www.enqa.eu/>
- European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education [ENQA] (n.d.-b).
ENQA and the Bologna Process (overview) > Cooperation with stakeholders. Retrieved from <http://www.enqa.eu/stakeholders.lasso>
- European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education [ENQA] (n.d.-c).
ENQA Mission statement. Retrieved from <http://www.enqa.eu/mission.lasso>
- European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education [ENQA] (n.d.-d).
European Quality Assurance Register in Higher Education. Retrieved from <http://www.enqa.eu/eqar.lasso>

- European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education [ENQA] (n.d.-e).
ENQA - History. Retrieved from <http://www.enqa.eu/history.lasso>
- European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education [ENQA] (n.d.-f).
ENQA Organisation. Retrieved from <http://www.enqa.eu/organisation.lasso>
- European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education [ENQA] (n.d.-g).
ENQA in a nutshell. Retrieved from <http://www.enqa.eu/profile.lasso>
- European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education [ENQA] (n.d.-h).
Publications. Retrieved from http://www.enqa.eu/pubs_workshop.lasso
- European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education [ENQA] (n.d.-i).
MAP-ESG. Retrieved from
<http://www.enqa.eu/projectitem.lasso?id=340&cont=pastprojDetail>
- European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education [ENQA] (n.d.-j).
UNESCO-GIQAC project. Retrieved from
<http://www.enqa.eu/projectitem.lasso?id=372&cont=pastprojDetail>
- European association of Higher Education Institutions [EURASHE]. (n.d.) *European association of Higher Education Institutions (EURASHE)*. Retrieved from
<http://eurashe.eu/>
- European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education [ENQA] (n.d.-f).
ENQA - Links to other organisations. Retrieved from
<http://www.enqa.eu/links.lasso>
- European Association of Psychotherapy [EAP]. (1990). *Strasburg Definition of Psychotherapy, [Online Version]*. Retrieved from
<http://www.europsyche.org/cms-tag/150/regulations>
- European Association of Psychotherapy [EAP]. (2012a). *TAC Accreditation of Training Institutes for ECP Award. Procedures*. Vienna, Austria: Author. Retrieved from
http://www.europsyche.org/download/cms/100510/TAC-Procedures_voted-Board-Vienna-Feb2012_official.pdf
- European Association of Psychotherapy [EAP]. (2012b). *The European Certificate for Psychotherapy, [Online Resource]*. Retrieved from
http://www.europsyche.org/download/cms/100510/ECP-document_version-5-0-voted-AGM-Valencia-July-2012.pdf
- European Association of Psychotherapy. [EAP] (n.d.-a). *EAP - European Association for Psychotherapy*. Retrieved from <http://www.europsyche.org/>
- European Association of Psychotherapy [EAP]. (n.d.-b). *EAP: EWO/EWAO*. Retrieved from <http://www.europsyche.org/contents/13488/ewo-ewao>

- European Association of Psychotherapy [EAP]. (n.d.-c). *EAP - National Representations*. Retrieved from <http://www.europsyche.org/>
- European Association of Psychotherapy [EAP]. (n.d.-d). *European Association for Psychotherapy Folder*. Retrieved from http://www.europsyche.org/download/cms/100510/EAP_folder_en.pdf
- European Association of Psychotherapy [EAP]. (n.d.-e). *Statement of Ethical Principles*. Retrieved from <http://www.europsyche.org/contents/13134/statement-of-ethical-principles>
- European Association of Psychotherapy [EAP]. (n.d.-f). *The European Certificate for Psychotherapy*. Retrieved from <http://www.europsyche.org/contents/13489/european-certificate-for-psychotherapy-ecp->
- European Association of Psychotherapy [EAP]. (n.d.-g). *EAPTI - European Accreditation Professional Training Institute*. Retrieved from <http://www.europsyche.org/contents/13202/eapti-european-accreditation-professional-training-institute>
- European Association of Psychotherapy [EAP]. (n.d.-h). *EU platform committee history*. Retrieved from <http://www.europsyche.org/contents/13541/the-professional-competencies-of-a-european-psychotherapist>
- European Association of Psychotherapy [EAP]. (n.d.-i). *The Professional Competencies of a European Psychotherapist*. Retrieved from <http://www.europsyche.org/contents/13541/the-professional-competencies-of-a-european-psychotherapist>
- European Association of Psychotherapy [EAP]. (n.d.-j). *ECP-Psychotherapists*. Retrieved from <http://www.europsyche.org/ecp> ECP-Psychotherapists.
- European Association of Psychotherapy [EAP]. (n.d.-k). *Organigram*. Retrieved from <http://www.europsyche.org/cms-tag/147/about-the-eap>
- European Commission [EC]. (1998a). *Written Question by Reino Paasilinna (PSE) to the Commission (10 July 1998)*. [E-2133/98], [Eur-Lex]. Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/Notice.do?val=376320:cs&lang=en&list=277789:cs,277470:cs,264203:cs,263792:cs,241102:cs,240877:cs,234796:cs,376320:cs,234669:cs,326866:cs,&pos=8&page=2&nbl=22&pgs=10&hwords=psychotherapy~&checktexte=checkbox&visu=#texte>

- European Commission [EC]. (1998b). *Report from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on the implementation of Council Recommendation 98/561/EC of 24 September 1998 on European cooperation in quality assurance in higher education* [* COM/2004/0620 final *], [Eur-Lex]. Retrieved from / http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!DocNumber&lg=en&type_doc=COMfinal&an_doc=2004&nu_doc=0620
- European Commission [EC] (2000). *Report from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on the application of Directive 92/51/EEC in accordance with Article 18 of Directive 92/51/EEC, [/* COM/2000/0017 final */]*. [Eur-Lex]. Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/Notice.do?val=240877:cs&lang=en&list=277789:cs,277470:cs,264203:cs,263792:cs,241102:cs,240877:cs,234796:cs,376320:cs,234669:cs,326866:cs,&pos=6&page=2&nbl=22&pgs=10&hwords=psychotherapy~&checktexte=checkbox&visu=#texte>
- European Commission [EC]. (2001). *European Governance, A White paper*. [Eur-Lex]. Retrieved from http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2001/com2001_0428en01.pdf
- European Commission [EC]. (2005). *Commission Communication of 20 April 2005 – "Mobilising the brainpower of Europe: enabling universities to make their full contribution to the Lisbon Strategy"* [COM(2005) 152], [Eur-Lex]. Retrieved from http://eurlex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!DocNumber&lg=en&type_doc=COMfinal&an_doc=2005&nu_doc=152
- European Commission [EC]. (2006). *Communication of 10 May 2006 from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament – Delivering on the modernisation agenda for universities: education, research and innovation* [COM(2006) 208 final - Not published in the Official Journal], [Eur-Lex]. Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=SEC:2011:1063:FIN:EN:PDF>
- European Commission [EC]. (2009). *Report from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions - Report on progress in quality assurance in higher education, [/* COM/2009/0487 final */]*, [Eur-Lex]. Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2009:0487:FIN:EN:PDF>

lex.europa.eu/Notice.do?val=501137:cs&lang=en&list=501137:cs,&pos=1&page=1&nbl=1&pgs=10&hwords=report%20on%20progress%20in%20quality%20assurance%20in%20higher%20education~&checktexte=checkbox&visu=#texte

European Commission [EC]. (2010). *Meeting Report. Meeting with professional organisations DRAFT. Brussels, 13 September 2010*. [MARKT-D4/IW D(2010) 361557 17.03.2010.]. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/internal_market/qualifications/docs/03082010_evaluation_directive_en.pdf

European Commission [EC]. (2011a). *Evaluation of the Professional Qualifications Directive (Directive 2005/36/EC). Working document of the Internal Market and Services Directorate General of the European Commission for discussion. Brussels, 5 July 2011*. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/internal_market/qualifications/docs/news/20110706-evaluation-directive-200536ec_en.pdf

European Commission [EC]. (2011b). *Proposal for a Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council amending Directive 2005/36/EC on the recognition of professional qualifications and Regulation on administrative cooperation through the Internal Market Information System. Brussels, 19.12.2011*. [COM(2011) 883 final]. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/internal_market/qualifications/docs/policy_developments/modernising/COM2011_883_en.pdf

European Commission [EC]. (2011c). *Commission Working Document on recent developments in European High Educations systems accompanying the document Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic And Social Committee And The Committee Of The Regions supporting Growth And Jobs – an Agenda For The Modernisation of Europe's Higher Education Systems (April 2011)*. [/* SEC/2011/1063 final */], [Eur-Lex]. Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:52011SC1063:EN:NOT>

European Commission [EC]. (2013a). *ec-European Commission - The European Qualifications Framework (EQF)*. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-policy/eqf_en.htm

European Commission [EC]. (2013b). *News. Free movement of professionals*. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/internal_market/qualifications/news/index_en.htm

- European Commission [EC]. (n.d.). *European Commission at work*. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/atwork/index_en.htm
- European Consortium for Accreditation.(2004). *European Consortium for Accreditation "Code of Good Practice"*. Retrieved from http://www.eacaconsortium.net/admin/files/assets/subsites/1/documenten/1264159808_eca-code-of-good-practice-2004-rev2007.pdf
- European Council. (1998). *Council Recommendation (EC) No 561/98 of 24 September 1998 on European cooperation in quality assurance in higher education*. [Official Journal L 270 of 07.10.1998], [Eur-Lex]. Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:1998:270:0056:0059:EN:PDF>
- European Council. (2000). *Presidency Conclusions – Lisbon European Council 23 and 24 March 2000*. [DOC/00/8], [Eur-Lex]. Retrieved from http://consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/00100-r1.en0.htm [22 March 2008].
- European Council. (2005a). *Mobilising the brainpower of Europe: enabling higher education to make its full contribution to the Lisbon Strategy - Resolution of the Council and of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States* (November 2005). [2005/C 292/01], [Eur-Lex]. Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2005:292:0001:0002:EN:PDF>
- European Council (2005b). *European Council Brussels 22 and 23 March 2005 Presidency Conclusions*. [7619/1/0 REV 1], [Eur-Lex]. Retrieved from http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/84335.pdf.
- European Council. (2007). *Council Resolution on modernising universities for Europe's competitiveness in a global knowledge economy*. [15007/07 RECH 358 EDUC 212 COMPET 378], [Eur-Lex]. Retrieved from <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/07/st16/st16096-re01.en07.pdf>
- European Council. (2008). *Report on the Council Resolution of 23 November 2007 on Modernising Universities for Europe's competitiveness in a global knowledge economy. Report from the Commission to the Council (October 2008)*. [COM(2008) 680 final], [Eur-Lex]. Retrieved from <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/08/st15/st15292.en08.pdf>

- European Council and European Commission. (2010). *Key competences for a changing world . 2010 Joint Progress Report of the Council and the Commission on the implementation of the Education & Training 2010 work programme*. [Brussels, 25.11.2009 COM(2009)640 final], [Eur-Lex]. Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2009:0640:FIN:EN:PDF>
- European Federation of Psychologists' Associations [EFPA]. (2010). *EFPA Professional development - Training Standards for Psychologists specializing in Psychotherapy: European Federation of Psychologists' Association*. Retrieved from <http://www.efpa.eu/professional-development/training-standards-for-psychologists-specializing-in-psychotherapy>
- European Family Therapy Association [EFTA]. (2013). *EFTA home*. Retrieved from <http://www.europeanfamilytherapy.eu/>
- European Parliament and Council. (2005). *Directive 2005/36/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 7 September 2005 on the recognition of professional qualifications*, [Official Journal L255 of 30 September 2005], [Eur-Lex]. Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2005:255:0022:0142:EN:PDF>
- European Parliament and Council. (2006). *Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 15 February 2006 on further European cooperation in quality assurance in higher education* [Official Journal L64 of 4 March 2006], [Eur-Lex]. Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2006:064:0060:0062:EN:PDF>
- European Parliament and Council. (2008). *Decision No 1298/2008/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 16 December 2008 establishing the Erasmus Mundus 2009-2013 action programme for the enhancement of quality in higher education and the promotion of intercultural understanding through cooperation with third countries (Text with EEA relevance)*. (OJ L 340, 19.12.2008, p. 83–98) [32008D1298](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32008D1298), [Eur-Lex]. Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32008D1298:EN:NOT>
- European Quality Assurance Register for Higher Education [EQAR]. (2009). *Statement on the European Commission's report on progress in quality assurance, Brussels, 30 November 2009*. Retrieved from

