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A GENEALOGICAL EXAMINATION OF CURRICULUM-ASSESSMENT AS GOVERNMENTALITY IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

**A THESIS PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN EDUCATION
AT MASSEY UNIVERSITY, MANAWATŪ CAMPUS NEW ZEALAND**

ANNE-MARIE O'NEILL, 2020

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A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education
at Massey University, Manawatū Campus New Zealand

Anne-Marie O'Neill

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ABSTRACT

This doctoral thesis with four publications examines the implementation of curriculum and assessment, as globally-driven standards-based reform (SBR) in Aotearoa New Zealand (ANZ). Drawing on Michel Foucault's 'toolbox' and his genealogical methodology, it traces and contextualises the discursive basis of curriculum-assessment as neoliberal governmentality policies. From 1989, a policy chronology spanning three governments, analyses *how* governmentality inserts economics into the management of people, society and governance.

As a rationalisation regime, curriculum-assessment facilitated economic efficiencies and the achievement of official objectives by enabling 'things', people and the future to be steered in certain ways. Governmentality policies also nurture the making of particular kinds of people who will to support official objectives.

Comprising four key chapters, the thesis details the discursive 'beginnings' and emergence of an assessment-driven curriculum intended to boost ANZ's global competitiveness. The failure of teacher-implemented national standards to produce reliable measurement by 1999, enabled the implementation of highly interventionist policies during the 2000s. A standardised curriculum and data-driven teaching strengthened schools as centres of calculation.

The genealogy then examines two curriculum programmes designed to increase achievement and make people more self-governing and responsible. A school-parent literacy partnership (2004) taught parent-teachers to boost children's learning through home activities. Similarly, assessment change through National Standards (2011) nurtured responsible, future-focused and calculative learners and parents. Increasing the educational outcomes of the population was part of increasing its overall health, welfare and productivity. The study illustrates how personal responsibility is now the main technique for developing more enterprising, self-governing and calculative individuals under governmentality.

These biopolitical programmes, nurture desire in people to 'freely' re-make their bodies, skills, aspirations, emotions and living practices aligned to preferred models of the individual, culture and social relations. This involves re-moralising one's inner life, and changing relationships with selves, families and the state. The study maps how governmentality commodifies and economises bodies and minds in the service of economic government. It confirms the usefulness of genealogically examining governmentality through this deeper, multidimensional lens and its 'interpretative analytics'. This approach enables the uncovering of the politico-economic and cultural-socio purposes of education policy under neoliberalism.

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THESIS INTRODUCTION

This study is undertaken according to Massey University's category of a 'thesis with publication'. It comprises four journal articles or papers, two of which have been published, and two of which are under consideration for publication. These constitute the main thesis Chapters. The Chapters are integrated and contextualised through an overarching Exegesis. This Exegesis contains two main parts. The Introduction contains five Sections outlining its purpose, form and scope as a doctoral research study and its structure as a thesis. The Conclusion contains five Sections covering the findings, research reflection, discussion of the literature and implications of the research. More specifically the Introduction contains:

Section One: My journey to undertaking this study, charts the growth of my interest in the politics of knowledge and my immersion in the field of curriculum-education policy sociology.

Section Two: Topic summary, sets out a discussion on the thesis coverage.

Section Three: Research focus, discusses the four conceptual-analytical instruments applied in the study: governmentality, neoliberalism, biopower and central steering. These concepts are also discussed, applied and theorised in each of the thesis Chapters along with relevant others.

Section Four: Research methodology, sets out my critical approach to policy analysis involving 're-reading' and critique as the basis of the application of the genealogical methodology. Here I also acknowledge questions of knowledge and truth in relation to Michel Foucault's genealogical approach.

Section Five: Research questions and thesis structure, discusses my 'original areas of interest' written prior to the study. It then sets these out as 'redeveloped research of interest'. This Section outlines the structure and a detailed analysis of each of the four papers, and their research findings as thesis Chapters. The original papers as thesis Chapters are also contained with the relevant discussions in this Section.

The Conclusion contains:

Section Six: What the study set out to achieve, discusses what I thought I would achieve in relation to my 'areas of interest', what I wanted to achieve and what I was not able to achieve.

Section Seven: Main findings of the study, is set out as a narrative discussion under relevant headings.

Section Eight: Reflection on the research approach, is set out in terms of the weaknesses and strengths of genealogy as perceived in relation to this PhD. This methodology is also traversed in each of the Chapters.

Section Nine: Discussion, locates the main literature areas and debates from which the thesis draws, including key works and/or scholars.

Section Ten: Findings for varied audiences, discusses these for teachers and policy makers.

SECTION ONE: MY JOURNEY TO UNDERTAKING THIS STUDY

This PhD on school curriculum-assessment is located broadly within the politics of knowledge. My interest in this was nurtured in my upbringing, schooling and university studies. Growing up in a Catholic household my father was a carpenter at the freezing works and a national union leader, passionate about fairness and the dignity of labour. He had been a school dux but could not continue his studies because of the 1930s Depression. My mother was a nurse, dedicated to others, who, having been a hospital Matron, still called herself a dunce many years later. From this background, attending Catholic schools and experiencing class differences, I became aware of the differential treatment of people and groups. I was obsessed by social difference and inequality while still at primary school. Through History and Education degrees at Otago University I was exposed to the intrinsic and extrinsic purposes of knowledge and the liberating, productive and reproductive effects of schooling/education. To complete both degrees in the 1980s I took ten 300 level papers in Education because of their exploration of social complexity, contradiction and inequality.

Primary teaching in a working class school, I experienced *how* the politics of school knowledge and inequality shaped my classroom and my fledgling professional practice. With minimal school resources, I scrambled to find curriculum content and to work out how to teach reading to my new entrants and J1's, when the prevailing method of text immersion wasn't working. I was reassured by my Senior Teacher of Junior Classes, also a Teacher's College lecturer, not to worry. She advised that my five and six year olds were only going to need to read and write, to understand the TAB (racing and gambling) results and the unemployment pages in the newspaper. Attaining a second year position in a 'normal' school affiliated to the College of Education, and amidst job shortages I returned to Otago University as the Senior Tutor in Education.

A post-graduate assignment in the History of Education was formative. This was a critical analysis of *Vere Foster's Copy Books* used across the English speaking world from 1865. Students practiced handwriting by copying over and under proverbs, which articulated a Victorian, Christian values-base. These reinforced English culture and its hierarchical social relations, through maxims such as 'Abhor that which is evil; A light heart lives long; No rose without a thorn; New brooms sweep clean; and More haste less speed'. Seemingly quaint, students imbibed this wisdom as positive precepts for living while practising their handwriting. Traits such as thrift, reliability, loyalty, caution and diligence would build productive worker-citizens. I analysed these texts as signifiers of Empire for the production of virtuous citizens and the building of economic viability.

I also drew on my post-graduate Sociology of Education course material, including the 'new sociology of education' and its problematisation of education and social reproduction. It introduced the role of knowledge and curricula in terms of the social structure and societal power. The work of Neo-Marxist Antonio Gramsci and his concept of hegemony as class-based, moral and political leadership featured prominently. Interpreted through the work of Michael Apple (1979) and Henry Giroux (1981), Apple reiterated earlier calls for educationalists to 'situate' and contextualise education, arguing:

... if one were to point to one of the most neglected areas of educational scholarship, it would be ... the critical study of the relationship between ideologies and educational thought and practice, the study of seemingly common-sense assumptions that would lay bare the political, social, ethical, and economic interests and commitments that are uncritically accepted as 'the way life really is' in our day to day educators (1979, 17-18).

Upon attaining a temporary junior lectureship in Education, I taught gender studies, educational foundations and policy sociology. I assumed responsibility for an undergraduate course in critical curriculum studies with a reputation for political and theoretical challenge. Drawing on the above, it examined official school knowledge as socially constructed, culturally located and reflective of unequal power.

From the mid-1990s and the 2000s in teaching this paper (and later a post-graduate one), I experienced what happens when massive change is imposed on teachers with little understanding of its basic assumptions or purposes. Many felt powerless and distressed over this, particularly the domination of summative assessment. The vast literature and debates on outcomes-based education were unknown and officially ignored. Few understood the foundations and reasons for change, their de/re-professionalisation, and its links to neoliberalism. Challenging for students, this course empowered them to understand this politics. Once they grasped the political and economic basis and purposes of the new curriculum-assessment, they were questioning and stropic. Some Education staff were threatened by this knowledge offered to teachers, particularly its questioning of the Ministry of Education. The compulsory status of the course was continually questioned.

Looking back on my introduction to the politics of subjugated and dominant knowledge, I found the 'dumbed down' content of teacher education, and the requirement to ingratiate oneself with staff, contrasted painfully and embarrassingly with the challenge and depth of university study. As a teacher-academic passionately interested in politics, power and inequality and immersed in curriculum policy sociology, I and close colleagues worked for, and with, changes in teacher education to broaden its socio-political and contextual focus. We sought and provided knowledge that was contextual, critical, sociological and politically engaging and potentially transgressive.

Aotearoa New Zealand (ANZ) has been transformed through three decades of neoliberal governmentality (discussed below), having become a global laboratory for its development and implementation (including in education). It would seem professionally vital that future teachers be exposed to critical assessment of its rationales, socio-economic effects and its reshaping of knowledge, pedagogy and learning. However, this is not the case. Rationalising universities in ANZ have removed and not replaced many educationalists, targeting those undertaking historical, curricula, philosophical, foundational and sociological theorising and critique. This is the very scholarship empowering student-teachers to understand their socio-cultural, political-economic contexts, and those of their students. It is knowledge that scrutinises the purposes, power and effects, of the current policies they implement. This PhD contributes to this knowledge.

Currently, in the teacher education I am aware of, the effects of thirty years of neoliberalism, including its manifestation in changed knowledge, pedagogy and assessment, and its shaping of preferred citizens, are barely known or acknowledged. Yet public discussion and scholarship is beginning to emerge on the evisceration of the 'arts' areas in the primary school curriculum, health education dominated by commercially made (promotional?) materials, and a data-programming curriculum shaped primarily by industry insiders, all occurring amidst endless speculation over how to meet the needs of multiple, predicted futures.

Similarly, the same can be said of structural inequality – a planned imperative under neoliberalism and closely aligned to the school power-knowledge my study deconstructs. As one of the most unequal 'developed' societies in the world, ANZ has one of the widest gaps in resources and incomes between its social groups. Accommodated on a daily basis by schools and teachers (e.g. child poverty, food and resource supply), in teacher education this structural basis of our society is no longer a matter of study. The hegemony of technical-instrumental approaches to education conveniently enables its difficult foundational, ethical, moral and political questions not to uncomfortably challenge anyone and to quietly slip away.

While complex, these changes also reflect changed funding regimes and the introduction of one year courses for professional teacher preparation. As part of the silencing besetting neoliberal institutions, this rationalising appears to have been sanctioned from within education. The painful irony of this PhD, is that it traces the very rationality/ies, discourses and implementation technologies that have eviscerated much of the critical scrutiny of the political, economic, social and cultural work of curriculum-assessment and education politics. Sadly Apple's arguments on socially situating and contextualising education, particularly its 'ideologies' or truth discourses, are now far more pertinent in Aotearoa New Zealand, than they were five decades ago when written.

The following Section Two, introduces and outlines a topic summary of my PhD and the purpose of the research as a critically theorised policy analysis. It briefly explains some key concepts and indicates where they are further elaborated. This is further embellished in Section Five: Research questions and thesis structure, and in Section Seven: Main findings.

SECTION TWO: TOPIC SUMMARY

Introduction: The 'second wave' of change

After the Tomorrow's Schools (1989) institution of school-site management in ANZ, a 'second wave' (Codd 2001) of globally driven, curriculum-assessment change was initiated. This was embodied in *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (NZCF) (Ministry of Education 1993) as a transnational standardisation and management model (Luke 2011, 367)¹. This disaggregated knowledge into non-research informed hierarchical levels, segmented divisions and broad standards. Initially, the latter were locally broken down by teachers who were to derive objective national data from them; the basis of *standards based reform* (SBR)². With its basics-skills and enterprise focus, the NZCF dramatically intensified assessment, emphasising its learning role and discursively prioritising its summation purposes. This was for future reporting, management, audit and comparison (Crooks 2002; O'Neill 2014; O'Neill, Clark and Openshaw 2004; Peters and Marshall 1996).

As a national case study, this PhD examines ANZs sustained attempt from 1990, over three political administrations³ to implement and build a functional national, standards-based, architecture. Set out as a chronologically organised, long term, historical and critical policy analysis, it examines diverse curriculum-assessment texts from 1989 up to the 2011 implementation of the highly controversial, primary school National Standards and its related purposes.

1 The dimensions of which are discussed fully in relation to the ANZ context in Part One of O'Neill, Clark and Openshaw (2004).

2 A term and abbreviation used widely to signal an overarching approach and apparatus. I am not comfortable with the word 'reform' because of its uncritical links to liberal discourses of natural progression towards a better, advanced state. I use the word 'change' where possible.

3 A social-democratic Labour Government, without a clear electoral mandate initiated the radical programme of structural adjustment from 1984 until 1990. This was continued in a more extreme fashion by a populist, conservative National Government from 1990-1999. Although referencing earlier historical events, the study begins its investigation from 1989. It covers up to 1996 in paper/Chapter One. This includes an official enquiry into the purposes of curriculum-assessment, which signalled the new National Government's prioritisation of globalised curriculum-assessment and qualifications change. Paper/Chapter Two examines its embedding from 1996 until 2000 under the same administration. A centre-left Labour-Alliance Coalition implemented Third Way neoliberalism from 2000-2008. A biopolitical programme from this period is examined in paper/Chapter Three. A centre-right National-ACT and indigenous Maori Party Coalition continued governmentality from 2008 until 2016. Paper/Chapter Four examines the biopolitical role of the implementation of National Standards (2011).

Locating governmentality

Drawing on the scholarship of French philosopher-thinker Michel Foucault (1926-1984) this research 're-reads' (Simons, Olssen and Peters 2009) these changes as the implementation of neoliberal 'governmentality' (discussed in Section Three below). Coined by Foucault (1991, 95), governmentality refers to a form of reason of the state or the 'art of government' and the introduction of economy into the management of people, society and its governance. This organises 'things ... to lead ... not to the common good ... but to an end convenient for ... the things ... to be governed' (Foucault 1991). Contemporarily, governance is implemented by multiple agents through multiple authoritative sites (e.g. schools), not necessarily state institutions, which intervene into, mediate and shape people's existence over their lifetimes. This form of governance has proliferated at a time when globally, governments have seemingly withdrawn from multiple public and private spheres.

Through a Foucauldian genealogical methodology (Foucault 1984a) (elaborated in Section Four), the study adopts an 'analytics of government' approach (Dean 2010). This means it traces, contextualises and analyses the discursive, philosophical basis of governance including *how* curriculum-assessment operates as public reason or political rationality. Regardless of their basis, rationalities offer normative forms of reason, rendering the realities and contexts they inform, thinkable, manageable, and quantifiable (Brown 2015, 115-11). From the 1970s, interpretations of neoliberalism have become the dominant global political-economic rationality. Neoliberalism employs public rationalisation programmes to change traditional contexts and to initiate economic efficiencies (118-119). This PhD historically examines how curriculum-assessment in ANZ materially constructs *and* embodies truth discourses (Foucault 1980), embedded in the work programmes of three neoliberal administrations.

The other core function of governmentality is the subjectification of human capital which 'makes people up' in ways that serve preferred political-economic/governmental ends (discussed further in Section Three). This involves the 're-moralisation' (Rose 1999) of the psycho-social processes through which people practice their relation to themselves, the state and society. The study historically maps the techniques and technologies through which this occurs and traces changes in hegemonic conceptions of the subject and teachers in response to changing political discourses.

As a national case-study covering nearly thirty years of curriculum-assessment implementation and change, the thesis is structured as four chronologically sequenced genealogies as journal articles/papers and thesis Chapters. These cover the study's four key 'areas of interest' (discussed in Section Five). Collectively these constitute an overarching genealogy on nearly thirty years of curriculum-assessment change. The Chapters are introduced briefly below and outlined in more detail (along with the actual papers/Chapters) in Section Five of the thesis.

Chapter One

Chapter One (Paper One) explores the 'beginnings' of this globalised policy reorientation. It discursively examines two reports of a Ministerial Working Party (1989-1990) on educational assessment (Department of Education 1989; Ministry of Education 1990) and a Treasury report on educational management (Lough 1990). These prioritised the extrinsic demands of trading partners, competitive advantage, human capital production and calculative managerialism. Strategically economised in the 1991 Budget, the new curriculum-assessment structure was placed at the apex of building an Enterprise Culture and generalising an economic-business ethos throughout ANZ.

This Chapter discursively (Foucault 1972) deconstructs the ascent and institution of the dominant 'busnocratic' rationality (Peters and Marshall 1996) and its implementation technologies, including curriculum standards. These were to be locally disaggregated by teachers and schools

to operate as national standards. However, being neither uniform nor standard, they failed to enable the production of useable data. The genealogical tracing of the establishment of further governmentality policies during the 1990s continues in detail in the next Chapter.

Chapter Two

Chapter Two (Paper Two) examines the operationalisation of the *New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (Ministry of Education 1993), related policies and institutions, including the introduction of biopolitical programmes from 1996 until 2000. Biopolitical power (discussed in Section Three) is implemented by states 'at the level of life, the species, the race, and the large-scale phenomena of population' (Foucault 2008, 137). Its role is to optimise personal and collective capacities, to upgrade the quality of existence to strengthen productivity and competitive economic survival.

Standardised, uniform and quantifiable educational standards were the basis of the functional operation of ANZ's main policy implementation technologies. These were market-efficiency, business-management and performativity (Ball 2003). As subjectification technologies, these steer people towards the development of 'future-focused' aspirations through self-management, personal reliance, calculation, technical innovation and wealth production. This was part of the discursive nurturing of active, competitive producer-consumers and calculative teacher-technicians within a wider Enterprise Culture.

By 1999 the production of reliable data had not been secured through teacher-implemented standards. Under governmentality, failing policies are a core 'tactic' through which 'problematization' can occur. This enables proposals for preferred interventions or tools, and the implementation of more direct steerage. In ANZ's case, a raft of curriculum standardising and data-driven measures were implemented in response to this failure during the 2000s. Having mapped the institution of educational governmentality policies throughout the 1990s, Chapters Three and Four examine two quite different curriculum programmes. Programmes are central to governmentality, enabling direct access into personal lives and institutions. Exerting different forms of biopolitics, programmes are used to strengthen educational capacities and responsabilise (Rose 1996) individual subjects. The first biopolitical genealogy examines a detailed attempt to assist parents to build children's home learning.

Chapter Three

Chapter Three (Paper Three) investigates a *The Home-School Partnership Programme* (PP) (Ministry of Education 2004) operating through primary schools to strengthen literacy and numeracy learning in homes. Originally targeting 'at risk' families, it involved the encouragement of parents to use home rituals, tasks and practices as culturally rich learning. Its purpose was to enhance school learning and raise school achievement levels.

Within the context of 'Third Way' governance, the partnership is analysed as a vehicle for rebuilding community and redressing the possessive individualism accompanying the structural adjustment of the 1990s. This Chapter examines how the PP operated as biopolitics through its content for 'making up' and re-moralising responsible 'parents-as-educators'. It does so through encouraging the adoption of preferred literate dispositions, traits, aspirations, practices and lifestyles. The following Chapter examines another form of biopower through which other preferred capacities can be nurtured.

Chapter Four

Chapter Four (Paper Four) analyses the ‘fictions of the present’ (Macintosh 2009, 2) underlying the trajectory of the 2011 introduction of ‘high stakes’ primary school National Standards (NS). Introduced by a centre-right National-Coalition Government (2008-2016), NS applied calculative power and aimed to responsabilise schools, teachers, parents and children for increases in primary school achievement.

NS were assessed through teacher-devised, Overall Teacher Judgements (OTJs). Their lack of standardisation and inability to enable the production of objective data, enabled the problematisation of the OTJs. This was rectified by an algorithmically-based, electronic calculator called the Progress and Consistency Tool (PaCT). Teachers fed their OTJ results into the PaCT, enabling them to make comparative judgements within and across schools. However PaCT calculations remained neither standardised nor reliable. This Chapter contextualises NS, the OTJ’s and data production within a wider non-educational agenda. NS were central to the National Government’s transformation of a calculative governance into metric governance (Beer 2016). NS nurtured calculative thinking and strategizing through which students, teachers and parents were to operationalise future outcomes.

This PhD broadly illustrates how contemporary governance now operates in global Westernised contexts. Curriculum-assessment is one aspect of state provision through which individuals and institutions are ‘led’ or steered ‘on the ground’ to make preferred arrangements to achieve preferred ends. It is useful to remember at the outset, that ANZ is a globally known national context that implemented a ‘pure’ or ‘textbook’ form of neoliberalism and structural adjustment, while further developing and extending its fundamental precepts (Kelsey 1995, 2002, 2015, 11; Starke 2008).

The study traces the discursive basis of curriculum-assessment as SBR, its enactment and expansion as a national architecture and its techniques of subjectification. Illustrating the significance of political rationality to contemporary existence, it examines its permeation into individual lives, population upgrading and favoured policy implementation technologies. The study examines the discursive changes in the making of subject-citizens under three neoliberal administrations. This includes the deprofessionalisation of teachers away from professional-communitarian and public good aims. This occurred through the rise of reprofessionalising discourses emphasising constructions of teachers as technical-instrumental entrepreneurs, managers and data experts undertaking calculative approaches to teaching and living. The study traces how teachers became conduits of political and economic governance (McCulloch, Helsby and Knight 2000).

This form of doctoral research allows limited space in published papers to cover its theoretical, epistemological and analytical basis. Hence, the following Section discusses some of the Foucauldian conceptual-analytical tools applied in the study: governmentality, neoliberalism, biopower and central steering. The literature referenced below draws from Michel Foucault’s initial thinking or theorising on governmentality, Foucauldian scholars and key thinkers and researchers in post-Foucauldian governmentality. The work of the latter two groups cited below, extends Foucault’s conceptual work. The genealogical Chapters reference the work of these thinkers and relevant educational scholarship.

SECTION THREE: RESEARCH FOCUS

Governmentality: 'this is how we live'

What makes Foucault's later studies so fascinating, ... is condensed in this notion of governmentality. It defines a novel thought-space across the domains of ethics and politics, of what might be called 'practices of the self' and 'practices of government', that weaves them together without a reduction of one to the other (Dean 1994, 174).

Coined by Foucault in 1978, the awkward neologism governmentality refers to the global coordination of political power as the 'arts of government' or rationality at the level of the nation state. This includes how states coordinate power to steer or direct individuals and collectives, socio-cultural and political-economic conduct (Foucault 1991, 87-102).

In presentation of his thirteen annual lectures at the Collège de France between 1970 and 1984, Foucault traced an inventory of changes in political treatises around 'the question of government', including the nature and form of 'the reason of state', from the mid-sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. Foucault's initial governmentality work was set out in his two 'remarkable annual courses' (Gordon 1991, 1) or lectures at the Collège de France 1978-79. These were later published as *'Security territory and population'* and *'The birth of biopolitics'* (2007, 2008)⁴. Reflecting Foucault's long term interest in macro-level power, these lectures responded to criticisms of its presumed micro-level and determinist treatment in his genealogical study *Discipline and Punish* (published in 1977) (Olssen 2006, 30).

A genealogy of the lectures is presented in the chapter Governmentality (1991). Foucault traces how 'government as a general problem' 'explodes' with texts moving from a focus on 'advice to the Prince/Ruler', to practical matters around 'the art of government'. These cover multiple aspects of living, including self-government, teaching, how to be ruled, by whom, to what extent and by what methods. As centralised control through government occurred, a 'kind of rationality' involving territorial extension, policing, population concerns and civic society emerged (87-89). Incorporated into the 'arts' was advice on the introduction of economy; 'the correct manner of managing individuals, goods and wealth' by the state (92). Foucault traced how economic government is 'a sort of complex composed of men and things', essentially concerned with national survival and the micro-politics of human existence (93).

Political rationality

As an analysis of political discourse, this thesis explores how contemporary governmentality is maintained through dominant political rationalities or mentalities, which 'overlap, lean on each other, challenge each other, and struggle with each other' (Foucault 2008, 313). It explores their enactment through technologies which make rationality practical and real. Composed of 'a worked-out discourse' of 'theories and ideas, rationalities emerge in response to concrete problems' of historical periods (Olssen 2002, 4). They provide the logics through which a polity is governed, including frames for reasoning, calculation and problem-response⁵. Under governmentality, rationalities embody dominant forms of subjectivity which fabricate (Foucault 1995, 194) or 'make up' individuals as useful governmental subjects, who progress policy ends

4 The content of both lectures is summarised in his famous 1991 Governmentality chapter.

5 Rationalities inform the discursive, systematic and explicit codification of the operation of government to ensure governability. They contain mutually constitutive and conflicting assumptions about the 'conduct of conduct' of individuals, groups, agencies, techniques and the ends to be achieved within the demands of law, regulations, civil society, welfare, population and security. Covering practical, technical and calculative facets, they also involve theoretical knowledge, programmes, forms of practical know-how, tactics, strategies, values, morals and ethical positions, which constitute regimes of practice or regimes of government (Dean 1994, 185; 2010, 18-21).

within constructed forms of 'freedom'. Importantly, the *rationalisation effects* of rationality, including subjectification; the co-ordination of power to effect particular constructions of the subject, replace traditional values and concepts with those of the rationality or reason.

Hence there is a degree of planning and deliberation in the nurturing of preferred aspects of our thinking and behaviour based on norms and dominant knowledge⁶. Rationality intertwines constructions of freedom, emotionality, desire and government. Thus modern government works through prescribed practices of freedom, forms of subjection and subtle forms of domination which assist its aims. The concept of governmentality allows us to examine how rationality, cognition and emotions actually intermingle in the process of governance (Bröckling 2005, 2016; D'Aoust 2014).

Political rationalities are not immutable, rather they reflect mutating or changing discursive emphases, subtle power and contextual shifts. They are however, specific to precise sites, historical moments and coherent systems of thought, with different calculations, strategies and tactics linked to each (Rose 1999, 24). It needs to be remembered that governmental regimes are not totally or singularly reducible to rationalities. Both must be interrogated and located contextually and historically.

Subjectification

Subjectification is reinforced through ordinary policy texts and the everyday programmes and the disciplinary regimes (Foucault 1995) they result in for the governance and administration of personal life. This makes people objects of subjectification processes and hence fabricated (1995, 194) as individuals and subjectivities. Thus it is impossible to separate government and the construction of identity from our dominant mentality/rationality (Fendler 2010, 50). The multiple discourses individuals can take up as 'practices of the self', to make ourselves up, can also be rejected and adapted by people (Olssen 2006, 159). This also applies to official truths (Foucault 1980) which we can reject or accept. Resistance to dominant expectations and responsibilities is harder in contexts of sustained normalisation such as schools and families.

An 'analytics' approach

Foucault rejected impenetrable conceptions of the state and political science's attempts to define its 'essence'. His 'analytics of government' offers a metaphorical space to ask how we govern? And what are the changing conditions in which we do? and how we think about ourselves and others under governance? Analytics also considers the mutating philosophical, moral and ethical justifications for power. It investigates internal discursive differences, interdependencies and the rise of public 'problems' (Dean 2010, 42-54). Foucault was interested in the role of diverse authorities, national and global politics as well as decentralised management technologies and their micropolitical effects (Miller and Rose 2008, 54-55).

Neoliberalism

The dominant global political rationality is neoliberalism and such nation states are referred to as 'advanced liberal regimes' (Rose 1999) which institute varying degrees and interpretations of neoliberalism. Foucault initiated his ground-breaking work on the development and ascent of

6 Foucault rejects both Kantian and Hegelian Marxist conceptions of the subject as non self-reflective or determining. His work demonstrates how humans do not stand prior to, or beyond, history or society. Subjectivity is nurtured and shaped by the categories and events humans encounter. Thus human subjectivities are analysed in relation to historically constituted discourses and the multiple practices, regimes, programmes and tactics of subjectification. Disciplinary practices of the self, emerge out of cultural socialisation, which ensure individuals become 'ethically self-concerned' subjects desiring to make themselves as subjects of their own conduct (Olssen 2006, 158).

neoliberalism in the global North⁷ much earlier than other thinkers. In his 1978-1979 lectures he teased out the intellectual history of twentieth century neoliberalism. As his only work on contemporary theory, Foucault analysed its distinctive features as governmentality while it was still an emergent form (Brown 2015, 53). He traced how:

... liberalism had been transmogrifying into neoliberalism since the 1950s, how the theory was seeping into political practice and political reason, how its worms lived in the bowels of a hegemonic Keynesianism ... and how many European countries in the 1960s began to blend neoliberal principles into welfare statism (51).

For Foucault (2008), the birth of liberalism with market governmentality at its heart, provided its site of truth telling, rather than its emphasis on the rights of humans. By examining the historical forms of German and American neoliberalism⁸, Foucault eventually assessed the main difference between neoliberalism and liberalism as the need to 'govern *for* the market, not because of the market' (Foucault 2008, 121 author emphasis). Thus Foucault 'read' the emergence of neoliberal governmental rationality as involving a transformation of liberalism rather than just an extension of it.

Hence central is its belief that the market economy is the 'principle, form and model' of both the state (117-118) *and* society. This is materially generalised throughout the social field (Brown 2015, 61). The examination of this transformation continued through post-Foucauldian scholarship. Foucault's theorising was in opposition to the work of Harvey and other Marxists who attribute the neoliberal rise to crises in capitalist accumulation (58-60). In his lectures, Foucault assessed that the primary role of contemporary neoliberal governmentality and its valorisation of the market, is to ensure that:

... competitive mechanisms can play a regulatory role at every moment and every point in society and by intervening in this way its objective will become possible, ... a general regulation of society by the market. ... not [be] the kind of government imagined by the physiocrats, not an economic government, ... a government of society the regulatory principle should not be so much the exchange of commodities as the mechanisms of competition. ... what is sought ... is a society subject to the dynamic of competition. Not a super-market society but an enterprise society. The *homo oeconomicus* sought after is not the man of exchange or man the consumer; he is the man of enterprise and production (2008, 145-147 author emphasis).

Thus under neoliberalism, the formal principles of a market economy, particularly competition, inform the general art of government (131). These 'generalise the enterprise form within the social body' enabling the 'economisation of the entire social field' (241-243). Thus economic principles become the model for state, and economic conduct the main object of state concern and policy. In other words:

Neoliberalism activates the state on behalf of the economy, not to undertake economic functions or to intervene in economic effects, but rather to facilitate economic competition and growth and to economize the social, or as Foucault puts it "to regulate society by the market" (Brown 2015, 62).

7 This was undertaken a decade before the Washington Consensus of early-1980s which affirmed free-market policies over Keynesian.

8 The German Ordoliberalen advocated the state construction and maintenance of a market economy. This included its engineering of supportive social conditions for capitalism and the generalisation of competition. The American Human Capital Theorists (HCT) supported state interventionism to protect economic liberty. They sought the discursive extension of the market into the social and political spheres, collapsing distinctions between them and economising all activities and processes. The task of government involves the universalisation of competition to achieve efficiency and invent market systems. Humans are classified in terms of their skills, knowledge and ability to assist the market. As entrepreneurial investors, humans were to become self-entrepreneurs. For HCT's the problem of labour is central to economic theory.

Foucault (2008, 117-118) analysed the 'departures, modifications and inversions' of neoliberalism, to render it a new and distinct rationality from that of classical liberalism. For him, the rationality of the state became economic in a triple sense: the economy is its model, object and project (Brown 2015, 62). Hence, this generalises into the marketisation of all spaces, domains, relations, conduct and bodily capacities, variably pursued in national contexts. The analyses of biopower in Chapters Three and Four demonstrate how this power and its programmes discursively accommodate such demands. It is useful to remember that, as the introduction to Chapter Four of this study makes clear, neoliberalism as this 'specific and normative mode of reason', is best read as a 'paradox': globally hegemonic yet locally and nationally diverse and disunified (48).

Post-Foucauldian governmentality

Foucault's writing on governmentality has been described by post-Foucauldian or contemporary governmentality scholars Miller and Rose (2008, 8-10) as 'sketched out' and 'scattered comments'. Brown (2015, 53) calls Foucault's lectures 'odd' despite their prescience and 'rich insights'. Reflective of their early emergence, she maintains they are 'underdeveloped' and 'partial and speculative ... lacking the detail and complexity of his other archival histories'⁹. For example, Foucault did not analyse popular or political discourses supporting, compromising or transforming neoliberal reason. Nor did he elaborate on his concept of 'biopolitics' until later (Foucault 1990). He did not foresee the complex mediation of economic relations and power per se, including the expansion and durability of capital, the rise of financialisation, debt and money (Dean 2016, 107; Ewald 2012; Lazzarato 2012, 90). Deep-seated theoretical and political complexities of Foucault's relation to neoliberalism and the adequacy of his analytics to capture these are traversed in a recent analysis, containing the work of some well-known post-Foucauldians (Zamora and Behrent 2016).

Post-Foucauldian governmentality studies have definitively expanded the terrain of such theorising, historical and empirical studies since the 1980s. Developed by scholars across multiple disciplinary areas (e.g. psychology, planning, accounting, economics, education, mathematics and criminology), this group draws from Foucault's thinking and uses his understanding of government as 'the conduct of conduct' as the starting point from which to examine rationalisations and *how* steering occurs (Rose 1999, 34). While Foucault's concepts are important, their use is not mutually exclusive of other scholarship. Importantly, it is Foucault's mode of analytics and general ethos of investigation that primarily informs such work (Miller and Rose 2008, 8-9).

From the 1980s, governmentality studies interrogated regional and national histories and their lowly figures as part of understanding governmental rule (5). Studies on societal 'norms', the production of regimes of truth, authority and subjectification, accompanied a move from questions of 'why' to 'how' in relation to the state (5-6). Not interested in developing a general theory of governmentality, these theorists examined localised sites of power without a centre and the interconnections across authorities and institutions in 'making people up'. Informed by the governmental imperatives of personal fulfillment, improved productivity and increased collective welfare, subjectification occurs within the bounds of a constructed and regulated freedom (8-9). Such contexts encourage individuals to compare what they do, what they achieve, and what they are, with what they could or should be (Rose 1991 cited in Miller and Rose 2008, 9). Later studies examine the 'making up' of the economy and changing discursive imperatives towards economic calculation and governmentality (Beer 2016; Lazzarato 2009; Lingard, 2011; Miller 2008; Miller and Rose 2008; Porter 1996; Power 1994). I have drawn fully on this literature in my study, some of which is further outlined in Section Nine: Discussion.

⁹ Indeed his analysis has raised questions around his normative 'stakes in and takes on' neoliberalism (Brown 2015, 53-55). His curiosity and preparedness to examine its discursive possibilities (e.g. personal freedom and a minimal state) has been interpreted by some as that of a deep attraction to its precepts (Behrent 2016).

Governmental power and control

Governmentality studies have traced how everyday political-economic control flows through fluid, interlinked networks and circuits. Power gravitates or permeates within and between civil society and government. Control spreads through what Rose (1999, 234) calls 'a network of open circuits that are rhizomatic and not hierarchical'. However, strategies of control, steerage and the monitoring of conduct, are built into the ordinary management and administration of every aspect of our existence. These reflect political and regulatory demands, increasing requirements for information, surveillance and data-sharing, as well as the power of disciplinary knowledge and pressures for 'joined up' government.

Systemic or structural forms of control increasingly draw on risk information, prudential calculation, management and risk reduction (e.g. probabilistic pre-emption), to shape and underpin public and, increasingly, private processes, policies and decisions (257)¹⁰. Control networks and 'official' spaces employ the techniques and procedures of disciplinary knowledge propagated by chosen experts (e.g. teachers, medics and psychologists). It is predominantly the thinking of these normalising elites which informs national truth discourses (Miller and Rose 2008, 5).

In his extension of Deleuze's (1995) theorising, Rose (1999, 233-273) has analysed contemporary governmental contexts as societies of 'control'. This is not in the traditional, top down and overarching sense of earlier normative accounts of the state. Behaviour is constantly modulated and normalised through acceptance of, and compliance with, increasing levels of steerage and compliance. Steerage and normalisation are informed by disciplinary power-knowledge, and are built into the rigors of daily life and the discursive demands of governmentality. These include pressures for continual training, employment and social compliance, conditional welfarism, precarious employment, lifelong learning and entrepreneurialism. These are accompanied by pressures to self-assess, manage, improve, and change (and be seen to be doing so). Under contemporary existence, human subjects ideally respond to steerage policies (e.g. for their own good and within constructions of freedom), while internalising the need to be malleable and responsive subjects, open to changing economic, productive and social demands (Fitzsimons 2011).

Biopower

In his later work, Foucault traced the emergence of a particular power from the classical age. This was concerned with:

... generating forces, making them grow and ordering them ... that exerts a positive influence on life, that endeavours to administer, optimize, and multiply it, subjecting it to precise controls and comprehensive regulations (Foucault 1990, 136-137).

In the seventeenth century, this biopower came to operate around two poles: micro-level subjectification and macro, species-level power. Interrelated but separate, the former requires individuals to work on and change themselves, to fit in with collective life or health goals. This anatomo-politics is instilled through disciplinary power, every-day administration and social existence (139). At the collective or population level, biopower is applied through, national or mass programmes of population enhancement or upgrading (139).

10 Demands for enhanced record keeping, data sharing, algorithmic and meta-data collection will be bolstered by extended surveillance of individuals and populations through future demands for facial and pupil recognition, implantable devices, compulsory vaccination and interfacing with Artificial Intelligence.

Hence the primary concern and focus of biopower is ‘the species, ... race, and ... large-scale phenomena of population’. This includes the problems, arguments and strategies of human vitality, morbidity and mortality (137). Its purpose is to strengthen life and existence (rather than death), through the human and natural sciences, disciplinary expertise and normative concepts. Rather than a reliance on force, it is forms of knowledge that now regulate populations, through the describing, defining, and delivering of desired forms of normality and educability (Foucault 1980b cited in Olssen 2006, 29).

Applied extensively under liberalism and neoliberalism, biopower is the most prevalent modern power. It is exercised through truth discourses for which the state is the ultimate agent. Under governmentality, biopower manifests in programmes and technologies, monitored through statistics and political arithmetic and applied through increasingly rationalised means. Biopolitical information can inform state planning and interventions for collectively enhancing and governing the quality of life (i.e. school literacy programmes to increase achievement). Its effects shape how we think of ourselves relative to population factors such as births, deaths, health, sickness and demographics (Lemke 2011, 33).

Hence biopower is one of the main ways that states nurture citizen-subjects through subjectification and enact programmes of mass change. It reinforces national norms and applies them to political and economic problems and the re-making of people and culture. Biopower is one of the most effective ways to ensure mass normalisation (Olssen 2006, 29)¹¹. Such programmes usually involve the subtle shaping of individual behaviours, without overtly telling people what to do or seemingly directing or controlling them. They enable more and more minutiae of our lives to come under centralised management and scrutiny. For example, by 1999, eight years after the introduction of Standards Based Reform (SBR) in ANZ, curriculum standards remained dysfunctional and unable to generate an evidence-base. Interestingly teachers were found to be surveying each other’s assessment practices, reflective of the biopolitical normalisation of SBR (Hill 1999, 2001).

‘Steering’ policy and subjects ‘at a distance’

As Foucault famously states, governmentality requires the ‘right disposition of things, arranged so as to lead to a convenient end ... not [for] ... the common good ... [but] for each of the things to be governed’ (Foucault 1991, 94-95). This ‘arrangement’ occurs through attempts to steer people to act in certain ways to achieve governmental ends. Steerage policies or ‘centralised decentralisation’ (Ball 2003, 251) are the more or less rationalized schemes, technologies, programmes, techniques and devices government employs. In ANZ steerage was strengthened through the early state-wide implementation and development of New Zealand New Public Management (NZNPM) and its prominent policy technologies: measurement, technical-managerialism and competitive-performativity (Court 2004). The ‘conduct of conduct’ (Foucault 2007, 192-3) is orchestrated as ‘any more or less calculated and rational activity, under-taken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge’ (Dean 2010, 18).

While not appearing to encroach upon personal freedom, steerage is closely aligned to biopolitical agendas and subjectification. It works best when people develop the psycho-social mindsets and personal aspirations that predispose them to be persuaded to act ‘freely’ in officially preferred ways:

¹¹ As Foucault reminds us in *Discipline and Punish* (1995, 183), (italicise title) disciplinary institutions such as schools, (and governmental programmes), embrace standardisation, homogeneity and ongoing surveillance. This is enacted through measurement and the enabling of comparison, differentiation, hierarchisation, homogenisation and exclusion. These enforce the power of the norm and highlight individualisation, thus normalising individual subjects.

... by working through the desires, aspirations, interests, beliefs of various actors, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes (18).

Governmentality studies examine how this creation of preferred kinds of 'free' citizen-subjects (through preferred forms of subjectification), occurs and how personal freedom is seen to reside in particular regimes of practice (27). Governmental power surreptitiously targets and shapes the political technology of the body, mind and emotions of subjects through multiple tactics and techniques. More widely, it seeks to shape the interwoven relations between self-government and self-ethics¹² (e.g. self-management and entrepreneurial or calculative ethics), global political government, nations, populations, communities and collective ethics (Dean 1994, 175-178).

As with steering policies, official regimes and programmes are enacted through relations that are hierarchical, irreversible, fixed and durable as forms of domination. However, they are more frequently characterised as open, mobile and reversible (Dean 2010, 47). Foucault's 'problematic of government' approach, acknowledges the tensions around its emergence as a national form to which all else became subordinated from the 17th century. While governmental power is not totally constitutive, it must be historically examined at its micro and macro expression – as interlinked, changing and ever-present (24-35).

SECTION FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This project's primary research site is multiple government texts pertaining to the 'second wave' (Codd 2001) of curriculum-assessment policy enactment. Available publicly, these include policy and teaching texts, public-private collaborations, official research papers and briefings. The study also draws on pamphlets, circulars, regulations, speech notes and professional development programmes, including rejected policy proposals¹³. Some documents were previously known to me, some were not. Research studies including doctoral theses and national and international analyses of education policy sociology and its enactment, constitute the analytical basis of the study.

Critical policy analysis

The 1980s emergence of the 'new global order' and economic, social and cultural globalisation, has ensured the remodelling of modern education systems to better respond to these demands (Olssen, Codd and O'Neill 2004, 4). Additional pressures for increased national productivity, competitive market advantage, multiple efficiencies and management have enabled the subsumption of economic and educational policies in many nations. Hence SBR, business and economic models, quantifiable data and calculation as accountability are prominent globally. Countries such as Great Britain, the USA, Australia, ANZ, Canada, the Nordics and European societies and South American nations have installed assessment-driven, outcomes-based curricula (O'Neill 2015).

Over the last two decades globalised education policy has bolstered the study of education and curriculum policy sociology. Broader and more complex scholarship from across the Humanities and Social Sciences as well as Education now captures the complexity of globalised and marketized

12 Rehmann (2016) raises interesting questions around the homogeneous conception of such discourses and their perceived efficacy in governmentality studies. She argues more focus on techniques and technologies, contextual location and examinations of personal agency is needed in such studies.

13 Had this project drawn on internal Ministry of Education material (e.g. Official Information Requests and/or official/unofficial email transactions and meeting notes), archived policy material and/or archival material from sector leaders, the account would have traced internal sector debates, struggles and contradictions in the discursive descent and ascent of policy.

systems. Both areas of scholarship inform this thesis and it contributes to them. These fields are located within the critical approach or tradition of education scholarship. While the education terrain is traversed in multiple 'critical' ways, such analyses interrogate 'below the surface' of policies to examine them as complex and contradictory, constructed, discursive, political and made and re-made through processes of enactment (Bacchi 2009, 2012; Ball 2013; Ball et al 2012; Olssen, et al 2004; Ozga 2019).

This PhD is informed by critical social, political and educational theorising, drawing substantially from Michel Foucault's criticality and analytics (explained further in this Section). Foucault's work is part of this 'critical' tradition emanating from Kant, Hegel and Marx. Its more recent thinkers include Nietzsche, Weber and the scholars of the Frankfurt School – The Institute for Social Research. Later, Foucault engaged with the thinking of Habermas (1929-) and Chomsky (1928-). Concerned with human liberation, this tradition emphasises universal reason as both enhancing and limiting of human existence (Olssen 2006).

Even though Foucault located himself within this tradition, his work differs ontologically and epistemologically (126-131). Foucault was heavily influenced by Nietzsche, who examined our habitual modes of action and thought as historically constituted. He saw these shaped by conflicting power relations between people, groups, classes and history. In his *Genealogy of Morals* (1969) Nietzsche traced how earlier moral codes emerged out of the battles of previous classes and groups. He rejected the rational unfolding of history towards higher forms of reason. It was Nietzsche's radical critique of truth, his questioning of interpretation and the humanist subject, universality and totality, as well as his prioritising of power as closely aligned to knowledge, that shaped Foucault's thinking. Nietzsche's philosophy of difference assisted Foucault's construction of his understanding of discursive formations and his rejection of Hegelian and Marxist conceptions of history, progress, enlightenment and optimism (Olssen et al 2004, 19).

'Re-reading'

As Simons, et al (2009, vii) acknowledge in *Re-reading education policies: A handbook studying the policy agenda of the 21st century*, the term critical has become 'devoid of meaning' and politically redundant in modern scholarship. They argue 'there are probably no researchers who wouldn't call themselves or their research, 'critical'. Regardless of the 'trivalisation' of its meaning, they argue for the retention of the term because it signals a critical *attitude*, or after Foucault, an *ethos* as a way of relating to the present (vii author emphasis). Simons et al point out that critical scholarship frequently investigates matters of 'public concern' (vii).

Critical policy scholars definitively reject the dominant liberal/idealist and neoliberal approach to education and society, technicist theories of the policy sciences and apolitical theorising. Such approaches are inadequate for understanding the complexities and politics of globalisation and the resulting global educational response (e.g. the Global Educational Reform Movement). Rejecting a primary reliance on positivist epistemologies and methodologies, they argue that education policy must be nationally and globally contextualised, to become a transformative discourse empowering material changes to current problems, crises and issues (Olssen, et al 2004, 3). Simons, et al (2009 vii) align criticality in educational policy with a 'politics of reading' policy and their concept of 're-reading'.

Informed broadly by Foucault, re-reading emphasises the study of 'taken for granted' or seemingly settled contexts, established policy agendas and problems of the present. It seeks to understand 'what is going on now' and how problems are framed and from this, re-envision new agendas. With an expansive notion of policy, re-reading recognises the broad terrain of state governance. This includes its inter-related processes, practices and discourses in multiple contexts (viii), including:

- Current challenges and governmental solutions to problems, including favoured technologies;
- Its relation to power, politics, government and the social regulation of education;
- Defamiliarising the ways current policies pose problems;
- A variety of approaches and instruments to interrogate underlying rationalities, identity, unspoken interests, unintended consequences, contradictions and the field of contingencies; and
- Issues around the role of education in society, policy, politics and power (Simons et al 2009 viiii).

Pragmatically undertaking a re-reading of established policy, I found this concept and the above points extremely helpful for maintaining my focus on the main 'areas of interest' in my study. I went back to their work repeatedly when I needed to clarify what I was trying to do and to keep reminding myself to keep locating specific content to broader critical concerns.

Critique

The conceptual, methodological and epistemological basis of this critical policy analysis and 're-reading' is intellectual critique. This embodies Foucault's commitment to 'permanent criticism' of ourselves and the cognitive, ethical, social and political examination of our world. Foucault encouraged human lives lived through ongoing interrogative thinking; a critical ontology of ourselves, supported by an ethics and aesthetics of existence. This is a life in which:

... the subject gives itself the right to question truth concerning its power effects and to question power about its discourses of truth. The essential function of critique would be that of desubjectification in a game of what one could call, ... the politics of truth (Foucault 1996, 386).

The need to think differently beyond what we already know, was closely tied to Foucault's dissatisfactions with existing modes of reason. Derived from his reading of Kant¹⁴, Nietzsche and Heidegger, critique/criticism is undertaken through precise historical inquiries. These can be at the individual or institutional levels and through formal research settings. For Foucault:

A critique is not a matter of saying that things are not right as they are. It is a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought the practices that we accept rest. ... Criticism is a matter of flushing out that thought and trying to change it: to show that things are not as self-evident as one believed, to see that what is accepted as self-evident will no longer be accepted as such. Practicing criticism is a matter of making facile gestures difficult (1990, 154-155).

Unlike liberal conceptions of knowledge, divorced from power relations, critique can be used to examine unseen forms of power in our personal lives, social relations and society. Through it we can interrogate how discourses shape the ways we think and act, and how they lock us into ongoing patterns of thinking and response (Olssen, et al 2004, 39). The uncovering of fundamental

14 Foucault saw Kant as the first philosopher to pose the problem of the development of rationality linked to the present, asking 'What difference does today introduce with respect to yesterday?' (Foucault 2003, 45-48). For Kant, critique was the answer. Foucault understood Kant's as part of a long tradition of thinkers reading 'the signs of the times' to formulate 'a critical ontology of the present'. Kant's suggestion of movement from immaturity to maturity, implied change in our individual and collective relationship to our will, external authority and the use of reason (2003, 45). Unlike Kant, Foucault is not interested in the conditional determinants of reason, but in its apparent conditions and contingent historical origins and to test how much the pre-established limits to reason and his transcendental analysis could be moved beyond (129).

assumptions and everyday notions can help us raise questions about the socio-historical basis of our self-constitution as autonomous subjects (Foucault 2003, 51).

Knowing more deeply can free up thought and broaden our knowledge of complexity and contradiction. The same applies to understanding the rationalities, discourses and patterns of argument that shape policies. Critique can identify the basis of conflicts and how to respond through transformative transgression. This can open up understandings about the allocation of resources, inequality and structural power (Olssen 2006, 29-30). Foucault sought a 'space' for, and a way of interrogating more deeply. Of the purpose and politics of such work Latour notes:

The critic is not the one who debunks, but the one who assembles. The critic is not the one who lifts the rug from under the feet of the naïve believers, but the one who offers participants arenas in which to gather (2004, 246).

Foucault's thinking about such matters resulted in his development of the genealogical method.

Genealogy: An 'interpretive analytics'

Genealogy ... requires patience and a knowledge of details, and ... a vast accumulation of source material' [and]... relentless erudition (Foucault 1984a, 77).

Foucault developed two methodological approaches for undertaking critique: archaeology¹⁵ and genealogy. After the events of May 1968, his interest shifted from theorising discourse and the multiple problems of archaeology to the processes of questioning through genealogy. He sought a space for a probing, less rigid politics to bridge intellectual and political life (Brown 1998, 34). Genealogy was Foucault's first major step towards undertaking a more complex analysis of power, reason, knowledge and the body in the 'present' (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983, 105-106).

Genealogy as history

Adapting Nietzsche's method for the historical examination of philosophy, history and politics, Foucault emphasised genealogy for the writing of history¹⁶. Reflecting his interest in critique and his rejection of all essentialisms, genealogy is not concerned with a search for origins (i.e. a single source). Instead, it enables the slow collection of details, including the descent of discourses under challenge and the rise of those challenging. It offers the ability to build a history without constraints, particularly struggles over the development and integration of knowledge and things (Varella 2001). It prefers the analysis of the 'violent appropriation of interpretation' (May 1993, 76) and that of the marginal, deviating and inconsequential. Hence it is interested in the ordinary and aberrant.

As a vehicle for discursively examining institutions, bodies, technologies of power and official documents, it can isolate the mechanisms through which power operates. Genealogies can

15 Historical archaeology is cross-sectional: focusing on various things occurring at the same time and their fit in the construction of discourses as statements of things said. Regularities exist between 'objects, types of statement, concepts or thematic choices' (Foucault 1972, 38, 107). These elements and structures of a discourse constitute knowledge during a given historical epoch (May 1993, 29). Rather than randomly appearing in groups of discourses, governing regularities inhere in the discursive practices themselves. Archaeology enables comparison of the 'rules of formation' at differing periods and examines the historical presuppositions of a system of thought, which many claim is structuralist (Foucault 1972, 15). Dreyfus and Rabinow argue this method is a failure because of its reduction of human subjects to a function of discourse and the attribution of causal power to the rules governing discursive systems. They claim this is unintelligible and that it renders the influence of the historical and social, and the power of transformation discourses, incomprehensible and foreclosing of possibility (1983 xxiv-xxv). As I acknowledge, Foucault clearly wanted to move on from archaeology, its constraints and its public criticisms. He sought a way forward that was more responsive to political and macro-level power.

16 It compensated, complimented and in some senses usurped, the shortcomings of archaeology (May 1993, 70).

trace the multiple ways that political rationality and culture normalise and rationalise people in the present. This is historically examined as unique and made up of power relations, fractures, problems and serendipity (Olssen 2006, 14). This is how this approach de-naturalises our most prized certainties about ourselves and our world.

Policy genealogy and my approach

Employing a Foucauldian governmentality approach to policy analytics is now a substantial academic undertaking. Much of this work, including this PhD, differs from Foucault's original historical and philosophical investigations. These were based on his use of primary source, archival material. It was his detailed study of original writings which enabled him to challenge traditional epistemological and ontological assumptions and methodologies¹⁷. This study makes use of highly varied, and mostly, publicly available texts.

The governmental role of policy texts is to construct 'stories' which speak to multiple groups and voices through policy ideals, which are interpreted and enacted. Increasingly applied to policy analysis, genealogical approaches trace the emergence of policy problems and their constructed solutions, as well as their discursive basis in relation to social structures. Policy genealogists examine knowledge as the product of power-knowledge and interrogate its relations with discourse, text and the social structure.

Political rationality

Policies both reflect and discursively construct the dominant political rationality and its instruments. As Foucault (1980, 242-243) intended, genealogy readily examines the constitutive discourses of a governmental rationality (as opposed to political systems) to understand:

... how this way of governing develops, what its history is, how it expands, how it contracts, how it is extended to a particular domain, and how it invents, forms and develops new practices. This is the problem and not making [the state] a puppet show police-man overpowering the different figures in history (Foucault 2008, 6).

Thus policies articulate the political, economic, social, cultural and historical assumptions and practices of a rationality. This Foucauldian approach to interrogating policy discourses requires 'patient criticism and problematisation' (Dean 1994, 20 cited in Olssen 2006, 16).

17 O'Farrell (1989, 35) traces the 'constancy of philosophical quest' in Foucault's histories. He rejects narrative accounts of periods, events, official records, people, constitutions and institutions, and the recording of continuous, progressive and 'true' trajectories. Foucault's histories linked patterns of thought directly to their social contexts to trace their emergence as a product of social structures and interactions (e.g. the individualist and bio-medical roots of the human sciences as modern knowledge and power-knowledge) (Olssen 2006, 2). Foucault used historical ruptures and discontinuity, through which to build analysis and understanding. He interrogated the specific mechanisms and technologies through which truth discourses socially and historically constitute individuals, knowledge, moral values and absolutes.

Similarly, Foucault rejects all totalising and universalist positions including the post-Enlightenment respect for reason as universal, liberating and essential to overcoming domination and oppression (e.g. the Hegelian-Marxist dialectic and class struggle, or the Frankfurt School) (Marshall 1996, 22). He rejected traditional modern philosophy (since Descartes) and Cartesian rationality, and mounted a sustained attack on post-Enlightenment liberal humanism (e.g. theoretical Marxism). For Foucault, there was no unity, essence, or integral identity of the subject. He sought to usurp the 'abstract, general and monotonous' (Foucault 1968, 854 cited in O'Farrell 1989 35), including dualistic binaries and simple, singular or idealist conceptions or identities aligned to human and social progress. This included absolutes, universality and essentialism in the social and human sciences as well as fatalistic, evolutionary rationalities.

Foucault was antithetical to these world views because they valorised human existence and provided a false sense of the human ability to attain certainty over the world, to master it and ourselves. The main objective of his 'unsystematic', 'non-traditional' or 'critical' philosophical rejection of the above was the need to examine and document their historical and contingent nature.

Bearing in mind the criticisms of the determinist educational treatment of Foucault (Ball 2013, 18-20; Peters and Besley 2007, 3) (discussed in Section Two of the Conclusion), I began my first genealogy with few theorised examples. While I was applying multiple tools from Foucault's famous *Discipline and Punish* to my analysis, this was too broad and daunting to use as my main exemplar. With no set approach to follow, I was hesitant about how to undertake this work. Three educational papers (Court and O'Neill 2011; Graham and Neu 2004; Macintosh, 2009) and two books (Ball 2013; Ball Maguire and Braun 2012) became my key exemplars for how to write, analyse genealogically and assemble my material. All these works also informed my study as substantial academic evidence for my analysis.

The research site for a policy genealogy involves documents signalling the perceived problem, issue, institution or context for analysis. This is traced, laid out and discussed. Thus the four genealogical papers/Chapters of this thesis, chronologically trace or map out key policies, institutions, initiatives or issues. Words and passages of official texts signify the official position(s) of the discourse.

The contextualisation or discourse analysis of policy can draw on academic and relevant material including the thinking and studies of Foucault, integrated throughout or discussed separately. The process can involve journeying back in time through multiple texts to find documentary or material evidence and also researching contemporarily (Varella 2001). Foucault rejected the traditional quest for origins, however this does not mean that the details and unexpected dynamics, or the conflicts of 'beginnings' are not of genealogical relevance, as demonstrated in papers/Chapters One and Two. Similarly, policy implementation technologies and institutions can be analysed to show how they materially shape existence (Olssen 2006; Olssen et al 2004).

In Chapter Two, and its mapping of the 1990s embedding of governmentality, the Education Review Office's (ERO) approach to curriculum standards is discussed over eight sections. This traces the ERO's rise as an auditor and its preoccupation with management and standards and their normative role in empowering policy technologies and evaluative and managerial processes. The thesis examines their role as biopolitical technologies for the management of risk, New Zealand New Public Management, school managerialism and an Enterprise Culture (Court 2004). These sections draw on historical and contemporary analyses and national and international educational studies (including the effects of policy on teachers), governmentality and policy literature.

While this methodology or construction process is fluid and open, it is more complex than it looks. Writers make choices about what and how much to cover to provide sufficient argument and evidence within a narrative. They have to work out if they prefer few examples and go for depth of analysis, or go for breadth of evidence and analysis? This writing raises questions or queries about depth of verification and argument and degree of coverage. I have produced long-form papers and the reviewers were happy to have this length in the first two. However, these are twice the length of normal papers. Shorter papers would have covered less ground, analysing specific examples more deeply (e.g. Graham and Neu 2004), rather than enabling chronological expanse. Both forms of genealogy are useful and reflect the writer's purpose and focus.

Policy as discourse

As I try to demonstrate in my thesis Chapters, an understanding of discourse requires interrogation of the material conditions in which certain statements become dominant truths (Bacchi 2009; Olssen et al 2004). Discourses structure social and global relations and it is context which shapes or constrains that which can be discursively thought, written and said. For Foucault, the logic of a discourse relates structurally to the broader episteme or the structure of knowledge of its historical period. The framework that helped me ascertain the discursive basis of curriculum-

assessment as educational governmentality in Aotearoa New Zealand; its favoured arrangements and the circulation of power, was that provided by Cherryholmes (1988) and the questions he asks of discourse. These are:

- Who is authorised to speak?
- Who listens?
- What can be said?
- What remains unspoken?
- How does one become authorised to speak?
- What utterances are rewarded?
- What utterances are penalised?
- Which categories, metaphors, modes of description, explanation and argument are valued and praised, and which are excluded and silenced?
- What social and political arrangements reward and penalise those who speak?
- Which ideas are advanced as foundational to the discourse?

These questions offer a way of breaking down discourses into their constituent strands of thinking, core concepts, assumptions or logic. The more an analysis breaks down parts, frameworks or practices, the easier it becomes to understand basic philosophical positions, assumptions and techniques of power. This is how discursive links can be made to subjectification: corporality, psycho-emotionality and life practices. It is also how spaces can be found to make challenges and interventions into power.

In undertaking this methodology I have been mindful of the epistemological and ontological questions that emerge in relation to Foucault's approach to knowledge, truth and validity. I note some of these briefly below.

Knowledge and truth

Foucauldian scholars argue that genealogy challenges the supposed objectivity or 'blindness' of mainstream social science. As 'an emancipatory anti-science or counterscience' with a fluid and imaginative approach to evidence, genealogy is not opposed to science and reason (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983, 18). Ideally, it examines its foundations, unintended consequences and effects. Rather than an account of what is really going on in history, genealogies offer 'another aspect or mask that reality wears' (18). They expose how scientific objectivity in the form of disciplinary knowledge can exist, in tandem with, for example, subjective intentions, in shaping social contexts, institutional and human outcomes (108).

If generalisability is required, this can be gained through the undertaking of multiple genealogies (May 1993, 71-82). May's study of the politics and epistemology of genealogy argues it is grounded as knowledge because it is:

... what can be justified within the limits that comprise the structure of historical discourse; and, within those limits, Foucault's histories stake their claim to being justifiable histories with political and epistemological effects they reveal the creative role played by all historical inquiry, by showing that what are taken to be natural or transcendental principles for thought – madness, sexuality, the mind, sickness, and subjectivity – have a history that cannot be reduced to the progressive unfolding of truth (103).

Strongly influenced by Nietzsche, Foucault understood and examined truth as shaped by dominant systems and criteria¹⁸. Genealogical histories reveal how truth discourses emerge and are explicitly supported by multiple patterns of relations and domination (Marshall 1996, 32). Rather than attempts to find the basis of truth, or to ‘prove that there is no basis for truth’ or that there is no truth (Fendler 2010, 9), Foucault maintained:

There may or may not be some universal basis for truth. I am not interested in that. However, people throughout history have *acted as if* certain things were true. I am interested in *how people make rules* for deciding what is true and what is false (no reference provided, cited in Fendler, 2010, 9).

For Foucault and Nietzsche, truth requires histories which acknowledge its discursive creation and re-creation through ongoing and emergent struggles (May 1993, 74). Genealogical histories enable such documentation. In the following section, the thesis discusses the specific research questions or focus of the study

SECTION FIVE: RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND THESIS STRUCTURE

The following section sets out both the original and the redeveloped research ‘areas of interest’ and their focus, as the basis of this doctoral project. Each of the four redeveloped areas pertain to each thesis Chapter. Each Chapter, as a separate genealogy and paper follows the previous one chronologically to constitute an overarching genealogy. The following discussions and introductions to the Chapters outline their basic structure and key findings in relation to these areas. The actual paper/Chapters follow this.

Original research areas of interest

My Confirmation Discussion Paper¹⁹ set out the focus of my thesis as built around four ‘areas of interest’:

1. The influences of neoliberalism and governmentality;
1. The influence of national and supranational discourses;
1. The changing nature of school curriculum and assessment policy and practice; and
1. The impact of 1-3 on professional identity in primary schools.

These were deliberately general to enable further development after theoretical reading and discussion with my doctoral supervisors. My Confirmation document also contained initial abstracts and detailed discussions of the proposed six papers/Chapters. The Confirmation feedback advised that four papers would be suitable. Hence the presentation of my study as four separate, inter-related, long-form papers/Chapters, constituting an overarching genealogy. These are organised chronologically, reflecting the three political administrations under which curriculum-assessment was embedded from 1990 until 2016.

18 May (1993, 103) notes that talk of ‘what is really going on’ in history is quite distinct from accounts of it. He points out the unsuitability of questions of nominalism in relation to Foucault, and that all histories, whether they understand it or not, confer unities upon a variety of events, through unifying terms/language, not by a bond with the transcendental, or ‘an ineluctable relativism’ but by their role in the project of historical inquiry – an epistemology he says that Foucault did not always understand. This led him and others towards futile questions of absolute or relative truth not relevant to genealogy. In relation to epistemic questions, May notes the reply is ‘neither to deny that grounds exist nor to construct the foundation that seems to be called for’. This explains why Foucault’s genealogical grounds ‘are neither more or less than reasonably can be asked for’.

19 This set out the focus, orientation and purpose of the thesis. It was delivered through a presentation to an Institute of Education PhD Confirmation Committee. I was provided with feedback and guidance on the study and enabled to proceed with it.

As I became immersed in the writing of the first paper, originally covering developments from 1990 to 1999, I redeveloped more detailed and interlinked areas of interest for the thesis. Their refinement continued in tandem with the writing of the four separate papers as thesis Chapters. These are organised chronologically with the focus of each broadly building on the previous one.

Chapter Two follows chronologically from Chapter One. Chapter Three interrogates a specific programme during the 2000s and examines the continuing institution of curriculum-assessment policies during that time. Chapter Four examines the politics of another biopolitical programme between 2008 to 2016.

The thesis does not set out a progressive or coherent history of three decades of educational governmentality. Rather it examines policy beginnings and emergences, failed policies and official attempts for change, the role of institutions, various programmes, policy changes, discursive contradictions and multiple policy functions within those three decades. As separate genealogies, they trace or map the above, locate them discursively and contextually. They then analyse their dynamics and functions as educational governmentality. The focus of these four redeveloped areas of interest is summarised below.

Redeveloped research areas of interest

1. The discursive antecedents or 'beginnings' of the 'second wave' of curriculum-assessment change in ANZ, its establishment as a specific political rationality and its technologies of implementation (Elaborates on areas of interest 1, 2 and 3).
2. Trace, locate and analyse how curriculum-assessment was operationalised as neoliberal governmentality policies during the 1990s, for continued development over three political administrations (Original questions 1, 2 and 3).
3. Examine governmental biopower as a pastoral-therapeutic programme of individual subjectification and collective enhancement, through its core technologies, techniques, purposes and effects (Areas of interest 1, 2 and 3).
4. Examine the manifestation of high-stakes assessment as calculative power and national biopolitics, and its core technologies, techniques, purposes and effects (Areas of interest 1, 2, 3 and 4).

Thesis structure, contribution of each Chapter to the thesis and research findings

The first paper sent to the *Journal of Education Policy* covered the 'second wave' of change and its implementation until the end of the 1990s. The reviewers suggested greater theoretical engagement throughout the paper. My supervisors suggested it be divided into two papers to enable this. Paper/Chapter One refocused to cover the ascent of change discourses from 1989 and their implementation until 1995 (pertaining to the earlier 'Area of interest' 1). That was published in 2015 in the *Journal of Education Policy*; the leading global education policy journal. Chapter Two covers the embedding of governmentality policies from 1995 to 1999 (Area of Interest 2) and was published in the same journal in 2016. Both are published as long-form papers.

Chapter Three focuses on a specific governmental biopolitical programme. This paper was initially sent to the *Journal of Education Policy*, followed by the *Journal of Curriculum Studies* and *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* and rejected by them. The first two said the topic was not appropriate. *Discourse* has published many Foucauldian papers on biopolitical programmes, many of which I have cited in the paper. One reviewer said the paper contributes 'no new knowledge'. This is interesting given the programme I focus on is one of the most behaviourally prescriptive I have encountered in the literature. Currently the paper has been

sent to *Policy Futures in Education*. Chapter Four details the context, emergence and form of the controversial 2011 introduction of National Standards, theorised in terms of their contribution to other governmentality objectives. This paper has been sent to the *Journal of Education Policy* for review. Hence Chapters Three and Four are both under review at the point of thesis submission.

Chapter/Paper One

Research area of interest:

- 1. *The discursive antecedents or ‘beginnings’ of the ‘second wave’ of curriculum-assessment change in ANZ, its establishment as a specific political rationality and its technologies of implementation (Elaborates on the original questions 1, 2 and 3).***

Project Abel

This chapter begins with a detailed outline and analysis of the Draft consultation text, and final report of a Ministerial Working Party (Project Abel) (1989-1990) on school assessment and systemic evaluation (Ministry of Education 1990). The Working Party was to assess these in relation to accountability, economic productivity and culture. The paper traces the abrupt turn from the Draft’s educational focus on accountability, to the final text’s realignment of curriculum-assessment with globalised discourses (Foucault 1972). International market competitiveness, human capital production and efficient management were to be prioritised. This was reinforced by a Treasury-driven report on educational management (Lough 1990).

This Chapter (and Chapter Two) traces how the ‘second wave’ (Codd 2001) of curriculum-assessment change embodies this discursive basis of a ‘busnocratic’ rationality. This is constituted through the methods and precepts of corporate management, business accountability, performativity, scientific rationalism, and technical/economic instrumentalism (Fitzsimons 2011; Marshall 1995; Peters and Marshall 1996). ‘Social efficiency’ is to be harnessed through the policy implementation technologies of business-managerialism, market-efficiency and performativity (Ball 2003) to ideally steer practice towards busnocratic ends (e.g. input/output indicators, targets, objectives, displays, ‘value added’ calculations). They could enable measurement as ‘objective’ evidence, competitive public performances, and the calculation of economic efficiencies. Hence it identifies *how* curriculum-assessment was to operate as a specific political rationality and public rationalisation process. It provides a detailed examination of this emergence, and the political, economic and cultural antecedents of the ‘second wave’ as neoliberal governmentality.

Reinforced by the 1991 Budget of the new National Government (1990-1999), a Social and Economic Initiative (ESI) disestablished universal welfare, introduced labour market deregulation, further extreme structural adjustment and austerity. As part of this, an Achievement Initiative oriented a new curriculum around basics, standards and assessment, human capital production and cultural reconstruction. A competitive curriculum and assessment were made central to the development of an Enterprise Culture. The Chapter traces National’s subsumption of education into economic policy and the economisation of curriculum-assessment, three years before its introduction as SBR.

The NZCF: A rationalisation technology

This governmental rationality is embodied and activated through the main policy vehicle *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (NZCF) (Ministry of Education 1993). This instituted *standards-based reform* (SBR), organising knowledge as gradated levels and fixed standards.

As performative, assessable and quantifiable, the teacher-implemented standards would ideally produce data to be disaggregated by schools and teachers. With its basics, enterprise and skills focus, the NZCF discursively emphasised 'assessment for learning', intensifying assessment while emphasising diagnosis. Also emphasising the importance of summative reporting, the NZCF reinforced the relation between multiple assessments, measurement and programme effectiveness (e.g. 'value added' calculations). Learning as a private good was reconceptualised as instrumentally-driven, calculative and actuarial, rather than a purposive and relational process (Biesta 2010). Its role as a disciplinary and biopolitical subjectification technology for the production of human capital as competitive, innovative, entrepreneurial-selves, is introduced in the NZCF. Uniform, quantifiable standards as technologies for both subjectification and the efficacy and management of the NZCF were necessary. A national biopolitical management regime was to be established.

The Chapter argues that the intensification of assessment and the disaggregation of knowledge, were part of the re-moralisation of students, teachers and parents. This was one of the educational techniques through which the busnocratic rationality was inscribed into individual-subjects as busno-power (Peters and Marshall 1996, 91-95). By 1995, the policy failure of teacher-implemented standards (and, by implication, of teachers), to produce reliable calculation, national standardisation and uniformity, led the Education Review Office to declare standards were non-existent and the framework unworkable (ERO 1995). Despite this, the Chapter traces the discursive emergence and implementation of governmentality policies. As the following chapter demonstrates, these were to be embedded and refined incrementally as a long term, structural, cultural and psycho-social 're-making' project.

Specific Chapter findings:

- This study provides a detailed analysis of the 1989-1991 discursive antecedents of curriculum-assessment as governmentality.
- The emergence, ascent and embedding of the globalised and busnocratic antecedents of curriculum-assessment were the basis for its operation as a specific political rationality and public rationalisation process.
- In 1991 a competitive curriculum was economised and made central to the economic and political purposes of cultural reconstruction.
- The NZCF as structure, knowledge, pedagogy and assessment, embodies a political rationality and rationalises all involved with it. As a governmentality policy, the NZCF imparts disciplinary and biopolitical power.
- Functional standards: standardised, known, and calculable, are useful to SBR and lay at the core of the optimisation of the 'second wave' of change. They were central to the NZCF as a management, measurement, performance and competitive regime, and its subjectification and biopolitical purposes.
- Subjectification through curriculum-assessment, occurred through a busnocratic rationality, operating as 'busno-power,' inscribed as psycho-social-emotional re-moralisation.
- The embedding of governmentality is a 'long-game', that can use policy failure to establish itself and progress its ends.

The New Zealand experiment: assessment-driven curriculum – managing standards, competition and performance to strengthen governmentality

Anne-Marie O'Neill*

*Institute of Education, College of Humanities and Social Sciences Massey, University
Manawatu, Palmerston North, New Zealand*

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Following the Tomorrow's Schools administrative restructuring, a second wave of educational change installed globalised discourses as governmentality policies in Aotearoa New Zealand. Drawing on Foucault's 'toolkit', this genealogical policy chronology traces the transformation of curriculum and assessment into a specific political rationality, unsupported by national standards (NS) or testing. Its inscription into students and teachers through technical-managerial and business-market discourses, sought to remake them as enterprising, industrious and governable within an Enterprise Culture. The paper traces the microphysics of the institution of this rationality, through the fusion of curriculum, assessment and economic policy, and the imposition of a NS accountability framework onto curriculum. Learning discourses encouraged teachers to locally breakdown objectives and activate them as NS to initiate governance by outcomes, targets and results. Reinforcing market relations, this installed the basis of performativity and measurement. By 1995, the failure to attain reliable, comparable data, calculate productivity gains and leverage standards, resulted in the government's review and audit agency declaring standards non-existent and the framework unworkable. This paper demonstrates the centrality of curriculum assessment, even with ostensibly failing purposes, to the construction of malleable human capital and the embedding of a calculative governmentality for future population knowledge, management and control.

Keywords: governmentality; rationality; economisation; curriculum assessment; standards; education policy

Introduction

New Zealand was recognised as a leading global laboratory after its 1935 introduction of Keynesian Welfarism and the subsequent 'revolutionary' (Walsh and Boston 1991, ix) installation of 'pure' economic neoliberalism in 1984 (Kelsey 1995, 1). The Tomorrow's Schools restructuring of educational administration in 1989 by a social-democratic Labour Government (1984–1989) was widely analysed as the most radical of any undertaken in an industrialised nation (Fiske and Ladd 2000, 3). The influences of neoliberal globalisation (Kelsey 2002) were extended by the fourth National Government (1990–1999) into a 'second wave' (Codd 2001) of structural change in curriculum, assessment and qualifications. However, the political and

*Email: a.m.oneill@clear.net.nz

economic antecedents of this 'second wave' of change have not been subject to the same degree of critical scrutiny as the Tomorrow's Schools reforms.

This paper offers a critical examination of these changes in the light of the recent introduction by a fifth National Coalition Government (2008) of National Standards (NS)¹ for curriculum achievement in reading, writing and mathematics in primary schools. As a genealogical policy chronology, it provides a national case study of a well-known neoliberalising context, and its rapid uptake of a globalised national assessment regime (Blackmore 1999; Kellaghan and Greaney 2001), as installed in similar social and economic jurisdictions (Rose 1996, 150). In demonstrating how this 'occur[s] in vernacular ways mediated by local histories, politics and cultures' (Lingard 2010, 131), it traces New Zealand's transformation of curriculum and assessment into a specific form of public reason or political rationality. The paper examines the techniques and tactics through which this is inscribed into students and teachers as consumer-producers, to remake them as enterprising, industrious, docile and governable subjects. New Zealand borrowed policy from England but with major differences between the two contexts, the paper does not explore this complex relationship (Olssen, Codd, and O'Neill 2004, 176–178).

The paper begins by introducing selected aspects of Foucault's (1980, 145) 'toolkit' that can be used to interrogate how policy texts function as instruments of governmentality. Rather than some kind of global or systemic theory that holds everything in place, Foucault analysed specific mechanisms of power through a 'toolkit' of theoretical instruments.

As part of an examination of the 'fictions of the present' (Macintosh 2009, 2), the second section analyses the emergence of the antecedents of NS. It traces these as 'episodes in a series of subjugations' (Foucault 1995, 178) that were integral to the installation and activation of a NS reporting framework between 1989 and 1995. This discussion begins by backgrounding the reform context, and then traces the microphysics of the discursive changes that occurred as the result of an official enquiry into assessment (Project AbeL) (Department of Education 1989). By reorienting school assessment towards the extrinsic goals of international competitiveness and the production of human capital, its nature and purposes were fused with those of the economy. This enquiry also introduced the policy technologies of market-efficiency, business-managerialism and performativity to institute reform and enable the steering of curriculum and assessment from a distance (Ball 2003, 216). The analysis traces the discourses and technologies through which, by 1990, teachers were constructed as technicians engaged in an instrumental process for extrinsic ends. It shows how the Treasury's strengthening of curriculum and assessment as a NS reporting framework of managerial accountabilities, further reframed teachers as technical employees in a managed workplace. In 1991, the National Government formally subsumed the curriculum into its economic policy, thereby locating it at the centre of the discursive reconstruction of an Enterprise Culture.

Thirdly, the paper examines the institution of the New Zealand Curriculum Framework (NZCF) as a disciplinary mechanism. Designed to appeal to teachers through social, professional discourses of learning and local implementation, teachers were required to implement poorly designed Achievement Objectives (AOs) as national curriculum standards. Governance by objectives, targets and results was part of the installation and reinforcement of market relations in schools and the foundations of performative (Ball 2003) and measurement cultures (Biesta 2010). The discussion also examines how the Education Review Office (ERO), the government's

review and audit agency, exerted intense pressure on schools to activate the AOs as NS and to calculate productivity gains. As part of the initiation of a competitive market between schools, the ERO aggressively sought the production of reliable data to initiate and embed the foundations of a calculative governmentality (Rose and Miller 1992). By 1995, as it had come to dominate the policy ‘field of judgement’ (Ball 2003), the ERO claimed that curriculum standards did not exist and that the Curriculum Framework was unworkable.

The following first section unpacks the theoretical concepts employed in this paper in order to trace the above and the implementation of governmentality through curriculum and assessment.

Theoretical framing: Foucault’s ‘toolkit’

Policy as discourse

Official policies are historical embodiments of structural relations at the time of production and as such, are ‘ensembles in and through which meaning is socially produced’ (Ball 1990, 3). As textual artefacts of highly politicised forms of public speech, policies authorise values, knowledge and resources. In education, they construct ambiguous stories through which teachers make sense of what they are officially required to do, and what they actually do. Foucault’s approach to understanding links between discourse, power and knowledge – his theoretical ‘toolkit’ (Foucault 1980, 145) – enables a critical rereading to confront what policies ‘take for granted or want to achieve with us’ (Simons, Olssen, and Peters 2009, xii). Policy is both text and discourse: as language, practices, knowledge and social relations, discourses cohere in discursive formations of shared ideas. These sanction some ways of speaking and knowing while excluding others. Policies also confusingly contain discordant and contradictory discourses to speak to as many groups as possible. Individuals discursively ‘make’ their subjectivity by taking up, rejecting or subverting the subject positions ‘offered’ to them, engaging in practices and becoming enmeshed in power relations (Ball 1990, 2). Thus, policy texts are permeated by relational and circulatory power and individuals are both an effect of power and an element of its articulation (Foucault 1980, 72). In this way, discourses partially inscribed in texts, facilitate inter-subjective power between texts and recipients (Luke 1995, 19).

For Foucault, individual or group power was closely aligned to discursive configurations of truth. In education, a plethora of discourses govern teachers, but truth discourses, such as curriculum, assessment, learning or pedagogic regimes, are ‘bearers of specific effects of power’ and objects of official power. They delimit and normalise forms of public speech and determine what is ignored or subjugated (e.g. marginalised knowledges or groups) in the making of truth (Foucault 1980, 93–94). They either endorse material/power relations, or seek their transformation. As this paper demonstrates, genealogical analyses enable the exploration of how government, via official texts as truth discourses, embodies forms of reason or political rationality and modes of power and control and becomes inscribed into individual subjects (Olssen, Codd, and O’Neill 2004, 24–31).

Governmentality

By the late 1970s, Foucault became interested in the macro-level of power. In his lectures at the Collège de France in 1978, he traced changes in the concerns and

actions of government: its dominant forms of rationality or 'how it knows what it must do'. The focus of his exploration moved from issues of territorial security in the sixteenth century, to the administration of territory in the seventeenth and eighteenth, through to the conduct, control and categorisation of populations in the nineteenth and twentieth century's (Foucault 1991b, 87–104). This work explained how liberalism drew on two modalities of power as a prescription for rule and a form of state reason, with contract theory as its theoretical matrix. First, it uses a pastoral form which constitutes people in malleable forms of individuality to enhance their productive utility and governance. This enables individuals to be singularly known and calculated within a population. Second, a totalising form manages, steers, 'knows' and calculates 'living' populations through biopolitics (Foucault 2008, 242–248). Biopower orders and regulates the population to improve its individual and collective welfare. It disciplines and optimises the body for integration into systems of efficient, economic control and further calculates (and controls) population welfare through everyday know-how including social accounting, demography, statistics, mathematical evaluations and actuarialism. With its basis in our ordinary routines, biopower is a primary mode of governmental control. Biopolitical data enable risk management, resource targeting, international comparisons and importantly for New Zealand in the 1990s, security for the investment and trade it sought as a globalised economy.

This chronology traces the discursive institution of a specific form of governmental rationality, 'the reason that we use' (Foucault 1984b, 249), which prioritises the introduction of economy (the correct manner of managing individuals, goods and wealth).² Through a new curriculum and assessment, pastoral power as a form of busno-power was exerted onto the minds and cognition of students and teachers, reorienting their motivations and practices towards fiscal, actuarial, business-enterprise concerns. This was informed by a busnocratic rationality which individuals reinforced and perpetuated within education and beyond. As the paper traces, the institution of technical-managerial and business-corporate discourses (Peters and Marshall 1996, 91–95) in the first half of the 1990s, ensured the installation of this rationality through curriculum and assessment in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Genealogy

Foucault's approach to research was one of 'disruption' and 'deconstruction', evident in his genealogical histories inspired by Nietzsche and Kant. His genealogy rejects narratives of progress and alternatives, a 'general analytics of truth' and forms of policy or political advocacy as dominant historical and political approaches (Brown 1998, 34). A genealogical approach examines the past and present as episodic, emergent and discontinuous. It denaturalises the present through diagnosis to provide an ontology or 'history of the present' (Foucault 1995, 31). In rejecting searches for the origins of 'truth', or for absolutes, essentialised and psychologised subjects and simplistic binaries, genealogy favours the examination of 'moments of intensity, its lapses, its periods of feverish agitation, its fainting spells' (Foucault 1984a, 80). It:

... promises dirty histories, histories of power and subjection, histories of bids for hegemony waged, won and vanished, the 'endlessly repeated play of dominations' rather than reason, meaning or higher purpose (Foucault 1984, 85 cited in Brown 1998, 37).

Thus, the historical emergence and descent of discursive shifts, (e.g. measuring learning as economic productivity), can be identified and traced by locating its core elements or events: its jolts, surprises, unsteady victories and unpalatable defeats – its power/knowledge connections – within the social context (Foucault 1984a, 77–80). As in this genealogy, it can trace and interrogate the internal logics and dynamics by which fields of unified, scientific, global and truth discourses (e.g. assessment) function (Varela 2001, 111). It can reveal the effects of changes, discursive overlaps and mediations and the ‘shades and nuances’ of disequilibria of power and domination, as well as the circumventions and amendments in failures of governance. Genealogy critiques and analyses forms of rationalisation in specific domains ‘which leads back to a fundamental experience: madness, disease, death, crime, sexuality etc,’ rather than rationalisation in general (Foucault 1984c). Its aim is to link the microphysics of analysis with macro-levels of power to accentuate the imbrications between power, knowledge and subjectification (Olssen 2006, 183). Hence, education as a panoptic laboratory for the application of new procedures, technologies and rationalities as occurred in New Zealand, can be interrogated. Relations among games of truth, practices of power and forms of subjectivisation can be more effectively understood (Foucault 1994).

The second section below begins the genealogical chronology by backgrounding New Zealand’s education reform context. Following what Foucault called a ‘patently documentary’ process, it rereads a ‘field of tangled and confused parchments’ of curriculum and assessment policies, pedagogical texts, reports, enquiries, pamphlets, reviews and academic texts that have been ‘scratched over and recopied many times’ (Foucault 1984a, 76). It traces the installation of the specific mechanisms, technologies and techniques through which governmental power/knowledge, isolated, revealed and normalised subjects in the 1990s.

Neoliberalising curriculum and assessment: instituting a managed, market-accountability

1989: Tomorrow’s Schools – administrative reform

As Court and O’Neill (2011, 125) argue, it would be easy to attribute the breadth and success of education change to the influential New Right coalition who partially orchestrated it in Aotearoa New Zealand. However, their analysis of the cracks and fissures appearing in the normative, Keynesian settlement, reveals some precursors of market-managerialism. Standards discourses and concerns over professionalism were evident from the early 1970s (126). For example, teacher-driven, criterion-based assessment and learning were promoted as a professional antidote to the norm-referenced examinations and transference pedagogies marginalising many learners (Department of Education 1976). Two years into their first term, high levels of student failure and concerns over teaching, prompted the reforming Labour Government (1984–1989) to investigate this through a Parliamentary Education and Science Select Committee. Its *Report of the Inquiry into the Quality of Teaching*, aligned discourses of ‘teaching quality’ with professional and public accountability. It argued that teachers, who ‘needed to come from broader backgrounds and have a wider repertoire of skills’, should be publically accountable for their own and student outcomes. The Select Committee recommended that teachers should be assessed against performance *and* national curriculum standards, with consumers

and providers determining the standards (Education and Science Select Committee 1986, 16–42).

After its re-election at the end of 1987, the Labour Government extended the corporatisation of 'core' public services and the building of a competitive market state (Cerny 2005), into education. The Treasury's *Government Management: Brief to the Incoming Government* (The Treasury 1987) detailed the radical reorganisation of educational administration within a New Zealand version of New Public Management (NZNPM). Based on public choice, principal/agency relations and transaction cost economics, this conceptualised individuals as 'self-interested maximisers' in an economic market. It was argued that as a private good, education was best provided through a competitive market and corporate management, to improve its efficiency, effectiveness and accountability (Court 2004, 173–175).

Subsequently, *The Picot Report* (Taskforce to Review Educational Administration 1988) suggested that the heavily bureaucratic and inefficiently managed system required restructuring in line with NZNPM 'market accountability' (174). The Department of Education was separated into policy, implementation and regulatory agencies under the Education Act 1989, and state schools became self-managing 'enterprises' competing for parent clients under Tomorrow's Schools. Community Boards of Trustees were to be elected to assume responsibility for budget, employment, administration and performance. A school charter or contract was introduced as an operational partnership between the community, school and state. Community/schools would determine 'the knowledge, skills ... and the standards to be achieved within the national guidelines' (Lange 1988, 4). National monitoring by the Review and Audit Agency, renamed the Education Review Office, would oversee adherence to charters and goals.

While *The Picot Report* invoked a 'seemingly casual mix' of social democratic and neoliberal market-efficiency and business-managerial discourses, the latter two were given an immediate ascendancy within the Tomorrow's Schools document and the Education Act 1989 (Court and O'Neill 2011, 125). As the paper demonstrates, managerial technologies enabled the reregulation (Ball 2003, 251) of central control, through the 'steerage' of required forms of practice and performance. Curriculum and assessment policies provided a quasi-privatised space (Blackmore 1999, 40), for the reconstitution of professionalism, knowledge and assessment as stronger technologies of control. As the genealogy traces, an enquiry into assessment vitally strengthened the discursive basis of this reconstitution. Convened in 1989, in the wake of Tomorrow's Schools, as the unpopular Labour Government (1984–1989) neared the end of its tenure, Project AbeL's final report was published under a reforming National Government. It fully embraced NZNPM and facilitated the 'dramatic' entry of officially regulated market-managerial and performativity frameworks into curriculum and assessment governmentality policies.

1989–1990 – Project AbeL

1989: Assessment for Better Learning – accountability through social professionalism

The Ministerial Working Party on school assessment, Project AbeL was Chaired by a university professor and contained seven prominent educationalists including two assessment specialists. Its Terms of Reference (ToR) were to recommend methodologies:

- For monitoring the effectiveness of the school system on student learning;
- to assess the effectiveness of individual schools in relation to students' achievements;
- to recommend ways to report on both; and
- on how assessment could account for our dual cultural heritage (Department of Education 1989, 5).