- http://www.eqar.eu/fileadmin/documents/eqar/T_091130_EQAR_StatementOnCommissionProgressReportOnQa.pdf
- European Quality Assurance Register for Higher Education [EQAR]. (n.d.-a). *Introduction*. Retrieved from <http://www.eqar.eu/about/introduction.html>
- European Quality Assurance Register for Higher Education [EQAR]. (n.d.-b). *Members*. Retrieved from <http://www.eqar.eu/association/members.html>
- European Quality Assurance Register for Higher Education [EQAR]. (n.d.-c). *Mission and Values*. Retrieved from <http://www.eqar.eu/about/mission-statement.html>
- European Students Union [ESU]. (undated). *Prague Student Declaration towards the 2009 Ministerial Conference of the Bologna Process*. Retrieved from http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/conference/documents/Prague_Student_Declaration.pdf
- European Students Union [ESU]. (2010). *Bologna at the Finishing Line. An Account of Ten Years of European Higher Education Reform*. Brussels: Author Retrieved from http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/Irina/2010_Bologna%20with%20Student%20Eyes.pdf
- European Students Union [ESU]. (2011). 2008 Towards 2020 - A Student-Centred Bologna Process. <http://www.esu-online.org/news/article/6064/102/>
- European Students Union [ESU]. (2012). *Bologna with student eyes*. Brussels: Author. Retrieved from <http://www.esu-online.org/asset/News/6068/BWSE2012-online1.pdf>
- European Union (1994) White Paper, *Growth, Competitiveness and Employment*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Community.
- European Union [EU]. (2010). *The EU Contribution to the European Higher Education Area*. Luxembourg.: European Union, doi: 10.2766/63140
- European University Association [EUA]. (2003). *Graz Declaration 2003: Forward from Berlin: the role of universities to 2010 and beyond*. Brussels: Authors, Retrieved from http://www.eua.be/eua/jsp/en/upload/COM_PUB_Graz_publication_final.1069326105539.pdf
- European University Association [EUA]. (2005a). *Developing an internal quality culture in European universities. Report on the quality culture project 2002 – 2003*, Brussels: EUA. Retrieved from http://www.eua.be/eua/jsp/en/upload/QC1_full.1111487662479.pdf

- European University Association [EUA]. (2005b). *Glasgow Declaration. Strong Universities for a Strong Europe Strong Universities for a Strong Europe*, Brussels: EUA: Retrieved from http://www.eua.be/eua/jsp/en/upload/Glasgow_Declaration.1114612714258.pdf
- European University Association [EUA]. (2005c). *Review of quality assurance in Irish universities*. Sectoral Report. Dublin: Higher Education Authority and Irish Universities Quality Board. Retrieved from http://www.iuqb.ie/info/iuqb_publications4658.html?page=2
- European University Association [EUA]. (2009). *European universities – looking forward with confidence: Prague Declaration*. Brussels: Authors. Retrieved from http://brjk.amu.edu.pl/__data/assets/pdf_file/0012/46101/EUA_Prague_Declaration_2009.sflb.pdf
- European University Association [EUA]. (n.d.-a). *EUA Membership*. Retrieved from <http://www.eua.be/eua-membership-and-services/Home.aspx>
- European University Association [EUA]. (n.d.-a). *Promoting quality culture in higher education institutions (PQC)*. Retrieved from <HTTP://WWW.EUA.BE/PQC.ASPX>
- European University Association [EUA]. (n.d.-b). *Rankings in Institutional Strategies and Processes (RISP)*. Retrieved from <http://www.eua.be/eua-work-and-policy-area/quality-assurance/transparency-and-rankings-activities/Rankings-in-Institutional-Strategies-and-Processes.aspx>
- European University Association [EUA]. (n.d.-c) *Empowering Universities to fulfil their responsibility for Quality Assurance (EUREQA)*. Retrieved from <http://www.eua.be/eua-work-and-policy-area/quality-assurance/projects/EUREQA.aspx>
- European University Association [EUA]. (n.d.-d). *Rankings reviewed*. Retrieved from <http://www.eua.be/eua-work-and-policy-area/quality-assurance/transparency-and-rankings-activities/Rankings-review.aspx>
- Evans, K. (2001). Psychotherapy and the golden bullet. *European Journal of Psychotherapy, Counselling & Health*, 4(3), 429-431, doi: 10.1080/13642530210126932
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. Edinburgh and New York: Longman Group, Retrieved from http://npu.edu.ua!/e-book/book/djvu/A/iif_kgpm_Fairclough_Language_and_Power_pdf.pdf

- Fairclough, N. (1992a). *Intertextuality in critical discourse analysis. Linguistics and education*, 4(3-4), 269-293. [doi.org/10.1016/0898-5898\(92\)90004-G](https://doi.org/10.1016/0898-5898(92)90004-G)
- Fairclough, N. (1992b). *Discourse and social change*, Cambridge: Polity Press
- Fairclough, N. (1993). Critical Discourse analysis and the marketization of public discourse: The universities. *Discourse and Society*, 4(2) 133-168, doi: 10.1177/0957926593004002002
- Fairclough, N. (2001a). *Language and power* (2nd ed.). Harlow, Eng. ; New York: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2001b). The discourse of New Labour : critical discourse analysis. In Wetherell, M. (Ed.), *Discourse as data: a guide for analysis*. (pp. 229-266). London: Sage and the Open University.
- Fairclough, N. (2001c) A dialectical-relational approach to critical discourse analysis in social research. In: Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp.162-186). London: SAGE Publications.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (2005). Discourse Analysis in Organization Studies: The Case for Critical Realism. *Organization Studies*, 26(6), 915-939, doi: 10.1177/0170840605054610
- Fairclough, N. (2010). *Critical discourse analysis : the critical study of language* (2nd ed.). Harlow: Longman.
- Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse as Social Interaction. Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction, Vol. 2*. (Vol. 2, pp. 258–284.). London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi.: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Fejes, A. (2008). Historicizing the lifelong learner: governmentality and neoliberal. In Fejes, A. & Nicoll, K. (Eds.). *Foucault and lifelong learning: Governing the subject*. pp 87-100. London: Routledge, 2008. Retrieved from <http://mail.stei.itb.ac.id/~ssarwono/KU1073/.buku/Foucault%20and%20Lifelong%20Learning.pdf>
- Figazzolo, L. (n.d.). *Impact Of Pisa 2006 On The Education Policy Debate*. Retrieved from <http://download.ei-ie.org/docs/IRISDocuments/Research%20Website%20Documents/2009-00036-01-E.pdf>

- Fisher, S. (2006). Does the 'Celtic Tiger' society need to debate the role of higher education and the public good? *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 25(2), 157-172, doi: 10.1080/02601370500510827
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2011). Case Study. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*, Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Foucault, M. (1979). *The history of sexuality. Volume 1*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Foucault, M. (1982) The Subject and the Power. In Dreyfus, H. and Rabinow, P. (Eds.). *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, Brighton: Harvester.
- Foucault, M. (2002). *Archeology of Knowledge*. London: Routledge. Retrieved from <http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/fr/foucault.htm>
- Fouilhoux, M. (2009) *Education International*. Leeuwen 28 April 2009
- Gaus, G. & Courtland, S, D. (2013). Liberalism. In Zalta, E. N. (ed.) *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2013 Edition). Retrieved from <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/liberalism/>
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society*: University of California Press.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://books.google.ie/books?hl=en&lr=&id=Jujn_YrD6DsC&oi=fnd&pg=PP9&dq=giddens+late+modernity+theory&ots=pXXRu_yuJ7&sig=JrjWJpuUG63bcHp5Q-HXHJtsT40&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=giddens%20late%20modernity%20theory&f=false
- Giddens, A. (1998) *The Third Way, The Renewal of Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Glaser, B. & Strauss, A. (1967). *Discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago: Aldine.
- González, J. & Wagenaar, R. (Eds.) (2003). *Tuning Educational Structures in Europe. Final Report – Pilot Project Phase*, Groningen and Bilbao: EUA. Retrieved from http://www.bolognag.net/doc/Tuning_phase1_full_document.pdf

- Goodwin, I. and Spittle, S. (2002). The European Union and the information society. Discourse, power and policy. *New Media & Society*. 4:2 pp. 225-249 doi: 10.1177/146144480200400206
- Goodwin, M. (2009). Which Networks Matter in Education Governance? A Reply to Ball's "New Philanthropy, New Networks and New Governance in Education", *Political Studies*, 57 (3), 680–7, doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9248.2009.00804.x
- Government of Ireland (2007a). *Transforming Ireland – A Better Quality of Life for All. National Development Plan, 2007-2013*, Dublin: Stationery Office. Retrieved from <http://www2.ul.ie/pdf/932500843.pdf>
- Greer, S. L. & Vanhercke, B. (2010). The hard politics of soft law: the case of health. In Mossialos, E., Permanand, G., Baeten, R. & Hervey, T. (eds.), *Health Systems Governance in Europe: The role of EU law and policy*, Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, pp.186-230. Retrieved from http://www.euro.who.int/__data/assets/pdf_file/0004/138154/E94886_ch04.pdf
- Grek, S., Lawn, M., Lingard, B. & Varjo, J. (2009). North by northwest: quality assurance and evaluation processes in European education. *Journal of Education Policy*, 24(2), 121-133, doi: 10.1080/02680930902733022
- Guba, E. & Lincoln, Y. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin. N. & Lincoln, Y. (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 105-117). London: Sage.
- Guilfoyle, M. (2009). Using Althusser's notion of interpellation to study the politics of therapeutic practice. *Psychotherapy and Politics International*, 7(3), 159–173, doi: 10.1002/ppi.197
- Hall, S. (1997). The work of representation. In Hall, S. (ed.) *Representation: cultural representation and signifying practices*. London: Sage. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://books.google.ie/books?id=Vs-BdyhM9JEC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false
- Hall, S. (2001). Foucault: Power, Knowledge and Discourse. In Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. & Yates, S. (eds.). *Discourse Theory and Practice*. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage
- Hall, S. (Ed.). (1990). *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge, Pages 463p.
- Hall, S., Morley, D., & Chen, K.-H. (Eds.). (1996). *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*: Routledge. [Google Books version]. Retrieved 8th May 2013

from

http://books.google.ie/books?id=SYEDprxskwC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Hall, S. & Jacques, M. (Eds.) (1989). *New times: the changing face of politics in the 1990s*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Halliday, M. (2002). *On grammar*. New York : Continuum.

Halliday, M. (2003). *On language and linguistics*. New York : Continuum.

Halliday, M. A. K. & Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2004). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (Third Edition). London; New York: Arnold

Halliday, M. A. K. & Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2004). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (Third Edition). London; New York: Arnold

Hansen, S. (2004). Promoting Transparency and Quality Improvement in Higher Education through International Comparative Evaluation. *Proceedings AFANet-ICA Conference "Capitalising on Innovation in the Curriculum in European Higher Education", Ghent, Belgium, 8-10 January 2004*. Retrieved from <http://www.uni-tuebingen.de/hermes/AFANet/AFANet-conf-2004.pdf>

Hartmann, E. (2010b). The United Nations educational, scientific and cultural organisation: Pawn or global player? *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 8(2), 307–318, doi: 10.1080/14767721003780645

Hartwich, O.M. (2009). *Neoliberalism: The Genesis of a Political Swearword*. CIS. Occasional Paper, no. 114. St. Leonards, New South Wales: The Center for Independent Studies. Retrieved from <http://www.ort.edu.uy/facs/boletininternacionales/contenidos/68/neoliberalism68.pdf>

Harvey, D. (2007). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

Harvey, L. & Green, D. (1993). Defining quality. *Assessment & Evaluation in Higher Education*, 18(1), 9-34, doi: 10.1080/0260293930180102

Harvey, L. & Newton, J. (2007). Conclusions and further challenges. In Westerheijden, D., Stensaker, B. & Rosa, M. (Eds.). *Quality assurance in higher education: Trends in regulation, translation and transformation*. Springer: Dordrecht, Higher Education Dynamics, vol.20. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://books.google.ie/books/about/Quality_Assurance_in_Higher_Education.html?id=BEd5t6yBFwwC&redir_esc=y

- Harvey, L. (2005). A history and critique of quality evaluation in the UK. *Quality Assurance in Education*. 13(4), 263-276, doi:[10.1108/09684880510700608](https://doi.org/10.1108/09684880510700608)
- Harvey, L. (2009). Deconstructing quality culture. *Presentation given in a European Association for Institutional Research (EAIR) Annual Conference in Vilnius*. Retrieved from <http://www.qualityresearchinternational.com/Harvey%20Vilnius.pdf>
- Hay, S. & Kapitzke, C. (2009). 'Smart state' for a knowledge economy: Reconstituting creativity through student subjectivity. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 30(2), 151-164. doi:[10.1080/01425690802700206](https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690802700206)
- Henkel, M. & Little, B. (eds.) 1999. *Changing Relationships Between. Higher Education And The State*. London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley.
- Higher Education and Training Awards council [HETAC]. (2011). *Guidelines and Criteria for Quality Assurance Procedures*. Dublin: Author http://www.hetac.ie/docs/H.2.4-2.0_Guidelines_and_Criteria_for_QA_Procedures.pdf
- Higher Education Authority [HEA]. (2002). *Creating and Sustaining the Innovation Society*, Dublin: Author. Retrieved from http://www.hea.ie/sites/default/files/creating_and_sustaining_the_innovation_society.pdf
- Higher Education Authority [HEA]. (2004). *Strategy Statement 2004-2007*, Dublin: Author. Retrieved from <http://hea.ie/files/files/file/archive/policy/2006/Strategy%20Statement%202004%20-%202007.pdf>
- Higher Education Authority [HEA]. (2005). *Review of quality assurance procedures in irish universities: Reflections document prepared by The high level reference panel, chaired by Mr. John Dunn*. Dublin: Author. Retrieved from <http://www2.ul.ie/pdf/59797820.pdf>
- Higher Education Authority [HEA]. (2012a). *Towards a Future Higher Education Landscape*, Dublin: Author. Retrieved from <http://www.hea.ie/files/TowardsaFutureHigherEducationLandscape.pdf>
- Higher Education Authority [HEA]. (2012b). *A Proposed Reconfiguration of the Irish System of Higher Education [the Van Vught Report]*. Dublin: Author
- Higher Education Authority [HEA]. (2012c). *Responses to the Landscape Document and Achieving the Objectives of the National Strategy for Higher Education: A*

- Gap Analysis*. Dublin: Author. Retrieved from http://9thlevel.ie/wpcontent/uploads/Analysis_of_Submissions.pdf
- Higher Education Authority [HEA]. (2013a). *Completing the Landscape Process for Irish Higher Education*. Dublin: Author. Retrieved from http://hea2013.heea.ie/sites/default/files/completing_the_landscape_process_final_0.pdf
- Higher Education Authority [HEA]. (2013b). *Implementation* <http://www.heea.ie/en/policy/national-strategy/implementation>
- Higher Education Authority [HEA]. (n.d.). *Strategic Dialogue* Retrieved from <http://www.heea.ie/en/policy/national-strategy/strategic-dialogue>
- Higher Education Authority Act 1971 (No. 22)*.
- Hirst, P. & Thompson, G. (2009). *Globalization in Question*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Holborow, M. (2012). Neoliberalism, human capital and the skills agenda in education: the Irish case. *Journal For Critical Education Policy Studies*, 1, 10, pp93-111, doi:URL: <http://www.jceps.com/?pageID=article&articleID=243>
- Hollingsworth, K. (1980). *Mofu-Gudur hortatory discourse*. SIL Cameroon. [electronic resource: OLAC resources in and about the Mofu-Gudur language; [oai:sil.org:47712](http://oai.sil.org:47712)]. Retrieved from <http://www.language-archives.org/language/mif>
- Hook, D. (2001). Discourse, knowledge, materiality, history. *Theory and Psychology*, 11(4), 521-547, doi:10.1177/0959354301114006.
- Huisman, J. & Westerheijden, D. (2010). Bologna and quality assurance: Progress made or pulling the wrong cart? *Quality in Higher Education*, 16(1), 63-66, doi: 10.1080/13538321003679531
- Hunt, A., & Wickham, G. (1994). *Foucault and Law. Towards a Sociology of Law as Governance*: Pluto Press. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://books.google.ie/books/about/Foucault_and_Law.html?id=jFQwTHyworUC&redir_esc=y
- Hutcheon, L. (2002). *The Politics of Postmodernism*: London:Routledge.
- Institutes of Technology Act 2006 (No. 25)*.
- International Network for Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education [INQAAHE]. (2013). International Network for Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education (INQAAHE). Retrieved from <http://www.inqaahe.org/>

- Irish Council for Psychotherapy [ICP]. (n.d.-b). Training | Irish Council for Psychotherapy. Retrieved May 7th, 2013, 2013, from <http://www.psychotherapy-ireland.com/professional-development/>*
- Irish Council for Psychotherapy [ICP]. (n.d.-c). Statutory Registration. Retrieved May 7th, 2013, 2013, from <http://www.psychotherapy-ireland.com/about/regulations/>*
- Irish Council for Psychotherapy [ICP]. (n.d.-d). About. Retrieved from <http://www.psychotherapy-ireland.com/about/>*
- Irish Council for Psychotherapy [ICP]. (n.d.-a). Disciplines | Irish Council for Psychotherapy. Retrieved from <http://www.psychotherapy-ireland.c.m/disciplines/>*
- Irish University Association [IUA]. (2012a). Quality Assurance. Retrieved from <http://www.iaa.ie/learning-teaching/quality-assurance/>*
- Irish University Association [IUA]. (2012b). University Governance Report to the Minister for Education and Skills. Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/Aine/Desktop/doctorate/1%20final%20draft/IUA%20Publications%20_%20Irish%20Universities%20Association.htm*
- Irish University Association [IUA]. (2013) Higher Education System Configuration Position Paper for the Higher Education Authority. Retrieved from <http://www.iaa.ie/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/IUA-HE-System-Configuration-Jan-2013.pdf>*
- Irish University Association & Irish Universities Quality Board [IUA and IUQB]. (2007). A Framework for Quality in Irish Universities: Concerted action for institutional improvement, second edition, 2007. Dublin: Authors. Retrieved from http://www.eua.be/fileadmin/user_upload/files/newsletter/Framework_Document_2nd_Edition_Online.pdf*
- Irish Universities Quality Board [IUQB]. (2007). Self-Evaluation Report. IUQB Compliance with the Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area. IUQB. Retrieved 8th May 2013 from <http://www.iuqb.ie/GetAttachmenta0ca.pdf?id=d9d85b41-4657-42f7-a593-af7012b00b6b>*
- Irish Universities Quality Board [IUQB]. (n.d.-a). Quality Reviews Catalogue. Retrieved from <http://www.iuqb.ie/info/quality-reviews-catalogue.html>*
- Irish Universities Quality Board [IUQB]. (n.d.-b). Good Practice Guides. Retrieved from http://www.iuqb.ie/info/good_practice_guides.html*

- Jacobsson, K. (2004). *Soft regulation and the subtle transformation of states: The case of EU employment policy*. Stockholm, Sweden: SCORE (Stockholm Center for Organizational Research). Retrieved from <http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/Papers/EES/Jacobsson2002-4.pdf>
- Jäger, S. (2001). Discourse and knowledge: Theoretical and methodological aspects of a critical discourse and dispositive analysis. In: Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 32-62). London: SAGE Publications.
- Jakobi, A. (2007). The knowledge society and global dynamics in education politics. *European Educational Research Journal*, 6(1), 39-51, doi: 10.2304/eej.2007.6.1.39
- Jakobi, A. (2009). Global education policy in the making: international organisations and lifelong learning. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 7(4), 473-487, doi: 10.1080/14767720903412275
- Jameson, F. (1991). *Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic Of Late Capitalism*. London: Verso. Retrieved from <http://www.pum.umontreal.ca/revues/surfaces/vol3/cecil.html>
- Jessop, B. (2000). *Globalization and the National State*. Lanks., U.K.: Department of Sociology, Lancaster University, pp. 1-19. Retrieved from <http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/papers/Jessop-Globalization-and-the-National-State.pdf>
- Jessop, B. (2002). Liberalism, neoliberalism, and urban governance: A state–theoretical perspective. *Antipode*, 34(3), 452-472, doi: 10.1111/1467-8330.00250
- Jones, M. and Ward, K. (2002), Excavating the logic of British urban policy: Neoliberalism as the “crisis of crisis–management”. *Antipode*, 34: 473–494, doi: 10.1111/1467-8330.00251
- Jørgensen, M., & Phillips, L. (2002). *Critical discourse analysis as theory and method*. London, Sage, Retrieved from <http://www.rasaneh.org/Images/News/AttachFile/27-3-1391/FILE634754469767402343.pdf>
- Kamat, S. (2009). Education in emergent India: Genealogies of “actually existing neoliberalism ”. *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the 53rd Annual Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society, Francis Marion Hotel, Charleston, South Carolina, Mar 22, 2009*. Retrieved from <http://www.cies.us>

- Kazi, M. (2000). Contemporary perspectives in the evaluation of practice. *British Journal of Social Work*, 30(6): 755-768. doi: 10.1093/bjsw/30.6.755
- Keeling, R. (2006). The Bologna process and the Lisbon research agenda: The European Commission's expanding role in higher education discourse. *European Journal of Education*, 41(2), doi: 10.1111/j.1465-3435.2006.00256.x
- Kelly, P. (1999). The geographies and politics of globalization. *Progress in Human Geography*, 23(3), 379-400, doi: 10.1177/030913259902300303
- Kenny, A. (2005). Developing a participatory consultation process for quality reviews: The initial stage of the European University Associations quality review of the Dublin Institute of Technology. *Level3*, 3. Retrieved from <http://arrow.dit.ie/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1028&context=cserart>
- Kenny, A. (2006a). The quality movement discourse in the higher education sector: A general review. *Level3*, 4. Retrieved from http://level3.dit.ie/html/issue4/aidan_kenny_paper_1/kenny1_1.htm April 1 2012.
- Kenny, A. (2006b). The emergence of quality assurance in Irish higher education: A review of European and national policy and description of the Dublin Institute of Technology practice. *Level3*, 8. Retrieved from http://level3.dit.ie/html/issue4_list.html
- Kenway, J., Bigum, C., Fitzclarence, L. (2007) New Education in New Times. In Ball, S.J., Goodson, I. G. and Maguire, M. (eds.) *Education, Globalisation and New Times*. Routledge, London, 1-20. [Google Books version] Retrieved from [http://books.google.ie/books?id=E5S-kyk7MaAC&pg=PA6&lpg=PA6&dq=Kenway+the+rise+of+the+markets+and+the+cultural+dominance+of+commodity+forms+...+\[where\]+consumption+becomes+a+primary+source+of+identity&source=bl&ots=Zwa1MFWAZd&sig=3WektTKf0uzeLtbH0BxiHMTIStc&hl=en&sa=X&ei=W3wSUpLNKtLb7AbGy4GYAQ&ved=0CDkQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=Kenway%20the%20rise%20of%20the%20markets%20and%20the%20cultural%20dominance%20of%20commodity%20forms%20...%20\[where\]%20consumption%20becomes%20a%20primary%20source%20of%20identity&f=false](http://books.google.ie/books?id=E5S-kyk7MaAC&pg=PA6&lpg=PA6&dq=Kenway+the+rise+of+the+markets+and+the+cultural+dominance+of+commodity+forms+...+[where]+consumption+becomes+a+primary+source+of+identity&source=bl&ots=Zwa1MFWAZd&sig=3WektTKf0uzeLtbH0BxiHMTIStc&hl=en&sa=X&ei=W3wSUpLNKtLb7AbGy4GYAQ&ved=0CDkQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=Kenway%20the%20rise%20of%20the%20markets%20and%20the%20cultural%20dominance%20of%20commodity%20forms%20...%20[where]%20consumption%20becomes%20a%20primary%20source%20of%20identity&f=false)
- Kirkpatrick, R. (1999). Text analysis at different levels: Schema theory, genre analysis, discourse analysis. *Language Issues*, 5 [Electronic Resource: Academia.edu]. Retrieved from

http://www.academia.edu/531235/Text_Analysis_at_Different_levels_Schema_theory_genre_analysis_discourse_analysis