Its *Assessment for Better Learning: A Public Discussion Document* was to outline:

- The main issues of assessment for learning; and
- a range of models and procedures for assessment (5).

Project AbeL understood its main purpose was to 'help ensure the best possible educational development of students in Tomorrow's Schools' (6). The ToR define:

Effectiveness is the level of success achieved in meeting goals and objectives. This is different from *efficiency*, which has more of an economic meaning, measuring inputs and costs, as well as outputs'. (5)

For Project AbeL 'effectiveness' is applied as an instrumental value related to the quality of the processes through which schools and the system ensure educational achievement. It does not concern questions of overarching desirability or ultimate, value and purpose. As Biesta, (2010, 14) notes, its rise is linked to the discursive prioritisation of 'learning'. Both deflect attention away from the external purposes that effectiveness serves in a market context.

In Foucauldian governmentality terms, Project AbeL 'problematized' assessment in relation to accountability, economic productivity, and culture. It sought to generate a consensus that 'something needed to be done' and to create the conditions for intervention (Foucault 1984c, 389–390). In his Foreword, the Chairperson of AbeL summarised the major discursive tension underlying this, and the tenor of its solution:

There is a strong consensus among almost all the educators ... and those ... who have made submissions. ... Assessment for judgemental and comparative purposes can be very damaging ... [but] as an integral part of the learning cycle, it can have very positive influences on the quality of learning ... there ... is a perspective ... that sees assessment as part of the process of accountability for the investment in education ... the working party has tried to achieve a balance of these. (Department of Education 1989, 4)

AbeL endorsed an achievement-based curricula and its close relationship between 'content, pedagogy, and assessment as ensuring learning improvements' (8–9, 32). Reflecting the initial partnership focus of Tomorrow's Schools, it saw primary assessment as implementing charter objectives and curriculum goals interpreted from national syllabi (19), the precursor of curriculum objectives and standards. Rather than comparison (8), teachers would use multiple, culturally appropriate (10) methods to attain a 'rigorous collection of evidence of learning' (20), including folios of work. AbeL did not reference assessment in relation to a changing economy and it cautioned against a key feature of New Zealand's structural reforms: the non-recognition of systemic and contextual differences in global policy borrowing (7).

In a section on 'Main Issues', Project AbeL acknowledged the discursive pressures for systemic accountability and economic calculation, which it argued should be aligned to biculturalism and assessment principles. Of the primacy of numbers or

grades and their pretence to objectivity (as well as determinist theories of IQ and social class which ignored 'subjectivity and human uniqueness') (9), AbeL argued that such categorising:

... cannot be thought of as anything more than rough estimates of the things they seek to measure. All assessments ... include subjective judgements ... [are] ... liable to bias and error... marks or grades hide more than they reveal about learning. ... students' actual strengths or weaknesses ... achievement is more meaningfully described in words. We have no ruler for human thought and must accept the limits forced on us by this fact. (9)

In relation to a number of accountabilities such as equity of outcomes (10–11), 'in-school' review (21), school-based participation in curriculum and assessment (28) and charter partnerships (9, 19), Project AbeL suggested these could be satisfied through input-driven processes. Of biculturalism in education, it saw Māori as a 'disadvantaged group', 'moving to self-determination', who viewed learning as 'life-long, collaborative and collective'. Concepts of 'culture, values, inclusion/exclusion, child-centredness, partnership and responsiveness' were linked to understanding 'whether ... current methods contribute to ... disadvantage'. Māori had the right 'to define their own learning needs' and for them, 'there were no standards which all students must reach at the same time' (10–12). This discursively positioned Māori as deserving of successful learning, within a problematic system capable of internal change. While accepting the need for public accountability, the *Discussion Document* endorsed the retention of normative, social-professional and communitarian-learning discourses through which to achieve this.

As the Chairperson's previous comments made clear, AbeL sought a 'balance between educational principles and public demands' (8), regarding this as a matter of how assessment was used (10–11). This precept informed its 10 Principles for Assessment which 'must underpin future practices in New Zealand' (19). These maintained:

1. The interests of the students shall be paramount ...
3. ... information should not be used for judgemental or political purposes ... if ... likely to cause harm to students ... teachers or schools ...
9. Emphasis[e] progress and growth, rather than ... comparisons of individuals or schools.
10. The choices made in reporting assessment ... largely determine the benefit or harm resulting. (19)

The examination: instituting discipline

In a discussion on the applicability of assessment models in Australia, England and Wales, the United States and Scotland (13–18), the comparative uses of 'value added' calculations were acknowledged but these were 'inadequate for assessing teacher effectiveness by measuring student learning outcomes' (16, 37). These models encouraged competition were costly and offered minimal benefits. Likewise, 'Economic Models' applied 'inadequate' business input/output calculations to education (18). Surprisingly, an 'unexpected force' burst onto AbeL's 'center stage' (Foucault 1984a, 84). It suggested the introduction of Standardised Assessment Tasks (SATs) to 'provide additional information' on learning (Department of Education 1989, 20, 29).

Applied at Years 2, 6 and 8, SATs would be ‘selected and used flexibly ... appropriate to individual students ... [as] part of the total information gathered’. They would stop students ‘slipping through the cracks’ (20) and would be strengthened by national monitoring to ‘foster public accountability’ (19, 40).

Suggestions for testing or checkpoints were not new in New Zealand, having arisen in 1962 and 1974 according to AbeL (6). For example, the 1962 Commission on Education in New Zealand suggested that as a ‘seriously deficient workforce, primary teachers needed cultivating, broadening and strengthening’ (Department of Education 1962, 14–16), through professional ‘inputs and monitoring’ to ‘enhance their economic productivity’ (8, 58–59). National testing at three ‘checkpoints’ (258–264) would provide this and ‘re-emphasise intellectual purpose and allay public disquiet over standards and teachers’ (25–37). The Commission applied the first public policy link between education, teachers, educational standards and economic efficiency within Keynesian welfare discourses in Aotearoa New Zealand. For Project AbeL, however, SATs were legitimated not by discourses of professional deficit and technicist-economic efficiency, but by professionalism, to ‘enhance individual learning purposes and teachers’ professional knowledge of students for learning’. As a population, SATs would prevent students being lost from the system (20).

Project AbeL signalled the research-based implications and potential for harm in competitive performativity such as national testing, throughout its *Discussion Document* (4, 9, 19, 34). In the wake of Tomorrow’s Schools, the Working Party would have understood the extrinsic uses of testing results by parents exercising choice and shopping for schools, schools seeking market expansion and media comparisons. As ‘externally designed reference points’ (20) for governing at a distance, SATs were the apex of disciplinary power and would have changed the norm by instituting a performative culture (Ball 2003) and functional measurement (Biesta 2010) in primary schools. The examination ‘gets going and keeps going’ by combining ‘the techniques of a disciplinary hierarchy with those of a normalising judgement ... to render individuals visible or ‘objectified’ for differentiation, judgement or classification’ (Foucault 1995, 187). The disciplines of biopower embed within knowledge and learning, the standards to be attained, to enable the state to both distinguish and ‘know’ individual subjects/bodies as ‘cases’ while simultaneously calculating and administering them as a population (Foucault 1991a). Of minimal educational benefit, end of primary school tests would filter students for secondary school, enabling the statistical monitoring and evaluation of the primary sector and its finished product. This application of mathematical calculations to individuals is not only a categorising tool, however, but also a modulating process. It changes information into something else that is communicable and able to be subjected to further administration (Graham and Neu 2004, 299).

As a tool of government, testing requires self-management by students and teachers who are compliant, ambitious and productive. As a panoptic mechanism (Foucault 1995), examinations generalise an actuarial or calculative rationality throughout schools and communities, revealing and assessing all involved. Disciplinary power is both:

... absolutely ‘indiscreet’, ... everywhere and always alert, ... leaves no zone of shade and constantly supervises the very individuals ... entrusted with ... supervising; and absolutely ‘discreet’, for it functions permanently and largely in silence. (1995, 177)

At a time of increasing opposition to the Labour Government's non-democratic strategy of 'there is no alternative', and an increasing realisation of the economic purposes of change, the appointment of educationalists to Project AbeL to devise professionally unpopular changes, was an astute governmental tactic. While normative, professional discourses gave the Working Party's proposals professional legitimacy, the Treasury argued that the Working Party had not:

... sufficiently worked through the accountability relationships ... likely to apply in the new administrative structure. ...[it undertook] a concentration on individual student assessment with ... less attention to the assessment of schools and of national systems ... the focus of terms of reference. (The Treasury 1990, 4)

In its 1987, *Brief to the Incoming Government, Educational Issues*, the Treasury advocated the need 'to evaluate the success or otherwise' of state provision, including the systemic measurement of efficiencies (278–279). It proposed managerial and economic methodologies (e.g. targets, incentives, sanctions and performance monitoring) to enable national-level biopolitical accountability and management (293).

1990: Tomorrow's Standards – economising, managerialising and marketising assessment

In his letter of introduction to the Ministerial Working Party's final Report, the Minister of Education argued for clearer links between standards, assessment and the judgement of systemic effectiveness (Goff 1990 cited in O'Neill 2010, 3). In a dramatic eruption and 'leap from the wings to centre stage' (Foucault 1984a, 84), *Tomorrow's Standards* fully reoriented assessment towards external accountabilities. Despite the ToR making no mention of standards or underachievement, the final Report opened with a section on 'The Need for High Educational Standards', referenced to the 'new' economy. It claimed 'affluent, Asian trading partners, an expanding service sector and the loss of manual occupations' had 'major implications for employment, and therefore for curriculum and assessment' (Ministry of Education 1990, 12). Drawing on comparative national and international data, high numbers of non-qualified school leavers, particularly Māori, required 'upgrading' in basic educational, managerial, problem-solving and creativity 'skills'. It warned:

Assessment policies and methods which constrain the development of these abilities ... will be increasingly damaging. Methods which facilitate their development will contribute to resolving problems of low retention rates, under-achievement, and ill-preparedness for the new and changing economy. (12)

The realignment of the purposes of assessment and evaluation towards human capital production and international economic competitiveness was evident in its refocused main sections:

- Standards (Ministry of Education 1990, 12–17);
- national monitoring (18–23);
- school effectiveness (24–32);
- assessment of students (33–49);
- Māori and dual cultural heritage (50–59);
- assessing teachers for appraisal and professional development (60–61);
- the training of teachers in assessment techniques (62–64).

Through national systemic monitoring, ‘objective national evidence’ would enable the public to make ‘informed judgements about standards’ (15). A ‘quality school’ required the ‘interweaving of good management, curricula, good teaching, community involvement and assessment’ (24). Accordingly, it recommended ‘managerial tools’, the measurement of performance against input and output indicators and targets (e.g. from staff absences, test scores and parental ranking of school choice to external professional involvement in the school) and the use of objectives, displays, cultural indicators and ‘value-added’ methods for public accountability (24–31) and institutional performance appraisal (9–11). Numerical results would assess school effectiveness and ensure accountability (26–28). Noting ‘the pressures it came under to devise value added methodologies for measuring school effect’, the Working Party reiterated their belief that the complexity and unreliability of such methods made them ‘unsuitable for reporting or ranking’ (31). Importantly, the need to minimise the ‘political purposes’ and ‘harm’ in using market information was removed from Project Abel’s list of Principles of Assessment (7–8). Instead of a ‘battery of national tests’, ‘cross-curriculum tasks would assess achievement against well-described levels of performance’ (Ministry of Education 1990, 37) thus generalising and normalising continual assessment. The use of low trust management, measurement and specified performance techniques indicated its externally driven and instrumental-technicist approach to assessment as a public performance. This was most evident in:

- Learning goals divorced from curriculum that left their social values or ends unscrutinised (33);
- the emphasis on teachers as data experts and technicians requiring ‘training’ (33–34, 61–3); and
- an uncritical focus on achievement-based methodologies, measurement and reporting, over questions of purpose and value.

This overarching ‘social efficiency’ orientation of *Tomorrow’s Standards* (Willis 1992, 211–213), emanated in factory management in the early twentieth century. With its antecedents in time and motion methods, standardisation and mathematical calculation, it sought to minutely prescribe and control workers’ bodies and productivity (Callahan 1965, 28–32). As modern strategies of finance and audit, technical accountabilities specify and measure performances and facilitate the visibility and surveillance of workers. In a devolved education system, such as New Zealand’s, competitive public assessment would designate, rank and record individual students. Moreover, it would supposedly quantify and designate the effectiveness and productivity, or quality and worth of teachers (e.g. performance pay) and schools for market choice and comparison. Public responses act as a mode of reward or sanction further instrumentalising pressures for control or change (Ball 2003, 215–220).

While clearly descending in influence and deemphasised in the Report, social-learning discourses continued to legitimate change to teachers in *Tomorrow’s Standards*. For example, it emphasised the educational importance of assessment for learning (7–8), school self-review (24) and fairness (8, 17). Of the complexities of Māori disadvantage, systemic and teacher racism, the Report sought further investigation into the effects of assessment and testing on Māori (50–61). As a marginalised and failing group, it subjugated Māori knowledge as ‘beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity ... [to] filter, hierarchise and order them’ (Foucault

1980, 32, 131). In response, AbeL proposed input-driven changes such as more Māori teachers, better training, a wider understanding of racism and the raising of teacher expectations (Ministry of Education 1990, 54–55). However, indicative of its overall thrust, its main response was to institute national- and school-level performance indicators ‘to show something needs to be done’ in reporting to Māori and agencies (58–59). Dividing technologies (Foucault 1980), would specify, quarantine and survey Māori, strengthen their individualisation and productive utility through enhanced discipline, not for changes in practice, but further problematisation.

Tomorrow's Standards reflected the discursive hybridity of Tomorrow's Schools, while further reinforcing the ascendancy of neoliberal market-efficiency and business-managerialism over social democratic discourse. It did this through the installation of the policy technologies of market-efficiency, business-managerialism and performativity to centrally steer practice (Ball 2003, 216). This oriented assessment towards the purposes of consumer choice, competitive market demands, reporting and the calculation of outputs and efficiencies (Biesta 2010, 52). Thus, the methods, ethical and value systems of curriculum and assessment, were realigned with those of the private business sector. Market-efficiency and business-managerialism were also the discursive mainstay of a busnocratic rationality. Performance against standards and measurement would enable the exertion of busno-power onto the minds of students' and teachers', orienting them towards future calculability and the collation of evidence of their learning, efficiency and market worth. This is how *Tomorrow's Standards* as a truth discourse and ‘an instrument and an effect of power’ (Foucault 1980), ‘dramatically’ reoriented assessment towards external efficiencies, economising both its nature and purpose (Lingard 2010).

1990: Today's Schools – curriculum and assessment as management accountability

The Ministerial Working Party's final Report and its recommendations must be read in tandem with those of a highly influential Treasury-driven review of educational administrative reform. Recommended by the *Picot Report* (Taskforce to Review Educational Administration 1988, 42–43), *Today's Schools: A Review of the Education Reform Implementation Process* (The Lough Report) was established in October 1989, the same month as Tomorrow's Schools was initiated, to report six months later. It argued that:

Only when the elements of effective administration and management are present will the benefits of the reforms be realised in higher quality educational outcomes. (Lough 1990, 16)

It sought to rectify:

- A lack of educational policy guidelines;
- the absence of detailed operational objectives and plans in schools; and
- the absence of a national reporting system. (17)

Today's Schools strengthened school charters as management and performative mechanisms by importantly recommending school-enterprises devise separate personnel, property, finance and educational plans. The latter would annually identify ‘output and improvement levels, teaching processes, and quality control

mechanisms' (7). Rather than locally derived foci, these would be drawn from National Education Guidelines containing:

- National Educational Goals (NEGs);
- National Administrative Guidelines (NAGs); and
- A revised national curriculum.

This recommendation vitally transformed the curriculum and its assessment into a 'rigorous management and reporting framework of curriculum AOs as NS' (21). It strengthened Principals as Chief Executive Officers, and 'human resource, market and risk managers' (24). By 1990, the application of NZNPM throughout the state sector had entrenched managerialism as a truth discourse (Foucault 1980) and *Today's Schools* was part of the Picot Report's planned strengthening of managerial steering in self-managing schools. Emphasising education's role as a production system and culture, managerial technologies organise and control both individual and systemic functioning. Management institutes transparent and streamlined structures, lines of accountability, funding flows and measures of value attained from investments (Fitzsimons 2011, 103).

At management's core, its 'social efficiency' and scientific antecedents lie a technical-scientific rationality that prioritises scientific reason, positions humans as rational, investment capital and work as economic. It is this rationality that lies at the centre of management's discursive hegemony as scientific, objective, demystifying and fair. As malleable production units, teachers were assumed to be engaged in a technical, contractually stipulated and monitored labour process. Specified technologies such as targets and the adoption of preferred pedagogies would ensure the achievement of specified outputs (e.g. increased Māori mathematics scores). Further to this, managerialism is a laboratory for the induction of individuals into self-governance and 'training' in required forms of subjectivity and productivity (Foucault 1995, 204). To successfully undertake its performative demands, individuals must think 'differently' about themselves, internalising and naturalising the dispositions and behaviours of productive performance (Foucault 1994, 146). Generalising panoptic power in schools, managerialism subjects all in its wake, including parents and communities to the 'trap' of visibility (Foucault 1995, 200–205).

NZNPM, as interpreted by the Treasury, conceptualised public education as an interposition between customer and provider and in need of accountability systems because of its severing of the market relation. Furthermore, teachers were untrustworthy and unreliable, having captured the system for their own ends (The Treasury 1987, 36–37). Parental choice and market competition as 'the genesis of the market version of accountability', were thought to offer a natural control over systemic power and teacher provider capture, while facilitating individual freedom (Court 2004, 174). As part of the school management structure, curriculum as a NS accountability framework would facilitate market competition and performativity so that:

Comparisons can be made between students, schools and ... countries.

Comparisons over time can be made for individual students and individual schools, and for the New Zealand education system. (Lough 1990, 21)

The application of managerialism and market competition to curriculum and assessment as collective modes of power and population management was not new in New Zealand. NS examinations regulated teachers in public primary education and published results in newspapers from its inception in 1878 to 1936. *Tomorrow's Standards* rendered teachers as technicians enacting an instrumental process for extrinsic ends. *Today's Schools* fully reframed them as technical employees in a managed workplace subject to market disciplines. Indicative of the totalising nature of governmentality, Project AbeL and *Today's Schools* fully transformed curriculum knowledge and assessment into economic/managerial accountabilities, three years before its introduction in 1993.

In hindsight, an Assessment Secretariat within the Ministry of Education implemented Project AbeL's recommendations and was the basis of professional development in primary schools from 1992 until the late 2000s (Young 2009, 72). *Today's Schools*, initiated the revision of the National Educational Guidelines and Goals in 1993, prioritising national, rather than local educational goals. Quantifiable increases in learning outcomes and standards of achievement were prioritised. The ERO's methodology of school review, modelled on commercial assurance audits and effectiveness reviews, was standardised to narrowly target national priorities (Smith 1992, 4–5).

The following third section of the genealogy traces the 1990s curriculum assessment reforms as governmentality policies of a new reforming National Government. It examines the implementation of a standards-based framework and official attempts to activate it as a disciplinary regime and market mechanism.

1990–1995: Instituting and activating standards, performance and measurement

1990: 'The decent society' – enterprising curriculum

At the end of 1989, the Labour Government lost the election to the populist, centre right National Party (1990–1999) on 'The Decent Society' platform. In its advice to the incoming government, the Treasury promoted neoliberal globalisation as an inexorable force, requiring enhanced international competitiveness and domestic efficiencies (The Treasury 1990, 1–5). Voluntarily embarking on further extreme structural adjustment, National's 1991 'Mother of all Budgets' introduced its Economic and Social Initiative (ESI). This disestablished universal welfare, deregulated the labour market and introduced extreme fiscal austerities. Following industrial action over restructuring, salaries and underfunding, the Budget abolished school enrolment zones, deregistered teachers and introduced bulk funding, rationalisation, curriculum and qualifications change (Kelsey 1995).

As part of the Budget, a national Enterprise Strategy would redress a perceived 'culture of dependency and economic underperformance', directly attributable to public education and welfare (National Government 1991, 20–26). The Minister of Education realigned the school curriculum's 'excessive focus on social issues and poor preparation for the competitive world' to establish 'educational achievement, as investments in economic development' (Smith 1991, 1). These investments 'would up-skill business and industry' through 'a new culture of enterprise and competition in the curriculum'. Under the new government, the curriculum would be placed at the core of 'personal and national economic transformation' (1–8).

Enterprise in New Zealand as in England generalised cultural reconstruction across all institutions, relations and subjects. Modelled on market/corporate values and practices, it prioritised individual, economic, entrepreneurial and competitive discourses over welfare-collective discourses, with a view to dismantling the latter. This economic-business focus aligned with the previously installed social efficiency and managerial basis of curriculum and assessment, to institute a busnocratic rationality (Peters and Marshall 1996, 91–95). An Achievement Initiative (AI) as part of the ESI outlined the forthcoming curriculum and assessment. It emphasised:

- The ‘basic’ subjects of English, mathematics, science and technology;
- the AOs as clear standards for all curriculum levels with assessment exemplars to ‘assist appropriate teacher judgements’; and
- the intensification of diagnostic assessment to monitor progress against the Objectives, combined with national testing. (Ministry of Education 1991a, 1)

A ‘basics-enterprise’, standards-based curriculum would steer knowledge learning and teachers’ judgements towards increases in standards, the production of preferred human capital and cultural reconstruction. Like England (Alexander 2009), Scotland (Hutchinson and Hayward 2005), Canada (McEwen 1995), the United States (Darling-Hammond 2010), most of Latin America (Benveniste 2002) and much of Europe, Asia and Africa (Kellaghan and Greaney 2001), New Zealand’s ‘second wave’ curriculum change prioritised assessment and achievement evaluation. Unlike in most of the above contexts, it was not empowered by high-stakes national testing in primary schools.

1993: Instituting standards, discipline and measurement

The publication of a *Draft National Curriculum of New Zealand* (Ministry of Education 1991b) and its final iteration, *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (NZCF) (Ministry of Education 1993), was a response to previous calls for a unified, national criterion-based frame of goals, skills and knowledge (Department of Education 1976). It also reflected the structure of a curriculum developed by the Labour Government in 1988 (Department of Education 1988) and that of England and Wales (Gordon and Whitty 1997, 454).

Based on the AI, the NZCF contained seven essential learning areas (for development), nine principles and eight groups of 57 essential skills, attitudes and values. AOs in eight hierarchical levels identified ‘a progression of standards of learning ... against which progress was to be measured’. In her Foreword, the Secretary for Education maintained students would be enabled ‘to attain high standards and develop appropriate personal qualities’ as a ‘highly skilled workforce with an international and multicultural perspective’. Nurturing global individuals for a globalised workforce, the NZCF offers a balance between the ‘requirements of society and the economy’ and participation in ‘New Zealand’s democratic society and a competitive world economy’ (Ministry of Education 1993, 1–3).

Rather than national testing, the NZCF suggested the development of standardised tasks for use at key transition points (i.e. entry, years 7 and 9). Cyclic national monitoring would build a national picture of students’ achievements over time, to objectively indicate the maintenance of NS (24–26). Closely integrated with content, assessment was mainly through school-based methods. As in Project AbeL, its

intensification was justified to teachers through professional-learning discourses, now combined with market-managerialism:

Assessment of individual students progress is essentially diagnostic. ... Its purpose is to improve teaching and learning by diagnosing learning strengths and weaknesses, measuring students' progress against the defined achievement objectives, and reviewing the effectiveness of teaching programmes. (24)

This approach to 'assessment for learning' intensified the use of assessment and conflated its two purposes under diagnosis, while prioritising summation for reporting (and the ERO). The NZCF suggested a feedback loop between assessment, measurement and programme effectiveness, with the latter measured through 'value added' calculations. This performative surveillance was highly confusing for teachers in New Zealand during the 1990s as it was elsewhere (Hutchinson and Hayward 2005). Imposed on teachers without their involvement, it was to be operationalised in ways they were unfamiliar with and for which schools were not resourced (Young 2009). Under Keynesianism, primary assessment had been localised and diverse, with standardised tests informing learning rather than national comparisons (Hill 2001, 36–39). As with curricula, teachers had been inducted into assessment policy changes through extensive involvement in local and national professional development (Hill 2009, 313).

Learning as a private good

Assessment as measurement of outcomes and productivity strengthened the economisation of the NZCF (Lingard 2010), which was partially deflected by its focus on learning. Indeed, the prioritisation of 'learning' in Project AbeL and the NZCF was a seductive discourse for teachers, speaking to them strongly of their previous professional input, individual growth, change and development. Under Keynesianism, progressivist discourses had emphasised 'whole child' learning experiences and individual differences from the 1940s onwards. Developmental psychology and normalised stages of development, informed age promotion so that primary teachers were familiar with mixed ability teaching. As a globalised discourse, learning reflects what Biesta (2010, 18–19) calls the rise of 'learnerfication'. Accompanying the decline of educational discourses (e.g. aims and purposes), and the erosion of welfarism, learning within a governmentality framework is a private good, instrumentally driven, calculative and actuarial rather than a purposive and relational activity. Learners are positioned as responsible for their own learning and teachers as learning managers of achievement increases (constantly assessing). The hierarchicalised, outcome-based NZCF was uninformed by contemporary learning or curriculum theory (Elley 2004) and epistemologically problematic (Neyland 2004). It specified, structured and standardised content into broad and narrow outcomes, and gradated students and teachers 'towards optimal ends'. As a disciplinary and biopolitical technique, standards did not exert the power of national testing, nevertheless, they offered an 'apparatus of uninterrupted examination ... along [the] ... entire length of ... teaching' which normalised, surveyed and hierarchialised individuals, to ensure that the more useful they become, 'the less resistant and more docile they would be' (Foucault 1995, 185–190).

Instituting pastoral power within a busnocratic rationality

Exposure to ongoing assessment, a business-enterprise curricula prioritising skills, information and production, pedagogy and data management (Peters and Marshall 1996, 91–95), exposed the minds and cognition of students' and teachers' to busno-power. Disciplinary self-management in relation to curriculum participation encouraged the development of possessive, competitive, calculative and acquisitive subjectivities oriented towards business-enterprise (Peters 2001, 67). Consistently applied at a self and population level, individuals were encouraged to remake their relationship with themselves as one of privatised investments in the creation of an 'entrepreneurial self'. Within the context of multiple markets – the NZNPM backdrop for living – busno-power prioritised and essentialised choice-making and enabled the penetration of the market into the heart of individual 'souls' and education, as part of a busnocratic political rationality. Exerted through a downwards governmental pressure into schools and homes, the NZCF and curriculum standards panoptically generalised a culture of instrumental, competitive performance into the community. A busnocratic rationality strengthened social forces to increase production, develops the economy and raises the level of public morality (Foucault 1995, 208) within an Enterprise Culture.

1993–1995: Activating NS and generalising discipline

The NZCF required established assessment methods to be built on and informed by 'best practice' (Ministry of Education 1993), which was not identified for schools (Young 2009). Official assessment discourses lacked clarity around purpose and procedures, with the two pivotal texts providing contradictory emphases. As the first published statement, *Mathematics in the New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education 1992b) was the national assessment exemplar for professional development (ERO 1995, 33). It emphasised learning and holistic approaches for:

... good diagnosis, ... [to] ... avoid the artificial intrusion on learning and teaching time ... associated with separate assessment sessions... Teachers should avoid carrying out only tests which focus on ... a narrow assessment regime which isolates discrete skills or knowledge. (Ministry of Education 1992b, 15)

Developed by curriculum writers with serious concerns about the effects of the outcomes structure on mathematics knowledge and learning, mathematics endorsed professional-learning discourses, to prioritise knowledge and avoid its atomisation through increased assessments (Neyland 2004). Subsequently, a *National Workshop on Professional Development in Educational Assessment* (Ministry of Education 1992a, 16–25) recommended its streamlining and strengthening through standardised education for teachers, a focus on the 'at risk' and the use of a shared sectorial vocabulary. It advocated for assessment guidelines to explain and standardise practice. This normalisation would homogenise knowledge, standardise practice and strengthen teachers' as disciplinary subjects and objects (Foucault 1995).

Teachers as perpetual assessors

By 1994, in the face of schools' failure to sufficiently increase assessment and devise school policies, the explanatory handbook *Assessment Policy to Practice* (Ministry of Education 1994) emerged. Reinforcing the AI, this proposed a

'seventeen step, whole-school development process' (6), for a policy process schools were already struggling with. It reiterated that it was teachers' professional responsibility to devise multiple methodologies for multiple purposes, across all subjects. It clarified new disciplinary features of the AOs, which were:

... to be broken down into more specific objectives, which will provide the basis for teaching and learning programmes, as well as for assessment activities.... [These] will assist in making judgements about whether the broad objectives have been met. (Ministry of Education 1994, 14)

Thus, the curriculum AOs were to be disaggregated by teachers and schools into sublevels for assessment. Unofficial practice was now rendered official, and teachers and schools were reminded that the AOs were the disciplinary focus of the curriculum, its assessment and their work. They were the focus of professional judgement in the undertaking of continuous, complex and technically proficient assessments (Ministry of Education 1994, 6, 14–15, 43). The handbook discursively constructed an 'ideal' of education as assessment and the enterprising teacher as an expert assessor (J O'Neill 2001). For example, in generalising discipline and introducing performativity (Ball 2003), teachers would encourage junior 'self-assessment' to induct students into 'becom[ing] practiced in describing their achievements objectively ... substantiate[ed] with evidence' (18). The contractually developed, unauthored mathematics (1992), science (1993), English (1994) and technology (1995) curricula, introduced 314 AOs for levels 1–4 primary students. These contained specific learning and assessment tasks set out as binaries and organised in hierarchies of multiple separations. These normalised and distinguished individuals through a progression, towards the 'differential distribution' of educational and economic rewards (Foucault 1995, 198–199).

1995: The ERO – the failure of the framework

After the introduction of the NZCF, the ERO's aggressive promotion of market-managerial discourses, exerted pressure on the schools and the Ministry of Education to intensify assessment and activate standards (Crooks 2002, 240). Under the leadership of Dr Judith Aitken (1992–2000) as the Chief Review Officer, the ERO required evidence of assessment of all AOs in its school reviews. Teachers complied, but with lists and tickboxes against the AOs (244) which failed to provide useable measurement data. The ERO's school reviews informed a series of National Evaluation Reports on curriculum assessment. In the first of these, it conceded the number of curriculum AOs was 'unmanageable, potentially harmful and linked to superficial rather than conceptual learning'. It was 'inefficient and unrealistic to have 2700 schools devising their own methodologies' and deriving varied data. Schools needed to 'gather ... wider ... information to satisfy client demands and expectations and to facilitate ... comprehensive school evaluation' (9). Furthermore, 'standards were rhetorical rather than real, with reference to them implying a national consistency that did not exist'. Indeed, the NZCF did:

... not define standards but describe achievement objectives The sheer number of the ... objectives and the variation in their specificity means that teachers ... will have difficulty in reaching consistent judgements ... it will be difficult for judgements to be made nationally ... if NS are to be reported, let alone raised, they need to be defined. (ERO 1995, 32)

The inability to establish reliable local data from measured performances had failed according to the ERO, hampering the process of national-level biopolitical calculation. Furthermore, ‘neither boards of trustees nor principals knew how to collate and analyse group data to measure progress against targets’ nor how to calculate ‘school effect’ (15–24). Training was required in standards-based methodologies and data aggregation (4, 31–34). In 1994, over half of 272 schools reviewed were not implementing assessment according to the exemplar *Mathematics in the New Zealand Curriculum*. Thus, the ERO claimed:

Implementation of the new ... policy initiatives requires a major shift in the way schools think about, organise and deliver the curriculum, assess students’ achievement and report to their communities about student and school performance. (1995, 31)

For the ERO, the solution to the second wave of educational governmentality as ‘a problematic and congenitally failing activity’ (Rose and Miller 1992, 181, 190) was a ‘shift’ to stronger central steering and clearer stipulation of disciplinary norms in the form of ‘key curriculum milestones against which standards could be measured and reported’ (32).

The Ministry of Education – reinforcing discipline

In response to the ERO, the Ministry of Education released a directive to schools to ‘plan ahead for assessment, including aggregation’ of group data, reiterating the importance of professional judgement in the selection and use of methodologies. Ironically, it cautioned against ‘mechanistic, over assessment and unmanageable approaches’ which required moderation. Teachers were still expected to devise subject-specific assessments (O’Rourke 1995). As Project AbeL had predicted, the requirement to elicit ‘school effect’, value-added measurements were a source of intense confusion for teachers (Hill 2009). Wylie’s (1994, 120–121) survey found only 24% of its 239 primary and intermediate schools were reporting such data, and that the integration of assessment with reporting and planning was not widespread. Aggregation across the AOs or curricula continued to show marked fluctuations in performance (Crooks 2002, 244). There were also gaps between the policy language and interpretations by teachers. The term formative was not in common parlance and implied checklists, as was evident with the AO’s (Hill 2009, 321). Many teachers still saw assessment as additional, rather than integral to teaching or learning, and felt overloaded and cynical about it (Baker 1997). However, the intensification of assessment was its most notable and contentious feature by the mid-decade (Hill 2001). Despite its inadequacy for reporting and accountability, teachers had complied with the requirement to intensify it and the ERO requirement for evidence of this. The former head of the Ministry of Education’s Assessment Secretariat captured the discursive tensions, evident in the NZCF’s view of assessment for learning, stating that:

When teachers are asked to carry out assessment for better learning what they are in fact being asked to do is to aggregate information and report on student progress in a collective sense ... the collection of that information, its analysis and reporting have been taken out of the realm of learning and placed under the realm of ERO. As a consequence, schools are not making the link between using the material that teachers had traditionally collected, and reporting on the school’s wider learning trends. (Irving 1995, 3)

In other words, schools had not understood 'assessment for learning', which required the calculation of the productivity gains made by teachers, classes and groups. Teachers were not fully implementing the summative implications of its formative or 'diagnostic' focus. Because of its public role in sanctioning the effectiveness of the school, reviewing the enactment of policy and advocating ongoing policy change, the ERO led the educational 'field of judgement' by 1995. It had 'problematized' (Foucault 1995) the need to enact standards, raise achievement and attain objective measurements of this. Supranational discourses similarly emphasised that educational quality should be evident in measureable standards and the production of competitive, employable human capital (OECD 1995 cited in Olssen, Codd, and O'Neill 2004, 190). In its advocacy of a competitive market between schools and business management, the ERO sought to create the conditions for its intervention into schools and teaching, generate a consensus for this and to designate preferred techniques and technologies.

Conclusion

This paper has critically examined the political, economic and social antecedents of the 'second wave' (Codd 2001) of structural, governmental change in education in Aotearoa New Zealand. As a national case study, it has traced the installation of globalised discourses as governmentality policies through the implementation of a national assessment regime. By genealogically unpacking the microphysics of its discursive basis, the paper has traced the institution of curriculum and assessment as a specific form of political rationality in an economically 'pure' neoliberal context (Kelsey 1995, 1). This has revealed the importance of policy as text and discursive regimes of power and control, to both the political legitimation of neoliberal change and a critical rereading of it. By unpacking and locating this within the will to govern (Foucault 1991a, 87), the paper has begun to trace the 'fictions of the present' (Macintosh 2009, 2), in relation to the 2009 installation of NS in numeracy and literacy.

The discursive fusion of assessment and economic policy in 1990 positioned teachers as instrumental technicians undertaking assessment for extrinsic ends. The imposition onto the curriculum of a NS reporting framework as managerial accountabilities, reframed them as technical employees in a managed workplace. Thus, three years before its introduction, the NZCF was reconceptualised as a performative, management technology, prioritised to serve external productivity, human capital, accountability and competitive market purposes, over learning and professional.

The paper has examined how the National Government further reinforced this role, by strategically placing curriculum and assessment at the centre of the managed remaking of individuality and an Enterprise Culture. The 'progressive mutation of the citizen' (Graham and Neu 2004, 312) through the exertion of a pastoral form of busno-power, nurtured compliance, aspiration and drive for educational performativity and measurement. This was the basis for the development of self-governing, innovative, economic entrepreneurs as productive, governable and docile subjects. Informed by a busnocratic rationality, the paper has traced the development and installation of this through technical-managerial, business-market and performative discourses. It has traced how the new curriculum and assessment as a panoptic laboratory and conscience-building process, instilled discipline and generalised surveillance throughout schools and communities. It has critically examined how the

NZCF was central to the reconstruction of individuals and our social, cultural and productive relations, as an individualistic, competitive and economically driven Enterprise Culture.

The genealogy has also traced the discursive ‘jolts, surprises, unsteady victories and unpalatable defeats’ (Foucault 1984a, 80a), in the main educational problem around which ‘the ideals of government circulated and sought to rectify’ prior to 1995: the installation and leverage of NS. It has shown how the activation of a poorly designed and understood standards structure, which was technically unworkable and lacking the ‘splendidly economical formula’ of the examination (Foucault 1995, 184), still ensured compliance and changes in professional practice, under the expectations and surveillance of the Education Review Office.

New educational architecture was required in New Zealand to generate basic data showing ‘the analysis of movement as evidence of improvement’ (Foucault 1995, 149). This would track and trace individuals as ‘cases’ and enable the calculation of productivity gains. In this way, quantified levels, patterns, divisions, gaps, fluctuations and idiosyncrasies would signify students as consumption and production units, numericise them and change them into transmittable, stable and regulated, information traces (Graham and Neu 2004, 299). These would be subjected to further discursive power/knowledge, biopolitical calculation and administration, including supranational measurement and comparison as *Today’s Schools* intended in 1990. The paper has demonstrated the importance of curriculum and assessment to the calculative governmentality New Zealand required for population management and control and the generation of increases in economic productivity and trading relations.

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Notes

1. Rather than high stakes national tests, NS provide broad descriptions and exemplars of what students in years 1–8 ‘must know and be able to do at the end of each period or year of schooling’. Competency is assessed twice yearly by teachers using Overall Teacher Judgements, drawn from observation-based and standardised assessments.
2. Through its ideals, principles, logics, epistemological foundations and the specific groups to which power was directed.

Notes on contributor

Anne-Marie O’Neill has taught and published across the social foundations and educational policy, gender and curriculum sociology at the Massey University College of Education. She is currently working on a doctorate on the politics of curriculum and assessment change in Aotearoa New Zealand.

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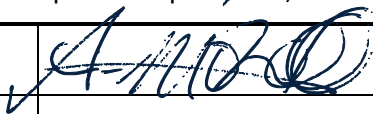
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STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION DOCTORATE WITH PUBLICATIONS/MANUSCRIPTS

We, the candidate and the candidate's Primary Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

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Name/title of Primary Supervisor:	Professor John. G. O'Neill
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Chapter/Paper Two

Research area of interest:

- 1. Trace, locate and analyse how curriculum-assessment was operationalised as neoliberal governmentality policies during the 1990s, for continued development over three political administrations (Original questions 1, 2 and 3).**

The second Chapter extends the genealogical trace and analysis of the institution of rationalisation through school curriculum-assessment from 1995 until 1999. It begins with a detailed re-reading of *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (NZCF) (Ministry of Education 1993) as a truth discourse, shaping what can and cannot be officially thought, said and practised (Foucault 1980, 93-94). This examines *how* the NZCF embodies a busnocratic rationality (Peters and Marshall 1996) through its discursive basis, processes, techniques and instruments. It introduces its biopolitical functioning around two poles: individualisation and collectivisation (Foucault 1991, 87-104).

Implementing biopower

The Chapter analyses how biopower discursively constructs enterprising human capital for an Enterprise Culture. Busno-power (Marshall 1995) is inscribed into the minds and cognition of individuals through a discursive emphasis on choice-making, personal strategizing, standards, assessment, self-management, child-centred pedagogy, risk cultures, responsabilisation and electronic data management. The inscription of this calculative, accounting mentality within a 'busno-power policy regime' (Fitzsimons 2011) is both overt and subtle, re-orienting the 'will to choose' through self-directed remaking or fabrication (Foucault 1995). This involves nurturing the desire for remaking (i.e. remoralising) the relation 'one establishes to oneself' (Peters 2001a, 60) and school, state and society. This ideally is as an industrious, responsible, self-managing, calculative, competitive and solipsistic individual-subject-citizen (Peters and Marshall 1996, 92-93).

Quantifiable standards

Functional, quantifiable standards lay at the core of activating the 'second wave' of change, to initiate management, performativity and central steerage (Ball 2003) to ultimately stimulate a competitive school market. As key biopolitical technologies, standards orient students, schools, parents and teachers around their management, achievement, comparison and increase. They were the crux of organising (and shaping) curriculum-assessment and learners' and teachers' work, as managed technical, quantifiable practice. Disciplining (Foucault 1995) individual orientations, future aspirations, purposes, practices and bodies around their achievement (e.g. as quantified performances), standards enable the biopolitical designation, of people as individual cases (Foucault 1995, 191-193) and numerical traces. These numerics could be further calculated, reconstituting people as labelled, divided and aggregated groups, regions and nations.

The Education Review Office

Framed within the discursive ascent of New Zealand New Public Management and 'scientific' educational management, quantifiable standards were an obsessive concern of the government's review and audit agency, the Education Review Office (ERO). This Chapter examines their advocacy as the discursive basis of schools as managed enterprising firms. They enabled teachers to be constructed as managed technicians whose quantifiable productivity gains required

strengthening. Committed to the implementation of management in schools and the primary school sector through the NZCF and its assessment, the ERO shaped the national policy field and designated schools successful or otherwise. It pressurised schools and the government for objective assessment data to operate as the fulcrum against which the other policy levers rested. The ERO's governmental vision of technical re-professionalisation within schools as managed businesses in a competitive school market, necessitated quantifiable standards.

Community partnerships

As well as the NZCF, biopolitical upgrading through managed community-school partnerships was introduced. Advocated by the ERO, these were controversially implemented in failing schools in impoverished and culturally diverse communities post-1996. Designed to reignite interest in learning and to lift familial, institutional and community expectations and achievement, partnerships strengthened management in and upon schools, individuals and communities.

Converting complex matters of inequality into singular technical-managerial problems, school partnerships were also panoptic change laboratories, where new initiatives could be tested (Foucault 1995). They enabled the trialling of re-professionalisation around new knowledge, data-based pedagogies, learning and inclusivity. As vehicles for the removal and upgrading of staff, they normalised increased accountability (e.g. performance management and teacher capability upgrading). Hence teachers were reconstructed as governmental re-moralisers, charged with reorientating aspirations (including their own) around increases in achievement, verifiable evidence, engagement and personal and community management. Hence partnerships can be understood as authoritarian risk-management regimes, enacting change to reduce state liability for dysfunctionality and non-productivity. As re-moralising processes, they enact pastoral power to rebuild the 'capital-ability' (Foucault 2008, 225) of individuals, families, relations, schools and communities. In so doing, all were economised in the service of governance.

By 1998 a proposal for national testing was part of a further attempt to standardise curriculum standards, assessment and teachers' work to bolster the new educational truth.

Chapters One and Two demonstrate how standards-based curriculum and assessment failed to operate as a functional national management, measurement and performative regime, during the 1990s. Nevertheless, it began to operate as a disciplinary regime, subjectification technology and a form of public reason as modern economic government. By the end of the decade, despite the elusiveness of objective data a compliance ethic had been instilled among teachers, with assessment generalised throughout primary schools (Crooks 2002; Hill 1999).

Specific Chapter findings:

- The Education Review Office dominated the policy field in the 1990s, seeking quantifiable standards and continuous summative assessment. These were the basis of schools as managed entrepreneurial businesses, undertaking assessment-driven technical re-professionalisation.
- The technical basis of SBR and curriculum-assessment as governmentality is the policy technologies of technical-managerialism, competitive markets and performative discourses.
- Managed community partnerships targeted poor, educationally low-achieving communities and schools to introduce biopolitical programmes of change. These utilised disciplinary, pastoral and calculative power for re-moralisation and additional calculation. Early partnerships were panoptic laboratories for wider policy change.

- Policy failure enables governmental steerage and the achievement of ongoing, incremental policy change.
- There is an inextricable relation between 'public' rationalities, mundane programmes, technologies of control and the re/construction of 'private' identity, subjectivity and ethics, under neoliberal governmentality.
- The thesis provides a detailed analysis of the 1990s embedding of the discursive basis and implementation of curriculum-assessment as governmentality.