- Kohoutek, J. (Ed.) (2009a). *Implementation of the standards and guidelines for quality assurance in higher education in the Central and East European Countries – Agenda ahead*. UNESCO-CEPES Studies on Higher Education. Bucharest: UNESCO-CEPES. Retrieved from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001886/188647e.pdf>
- Kohoutek, J., Pasáčková, E. & Rendlová, H. (2009). Developing higher education quality assurance in Central and Eastern Europe: Practising the science of muddling through. In Kohoutek, J. (Ed.) (2009). *Implementation of the standards and guidelines for quality assurance in higher education in the Central and East European Countries – Agenda ahead*. UNESCO-CEPES Studies on Higher Education. Bucharest: UNESCO-CEPES. Retrieved from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001886/188647e.pdf>
- Kohoutek, J. (2007b). Setting the stage: Quality assurance, policy change, and implementation. In Kohoutek, J. (Ed.) (2009). *Implementation of the standards and guidelines for quality assurance in higher education in the Central and East European Countries – Agenda ahead*. UNESCO-CEPES Studies on Higher Education. Bucharest: UNESCO-CEPES. Retrieved from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001886/188647e.pdf>
- Kristoffersen, D., Thune, C., Williams, P., & Curvale, B. (2010). *ENQA: 10 years (2000 - 2010) - A decade of European co-operation in quality assurance in higher education*. ENQA Occasional Paper 16. Helsinki: ENQA. Retrieved from <http://enqa.eu/files/ENQA%2010th%20Anniversary%20publication.pdf>
- Lane, A. & Althaus, K. (2011). The development of psychotherapy as a specialism for psychologists: An EFPA project. *European Psychologist*, 16(2), 132 - 140, doi: 0.1027/1016-9040/a000091
- Lange, L. (2011). EQAA independence from the Global Discourse on QA. *Keynote Presentation at The International Network for Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education (INQAAHE) conference "Quality Assurance: Foundation for the Future" Madrid, 2011*. Retrieved from <http://www.inqahe.org/madrid-2011/presentations>
- Lange, B. & Alexiadou, N. (2007). New forms of European Union governance in the education sector? a preliminary analysis of the open method of coordination.

- European Educational Research Journal*. 6(4). 321-335, doi:
10.2304/eej.2007.6.4.321
- Larner, G. (2005). The real as illusion: deconstructing power in family therapy. *Journal of Family Therapy*, 17(2), 191-217, doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6427.1995.tb00013.x
- Larner, W. (2000). Neo-liberalism: Policy, ideology, governmentality. *Studies in Political Economy*. 63(3), Retrieved from
<http://spe.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/spe/issue/view/521>
- Larner, W. (2003). Neoliberalism? *Environment and Planning D*. 21(4). 509-12, doi:10.1068/d2105ed
- Larner, W. & Butler, M. (2007). The Places, people, and politics of partnership: After neoliberalism in Aotearoa New Zealand. In Leitner, H., Peck, J. & Sheppard, E. (Eds.). *Contesting Neoliberalism: Urban Frontiers*. New York and London: Guilford Press. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from
http://books.google.ie/books?id=Xb8rKxg3jbIC&printsec=frontcover&source=gs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false
- Lees, J. (2010). Identity wars, the counselling and psychotherapy profession and practitioner - based research. *Psychotherapy and Politics International*, 8(1), 3-12, doi: 10.1002/ppi.205
- Leitner, H., Peck, J. & Sheppard, E. (2007a). Squaring up to neoliberalism. In L Leitner, H., Peck, J. & Sheppard, E. (Eds.). *Contesting Neoliberalism: Urban Frontiers*, New York and London: Guilford Press. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from
http://books.google.ie/books?id=Xb8rKxg3jbIC&printsec=frontcover&source=gs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false
- Leitner, H., Peck, J. & Sheppard, E. (Eds.). (2007b). *Contesting Neoliberalism: Urban Frontiers*. New York and London: Guilford Press. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from
http://books.google.ie/books?id=Xb8rKxg3jbIC&printsec=frontcover&source=gs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false
- Lipman, P. & Hursh, D. (2007). Renaissance 2010: The reassertion of ruling-class power through neoliberal policies in Chicago. *Policy Futures in Education*, 5 (2), doi:10.2304/pfie.2007.5.2.160
- Little, B. & Williams, R. (2010). Students' roles in maintaining quality and in enhancing learning: Is there a tension? *Quality in Higher Education*, 16(2), 115-127, doi: 10.1080/13538322.2010.485740

- Lobel, O. (2004). The renew deal: The fall of regulation and the rise of governance in contemporary legal thought. *Minnesota Law Review* 89(2), 342-470. Retrieved 10th April 2013 from <http://ssrn.com/abstract=723761>
- Loukkola, T. & Zhang, T. (2010). *Examining quality culture part 1: Quality assurance processes in higher education institutions*. Brussels, Belgium: European University Association. Retrieved from http://www.eua.be/pubs/Examining_Quality_Culture_Part_1.pdf
- Luke, A. (1995). Text and discourse in education: An introduction to critical discourse analysis. *Review of Research in Education* 21, 3-48, doi:10.3102/0091732X021001003
- Luke, A. (2002) Beyond Science and Ideology Critique: Developments in critical discourse analysis. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 22: 96-110, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0267190502000053>
- Lynch, K. (2006a) Neo-liberalism and Education. In Healy, S., Reynolds, B. and Collins, M. (Eds.) *Social Policy in Ireland: Principles, Practice and Problems*. Dublin: The Liffey Press, 2006a, 297–328.
- Lynch, K. (2006b) “Neo-liberalism and Marketisation: The Implications for Higher Education. *European Educational Research Journal* 5(1): 2–17, doi: 10.2304/eej.2006.5.1.1
- Lynch, K., Grummell, B., & Devine, D. (2012.). *New managerialism in education :commercialization, carelessness, and gender*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- MacLeod, G. (2001). New regionalism reconsidered: Globalization and the remaking of political economic space. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 25(4), 804-829, doi:10.1111/1468-2427.00345
- MacLeod, G. (2002), From urban entrepreneurialism to a “revanchist city”? On the spatial injustices of Glasgow’s renaissance. *Antipode*, 34: 602–624, doi: 10.1111/1467-8330.00256
- Madden, S. & Moane, G. (2006). Critical psychologies in Ireland: Transforming contexts and political possibilities. *Annual Review of Critical Psychology*, 5(23). Retrieved from <http://www.discourseunit.com/annual-review/>
- Marginson, S. & Rhoades, G. (2002). Beyond national states, markets, and systems of higher education: A glonacal agency heuristic. *Higher Education*, 43(3), 281-309.

- Marginson, S. & van der Wende, M. (2007). *Globalisation and Higher Education*. OECD Education Working Papers, No. 8. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/173831738240>
- Maastricht Treaty (1992) Treaty on European Union (Maastricht text)*. July 29, 1992. [O.J. C 191/1], [Maastricht Treaty]
- MAP-ESG. (n.d.). *Welcome to the website of the MAP-ESG project*. Retrieved from <http://mapesg.wordpress.com/>
- May, P. (2007). Regulatory regimes and accountability. *Regulation & Governance*, 1(1), 8-26, doi: 10.1111/j.1748-5991.2007.00002.x
- McGregor, S. (n.d.). Critical discourse analysis - a primer . In *Kappa Omicron Nu FORUM* Retrieved from <http://www.kon.org/archives/forum/15-1/mcgregorcda.html>
- McLeod, J. (2001). Developing a research tradition consistent with the practices and values of counselling and psychotherapy: Why counselling and psychotherapy research is necessary. *Counselling and Psychotherapy Research*, 1(1), doi: 10.1080/14733140112331385188
- Merriam-Webster. (2000). *Dictionary of Law*. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://books.google.ie/books?id=JYs74quLWLIC&pg=PA1&source=gbs_toc_r&cad=4#v=onepage&q=regulation&f=falsehttp://bookshop.blackwell.co.uk/jsp/welcome.jsp?action=search&type=isbn&term=0877796041
- Meyer, M. (2002). Between theory, method, and politics: positioning of the approaches to CDA. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 14-32), London: SAGE Publications.
- Middlehurst, R. (2001). *Quality assurance. Implications of new forms of higher education. part 1: A typology*. ENQA Occasional Papers 3. Helsinki: ENQA. Retrieved from <http://www.enqa.eu/files/newforms.pdf>
- Mitchell, K. (2006). Neoliberal governmentality in the European Union: education, training, and technologies of citizenship. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24(3), 389-407, doi:10.1068/d1804.
- Mont Pelerin Society (n.d.). *About MPS. History*. Retrieved from <https://www.montpelerin.org/montpelerin/mpsAbout.html>
- Morley, L. (2003). *Quality and power in higher education*. Maidenhead: Open University Press. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from [http://books.google.ie/books?hl=en&lr=&id=I0Im8qd3THQC&oi=fnd&pg=PR1&dq=Morley,+L.+%282003%29.+Quality+and+power+in+higher+education+\[e](http://books.google.ie/books?hl=en&lr=&id=I0Im8qd3THQC&oi=fnd&pg=PR1&dq=Morley,+L.+%282003%29.+Quality+and+power+in+higher+education+[e)

lectronic+resource]&ots=PoA82rhn2X&sig=KZBDVzEHqnz_3_35Ezxx1IIM9
MM&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false

- Mulderrig, J. (2007). *Textual strategies of representation and legitimation in New Labour policy discourse*. In: *Renewing dialogues in Marxism and education : openings. Marxism and education*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, pp. 135-150. Retrieved from [http://sheffield.academia.edu/JaneMulderrig/Papers/324102/Textual Strategies of Representation and Legitimation In New Labour Policy Discourse](http://sheffield.academia.edu/JaneMulderrig/Papers/324102/Textual_Strategies_of_Representation_and_Legitimation_In_New_Labour_Policy_Discourse) March 31 2012
- Mulderrig, J. (2011). Manufacturing Consent: A corpus-based critical discourse analysis of New Labour's educational governance. *Educational Philosophy & Theory*, 43(6), 562-578, doi: 10.1111/j.1469-5812.2010.00723.x
- National University of Ireland (NUI). (2009). *Response of the National University of Ireland (NUI) to the Department of Education and Science on Amalgamation of Qualifications and Quality Assurance Bodies Consultation Paper on Implementation (DES Consultation Paper May 2009)*. Retrieved from http://www.nui.ie/news/docs/NUI_response_to_DES.pdf
- Newton, J. (2007). What is quality? In: European University Association (2007). *Embedding quality culture in higher education: a selection of papers from the 1st European Forum for Quality Assurance*. pp. 14–20. Brussels: EUA. Retrieved from http://www.eua.be/Libraries/EQAF_2010/EUA_QA_Forum_publication_1.sflb.ashx
- Novoa, A. & Lawn, M. (Eds.). (2002). *Fabricating Europe: The Formation of an Education Space*. Amsterdam: Kluwer. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://books.google.ie/books/about/Fabricating_Europe.html?id=k8asGCPYHswC&redir_esc=y
- NQAI. (2006). *NFQ - National Framework of Qualifications*, Retrieved from <http://www.nfq.ie/nfq/en/>
- O'Mahony, J. (2005). 'Europeanisation as implementation': The Impact of the European Union on environmental policy - making in Ireland. *Irish Political Studies*, 22(3), 265-285, doi:10.1080/01629770701526995
- Official website of the ESG revision. (2013). *Revising the Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area*. Retrieved from <http://revisionesg.wordpress.com/background/>

- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] (1989) *Education and Economy in a Changing Society*. Paris: Author. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/>
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] (1996). *The knowledge-based economy*. Paris: Author. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/science/sci-tech/1913021.pdf>
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] (2006) *Reviews of National Policies for Education: Higher Education in Ireland 2006*. Paris, France: Author DOI: 10.1787/9789264014329-en
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] (2013a). *About the OECD higher education programme (IMHE)* . Paris, France: Author. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/edu/imhe/About%20IMHE%20070113%20Ang%20Web.pdf>
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] (2013b). *Local Job Creation: How employment and training agencies can help - Ireland* . Paris, France: Author. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/cfe/leed/Local%20Job%20Creation%20IRE%20-%20Draft%20Final%20Master%20-%20FINAL.pdf>
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] (n.d.-e). *OECD's Higher Education Programme*. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/edu/imhe/aboutimhe.htm>
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] (n.d.-f). *Our mission*. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/about/>
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] (n.d.-g). *Who does what*. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/about/whodoeswhat/>
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] (n.d.-h). *Skills.oecd*. Retrieved from <http://skills.oecd.org/>
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] (n.d.-i). *OECDilibrary* Retrieved from <http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/books;jsessionid=4mnet112r2vvb.x-oecd-live-01>
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD]. (1994). *Jobs Study – Facts, Analysis, Strategies*. Paris: Author. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/els/emp/1941679.pdf>

- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD]. (2004). *Review of Higher Education in Ireland*. Paris, France: Author. Retrieved from http://www.heai.ie/sites/default/files/oeed_review_of_higher_education_2004.pdf
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD]. (n.d.-a). *OECD History*. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/about/history/>
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD]. (n.d.-b). *Directorate for Education and Skills: OECD work on education: 8 themes*. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/edu/themeshtm.htm#Higher>
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD]. (n.d.-c). *Members and partners*. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/about/membersandpartners/>
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD]. (n.d.-d). *Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI)*. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/edu/cei/>
- Parker, I. & Revelli, S. (Eds.). (2008). *Psychoanalytic practice and state regulation*. London: Karnac.
- Parker, I. (1999). Critical psychology: Critical links. *Radical Psychology*, 1(1), 1-12. Retrieved from <http://radicalpsychology.org/vol1-1/Parker.html>
- Parker, I. (2002). *Critical discursive psychology*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan,.
- Parker, R. (2007). Networked governance or just networks? Local governance of the knowledge economy in Limerick (Ireland) and Karlskrona (Sweden). *Political Studies*, 55(1), 113-132, doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00624.x
- Peci A., Vieira M. & Clegg S. (2009). Power, Discursive Practices and the Construction of the 'real'. *Electronic Journal of Knowledge Management*. 7(3), 377-386, doi: <http://hdl.handle.net/10453/10165>
- Peck, J. & Theodore, N. (2010). Mobilizing policy: Models, methods, and mutations. *Geoforum* 41(2), 169–174, doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2010.01.002
- Peck, J. & Tickell, A. (1994) Searching for a new institutional fix: The after-Fordist crisis and global-local disorder. In A Amin (ed.) *Post-Fordism*. 280–316). Oxford: Blackwell
- Peck, J. & Tickell, A. (2002). Neoliberalizing Space. *Antipode*, 34(3), 380-404, doi: 10.1111/1467-8330.00247
- Peck, J. & Tickell, A. (2003). Making global rules: globalisation or neoliberalization? In Peck, J & Yeung, H. (eds.) *Remaking the Global Economy: Economic-*

- Geographical Perspectives*. (Sage, London), 163 – 181. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://books.google.ie/books?id=QizjSU9iudQC&pg=PP7&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false
- Peck, J. (2010). *Constructions of Neoliberal Reason*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. , [Google Books version].Retrieved from http://books.google.ie/books/about/Constructions_of_Neoliberal_Reason.html?id=8scYfU2ieMEC&redir_esc=y
- Perellon, J. (2007). Analysing quality assurance in higher education: Proposals for a conceptual framework and methodological implications: In Westerheijden, D. F., Stensaker, B. and Rosa, M. (Eds.). *Quality assurance in higher education: Trends in regulation, translation and transformation*. Springer: Dordrecht. Higher Education Dynamics, vol.20. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://books.google.ie/books/about/Quality_Assurance_in_Higher_Education.html?id=BEd5t6yBFwwC&redir_esc=y
- Perez, M. & Cannella, G. (2012). Disaster Capitalism as Neoliberal Instrument for the Construction of Early Childhood Education/Care Policy: Charter Schools in Post-Katrina New Orleans. *International Critical Childhood Policy Studies*, 4(1), 47 - 68, doi: <http://journals.sfu.ca/iccps/index.php/childhoods/article/view/40>
- Phillips, N., Lawrence, T. B., & Hardy, C. (2004). Discourse and Institutions. *Academy of Management Review*, 29(4), 635-652, doi: 10.5465/AMR.2004.14497617
- Portnoi, L. and Bagley, S. (2011). Global competition in higher education: Strategies in a glonacal context. *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the 55th Annual Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society, Fairmont Le Reine Elizabeth, Montreal, Quebec, Canada*. Retrieved from http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p485670_index.html
- Potter, J., Wetherell, M., Gill, R. & Edwards, D. (1990) *Philosophical Psychology* 3:2 <http://158.125.1.136/~ssjap/JP%20Articles/Potter%20et%20al%20-%20Discourse%20noun%20verb%20Phil%20Psych%201990.pdf>
- Provan, K., G., & Kenis, P. (2008). Modes of Network Governance: Structure, Management, and Effectiveness. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 18(2), 23, doi: 10.1093/jopart/mum015
- Psychological Therapies Forum. (2008). *Public protection. Submission on the statutory registration of counsellors and psychoterapists in Irelan*. Dublin: Author.

Retrieved from <http://www.psychotherapy-ireland.com/wp-content/uploads/2008/10/download-registration-of-psychological-therapies-submission-september-2008.doc>

Püschel, J. & Vormann, B. (2012). Grey zones of the market. Public services, education policies, and neoliberal reform in the United Kingdom. In Lall, M. (Ed.) *Policy, Discourse and Rhetoric: How New Labour Challenged Social Justice and Democracy*. Educational Futures Rethinking Theory and Practice Volume 52. Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers. Retrieved from <https://www.sensepublishers.com/media/767-policy-discourse-and-rhetoric.pdf>

Pujol, J. & Montenegro, M. (1999) Discourse or materiality: impure alternatives for recurrent debates, in Nightingale, D. & Cromby, J. (eds) (1999) *Social constructionist psychology: A critical analysis of theory and practice*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Qualifications (Education And Training) Act, 1999. (No. 26)

Qualifications and Quality Assurance (Education and Training) Act 2012 (No. 28) [2012 Act].

Quality and Qualifications Ireland [QQIa]. (2013). *Quality & Qualifications Ireland*. Retrieved from <http://www.qqi.ie/Pages/default.aspx>

Quality and Qualifications Ireland [QQIb]. (2013). *Draft Awards Standards for Counselling and Psychotherapy*. Retrieved from <http://www.qqi.ie/Consultation/Pages/Draft-Awards-in-Counselling.aspx>

Quality and Qualifications Ireland [QQIc]. (2013). *Draft Awards Standards for Counselling and Psychotherapy – Feedback Received*. Retrieved from http://www.qqi.ie/Downloads/Standards/CandP_Consolidated_Feedback_201213.pdf

Radaelli, C. (2003). *The open method of coordination: A new governance architecture for the European Union?* Stockholm: Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies. Retrieved from <http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/Papers/radaelli.pdf>

Ramírez, B. G. (2013). Studying quality beyond technical rationality: political and symbolic perspectives. *Quality in Higher Education*, 19(2), 126-141, doi: 10.1080/13538322.2013.774804

Ranson, S. (2003). Public accountability in the age of neo - liberal governance. *Journal of Education Policy*, 18(5), 459-480, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0268093032000124848>

- Rappaport, J. & Stewart, E. (1997). A critical look at critical psychology: Elaborating the questions. In Fox, D. & Prilleltensky, I. (Eds.). *Critical Psychology: An Introduction*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Reckwitz, A. (2002). Toward a Theory of Social Practices. *European Journal of Social Theory*. 5(2), 20, doi: 10.1177/13684310222225432
- Reeves, R. & Mollon, P. (2009). The State regulation of psychotherapy: From self-regulation to self-mutilation? *Attachment: New Directions in Psychotherapy and Relational Psychoanalysis*. 3(1), 1-19. Retrieved from <https://www.karnacbooks.com/JournalDetail.asp?ID=5>
- Reid, I. C. (2009). The contradictory managerialism of university quality assurance. *Journal of Education Policy*. 24 (5), 575–593, doi: 10.1080/02680930903131242
- Reyes, A. (2011) Strategies of legitimization in political discourse: From words to actions *Discourse & Society*, 22, 781-807, doi:10.1177/0957926511419927
- Rhoades, G. & Sporn, B. (2002). Quality assurance in Europe and the U.S.: Professional and political economic framing of higher education policy. *Higher Education*, 43(3), 355-390, doi: 10.1023/A:1014659908601
- Rhoades, R. (1997). *Understanding governance: Policy networks, governance, reflexivity and accountability*. Maidenhead, GB, Philadelphia, US: Open University Press. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://books.google.ie/books/about/Understanding_governance.html?id=dJ4VAQAAIAAJ&redir_esc=y
- Risse, T. Cowles M. & Caporaso, J. (2001). Europeanization and domestic change : Introduction. In Cowles, M., Caporaso, J. and Risse, T. (Eds.). *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and domestic change*: London: Cornell University Press. [Google Books version] Retrieved from <http://books.google.ie/books?id=ppEEcPbB51gC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>
- Rojo, L. (2001). New Developments in Discourse Analysis: Discourse as Social Practice. *Folia Linguistica*, 35(1/2), 41-78.
- Rose, N. (1985). *The psychological complex: Psychology, politics and society in England, 1869 - 1939*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul,.
- Rose, N. (1990). *Governing the soul. Shaping of the private self*. London: Taylor & Francis Ltd .

- Rose, N. (1998). *Inventing Ourselves: Psychology, power and personhood*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Rosenau, J. (2007). Governing the ungovernable: The challenge of a global disaggregation of authority. *Regulation & Governance*, 1(1), 88-97, doi: 10.1111/j.1748-5991.2007.00001.x
- Rozsnyai, C. (2010). The Quality Volution. *Quality in Higher Education*, 16(1), 77-79, doi: 10.1080/13538321003679564
- Ryan, A. (forthcoming). Discourse: Some considerations for the reflective practitioner. In Walst, T. (Ed.). *The Reflective Practitioner*. MACE: Maynooth Adult and Community Education. Retrieved from <http://eprints.nuim.ie/2447/.#sthash.mKYWEJic.dpuf>,
- Saarinen, T. (2005). 'Quality' in the Bologna process: From 'competitive edge' to quality assurance techniques. *European Journal of Education*, 40(2), doi: 10.1111/j.1465-3435.2004.00219.x
- Saarinen, T. (2008). Persuasive presuppositions in OECD and EU higher education policy documents. *Discourse Studies*, 10 (3), 341–359, doi: 10.1177/1461445608089915.
- Saarinen, T. (2010). What I talk about when I talk about quality. *Quality in Higher Education*, 16(1), 55-57, doi: 10.1080/13538321003679507
- Samoff, J., & Carrol, B. (2003). *From manpower planning to the knowledge era: World Bank policies on higher education in Africa*. UNESCO Forum on Higher Education, Research and Knowledge. Retrieved from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001347/134782eo.pdf>
- Schwarz, S. and Westerheijden, D.F. (Eds.). (2004). *Accreditation and Evaluation in the European Higher Education Area*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://books.google.ie/books?id=7MsoNdtb7b0C&pg=PA494&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false
- Shahjahan, R. (2012). The roles of international organizations (IOs) in globalizing higher education policy. In Smart, J. & Paulsen, M. (Eds.) *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research (Vol. 27)*. pp. 369-408, London and New York: Springer. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://books.google.ie/books/about/Higher_Education_Handbook_of_Theory_and.html?id=REYB4Cye15IC&redir_esc=y