Assessment-based curriculum: globalising and enterprising culture, human capital and teacher–technicians in Aotearoa New Zealand

Anne-Marie O'Neill

Institute of Education, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Massey University Manawatu, Palmerston North, New Zealand

ABSTRACT

This policy chronology traces the institution of globalised school curriculum and assessment discourses, as a vernacular and specific form of public rationalisation and educational governmentality in Aotearoa New Zealand. Without functional national standards or national testing, official discourses constructed an assessment-driven framework as a public measurement and performance regime. Drawing on Michel Foucault's 'toolkit', this genealogy traces attempts by the government's review and audit agency (the ERO), to lift achievement through establishing national standards, normalising assessment and strengthening market-managerial accountabilities. Therapeutic technologies of personal re/development supplemented the above through managed literacy partnerships. This was the basis for the managed reprofessionalisation of techno-entrepreneurial teachers around stipulated, data-driven and measured performances. The paper examines the centrality of the New Zealand Curriculum Framework to the reconstruction of an Enterprise Culture and the psycho-cognitive re/making and re/moralisation of individuals as responsabilised, self-managing and calculative. It posits that within a busnocratic rationality (merging business, entrepreneurial and technical-management), a calculative governmentality required educational data-systems for future population knowledge and control. The genealogy demonstrates the inextricable connection between 'public' rationalities, technologies of control and the re/construction of 'private' identity, subjectivity and ethics, under neoliberal governmentality.

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Introduction

Interest at the level of the consciousness of each individual who goes to make up the population, and interest considered as the interest of the population ... is the new target and the fundamental instrument of the government of population: the birth of a new art ... a range of absolutely new tactics and techniques. (Foucault 1991a, 100)

Michel Foucault's provocative work on governmentality outlines an alternative analytic of political power. He traces how political, economic and social government operates continuously and invisibly through diffuse networks, sites and agents in advanced liberal democracies. Everyday programmes of administration and management in institutions such as schools, implement governmental rationalisations through multiple technologies of power. Integral to this, is their role in 'making up' citizens by strategically re/shaping their dispositions, aspirations and conduct in preferred ways to enhance

CONTACT Anne-Marie O'Neill  a.m.oneill@clear.net.nz

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governmental purposes (Rose and Miller 1992, 175). The construction of individuals simultaneously requires states to think and act in ways that enable them to know, regulate and govern the wealth, health and happiness of individuals as a population.

This paper traces the activation of a 'range of absolutely new tactics and techniques' (Foucault 1991a, 100) in New Zealand's 'second wave' (Codd 2001) of educational change. The basis for this was an outcome-based, assessment-driven, national curriculum framework. Informed by neoliberal, globalised discourses, its structure and purpose were similar to those enacted in many advanced democracies (Blackmore 1999; Kellaghan and Greaney 2001). As the second in a four-paper research project, this genealogy traces ongoing attempts to activate the curriculum as a national standards accountability and reporting framework between 1996 and 2000. A functional measurement and performative regime was required, without the benefit of functional national standards or national testing. Located at the centre of the construction of an Enterprise Culture, this was the primary technology for the re/making of individuals as entrepreneurial consumer/producers.

This re-reading of the interplay between policies, pedagogical and research texts is part of a national case study that is genealogically mapping the 2009 implementation of National Standards of curriculum achievement in primary schools. It builds on an earlier paper that traced the discursive antecedents of the curriculum and assessment as a governmentality policy between 1990 and 1995 (O'Neill 2015), mapping its episodic 'intensities' and 'fainting spells' (Foucault 1984a, 80) as a 'congenitally failing operation' (Rose and Miller 1992, 190). This paper traces the curriculum and assessment as a specific form of political rationality, demonstrating the hegemony of discourses of corporate management, business-market accountability, scientific rationalism and technical/economic forms of instrumentalism. It maps a fine-grained analysis of how these rendered reality thinkable and calculable, in what was a 'revolutionary' 'laboratory' for the installation of 'pure economic neoliberalism' (Kelsey 2002, 6).

The paper begins by outlining the discursive basis of New Zealand's educational governmentality and the key instruments from Foucault's (1980, 145) 'toolkit' through which this and the paper's analysis are framed. In governmentality terms, the paper uncovers how *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (NZCF) (Ministry of Education 1993) implemented a 'busno-power policy regime' (Fitzsimons 2011, 133) through which entrepreneurial subjects were re/constructed as competitive, individualistic and self-driven. In the light of the dominance of business-managerial, corporate and market values as part of a busnocratic rationality (Peters and Marshall 1996), New Zealand sought to reboost its global economic advantage, particularly with its Asian trading partners, through individual and cultural change.

The genealogy begins in the second section, tracing the policy advocacy of the Education Review Office (ERO), the government's official assessor and by 1995, leader of the educational policy 'field of judgement' (Ball 2003, 216). It explores how the ERO sought the imposition of national standards to implement an extreme 'market-managerial accountability' (Court 2004, 174) in school/enterprises.

The third section traces the ERO's involvement in the introduction of therapeutic technologies through school-community literacy partnerships. These were to responsabilise individuals and communities into self-management of their own educational risk, through personal ethical re/moralisation (Rose 1999). This section analyses how these partnerships also responsabilised teachers' as risk managers on behalf of the state. Induction into codified forms of practice and market-managerial accountabilities was part of their own re/moralisation and reprofessionalisation (McCulloch, Helsby, and Knight 2000, 110), as techno-entrepreneurial employees, in a market-driven business.

The fourth section traces the ERO's introduction of capability discourses to promote self-improvement and future-focused investments in professionalism. Teachers' ongoing inability to generate reliable data, deemed to be the result of their 'poor professional judgement' rather than the framework's dysfunction, legitimated the proposed introduction of the ultimate steerage and disciplinary lever: primary school national testing. The genealogy traces attempts to generalise a revenue-generating vitality throughout New Zealand and to establish systems for the application of social arithmetic to individuals. Mathematical and statistical accounting would know and distribute individuals as re/regulated and transformed information traces, legible as groups, regions and a population enabling

the development of a control society (Rose 1999) administered through a calculative governmentality (Dean 2010).

Throughout the 1990s, New Zealand was involved in policy-borrowing in curriculum and assessment, particularly from England. Thrupp (2005) cautions against simplistic interpretations of this relation and the paper does not explore political globalisation (Olssen, Codd, and O'Neill 2004, 176–178). New Zealand abandoned national testing in 1937 and has always had a national primary school curriculum enabling local interpretation. National curriculum 'modernisation' (Blackmore 1999) around outcomes, levels, standardisation and accountability, began in 1990. This followed changes originating in the USA and the UK responding to globalisation and its pressures for utilitarianism, systemic assessment, human capital investment, performance measurement and international comparison (Kellaghan and Greaney 2001). Similar to the Scottish reforms at this time, New Zealand emphasised 'assessment for learning' while prioritising accountability, the strengthening of teacher judgements and measurement data as evidence of learning (Hutchinson and Hayward 2005). During the 1990s and 2000s, similar discourses of change, including the prioritisation of literacy and numeracy standards, manifested in Australia as in New Zealand (Klenowski 2011).¹

The paper is organised chronologically, signalling key dates for the reader. It is useful to note that an important feature of New Zealand's policy landscape in the 1990s was that the publication of policy texts, their discussion, response and implementation, occurred in rapid and overlapping succession. The following first section explains and then draws on Foucault to outline the discursive basis of reform.

Using Foucault's 'toolkit' to explore governmentality through education

Policy as governmentality

For Foucault (1991a, 103), the governmentalisation of the state emerged in the eighteenth century through a range of 'tactics' relating to the problems of government and techniques for dealing with them. It implied the global coordination of power at different junctures in democratic states where, as individuals, we also 'freely' govern ourselves. By examining the introduction of the economy as 'the correct manner of managing individuals, goods and wealth' into government, Foucault traced how political rationalities² (mentalities) and technologies (practices and strategies) arrange the 'conduct of conduct'. They do so through two intertwined modes of power which ensure the voluntary adoption of discursive norms. These are individualisation: pastoral power, micro-level and self-technologies, fabricating subject/citizens and totalisation: technologies of domination for macro-level population governance (87–104). In advanced liberal regimes, more and more minutiae of everyday life comes under central administration and management. As the pervasive political reasoning neoliberal governmentality penetrates and shapes our inner beings, while metaphorically reaching across individuals to construct, know, manage and calculate us as collectives.

In the 1990s in New Zealand, a newly elected government sought to establish both modes of power through education and as elsewhere, this was a more or less a calculated and rational attempt to shape personal conduct through technical means. It also sought to establish systems for the aggregation and mathematical calculation of the collective self-discipline and compliance of the school population with national objectives and to manage them accordingly. The main governmental feature of modern states under neoliberal policy frames, is their operation as a complex of centralised governing relationships and mechanisms, a form of 'centralised decentralisation' (Ball 2003, 251) aimed at steering individuals *and* the population.

Hence the necessity to examine policy as both political concentrations of knowledge-power and complex, serendipitous, instruments of governmentality. Simons, Olssen and Peters argue that 'matters of public concern' be 'made public' through 'public gestures and invitations'. As the basis of a politics of 're-reading' policy in the Foucauldian 'concern-oriented' sense, they argue for its personal, public and political confrontation. This can transform individual and public understandings of what policies 'take for granted or want to achieve with us' (2009, x–xii). By virtue of exposing the inner workings

and rationales of 'the governing regime' (67), re-readings of policy as governmentality both confront the intricacies of power and offer 'conditions of possibility' for its challenge.

For Foucault, meaning and signification were discursive, cultural and material and he examined policy as both text and discourse. His methodological and theoretical 'toolkit' offers instruments, rather than a system, for a holistic interrogation of the relations between discourse, power and knowledge (Foucault 1980, 145). As historically recurring statements in language, practices, knowledge and social relations, discourses exist in discursive formations of multiple texts, technologies of power, institutional practices and regulatory regimes – 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault 1972, 49). Thus, education policies produce, transfer, mediate and reinforce power in the production of individuals, social relations, rationalities and education and must speak to or hail as many groups as possible. Hence, their confusing use of discordant discourses, often set over, against or integrated into existing discourses (49). In constituting inter-subjective relations of power between texts and reader/listeners (Luke 1995, 19–20), policies offer 'a field of possibilities which recipients may or may not take up' in the construction of subjectivity (Foucault 1991b, 54–59). It is through such texts that teachers make sense of official requirements *and* what they actually do.

Tracing genealogically

As 'richly ambiguous stories' (Flyvbjerg 2001, 136), policies await decoding so as to reveal the real relations and fabrications they partially construct, reconstruct and conceal. They allocate values, knowledge, resources and shifts in these, thus sanctioning some ways of knowing and speaking while subjugating others. A genealogical approach can powerfully map out the historical descent and ascent of policy discourses from within, to provide a 'history of the present' (Foucault 1995, 31). The decline of discourses can be traced backwards through contested forces and struggles and their emergence traced forwards from 'beginnings' or initiating 'jolts and surprises' (Foucault 1984a, 77–83). The examination of entrenched certainties, specific social practices, changes in theoretical knowledge, the location of discourses and their exclusions in the disciplinary 'fabrication'³ of docile bodies (Foucault 1995, 194) and their implementing technologies can also be minutely examined. By unpeeling 'the continuous chain of interpretations', genealogies reveal 'the discontinuous sequence of powers that take turns bending the 'thing' to new uses and purposes' (Graham and Neu 2004, 298).

1987–1989 'first wave': establishing market-managerial accountability

As part of the Labour Government's marketisation and privatisation of the state, New Zealand's Tomorrow's Schools (TS) (1988–1999) introduced school-site management for what was called the 'interposition between customers and providers' (Treasury 1987, 36). As a policy technology (Ball 2003), TS appeared to be 'a seemingly casual mix' of social democratic, neoliberal market-efficiency and business-managerial discourses (Court and O'Neill 2011, 125). It is important to remember however, that the latter two assumed an immediate ascendancy within TS (Gordon 1992). Interpenetrating and/or replacing public welfarism, professionalism and bureaucracy, market-managerial technologies enabled the central leverage or steerage of the reregulation of teacher practice.

1990–1999 'second wave': instituting enterprise and performativity

In 1990, an influential Treasury-driven review of educational restructuring managerialised the forthcoming curriculum and its assessment as a national standards, reporting and accountability framework. Emphasising market competition and comparison between individuals, schools and countries (Lough 1990a 16, 21), this review transformed knowledge and assessment into economic/managerial accountabilities. It reframed teachers as technical instrumental employees in a steered workplace (Court and O'Neill 2011, 135), three years before the introduction of the new framework.

At the end of 1990, a new National Government (1990–1999) was elected on a ‘Decent Society’ platform in protest at Labour’s structural adjustment, only to broaden and strengthen governmentality. Driven by Treasury pressures for globalisation (Kelsey 2002), National’s 1991 Budget, introduced its momentous Economic and Social Initiative (ESI). This disestablished universal welfare, deregulated the labour market and implemented extreme fiscal austerity to formalise and entrench the social stratification begun in 1984 (Kelsey 1995, 272). Following Australia, Scandinavia, Canada, the United States and Great Britain (Rose 1996, 150), an ‘Enterprise Strategy’ was developed to explicitly redress a perceived ‘culture of dependency and economic underperformance’, directly attributed to public education and welfare (National Government 1991, 20–26).

According to the new Minister of Education’s budget speech, curriculum, assessment and qualifications change would be aligned to the ‘imperatives of a ‘modern competitive international economy’. An ‘excessive focus on social issues ... poor preparation for the competitive world [and] inadequate skilling in technology’ of the previous curriculum, would be reoriented towards business through a ‘new culture of enterprise and competition’ (Smith 1991, 1–3). As part of the ESI, an achievement initiative (AI) would inform a new outcome-based curriculum of basic subjects, national standards, diagnostic assessment and national testing (Ministry of Education 1991, 1). National’s commitment to decentralisation, choice and fiscal restraint was evident in its Budget’s introduction of bulk funding, the abolition of school zoning, teacher deregistration and increased private school funding (Kelsey 1995, 220). ‘Educational achievement as an investment in economic development’ would redirect achievement-focused investments to upskill business and industry and ensure ‘personal and national economic transformation’ (Smith 1991, 1–8). This effectively economised (Lingard 2010) curriculum and assessment, locating it as the basis of New Zealand’s ‘second wave’ of educational change as well as the construction of an Enterprise Culture.

1993: The NZCF

By 1993, the outcome-based, NZCF (Ministry of Education 1993), informed by previous concerns and models (Court and O’Neill 2011) and the AI, prioritised systemic assessment and achievement evaluation to a degree previously unknown. The specifications of the contractually devised and centrally imposed Framework were informed by users (business and industry) and funders (the government) (Kelsey 1995, 223). In emphasising the future needs of an internationally competitive economy, the NZCF embodied the OECD’s (1993) recalibration of Human Capital Neoliberalism around education as a personal/private investment in self-improvement. With no basis in learning, curriculum or knowledge theory (Elley 2004), the NZCF set out eight levels of gradated content, within a basics, skills and business-enterprise focus. Its first four published curricula, required primary schools to locally break down 314 Achievement Objectives (AOs) and implement them as national standards for years 1 to 4. The aim was to establish standards as performative accountabilities, thereby implementing a third technology of control through which students’ and teachers’ could be indirectly steered.

In Foucauldian governmentality terms, the NZCF was a truth discourse and a ‘bearer[s] of specific effects’ and ‘objects of power’, determining forms of rationality and what can and cannot be thought and said (Foucault 1980, 93–94). It was also a technical, disciplinary mechanism for the governmental re/making of subjects. Developed within a Human Capital ‘regime of truth’, the new curriculum would enhance students’ marketability and their personal autonomy, happiness and well-being, serving individual as well as societal (population) needs. For example, in her Foreword to the curriculum, the Secretary of Education noted the need for ‘learning environments in which students attain high standards and appropriate personal qualities ... a workforce ... increasingly highly skilled and adaptable ... [with an] ... international and multicultural perspective’ (O’Rourke cited in Ministry of Education 1993, 1–2). Foucault traced the constitution of this macro-social form of power as bio-power: power over life rather than death. The ‘two poles around which [this] ... power was deployed’ were ‘the disciplines of the body and the regulation of the population’ (Foucault 1990, 139). Indispensable to the development of capitalism, bio-power merges biological, economic and political power, inserting

bodies and the population into production. Focusing on identity creation through the development of individuality and sexuality, its main aim is normalisation as population subjects rather than as singular individuals (Foucault 1990, 141–144). It is through governmentality that states now exercise bio-power through increasingly rationalised and technological means, such as mass programmes (e.g. curriculum and literacy initiatives), data-based tracking and surveillance (Olsen 2006, 29).

Enterprise culture and busno-power

As the chosen mentality or ‘regime of governmentality’ (Dean 2010, 194) in Aotearoa New Zealand, construction of an Enterprise Culture required ‘the multiplication of the ‘enterprise’ form ‘within the social body[to make] the market, competition, and ... the enterprise, into ... the formative power of society’ (Foucault 2008, 148). Under neoliberalism, rational, homo economicus, mutates into ‘manipulatable market man’, an entrepreneur of his or her self, whose characteristics are infinitely malleable and responsive to changing markets (Peters and Marshall 1996, 96). Importantly, an Enterprise Culture required the development of individuals who were both *active* in their quest for freedom through self-realisation, and *calculating* in optimising their capabilities as entrepreneurial, self-managing consumer/producers across all facets of life (Rose 1999, 154–155). For example, Enterprise was discursively reinforced across the curriculum’s eight groups of Essential Skills (57 detailed skills) emphasising workplace, productivity and life skills. Juxtaposed against Social and Co-operative, were 10 Self-Management and Competitive Skills, through which students as human capital were to enhance self-management and their net worth through pro-active forms of responsibility, to:

- Show initiative, commitment, perseverance, courage, and enterprise;
- adapt to new ideas, technologies and situations;
- develop constructive approaches to challenge and change, stress and conflict, competition, and success and failure;
- develop the skills of self-appraisal and self-advocacy;
- achieve self-discipline and take responsibility for their own actions and decisions;
- take increasing responsibility for their own health and safety, including the development of skills for protecting the body from harm and abuse;
- develop a range of practical life skills, such as parenting, budgeting, consumer, transport and household maintenance skills (Ministry of Education 1993, 19).

Thus, New Zealand sought to re/make or fabricate (Foucault 1995, 194) industrious, competitive, calculative and responsibilised human capital (embracing masculine market traits). The assumption was that while freely managing their own risk, individuals would invest in their lives as a series of enterprises while enhancing national health and productivity. Cultural reconstruction would similarly displace the role of social policy and social government.

Enterprise has a seductive and adaptive global appeal (Rose 1996, 154) and as the trope for governmental change, it spurred numerous public and private initiatives, including across business and education. Largely uncritically accepted by schools and the public, it could be argued that Enterprise discursively hailed indigenous Māori as warrior, producer-traders (Petrie 2006) and Pākehā as individualist colonisers. It spoke to the physicality and inventiveness of both, as builders of a remote trading economy.

However, rather than bio-power per se targeting the body and sexuality, Marshall (1995) has traced the application of busno-power onto individuals to re/make human subjectivity in Aotearoa New Zealand. The concept of busno-power is informed by Weber’s technocratic rationality, bio-power, Human Capital Neoliberalism and NZNPM and is understood to target cognition and the mind. As such, busno-power was applied through educational practices emphasising and requiring choice-making and strategising, such as curriculum, assessment, pedagogy and electronic data management. These particularly sought to reorient ‘the will to choose’ to develop self-managing, responsible, calculative and competitive subjects (Peters and Marshall 1996, 92–93). As part of remaking a competitive state

(Cerny 2005) and constructing consumer and market sovereignty, the exercising of choice was regarded by the Treasury, NZNPM and the ERO as essentially human and pathological. Busno-power understood and nurtured subjects as 'autonomous choosers' and essentialised the making of continuous 'style choices' (92–97). As Fitzsimons (2011, 75) put it, refashioning subjectivity and cognition as an accounting mentality could create active, numerate, responsible and entrepreneurial selves. Cost-benefit calculations of investment returns, would inform all personal decisions, choices and goals. Shaped by 'environmental contingencies', the business of investing in learning and living assumed:

... the needs of self and the other, and social justice are 'met' by the individual choices of the autonomous chooser.
Hence there is no need for obligation to the others of the community. (Peters and Marshall 1996, 97)

A metaphor of pathological narcissism, characterises the competitive and possessive form of 'the self' which, within an increasingly globalised popular culture, was promoted in Aotearoa New Zealand (Lasch 1984, cited in Peters and Marshall 1996, 100). This 'busno-power policy regime' (Fitzsimons 2011, 133) was underpinned by a busnocratic governmental rationality, elevating business-corporate values, and consumer sovereignty as the basis of a total, social and cultural change. Managed, instrumental performances and measurability permeate civil society, reorientating education towards skills, information and 'perpetual training' to install an Enterprise Culture (Peters and Marshall 1996, 92–95).

Having provided these re-readings of discursive foundations of New Zealand's Enterprise Culture and its development in and through education during the early 1990s, the following section of the paper begins the genealogy by examining the ERO's vociferous attempts to activate the NZCF as a standard-based national accountability mechanism and a political technology for the institution of self and macro-level power.

Activating standards for measurement, performance, re/making and managing individuals

1995: a fractured landscape

By the mid-1990s, New Zealand's economy was totally exposed to international forces and as 'a highly unstable and polarised society' (Kelsey 1995, 350), the gap between the top and bottom incomes had widened more rapidly than in any comparable nation (Rashbrooke 2013, 27). Public dissatisfaction over structural adjustment by two political administrations without electoral mandate, and the constraints of economic globalisation had spurred electoral reform. The First Past the Post system was rejected in 1993 in favour of Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) representation for the 1996 election. This opened up electorate and policy debates to wider spheres of contestation and influence (Kelsey 1995).

Under the leadership of management specialist Dr Judith Aitken as Chief Review Officer (1992–2000), the Educational Review Office (ERO) had come to dominate the educational policy 'field of judgement' (Ball 2003). The focus of its reviews had been standardised and narrowed to concentrate on school outputs and outcomes (Lough 1990a). From 1994, its aggregated review findings informed the publication of methodologically and politically problematic (Thrupp 1997, 1998) National Educational Evaluation Reports. Covering 'issues of interest to the government and the general public' (ERO 1995a, 1), the ERO problematised issues, initiated and drove policy, legislative and practice changes and then assessed their enactment. As a public organisation, it championed the application of NZNPM and 'market-managerial accountability' in schools so that 'client choice' and business methods would steer schools and banish 'provider capture' (Court 2004, 174). For the ERO, a national policy focus on mandatory standards was vital to increase school accountability and achievement outcomes.

The introduction of the new curriculum framework in 1993, at a time of intense change and professional unrest, had lacked clarity of information and purpose for teachers (Young 2009). It emphasised assessment for 'diagnosis' and 'clear learning outcomes against which students' progress can be measured' (Ministry of Education 1993, 24). Official assessment discourses offered contradictory advice about purpose and approach (O'Neill 2015) and in its school reviews, the ERO expected achievement data from subject-specific, school-devised assessments. It sought evidence of assessment of all curriculum

AOs, resulting in the widespread use of lists and tickboxes, as well as evidence of aggregation and ‘value added’ calculations, which few schools understood or provided (Wylie 1994). By 1995, the ERO’s demands had initiated a compliance regime and an ‘assessment frenzy’ (Hill 1999, 21), the expectations of which dominated practice and caused ongoing anxiety for teachers, while failing to generate nationally reliable data (Young 2009, 64–70). Broader concerns over mathematics and science achievement were cited as evidence of weaknesses in teachers’ subject and pedagogical knowledge. These were exacerbated by the middle primary results in the 1994 Third International Mathematics and Science Study, which were below and slightly above the international mean, respectively. Re-emerging debates over reading methodologies and the rising political significance of international metrics rankings, raised doubts over the professional competency of primary teachers (Openshaw and Walshaw 2010, 111).

Standards as disciplinary power

In the first of its three Evaluation Reports on school assessment during the 1990s, the ERO critiqued the systemic failure of standard-based assessment and the paucity of professional knowledge of it (ERO 1995a, 33). The vast number of AOs were unspecific (4) with many so broad as to be ‘unmanageable and potentially harmful’ while others were narrow and technical. Overall, they did not provide stipulated knowledge and were likely to result in superficial and ‘observable’ rather than ‘conceptual’ learning. For the ERO an implied ‘national consistency in standards’ did not exist because standards were rhetorical rather than real and student progress was inferred rather than demonstrated (27–31). Furthermore:

If teachers were to report to parents on standards of individual student achievement and if national standards are to be reported, let alone raised, they need to be defined ... [as] ... key milestones against which ... [they] ... could be measured and reported’. (31–32)

The ERO problematised the local breakdown of standards by teachers and schools as ‘inefficient and unrealistic’ and advocated their definition as milestones or national ‘benchmarks’ (34–35). Viewed through a Foucauldian lens, the ERO could be understood as seeking to create the conditions for an intervention that would both define and establish national standards (Foucault 1984b, 390). As disciplinary mechanisms of power, standards could provide normalising judgements, impose homogeneity and enable the individualisation and differentiation of the ‘normal from the abnormal’ (Foucault 1995, 170–184). In the absence of national testing, uniform standards as accountabilities were necessary for the NZCF to operate as an optimal disciplinary apparatus and political technology.

As compulsory norms, disciplinary and management techniques, standards could ‘make’ individuals ‘as objects and instruments’ of their exercise (203–204) by incentivising changes in practice requiring dispositional, cognitive and bodily self-management to achieve compliance. As well as enabling the ‘hierarchized, continuous and functional surveillance’ of performance, standards offered the basis for its judgement, display and comparison (170–185). Thus as performative categories they could order, classify, measure and differentiate students, teachers and schools. They could effectively operate as personal and market punishments, sanctions or rewards and could be read as market signals of productivity, efficiency and quality (Ball 2003, 216). As Foucault put it, in judging individuals “‘in truth’; the penalty ... [is] integrated into the cycle of knowledge of individuals’ (1995, 181). Furthermore, rewarding ‘by the play of awards, ... mak[es] it possible to attain higher ranks and places; punish[ing] by reversing this process’ (181). As a potential panoptic laboratory, the NZCF standards could generalise power throughout schools and communities and encourage individuals to watch and alter their own behaviour, as docile and efficient subjects (181, 205).

Calculating ‘added value’ and population performance

Biopolitical population calculation involves its collective analysis and regulation. This purpose was evident in the ERO’s emphasis on ‘measuring a school’s progress against ... its charter’ in order to ‘show changes to a school’s impact on student achievement’ (ERO 1995a, 30, 34). Principals needed to understand its importance because:

...aggregated information about student achievement is essential to the planning, management, self-review and reporting process required of schools. It enables a school to evaluate and report its success in fostering student achievement. (34)

In other words, the ERO sought evidence of school efficiencies through value added calculations to indicate 'productivity gains' in a competitive market (Dale and Jesson 1993, 11). They sought the national comparison of standards over time (ERO 1995a, 30), through a measurement regime (Biesta 2010) or metrics of targets, national averages and public league tables. The NZCF with its learning targets and assessments was being established as a public performance technology (Ball 2003) to provide an infrastructure for educational accounting. The actuarial compilation of statistics would assist risk assessment and mathematical calculations would provide national knowledge of performances for future planning, resource allocation and quality control. These systems would embed and strengthen a competitive 'performance government' (Dean 2010, 202). The coupling of governance and risk minimisation (e.g. the dangers of educational failure) was part of what O'Malley (1992) termed a 'new prudentialism'. This risk planning and care derived from business (Dean 2010, 194), responsibilised nations, communities, institutions and producer-consumers for their own risks. Increasingly, 'control' societies (Rose 1999) required this data-based or calculative governmentality (Dean 2010) to exercise knowledge and control in competitive trade and investment decisions, nationally and globally.

Managing performance in an enterprise school

By the mid-decade, the ERO were intent on problematising (Foucault 1984b) non-performance across schools and finding solutions to it (Fancy 2007, 328). Reiterating the importance of effective management for a 'good school' from its earliest Evaluation Reports (ERO [Education Review Office] 1994, 24), it noted that 'the education services labour market' in New Zealand had the lowest paid teachers in the OECD (1989 cited in ERO 1995b, 4). As a 'low wage industry', problems with 'the quality of service ... [could] be expected' and this required staff performance management (PM). Defined as 'policies practices and procedures covering all aspects of personnel management' impacting on performance, the primary concern of PM was staff management to ensure that 'learners' needs are met and student achievement enhanced' (2–5). The ERO advocated core competencies of 'knowledge and skill' closely aligned to 'performance standards expected by the employer'. It argued that without written stipulations, principal managers would 'face difficulties ... determining objectively whether a teacher is competent or not' (12–13). Professional knowledge and judgement were clearly insufficient. For the ERO, teaching operated as any other service industry and as service workers, teachers' work required specification and monitoring. The ERO saw 'quality of service' issues, exacerbated by the lack of control schools had over determining employment conditions, contracts, wage levels and incentives. Schools' delimited control over other areas of choice-making and the 'resource mix in service delivery' was noted by the ERO, suggesting that they favoured less governmental steerage of school management (2–3). By 1996, in a clear statement reinforcing educational governmentality, the OECD argued that school-site management required PM as a key 'enforcement strategy for a centralised curriculum ... to ensure compliance with national purposes' (OCED 1996a, 66). *Draft National Guidelines for Performance Management* were published that year, suggesting an annual cycle of observation, self-review, objectives and appraiser assessment (Ministry of Education 1996a).

1996: Principal managers

In promoting the dominant model of the school as a managed, enterprising firm, the ERO regarded principals as 'senior public servants' (managers) and CEOs. They were:

... employed by representative stakeholders to manage the provision of education services Local stakeholder families want the best possible education ... Just as shareholders of a private company may withdraw their capital if the firm performs poorly, so may parents withdraw their child The bottom line for a manager is profit and staying in business. The bottom line for a principal is roll numbers and keeping the school viable. (ERO 1996b, 8–9)

In an enterprise school, 'service delivery' equated to 'client satisfaction and manag[ing] the school's external interface' (18). The key to business/market success was the principal's management abilities, including the promotion of student learning regardless of social background (17). Their 'rigorous analysis of student achievement' (21) and 'ensuring the quality of outputs', would retain market viability (9). Principals' ability to manage achievement data and teachers, were interdependent – two sides of the same coin – constituting school accountability to the 'client market'. This was paramount over school leadership. Indeed:

Failure to manage the work of teachers would result in the haphazard delivery of the curriculum ...[and] the respect some school boards had ... for the professional expertise of teachers and principals is misplaced. Co-ordination of curriculum and ... management of the work of teachers are necessary if ... learning ... is not to be left to chance. (ERO 1996c, 19)

The ERO sought the establishment of a management panopticon (Foucault 1995) in schools, because teachers could not be trusted to manage themselves. Management offered a panacea for enhanced efficiency and increased achievement. The ERO thus saw teachers' work as consisting of state-imposed, decontextualised, technical competencies rather than professionally informed collegial collaboration. As 'educator-judges', policing disciplinarity and normalisation (Foucault 1995, 304), the ERO's approach to teaching assumed that:

- Teaching involved a codified 'essence' of practice in standardised norms of managed, technical behaviours, written records, decontextualised application and observability;
- Management across all aspects of schooling and teaching was paramount to increasing achievement; and
- The public were entitled to media-disseminated, market knowledge about schools (Robertson 1999, 128).

Principals were to manage teachers as technical service workers through business/market methodologies such as outcomes planning, performance management, surveillance and audit. Data calculation and its management, would supplement PM and enable principals to satisfy their market share/stakeholders, or client/consumers, to whom they owed their primary allegiance, rather than to their profession or staff. As a steering technique, PM would empower principals to begin stipulating practice through school-based accountabilities, aligned to national policy. It would reprofessionalise teachers away from trust in their own judgement, collegial relations and independent (responsive and creative) curriculum interpretation (McCulloch, Helsby, and Knight 2000).

Entrenching management

As one of the primary technologies through which the New Zealand state was competitivised, marketised and privatised, New Zealand's version of New Public Management emanated from the application of 'scientific' controls onto workers and production. Frederick Taylor's 'social efficiency' of the 1920s, applied time and motion studies, standardisation, mathematical calculation and measurement to stipulate, predict and control workers' bodies, technology and productivity (Callahan 1965, 28–32). The main aims of 'efficiency' were then, as they are now, cost saving and control of practice. In his genealogy of managerialism, Fitzsimons (2011, 114) identifies a technical-managerial core or rationality, that prioritises scientific reason (e.g. objective data), humans as rational capital (enterprising choosers under contract to prevent 'provider capture') and work as an economic and rational-technical problem (to be codified and managed). The ERO's responses to teachers were informed by these discourses. The discursive links between 'effective management', 'demonstrable expertise' and rational efficiency, fuel managerialism's justification as natural and its reputation as benign. In education, management gains credibility through its association with finance and audit, notions of allocative efficiency and policy effectiveness (5).

The application of managerialism to education has a long history, most obvious in objective-based curricula devised in the 1930s. Management theories justified the supposed derivation of 'scientific' goals, predictable learner behaviours and measurable outcomes in such curricula. This rationality still informs outcomes-based models, New Zealand's Curriculum Framework and NZNPM. In a 1996 speech to principals, the ERO's Chief Review Officer reiterated the link between the attainment and use of objective data and effective school management. She argued that Principals needed:

... facts that are relevant to quality, reliable information in variances in quality of performance, valid assessment data covering all the critical components of a students' learning and a teacher's performance – especially the quality – adapt[ing] his or her behaviour in light of this. (Aitken 1996)

As a truth discourse (Foucault 1980) and busno/biopolitical or collective technology of power, managerialism embodies technologies of the self and technologies of domination. It is through the interaction of both, that self-care or self-management is enabled (Fitzsimons 2011, 52). For example, the ERO's Chief Reviewer pointed out that 'There is no value whatsoever in collecting information if you do not use it to modify your own behaviour as a manager; as a professional leader' (Aitken 1996). Management sets boundaries for self-governance, requiring dispositions, planning and strategising that enables compliance, thereby normalising the production of industrious and docile human capital; those who manage and the managed. Furthermore:

One of the major risks a student faces is the principal who does not know what the student is learning, and does not know whether what the student learns is coming anywhere near the intended learning objectives, the predefined quality standards. (Aitken 1996)

Evident in techniques such as Performance Management, is the requirement that teachers internalise negotiated aims and reorient their personal ethics to achieve the preferred aptitudes, outcomes or metrics, as enterprising worker/subjects. Under managerialism, power relations between principals and teachers are framed within an apparently benign authoritative hierarchy, legitimated by a supposedly inherent expertise, efficiency and/or science. In reminding principals of their managerial responsibilities, the Chief Reviewer stated that:

The student is really exposed to serious risk where significant variations in the way, or the quality, of his or her learning are not picked up, not analysed, not recorded and not managed by the principal and professional staff. (Aitken 1996)

Management enables the implementation of governmentality policies and was vital to a 'busno-power policy regime' informed by a busnocratic rationality (Fitzsimons 2011, 132–137).

Essentialising choice

The defining feature of New Zealand's New Public Management was its prioritisation of competitive market choice (for clients), as an accountability that would drive up teacher performance and interrupt the 'provider capture' of schools (Court 2004, 176). Hence, in the state-produced, quasi-market, the ERO strenuously promoted school choice, without 'price signals'. In schools, 'quality indicators had not been taken up' (hence the need for standards) and schools 'had not been courageous in seeking strategic advantage in niche markets' (ERO 1996c, 13). For the ERO, schools did not know how to undertake market competition, evident in their competition for the same clients, lack of market differentiation, their ignorance of 'differing student needs and parental preferences' and failure to encourage consumer choice (16–17). Inappropriate strategies (e.g. glossy pictures of leafy playgrounds) rather than comprehensive data 'about achievement of excellence in their core business' and their ability to 'add value to students', signalled schools' market failure (13).

For the ERO, parental choice and market disciplines were the key to improved quality and 'individual potential' and they remained unrealised. Schools' market failure was due in large part to a lack of standardised assessment data for 'rational' public decision-making. It was the school's incompetence, rather than the failure of the market mechanism or the lack of public demand (16–17), that meant market choice had not been taken up. The ERO reemphasised the criticality of assessment to the:

- PM of staff;
- Analysis of 'value-added' achievement;
- Determination of choice and investment worth for parent-consumers; and
- Overall management of staff and student concerns (ERO 1996a, 17–21; 1996b, 12–16).

Assessment data was not only the fulcrum against which the market, managerial and performativity levers rested. For the ERO, it was the foundation of teaching as specific techniques and the glue binding managed school relations and market efficiency. From a focus on standards per se, the ERO led the implementation of a discursive shift towards lifting teacher and family–community 'effectiveness' to lift achievement. As part of this, additional policy technologies to help responsabilise and remoralise individuals and communities to lift their own achievement are suggested. The following section of the paper traces the emergence of this expanded focus and its role in remoralising and reprofessionalising teachers.

Managing teacher, family and community 'effectiveness' through targeted interventions and re/moralisation

1996: managing risk through partnerships

In reflecting on his assumption of the role of Secretary for Education in 1996, Howard Fancy⁴ (1996–2006) acknowledged a sharpened professional and policy focus on lifting achievement, particularly for the 'at risk', that began at that time. This was evident in a willingness to:

- Intensively intervene in failing schools;
- Strengthen professional practice around inclusion;
- Lift the pedagogical and subject knowledge of teachers;
- Raise expectations of success; and
- Build 'assessment capability' (Fancy 2007, 325–329).

In 1996, the ERO released a politically controversial National Evaluation Report on 45 secondary and primary schools in two of the poorest, multicultural areas of Auckland. While its conceptualisation, approach and proposals were highly questionable (Thrupp 1997), it asserted that the performance of 84% of the schools in both areas (with a 95% Māori and Pāsefika population), was problematic. Designated 'under' and 'poorly performing' many had 'systemic failures' of 'quality' in 'governance, management, finance, leadership, teaching, environments and culture' (ERO 1996a, 4, 6, 17, 20). Most schools lacked the community resources required for functional self-governance and management.

Under TS at any one time, 10% of schools were in receipt of official support (Fancy 2007, 328), but *Improving Schooling in Mangere and Otara* (ERO 1996a) suggested a raft of new tactics, technologies and interventions to reconstruct practice and culture. These included centrally steered amalgamations, restructurings and 'improvement partnerships' (1996a, 18–19). Ministerial monitoring of school boards and a Strategic Development Centre would 'support' management across all schools (2–7). The main guarantor of change would be 'contractual purchase and supply agreements' with 'expectations of service' and 'measures of service quality' linked directly to funding (8). Incentives, performance indicators and the brokerage of mentoring and training would address weak 'performance cultures', including sub-standard teaching, assessment and peer review (21–25).

Citing numerous examples of 'ineffectiveness' (4–22), the Report did not define effectiveness but referring to the *Draft National Guidelines for Performance Management*, it involved bringing 'students closer to the national average.' The use of advanced 'management', 'techniques' and 'relations' across 'service delivery' and 'working individually and in communities with diverse cultural groups', would ensure improved outcomes (ERO 1996a, 23–28). Schools needed assistance 'to compete effectively for high quality teachers' (7) and 'poor performing and unmotivated' teachers required 'exit incentives' (20). The ERO's approach was encapsulated in its stipulated 33 competencies, management skills, teaching 'techniques' and relationship skills it argued 'effective' teachers needed. These included ability to:

- Teach basic literacy and numeracy skills well;
- Evaluate programmes ... based on ongoing assessment of student work;
- Emphasise specific objectives and expect they will be met;
- Know how new speakers of English acquire language and use this knowledge in teaching;
- Have a sense of humour;
- Talk to and not past, parents and local community personnel;
- Contribute to corporate life of the school; and
- Talk to all cultural communities and to know and understand them (25–28).

While seemingly innocuous, the teaching of 'basics' and cultural competency were enduring educational problems in New Zealand, that were not amenable to single behavioural solutions (Department of Education 1987). For the ERO, 'low incomes, high unemployment, crowded housing and poor child health' – realities for many Māori and Pāsefika – 'were no basis for avoiding change' (ERO 1996a, 4). Neither were they nor their structural causes of analytical relevance to *Improving Schooling in Mangere and Otara*. Denial of context, the ERO's standard practice, was part of a 'politics of blame', responsabilising individual teachers and schools for failure and under-achievement (Thrupp 1997, 172). Drawing on corporate management, school improvement and quality discourses, the ERO articulated a form of 'authoritarian managerialism' rendering complex societal issues into singular technical problems, amenable to management (Hatcher 1998, 492). Social inequality, and in New Zealand's case, the structural effects of colonisation on Māori and the use of Pāsefika immigration as cheap labour, were of no relevance to the ERO's advocacy of competitive market-managerialism, intervention programmes, quality stipulations and performance pay. These discursively constructed entrepreneurial teacher-technicians as responsible for deep-seated cultural, administrative, community and resourcing problems. Performance pay would leverage teachers to produce increases in outcomes.

The resulting *Strengthening Education in Mangere and Otara* (SEMO) project, established managed, community-state-school, literacy partnerships in 26 schools. The ERO's proposed intervention was considerably reduced because of its political inconsistency with school-site decision-making, in which New Zealand led OECD countries by 1994 (ERO [Education Review Office] 1994). Managed partnerships formed the basis of 'teaching-learning-achievement relationships' and later, data-driven practice (Timperley, Annan, and Robinson 2009, 348).

Therapeutic technologies

SEMO's literacy partnerships were augmented by new therapeutic interventions such as personal agency, performance and citizenship technologies (Dean 2010, 195–197; Rose 1999, 90–93). Designed to develop and govern active, autonomous and normalised selves within 'at risk' groups, these constituted a 'new regime of government', informed by prudentialism (Dean 2010, 194). On behalf of the state, teachers were required to penetrate the minutiae of the 'personnel' or families of 17,000 students (ERO 1996a, 28–31), through personal-professional relationships that would interrupt the generational, familial habitus that made individuals who they were (Foucault 1995, 170–171). This involved surveying, incentivising and empowering targeted 'sub-populations' to prioritise literacy and schooling in their expectations, self-management and routines. They were to learn how to interact with teachers and schools and preferably, how to manage or cease educational risk-taking and endangering their children's achievement. As moral conduits of judgement and change, teachers were at the centre of mediating the substitution of dangerous, risky or unproductive practices (e.g. illiteracy, behavioural problems and school estrangement) with normalised dispositions and routines. By inducting families into consequential thinking and choice-making, personal responsibility and planned familial routines, the 'at risk' would be connected to and supported by 'experts of truth' (Rose 1999, 30). Researchers, contractors and evidence-based reviews would oversee, legitimate and normalise a reality implanted from above.

Therapeutic technologies invoked discourses of parental duty, citizenship, universal obligations of literacy and numeracy, familial privacy and authority relations, accessed through micro-managed,

data-informed, practical advice. ‘Little pedagogies of confessional talk shows and soap operas’ were inclusionary policy and tactics, embedding authority relations and the interests of the state, civil society and self-governance, while inscribing values that could normalise, divide and exclude (Rose 1999, 188–189). Through active self-management of literacy, prudential tactics could empower the ‘at risk’ to make calculated choices and manage their own risk.

Re/moralisation

Rather than superficially changing behaviour, self-actualisation or self management (Rose 1999, 190–191) involved the remaking of the relation ‘one establishes to oneself’ (Peters 2001, 60). Foucault (1990, 1992, 1994a,b) genealogically traced the emergence of the ‘care of the self’ as ‘ethical practices of self on self involv[ing] choices that are intrinsically moral’ (Foucault 1991b, 5). Governmentality and the application of busno-power onto individuals involved the re/moralisation (Rose 1999, 183; 2000, 1403) of this fundamental relation around the values of Enterprise and a busnocratic rationality. The governmental aim was the remoralisation of the relation between the state and the individual (Peters 2001, 59–61) so that neoliberal ‘selves’ could self-manage without state resources. A revenue-generating vitality would panoptically inform all institutions and relations. As conduits of ethical self-formation, curriculum and assessment thus operated as moral technologies.