- Shirley, J. & Padgett, S. (2004). Professionalism and Discourse: But Wait, There's More! *American Journal of Bioethics*, 4(2), 36-38, doi: 10.1162/152651604323097745
- Shore, C. & Wright, S. (1999). Audit culture and anthropology: Neo-liberalism in British higher education. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 5(4): 557-75, doi:<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2661148>
- Shotter, J and Gergen, (1989) *Texts of identity*. London, England: Sage Publications.
- Singh, M., & Little, B. (2011). Learning and engagement dimensions of higher education in knowledge society discourse. In J. Brennan & T. Shah (Eds.), *Higher Education and Society in Changing Times. Looking Back and Looking Forward.*: Center for Higher Education Research and Information, [CHERI], Retrieved from <http://www.open.ac.uk/cheri/documents/Lookingbackandlookingforward.pdf>
- Skilbeck, M. (2001). *The University Challenged: A Review of International Trends and Issues with Particular Reference to Ireland*. Dublin: Higher Education Authority and Confederation of Heads of Irish Universities.
- Solleveld & van den Hout-van Eijnsbergen v Staatssecretaris van Financiën. [2004] *Joined cases C-443/04 and C-444/04. Judgment of the Court (Third Chamber) of 27 April 2006*. European Court reports (2006) Page I-03617. Retrieved from <http://curia.europa.eu/juris/celex.jsf?celex=62004CJ0443&lang1=en&type=NOT&ancre=>
- Sporn, B.(2003). *Convergence or difference in international higher education policy: Lessons from Europe*. Ford Policy Forum: 31-44 Retrived from <http://net.educause.edu/forum/ffpfp03w.asp?bhcp=1>
- Springer, S. (2012). Neoliberalism as discourse: between Foucauldian political economy and Marxian poststructuralism. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 9(2), 133-147, doi: 10.1080/17405904.2012.656375
- Stack, M. (2006). Testing, testing, read all about it: Canadian press coverage of the PISA Results. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 29(1), 49-6. Retrieved from www.csse-scee.ca/CJE/Articles/FullText/CJE29-1/CJE29-1-stack.pdf
- Stanley, L. & Wise, S. (1993). *Breaking out Again: Feminist Ontology and Epistemology*. London: Routledge. Retrieved from http://cdn.preterhuman.net/texts/thought_and_writing/philosophy/breaking%20out%20again.pdf<http://www.questia.com/library/103422841/breaking-out-again-feminist-ontology-and-epistemology>

- Stensaker, B., Harvey, L., Huisman, J., Langfeldt, L. & Westerheijden, D. (2010). The impact of the European standards and guidelines in agency evaluations. *European Journal of Education*, 45: 577–587, doi: 10.1111/j.1465-3435.2010.01450.
- Suddaby, R. and Viale, T. (2011). Professionals and field-level change: Institutional work and the professional project. *Current Sociology*, 59: 4 pp 423-442, doi: 10.1177/0011392111402586
- Sursock , A.& Smidt, H. (2010). *Trends 2010: A decade of change in European Higher Education*. Brussels, Belgium: European University Association. Retrieved from <http://www.eua.be/publications/eua-reports-studies-and-occasional-papers.aspx>
- Tadros, V. (1998). Between Governance and Discipline: The Law and Michel Foucault. *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, 18(1), 75-103.
- Taylor, S. (2004). Researching educational policy and change in 'new times': using critical discourse analysis. *Journal of Education Policy*, 19(4), 433-451, doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0268093042000227483>
- Taylor, S. (2007). Critical policy analysis: exploring contexts, texts and consequences. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 18(1), 23-35, doi: 10.1080/0159630970180102
- Thorsen, D. E. (2011) . *The Politics of Freedom. A Study of the Political Thought of Isaiah Berlin and Karl Popper, and of the Challenge of Neoliberalism*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation , University of Oslo, Norway. Retrieved from <http://berlin.wolf.ox.ac.uk/lists/onib/thorsen/thorsen.pdf>
- Thune, C. (2010). ENQA 2000–2005: From the launch of a professional network to the success in Bologna of a new association. In Kristoffersen, D., Thune, C., Williams, P., & Curvale, B. (2010). *ENQA: 10 years (2000 - 2010) - A decade of European co-operation in quality assurance in higher education (pdf)*. ENQA Occasional Paper 16. Helsinki: ENQA. Retrieved from <http://enqa.eu/files/ENQA%2010th%20Anniversary%20publication.pdf>
- Treaty of Lisbon. (2010). Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union* [Lisbon Treaty]. [2010 O.J. C 83/13].
- Treaty of Rome. (1957). Treaty Establishing the European Economic Community, Mar. 25, 1957* [EEC Treaty]. [298 U.N.T.S. 11].
- Tudor, K. (2012). Book review. Globalized psychotherapy. By Alfred Pritz (Ed.), (2002). *Psychotherapy and Politics International*, 10(2), 161-162, doi: 10.1002/ppi.1267

- U-Map. (n.d.). *European classification of higher education institutions U-Map. About.*
Retrieved from <http://www.u-map.eu/about.doc/>
- U-Multirank. (2013). *U-Multirank.* Retrieved from <http://www.u-portal.org/u-multirank/>
- UNESCO (n.d.-a) *Introducing UNESCO.* Retrieved from <http://en.unesco.org/about-us/introducing-unesco>
- UNESCO. (n.d.-b). *UNESCO's governing bodies.* Retrieved 2nd July 2013, 2013, from <http://en.unesco.org/about-us/unescos-governing-bodies>
- UNESCO. (n.d.-c). *Mission | Education | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization,* Retrieved 2nd July 2013, 2013, from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/about-us/how-we-work/mission/>
- UNESCO. (n.d.-d). *Education. Higher Education,* Retrieved from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/strengthening-education-systems/higher-education/>
- UNESCO. (n.d.-e). *Education. Reform and Innovation.* Retrieved 2nd July 2013, 2013, from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/strengthening-education-systems/higher-education/reform-and-innovation/>
- UNESCO. (n.d.-f). *Education. International University Cooperation.* Retrieved from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/strengthening-education-systems/higher-education/international-university-cooperation/>
- UNESCO. (n.d.-g). *Education. Quality Assurance.* Retrieved from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/strengthening-education-systems/higher-education/quality-assurance/>
- UNESCO. (n.d.-h). *Education. Recognition of Qualifications.* Retrieved from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/strengthening-education-systems/higher-education/recognition/>
- United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture [UNESCO]. (2010). *World Social Science Report. Knowledge Divides .* World Social Science Reports, Paris: UNESCO & World Social Science Council. Retrieved from: www.unesco.org/shs/wss
- United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture [UNESCO]. (2013). *Quality Assurance | Education | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.* Retrieved from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/strengthening-education-systems/higher-education/quality-assurance/>
- United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture [UNESCO]. (n.d.-i). *UNESCO's Education for the 21st Century.* Retrieved from <http://en.unesco.org/themes/education-21st-century/>
- Universities Act 1997. (No. 24).*

- Urry, J. (2002). *Global Complexity*. London: Polity Press.
- Urry, J. (2005). The Complexities of the Global. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 22(5), 235-254, doi: 10.1177/0263276405057201
- van Dijk, T. (1995). Discourse semantics and ideology *Discourse & Society*, 6(2): 243-289, doi: 10.1177/0957926595006002006
- van Dijk, T. (1997). Key-note address congress political linguistics. Antwerp, 7-9 - December 1995.. In -.D. B. Antwerp, Jan Bulcaen Chris (Ed.), *Political linguistics*.(pp. 11-52). Amstardam: Benjamins.
- van Dijk, T. (2002). Critical discourse studies: A sociocognitive approach. In Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (Eds.). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. pp. 95-129, London: Sage.
- van Dijk, T. (2006). Ideology and discourse analysis. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 11(2), 115-140, doi: 10.1080/13569310600687908
- van Dijk, T. A. (1993) Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 4: 249-283, doi:10.1177/0957926593004002006
- Van Horn, R. & Mirowski, P. (2008). The Rise of the Chicago School of Economics and the Birth of Neoliberalism. In Mirowski, P. & Plehwe, D. (Eds). *The Road from Mont Pelerin: The Making of the Neoliberal Thought Collective*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. , [Google Books version].Retrieved from http://books.google.co.uk/books/about/THE_ROAD_FROM_MONT_P%3%88LERIN.html?id=JiSnS3q0OAMC
- Van Leeuwen, T. (2005). Three models of interdisciplinary. In Wodak, R. & Chilton, P. (Eds.). *A new agenda in (critical) discourse analysis: Theory, methodology and interdisciplinarity*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Van Leeuwen, T. (2007). Legitimation in discourse and communication. *Discourse & Communication*, 1 (1) 91-112 doi: 10.1177/1750481307071986
- Vidovich, L. (2004). Global–national–local dynamics in policy processes: a case of ‘quality’ policy in higher education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 25(3), 341-354 doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0142569042000216981
- Vidovich, L. & Currie, J. (2010). Governance and trust in higher education. *Studies in Higher Education*. 36 (1), 43-56, doi:10.1080/03075070903469580
- Vidovich, L. & Slee, R. (2001). Bringing universities to account Exploring some global and local policy tensions. *Journal of Education Policy*, 16, 5, pp. 431-453, doi: 10.1080/02680930110071039

- Vlăsceanu, L., Grünberg, L., & Pârlea, D. (2007). *Quality Assurance and Accreditation: A Glossary of Basic Terms and Definitions*. Bucharest, UNESCO - CEPES.
Retrieved from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001346/134621e.pdf>
- Vogel, D. & Kagan, R. (Eds.). (2004). *Dynamics of regulatory change: How globalization affects national regulatory policies*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press.
[Google Books version]. Retrieved from
http://books.google.ie/books/about/Dynamics_Of_Regulatory_Change.html?id=SdeLdi80gIcC&redir_esc=y
- Vögtle, E., Knill, C. & Dobbins, M. (2011). To what extent does transnational communication drive cross-national policy convergence? The impact of the Bologna Process on domestic higher education policies. *Higher Education*, 61(1), 77-94, doi: 10.1007/s10734-010-9326-6
- Wacquant, L. (2010) Crafting the neoliberal state: Workfare, prisonfare, and social insecurity. *Sociological Forum*, doi: 10.1111/j.1573-7861.2010.01173.x
- Wakefield, S. (2007). Reflective Action in the Academy: Exploring Praxis in Critical Geography using a “Food Movement” Case Study. *Antipode*, 39(2), 331-354, doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8330.2007.00524.x
- Walby, K. 2007. Contributions to a post-sovereigntist understanding of law: Foucault, law as governance, and legal pluralism. *Social and Legal Studies*, 16(3), 551-571, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0964663907082735>
- Waller, D. (2001). Response to the special edition on psychotherapy in Europe: can there be a European psychotherapy? *European Journal of Psychotherapy & Counselling*. 4 (3), 417-427, doi: 10.1080/13642530210131459
- Wetherell, M. (1998). Positioning and interpretative repertoires: Conversation analysis and poststructuralism in dialogue. *Discourse and Society*, 9(3), 387–412, doi: 10.1177/0957926598009003005
- White, T. (2001). *Investing in people: Higher education in Ireland from 1960 to 2000*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from
http://books.google.ie/books?id=d7AJjQU333IC&pg=PR3&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false
- Wilkinson, S. (1988). The role of reflexivity in feminist psychology. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 11(5), 493–502, doi: 10.1016/0277-5395(88)90024-6
- Willig, C. (Ed.), (1999). *Applied discourse analysis: Social and psychological interventions*. Buckingham: Open University Press