As catalysts of professional change, the SEMO partnerships strengthened the ERO’s attempts to re-regulate the relationship between teachers and the state from one of professionally informed negotiated settlement, to that of imposed technical prescription, monitored by market-managerialism. The ERO sought active, entrepreneurial, teacher self-managers, capable of ethically re/moralising⁵ failing groups. Teachers encouraged the reconstitution of the relations between the self, power, truth and freedom in the ‘at risk’ and were tasked with encouraging individuals to change the basis of their moral conduct. This required people, as Foucault put it, to:

Define ... and decide on a certain mode of being that will serve his moral goal. This requires him to act upon himself, to monitor, test, improve, and transform himself (Foucault 1992, 26–28).

This unwittingly involved SEMO teachers in their own re/fabrication and re/moralisation. Encouraged to adopt self-technologies that strengthened individualisation, these initiatives could economise not only teachers’ goodwill and personal–professional relationships, but ultimately, their identity and ‘souls’ (Foucault 1995, 30). Self-management required the use of data-informed investments (e.g. evidence of ‘value addedness’), estimative techniques, prescribed pedagogies, technical professionalism and culturally responsive relationships, to ensure achievement increases (Rose 1996). This was a reorientation of personal ethics around technical-instrumentalism and performativity. As panoptic laboratories of experimentation, partnerships in New Zealand as elsewhere, inducted teachers into initiatives while refining them in managed contexts, as a precursor to the systemic introduction of assessment-driven and data-informed pedagogies (Popkewitz 2003, 30).

The following section of the paper demonstrates the ERO’s attempts to enhance individualisation and self-management in support of reprofessionalisation. Capability discourses deflected attention away from systemic inadequacies and onto the poor professional judgement and assessment techniques of teachers, requiring the introduction of national testing.

Managing ‘capability’ and professional judgement through national testing

1996: embedding performativity in national policy

Acknowledging unemployment, social inequality and the ‘internationalisation of labour’, the Ministry of Education’s 1996 pre-election *Briefing for the Incoming Government* reiterated the importance of education to economic competitiveness. Anticipating the OECD’s fourth education mandate (1997–2001) (Henry et al. 2001), the *Briefing* argued that ‘all aspects’ of systemic quality were now relevant to lifting achievement outcomes and strengthening school–economic ties (Ministry of Education 1996b, 3–5). The first MMP election held in November 1996, resulted in neither the National nor Labour Party

gaining a majority. With conservative populists, New Zealand First holding the balance of power with 13% of the vote and 6 out of its 17 Members of Parliament Māori, its choice to coalesce with the conservative National Party (1997–1999) was unexpected.

In December 1996, *Performance Management in Schools* (Ministry of Education 1997b) was mandated for introduction in 1997. The National-New Zealand First Coalition's policy and work programme acknowledged the need to foster 'fairness, tolerance, self-reliance and ... participation in New Zealand society'. 'Quality' would now be advanced through the 'concepts' of 'capacity' and 'capability' (Ministry of Education 1997a, 2–8) developed through:

- Leadership
- A regulatory framework to 'reward positive progress'; and
- Strong parental and community involvement (2, 6–9, 14–15).

Management policy levers remained at the forefront of responses to social diversity and increasing 'educational standards', particularly for Māori and the 'at risk' (2–4, 6–9, 14). However they required more:

... effective co-ordination between education, health, welfare and labour market policies to ensure that education, economic growth and social cohesion reinforce one another. Too often there is duplication and people fall through the cracks. (9)

Cross-systemic therapeutic interventions for those falling 'through the cracks' would 'raise healthy and capable individuals' (9). Market and performativity technologies would be bolstered by the incentivisation of teachers to develop qualities and practice aligned to national policy. 'Rewarding positive progress' or performance pay, would complement the Coalition Government's proposed introduction of national testing (15). These and wider policy changes were to be canvassed in systemic reviews of 'qualifications, teacher education, tertiary, Maori, the ERO, assessment policy and the Education Act (1989)' (15).

1998: the capable teacher

In 1998 the ERO responded to the introduction of PM and professional concerns over its earlier advocacy of the application of decontextualised competencies to teaching (ERO 1996a, 25–28). In another controversial (Thrupp 1998) Evaluation Report, *The Capable Teacher* defined competencies as 'technical skills and professional capabilities' and the 'foundation of teaching' (ERO 1998b, 4). It maintained that if capabilities were understood as professional standards, they could capture the complexities of professional self-management such as self-regulation, cognition and morality (5). Taken directly from vocational training and a focus on autonomous learners, capable teachers moved beyond immediacy to:

Taking action where outcomes are uncertain ... requir[ing] courage, initiative, intuition, creativity, emotional stability and a belief in one's power to perform ... as much concerned with growth and potential as with current performance. Competence delivers the present based on the past. Capability imagines the future and helps to bring it about. (Stephenson 1997, 7 cited in ERO 1998b, 7)

Dispositions such as intuition, resilience, self-belief and a future-focused vision, built on the multicultural and community relationship skills advocated previously (ERO 1996a). Exemplified in the SEMO Projects, these would enable teachers to optimise their capabilities and those of all groups of students as numerate, well-planned and calculative selves (Rose 1996, 156). Despite intimating a deeper level of practice than behaviourism, the ERO specified 100 capabilities as dispositions, behaviours and skills. These included:

- Managing time effectively;
- Having an orderly, friendly and tidy classroom;
- Continuous[ly] ... evaluating one's teaching in terms of its creativity, innovation and results;
- Pronouncing Māori accurately, understanding the ramifications of the Treaty of Waitangi; and
- Reporting to employing authority on the effectiveness of all programmes (ERO 1998b, 13–21).

The ERO was informed by supranational discourses of quality assurance and technical compliance (OECD [Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development] 1989), including ‘workforce capability’ and ‘teacher quality’, emphasising individual capabilities (ERO 1998b, 5). Knowledge-based economy discourses also emphasised a prudential approach to teacher capability and students’ learning and skills, as future investments in human and knowledge capital (OECD 1996b, 12–14). This version of capability was a manifestation of the OECD’s emphasis on continuous self-improvement, lifelong learning and performance management, to enhance school–economic ties (Henry et al. 2001).

What remained was an atomised, standardised, decontextualised and business-inspired approach to self-management and teaching that would accommodate new accountabilities, continuous assessment, surveillance, visibility and outcomes-focused productivity. Its behaviourist and instrumentalist values base (Biesta 2010, 12–18) would also conveniently erase structural considerations of non achievement. The OECD’s influential future-focused *Schooling for Tomorrow* (1997-) portrayed teachers as ‘the lynchpin of schooling success’ (OECD 2001, 72) in the late 1990s and in Aotearoa New Zealand the ERO’s attempts to change and codify performance were the precursor to an emerging policy discourse emphasis on teachers as the cause of and solution to, under-achievement (O’Neill 2010, 4).

1998: professional standards

To secure pay parity with their secondary school colleagues, primary teachers ratified professional standards in their collective contract. While PM outlined the parameters of performance, the 1998 *Interim Professional Standards* specified these. It set out key areas of management for Principals and ‘techniques, knowledge and management’ for teachers to attain annual salary progression (Ministry of Education 1998a, 8–11). The Secretary for Education, Howard Fancy made clear his preference for performance pay linked to standards. This would ‘differentiate the mediocre from those who excel’ and reward them accordingly (Fancy 1998, 12 cited in Sullivan 1999, 145–146). This ‘decisive economic operator’ would apply disciplinary power through a form of ‘infinite examination and ... compulsory objectification’. In normalisation, ‘the shading of individual differences’ would divide, designate and reward teachers accordingly (Foucault 1995, 175–189).

1998: national testing: the penultimate discipline

As part of the Coalition Government’s systemic review, a Green Paper on *Assessment for Success in Primary Schools* (Ministry of Education 1998b) proposed an Integrated National Assessment Package. Elevating the OECD’s fourth mandate (informed by HCN and busnocratic rationality), to the systemic pinnacle, New Zealand schools were to be focused on a single goal: teaching to ensure students ‘meet their life-long potential’ (7). It was noted that France, the Netherlands, Australia, England and Wales and Canada in the OECD had introduced the ‘model of rising influence’ focused on the ‘results of education through outcomes-based curricula and national testing’, to enable comparisons (9). Redolent of Taylor’s social efficiency and technical determinism, the Paper argued such models assumed that ‘the right inputs would result in the right outcomes for students’ (7). The assessment package would build on the new educational architecture and reprofessionalisation (McCulloch, Helsby, and Knight 2000) to develop:

- National monitoring to include the provision of group/’at risk’ data;
- New diagnostic tests;
- Curriculum exemplars referenced to all AOs; and
- National testing in literacy and numeracy in years 6 and 8 (Ministry of Education 1998, 6).

Of its defining feature, the Paper’s Foreword by the two Ministers of Education, one an ex-primary school principal, stated:

... national assessment ... [will] ... strengthen education which will, in turn strengthen the social and economic fabric ... The Government is not interested in league tables; they are crude and misleading. We intend to provide

schools with information that will enable them to compare their performance ... with schools serving similar populations, as well as schools nationally. (2–3)

Legitimizing the introduction of testing through market accountability, the Paper argued it would enable parents to 'identify the achievement of their child in relation to national trends ... [and] ... the effectiveness of their school's programmes compared with similar schools' (19). To identify successful programmes, schools must compare like with like. 'Māori students must be compared with Māori nationwide ... against national achievement levels' (13). Testing would strengthen the social and economic fabric through performativity: public comparability and a competitive market. It would panoptically homogenise measurement and comparison through individuals, families and communities: by watching themselves and each other, responses, behaviours and expectations are subtly altered (Foucault 1995, 201). This rendered the Ministers' rejection of league tables completely disingenuous.

It was maintained that after five years of increasing school-based assessment and outcome-based performance, teachers had been 'reinventing the wheel', attaining 'very little information ... to see whether their professional judgements are consistent with national expectations' (Ministry of Education 1998b, 6). This, rather than systemic inadequacy, implied that teachers' judgements could not be trusted: testing would 'strengthen, supplement and check' their judgements (12, 8–15, 25–31). Similarly, with the 'problem' (Foucault 1980) of Māori underachievement, 'too many Māori parents showed an unquestioning acceptance of the education system' (Ministry of Education 1998b, 8). Māori, as a problem, needed 'comparative information to know if their children were achieving as well as other groups'. Within a quasi-market, national testing would help them understand this. The solution to their problem was for them to 'take responsibility for underachievement', make choices based on market data and transfer their children to successful schools (8). Māori needed to behave like rational market choosers, that is, act as responsible, enterprising and calculative human capital, utilising market disciplines and opportunities.

At the heart of *Assessment for Success* lay standardisation and normalisation. For example, Curriculum Exemplars would 'set out student responses ... teachers ... [could] compare with student responses' (21). The prescription of pedagogy, child–teacher interactions, resources, texts and alternatives, would leave little to teachers' judgement. 'Objective assessment benchmarks' (15), 'national standards' (21–23), and 'national levels of achievement' (28) would finally provide 'objective' measurement and demand calculative self-performance. The penultimate function of testing was the formalisation of hierarchical observation and normalising judgement. It would quantify levels, gaps, fluctuations and idiosyncrasies between students, teachers, schools, groups and regions and through 'the analysis of movement as evidence of improvement', the 'worth' of teachers' and schools' would be objectively measured and displayed (Foucault 1995, 149).

The outcome-based curriculum strengthened the school as an 'apparatus of uninterrupted examination', but supported by four yearly national monitoring, it would not exert the disciplinary and panoptic power of national testing. While reducing teacher workloads, testing would reprofessionalise (McCulloch, Helsby, and Knight 2000) practice around its norms, relieving teachers of the requirement to differentiate, hierarchicalise, homogenise and exclude (Foucault 1995, 184). Discipline would permeate an 'efficient functional whole' and a calculative rationality would enjoin the school community to work out 'where they are', calibrate themselves in relation to 'where they should be' and devise ways of getting from one state to the other (Rose and Miller 1992, 187). As the 'mechanism of objectification' testing would intensify the exertion of busno-power and the shaping of enterprising, calculative market choosers. It would arrange all subjects as objects 'within the ceremony of objectification' so that a 'meticulous archive' of traceable 'cases' would be built up, rendering students suitable for biopolitical aggregation. As the apex of disciplinary power and a 'splendidly economical formula' the examination lies at the heart of increases in the 'efficiency' of teaching and new forms of governance (Foucault 1995, 184–187, 192, 222). The role of end of primary tests was biopolitical rather than educational in that they would statistically evaluate and filter its finished 'products' for secondary education. Markets would 'pull the numerical results of testing into action', affording them instant legitimacy. Hierarchicalised

scores and comparative data would deflect attention away from the politics of testing and matters of ethics, validity and harm (Graham and Neu 2004, 311).

The ERO and national testing

The second of the ERO's National Reports on curriculum assessment fully reiterated the arguments of the Green Paper. Teachers' continued failure to generate quality achievement data were the result of their poor 'subjective judgements and technical abilities' (ERO 1998a, 3–11, 23–24). This 'judgement' problem, which by implication, beset Principal/managers as well, could be rectified through national testing in mathematics, reading and writing which would 'clarify standards for parents, enhance school management and national accountabilities' and 'enable within class, school and national comparisons, while strengthening the school market-place' as a technology of control (3–9, 24).

The subsequent failure to implement national testing can be attributed to unrest in the sector, a vociferous union campaign (NZEI [New Zealand Educational Institute] 1998) and an upcoming election at the end of 1999. By October 1998, the National-Coalition Government had responded to public opposition by announcing a national Literacy and Numeracy Strategy. Aiming to 'lift the professional capability ... and develop community capability', its goal was to have 'every child reading, writing and doing maths for success by 2005'. It can be noted here that the preferred knowledge, pedagogies and standardised assessments, aimed to panoptically continue the refashioning of teacher 'effectiveness', while lifting outcomes from early childhood onwards (Ministry of Education 1999). The curriculum prioritisation of both areas was mandated in the National Education Guidelines in 1999.

By the end of the decade, teachers had generalised assessment throughout the curriculum in response to new technologies and performativities (Wylie 1999, 133). Driven by the ERO requirements, school-based assessment had become high stakes, a source of anxiety for, and a perceived threat to, primary teachers (Hill 1999). The use of assessment software and standardised tools to measure outcomes against objectives had increased (Ministry of Education 1998b) but lists, tick boxes and issues of validity, consistency and workload, still predominated (Crooks 2002, 243–244). 'Small techniques of notation ... arranging facts in columns and tables' (Foucault 1995, 190) represented students, but locally implemented standards failed to provide the basis of biopolitical calculation (Foucault 2008). In its third National Evaluation Report on assessment, with a change of government pending, the ERO conceded that 'teachers ... have records of a large number of assessments of ... objectives ... for many areas of the curriculum for each child. However, the Report argued that such 'processes [and] things assessed, make it unlikely that ... records would be of the quality ... for the basis of conclusions about the standards achieved or the progress made by a student' (ERO 1999, 34). Hill's study on assessment in primary schools revealed that by the end of the decade, a compliance ethic had been installed and indeed, was collegially policed:

As self-managing teams, schools and the teachers ... determined for themselves the rules and norms that they would abide by, such as assessing students in particular ways at certain times ... The teaching teams ... enforced these norms. Teachers ... referred to the assessment policies that guided their practice and explained that during appraisals other teachers in their team checked up on their data collection, on whether the prescribed samples of work had been collected, and this became evidence of 'good performance'. (Hill 2009, 325)

Inherently resilient, the failure of programmes begets new ones and extensively managed literacy and numeracy improvements continued mandatory reprofessionalisation (McCulloch, Helsby, and Knight 2000) and re/moralisation. Within 'a new kind of technical professionalism and ... enactment ... within the procedures and manipulations of assessment' (Ball, Maguire, and Braun 2012, 85), primary teachers, the perceived problem in student underachievement, were being discursively constructed as continuous and expert assessors 'to become its primary solution' (O'Neill 2010, 4).

Conclusion

[In] mercantile society ... the individual ... is also a reality fabricated by this specific technology of power ... called 'discipline'.... power ... produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production. (Foucault 1995, 194)

This national case, as a genealogical re-reading of policy, has traced the continued institution of disciplinary and busno-power in Aotearoa New Zealand as part of a new reality in a neoliberal laboratory (Kelsey 2002, 6). In doing so, the paper makes a number of contributions to educational governmentality studies.

First, it has demonstrated how a 'second wave' (Codd 2001) of curriculum and assessment change from 1995 to 1999 was integral to the production of a new regime of educational truth, which included the re/making of individuals as enterprising subjects. It has shown how globalised discourses, as a locally implemented national curriculum and assessment regime, are now an integral part of modern economic government. They are part of a repertoire of explicit, calculated and scientifically rationalised tactics and programmes that implement political rationalities to organise and administer modern 'control' societies (Rose 1999).

Foucault sought to explain how contemporary government effects its rationalities: how it knows what it must do and how it does it. This genealogy has traced or mapped out parts of this process showing how curriculum and assessment operated as a specific form of public reason or rationalisation (Foucault 1994a, 128). Bearing in mind that policies are tangled pluralities of multiple discourses, the paper has specifically traced and located those of corporate management, business-market accountability, scientific rationalism and technical and economic forms of instrumentalism, as the basis for rendering reality thinkable and amenable to calculation and programming, through curriculum and assessment in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Second, the paper has shown how such programmes operate in incremental yet unplanned, imperfect and serendipitous ways. Building on previous theoretical and conceptual assumptions, relations and translations and within the messy relations of governmentality and its technologies for 'steering at a distance' (Ball 2003, 251), they are part of arranging things 'so as to lead to a convenient end' (Foucault 1991a, 94). Disjunctures and dysfunctionalities, such as the lack of National Standards or national testing can be seen as incrementally strengthening governmental control, in that they enable experimentation and the introduction of new tactics and techniques to deal with old or newly designated problems (Foucault 1980).

Third, the paper has traced the power/knowledge of the Government's school assessor, the ERO as 'engineers of conduct and orthopaedists of individuality' (Foucault 1995, 294) in Aotearoa New Zealand. As the major advocate of 'market-managerial accountability' (Court 2004, 174), the ERO directed schools' engagement with the new framework and demanded the provision of evidence of this engagement. The ERO can be seen as intent on operationalising the NZCF as a public measurement regime and performance technology bolstered by managerial and market accountabilities. The ERO's aim had been to make students, teachers, schools and communities permanently visible and able to be judged in business productivity and market efficiency terms for their ability to add value to students. The paper demonstrates that the ERO understood the value of standards to the NZCF as an efficient disciplinary and busno-power technology, as well as the governmental significance of its placement at the heart of the re/construction of an Enterprise Culture and enterprising selves.

Fourth, the paper has demonstrated that as the overarching trope for educational, economic and cultural change in Aotearoa New Zealand, Enterprise as a governmental mentality and truth discourse (Foucault 1980) has an adaptive and enduring global appeal (Rose 1996, 154). The implementation of neoliberalism through a 'busno-power policy regime' (Fitzsimons 2011, 133) enabled the execution of the two modes of governmental power. Permeated by a busnocratic rationality embedding cultural change, this policy regime ideally merged the economic and the social in busno-power.

Fifth, the genealogy has demonstrated the 'progressive mutation of the citizen' (Graham and Neu 2004, 312) into self-driven, well-planned, responsible, calculating and value-adding teachers, students and parents. By internalising the demands of compliance, gainful choice-making and measured performances, such individuals would raise their achievement and render themselves known and calculable, for transition into multiple markets and innovative production. Thus the paper has traced how the school curriculum and its assessment can be understood as re/moralising technologies consistently applying busno-power to form identity and cognition. It has shown how New Zealand introduced

therapeutic technologies as ‘a new regime of government’, informed by prudentialism and a busno-cratic rationality, to assist this in ‘at risk’ groups (Dean 2010, 194). The curriculum and assessment sought to reorientate the psycho-social complexities of individuals (e.g. their deep-seated dispositions, aspirations, self-perceptions, strategies, ethical and moral bases), towards market choice-making to produce individuals aligned with national policy agendas and economic growth.

Behind the apparently benign school practices of the new metrics of this policy regime, such as its public and systemic administrative grids and the written markings of daily practice (e.g. curriculum plans, AOs on whiteboards, classroom, group and year targets on planning grids and assessment display portfolios), were the ERO’s increasingly prescribed attempts to reprofessionalise teachers. They sought future-focused, calculative, inclusive and strategic, techno-entrepreneurial employees who could be verified and valued through mathematically legible performances. The merging of the individual, with the social and economic, through this busno-power regime enables the penetration of neoliberalism, the market and the economic form into the very basis of the human ‘soul’ (Foucault 1995, 30) and the heart of education. This ‘capital-ability’ of individuals (Foucault 2008, 225) also economised (Lingard 2010) intimate familial routines, personal relationships, communities, knowledge, care and responsibility, in the service of governance.

Sixth, the National Government and the ERO understood the importance of implementing the first form of governmental power: self-government, in order to establish the second, population governance. As consumption and production units, students needed to be numericised and changed into communicable data ‘cases’, preferably through the ‘examination’. Systems of bio/busno-power could be used to validate, aggregate and calculate them as ‘transmittable, stable, regulated, information traces’ (Graham and Neu 2004, 299). Calculative governmentality (Dean 2010) increasingly knows and manages its population(s) and systems through rationalised political arithmetic, tracing subjects and statistically calculating forms of risk. In a neoliberal context, social/market sites such as schools become systems of calculation, prediction and risk-management. Grids of numerical systems enable national and supranational surveillance, measurement, comparison, risk-management and resource targeting. This paper has shown how such programmes are as much about the government of minds and souls and personal life as they are about knowing and managing collective outputs.

Seventh, within neoliberalism and a busnocratic rationality, in the quest for raised standards ‘the means become ends in themselves’ and targets, standards and indicators of quality become mistaken for quality itself (Biesta 2010, 13). As Foucault (1991a, 75) puts it, the biopolitical categorisations of modern governance, become embedded so as to effectively prescribe practice and codify what is to be known about humans and life. Performances that count, replace issues of normative validity with those of technical validity, eviscerating penetrating questions about knowledge, techniques and ends. This panoptically reinforces technicism and instrumentalism throughout families and communities, reconstituting curriculum and assessment into stronger steering technologies while retaining state jurisdiction over policy and funding. Contemporarily, this empowers those designating, delivering and managing the numerical inscriptions and their techniques and tactics, rather than their known subject/objects.

Notes

1. Australia has embraced national testing (Klenowski and Wyatt-Smith 2012; Lingard 2010), while New Zealand has established National Standards based on Overall Teacher Judgements, that are neither national nor standardised, but exerting high-stakes effects in primary school cultures.
2. These ‘arts of government’ involved modes of thinking and forms of reason (e.g. discursive regimes) to render reality thinkable, amenable to calculation, programming and change.
3. Fabrication meant self-construction and fictionalisation for Foucault. By tracing the relation between disciplinary self-fabrication, the human sciences, self-control, and the 1980s re-emergence of Greek ethical notions of self-constitution through self-care, conceptual continuity across Foucault’s oeuvre can be traced. Olssen (2006, 34) notes Foucault’s development of these ideas, but Harrer (2005) rejects arguments of a distinct rupture in early and later work, arguing they imply the same practice. Rose (1999, 240) also rejects a ‘post-disciplinary’ logic, stressing the multiplicity of strategies, sites and complexities of fabrication in control societies.

4. Ex-Treasury official.
5. Disciplinary moralisation penetrates the body and soul to shape productive and docile subjects. Contemporary moralisation reflects secularism cosmopolitanism, consumptive and popular cultures, and is dispersed through human relations and sites requiring efficient observation, management and prediction. This enables the ethical self-management of consumers (Rose 1999, 233–234).

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Notes on contributor

Anne-Marie O'Neill has taught and published widely across social and historical foundations and educational policy, gender and curriculum sociology at the Massey University College of Education. She is undertaking a doctorate on the politics of curriculum and assessment change in Aotearoa New Zealand.

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STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION DOCTORATE WITH PUBLICATIONS/MANUSCRIPTS

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Chapter/Paper Three

Research area of interest:

- 1. Examine governmental biopower as a pastoral-therapeutic programme of individual subjectification and collective enhancement, through its core technologies, techniques, purposes and effects (Areas of interest 1, 2 and 3).**

Chapter Three undertakes a genealogy of a national curriculum extension, to upgrade literacy and numeracy learning. *The Home-School Partnership Programme* (PP) (Ministry of Education 2004) is an exemplar of how contemporary biopolitical governance targets the mind, including one's emotionality, particularly the capacity for responsibility. It traces the operation of the PP in primary schools through the use of pastoral power and therapeutic techniques applied directly to parents and families. I believe the PP is highly significant for understanding the extent to which psycho-social narratives of identity fuse with governmentality in ANZ. From my reading of the educational, sociological and governmentality literatures, the PP sets out one of the most detailed and explicit educationally initiated, preferred behaviours for subjectification (including dispositions, specific familial practices and lifestyles suggestions) found in an educational context such as ANZ's.

Developed by a 'Third Way' neoliberal, centre-left Labour-Coalition Government (1999-2008), the PP is contextualised as a response to nearly two decades of one of the most radical structural adjustments and austerity programmes in the OECD and globally (Starke 2008). As part of a communitarian rebuilding of an inclusive, economic and social community, the PP was enacted through co-operation between teachers and parents. It inducted teachers and schools into how to run culturally inclusive partnerships with parents to discuss and plan how they can make change at home. It specifies individual behaviours, familial interaction patterns, living, lifestyle aspirations, personal and familial dispositions, orientations and community participation tactics for parents and families.

Third Wayism: Risk management through pastoral power

The Chapter briefly locates the discursive basis of Third Way educational neoliberalism, and draws on two sets of Briefing Papers presented to the new administration to assist this. These reiterated the retention of market discourses, but emphasised an actuarial, risk and prudential investment-based approach to achievement. The socialisation of risk to individuals and institutions, was part of normalising future-focused risk cultures in education. Individual, familial and institutional responsibility for increases in educational outcomes and for creation of a Knowledge Economy was required (Ministry of Education 1999a, 1999b; Treasury 1999).

The genealogy analyses the ancient caring power of pastoralism and its contemporary expression as therapeutics. It demonstrates how such power is applied to bodies and minds to generate psychological self-reflection. This is the basis of the agentic take up of personal responsibility for making psycho and/or practical parental changes to boost learning. Such techniques in the PP include group discussion, psycho-emotional reflection, citizenship, agency, self-esteem building and induction into social skills, empowerment and negotiation. Supporting the above, were group confessional discussion and practical modelling and practice sessions. These boosted confidence and know-how while offering practical suggestions for how to build family cultures of inclusion, tolerance, positivity and esteem.

In working with parents, schools were to prioritise culturally inclusive strategies. These included specific welcoming, bilingual sessions in fourteen languages, the provision of hospitality, inclusion of community leaders and empowerment of parents as programme leaders. Parents were

encouraged to assess schools on cultural inclusiveness. In local neighbourhoods such techniques assisted the ethically-based parental rebuilding of inclusion and community relations. For example, the PP suggested to parents to 'Allow your child to pay visits to neighbours (if trusted); Offer to shop for your neighbours and then deliver the shopping with your child'. Similarly, the parental sharing of all home strategies was expected (Ministry of Education 2004).

Individual subjectification and collective biopower

The PP exerted disciplinary power onto parents and teachers. Discipline optimizes individual bodily capabilities, to increase usefulness and docility as worker-subjects (Foucault 1995, 143-194)²⁰. Parents attending meetings were to contribute in prescribed ways, then apply disciplinary techniques to children to assist their take up of new practices, living habits (e.g. predictable routines, expectations and self-responsibility). Children in the habit of eating and sleeping well, as the PP advocated, would have experiences at home that would enhance school learning. This would benefit their social normalisation, increase future productivity and citizenship capability. It would increase collective educational achievement (e.g. as more literate, educationally engaged parents), building more literate families for the future. Ideally, demography, statistics, evaluation of resource use and risk actuarialism could be applied to such groups as a way of calculating the value of the PP and increased achievement.

Responsibilisation

The PP demonstrates how responsabilisation is the primary capacity through which human conduct is now biopolitically organised and steered under governmentality (Brown 2015). The PP sought to nurture a prudent and planned relation to everything, including parental risk-mitigation, through assuming responsibility for securing familial outcomes. In taking up this educ-management, parents were being inducted into middle class, literate-based educational and living strategies and an entrepreneurial-investment approach to their children. The PP also inducted parents into responsibility for creating inclusive community and countering the narcissistic individualism of the 1990s (Kelsey 2002). Its key governmental purposes were to increase educational achievement and produce self-moderating and self-reliant subjects not dependent on the state.

This genealogical examination of the PP signals the extent to which a new centre-left administration drew on a politics of conduct (Foucault 1995) to achieve its governmental ends. This required agentic, re-moralisation through 'biographical project[s] of self-realisation' (Rose 1999, 2). Teachers were responsabilised as re-moralisers around cultural inclusivity and an ethically informed investment-entrepreneurialism. In tracing the emergence of this new subjectification, the Chapter maps the ideal of responsible and self-managing, ethically-informed, parent-teacher-subjects, as community-makers *and* entrepreneur-investor-subjects. It acknowledges the degree to which personal traits, bodily capacities and personal ethics are biopolitically targeted. This includes the morality of one's own existence, familial relations and intimate rituals which come under state prescription, commodification and economisation – servicing economic government and national global competitive advantage.

Specific Chapter findings:

- Biopolitical population upgrading occurs through ordinary programmes which apply caring power and therapeutic technologies to individuals, groups and communities to target the mind, cognition and emotions.

²⁰ It uses four techniques: draws up tables, prescribes movements, imposes exercises and combines these by arranging 'tactics' (Foucault 1995, 167).

- Pastoral biopolitics nurtures a desire for change and seeks to responsabilise and empower subjects to make change through self and collective-techniques.
- Pastoral biopolitics operates as a risk mitigation and management regime, transferring multiple forms of risk and responsibility onto individuals, families and institutions.
- Responsibilisation is the penultimate human capacity through which human conduct is now biopolitically steered under governmentality.
- In ANZ the extent to which biopolitical upgrading targets, reshapes and re-moralises the inner life of individuals, their relationships and intimate familial contexts as part of neoliberal governmentality, is not widely known or understood.
- Pastoral biopolitics commodifies and economises bodies, minds and emotions in the service of economic government, its agendas and global competitiveness.

A home-school partnership: Genealogically tracing the re-making of responsible, ethically-informed, self-investors in neoliberal Aotearoa New Zealand

Anne-Marie O'Neill

Institute of Education, College of Humanities and Social Sciences Massey University Manawatu, Palmerston North, New Zealand. amoneill.nz@icloud.com

Abstract

Following twenty years of structural adjustment a centre-left Third Way government in Aotearoa New Zealand sought to reshape neoliberal rationality around partnering, inclusive economy, community, personal ethics and responsibility. This genealogy analyses a popular primary school, home-school Partnership Programme (PP) as an exemplar of governance through moral regulation. This state-devised, literacy and numeracy extension, specified an elaborate micro-politics of family routines, practices, dispositions and lifestyles for parents to 'take up' to enhance learning. Examined through a Foucauldian governmentality lens, the PP applied pastoral power to 'make up' parents as preferred individuals. They were to be remoralised as responsible, ethically-driven parent-teacher and community-maker-subjects, *and* entrepreneur-investor-subjects, responsibly calculating a prudent relation to everything. The genealogy traces how the PPs psycho-therapeutic, self-techniques (e.g. citizenship, resilience, future-focus, planning, verbalisation and self-confidence) supported and strengthened individuals as entrepreneurial-investors through this self-preoccupied subjectivity. It examines how responsibility is the primary human capacity empowering financialised governmentality. In exposing this core of governmental rationality, the paper maps how subjectification commodifies and instrumentalises the psycho-social, emotional, moral, relational and cognitive capacities of individuals and families. As steered at a distance, responsible self-governance and internalised self-control, enable, an apparent 'governance without governing', further embedding governmental control in 'control societies'.

Keywords:

governmentality; genealogy; biopower; pastoral power; education policy; community partnership; neoliberalism; re-moralisation; psycho-therapeutics; responsabilisation

INTRODUCTION

... what I have tried to do is ... an analysis of [how] ... forms of a possible knowledge ... normative frameworks of behaviour for individuals, and potential modes of existence for possible subjects [are] linked together ... (Foucault 2010: 3).

Michel Foucault traced the emergence of liberal political rationality and the introduction of economy into its mentality to shape the conduct of conduct. His pioneering work on neoliberal governmentality examined its use of what has become the most pervasive modern power: biopower (Foucault 1990). Applied through state services and ordinary programmes, this 'makes up' self-governing individuals as governable subjects *and* seeks to govern them collectively as productive populations. Of this Foucault maintained:

Never, I think, in the history of human societies ... has there been such a tricky combination in the same political structures of individualization techniques and of totalisation procedures (2003a, 131).

This paper examines neoliberal individualisation through the modern application of ancient pastoral 'caring' power, to re-make people as preferred subjects and populations (Lemke 2009, p.50). It does so by 're-reading' (Simons, Olssen & Peters 2009, xii) a popular *Home-School Partnership Programme* (PP), a literacy and numeracy curriculum extension, for primary school parents in Aotearoa New Zealand (ANZ). 'Empowering' families to develop 'learning skills' to 'raise student achievement' (Ministry of Education 2004), the PP was originally devised for the recalcitrant underclass (Peters 2001, p.59) of the 'at risk'. It was later made available to all interested schools and students.

The *Partnership* was introduced by a newly elected, centre-left Labour-Coalition Government (1999-2008), after twenty years of one of the most radical structural adjustments in the OECD and possibly globally (Starke 2008). Analysed through Foucault's (1991a, 2008) governmentality lens, the paper traces and contextualises the *Partnership Programme* (PP), as indicative of its attempt to 're-make' neoliberal governmental rationality.

Appealing to ethics and morals, the new administration sought to re-moralise an embittered and fractured collective culture and a possessive, narcissistic individualism. Global discourses of social inclusion, community and conceptions of humans as ethical and responsible and entitled to justice and personal happiness, were emphasised, as was the retention of subjects with a robust interest in personal and collective economic advancement. Within this communitarian or Third Way governance, the PP sought to nurture ethical self-management through a 'new regime of conduct' (Rose 2000a, p.1398).

Using the Foucauldian 'toolkit', the paper undertakes a discursive examination of the manual for teacher and parent partnership facilitators. It genealogically traces and contextualises the PP's microphysics of power, and its prescribed normative framework for 'making people up' (Dean 2010, p.233). This details bodily dispositions, traits, practices, familial intimacies, routines and lifestyle for parents and families to take up to build home-learning cultures. The PP presents an idealised or 're-imagined', literate, family life within a bountiful 're-imagined' community-culture. As a 'biographical project of self-realisation' (Rose 1996, p.2), it sought to nurture desire in parents for agentic re-moralisation. This was as responsible, ethically-informed, parent-teacher-subjects, community-makers *and* self-managing, entrepreneur-investor-subjects, responsibly cultivating a prudent relation to everything (Brown 2015).

The paper begins by introducing Foucault's (1980, p.145) 'toolkit'. It contextualises New Zealand's educational governmentality and locates the new Labour-Coalition's (2000-2008), Third Way neoliberalism. The second section re-reads two core *Briefing Papers* to the new government problematising (Foucault, 1980) a 'persistent tail of underachievement'; predominantly indigenous Māori, and Pasifika students¹. Categorised as 'at risk' and a potential danger to economic growth (Treasury 1999, p.37), both *Briefings* demonstrate the extent to which discourses of educational risk, business-based calculation, future investment, responsabilisation and self-management, are invoked to explain and rectify the underachievement 'problem'. This required 'targeted' and 'novel forms' of pastoral and therapeutic power, administered 'beyond the school gate' (37).

The third section of the paper traces the content of *The Home-School Partnership Programme: Literacy* (PP:L) and its discourses of cultural inclusion, partnership, community, learning and psycho-therapeutics. Using the techniques of the latter (e.g. responsibility, self-esteem, citizenship, resilience, future-focus and forward planning), the PP sought to nurture psychologically resilient inner-selves, consciously and ethically undertaking educ-parenting and everyday living. Following Brunila and Siivonen (2016), the paper traces how this 'preoccupied subjectivity' was constructed

1 2006 Census: People of European descent at 67-8%; Indigenous Māori 14-5%; Pasifika 7%; and Asian 9% of nearly 4.3 million people.

through discourses of educational entrepreneurial-investment, combined with and bolstered by, psycho-therapeutic discourses of the self. Responsibilised selves were constituted as both economic and moral (Peters 2001, p.61), and the paper traces how, responsibility as Wendy Brown (2015, p.132) has analysed, is the main capacity constructing, organising and measuring human conduct under financialised governmentality (Peters, Paraskeva & Besley, 2015).

As a re-moralising technology, the PP offered this re-making to parents and communities to freely take up as a way of working collectively to enhance parenting and learning strategies and increase achievement. Implicit in its politics of individual conduct and identity was a national politics, played out through internalised self-control and self-driven forms of personal (and familial) change requiring deep-seated re-moralisation (Rose 1999). The paper analyses how a school programme to upgrade learning, materially strengthened neoliberalism, through liberal forms of moral regulation (Peters 2001, p. 67).

Deflecting attention from the causes of structural inequality, the PP individualised responsibility for educational underachievement, cultural inclusion, and community-making. It attempted to entrepreneurialise and instrumentalise the psycho-social, emotional, moral and cognitive capacities of people, their relationships and families around economic agendas. The paper illustrates how the governmental making and normalisation of conduct occurs through everyday institutions and processes, particularly where human deviation occurs (Rose 1999, p.234). It shows how individual action, choice, decision-making and reasoning can be seen as inseparable from governing truths, population steering and economic agendas (Peters, 2001). Educational partnerships as technologies of neoliberal colonialism (David, 2004), are ideal vehicles for individualisation and re-moralisation. The paper draws extensively on Foucault and neo-Foucauldian work (Marshall, 1995, 1997; Peters & Marshall 1996; Peters, 2001, 2005) and (Rose, 1996, 1999a, 2000a, b) to locate the PP and its embedding in a calculative 'control society' (Deleuze 1995; Rose 2000b). In the following section the paper outlines how Foucauldian (1984) 'toolkit' is employed in the paper.

USING FOUCAULT'S 'TOOLKIT' AND CONTEXTUALISING GOVERNMENTALITY

Policy as discourse

As politicised forms of public speech, policy texts and school programmes sanction or exclude ways of speaking and knowing. They involve action or inaction on ideals, goals, values and resources – partially reflective of temporal structural power. For Foucault, reality is constructed through and within discourse: historically recurring statements across language, texts, knowledge, institutional practices, regulatory regimes and social relations. As material practices, discourses 'systematically form the objects of which they speak' and while composed of signs that designate things, 'they do more than this'. It is this *more* that renders discourse irreducible to language and 'it is this 'more' that we must reveal and describe' to understand the generation of meaning, practice and power (Foucault 1972, 49 original emphasis)².

Using Foucault's 'toolkit' of instruments, the paper traces the PP's 'rules of right' as a truth discourse (e.g. a curriculum programme) (Foucault 1980, pp.93-94). As both text and discourse, policies offer subject positions to be 'freely' taken up by individuals as their own (e.g. responsible parents) (Ball 1990, p.2), thus creating inter-subjective relations of power between texts and reader-subjects (Luke 1995, 19-20). The 'richly ambiguous stories' (Flyvberg 2001, p.136) of policies confusingly speak to, or seek to 'hail' as many groups as possible through discordant

2 Similar and inter-related groups of statements exist within discursive formations (Foucault 1972, pp.31-9) and the ways in which the elements are related to one another constitutes a system of conceptual formation (60).

discourses, set over, against or integrated into existing discourses (Foucault 1972, p.49). These produce, mediate and reinforce power in the making and re-making of individuals, social relations and political rationalities. The rise and fall of discursive exposures and destabilizations in policies, reveals their mediation of internal logics and public rationalities which can be traced, located and laid bare (Olssen, Codd & O'Neill 2004, pp.71-72).

Genealogy

Foucault examined official 'truths' historically, and the 'fictions of the present', as 'strange', constructed, non-linear and episodic, rather than uniform, coherent and progressive (Macintosh 2009, p.12). Following Nietzsche's rejection of the pursuit of origins, naturalness and necessity, Foucault's genealogical approach enables the deconstruction of political rationalities, their interrogation and contextualisation. It reformulates the 'political' and intellectual around questions on the nature of our time, political ontology, and 'the logics of power that have produced this condition and within which we operate?' (Brown 1998, p.43-45). By examining rationalities as particular discourses through which we live, we can also trace *how* government, culture and power-knowledge normalise preferred individualities as 'meaningful subjects and docile objects' under conditions of increasing rationalisation (Olssen 2006, p.14-5). These interpretive analytics can trace the micro-level of lives and relations – the obvious, minute and boring – to map how relations of force 'run through our lives; you and I are part of its exercise' (Hacking 1995, p.214)³. By examining the past as 'who we are in the present' (Ball 2013, p.87) genealogies peer, prod and disturb, from inside and out, to interrogate current issues and dangers. Conjunctions of discourses, ruptures and breaks in practices, can signify discursive changes (e.g. the individualisation of risk).

Tracing governmentality in Aotearoa New Zealand

Following the 1984 election of the fourth, social democratic Labour Government (1984-1990), New Zealand's reputation as a global social welfare laboratory, was mirrored in its 'laboratory' application of 'pure' neoliberalism (Kelsey 2002, p.6). Commentators have noted how its 'isolation, size and recency' has enabled 'grand themes of world history [to be] played out more rapidly, ... separately and ... discernibly' than anywhere else (Belich 1996, cited in Fiske & Ladd 2000, p.12). The Tomorrow's Schools (1989) 'first wave' of reforms implemented school-site management through one of the most rigorous restructurings of an established system (p.12). The combining of economic rationalism, business-enterprise and social communitarianism, produced cohering versions of market managerialism and performativity (Court & O'Neill 2011). Politically constructing a competitive state (Cerny 2005), the discursive ascent of 'market-managerial accountability' and 'client choice' was rapid (Court 2004, p.176). Building on the 'cracks and fissures' of Keynesianism, the new policy technologies eventually supplanted consensus-based welfarism with governmentality policies (Court & O'Neill 2011, pp.126).

After its dramatic loss in the 1990 election, the reforming Labour Government, was replaced by a National Government (1990-1999). Elected on a 'Decent Society' platform, National aggressively continued structural adjustment, implementing a 'second wave' (Codd 2001) of globalised curriculum, assessment and qualifications change. Subsuming education into economic policy in its 1991 Budget,⁴ it economised the forthcoming outcomes-based, curriculum-assessment framework and placed it at the core of building an 'Enterprise Culture' (Smith 1991, pp.1-3, 20). As the trope for governmental change, this rationality sought the:

3 Within force relations – the micro-physics of power, one can try to analyse the mechanisms of power, to find what pushes or compels one to do something.

4 This disestablished universal welfare, deregulated the labour market and implemented extreme fiscal austerities.

... multiplication of the “enterprise” form within the social body, ... market, competition, ... the economic model of supply and demand ... investment-costs-profit ... as ... a model of social relations and of existence itself, a form of relationship of the individual to himself, to those around him, the group and the family (Foucault 2008, pp.148, 242).

The business-enterprise *New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (Ministry of Education 1993) prioritised Essential Skills, information, pedagogy, assessment and data-management. In education, students and teachers were ensconced in what Marshall (1995) identified in ANZ as ‘busno-power’⁵. This targeted the mind and cognition (rather than the body) through the collapse of education and training and the prioritisation of choice, personal strategizing, risk management, knowledge segmentation, skills and data (Peters & Marshall 1996, pp.91-95; Marshall 1997, p.44). It constructed rational ‘autonomous-choosers’ (Marshall 1995) as a self-managing, competitive, multitude of enterprises. The 1990s ‘busno-power policy regime’ (Fitzsimons 2011, p.133) reflected New Public Management (NZNPM), human capital neoliberalism and Treasury’s lionising of market choice as essentially human and pathological. As normative reason, the entrepreneurialising of everything in ANZ, reinforced competitive individualism as:

... a dynamic of pure enterprise in which others appear, not as objects of psychological investment toward a relation of mutuality, but as pure resources in an environment of opportunity (Binkley 2011, pp.92-3).

Conceptualising of individuals as market-driven ‘autonomous choosers’, busno-power re-moralised (Rose 1999, p.183) subjectivity, choice and cognition as an ‘accounting mentality’ (Fitzsimons 2011, p.75). Active, numerate, responsible and entrepreneurial selves were to make cost-benefit calculations of investment returns on life choices and decisions. In ANZ busno-power individualised, while a busnocratic rationality, prioritised business-corporate values, managerialism, consumer sovereignty and economics, to enhance its totalising functions (Marshall 1997 p.44).

1999: Third Way ‘reflexive’ neoliberalism

Disillusionment with a decade of the morally conservative, populist, fourth National Government and its extreme neoliberalism, resulted in a 1999 end of year election campaign ‘pregnant with promise’ (Kelsey 2002, p.49). The Labour Party opposition proposed democratic and business-enterprise discourses of public service, private investment and accountability. Its leader told an election rally that:

... heavy handed ... [and] ... no-handed government hasn’t delivered ... we have come to talk of a third way:

- of smart, active, intelligent government
- with a vision and a purpose
- committed to leadership, to partnership, to facilitation, and to funding where the market fails and where investment in people is so critical (Clark 1999 cited in Kelsey 2002, p.67).

‘Nationwide strategies, strengthened relationships, benchmarking, local clusters, incentives, wraparound programmes and stewardship’ could underpin an ‘innovative, open, dynamic, internationally competitive economy’ (New Zealand Labour Party 1999). Elected decisively in November 1999 and supported by the left-wing Alliance (until 2002), the fifth Labour-Coalition

5 Busno-power extended Weber’s technocratic rationality and Foucault’s bio-power (Marshall 1995)

Government (2000-2008)⁶ attained a clear mandate to dismantle neoliberal architecture. Its Third Way platform informed by the United Kingdom's New Labour Party (1997-2010),⁷ reflected NZ's 'thin intellectual environment', 'dumbed down' politics, and minimal critical debate after years of fractured change (Kelsey 2002, pp.62-3).

Immediately addressing market dysfunctions, renationalising strategic assets and consolidating restructuring, Labour adopted a 'reflexive' governance, prominent under advanced liberalism. Its internal efficiencies, reformation, partnering and outsourcing (Dean 2010, pp.217-223), reflected 'information-theoretic economics' – a 'people-state friendly' interventionist, neoliberalism (Kelsey 2002, p.112). Poignantly retaining the monetary and regulatory apparatus, Labour committed to budgetary surpluses and neoliberal globalisation with a 'social face'. Its governmentality was enacted through short-term political management, redistribution and steerage (Clark 2000 cited in Kelsey 2002, pp.50-62).

The following second section, genealogically traces the problematizing (Foucault 1980) of educational 'underachievement' in two post-election *Briefings* to the incoming government. Reiterating the retention of market discourses, these prioritise actuarial, risk and prudential, investment-based approaches to this problem. Shifting the socialisation of risk to individuals and institutions, they sought to normalise future-focused, risk cultures (O'Malley 1996). This aligned with the *Briefings* responsabilisation of individuals, families and teachers for increases in educational outcomes.

GOVERNMENT BRIEFINGS: CHARTING THE RISE OF RESPONSIBLE, CALCULATIVE INVESTMENT

Treasury Briefing Papers

The New Zealand Treasury's post-election *Towards Higher Living Standards for New Zealanders: Briefing to the Incoming Government 1999*, warned the new left-leaning Coalition Government with a robust mandate for change, that retention of the 1990s 'hard earned' fiscal and economic architecture and global 'credibility' (Treasury 1999, p.2) required further tightening, debt reduction, spending caps, surpluses, free trade, public-private partnerships and risk minimisation (p.32). A 'value-adding, food-producing knowledge economy' (p.6) required 'overseas investor confidence' and 'social cohesiveness' (p.23-26). Another assessment argued that 'having done everything globalisation required of it', New Zealand was a divided and fractured society, with 'a pathologically dependent, vulnerable and under-performing economy' (Kelsey 2002, p.40)⁸.

The 'disadvantaged': Policies beyond the school gate'

Treasury affirmed the importance of appropriate steerage in decision-making environments in 'setting a context and tone, creating incentives and disincentives' across 'households, workplaces, public agencies and local and international communities' (Treasury 1999, p.5). It reiterated that 'economic growth, 'incomes and lifestyles' quality reflected 'the thousands of choices individuals and firms make everyday' assessing 'costs, benefits and trade-offs' (29).

6 Labour governed under three Coalitions: with a leftist Alliance 2000-02; the Progressives and United Future, centrists 2002-04 and New Zealand First, centrists 2005-08.

7 Thrupp (2005) cautions against superficial comparisons between these two highly diverse contexts.

8 By 1998 NZ was one of 5 out of 45 countries, to have lost market share from 1993. Its OECD ranking fell from 9th in 1970 to 19th in 1999. Import dependency, trade deficits and foreign debt of NZ \$87.1 billion, was well beyond levels of the East Asian crisis in 1997-99. Asset sales and overseas borrowing fed reserves while domestic production was at a fifty-year low. By 2000, NZ was the most transnationalised country in the OECD (UNCTAD 2000 cited in Kelsey 2002, pp.35-40).

A decade of implementing the OECD's third mandate of upgrading human capital for life-long learning (Henry, Lingard, Rizvi and Taylor 2001), had resulted in 'one in five school-leavers still attain[ing] no senior qualifications in 1999 as in 1990' (Treasury 1999, p.36). Māori and Pasifika; 'a growing proportion of the population' were over-represented in an 'extended and persistent tail of underachievement' which could constrain growth, particularly if:

... clustered in the same geographic area and ... of the same ethnicity. When disadvantaged groups are isolated intellectually, they become isolated socially, and this works against the acquisition of human capital among young people.

Problematized as 'disadvantaged groups' below a normalised level of performance (Foucault 1980, pp.81-2), these racially, economically and socially codified 'underachievers' were a bigger economic problem when spatialised in collective, isolated clusters, less amenable to normalization and productive citizenship. As 'anti-citizens' (Rose 1999, p.88), Treasury required interventions 'beyond the school gate', through 'community-based', 'wrap-around-services' (Treasury 1999, p.37).

Inequality as perception

Despite acknowledging that 'the spread between ... incomes had widened ... since the 1980s' and the relation between educational failure and 'disadvantage', inequality for Treasury was a 'way of identifying skill shortages and rewarding valued talent' (pp.41-2). Collective provision could involve 'a degree of altruism – we may value ... making provision for other groups ... or future generations, that we will not directly share in' (p.10).

Inequality and 'increasing income disparity' did not 'necessarily create a problem' nor threaten cohesion, 'despite its disproportionate effects on Māori' (p.7), if perceived to be fair. Numbers living in relative poverty had doubled from the mid-1980s to one in five adults and one third of children in the mid-1990s (Kelsey 2002, p.40). Māori, Pasifika and immigrant families were at the bottom of an income gap, constituting New Zealand as one of the most unequal industrialised nations (Rashbrooke 2013, p.27)⁹. Treasury argued that if 'perceived to be excessive or unfairly generated' it could further reduce social equality (Treasury 1999 p.43). Preventative targeting of the 'at risk' within a Knowledge Economy was a cost-effective investment in the problem of the underachieving, unskilled and poor. 'High levels of social cohesion' enabled the engineering of consensus (pp.35-41).

EDUCATION BRIEFING PAPERS

Underachievement: Targeting the 'at risk'

The Ministry of Education's *Briefing for the Incoming Minister of Education* (1999) began with a 'stocktake' of OECD comparisons on the 'pressing problem' of 'significant underachievement'. Reiterating the Treasury's concerns, the Ministry argued that 'raising the achievement of all ... [was] ... as vital as addressing underachievement' (Ministry of Education 1999, pp.1-6). Thus adverse behavioural and family situations required 'early targeting', not 'costly systemic changes such as increased student-teacher ratios'. Children living in designated 'multiple risk factors' (e.g. persistent low income, poor housing and health outcomes) and extreme disadvantage (e.g. mental health, drugs, alcohol, transience and demotivation), were a 'bigger problem' because of

⁹ The richest 5% of the population had increased their share of national income by 25% while for the bottom four-fifths it fell markedly (Kelsey 2002, p.40).

reduced personal 'resilience'. Many needed psychological and practical assistance to develop this and to take responsibility for failures in risk prediction, poverty and structural inequality.

Acknowledging the 'strong relationship' between family background and educational outcomes, the 'at risk' in the 'long tail': 5-10% of Māori, Pasifika, non-English speaking and low income families, with lower levels of participation, performance and qualifications, required better engagement in learning as a 'bridge to a better future'. The 'under-represented' including Māori and Pasifika, could be targeted through family, community and teacher capability-building (pp.11-23). 'Collaborative, cross-sector, cooperative, preventative, locally-based strategies' and 'genuine partnerships' (e.g. literacy and immunisation) and 'intensive community interventions and case management' could provide 'critical' support for families, with 'resources, guidance and information to improve learning'. Partnerships were political technologies for communicating change, eliciting 'information' on families and spreading the risk of non-achievement. Strengthening parental authority, partnerships responsabilised parents for learning through 'practical approaches to ... literacy and numeracy' and the transference of ownership of educational risk to individuals and families (pp.14-27).

Encouraging responsibility

In the 1990s, 'capable teachers' were re-professionalised as skilled, future-focused technicians and entrepreneurial, calculative self-managers (O'Neill 2015, p.25). By 1999 they were primarily responsible for increasing outcomes and systemic capability (Ministry of Education 1999). As 'key points of leverage' for raising achievement in a quasi-market, teachers needed to take greater responsibility for increasing their capabilities. This included using 'market-place effects' and cultural inclusion to empower students to 'meet their potential' (p.29). A 'self-sustaining drive for improvement' (p.50), could increase measured performances to match the 'power of parental choice'. Similarly, parents and communities needed to take responsibility for learning, through self-investment and market 'capability' (pp.11-15). For example, Māori could use partnerships and performativities (e.g. improvement targets) (p.42) as market leverage to get schools to 'adopt responsive and inclusive pedagogies', redress historical wrongs and 'add value' to human capital (p.27).

Risk: Prudent and calculative responsibility

The political grammar of the Briefings constructed the 'long tail' of underachievement as divided, racialized and potentially dangerous 'anti-citizens' (Rose 1999, p.88). Targeted, risk-spreading, pastoralism could initiate personal change and secure economic viability (Treasury 1999, p.45). Both *Briefings* were discursively informed by actuarialism: insurance-based, statistical calculations of risk, and prudentialism: privatised business/risk management to maximise profit (Peters 2001). They signified the full ascent of individualised and market-based risk technologies and self-responsibilisation through numerics, predictability and commercial modes of investment. Aligned to possessive individualism, this calculative rationality – risk management as everyday personal responsibility (Peters 2001, p.61), is closely tied to financialisation, the ethics, morality and practices of which were deeply ingrained in ANZ by mid-1990 (Kelsey 2015; Morgan 2015). This rationality re-emphasised the subject of educational 'busno-power' from an ensemble of enterprises, into that of a portfolio of investments (Brown 2015, p.70). Entrepreneurial self-investors were exalted to engage in self and co-investment to enhance value. Human capital serves as firms and members of firms were responsible for calculating investment and future security around increased returns (pp.32-37). Responsibilisation was the full ascent of 'the singular human capacity for responsibility'. In devolved contexts, it steers people towards:

The correct strategies of self-investment and entrepreneurship for thriving and surviving ... [the] moral burdening at the end of the pipeline (pp. 132-3).

In ANZ such discourses had emerged in education in the 1990s, but were more fully articulated in these Briefings for the new administration. They sat comfortably with an increasing public and policy obsession with futurism (Olssen et al 2004).

Changes to governing rationalities in the late twentieth century, reflected globalised discourses of community, multiculturalism, entrepreneurialism and investment. The erosion of the social contract between the social citizen, state and civil society, rendered the latter a 'third sector' between the market and government. Re-configured as 'community' under communitarian/Third Wayism, communities substituted a local, accessible, affective and 'ethical' response to the collective. Partnering or enabling states, like New Zealand's sought to re-make responsible and 'ethical' subject-citizens through a 'politics of conduct' invoking multiple forms of self-control. Linking the personal and political, collective destinies were seen to be shaped around economic advancement and an ethically-informed stability (Rose 2000a, p.1398).

During the 2000s the Labour-Coalition intensified NZNPM in education to standardise curriculum content and assessment and to introduce data-driven approaches. It installed large scale, national changes to lift achievement: curriculum exemplars; standardised testing; evidence-based policy; data-driven assessment; and managed strategies for Māori and Pasifika. This biopolitics sought to increase population knowledge, productivity and well-being. The two 'poles' of biopower: individualisation and population regulation, further normalised a calculative subjectivity, installed mass change and data-based population tracing and forms of control (Foucault 1990, pp.141-144).

The following section of the paper genealogically interrogates the 'humble and mundane' tactics and techniques (Rose and Miller 1992, p.183) of the *Home School Partnership Programme* (PP) (Ministry of Education 2004) as individualisation within a biopolitical strategy. Against the backdrop of curriculum-assessment change, the PP constructed parents simultaneously as responsible, ethically-informed, parent-pedagogues and community maker-members *and* responsible, entrepreneur-investors, with a prudent relation to future life-investments and returns (of which children were one). Responsibility mediated the alignment of both discourses. The genealogy traces the use of 'therapisation' as a core neoliberal technology of power, to strengthen subjectification (Brunila & Siivonen 2016, p.59). It shows how psycho-therapeutic self-techniques subsist with, and support, educational entrepreneurial-investors as self-'preoccupied subjectivities' (p.57). As a re-moralisation (Rose 1999, p.183) technology, the PP:L nurtured responsible self-governing individuals, families and communities. Enhancing self-government as an antidote to the predations (and withdrawal) of the state and the market (Rose 2000a), such programmes signified a marked intensification of social control through the self in ANZ.

INVESTING IN INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE POTENTIAL: A HOME-SCHOOL PARTNERSHIP

The *Home-School Partnership Programme* (PP) (Ministry of Education 2004) was developed as part of ANZ's national Literacy and Numeracy Strategy. This had the goal of 'every child reading, writing and doing maths for success by 2005' (Ministry of Education 1999a 4, 25-7). The PP embodied one of the new Government's three Strategic Priorities in education: 'everyday' familial support for learning as an 'investment in the full potential' of all (along with 'effective teaching' and 'evidence-based practice') (Ministry of Education 2005, 27-34). These Priorities were the educational basis of Labour's 'fully inclusive society' (5) and an 'inclusive economy' of 'prosperity, opportunity and social justice' (Cullen, Foreword cited in Treasury 2001a, p.4).

Previous 'stakeholder' partnerships in ANZ signified austerity, contractualism and 'responsibility without power' (Kelsey 2002, 79-80). The PP built on the 1990s school-community literacy partnerships for 'failing' schools/communities (Timperley & Robinson 2002) and reflected the

OECD's 'Building Partnerships for Progress' project (OECD 2001a; 2001b), which emphasised their generation of growth, citizen policy-making and strengthened human capital. Partnerships were also reinforced by a series of Treasury papers on wellbeing, human capital, 'closing the gaps' and families (2001a, b, c, d; 2002; 2004). Informed by the OECD and World Bank, Treasury defined inclusion as 'individuality and cultural aspirations ... to boost ... competition ... exchange and global trade' (Treasury 2001a, 13-14). It placed the development of 'social capital' – 'human networks, relations, norms, values, trust, institutions and human capital' as central to **'an inclusive, innovative economy for the benefit of all'**. 'Community norms' shared values, connectedness and mutuality could assist growth (Treasury 2001a, 13-17 original emphasis) and at the core of social capital lay strengthened human capital efficiency (15-22). Biopolitical 'investment strategies' could utilise early 'rapid brain development' through 'targeted policies for children, families and communities'. 'Most cost-effective in the long run' for increasing social capital (33-34), the 'biggest and cheapest' programmes could raise achievement 'in the bottom part of the distribution' (32). Thus between 2000-2008, partnership technologies steered New Zealanders into inclusive policy-making, social interchange and community-building, to construct a 'new social democracy' (Kelsey 2002, p.79).

Piloted in 2001 with 'at risk' Pasifika families, and offered in their first languages, the PP was expanded, into all interested schools, unchanged, in 2004. The genealogy discursively examines, maps and contextualises this 'regime of truth' through its printed materials for the Partnership Programme: Literacy (PP:L). Provided to school literacy advisers, these were to:

... train teams of teachers and parents to deliver sessions for parents and families that will empower them to help their children to develop their language and learning skills (Ministry of Education 2004, p.8).

Rather than a school-devised local 'community development partnership' (Bottrell & Goodwin 2011, p.34), the PP was a state steerage mechanism to utilise parental resources and orient schools towards policy goals (Seddon et al 2004, p.127). It drew on two, out of the six foci, of reciprocal, caring partnerships known to increase educational achievement: the sharing and refining of parenting strategies, and learning at home (Epstein 1992). Based on empowerment, the PP sought to assist parents-as-teachers to draw on their own resources to make change (Dale 1996, p.55). With its power-knowledge (Foucault 1980) invested in the state, it required a principal-led, 'school-wide involvement', 'informing and involving the community', to be 'community-responsive' (Ministry of Education 2004, pp. 8, 15-17).

Culturally inclusive partnerships

The *Partnership Programme's* Kaupapa (plan and purpose) was informed by two of the Ministry of Education's Best Evidence Synthesis (BES) reports. Its quality teaching for diversity, emphasised teaching for differences between and within ethnic groups (Alton-Lee 2003). Family and community influences argued that these accounted for 40-65% of children's learning (Biddulph, Biddulph and Biddulph 2003). Resting on 'the principles of cultural inclusion and partnership' the PP:L's Kaupapa or philosophy was Māori emphasising the centrality of the valuing of people: 'the school is people, people, people' (Ministry of Education 2004 p. 2). Schools were to 'invite, consult and negotiate' with 'community experts' (Rose 1999, pp.187-189) to proactively include Māori and Pasifika whose experiences were to be emphasised. Culturally specific welcoming, hospitality (Ministry of Education 2004 pp.22-4) and bilingual sessions in fourteen languages (124), included elders, representatives, extended family and community. 'At risk' groups were to be empowered to take up subject positions as leaders (e.g. lead team members, facilitators) (15, 23). Its Kaupapa included:

- Parents and families are the greatest influences in learning and school success;
- Endorse what families are already doing;
- Share key literacy messages and practical ways of helping children learn;
- Families and teachers work together to impact on children's development, learning and language; and
- A caring, working partnership between school staff and communities (6, 74).

To ensure the pastoral and therapeutic functions of the PP were implemented, parents were to monitor accountability for inclusive practice through a 'partnership challenge'. Its seventeen features encouraged parents to ask: 'does this happen for me, in our school':

- You listen to what I have to say;
- You want to learn about my ways;
- Don't judge me;
- Engage me in genuine dialogue;
- Share food;
- You try to greet me in my language;
- Ask me to become involved and contribute;
- You are interested in me as a person; and
- You include my experiences, knowledge, and viewpoints with yours (123).

Informing parents about how their PP:L should operate in practice, was a way of ensuring its requisite construction. As a 'mutually beneficial' (8), 'caring working partnership', of 'genuine sharing, hospitality, and reaching out to others' (122), cultural respect and validation, were central. Defining and checking, made such processes 'comprehensible and ready for action'. Like many partnerships, the PP could be read as a 'salvation' discourse, implying 'rescue, redemption and progress' (Popkewitz 2004, pp.27-29). Inclusion enabled penetration into marginalised and 'at risk' communities while a 'warm consensualism' (Fitzsimons 2006, p.158) assisted responsabilisation for participation, while masking inequalities.

Consensualism was governmentally important because rather than structural change or economic reform, inclusion was a Third Way approach to inequality. Partnerships persuaded people they were community members, with ethical obligations towards participation, and individual interests coinciding with the collective. Seemingly signalling 'truth, fact and reality', 'partnership' (like its interlinked term 'equity'), downplays a 'circularly defined and free-floating' definition, 'to seem uncontroversial and thus in need of no definition' (Hacking 1999, pp.23-3 cited in Franklin et al 2004, p.12).

Inclusive learning

According to Furedi (2004b, pp.119-125) inclusionary discourses now have the status of a 'public virtue' in policy and often intertwine with those of learning and pedagogy to affirm learner self-worth. In ANZ, life-long learning discourses were part of learnification: student-centred, process-driven and individualised learning rather than public good, purpose-driven content (Biesta 2010, 17-19). Discourses of inclusion, learning and pedagogy informed the 'second wave' (Codd 2001) of change and the re-professionalisation of teacher-technicians in the 1990s (O'Neill 2016). Consequently, the PP:L maintained that 'all families' possessed 'unique needs, talents

and strengths' to assist learning (Ministry of Education 2004, 8). Facilitators were to prioritise familial input, 'voice' and complimenting 'what they do for their children' (45), even though the PP acknowledged that many families were still to 'develop' such resources (37).

The PP:L sought to transport class-based, generationally transmitted material strategies of parental involvement, planning and home learning, downwards, to families. In 'Extending language everyday' it reminded parents 'that every moment is a learning moment', noting 'speak the whole idea – use full sentences' and 'use any excuse to talk to your kids' (Ministry of Education 2004, p.33). The PP emphasised that ordinary contexts are 'free ... treasures – "jewels" ... easy for you to give your child' to extend socialisation, cognition and learning (p.42). While constructing parents as pedagogues (Popkewitz 2004), facilitators were reminded to 'accept everything the parents share – just listen and be understanding' (58). This 'therapeutics of affirmation' (Furedi 2004b, p.122) constructed all families as 'equal', worthy and knowledgeable members of school-communities, despite their unequal resources and opportunities. Welcoming, including and affirming people, made them feel good (122) potentially strengthening their 'freely' chosen take-up of the PP's precepts. Collaborative sharing psychologically validated all, as school, partnership and community maker-member-learners. The PP:L did not necessarily imply a genuine reciprocity between facilitators and parents.

Psycho-therapeutics

Therapisation and psycho-therapeutic technologies and cultures are hegemonic across professional disciplines and social life (Furedi 2004a; Eccleston, et al 2005; Fejes & Dahlstedt 2013). Emphasising 'normalised' psycho-emotional states as essential to identity, productivity and lifestyles, they invoke concepts of dysfunction, disorder and vulnerability to identify and rectify 'non-normalisation' (Brunila & Siivonen 2015, p.57). Signalling the rise of therapisation in education in ANZ, these techniques encouraged psychological self-reflection to support the take up of responsibility for re-making micro changes in parenting efficacy, and deeper ethical changes.

As logics of normalisation, 'therapeutic individualism' transfers experience into thought and written codification to be worked on and repeated, and psycho-therapeutic techniques apply psychological norms to acknowledge emotions, interpret behaviours and inner meanings. These included techniques of self-inspection, monitoring, problematisation and transformation (Rose 1996, p.90). The PP:L applied therapeutic techniques, which, along with group discussion, stimulated psycho-emotional reflection. Its suggested practices of self and familial change, nurtured self-reflexivity and self-management, legitimated 'by experts of subjectivity' (151) (specialists) and the disciplinary power-knowledge of psychology, education and learning (Foucault 1995). The PP also included techniques of citizenship, agency, responsibility and performance. Participants were immersed in those of self-esteem and social skills (Rose 1999, p.266) in group participation, as well as empowerment, consultation and negotiation (Dean 2010, pp.196-97).

If adopted as self-techniques, these exemplars of normality could re-make selves and families, initiating the internalisation of preferred dispositions, values and familial management. Blurring public and private spheres, psycho-therapeutics are pastorally applied to build self-confidence, realise potential, happiness and autonomy and the desire to 'freely' embrace new outlooks and behaviours (Olssen 2006 157). The PP:L presented re-imagined "'mode[s] of subjectivation" ... and ... "practices of the self"' (Foucault 1992, pp.25-31) to make parents want to freely normalise as their own. In this they would:

... effect[ing] certain operations on their own bodies, souls, thoughts, conduct and way of being ... to transform themselves ... to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immortality (Foucault 1988, p.18 cited in Smart 1998, p.81).

These 'self-techniques' or 'arts of existence' (Foucault 1992, pp.10-11), involved re-making one's ethics in the Greek sense – one's philosophy, self-rules, customs, values, techniques, aspirations and practices (Foucault 1992, 28-30)¹⁰. Re-moralising (Rose 1996, p.79) the mind, cognition, psyche and emotionality – one's interiority – re-shaped one's choice-making, self-understanding and character. Changes in parenting, cultural diversity and future-focused thinking, could stimulate the desire to exercise greater responsibility and prudence in one's future and locality. Re-moralisation can change the take-up of daily micro-practices through to one's interpretation of life events (McNay 1994, pp.135-6). The PP:L ultimately sought the re-making of the 'memoropolitics of the human soul' (Hacking 1995, pp.214-15).

Re-making community

Neoliberalism's substitution of civil society by community: 'an association of free individuals based on self-rule' (Peters 2001, p.61), discursively shaped the construction of the PP:L. Signifying active citizenship, self-organisation, service and volunteerism, community appears external to, and a counterweight to politics. It also invokes conceptions of respect, belonging and local responsibility in problem-solving (Fitzsimons 2006, p.160). One of the ways the PP generated this ethics and its necessary 'politics of collaboration' (Dahlstedt 2009, p.788) was to collapse references to community and partnership with those of school and family. 'All families in the school community ... [were] the school community' (Ministry of Education 2004, p.6), 'using its rich resources and people' (23). The school was a 'family at home in their own school' (6, 85), experiencing 'a caring working partnership between school staff and the community' (7). As 'message carriers' (24), children would bring the school to the community as 'your place and our place – our school' (22-4). The PP:L's 'Neighbourhood' suggested citizenship technologies for people to build self-esteem, empowerment and self-expression and make communities real:

- Give your neighbours gifts that you and your child have created together (e.g. drawings or poems);
- Visit your neighbours often ... and invite them to pop across to your place;
- Allow your child to pay visits to neighbours (if trusted);
- Offer to shop for your neighbours and then deliver the shopping with your child;
- Walk to a neighbour's house, counting things (e.g. steps, letterboxes); and
- Look out for changes in your neighbourhood and talk about them (Ministry of Education 2004, p.92).

Such pastoral competencies or norms could nurture the attitudes, values and practices of stable relationships, connectedness and mutuality for inclusive membership and community-making. The sharing of familial resources could assist this because:

Everyone of us has treasures to share, and what seems very simple can often be the best treasure of all. Every strand is needed to weave the community basket (122).

The PP's inclusionary discourses signalled the PP:L's challenge to hegemonic market discourses of competitive communities and school-enterprises. Immersed in community's 'overlapping, multiple relations of affinity and identifications' (Dean 2010, p.222), parents could learn, practice, and pass on neighbourly care, trust and responsibility. People with a stake in local activities and civic engagement, could transmute local 'neighbourhoods' into places of authoritative and affective,

10 This involves four aspects: what is acted upon, how we govern, who we are when governed, and why we govern – the ends sought (Foucault 1992, pp.25-31). Foucault's 'ethics' are not traditional moral systems or Kantian private reason, but the Greek 'good life'. Social problems and individuals are 'ethical at root', involving moral precepts (Rose 2000a).

'ethical' relations. Not only would this re-regulate individual conduct, bring families under an official and public 'gaze' and strengthen social order, it would bind people into shared moral norms and values (e.g. obligation, trust, dependence, honour and commitment to others) (Rose 2000b, p.324). The 'at risk' and potentially dangerous could be re-attached to such communities and the civility they engender. Responsibilised communities required individuals with the values, ethics and self-techniques to 'mediate the relations between one's obligation to oneself and one's obligation to others' (Rose 1999, pp.477-8). Drawing on Foucault, Rose termed the rise of this secular form of ethics 'ethopolitics', in which everyday life itself becomes the object of focus, conduct and power, within a 'community-civility' game (2000a, p.1399).

Confessional sharing

The PP:L's therapeutic pastoralism invoked 'confessional' forms of sharing as its main group technique to stimulate the re-making and re-moralising of individuals (Fejes & Dahlstedt 2013, pp.19-22). Sharing personal views and strategies was integral to each session. Parents were to discuss their strategies for:

- Making rosters for tasks;
- Family problem-solving;
- Sharing ideas;
- Playing together;
- Helping children finish tasks to train concentration and achieve goals;
- Organising regular bedtimes;
- Getting ready for school;
- Encouraging children to "try your best";
- Explaining and modelling tasks; and
- Talking about education (Ministry of Education 2004, pp.101-02).

Therapeutic self-talk about one's life renders 'the speaking subject ... the subject of the statement' – subjected to the constitutive force of the discourses. It both constructs and reveals an inner self; the 'production of truth – the truth of the individual' (Foucault 2003a, p.148), monitored and responded to by other participants. Self-work cannot occur:

... without knowing the inside of people's minds, without exploring their souls, without making them reveal their innermost secrets. It implies a knowledge of conscience and an ability to direct it (p.132).

Verbalisation empowers people to 'acquire, assimilate, and transform truths into a permanent principle of action' (Foucault 1997e, cited in Olssen 2006, p.159). Re-moralisation necessitates the transformation of generationally acquired, material, intellectual, cultural and social resources. For example, the PP:L's advice to parents for reading partnerships with children was to use 'enriched talk ... in book language in calm routinized contexts using praise and feedback' (Ministry of Education 2004, p.67). This was a repertoire of habituated and normalised corporality, values and practices of class-culturally located families (Lareau 1989; Nash 2004; Skeggs 2004). Constituted as 'practices of the self' this required more than subjective volition for normalisation. Similarly, the 'Church' section inducted parents into fundamental, parental-child relations of love and self-ethics, ideally learnt within such contexts, requiring more than superficial adoption:

- Teach songs and prayers ... practice them at home;
- Talk about love and show your child love in action;
- Share with your family the values that are really important to you and them;
- Make up your own songs and prayers; and
- Bring paper and pencils ... to draw and write during worship (Ministry of Education 2004, p.92).

In the 'Garden and outside', responsible parent/educators could use their knowledge of gardening, specialised tools and environmental ethics, or develop these, to transform the garden into a learning resource. Practicing the exercise of personal agency, initiative, forethought and responsibility, parents could:

- Closely observe ants, butterflies, spiders, trees and leaves;
- Talk about plants and animals (e.g. their beauty, use or importance);
- Teach your child to use garden equipment;
- Show your child how to turn scraps into compost;
- Talk about what is in the garden and how to care for it (e.g. drainage, watering plants, and feeding birds); and
- Help your child pick bunches of flowers for the neighbours (93).

As disciplinary institutions, families are 'an apparatus of observation, recording and training', refining 'the normality or abnormality of the body, of the soul'. Intra-familial relations, habitual routines, embedded dispositions and micro-processes, 'induce a certain relation of human beings to themselves' (Foucault 1995, 184-187). The state sought to penetrate this disciplinary core to nurture parental desire to re-make one's relations to the self, informed by ethopolitics. Its 'Effective home routines and practices' advised:

- Make breakfasts and lunches with your child;
- Make up a "to do" list, ... check this off together as each task is completed;
- Teach your child traditional ways to make or use cultural objects;
- Tell traditional tales;
- Talk about your memories and experiences;
- Listen to children's radio programmes and talk about them;
- Have books in the home and model reading a lot (yourself and to your child);
- Solve problems as a family so everyone 'owns' the problem and the solution;
- While playing games ... teach your child honesty and fairness;
- Make labels in the kitchen (or in any other room), read them, and talk about them;
- Manage time;
- Make healthy food choices;
- Talk about why 'it's best to try your best';
- Have open discussions on learning;
- Ensure the family get plenty of sleep; and
- Embrace an achievement-focused and education-valuing lifestyle (Ministry of Education 2004, p.96-103).

In 'fostering ideal parents' (Fejes & Dahlstedt 2013, p.81), literacy and learning were paramount to the PP:L and the biopolitical upgrading of the population (Foucault 1990, p.143). Underpinning its suggestions was a premeditated and managed approach to life routines, relating, and future steerage. Familial security and democratic modes of discussion, organisation and decision-making could support learning, reasoned thought and future planning. The PP:L's re-imagined subjects and familial 'ethics' necessitated a culture of love, learning, health, activity and active community membership. Background, the past and cultural belonging, could empower self and familial investments in the present for the future.

Ethical, responsible, self-investors

Illustrating the paucity of unified and psychologised conceptions of the person, this genealogy has traced the PP:L's 'regimes of practice' for 'making people up' (Dean 2010, p.233). Psychotherapeutics encouraged individual parents to change key micro-practices to cultivate the desire to re-fabricate (Foucault 1995) as proactive, parent-pedagogues and community-maker/members. Ethically-informed in terms of the procedures and politics of conduct for 'effective' daily living, such parents could internalise the norms of literate, responsible civility (Rose 1999, p.242). 'Busno-power' in education (Marshall 1995) and the PP:L, simultaneously constructed individuals 'as profit generating portfolios' and self-managing, entrepreneur-investors calculating self-interest and a prudent relation to everything. An ethics of educ-parenting geared towards future returns, aligned with, and discursively reinforced, entrepreneurial self-investment and calculative risk-management (Brunila & Siivonen 2016 p.63). In this biographical project of self-realisation, practicing as preferred parents and citizens, was part of strengthening self-value to attract co-investors to maximise individual and familial future returns (Brown 2015, pp.32-7). It was part of the calculated management of individuals as self-governing and hence more governable.

The PP:L targeted deep-seated 'practices of the self' as mores, customs, habits and norms (Olssen 2006, p. 159). This re-moralised subjectivity required an ethical relationship with the self: one's moral code, nurtured through 'care of the self'. This was expressed through intentional actions and capabilities, and linked to relations with others (Foucault 1990). The PP:L's 'regime of conduct' reinforced a self-centred 'preoccupied' subjectivity (Brunila & Siivonen 2016, pp.57-59), responsabilised for creating a familial and community 'ethopolitics' (Rose 2000a). This reworking of the relations between individual governance and the collective (e.g. population aggregates and distributions), through everyday moral 'conduct' was the aim of the PP.

For Foucault, subjectification was not transhistorical nor determinist, but reinforced across dispersed and modulated multi-spaces, management, circuits and networks. One is subjectified into a contextual, agentive, contested and temporally grounded – always cultural, partial and ambivalent process (Olssen 2006, p.160). The state sought to normalise individualisation, new ways of being, personal ethics, freedoms and community rather than impose them.

Conclusion

Genealogically 're-reading' (Simons, et al 2009, xii) the Partnership Programme through an interpretive analytics, the paper has mapped and contextualised a contemporary exemplar of how pastoral power fabricates individuals under governmentality. The Labour-Coalition's Third Way adoption, and vernacular interpretation of globalised discourses of inclusion, partnership, familism and community, belied the extent to which it exercised political control through the management of subjectivity. As a steerage and control technology, the PP enabled the direct penetration of the state into the minutiae of schools, teachers' work, community-making and vitally, the private recesses of family.

The paper offers a detailed example of how the body is made the point of application of pastoral power, through 'the capillary' (Foucault 1980, p.96) and its 'little patterns' of intimate routine and relations (Rose 2000, p.1398). It has traced how responsabilisation is the penultimate human capacity through which contemporary conduct is now organised, measured and re-made (Brown 2015, pp.132-34). This is particularly so in devolved and partnering regimes and under financialised governmentality (Peters, Paraskeva & Besley, 2015). Responsibilisation supported the development of 'ethical' subject-citizens, community and an ethically-informed social stability (Rose 2000a, p. 1398). While implying agency and self-reliance, responsibility also implies blame, when unsupported individuals and institutions falter. The individual is 'expected to fend for her/himself *and* expected to act for the wellbeing of the economy (and blamed for its failure to thrive)' (Brown 2015, p.134). As Brown points out, reponsibilisation is more than the dismantling of welfare or the reversal of the social contract, but actually 'expresses its precise inversion' (p.134).

While individualising responsibility for educational underachievement, inclusion, and community, the PP deflected attention away from the generative foundations of inequality and exclusion. It was an attempt to objectify, commodify, entrepreneurialise and instrumentalise the psychosocial, emotional, moral and cognitive capacities of individuals, relationships and family, around productive economics. This re-moralisation was legitimated and implemented through psychotherapeutic technologies of reformation designed to enhance human happiness and wellbeing. The governmental re-shaping of conduct and identity reflected its biopolitical upgrading of the school population (and its increasingly important distributions and aggregations). Ethical self-management and responsibility involved the management of one's life as a literal and actual investment portfolio, including the management of children's, and hence parental and familial, future educational outcomes. The PP's modes of self-control facilitated the wider social control characteristic of 'societies of control' (Deleuze 1995).

Genealogies offer multiple spaces to open up political rationalities. They enable us to show how truth discourses and their experts frequently reduce existential questions of meaning, purpose and injustice to techno-management. The interrogation of subjectification, rationality and discursive power, enables us to know how power acts on us, so as humans and educators we can identify where resistance and struggle to be otherwise and free could be focused (Ball 2013, p.126). Genealogies empower 'new forms of subjectivity through the refusal of this kind of individuality' (Foucault 2003a, p.134).

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Notes on contributor

Anne-Marie O'Neill has taught and published across social and historical foundations and policy, gender, curriculum and educational sociology at Massey University College of Education. She is completing a doctorate on the politics of curriculum and assessment change in Aotearoa New Zealand.

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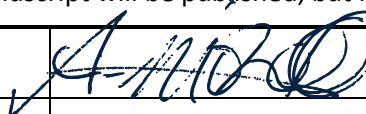
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STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION DOCTORATE WITH PUBLICATIONS/MANUSCRIPTS

We, the candidate and the candidate's Primary Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

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Chapter/Paper Four

Research area of interest:

- 1. Examine the manifestation of high-stakes assessment as calculative power and national biopolitics, and its core technologies, techniques, purposes and effects? (Areas of interest 1, 2, 3 and 4).**

The penultimate fourth Chapter of this PhD genealogically interrogates a different form of biopolitics involving calculative power. This was enacted through National Standards (NS) as 'high-stakes' assessment introduced into ANZ's primary schools in 2011. As part of the new centre-right National-Coalition Government's (2008-2016) 'literacy crusade', NS were 'shared expectations about what students should be achieving' (National Party, 2007). This was eighteen years after the introduction of Standards Based Reform (SBR) by a previous National administration.

Rather than national testing, National Standards (NS) for years 1 to 8, were assessed through twice yearly 'Overall Teacher Judgements' (OTJs). This teacher-based, highly vernacularized calculation was made up of class and standardised assessments, student exemplars, learning conversations, teacher knowledge and classroom observations. Allocated on a four-point scale: 'above', 'at', 'below' or 'well below' the Standard, the resultant OTJ data represented multiple, local variations in implementation that did not ensure national standardisation, reliability and validity (Thrupp 2013a, 2).

The Chapter briefly traces the historical take up of standards discourses in ANZ. It locates their development in terms of the plethora of standardisation, national assessments and metric technologies instituted during the 2000s. While strengthening performativity (Ball 2003), these initiatives established 'policy as numbers' as the dominant educational policy technology (Lingard 2011, 357). They obviated the necessity for NS through their standardisation of curriculum, national assessment and the intensified use of quantification and data.

Generalising calculative power

As educational biopolitics, National Standards generalised one of the most potent, and least acknowledged, discursive antecedents of change: calculation. This is based in mathematical determination or assessment of a course of action, choices or events, and its risks and effects. Emerging in the twentieth century through the rise of individualisation and classification, calculativity encourages personal responsibility for calculating performance and outcomes against numerical norms. Similarly, calculative selves are more calculable (Rose 1999, 77, 133). NS generalised calculative responsibility through an 'apparatus of uninterrupted examination' and disciplinary power 'duplicated along its entire length the operation' of primary schooling (Foucault 1995, 186).

Building on earlier policy technologies and architecture, NS enabled biopolitical subjectification and national calculation, to facilitate the hierarchical, and competitive comparison of students, teachers and schools. They were part of nurturing 'useful', responsible individual-subjects to become 'less resistant and more docile' in relation to governmental agendas (185-190). This case study explores how calculation transforms individuals and communities into numerics. As singular data-traces, students, schools, areas and regions could be transformed into grids of aggregated and recalculated data analytics.

Problematism and the introduction of metric power

This Chapter, like Chapter Two, illustrates how the problematisation of ineffective policy acts as steorage to generate dissatisfaction, agitation for change and further policy response. This enables installation of more advanced and controlling interventions than those previously deemed dysfunctional. Failure of the OTJs to ensure standardised measurement, was supposedly rectified by the production of an algorithmically-based Progress and Consistency Tool (PaCT) or 'engine'. Developed from the Learning Progression Frameworks in reading, writing and mathematics, it was intended to assist teachers to make more reliable comparative judgements within and across schools.

With its advanced calculative power, the PaCT would supposedly address the variability, dependability and consistency problems of the OTJs. Designed to interface with school Student Management Systems, the 'engine' offered the possibility of tracking individual progress, group identification and data-based teaching, planning and targets. It could be used to determine resource use in and between schools. However, the assessments fed into the algorithmic 'engine' were neither standardised nor reliable and could not account for the effects of diverse school influences, pressures and inequalities.

The Chapter critiques the PaCT as an official algorithmic tool, which regardless of its unreliability, was discursively constructed as authoritative, truthful, neutral and objective. As a constructed and values-based sorting process, the PaCT could facilitate the fine-grained monitoring of students, families, teachers and schools, rendering them highly visible within the school and systemically. Functioning as an experimental panoptic laboratory 'to alter behaviour, to train or correct individuals' (Foucault 1995, 203), the PaCT would reinforce measurement, categorisation, comparison and prediction (189-192). This would normalise and generalise calculation. As a powerful subjectification and inscription technology, the PaCT built a narrative between its metrics and its social categories to 'make up' students and teachers.

However, the PaCT and its data had other governmental functions including the distribution of data to repositories such as an online student portal and learning analytics platform. Its metrics were designed to inform other policy agendas such as targeted, measureable improvements in education and welfare. The paper demonstrates that ANZs approach to NS, like its approach to SBR, involved a 'long game'. Building on existing architecture, NS and the PaCT engine were to reconfigure primary classrooms around metrics and high-stakes data, thereby intensifying the data-based reprofessionalisation of teachers'. They were part of the National Government's aspirations to make ANZ a world leader in data-analytics, metrics and data-based governance (Lips 2015, 5). The re-booting of measurement and competition would enhance calculation, data circulation, prudentialism and surveillance across the state sector and the future policy agenda.

Specific Chapter findings:

- Idiosyncratic and dysfunctional, NS were introduced to primary school national assessment to apply numerically-based calculative power as biopolitical subjectification, population upgrading and calculation.
- NS are a socio-historical construction, constituted through technologies and techniques, partially installed by two previous political administrations.
- The NS policy sought to nurture calculative individuals and schools, whose performances would be calculated, designated and biopolitically known.
- While a dysfunctional policy tool, NS was a steorage technique for the introduction of an algorithmic 'engine' to generalise calculation across primary schooling and wider society as part of the governmental introduction of metric power.

- Calculative measurement, metrics and power are vital to the generation of competition and differentiation (e.g. winners and losers) required to generalise markets. This mode of thought or rationality, normalises measurement, competition and calculation (away from critique and critical judgement), increasing the reach of governance.
- Forms of calculative biopower are strengthened by metric architectures.

The thesis findings of the overall genealogy are discussed in a narrative form in Section Seven: Main findings of the study, set out in the following [Thesis Conclusion](#).

A Foucauldian genealogy of National Standards and the introduction of digital governance in Aotearoa New Zealand

Anne-Marie O'Neill

Institute of Education, College of Humanities and Social Sciences Massey University Manawatu, Palmerston North, New Zealand. amoneill.nz@icloud.com

Abstract

This policy chronology 're-reads' Aotearoa New Zealand's (ANZ's) idiosyncratic primary school National Standards (NS) initiated in 2011 by a centre-right Government, eighteen years after the implementation of a standards-based curriculum. NS in reading, writing and mathematics were assessed through teacher-based, Overall Teacher Judgements (OTJs). Just as with ANZ's teacher-implemented curriculum standards in the 1990s, the OTJs raised issues of standardisation, reliability and validity. Informed by a 'problematics of government analytic' this genealogy examines the rationalities, technologies and problems shaping NS. It traces their discursive 'beginnings' and 'conditions of possibility' to the turn to data and 'policy as numbers' during the 2000s. Not required for standardisation or measurement, NS offered enhanced surveillance, high stakes performativity and performance pay. The 'failure' of the OTJ's, enabled the steered development of an algorithmic 'engine'. This was to circulate NS data to a learning analytics platform and Social Investment programmes; data-based, targeted, measureable improvements in education and welfare. NS and its metric 'engine' constructed and normalised the 'long game' of ANZ's future vision, transitioning to metric governance and strengthening measurability, calculation and competition. Without invoking a rationalised continuity, the genealogy traces NS as 'current episodes in a series of subjugations' integral to a calculative governmentality.