- Willig, C. (2003). Discourse analysis. In Smith, J. A. (Ed.), *Qualitative Psychology: A practical guide to research methods* (pp. 159-183), London: Sage.
- Wodak, R. (2002a). What CDA is about. A summary of its history, important concepts and its developments, In Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (Eds.). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 121–138), London: Sage.
- Wodak, R. (2002b). The discourse-historic approach. In Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (Eds.). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 63–95), London: Sage.
- Wodak, R. & Chilton, P. (Eds.). (2005). *New agenda in (critical) discourse analysis: Theory, methodology and interdisciplinarity*. Philadelphia, PA, USA: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Wodak, R. & Fairclough, N. (2010). Recontextualizing European higher education policies: The cases of Austria and Romania. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 7(1), doi: 10.1080/17405900903453922
- Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (Eds.). (2001). *Methods of critical discourse analysis: Introducing qualitative methods*. London: Sage Publications.
- World Bank. (2013). *The World Bank - About*. Retrieved from <http://www.worldbank.org/en/about/what-we-do>
- World Council for Psychotherapy [WCP]. (n.d.) *WCP - Goals and responsibilities*. Retrieved from <http://www.worldpsyche.org/cms-tag/125/world-council-for-psychotherapy>
- Yin, R. (1994). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://books.google.co.id/books/about/Case_Study_Research.html?hl=id&id=BWea_9ZGQMwC
- Yeatman, A. (1990). *Bureaucrats, technocrats, femocrats. Essays on the contemporary Australian state*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin. [Google Books version]. Retrieved from http://books.google.ie/books?id=5mkLHNYoTDoC&pg=PT4&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=3#v=onepage&q=power&f=false
- Young, L. and Harrison, C. (Eds.). *Systemic functional linguistics and critical discourse analysis: Studies in social change*. London and New York: Continuum.
- Zha, Q. (2011). Canadian-Chinese education collaborations: From unilateral to bilateral exchanges. In Cao, H. and Poy, V. (Eds.). *The China challenge: Sino-Canadian relations in the 21st century*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press. Retrieved from <http://www.ruor.uottawa.ca/en/handle/10393/23096>

Appendices

Appendix 1. Acronyms: Descriptions and websites

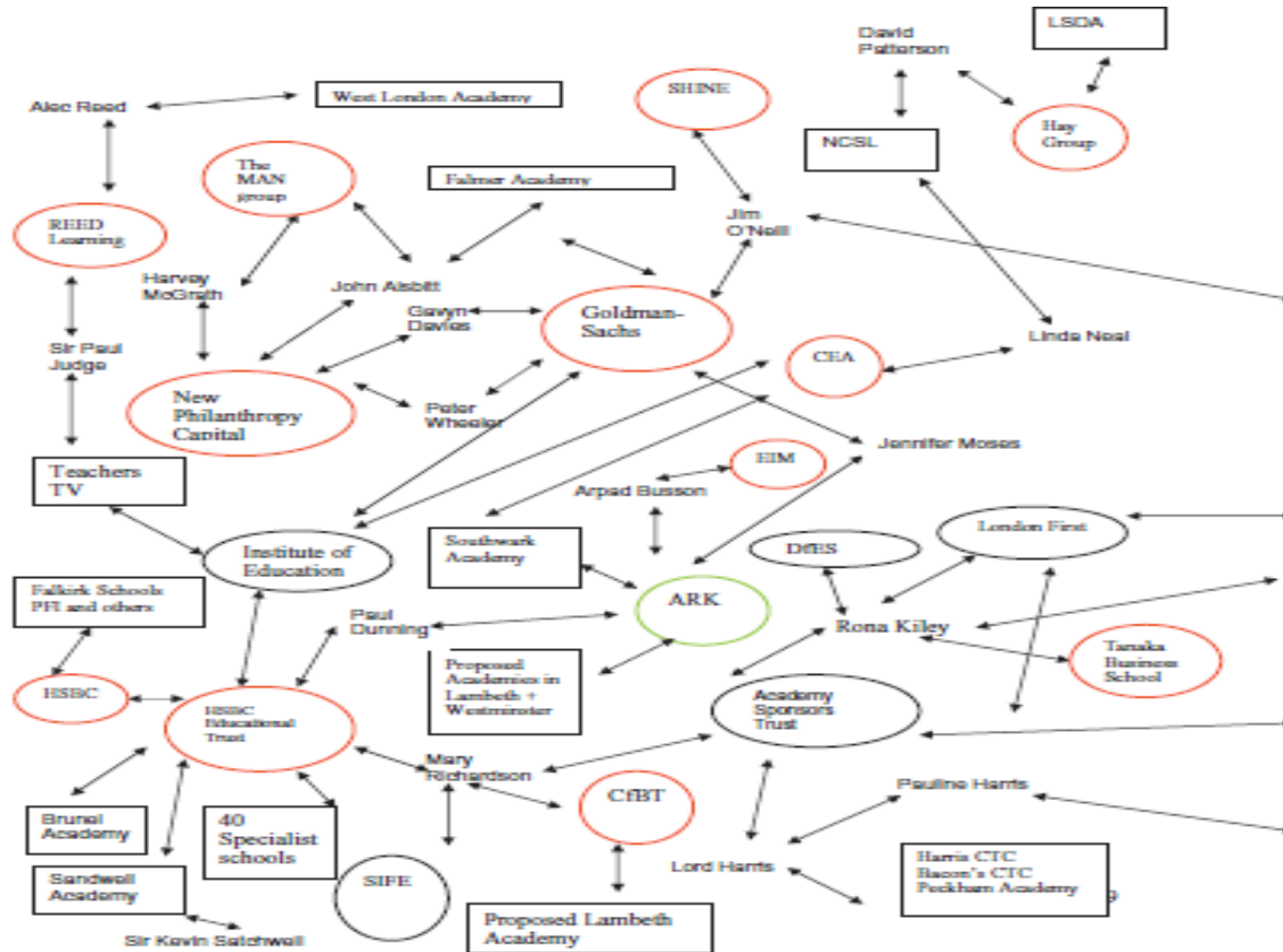
Acronym	Body	Description/ Website
2012 Act	Qualifications and Quality Assurance (Education and Training) Act, 2012.	Number 28 of 2012 http://www.oireachtas.ie/documents/bills28/acts/2012/a2812.pdf
BP	Bologna Process	2000-2010 (Summary from EC): http://ec.europa.eu/education/higher-education/bologna_en.htm Post 2010 http://www.ehea.info/
BFUG	Bologna Follow Up Group	http://www.ehea.info/article-details.aspx?ArticleId=9
CHIU	The Conference of the Heads of Irish Universities (CHIU)	Conference of Heads of Irish Universities (CHIU) became the Irish Universities' Association (IUA) in 2005.
DES	Department of Education and Skills	http://www.education.ie/en/ DES was formerly known as Department of Education (from 1921 to 1997) and Department of Education and Science (from 1997 to 2010).
EAP	European Association of Psychotherapy	http://www.europsyche.org/
ECP	European Certificate of Psychotherapy	http://www.europsyche.org/contents/13489/european-certificate-for-psychotherapy-ecp- http://www.europsyche.org/download/cms/100510/ECP-document_version-5-0-voted-AGM-Valencia-July-2012.pdf
EFTA	European Family Therapy Association	http://www.europeanfamilytherapy.eu/index.php
EI	Education International	http://www.ei-ie.org/
ENQA	European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education	http://www.enqa.eu/
ESG	Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area	http://www.enqa.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/ESG_3edition-2.pdf

EU	European Union	http://europa.eu/index_en.htm Formerly known as European Economic Community (EEC). From 1957 to 1993 and European Union from 1993 to date.
EQD	European Qualifications Directive	http://ec.europa.eu/internal_market/qualifications/index_en.htm
FTAI	Family Therapy Association of Ireland	http://www.familytherapyireland.com/organisation/
HEA	Higher Education Authority,	http://www.heai.ie/
HETAC	Higher Education and Training Awards Council	http://www.hetac.ie/
ICP	Irish Council for Psychotherapy	http://www.psychotherapy-ireland.com/
IHEQN	Irish Higher Education Quality Network	http://www.iheqn.ie/home/default.asp?NCID=1
IMF	International Monetary Fund (IMF)	http://www.imf.org/external/index.htm
INQAAHE	International Network for Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education	http://www.inqaahe.org/
IUQB	Irish Universities Quality Board	http://www.iuqb.ie/en/homepage.aspx
NQA	National Qualifications Authority of Ireland	http://www.nqai.ie/
PTF	Psychological Therapies forum	Website not available
TAC	Training Accreditation committee, European Association for Psychotherapy. Vienna, February 22nd , 2003; Version October 9th, 2010 <i>also</i> Accreditation of Training Institutes for European Certificate of psychotherapy Award	http://www.europsyche.org/download/cms/100510/TAC-Procedures_voted-Board-Paris_9October2010.pdf
EQD	European Qualification Directive	http://ec.europa.eu/internal_market/qualifications/policy_developments/legislation/index_en.htm
OMC	Open Method of Communication	http://ec.europa.eu/youth/focus/open-method-of-coordination_en.htm
QQI	Quality and Qualifications Ireland	http://www.qqi.ie/Pages/default.aspx

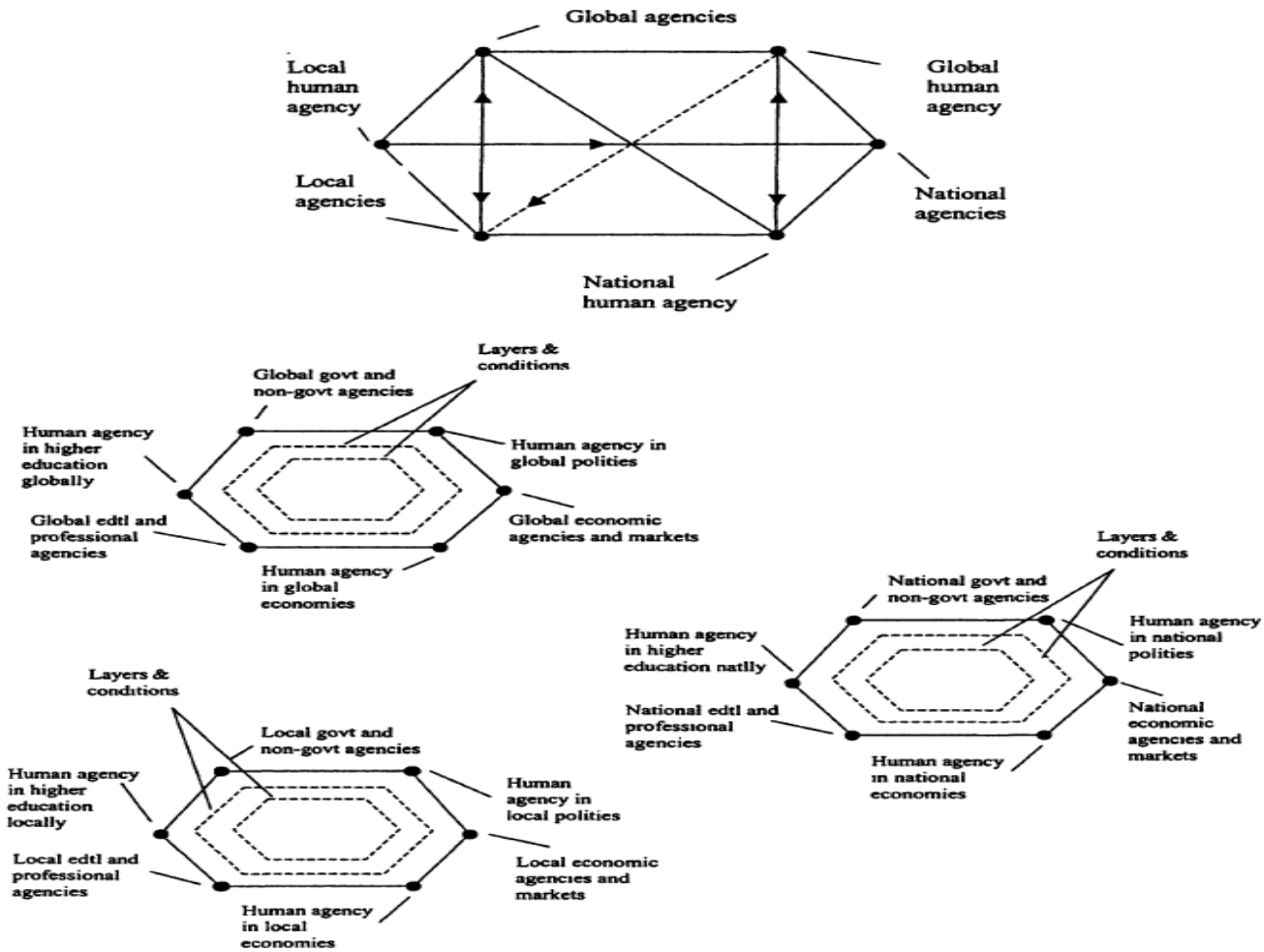
Appendix Part 2: Examples of methodologies

Appendix 2.1. Education Policy Network in UK

Reproduced from Ball, 2008, p. 750



Reproduced from Marginson and Rhoades, 2002, p. 291



Appendix Part 3: Extra-national Organisations

Appendix 3.1: European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education [ENQA]

ENQA (the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education) disseminates information, experiences and good practices in the field of quality assurance (QA) in higher education to European QA agencies, public authorities and higher education institutions (ENQA, n.d-a).

<p>ORGANISATION :</p> <p>General Assembly</p> <p>Composed of representatives of ENQA member agencies, with representatives of European Ministries and stakeholders attending as observers. The main decision-making body of the association.</p> <p>Board</p> <p>Executive body of ENQA</p> <p>Secretariat</p> <p>Takes care of day-to-day conduct of policy, administration, record-keeping and account management.</p> <p>(ENQA, n.d.-f; n.d.-g)</p>	<p>MEMBERSHIP</p> <p>Full Members</p> <p>European QA agencies or organisations in the field of HE. Full Members meet all ENQA membership criteria.</p> <p>Associate member are not nationally recognised, but conduct QA procedures in accordance with the ESG</p> <p>Affiliates</p> <p>Bodies with an interest in QA but without full membership status eg HEA, Ireland (ENQA, n.d.-f; n.d.-g)</p>	<p>TEXTS</p> <p>Workshop and Seminar Reports (ENQA, n.d.-h)</p> <p>Quality Assurance and Qualifications Frameworks: Exchanging Good Practice (pdf) (20. Aug. 2012)</p> <p>Internal Quality Assurance and Benchmarking (pdf) (23. May. 2012)</p> <p>Quality Assurance and Learning Outcomes (pdf) (29. Mar. 2011)</p> <p>Quality Assurance and Transparency Tools (pdf) (24. Mar. 2011)</p> <p>Reports and Publications (ENQA, n.d.-h)</p> <p>"Trends in Quality Assurance" - Third EQAF publication (pdf) (26. Mar. 2009)</p> <p>Projectes</p> <p>MAP-ESG; (ENQA, n.d.-i)</p> <p>UNESCO-GIQAC project (Capacity building in QA in HE in Central Asia and the Balkans (ENQA, n.d.-g)</p>
---	---	---

Appendix 3.2 European Association of Psychotherapy [EAP]

The EAP represents 128 organisations (28 national umbrella associations, 17 European-wide associations for psychotherapy) from 41 European countries and by that more than 120.000 psychotherapists. Membership is also open for individual psychotherapists (EAP, n.d.-a).

ORGANISATION	NETWORKS	TEXTS/ ACTIVITIES
<p>Executive Committe</p> <p>Board</p> <p>Ex-officio members</p> <p>Committees Includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> European Wide organisation Committee National Awarding Organisations Committe Statues Committee European training Standards committeee Training Accreditation Committee (EAP, n.d.-k) 	<p>Membership Composed of</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chamber of individual members Organisational members (EAP-n.d.-k) <p>EAP Networking</p> <p>International NGO member of the Council of Europe. Linked to committee: Education and Culture (EAP, n.d.-d; Council of Europe, 2012b)</p> <p>EU: involvement in EC <i>Directive 2005/36/EC (EQD)</i> (EAP-n.d.-h)</p>	<p>Strasburg Definition of Psychotherapy (EAP, 1990)</p> <p>Statement of Ethical Principles of the EAP (EAP, n.d.-e)</p> <p>ECP: European Certificate for Psychotherapy . European -based recognition for psychoterapy, based on standards established by EAP (EAP, n.d.-f)</p> <p>TAC (EAP, n.d.-g) Quality control and Accreditation process for HEI's based on standards established by EAP</p> <p>EU: involvement in EC <i>Directive 2005/36/EC (EQD)</i> (EAP, n.d.-f)</p>

European Union (europa.eu website; Europa , n.d.-a)		
<p>EU STRUCTURE (Europa, n.d.-a).</p> <p>European Council : Summits of National/ EU leader Decides political direction Sets policy priorities</p> <p>European Commission: Executive branch rep. Interests of EU as a whole policy / legislative roles</p> <p>Council of the European Union : legislative, economic, security roles</p> <p>European Parliament : Directly elected legislative body</p>	<p>EU INSTITUTIONAL / LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK (Europa, n.d.-b).</p> <p>European Council Maastricht Treaty / Treaty of Lisbon 2009</p> <p>EC Departments Education and Culture (EAC) Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion (EMPL) Eurostat (ESTAT) Research and Innovation (RTD)</p> <p>Council of the European Union Innovation Union initiative European Research Area</p> <p>European Parliament Committee: Culture and Education include: Lifelong Learning programme; Bologna; Employment and Social Affairs .</p> <p>Agencies and other EU bodies Decentralised agencies and bodies European Training Foundation (ETF) Executive agencies Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA) European Institute of Innovation and Technology (EIT)</p>	<p>EU INSTITUTIONAL / POLICY FRAMEWORK (Europa, n.d.-c).</p> <p>European Council: Lisbon Strategy 2000 established policy area of the knowledge society:</p> <p>European Commission Policy Areas: Culture, education and youth Strategic Framework (Lisbon) Strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training ("ET 2020") Life-long learning policy</p> <p>European Parliament: 'Policy Departments' units responsible for research, analysis and policy advice,</p> <p>Policy Department B Culture and Education: Publications include State of play of the European Qualifications Framework implementation March 2012 The Bologna Process: Stocktaking and Prospects January 2011 Further Developing the University-Business Dialogue January 2010 The Bologna Process: Member States' Achievements to Date April 2008 (Europa, n.d.-d)</p>

Appendix 3.4 The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD]

OECD 1961, Formerly OEEC 1947;		
MEMBERS: 34 MEMBERS (Including Ireland); Education Directorate works with 40 non-member economies [OECD] (n.d.-c)		
AIMS: The OECD brings together countries committed to democracy and the market economy from around the world [OECD] (n.d.-f)		
<p style="text-align: center;">STRUCTURE (OECD, n.d.-c; n.d.-h)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Council: Oversight / strategic direction . Composed of one representative per member country, plus a representative of the European Commission Council.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Committees: Discussion and Implementation</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Secreteriat: Analysis and Proposals</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">EDUCATION STRUCTURE: Directorate for Education (OECD, n.d.-b; n.d.-d; n.d.-e) "</p> <p>Four specialised bodies: the Education Policy Committee (EDPC) ; the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI); Institutional Management in Higher Education (IMHE) and the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) Each body has its own mandate, budget, and membership under the governance of the OECD Council.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Projectes :</p> <p>EDPC Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes (AHELO)</p> <p>CERI Specific emphasis on accumulating statistical evidence</p> <p>Evidence-based Policy Research in Education</p> <p>PISA reports on the educational performance publishes education indicators; country reviews of education policies</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">EDUCATION POLICY</p> <p>Education and Skills: Country skills survey (OECD, n.d.-h)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">OECD Higher Education Management Programme . EDUIMHE monitoring and analysing policy making; gathering data; and sharing new ideas, as well as reflecting on past experience. (OECD, 2013a)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">LEED Programme (Local Economic and Employment Development). Country report on Education and Skills OECs (2013) Report on Ireland: "Local Job Creation: How employment and training agencies can help - Ireland" (OECD, 2013b)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">OECD Journals, books and papers. Includes: Reviews of National Policies for Education A series of reports on peer reviews conducted by the OECD on aspects of a particular subject countries' educational system. They generally analyze the situation and make recommendations for policy improvements (OECD, n.d.-i)</p>

Appendix 3.5 The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO]

UNESCO was established by the UN General Assembly on November 16, 1945. UNESCO's mission is to contribute to "Mobilizing for education: ... Building intercultural understanding: ... Pursuing scientific cooperation ".(UNESCO, n.d.-a, para. 1; n.d.-b)

<p>STRUCTURE (UNESCO, n.d.-c)</p> <p>General Conference. Representatives of Member states. Determines policies and work</p> <p>Meetings of General Conference Held every 2 years. Includes Member, associate Members, intergovernmental organizations and NGO's</p> <p>The Executive Board, overall management has fifty-eight members elected by the General Conference.</p>	<p>EDUCATION SECTOR (UNESCO, n.d.-c)</p> <p>Mission "- provide international leadership... - provide expertise and foster partnerships ... - work as an intellectual leader, an honest broker and clearing house for ideas... - facilitate the development of partnerships and monitors progress" (UNESCO, n.d.-c, para 1)</p> <p>Framework Determined by goals adopted by the UN and UNESCO. Priorities include "The six Education for All goals adopted in the Dakar Framework for Action 2000-2015... The UN Millennium Development Goals... The UN Literacy Decade 2003-2012... The UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development 2005-2014... The EDUCAIDS Global Initiative on Education and HIV/AIDS " (UNESCO, n.d.-c, para 1)</p>	<p>HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY / ACTIVITIES (UNESCO. (n.d.-d)</p> <p>Reform and Innovation (UNESCO, n.d.-e) World Conference on Higher Education; Brain Gain Initiative; UNESCO/NGO Partnership</p> <p>International University Cooperation (UNESCO, n.d.-f) UNESCO Chairs and UNITWIN Networks UNESCO-China-Africa Tripartite Initiative on University Cooperation</p> <p>Quality Assurance (UNESCO, n.d.-g). GIQAC Rankings Forumhl</p> <p>Recognition (UNESCO, n.d.-h) Recognition MERIC Network Bologna Process</p>
---	--	---

Appendix 3.6 Council of Europe

Council of Europe: The primary aim of the Council of Europe is to create a common democratic and legal area throughout the whole of the continent, ensuring respect for its fundamental values: human rights, democracy and the rule of law. (Council of Europe, 2012c)

Membership: 47 countries ; 6 observer states; Relationship with European Union set out in Compendium of Texts governing the relations between the Council of Europe and the European Union (Council of Europe, 2001)

STRUCTURE (Council of Europe 2012d)

Committee of Ministers. Decision-making body composed of ministers of foreign affairs/ diplomatic representatives.

Parliamentary Assembly (PACE) the deliberative. Members appointed by the national parliaments of each member state.

Congress of Local and Regional Authorities elected representatives from regions and municipalities.

European Court of Human Rights the permanent judicial body European Convention on Human Rights.

Commissioner for Human Rights independent body responsible for promoting education, awareness and respect for human rights in member states.

The Conference of INGOs includes some 400 international Non Governmental Organisations

Secretary General responsible for the strategic planning and direction of the Council's work programme;

Secretariat. Staff from member states, based principally in Strasbourg, France.

Higher Education and Research (CDESR) Activities

Higher Education Fora

Council of Europe. (2012g)

Highlight and address particular issues of concern, offering a major platform for high level policy debate in the area of higher education in Europe and beyond.

Higher Education Publication Series

Education and Research Series

Council of Europe. (2012h)

HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY (CDESR)

Steering Committee for Higher Education and Policy Priorities.

(Council of Europe, 2012e)

Policies and instruments for the recognition of qualifications

The Lisbon Recognition Convention
(Council of Europe/UNESCO, 2001)

The European Higher Education Area

Supportis ENIC; participation in BFUG

Academic freedom and university autonomy

Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly
(Council of Europe, 2006)