Keywords:

National standards; curriculum; neoliberal governmentality; curriculum-assessment; Overall Teacher Judgements; calculative governance; steerage; metrics, digital governance

INTRODUCTION

This paper is part of a national case study 're-reading' (Simons, Olssen and Peters 2009) the installation of a transnational standardisation and management model of curriculum-assessment, in Aotearoa New Zealand (ANZ) (Luke 2011, 367)¹. This globalised approach, subsumed curriculum-assessment under economic purposes and the building of an Enterprise Culture. It strengthened national control through outcomes-based standardisation (Savage and O'Connor 2015). Having mapped the discursive basis and political rationalities of Standards-Based-Reform (SBR), the case study has also examined these borrowed policy-scapes (610) as a highly vernacularised, national architecture. For example, in 1993 a new curriculum based on teacher-implemented curriculum standards, provided the flawed basis for a measurement, management and performance regime (O'Neill 2015, 2016). This paper examines another highly idiosyncratic curriculum-assessment policy: the controversial, teacher-implemented, primary school National Standards (NS) introduced in 2011, eighteen years after SBR.

1 Immediately following the 1989 restructuring of educational administration: one of the most extensive in an industrialised nation, a 'second wave' (Codd 2001) of curriculum-assessment change began.

Rather than national testing (Lewis, Savage and Holloway 2019; Lingard, Martino and Rezai-Rashti 2013; Piattoeva 2015) NS in reading, writing and mathematics for years 1 to 8, were attained twice yearly, through teacher-devised, 'Overall Teacher Judgements' (OTJs). Non-research informed or trialled, the resultant data from the OTJs represented multiple, local variations in implementation, 'almost comical – if it weren't so serious' in terms of national standardisation, reliability and validity (Thrupp 2013a, 2, 2018).

Undertaken as a Foucauldian genealogy (Foucault 1984a), this paper re-reads (Simons, et al 2009) National Standards through a 'problematics of government analytic'. Analytics enables interrogation of the philosophical, moral and ethical justifications for governmental power, its rationalities and technologies. It can also account for internal discursive struggles, interdependencies, the rise of public 'problems' and the construction of futures (Dean 2010, 42-54; Rose and Miller 1992, 175).

This paper traces and contextualises NS in terms of a centre-right National-Coalition Government's aspirations for strengthening education governmentality and generating a more competitive and hierarchical neoliberalism. This manifested in plans to transition from a calculative to metric governance (Lips 2015, 5-12; Beer 2016, 30). The paper draws on Michel Foucault's analytical 'toolkit' (1980a, 145) to reread (Simons et al 2009) the governmental purposes of National Standards. It does so in terms of the concept of biopower – the most prevalent modern power – enabling individual and collective population upgrading (Foucault 1990). It argues that NS can also be read as a governmental 'tactic' (Foucault 1991, 95) for strengthening schools as calculation centres (Latour 1987, 235). However, as the genealogy traces, NS were crucial to the centre-right Government's broader policy aspirations and visions: discursively positioning digital policy instrumentation and datafication in the present. This normalises the political construction, implementation and management of a governmental metric architecture (Miller and Rose 2008, 216).

The paper begins by briefly theorising the core instruments from Foucault's (1980a, 145) toolkit informing the genealogy. Secondly, it interrogates ANZs managed biopolitical response to the 'congenital failure' (Rose and Miller 1992, 190) of curriculum standards in the 1990s. As in other global constituencies the standards 'problem' was rectified during the 2000s through curriculum standardisation, nationally-normed assessments and data/evidence-based practice (Savage and O'Connor 2015). These constituted part of a governmental turn to 'policy as numbers' (Lingard 2011; Ozga 2009). The paper traces how this extensive 'upgrading' of the curriculum-assessment architecture informed the discursive 'beginnings' and 'conditions of possibility' for the introduction of NS (Savage and O'Connor 2015 1). Not required for standardisation or measurement, NS could enhance surveillance, high-stakes performativity (Ball 2003) and performance pay. They discursively assisted the production of governmental subjects as future-focused self-investors, who could continually calculate their worth and advantage to attract investors.

The third section of the paper analyses the discursive basis of teacher-implemented National Standards. Reorienting the foci of classrooms and teachers' work around their achievement and calculation (Thrupp 2018), NS were part of inducting teachers into increased data-extraction, calculation and decision-making. They normalised and simplified the designation of rank and worth and competitive hierarchies. From a governmentality perspective, the use of Overall Teacher Judgements (OTJs), which did not enable the production of standardised data, can be read as a steerage 'tactic' (Foucault 1991) to ensure further official intervention.

The perceived failure of the OTJ's enabled their problematisation, which legitimated the development of multi-million dollar algorithmic software to strengthen teachers' professional judgements. The PaCT technology and its metrics nevertheless continued the production of non-standardised data sourced from the OTJ's (Ministry of Education 2015). 'Circulating' nationally, NS data opened up 'possibilities' (Beer 2016) for the re-mapping of neoliberal geography around

metrics, data-sharing and digital governance (Williamson 2016). For the National-Coalition Government, National Standards were central to its policy objectives for transforming ANZ into a world leading 'data-driven economy' (Lips 2015, 11).

The paper interrogates NS and its algorithmic metrics as biopolitical technologies which were part of upgrading and changing the population and social and economic relations. NS provided new grids of visibility for classifying, labelling, comparing, judging and displaying primary school children (Ball 2003, 216). These processes would be further strengthened by metric calculations. Both NS and their algorithmic metrics would enhance schools as centres of calculation (Latour 1987, 235). Permeating ordinary life and corporality, NS would generalise the social 'circulation' of measurement, stimulate further data-production and assist marketisation and steerage at a distance (Beer 2016, 78-81). Strengthening the fabrication (Foucault 1995) of calculative selves, metrics would strengthen biopolitical calculation, governmentality and the relations of competition and inequality (Beer 2016; Brown 2015).

The October 2017 General Election surprisingly resulted in the election of a centre-left Labour-Coalition Government. Committed to the abandonment of NS, school reporting against them became non-compulsory in February 2018, with the PaCT tool still able to be used by schools. The paper traces NS through key dates for the reader. It does not address the globalised ascent of standards or the origins of political globalisation in ANZ. The following first section discusses core aspects of Foucault's (1980a, 145) toolkit used to interrogate the fictions² behind National Standards.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMING: APPLYING FOUCAULT'S 'TOOLKIT'

Policy as Governmentality: 'this is how we live'

Foucault's governmentality studies identified an historical shift from concerns over sovereignty towards economy in nation states. His pioneering study of neoliberalism as state reason, uncovered an imaginary that transformed, rather than extended classical liberalism. Interpretations of neoliberalism as a political rationality inform most global, 'advanced liberal' administrations (Rose 1999). Neoliberalism places the market economy as the 'principle, form and model' of both the state *and* society. It prioritises governance *for* the market (Foucault 2008, 117-121 author emphasis), generalising market relations throughout the social field (Brown 2015, 61). Competition replaces exchange as a fundamental principle and dynamic of governance, playing 'a regulatory role at every moment and every point in society' (Foucault 2008, 145)³.

Discursively espousing freedom and choice, neoliberalism institutes a 'more resourceful, more intense, more intractable, more fine-grained' government (Allen 1998, 180) – characteristic of modern control societies (Rose 1999, 233-246). One manifestation of such control is the governmental or state steerage of 'the conduct of conduct' from a distance, through diverse programmes, interventions, regulations and norms (Foucault 2007, 192-3). This subjectification: the nurturing and shaping of preferred kinds of individuals, occurs most powerfully through the application of biopolitical power (Foucault 1990). This targets people at the disciplinary level and 'the level of life, the species, the race, and the large-scale phenomena of population' (Foucault 2008, 137).

2 Rather than a new policy scenario, the case study and this paper interrogate the discursive beginnings of NS and the laying down of their basic architecture.

3 This of course assists the generation of inequality.

Biopolitics optimises personal and collective capacities to upgrade people and the quality of existence to enhance productivity and competitive economic survival. Programmes and technologies such as those of SBR and National Standards, nurture personal desire to adopt preferred characteristics, traits and practices. Such capacities assist the achievement of governmental ends (Brown 2015, 117). Hence the globalised technologies of SBR and the rise of data and metric architectures are both policy implementation *and* subjectification technologies. As well as generalising and normalising standardisation, quantification and calculation, the inscription of 'busno-power' constructed entrepreneurial, future-focused subjects through curriculum-assessment (O'Neill 2016).

The nationalised 'take up' of globalised neoliberalism is diverse, resulting in cross-national commonality and policy enactments which are neither inherently homogeneous or universalising (Savage and O'Connor 2015, 611). As a 'loose and shifting signifier', neoliberalism is at once global, while locally enacted as inconsistent, differentiated and 'impure' (Brown 2015, 30, 21). Nationally, neoliberalism operates 'in flux', 'manoeuvring in and around global discourses' through relations of contestation, interpretation, mutation and adaptation (Carney 2009, 79 cited in Savage and O'Connor 2015, 611). This reflects the rigors of policy translation and accommodation to political and system-level demands, as much as it does the mediating effects of 'local histories, politics and cultures'⁴ (Lingard 2010, 131).

Policy as text and discourse

Foucault extended the meaning of discourse from 'serious speech acts' to include shared assumptions, social and cultural practices, knowledge and physical structures (Olssen et al, 2004). He interrogated its materiality as 'practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault 1972, 49). Embodied in formations of shared ideas, discourses construct reality and power relations and implement dividing practices (Foucault 1980d, 113-4). Shaping and reshaping subjectivity they offer us social positions to reject or take up through ways of thinking, speaking, seeing, writing and experiencing. Impossible to exist outside discourses, to do so is by 'definition to be mad, to be beyond comprehension and therefore reason' (Ball 2013, 20-21).

As politicised public speech, text and discourse, policies constitute and mediate material relations between discourse, power and knowledge. They 'speak' to multiple groups through multiple meanings, ambiguous and contradictory visions and stories. Without possessing an inner core of truth, or a linear, technical-empiricist means to an end (Codd 1988, 237), policies do *more* than signify or designate things (Foucault 1972, 49 original emphasis). It is this *more*, which renders them irreducible to language, because it is:

... the set of conditions in accordance with which a practice is exercised, in accordance with which that practice gives rise to partially or totally new statements, and in accordance with which it can be modified (208-209).

In a critical policy analysis *more* is interrogated by deconstructing relations between the text and the social structure (Olssen, et al 2004, 3). This includes locating political rationalities and their truths – the 'bearers of specific effects of power' and 'the rules of right' (Foucault 1980b, 93-94). In reinforcing, disestablishing or modifying official truths, policies partially shape what can be said and done in the constitution of reality. As discursive conduits, policies operate as inter-subjective power relations (Luke 1995, 19). Discursive power-knowledge (Foucault 1995, 28) renders people both an effect of its power and an element of its articulation (Foucault 1980b, 72).

4 The non-standardisation of SBR accommodated multiple pressures in ANZ (e.g. the national paucity of expertise, an unfamiliar workforce, minimal state resources, lack of new assessments and multiple curricula, systemic and social changes).

Genealogically knowing

Drawing on Nietzsche, Foucault sought a political space for critically interrogating the past and its macro-level certainties, assumptions and hierarchies of 'true' knowledge and power. This included the deconstruction of scientific discourses, political truths and institutional hegemonies (Foucault 1997, 9). With an open approach to research, multiple pasts can be interrogated in unruly ways that trouble the present. This can:

... 'desubjugate historical knowledges, to set them free, or in other words to enable them to oppose and struggle against the coercion of a unitary, formal, and scientific theoretical discourse (10).

Genealogy enables the discursive isolation of the mechanisms through which power operates, including institutions, bodies, technologies of power and official documents. Foucault (1991) rejected superficial, prescriptive and tidy approaches to history and its unfolding through unitary logics, great men and sequenced events. This reflected his antipathy for universalism, metaphysics, political position-taking and policy advocacy (Brown 1998).

Political governance, its rationales, truths, political ontology and subjectification techniques can also be genealogically interrogated as historically complex and shaped by power relations, fractures and serendipity (Olssen 2006, 14). Hence Foucault's pursuit of the rise of problems, accidents, deviations, false appraisals and faulty calculations (Foucault 1984a, 87). Genealogy ideally examines the multiple ways rationality and culture normalise and rationalise people and it can powerfully de-naturalise our prized certainties about ourselves and our world. This paper genealogically interrogates NS by tracing or mapping out key events, discursively interrogating and contextualising them and analysing governmentally. The following section interrogates ANZs managed response in the 2000s to the 'congenital failure' (Rose and Miller 1992, 190) of the 1990s teacher-implemented national standards. It traces how this extensive upgrading of the curriculum-assessment architecture provided the discursive 'beginnings' and 'conditions of possibility' (Savage and O'Connor 2015, 1) for NS.

TRACING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF STANDARDISATION AND STANDARDS

Calls for teacher-driven, criterion-based standards emerged in the 1970s in ANZ, to counter the effects of secondary school norm-referenced examinations (Alison 2007). By the 1980s, they infiltrated areas of primary schooling (Court and O'Neill 2011, 125-126). In 1986 (two years after the initiation of structural adjustment), an official investigation into the quality of teaching, maintained that 'value-led' professionalism required accountability (Education Science and Select Committee 1986, 36). It recommended professional assessment against performance and national curriculum standards (16-42).

Following the Tomorrow's Schools (October 1989) embedding of school-site management, a national inquiry into educational assessment began. Project Abel's *Tomorrow's Standards* (Ministry of Education 1990) recalibrated curriculum-assessment around social efficiency discourses: globalised competitiveness and human capital upgrading. Its fusing of the purposes of curriculum-assessment with those of the economy, was supported by an influential Treasury-driven review of educational management (Lough 1990). This collapse of educational into economic policy was formalised in the 1991 Budget aligning curriculum-assessment change with the building of an Enterprise Culture (National Government 1991 Smith 1991).

1990s: The failure of teacher implementation

This new approach coalesced in *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (NZCF) (Ministry of Education 1993) introduced by a centre-right Coalition Government (1990-1999). This required primary teachers, for whom SBR models were largely unknown, to disaggregate hundreds of diverse Curriculum Objectives as National Standards (Ministry of Education 1993, 1994). Under the banner of 'diagnosis', teachers were to markedly increase formative and summative assessment, prioritise the latter and derive 'objective' data (1993, 24; 1994). With few new assessment tools (Young 2009) and without national testing, teachers were expected to develop individual assessments for seven new curricula (Ministry of Education 1994).

While officially constructed as a '*centrally mandated* national standards and accountability-led ... policy agenda' (Court and O'Neill 2011, 134 author emphasis), the embedding of curriculum-assessment during the 1990s involved a policy 'becoming' and practical 'not quite' (Ball 1994, 16). While functional standards, standardisation and data production remained a ghostly ideal (Education Review Office 1995, 1998, 1999), this period produced effects with meaning and consequence. As Hill's study found, teachers were ensconced in an 'assessment frenzy' using lists and tick-boxes (Hill 1999, 21) resulting in validity, consistency and workload problems (Crooks 2002, 244). Nevertheless, teachers had begun watching themselves and each other to ensure assessment compliance (Hill 2009, 325). This managed systemic failure, did not enable systemic standardisation and its lack of 'objective' measurement was interpreted as a lack of professional judgement and technical ineptitude by teachers. This was problematised as warranting intervention (Miller and Rose 2008) including national testing (ERO 1999; Ministry of Education 1998). By 1999, teachers were constructed as 'the cause' and the future 'solution to the "problem" of unsatisfactory educational achievement' (O'Neill 2010, 5).

Functional Curriculum standards were necessary to activate of ANZ's main education policy technologies: market-efficiency, business-management and performativity (Ball 2003; ERO 1996). Arguing for national testing to replace the dysfunctional standards, the Ministry of Education (1998, 6-8) reasoned they would enable Māori to attain comparative information, take responsibility for their own underachievement and make choices based on market data. Standards would transport '*the model of the market*' (Brown 2015, 31 original emphasis) and its 'ligaments of productivity' (Ball, Maguire and Braun 2012, 72) directly onto individuals, classrooms and communities. As managed entrepreneurial businesses, schools required them to institute managerial and market accountability (Education Review Office 1995, 1996a). They offered the possibility of a national management and surveillance panopticon (Foucault 1995, 201-203). As a frame of reference and mechanism for governance and administration, standards were also subjectification technologies (Popkewitz 2004 246), assisting the making and re-making of responsible citizens for whom living in prescribed, calculated and measured contexts, as assessed and designated beings, was normal.

After fifteen years of extreme structural adjustment (1984-1999), a centre-left, Labour-Coalition Government (2000-2008)⁵ attained a clear mandate to dismantle neoliberal architecture. Its Third Way platform embodied information-theoretic economics: a 'people-state friendly' neoliberalism (Kelsey 2002, 112), emphasised short-term political management, redistribution and steerage (50-62). As a reflexive neoliberalism (Dean 2010, 217-223), Third Wayism modified state institutions, strengthened New Zealand New Public Management and installed community-based governance. In its attempts to 'raise the level of public morality' (Foucault 1995, 208) following structural adjustment, the new administration employed biopolitical programmes (Foucault 1990). These used technologies of partnering, cultural inclusivity, community-devolution, best-practice and responsabilisation to soften and humanise neoliberalism⁶.

5 Governed under three Coalitions.

6 Responsibility is the contemporary 'master key of governance' implying agency and blame for economic and other failures (Brown 2015, 133-134).

These encouraged forms of self-mastery, regulation, future aspiration and change.

Committed to retaining the monetary and regulatory apparatus and budgetary surpluses, the Labour Party endorsed globalisation with a 'social face' (Clark 2000 cited in Kelsey 2002, 50-62). It took office as the hegemony of financialisation⁷ and the speculative dominance of insurance and real-estate remained intact. Discourses of risk, audit and actuarial-statistical quantification pervaded the public sphere (Kelsey 2015, 16, 140; Peters 2005, 129), and were evident in the political grammar of the education briefings to the new government.

1999: Education Briefing Papers

In its *Briefing for the Incoming Minister*, the Ministry of Education (1999, 1, 6) reiterated the 'pressing problem' of 'significant underachievement'. It advised that 'raising the achievement of all ... [was] ... as vital as addressing underachievement' (2). This was 'because aggregate levels of knowledge and skill development [lay at] the heart of our long-term economic performance and social well-being'. It noted the 5-10% of 'at risk' students in the continuing 'long tail' of underachievement were predominantly Māori and Pasifika (14.7 and 6.5% of the population by 2001)⁸, non-English speaking and low-income families. These groups had lower levels of participation, performance and qualifications.⁹

The *Briefing* argued that 'overall high international ratings' required the transfer of educational risk to all parents (14-20), particularly those of failing groups, who had not undertaken personal risk management. These groups needed to change and take responsibility for mitigating their own future risk (11). According to the Ministry of Education they needed more 'externally referenced information' (35) and greater professional accuracy in assessment (19-20). 'Capability-building' was to encourage responsible self-management and numerically-based, self-calculation (Peters 2005). It necessitated greater curriculum-assessment standardisation, the production of reliable data and an evidence-base.

2000s: Standardising standards, instituting measurement and 'policy as numbers'

The Labour-Alliance Coalition looked to Great Britain, Australia and the United States for guidance on the biopolitical upgrading of curriculum-assessment to refine and standardise both content and data production (Klenowski 2011; Savage and O'Connor 2015, 615-616). This was also a response to ongoing pressures to lift educational achievement and community capability. It chose to reinforce the National Assessment Strategy (1999) and its placement of assessment as the 'heart' of classrooms and systemic policy. New programmes of standardisation and the implementation of evidence or data-based practice, would enable further reprofessionalisation for teachers. The educational turn to data was part of the broader governmental turn to 'policy as numbers' (Lingard 2011; Ozga 2009), by the new administration.

A Literacy and Numeracy Strategy had been initiated in 1998 after the previous government's failure to implement SATs. Championed by a Literacy Taskforce, it aimed to lift family, community, professional, systemic and public capability (Ministry of Education 1999a). Cross-sector approaches targeted Māori and Pasifika. A multifaceted public campaign responsabilised 'parent-teachers' (Biesta 2010) for 'everyday' learning. Teachers were to take up new evidence-based disciplinary knowledge, pedagogies, review tools and teaching texts. Seriously challenging

7 Borrowing money to make more money which distributes wealth unfairly and stimulates massive rises in inequality.

8 From 1984, Māori, Pasifika and immigrant families were at the bottom of a large income gap, one of the widest between social groups in an industrialised nation. The wealthiest 5% had increased their share of national income by 25% while it had fallen markedly for the bottom four-fifths (Kelsey 2002, 40).

9 With one of the largest standard deviations in literacy in the OECD, Māori were 2 years or more behind the average age of their peers (Timperley and Parr 2007, 95).

school-site management (Timperley and Parr 2009, 136), the Strategy's diverse national and local programmes specified and standardised knowledge and skills as new disciplinary practices for families and classrooms.

2001: Educational Standards Act

As ANZ joined the Programme for International Student Achievement (PISA) in 2000, it introduced the Educational Standards Act (2001)¹⁰. This formalised school reporting through the setting of yearly and 3-5 year achievement targets, emphasising the 'at risk' (e.g. as named individuals, ethnic and gender groups). The new Minister of Education pledged the Act would be:

... supported and underpinned by the extensive articulation of standards, ... literacy and assessment, ... [requiring] explicit understandings about what children can and should be expected to achieve at school (Ministry of Education, Mallard Foreword 2001, 6).

The Act reoriented school and classroom practice around performativity and accountability (Ball 2003). It gave effect to the governmental truth (Foucault 1984), that 'effective teaching' was 'the most significant factor in raising achievement in literacy and numeracy' (Ministry of Education 2001, 46). This would be evident through measured goals and achievement shifts. Subsequently, a 'continuous improvement culture' of data review against goals and targets, built on the Act's requirements (Ministry of Education 2003a).

2003: Curriculum Exemplars

Initiated in 1998 (Ministry of Education 1998) as new assessment tools, the first of seven curriculum exemplars was published in 2003 (Ministry of Education 2003b). Initially described as helping 'teachers to decide whether the[ir] judgements ... are consistent with national expectations' (Ministry of Education 1998, 20), the exemplars 'interpret selected Achievement Objectives (AOs) (Ministry of Education 1999a, 9). By disaggregating AOs they 'illustrate or exemplify the features which a teacher, parent or student, could point to as meeting the AO'. In 'modelling good practice' through 'close analysis rather than global impression' (14), the exemplars prescribed detailed content and pedagogy (e.g. lesson introductions, classroom arrangement and teaching strategies). As normalising technologies, the exemplars more fully specified or prescribed curriculum content, pedagogy and assessment. Their purpose was to stimulate 'effects at the level of professional desire – and also at the level of knowledge' (Foucault 1980c, 59). Substituting as curriculum in many schools, exemplar charts and grids shaped teacher-parent conversations, signalled where learners 'were' and 'should be' and strengthened the NZCF as a disciplinary, calculative and biopolitical technology.

2003: Evidence/data-based practice

Following the OECD's (2002, 3) advocacy of results-based public policy, the production of Best Evidence Synthesis (BES) reports (Alton-Lee 2007) began. These initially covered teaching, pedagogy, social influences, educational leadership and professional development (Fancy 2007, 331) to inform cross-sector policy and school practice. Extrapolated directly from the BES research findings *What Matters Most?* reiterated to schools that 'effective teaching' was to be 'evidence-based' – informed primarily by numerical data (Ministry of Education 2003c, 1-5). An improvement culture of strategic planning and targets (7) would constitute schools' 'core business' (4). Building on the Assessment Strategy (Ministry of Education 1999b), the 'gathering, analysing and focusing

10 In which school charters became strategic plans.

on achievement data' (e.g. entry and exit point samples, test scores or targets) was at the heart of 'effective' teaching, improvement and raising achievement (Ministry of Education 2003c, 1).

2004: asTTle standardised assessment

In 2004 a nationally standardised literacy (reading, writing and mathematics) psychometric testing system in English and Māori medium was implemented. Used as teachers and schools saw fit, Assessment Tools for Teaching and Learning (asTTle) was calibrated to the NZCF Achievement Objectives (AOs), curriculum levels and population norms. Disaggregating the AOs into three sublevels as 'standards', achievement was reported as basic, proficient and advanced (with national and group norms developed for each item), with tests tailored to class needs. AsTTle's calibrations and datasets standardised curriculum AOs as norms, closing ambiguous spaces for 'misjudgement'. Class, teacher, within and between and school comparisons of writing and calculation could be attained. AsTTle's derivation of fine-grained data on strengths, weaknesses and 'next steps' learning and its flexibility in construction, reduce the risk of high stakes comparisons (Ministry of Education 2008). The introduction of easTTle in 2009, strengthened standard-setting and fine-grained comparison, and established a possible basis for national metric calibration. Its metrics and scores visualise and designate all primary school children (Foucault 2007, 49) as describable, measured, analysable and legible. As 'cases' and shifts, students were made collections of features, aptitudes, gaps, distinctions and possibilities (Foucault 1995, 191).

2007: Revised curriculum

In 2007 a revised *New Zealand Curriculum* (NZC) (Ministry of Education 2007b) reduced the hundreds of AOs for each curriculum level to between one and five. An assessment review attached to the NZC referenced the continuing 'long tail' of under-achievement and the opposition National Party's proposed National Standards (NS). The possibility of NS stimulated a reframing of the Literacy Strategy and the development of *Draft Literacy Learning Progressions* (Ministry of Education 2007a, 1)¹¹. These provided further 'signposts' (e.g. descriptions of competency) of knowledge, skills and expertise as 'markers for student progress and achievement' at specific points (3-5).

By the November 2008 election, ANZ had overcome the 'extreme decentralisation' (Timperley and Parr 2009, 136) of Tomorrow's Schools, through this panoply of disaggregation and standardisation and normalising technologies. 'Truthful' (Foucault 1980) content and knowledge were verified for primary school teachers and teacher-driven asTTle tests were voluntary, low-stakes, and teacher-controlled. Its new categories, gaps and potentials signalled remediation or progression for students. As a disciplinary and governing technology asTTle embodied the dualism of measurement: it both captured and set its standards (Beer 2016, 45). As an 'uninterrupted examination' (Foucault 1995, 184-191) asTTle suspended students as objects who are visible, judged, hierarchically ordered and compared 'cases' – visualised as interactive graphic reports.

In tracing the institution of 'measure as calculation and measure as norm' (Foucault 2013, 133 cited in Beer 2016, 75) prior to 2008, this genealogy has mapped the installation of new relays for tracking, accumulation and calculation. They were also fabrication processes (Foucault 1995, 194) and inscription devices for creating citizens for whom being calculated and calculative was normalised. The amassing of transactional data (Ruppert 2011, 221) made individual achievement shifts, outcomes, predictions and probabilities able to be tracked and made visible. Hence students, teaching and learning were transformed into definitive calculabilities. Primary schools

11 And later numeracy, informed by PSIA, these were 'backward mapped' to Level 2 of the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) (Year 12).

became more efficient ‘centres for calculation’ (Latour 1987, 235), with individual data able to be transported in different forms to generate further data. Aggregation provides calculable entities with enhanced solidarity and density (Rose and Miller 1992, 186). Normative scientific categories and systemic objectivity provide homogeneity and documentation for SBR and governance by numbers (Ozga 2009). It was the intrinsic qualities of numbers as social facts and their ability to be further calculated that strengthened national recording, analytical tools and replication (Porter 1996).

2008-2017: TEACHER-DEvised NATIONAL STANDARDS

New Zealand’s financialised economy entered recession early in 2008, with the effects of the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) fully felt by September. Prior to the November 2008 General Election, the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) and a number of prominent researchers (Gilmore 2008; Leeson and Hattie undated; Smith and Smith 2008), endorsed the use of existing standardised tests and teacher judgements to build individual assessment evidence-bases. This would avoid the expense and complexity of test development (NZCER 2008, 3).

Committed to privatisation, school competition and performance pay, and having previously implemented bulk funding, the National Party introduced NS through the right-wing mantra of ‘plain speaking’ (Apple 2001, 412) so ‘everyone can understand’ their children’s achievement (NZ National Party 2007). Upon their election it entered into Coalition agreements with the Association of Consumers and Taxpayers (ACT) and the indigenous Māori Party and committed to the installation of Partnership or Charter Schools.

2008: Introducing National Standards

The *Briefing to the Incoming Minister of Education* (Ministry of Education 2008a) made no mention of National Standards (NS), but argued that students should be ‘aware of their own progress’ and ‘parents able to monitor’ it, enabling systemic ‘accountability and transparency’ (20).

Responding with austerity policies to the GFC (Kelsey 2015, 93), the new Coalition Government placed stringent outcomes targets across the public sector. These discursively aligned NS to the measurement of quality, data provision and reliable school comparisons (O’Neill 2013, 107). Two weeks after its election, bypassing the Parliamentary Select Committee process and sitting under a week’s urgency, the new government passed the Educational (National Standards) Amendment Act (2008). This enabled their implementation in 2010 (extended to 2011) and blocked the use of official avenues for NS scrutiny and dissent. Rejecting the ‘development of sound and valid standards through an appropriate methodology’ the new Coalition was mindful of the demands of a three-year electoral cycle (Croft 2011, 11)¹².

The new Minister of Education pledged ‘no single test on a given day’, signalling her rejection of national testing. While emphasising NS for all primary students she referred to the ‘one in five’ secondary school leavers, without basic skills (Tolley cited in Laugesen 2009, 25). Employing a model very similar to Wales, where teacher assessments replaced national testing of 11 and 14 year olds (Estyn 2010 cited in Smail 2013, 252), New Zealand chose self-generated, standardised, formative assessments and classroom activities, to construct individual evidence-bases.

12 Former Research Director, Learning, Curriculum and Assessment at the New Zealand Council of Educational Research.

The *Draft Literacy Learning Progressions* (Ministry of Education 2007a), were the basis of the *Reading and Writing Standards for years 1-8*, for English and Māori-medium schools (Ministry of Education 2009). Published in 2009 with minimal teacher input, NS were multiply defined as:

... a nationally consistent means for considering, explaining and responding to students' progress and achievement [as] reference points, or signposts, that describe the achievement ... help[ing] teachers to make judgements about their students' progress ... so that teachers, parents, families, and whānau can agree on the next learning goals (5).

Because 'no single source of information can accurately summarise a student's achievement or progress' (5), varied assessments would be:

... gathered up to a particular point in time ... to make an informed, balanced judgement about ... 'best fit' in terms of ... actual performance – how it lines up with ... the relevant standard (13).

The making of summative, Overall Teacher Judgements (OTJs) as the basis of individual evidence-bases, involved the use of 'qualitative rubrics' or linguistically specified 'fuzzy standards' (Sadler 1987, 202). These ideally require detailed exemplars and national moderation (not implemented in ANZ) (Sadler 1987; Smaill 2013). The four-point achievement scale of 'well below', 'below', 'at' and 'above' could be changed by schools for twice yearly reporting, but was mandatory for yearly official reporting.

Thrupp's long term research found NS implementation to be heavily localised with schools articulating concerns over their simplistic approach, the lack of trialling or research, their crude categorisations, reporting and interpretative ambiguities. Student stigmatisation, curriculum narrowing, league tables, de-motivation in learning and weak official oversight also featured (Thrupp 2018, 106-112; Thrupp and Ester 2012, 21).

Prior to the 2011 implementation of NS the Ministry of Education published two papers updating the National Assessment Strategy (Ministry of Education 1999b). Written by preferred external experts and contractors, and the Ministry of Education respectively, these made the case for more curriculum specification, assessment and data-gathering.

2009: Directions for Assessment in New Zealand – Assessment-capable selves

Directions for Assessment in New Zealand (DANZ) (Absolum, Flockton, Hattie, Hipkins & Reid 2009) drew on sixteen commissioned but uncited papers. It reiterated a simplistic cause and effect relation between assessment and achievement, arguing:

If we get the conditions wrong – collect the wrong information in the wrong way for the wrong purposes – we will add to the number[s] ... who ... leave school with little to show for it. If we get the conditions right, the reverse will be true: achievement will increase and disparities decrease (5).

'Getting the conditions right', required standardisation and addressing the continuing 'systemic dilemma' of the failure to discriminate levels of achievement or progress (12). Hence DANZ advocated national testing for ages or years to tell parents 'where their child stands in relation to others' (6, 33). Further standards were needed 'for both achievement levels and rates of progress' to enable comparability (34). Standards were also central to students constructing themselves as an evidence-base (6), constantly re-interpreting their data gaps, strengths, weaknesses, 'where to next' and 'where to get help' (35). An 'efficient computerised reporting system' (including

international metrics) through an 'online portal' containing aggregated and disaggregated' data, would assist this construction, and follow:

... the student through school across transitions ... provid[ing] national evidence of the success of our schools.... requir[ing] common understandings of progressions and levels (41).

Standardisation, continuous assessment and testing, necessitated ceaseless self-inspection, quantification and ranking, through a 'gaze' rendering power permanent in its effects (Foucault 1995, 195-201). Measurement as a continuous feedback loop constructed student-subjects as evidence portfolios, making and re-making themselves to attract co-investors (Brown 2015, 32-35). Invoking 'assessment for learning' (Absolum et al 2009, 19-21), *DANZ* made the case for 'national standards as educationally rational, culturally defensible and apolitical' (O'Neill 2013, 113).

By 2010, Principals, Boards of Trustees, Union and parental opposition to NS galvanised around national initiatives and campaigns (e.g. open letters, a union bus tour, silent protests and local reporting boycotts). Rejection by Māori, resulted in development of Maori-medium NS based on Māori kaupapa/knowledge (Özerk and Whitehead 2012, 554). A 'Boards Taking Action Coalition' of 228 schools, refused to set NS targets and submit data. This group faced Ministry of Education scrutiny of their school charters for NS targets, the withholding of professional-development, student support funding, and intensified auditing (Wylie 2012, 172).

2010: Assessment as 'vision'

At the end of 2010, a *Ministry of Education Position Paper: Assessment [Schooling]* was published as a 'visionary statement' designed 'to sit above policy' (Ministry of Education 2010, 4-8). Building on *DANZ*, its Foreword by the Secretary for Education, noted the 'novelty' of ANZ's 'implementation of common standards' through professional judgement, and its 'pride' in this as 'entirely consistent with our vision for assessment' (3). The *Position Paper* endorsed multiple capabilities for 'assessment for learning', 'learning for learning' (12) and 'inquiry cycles' of continuous improvement (11, 17-22, 20-31). 'Life-long learners, learning classrooms, communities and a learning system' required teachers as learning facilitators (32-52).

A graphic portrayed the *making* of professional judgements as the incremental, technical steps and language of the outcomes-based model: descriptions, exemplars and assessments, with teacher knowledge its last and least important feature (36). Making no reference to NS, the Paper warned:

... that the publishing of raw, highly aggregated ... data without qualitative context information will both undermine this collegial environment and subvert the reliability of the assessment data collected. ... it is not appropriate to compare schools on a simplistic and misleading basis (50).

DANZ advocated further standardisation and more dividing practices or biopolitical classification techniques to categorise learners (Foucault 1995). Both texts suggested that educational data was the basis of continuous, comparable assessment so self-assessing students could calculate and upgrade their performances and value. This would normalise calculation and its panoptic generalisation into social life (Foucault 1995, 195). In emphasising learning for individuals as techniques and 'information' (Ministry of Education 2010, 18-19) these texts embrace 'learnification' (Biesta 2010, 15-18) and its de-emphasising of content, purposes or effects. Thus rather than changes to thinking, worldview, self-understanding and future possibilities, 'true learning' equated with assessed 'performance' (Ministry of Education 2010, 26).

2011: Implementing National Standards

Accompanied by limited and mixed quality professional development (ERO 2010), numerous definitional and technical issues underpinned the implementation of NS (Smaill 2013; Croft 2011; Thrupp 2018) Most NS were not 'clear unambiguous descriptors of an achievement dimension and the means of assessing the extent to which it has been achieved'. They were varied and unclear descriptors, based on a 'potentially serious' confusion between norms as readily recognisable 'what is' achievement, and standards as 'subtle, desirable, descriptions of 'what should be'' (Croft 2011, 11). Inter-school moderation was encouraged with national moderation unavailable (Ministry of Education 2010g cited in Smaill 2013, 253).

2012: Data release

As NS became normalised in schools (Thrupp 2018, 90), in mid-2012 the Prime Minister, John Key lent his support to school league tables. In September, the Ministry of Education released raw, unmoderated data on 1,899 NZ schools (minus the 9% or 188 withholding it, out of 2087 schools). The teacher determined NS's had a variability range across schools in writing from 3 to 89% (51% correct), and in mathematics of 18 to 90% (61% correct) (Ministry of Education 2012, 39-47). Following the Ministry, Fairfax Media released non-ranked school data, enabling school comparisons through an online data base. The ensuing media dissemination normalised the unqualified and comparative release of data (Thrupp 2013b, 87). A week later, raw school data appeared on the Ministry's Education Counts website (16-18). Experts from ANZ's Assessment Academy (2012) cautioned against the use of standardised 'point in time' assessments, 'read' as school comparisons¹³, because they required measures of progress. It argued that until teacher judgements were made reasonably reliable, 'any comparison of schools will be flawed and possibly entirely spurious'. Against the backdrop of ANZ's falling PISA rankings in reading, science and maths between 2009 and 2012 (Thrupp 2018, 34), the National Coalition sought school comparison and performativity at any cost, including the release of unscientific data.

2012: The PaCT algorithmic 'engine'

As it had in the 1990s with the failure of teacher-implemented curriculum standards, the Ministry of Education applied the same political 'tactic' to NS (Foucault 1991). The problematised failure of the OTJs was rectified through the planned increase of their calculative power. In August 2012, the Ministry announced the development of an algorithmic 'engine' by private companies and the NZ Council for Educational Research, for over \$6 million. Its Progress and Consistency Tool (PaCT) would 'efficiently' assist teacher comparative judgements within and across schools (Ministry of Education 2016, 9). Developed from the Learning Progression Frameworks in reading, writing and mathematics, the PaCT's psychometric software would address 'variability, dependability and consistency' problems (Ministry of Education 2015, 4, 10). Re-dividing knowledge into key 'aspects' or exemplars as 'stages of learning' (5), it would clarify 'what to notice' in comparing and 'judging' student work (5) as 'valid' (12). Standard 'frameworks' would give teachers 'more confidence that their judgements are consistent and dependable' (10).

The PaCT's *Practice Guide* claimed it 'does not make judgements. Teachers make judgements' and 'use their professional judgement' to choose the illustrations reflective of each student (Ministry of Education 2016, 9). The software calibrated their relation and variance against the illustration's metrics. Teachers confirm recommendations as either 'effective' or in need of review. The latter required them to defend their judgements (4-7). Without the 'engine' teachers would:

13 Likely seriously misrepresenting schools with high proportions of students from low socio-economic backgrounds (Assessment Academy 2012).

... have to figure out for themselves how much weight to give to particular aspects of reading, writing or maths ... this balance might change as a child's learning progresses over time (7).

Designed to interface with school Student Management Systems, the PaCT could track individual progress, identify groups and inform data-based teaching, planning and achievement targets (Ministry of Education 2015, 10). It potentially enabled fine-grained surveillance of the biopolitical ir/regularities of students, families, teachers and schools. Its Business Case recommended that PaCT data inform school resource allocation, arguing that failure to do so 'could lead to significant inefficiency' and 'ongoing dissatisfaction ... in schools' (Ministry of Education 2012, 19-20 cited in Thrupp 2018, 146).

To more deeply understand the governmental significance of the PaCT, the seemingly benign and objective nature of metric architectures, as socially constructed technologies, must be acknowledged. The PaCT's algorithms undertook the 'continuous calculation of plus and minus points' (Foucault 1995, 181) through millions of 'deliberately constructed competitions'¹⁴ (Davies 2014, 29 cited in Beer 2016, 23). Its metrics match, rank, predict and surveil student work, classifying it according to its designations (Introna 2016, 19). As an 'analytical space' the PaCT's role was to remove 'imprecise distributions' (Foucault 1995, 143) and render each individual a visible 'case' (190).

As a 'sociomaterial assemblage' the PaCT's technology was based on values-based choice and social sorting. This reflects the 'situated practices' of its devisers and implementers (Lyon 2003 cited in Introna 2016, 18). Its dividing practices were portrayed as truths, based on inexact and unobjective classifications, judgements, inequalities and pathologies (Kitchen 2017, 19). Its 'tiny operational schema' involved minute 'functions of distribution and classification', transforming knowledge and compiling 'documentary accumulation' (Foucault 1995, 185-192). As a digital data-base, the PaCT could potentially compute theories of behaviour as predictive models, in ongoing, multiple 'real time' audits. Facilitating pre-emptive interventions, metric databases can subtly change behaviour and contexts, as they govern through their evidence (Williamson 2016, 127-128). Sector resistance, and the PaCT's assumed role in performance pay, resulted in its primary sector boycott in June 2013.

The PaCT's discursive construction as objective, authoritative and truthful by the Ministry of Education, derived directly from its algorithmic use of numbers, their complexity, exactitude and apparent removal of judgement and subjectivity (123-127). It was assumed to have, and to apply, an impartial rationality, fairness, distance and moral authority, to teachers' judgements and OTJ assessments (Porter, 1996, 3-10)¹⁵. In situations of weak authority and public contestation, as with NS, numerics and increasingly metrics, signify authority, and seemingly reduce conflict (Rose 1999, 203-208). As a panoptic laboratory of experimentation (Foucault 1995, 203) and subjectification, the PaCT 'ratcheted up' its 'invisible' disciplinary effects to 'alter behaviour, to train and correct individuals' (Foucault 1995, 203). Inducing permanent consciousness it conferred 'legibility' as 'abilities-machines' (Foucault 2008, 230) while normalising measurement, predictability and categorisation.

As a subjectification technology the PaCT built a narrative about individuals through its metrics and social categories (e.g. 'well below' to 'above' standard) making, dividing and labelling subjects and inscribing them as such. It embodied a 'cultural thesis about who the child is and should be, and who is *not* that child' (Popkewitz 2004, 183 author emphasis). Its constant competitions were to strengthen the fabrication of psycho-social selves as self-investing, future and 'metric-focused'

14 Algorithms reshape, calibrate and manage data-connected states and publics as inscrutable 'black-boxes' (Kitchen 2017, 15). Paradoxically they organise our lives, while remaining beyond our reach, participation and control (Introna 2016, 18).

15 Faith in numeric objectivity shaped development of modern states and is linked to moral demands for fairness and impartiality. Quantification can empower decisions without being employed in their making (Porter 1996, 8)

(Beer 2016, 25). In the transition from a calculative to metric governance, child-subjects as small capitals, were being reconstructed as portfolios of measured capacities that others would want to invest in to increase their returns (Brown 2015, 33).

Interestingly of course, the Overall Teacher Judgement's (OTJ's) fed into the PaCT 'engine' were neither standardised nor reliable. Nor could they account for the effects of diverse school influences, pressures and inequalities (Thrupp 2018). When bolstered by state authority, no matter how insignificant the categories and unreliable the data, the social status and circulation of numbers are empowered. Public statistics become real, significant and enduring (Espeland 1997, 1117 cited in Beer 2016, 131) and able to describe reality while partially defining and constituting it (Porter 1996, 42-43). Whether made mandatory or not, the PaCT would dominate primary school assessment and reset standards.

The PaCT: Circulating data

The PaCT had wider purposes than the calculation and designation of the OTJs. The circulation of NS data was critical to the Government's biopolitical policy objectives. The PaCT's people analytics were to inform other digital policy projects, including a Student Information Sharing Initiative (SISI) and the proposed electronic student platform (Ministry of Education 2008; Absolum et al 2009). This portal would increase achievement and 'circulate' enrolment, achievement, attendance and truancy data, enabling individual 'visibility' (Ministry of Education 2016, 5-8). Cross-agency, personal, behavioural and sensitive content (e.g. child protection, youth justice) would also be added by those with 'critical' status, and medical and flagged interventions by those with 'sensitive' (13-15). Whole-class targets, learning plans, class goals and school targets, would assist parental comparisons (33). As a 'real time' (25), systemic tracking and tracing platform, the PaCT and the electronic platform would translate the individual into a statistically represented, 'case' and calculable person (Foucault 1997, 193) constituted by cross-state data collections.

'Circulating' NS data would make 'possible' further data production and related biopolitical functions across the social services (Beer 2016, 127-8). NS data was to inform the National-Coalition's flagship Social Investment (SI) programme managing and measuring the social services. According to the Prime Minister, data tracking and sharing would monitor 'at risk' groups and 'initial spending to avoid further spending'. SI would institute the 'buying of targeted results' and 'what works' through a 'rigorous evidence-based feedback loop'. NS data was to become integral to the metric tracking and tracing of all citizens, their 'risk profiling' and 20-30 year cost projections (English 2015 cited in Moir 2015).

The National-Coalition also promised the development of a 'trusted', 'data-use ecosystem' (Lips 2015, 5, 10) and 'data-driven economy' (11) to provide 'joined up' and 'open government' (14). ANZ was to become a 'world leader' in the collation of more 'data and bigger data' for 'a prosperous, inclusive society' (5). NS were integral to the policy enactment and management of this globalised vision (Miller and Rose 2008, 216), and the increase in the scope of measurement and competition that metrification would bring.

At the end of August 2017 in the run up to the October 2017 election, a National Party press release entitled 'Making it even easier to track your child's progress', announced a \$45 million revamp of NS as 'National Standards Plus'. It proposed mandatory reporting transferred online, with further development of the PaCT tool to calculate the school 'value added' over a period of time. An app would enable 'granular level' parental tracking of progress 'as it happens, in much more detail'. National Standards Plus 'was to be rolled out to reading, writing, and maths in 2019', extended to digital technology and wellbeing measures over time (National Party Press Release 2017).

The new Labour-Coalition Government's Educational Amendment Bill (2018) removed the requirement for reporting against National Standards, emphasising achievement across the curriculum. Twice yearly reporting to parents on maths, reading and writing remains, and from May 2018, the PaCT could also be used for students in the first two years of secondary school (years 9 and 10). As well as calibrating reading, writing and maths against the NS, the PaCT can now also do so against the curriculum levels.

Conclusion

Employing a 'problematics of government analytic' (Rose and Miller 1992, 175), this genealogy has located ANZ's National Standards within their governmental rationalities, technologies, problems and futures. It has examined how ANZ's managed biopolitical upgrading in the 2000s, standardised the primary school curriculum and assessment. This instituted objectivity, homogeneity and documentation – necessary components for a techno-scientific SBR (Lewis et al 2019, 5). Thus without invoking root causes or a rationalised continuity (Foucault 1988, 95 cited in Brown 1998, 37), the genealogy has traced how NS were 'overflow[ing] with elements ... already in the situation' (Latour 2005, 166 cited in Ball, et al 2012, 72). Rather than an unexpected policy eruption, they were 'current episodes in a series of subjugations' (Foucault 1984a, 83).

Ordinary programmes such as National Standards administer biopower, disciplining bodies and undertaking mass population upgrading to ensure the 'calculated management of life' (Foucault 1990, 139-140). Public and increasingly private networks and institutions, truth discourses and managed interventions, facilitate change and forms of self-mastery, regulation and control. This complex inscription of social control, occurs via normalisation (e.g. educational metrics) and the nurturing of personal desire to adopt preferred practices, life aspirations, expectations and calculations. Nevertheless, the 'conduct of conduct' (Foucault 2007, 192-3) results in diverse, relatively unpredictable effects (Dean 2010, 17-18, 121).

The intrinsic qualities of numbers as social facts are central to biopolitics and its recording, analysing and replicating functions (Porter 1996). Numbers and metrics are also biopolitical dividing and targeting technologies, translating individuals and groups into multiple data traces through grids of coding and regimes of visibility for population accounting and knowledge. Numbers are also inscription devices shaping particular forms of individuality. Immersion in numerics, calculative practices and metrics encourages people to become calculative and to take a numerical approach to themselves, future planning and risk management. As subjectification and inscription technologies, NS and the PaCT were part of fabricating (Foucault 1995) 'human kinds' (Ball 2013, 98), ideally as future-proofed, calculative, metric-focused, self-managers and investor-subjects.

The PaCT's people analytics would technologically strengthen the calculative potency of both school assessment and governmentality (Lemke 2011, 7-37). Furthermore, numbers and particularly metrics foster competition – 'a formal game between inequalities' (Foucault 2008, 120) – a principle and virtue of governmentality, states must enhance and protect. Competition strengthens marketisation, with metrics providing the micro-differentiation both increasingly demand (Beer 2016, 13). Importantly, metrics further defines and deepens categories of value and worth, and thus intensifies the effects of measurement, differentiation, comparability, competition and marketisation. Metrics also nurtures uncertainty (Lazzarato 2009), strengthens calculative discourses and the economisation of life (Beer 2016, 134). Its numerical hierarchies of relative worth, the fine-grained production of winners and losers and the empowerment of those who can use numbers competitively, intensifies competition and inequality under governmentality (Beer 2016, 25-26, 65; Brown 2015, 28-39).

The paper has traced how the PaCT and its algorithmic metrics and, potential as a digital data-base, were central to the National-Coalition's future policy agenda; the institution of metric or digital governance (Williamson 2016). Digital architectures would spread and strengthen 'the doing of governance' through 'the governance of algorithms, or governance through algorithms' (Beer 2016, 30 author emphasis). NS were a distinct component of ANZ's move to install 'centrifugal' metrics infusing ever-wider circuits, connections and relations to 'soak into the fabric of the social world' (Foucault 2007, 45).

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STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION DOCTORATE WITH PUBLICATIONS/MANUSCRIPTS

We, the candidate and the candidate's Primary Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of candidate:	Anne-Marie O'Neill
Name/title of Primary Supervisor:	Professor John G. O'Neill
In which chapter is the manuscript /published work:	Chapter Four
Please select one of the following three options:	
<input type="radio"/> The manuscript/published work is published or in press <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please provide the full reference of the Research Output: A Foucauldian genealogy of National Standards and the introduction of digital governance in Aotearoa New Zealand 	
<input checked="" type="radio"/> The manuscript is currently under review for publication – please indicate: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The name of the journal: The Journal of Education Policy • The percentage of the manuscript/published work that was contributed by the candidate: 100.00 • Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the manuscript/published work: The candidate's original work, read and responded to by supervisors. 	
<input type="radio"/> It is intended that the manuscript will be published, but it has not yet been submitted to a journal	
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Date:	04-Aug-2020
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THESIS CONCLUSION

Section Six: What the study set out to achieve, discusses what I thought I would achieve in relation to my 'areas of interest', what I was able to and not able to.

Section Seven: Main findings of the study, provides a narrative discussion of overall findings under relevant headings.

Section Eight: Reflection on the research approach, covers the weaknesses and strengths of genealogy as experienced in undertaking this PhD. The methodology is discussed in Section four of the Introduction and also discussed in each of the Chapters.

Section Nine: Discussion, locates the main literature areas and debates the thesis draws from, including key works and/or scholars, in relation to the study's findings.

Section Ten: Findings for varied audiences, is written with teachers and policy-makers in mind.

SECTION SIX: WHAT THE STUDY SET OUT TO ACHIEVE

With an understanding of the discursive basis of neoliberalism in ANZ, and the 'second wave' (Codd 2001) of curriculum-assessment change, I set out to 're-read' the relations between both in this PhD. I wanted to extend the depth of my knowledge about how the former had re-shaped the latter. I sought to use a more theoretically challenging and comprehensive lens than previously.

I wanted to understand *how* curriculum-assessment operates as political-economic government or what Foucault (1991) terms governmentality. This included greater understanding about *how* everyday programmes rationalise those involved in them and how this operates on and shapes individuals. Reading Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish: The birth of the prison* (1995), his *Governmentality* (1991) chapter and *Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977* (1980), I realised the possibilities his 'toolkit' and analytics offered for a critical education policy analysis.

Beginning this study I knew there was room for further interrogation of the discursive antecedents or 'beginnings' of SBR and curriculum-assessment change in ANZ. I was keen to more deeply analyse the relationship between official rationality/ies and implementation technologies. Following Foucault, I sought to trace how both steer the 'conduct of conduct' to achieve governmental objectives. I assumed that undertaking a longitudinal investigation over three 'regimes of government' (Dean 2010), would strengthen this. The analysis of differing administrations with similar economic aspirations, signals the diversity of neoliberal policies in one of its most extreme global contexts. My supervisors and I assumed this national case could be of interest internationally.

Realising the importance of the politically fractious 1990s for the establishment of an assessment-driven, outcomes-based curriculum, I knew a detailed analysis of the implementation of curriculum-assessment as governmentality in this period was central. ANZ's adoption of teacher-implemented standards which were neither uniform nor standard for nearly a decade, failed to enable the production of useable data. I knew this strategy was being used to stimulate further change. I did not realise the managed failure of curriculum-assessment as a national measurement, management and performance regime, was a widely used tactic, within a range of 'multiform tactics' for instituting government (Foucault 1991, 95). The study also traces the use of this tactic in relation to the 2011 implementation of National Standards.

Subjection

One of the core functions of governmentality is subjectification and ‘making people up’ in preferred ways. In contemporary societies this occurs at a more complex level than that of simply a broad association between subjection and government policy. I understood that this requires reorienting our inner being and *raison d’être* as humans and that it involves our deep-seated self-perceptions, aspirations and relationships, including with the state, society, culture and economy.

I wanted to understand more concretely how political-economic government, its official truths (Foucault 1980) and the social and cultural change they underpin, practically nurtures and assists fabrication (Foucault 1995). I tried to develop this, by discursively tracing changes in subjection discourses. While there is certainly room for more substantive theorising of this on my part, the two analyses of biopower powerfully illustrate the lengths states go to, in nurturing preferred people.

Biopolitical programmes

On beginning this PhD I did not fully grasp the reach and governmental significance of the two intertwined purposes of biopower and its centrality to governmentality or contemporary societies. I knew *The Home-School Partnership Programme* (PP) (Ministry of Education 2004) was a popular school programme. It applied biopower informed by the ancient, caring pastoral power. Originating in punishment for sexual deviation through self-reformation, pastoralism applies modern therapeutic techniques to get people to understand why self-change is necessary, to seek to make it and to assist them to do so.

Knowing of its explicit and directive nature I was interested in how the PP accommodated governmental ends. I wanted to understand how it nurtured and responsabilised ‘educ-parents’ to interact and live with their children in officially preferred ways and life-styles, including the recreation of community. As I began reading the literature on modern pastoralism I gained a sense of the extent to which the fifth Labour-Coalition Government (2000-2008) sought to prescribe the contents and micro-politics of family life. The PP emphasised nurturing, parental communication and comparison, personal assistance and psycho-social change in the re-making and upgrading of parents. The PP is the most detailed and prescriptive behavioural model I have found in the literature on Foucauldian analyses of therapeutic programmes.

Likewise, National Standards increased the exertion of disciplinary and calculative biopower on all involved. I wanted to interrogate this in terms of the responsibility of parents and schools, to think about, and calculate performance. NS represented the imposition of a more strategic, planned and achievement-focused approach to primary education. Implementing performativity (Ball 2003), it designated achieving and non-achieving children. NS would contribute to building calculative forms of self-investment in families, schools and the population more generally.

As my PhD progressed I understood that governmentality policies employ various tactics and techniques administered through multitudes of programmes. Programmes are a primary way of enacting political rationality ‘on the ground’. They embody varying discursive approaches, to achieve similar political-economic ends: the production of free, active, docile, responsible, calculative and productive worker-citizens, who will individually and collectively enhance ANZ’s educational and productive capacities. Diverse biopolitical technologies are part of constituting neoliberal governmentality, as a variable and disunified phenomenon, while facilitating governmental purposes (Brown 2015; Beer 2016).

SECTION SEVEN: MAIN FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

A genealogical examination of curriculum-assessment as governmentality in Aotearoa New Zealand

Introduction

This doctorate has undertaken a critically-oriented, education policy analysis and national case study. It builds a chronology on the emergence, embedding and expansion of a globally-driven, national, school curriculum-assessment architecture. Undertaken as a genealogy, the Chapters *trace* and *locate* or *contextualise* the discursive basis of policy. They then *analyse* this basis in terms of its operation as a transnational standardisation and management model: standards-based-reform (SBR) (Luke 2011, 367). Organised as four separate and interlinked genealogies as academic papers and thesis Chapters, this PhD constitutes an overarching genealogical study. This process of ‘re-reading’ SBR, maps the discursive implementation of education as governmentality policies administered through curriculum-assessment, over three neoliberal political administrations (Simons et al 2009).

This longitudinal study traces the policy emergence, failure, contestation and contradiction in the installation of a national measurement, management and performance regime. It maps *how* an ‘assessment gaze’ permeate ANZ’s highly vernacularised, national interpretation of SBR in primary education. Similarly it examines how, its new tools, techniques and technologies enable curriculum-assessment to function as a rationalisation regime: discursively re-making an earlier context and implementing economic efficiencies. The study traces the ‘messy interactions’ of the history and structure of the present, in relation to the 2011 implementation of National Standards (Olssen 2006, 185). As an educational policy genealogy it confirms the need to examine all policy changes, regardless of size, through the deeper, multidimensional lens of governmental genealogy and its ‘interpretative analytics’. It provides an exemplar of the application of a deeper and more penetrative analysis to the politico-economic, cultural-socio purposes of education policy under neoliberalism.

As a national case study, the study should be of international interest, given ANZ’s reputation as a globally-known laboratory for the development and institution of ‘pure’ neoliberalism (Kelsey 1995, 2002).

The ‘toolkit’

Foucault’s ‘toolkit’ (1980), including governmentality, enables the conceptual and analytical deconstruction of political power, the ‘arts of government’ and political rationalities. The study shows how political-economic governance now operates through diffuse networks of indirect power (e.g. SBR) and micro-politics, some of which it documents. It confirms Foucault’s (1991) argument that the specific tools, techniques and tactics of modern government operate continuously and largely invisibly through ordinary institutions such as schools, their everyday programmes or ‘regimes of practice’ (75).

Re-reading policy

The genealogy definitively shows how policies function as ‘ensembles in and through which meaning is socially produced’ (Ball 1993, 3). In ‘re-reading’ the interplay between policies, pedagogical and research texts, this PhD demonstrates how policies are textual artefacts of highly politicised forms of public speech. In authorising values, public truths and knowledge, policies and related texts, construct ‘richly ambiguous stories’ (Flyvbjerg 2001, 136-7) requiring

deconstruction. Policies embody ideals which can be contradictory and which multiple groups must recognise and aspire to. Such texts are publicly and politically significant because they are instruments through which teachers and schools make sense of what they are officially required to do and what they actually do.

The genealogical approach

As an 'interpretative analytics' the genealogy applies a multi-dimensional lens of methodological, analytical and conceptual tools to the study of the governmentality functions of policy. Hence it discursively (including historically), examines policies and their contexts, deconstructs political rationalities and relevant institutions, including educational beliefs and practices.

'Analytics' of governmentality and genealogy

Closely aligned to this genealogy, is its 'analytics of government' (Dean 2010) approach, which interrogates the changing philosophical, moral and ethical justifications for governmentality (e.g. education as a private good, market-managerialism in education, the rise of community discourses and changing subjection discourses). Analytics suggests the deeper analysis of political rationalities and their practice. Vitality, it encourages examination of the relations between power-knowledge, authority and subjectivity. This assists the investigation of internal discursive contradictions, differences and interdependencies, including the rise and construction of public problems (e.g. the need to increase population literacy).

Genealogy also enables the identification and analysis of implementation technologies, techniques and practices. This includes the everyday micro-practices of enactment and policies ignored or abandoned. It examines, officially and unofficially how issues and practices are rendered problems, assists the identification of patterns, contradictions, shocks and breaks in official positions, including institutional responses to problems and issues. Importantly, this approach enables the identification of the discursive basis and technologies for making subjects as preferred, self-governing subject-citizens.

This thesis conclusively suggests the need for an educational change of view about the functions and purposes of policies under governmentality. It suggests that all policies in the current neoliberal context need to be examined genealogically, to expose their hidden or unarticulated purposes and significance to contemporary governance. I believe this is critical to the progression of the wider academic study of education.

The discursive basis of curriculum-assessment as governmentality

This doctorate details how globally-driven education policy discourses are translated and implemented in a vernacularised national context such as ANZ. It does so by specifically tracing the discursive antecedents and 'beginnings' of the 'second wave' (Codd 2001) of curriculum-assessment change from 1989-1991. These reflect the global rise of external accountabilities: international competitiveness, human capital production, efficient management and systemic quantification. These discourses partially inform the 'busnocratic' rationality (Peters and Marshall 1996) underlying policy changes and *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (Ministry of Education 1993). This is reflected in the re-making of selves through a 'busno-power policy regime' (Marshall 1995; Fitzsimons 2011).

The study documents the discursive complexities around the implementation of teacher-devised curriculum standards. Constructed as a policy ideal of national standards these were unsupported by benchmarks or national testing. Hence, locally disaggregated standards failed to

produce standardised assessments and useable data throughout the 1990s. This was essential to enable the NZCF to operationalise its main policy implementation technologies: measurement, technical-managerialism and competitive-performativity (Ball 2003). The study traces various policy proposals and institutional attempts to operationalise these technologies as SBR during the 1990s (e.g. national testing). It illustrates the importance of functional standards to the operation of SBR and neoliberal governance.

Policy failure

The study illustrates *how* governmentality uses policy failure as a tactic to further embed its technologies (Foucault 1991). Failing policies (e.g. teacher-implemented standards and teacher assessment of National Standards) are problematised for their inability to meet policy ideals, which also enables the allocation of blame (e.g. teachers' lack of technical competence). New proposals arrange or steer further 'action at a distance' to more directly solve the problem. For example during the 2000s, a raft of measures standardised curriculum and introduced data-driven approaches to rectify the 'standards' problem and the non-production of data.

Biopolitics

The study explicitly traces the fusion of identity with government and how subjectification and 'making people up' operates to serve political-economic ends (Webb, Gulson and Patton 2014). It tries to capture how the technologies and techniques of policies and programmes nurture personal desire for change. This includes one's deep-seated self-perceptions, aspirations and relations with the self, others, state, society, culture and the economy. Hence the study longitudinally traces how changes in truth discourses under successive neoliberal administrations, shape or fabricate (Foucault 1995, 194) subject/citizens as self-entrepreneurs, active, calculative and self-governing as students, parents and teachers.

The second half of the study interrogates the main way through which subjectification and population control more intensely occurs. This involves the most widely used modern power: biopower, applied to people through ordinary education programmes (which make government thinkable, practical and calculable). Two separate genealogies, Chapter Three and Chapter Four, analyse how biopower shapes both the anatomo-politics of the body and upgrades individuals collectively through population biopolitics. Sometimes these processes work separately, sometimes conjointly.

Chapter Three examines how pastoral biopolitics nurtures a desire for change, and how it seeks to empower parents to make change through a parent-school partnership. Parents are to learn how to encourage children's literacy through specified talk, home routines, lifestyles and psycho-cognitive approaches to parenting. Chapter Four examines National Standards as national curriculum assessment, encouraging calculative power through the numerically-oriented calculation of risk, outcomes and futures. Calculation normalises market forms of competition, measurement, hierarchisation and differentiation. The study illustrates how biopower, along with official programmes, policies, and disciplinary knowledge, normalises particular visions of how and what it is to be human. Normalisation generates desire and aspiration in people to take up the dominant subject positions offered by truth discourses (Foucault 1995, 181-183).

Responsibilisation

Biopower also complexly targets the mind, cognition and emotions. The study demonstrates how, as risk mitigation regimes, ordinary programmes enable the transfer of risk from the state onto individuals, families and institutions. Both genealogies identify responsibility as the basis of such

programmes and the making of change to increase educational achievement (and hence population upgrading). Discourses of responsibility place psycho-emotional, cognitive and practical pressure on people to change their interests and practices around accommodating new responsibilities and enduring the allocation of blame if failure occurs. The study affirms Brown's (2015) argument that responsabilisation is the penultimate human capacity through which human conduct is now steered, particularly under financialised neoliberalism. It is part of installing governance without governing society, or rather governing through the responsabilised, autonomous choices of singular entities (Done and Murphy 2016; Olmedo and Wilkins 2016; Torrance 2017).

It reveals the wide availability and diversity of subjectification and other rationalising techniques and technologies.

The PhD demonstrates how both pastoral and calculative biopolitics commodifies and economises bodies, minds, emotions and aptitudes in the service of economic government, its agendas and the demands of productive growth and global market competitiveness.

As a collective genealogy the study demonstrates how educational policy and its expression through everyday programmes can materially change and shape people's lives to a greater extent than is educationally understood and acknowledged. For example, subjectification and the governmental role of programmes is rarely questioned or critiqued, in the same way that their more general alignment with national economic-political ends and governmental functions is not.

The study specifically maps how governmental purposes and effects, have become integral to, or rather collapsed with the educational. In the context of the study's individual papers or Chapters, I have tried to acknowledge the discursive complexity of subjection (Bröckling 2005, 2016) and that such discursive pressures on people are multiple and that people are active in taking up, mediating or rejecting subject positions. The embedding of governmentality is a 'long-game', that draws on educational policy failure as well as its implementation, and changing ideals of the human subject, to establish itself and progress its ends.

In its examination of the salience of biopower to the strengthening of education governmentality, the study demonstrates the need for further critical interrogation of the governmental purposes of all school programmes in ANZ.

To conclude, the study traces and analyses how political-economic and socio-cultural concerns drive education change and are now fully intertwined with its educational purposes as public policy. It verifies the analytical rigor of the Foucauldian genealogical approach to governmentality with its mix of tools, critical ethos and analytics to expose and provide deep-seated critical understandings of governmentality purposes and functions. It demonstrates how this approach provides a multi-dimensional historical, contextual and analytical lens through which to interrogate policy as educational governmentality in the present.

SECTION EIGHT: REFLECTION ON THE RESEARCH APPROACH

Weaknesses:

In initially learning how to assemble my material, I was looking for some core activity or insight through which I would know I was working genealogically. However, there is no step by step approach or singular method for tracing, deconstructing or contextualising a Foucauldian genealogy. The process of discourse analysis is the most explicit, but overall construction is fluid and open. This is confusing for the novice, but becomes liberating with confidence and insight. In undertaking a discourse analysis, there are plenty of opportunities for problems to arise,

particularly from superficial understandings of how to do it. I was also mindful that Foucauldian educational genealogies and studies have been categorised by well-known scholars as consisting of mis-readings, deformations, inadequate re-makings and banalization. They have been called abusive of Foucault's marginality, invention and radicalness and routinely seen as reducing power to domination and detaching knowledge from context (Peters and Besley 2007, 3; Ball 2013, 18-20). I found some of the weaknesses or rather concerns in working within a Foucauldian genealogical approach include that:

- By Foucault's (1984a) admission, it is slow, grey and specific as well as substantial and dense.
- It is a pedantic and convoluted process to undertake and construct. This is because its strength rests on verification through the combination of exemplars, contextualisation and analysis, including that from Foucault, which can be emphasised and organised in different ways.
- It accommodates liberal quoting of texts – both those being studied and the theoretical and analytical. This is a slow and meticulous process and the strong genealogical examples I have encountered undertake this process liberally.
- It can be challenging to know how to balance the amount of content. In my case, the tracing of policy changes or initiatives, their contextualisation and governmental, theoretical analysis.
- It is opposed to abstract, general and procedural methods.
- Requires persistence, rigorous intellectual judgement and the application of creativity.
- Can feel boring and laborious because of the effort involved, the need to minutely comb texts and wander down 'blind alleys'.
- Can feel as if no progress is being made or worse, that the research task is unattainable, particularly its condensing into a publishable format.
- It results in feelings of inadequacy and the perceived need for increased verification, complexity and depth to fully capture the emergence or descent of discourses, conditions or contexts.
- A number of researchers appear to undertake genealogical-type work but do not reference or theorise these as such.
- Can be limited by short publication word limits (5 to 7,000), which can stifle contextualisation, the use of text examples and the theorised tracing of change over a period of time.
- It is characterised by few educationalists undertaking theorised forms.
- Strong examples are hard to find in the Education and the Social Sciences literatures.

Strengths:

The overall construction process of a genealogy is undefined. The process of discourse analysis is the most explicit to undertake, requiring tracing back and locating historically, examining earlier assumptions and developments and what builds on or comes out of these or does not, to locate and understand the discursive basis. The strengths of working within a Foucauldian genealogical approach, include that it:

- Enables analytically rigorous examinations of political rationalities, implementation technologies and contextual complexities, including their disaggregation into component parts.

- Enables the researcher to exercise a considerable amount of judgement or intellectual leeway in organising and structuring. For example, some might emphasise contextualisation, rather than the policy, initiative or series of events. Contextualisation might be kept relatively brief with focus on the construction or analysis of the problem or issues.
- Offers the potential to undertake challenging, detailed and deep-seated analyses of power-knowledge through the use of full corroborating detail, context, analysis and theory.
- Enables long or short time periods in relation to the subject of analysis.
- Enables the application of multiple, theoretical and conceptual tools/instruments in keeping with the approach (e.g. interviews, numerical data, photos, diaries, texts). These do not necessarily have to be Foucauldian.
- Enables the consideration of outlying mutations or divisive breaks, relevant to the overall analysis and its diversity and contestation as a non-progressive account.
- Enables subjectivity, personal experiences and power relations to be included in an analysis.
- Enables connections to be made between governmental policy ideals and enactment. For example, SBR required teachers' to disaggregate curriculum objectives. This was normalised as 'we are learning to' on classroom whiteboards. This is a small example of how the busnocratic, technical-instrumental dividing of knowledge manifested in classrooms.
- Enables the making of connections between multiple dimensions (e.g. macro and micro) of an issue, policy or process.
- Enables researchers to be 'upfront' about their own interests, foci and politics.
- Can interrogate single issues, examples or time periods (e.g. policy legislation or policy) to construct in depth analyses (i.e. rather than broad in subject matter) that do not have to be long or extra-long (e.g. Graham and Neu 2004).
- Can provide verifiability if required through multiple genealogies (e.g as this study provides).

The following Section sets out a broad discussion of the main literature areas informing the study.

SECTION NINE: DISCUSSION

This section locates the main literature areas this PhD draws on linking its overall findings to the general field of policy scholarship. Based within the education sub-disciplines of curriculum policy sociology, and education policy sociology, the study is informed by debates from across the Social Sciences, Humanities and Political Science, as well as Education. The following references key works and/or scholars, from both local and global fields who have been influential. It does not rehearse debates on policy theorising, scholarship or the vast amount of policy material read. These are reviewed and discussed as appropriate, within each of the four papers/Chapters of the thesis.

Curriculum policy sociology in ANZ

The 1989 administrative restructuring of education, followed by curriculum-assessment and qualifications change, stimulated the expansion of education policy and curriculum policy sociology. Both contextualise policy to better understand its purpose, enactment and effects. My PhD is located in both sub-disciplines.

Five doctoral studies were important to this research. My study draws from and builds on two PhD's on the primary school sector. These are Mary Hill's (2001) analysis of assessment change and teachers' responses to it and John Young's (2009) examination of the paucity of assessment

methods for the 1993 introduction of a new curriculum. Young argues the new approaches necessitated new tools which were not forthcoming. I have also drawn on two studies on the secondary sector including Judie Alison's (2007) analysis of qualifications reform as well as John O'Neill's (2001) study of teachers' and school curriculum development. O'Neill's historical analysis of discursive constructions of teachers in ANZ has informed my work. Marian Court's (2001) Foucauldian study on co-principalships was central to my understanding of Foucault's 'toolbox' (1980) and how to apply it.

A rich vein of local Foucauldian educational scholarship including education feminism¹¹ is well known internationally. Two Foucauldian educationalists opened up the discursive analysis of curriculum change in ANZ. This includes analyses of the governmental rationality by Jim Marshall (1995, 1996) and Michael Peters (2001a, 2001b). Peters and Marshall's (1996) *Individualism and community: Education and social policy in the postmodern condition*, as a national and global study, informed my early understanding of neoliberalism, the role of curriculum as governmentality and in 'making people up' (O'Neill 2006). They identified the busnocratic rationality, analysing curriculum-assessment as governmentality and biopolitics in ANZ. Their work is the springboard from which this study traces mutations in political rationality.

Mark Olssen's materialist reading of Michel Foucault (2006) explains the philosophical and ontological position of Foucault's theorising and analysis. This and his analysis of Foucault's governmentality work, substantially informs this study. A study on the construction of selves under educational managerialism by Patrick Fitzsimons (2011) has also been central. The same can be said for an analysis of education governmentality in ANZ, England and globally, and its theorising of a Foucauldian policy analysis (Olssen, Codd and O'Neill 2004) (discussed below).

Court and O'Neill's (2011) national case study genealogically traces the discursive contestations and contradictions within the state over education policy change agendas in ANZ. Its content informs my study and was one of my three genealogy exemplar papers. Hill's (2009) Foucauldian re-analysis of her PhD involves the creative re-application of the 'toolbox' to curriculum-assessment change and teachers' responses.

National implications of my research findings

This PhD updates and extends the analyses of Marshall (1995), Peters (2001a, 2005) and Peters and Marshall (1996) on curriculum-assessment as governmentality. It acknowledges their work on the ascent of a busnocratic rationality and its application of busno-power to students and teachers. This is the basis from which my study builds, to understand discursive changes in rationality from 1996 onwards. My analysis of the policy failure of curriculum-assessment during the 1990s and its role in future policy steerage, follows on from, and develops Hill (2001) and Young's (2009) analyses in quite a different way.

Similarly my study's detailed examination of two biopolitical programmes during the 2000s, extends Peters and Marshall's (1996) analytical work and offers a more comprehensive way of looking at the subjectification and rationalisation purposes of official programmes, to that of Hill (2001) and Young (2009). Studies of educational biopower are uncommon in ANZ. This PhD could provide a useful springboard for other researchers to undertake related analyses. The study traces how the tools of modern government operate continuously and invisibly, rather than overtly in ANZ's schools. There is a great deal more work to be done on biopolitics, subjectification and normalisation in this national context. I am unaware of any other longitudinal studies on the 'second wave' of curriculum-assessment change in ANZ. As a national case, drawing on local and international scholarship, my wish is that the study contributes to the retention and continued

11 This includes the work of feminist scholars Drs Margaret Walshaw, Marian Court, Sue Middleton and Tina (A.C.) Besley.

development of curriculum policy sociology in this country. Similarly, I hope it is a useful addition to education policy sociology in a national context in which both continue to survive and thrive.

International governmentality studies

As this thesis has acknowledged previously, much of Foucault's work on modern power and governmentality is preliminary. Hence this doctorate is informed by the studies of second generation, neo or post-Foucauldian governmentality scholars.

Following Foucault (1995) and eschewing a general theory, these academics devised concepts through which to examine specific 'laboratory sites' for 'making people up'. Their historical and empirical studies included the history of applied psychology and genealogies of accounting and management. Studies of localised power and constructions of regulated freedom, specific political interventions and their technologies and instruments also emerged. Studies on the economy, calculation and calculative practices were undertaken along with the development of expertise, professional knowledge and subjectification. Later, problematisation, political rationality and its technologies, and government 'as a congenitally failing operation' were more fully theorised, extending the breadth and analytical power of governmentality (Miller and Rose 2008, 8-20). My PhD draws fully on this scholarship because it is the basis for the development of some of the core concepts, knowledge and theorising applied in the genealogy (Barry, Osborne and Rose 1996; Burchell, Gordon and Miller 1991; Dean 1994, 2010, 2016; Gordon 1991; Lemke 2011; Macintosh, 2009; Power 1994; Rose 1996, 1999; Miller 2008; Miller and Rose 2008; O'Malley 1992, 1996; Rose and Miller 1992).

The separate and conjoint scholarship of Peter Miller and Nickolas Rose covers issues of contemporary political power, the role of the state, strategies for the 'conduct of conduct' and their links to changing social and cultural contexts. Mitchell Dean's (2010) large study on the liberal and authoritarian aspects of governmentality, interrogates neoliberal rationality and the rise of the politics of risk and calculative cultures. Their work heavily informs my PhD and my analytical 'toolkit' (Foucault 1980).

Dispersed governmental power

Governmentality studies demonstrate how, under globalised models of governance, the state has been discursively realigned away from its apex of centralised control. States must still be seen to be strong globally, distanced from their entities, politically responsible and accountable for them, while steering their operation from a distance. They must also support, sustain and regulate markets, manage collective security and risk, and sustain social, cultural and individual government.

In post-Foucauldian studies, the state is one variable in multiple circuits of interconnected, indirect networks of power and control¹². Policy is now pervasive and as my PhD demonstrates, the tools of modern government are continuous, pervasive and managerial and administrative. Their enactment and normalisation through our everyday institutions has meant they have become less visible than under Keynesianism. Post-Foucauldian scholarship acknowledges the localised nature of governmental contexts (e.g. varying emphases on market de/regulation, central steering, audit, financialisation, risk management, biopolitical programmes and degrees of algorithmic governance) (Beer 2016; Brown 2015; Lazzarato 2009, 2012; Lemke, 2011; O'Malley 1992 1996; Peters, 2001a 2001b 2005; Peters, Pareskeva and Besley 2015; Power, 1994).

12 Often intensely controlling through funding, outcomes and accountability demands.

Through its genealogical lens, this PhD demonstrates how decentralised governmental control operates in complex and politically sophisticated ways. Government prescribes policy, which steers its enactment and practice to meet wider government objectives. Under neoliberalisation this intensification of power in localised contexts occurs in governmental and increasingly private places where human deviation occurs. It requires their tracing, calculation, monitoring and being made accountable in what are societies of 'control' (Rose 1999, 2000).

Understanding financialisation

Brown's (2015) *Undoing the demos: Neoliberalism's stealth revolution*, draws directly on Foucault's 1978-79 lectures in *The birth of Biopolitics* to explore governmentality as a specific and normative global mode of reason: disunified and 'nonidentical with itself' (48). Unlike other writers, Brown takes the constitution, purposes and materiality of rationality very seriously, building on earlier work (Brown 1998). She approaches the human dimensions of governmentality and practices of subjectification as seriously as its political-economic manifestations.

In analysing the historical ascent of financialised capitalism and its replacement of industry since the 1970s, Brown traces the rise of *homo oeconomicus* over *homo politicus* (author emphasis 48). Along with Kelsey's (2015) detailed analysis of ANZ, Brown helped me understand ANZ's financialised context and its market/governmental constructions of the individual. Drawing on Foucault's assessment of the difference between liberalism and neoliberalism, Brown analyses how financialisation has generalised market/enterprise forms and models to social life and 'everything' (discussed previously).

The work of Lazzarato (2009, 2012) and that of Peters, Pareskeva and Besley (2015) has also strengthened my understanding of neoliberal economics, financialised capitalism and inequality. These studies link closely with Kelsey's (2015, 11) poignant examination of ANZ as a FIRE economy. Since the mid-1980s, ANZ has been known as the 'financial wild west' (11), driven by finance, insurance and real estate (and farming, post-earthquake reconstruction and immigration). This pursuit is linked to the globally leading levels of inequality between our social groups.

Understanding biopower

Financialisation is part of the contextual backdrop of the 2000s and Chapter Three's analysis. This third genealogy examines pastorally-based biopower exerted through a literacy-building, school-community Partnership Programme (PP). This analyses psycho-therapeutic techniques and programmes, now prevalent across the professional disciplines, state institutions and social life (Fejes and Dahlstedt 2013). In the PP these techniques covered 'therapeutic individualism' through self-inspection, monitoring, problematisation and transformation to build personal and family strength, skills or qualities (Rose 1996, 90). This Chapter critically analyses discourses of dysfunction, disorder and vulnerability and the normalising and moralising effects of governmentality (Brunila and Suvonen 2016, 57). The ethics of 'educ-parenting' as proposed in the PP, involved the re-making of dispositions, aspirations, practices and lifestyles. These were discursively oriented towards community-making and entrepreneurial self-investment and calculative forms of risk-management and the making of future returns.

Building on Porter's (1996) strategic analysis of the power of numbers in public life, post-Foucauldian governmentality studies interrogate the increasing power of calculation, numerics and metric architectures under advanced capitalism (Dean 2010; Rose 1999; Rose and Miller 2008; Miller 2008; Beer 2016). Chapter Four's genealogy, examining the strengthening of calculative biopower through National Standards, draws on this literature, particularly the sociological work of David Beer (2016). As a Foucauldian study of metric power, Beer investigates

the form and circulation of increasingly granular, metric-based evaluations and judgements. This work strengthened my understanding of the governmental purposes of National Standards (NS). My study traces the circulation of NS data, to the future generation of more data and the generalisation of the governmental purposes of calculation, ranking and competition across ANZ. NS were to strengthen the school as a centre of calculation (Latour 1987). The genealogy draws on similar studies of educational calculation to understand and analyse this (Anderson 2015; Bragg, 2007; Masschelein and Quaghebeur 2005).

Educational genealogy and governmentality

The work of a number of local scholars previously mentioned also inducted me into how to genealogically analyse education governmentality (Marshall 1996; Olssen 2006; Olssen, Codd and O'Neill 2004; Peters and Besley 2007). The work of key international educationalists who undertake genealogical studies have also strengthened my skills in undertaking this. The most important has been the work of educationalist Stephen Ball (1993, 2003, 2013), including that with colleagues Meg Maguire and Annette Braun (2012). These works demonstrated how to apply the 'toolbox' at the micro and macro-levels, and enabled me to check my recognition and understanding of discourse, its contextualisation and to integrate Foucault's thinking and analyses into mine. Graham and Neu's (2004) genealogical analysis of national testing in Canada, was a vital part of my genealogical 'toolbox'. I hope this study makes a viable contribution to, and exemplar of genealogy, as a multi-dimensional tool for the interrogation of education policy as governmentality.

Implications of findings in relation to the international policy context

This PhD also demonstrates the value of Foucault's 'alternative analytic of political power'. This encourages the deeper interrogation of the philosophical and epistemological basis of political-economic government (Foucault 1991, 75-95). The study provides a national exemplar of how, over a sustained period of three decades and political administrations, people have been both governed and made governable in ANZ. Following Foucault, it shows how modern governmental rationality is simultaneously individualising and totalising.

As a study in education governmentality, this national case builds on Olssen, Codd and O'Neill's (2004) analysis of educational governmentality in ANZ. It demonstrates how governmentality plays out through locally vernacularised interpretations of globalised discourses, policy failure, political pragmatism, serendipity and biopolitical micro-politics. As a global panoptic laboratory (Foucault 1995 189-192) Aotearoa New Zealand is known for the breadth and depth of its adoption of both Keynesian welfarism and its extreme interpretations of neoliberal governmentality (Kelsey 2015, 11; Starke 2008). As a long term study, and an overarching genealogy of four Papers, I hope this PhD contributes to global studies on curriculum and assessment and analyses of education as governmentality, and that it strengthens the reach of curriculum and education policy sociology. I believe it could usefully inform the work of genealogists, governmentality theorists and those seeking to understand neoliberal change more generally, as well as curriculum and assessment scholars.

SECTION TEN: FINDINGS FOR VARIED AUDIENCES

Teachers

This study speaks directly to teachers, because it documents the discursive basis of their re-professionalisation by the state. It also shows how teachers' subjectivity and labour lie at the core of implementing education governmentality. Teachers need to understand that neoliberal governmentality inserts economics into the management of people, society and governance, directly steering 'things', including schools, their programmes and the minutiae of teaching, to achieve its objectives. This research shows that the globally-driven institution of standards-based-reform (SBR) in ANZ, cannot be 'read' superficially or only in educational terms. Such methodologies involve the application of the ideas and methods of business and economics to education. Hence teachers need to understand their history, basis and current purposes in order to critically engage with them. The study shows how the prioritisation of outcomes techniques, quantification and forms of technical-instrumentalism, is, now part of how schools and teachers facilitate the running of contemporary modern government.

Schools are no longer primarily educational institutions, nor can they be fully understood if only examined in this way. This study has outlined the rationales, technologies and techniques through which everyday political-economic control flows through fluid, interlinked networks and circuits including schools. Indeed, governmental power and authority gravitates or permeates within and between, civil society and government. In other words, it is now devolved to multiple public and private authorities, including schools.

Drawing on a Foucauldian genealogical approach, the study *traces* and *contextualises* the discursive basis of neoliberal political rationality and its implementation policies. It *analyses* curriculum-assessment as a public rationalisation regime. Rationalisation involves changing established contexts (e.g. schools and their programmes) and people to implement efficiencies. As part of understanding this process the thesis examines how the intertwining of political-economic and educational rationalities, school policies, programmes and their 'everyday' assumptions and practices occurs. This includes the re-making of private identity and ethics. Hence, the study traces changing official conceptions of citizen-subjects including those of teachers as governmental subjects and objects.

Chapter One maps the discursive 'beginnings' and the emergence of an outcomes-based architecture. These were re-aligned to externally-driven concerns and accountabilities, including the demands of global trading, productive viability and the need for appropriate human capital, from 1989-1991. It maps the construction of assessment-driven architecture and traces how official discourses constructed teachers from 1993 as assessment-driven, managed technicians. Teachers were urged to become more entrepreneurial and as continual assessors, were ideally expected to quantify activities to demonstrate increases in productivity gains. The introduction of community-based partnerships in the late 1990s, reinforced the role of teachers as ethically-informed technical assessors, managed staff and self-managers in relation to data, achievement and community-making. School community partnerships signalled the transformation of teachers as 're-moralisers' (Rose 1999) of their own, parental and student responsibility.

Chapter Two examines the idealised promotion of the *New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (Ministry of Education 1993) as a measurement, managerial and competitive-performance regime. The failure of teacher-implemented, national standards to furnish reliable data by 1999, which during this period all schools and teachers struggled over, enabled the implementation of highly interventionist policies during the 2000s (e.g. standardised curriculum and data-driven approaches). Re-professionalisation in this decade took place around standardised knowledge,

data-based methodologies and inclusionary discourses. In official texts and policy documents teachers were primarily seen as data-readers, makers and analysers, in the newly standardised, specified and quantified environment.

The second half of the study demonstrates how the 're-making' of people primarily occurs through the application of the most widely used modern power: biopower, which upgrades the health, welfare and productivity of populations. The study investigates this through two programmes: a school-parent literacy partnership (2004) and national assessment change (2011). Programmes are one of the most important ways that governmental objectives around subjectification are enacted, because they enable direct access to students and families and teachers. The literacy partnership applied pastoral power through confessional and group therapies to transform parents into proactive and responsible home educators. It advocated preferred home-learning practices, personal dispositions and life-style aspirations. National assessment change through National Standards nurtured future-focused, calculative, self-investors. Both programmes responsabilised people for behaviour change to increase achievement. In doing so, biopower also transfers risk and blame for failure from the state, onto parents, teachers and institutions.

This 'making up' or 're-making' of governmental subjects through nurturing, creating and re-moralising preferred kinds of people (e.g. as enterprising, innovative, skills focused and accepting of the need to train and retrain), requires people to re-moralise their relation to themselves, the state and markets. Through this 'politics of conduct', re-moralisation includes changing our emotionality, cognition and self-perception, as well as our self-management as subject-citizens, teachers and parents. It is one of the most direct steering and subjectification processes under governmentality. Understanding biopolitical power as the Foucauldian approach explains it, would be recognised by many teachers as useful and important professional knowledge. It captures the current extent of professional work, the political context in which teachers are enmeshed and their direct input into the creation of governmental subjects and human capital.

The theorising, research findings and the political-social understandings generated by this PhD, speak to the need for teachers to have far broader exposure to the effects and analysis of the structures of power, the political system and neoliberal governmentality, than they do. This includes induction into deconstructing the deeper meanings and purposes of officially sanctioned policy-truths and discourses. Hence it illustrates the importance of exposure to basic Social Science theorising and political debate around the role of teachers in the construction of the political-economic 'present' as state worker-subjects. If more teachers could gain deeper understandings of how their work is embedded in the purposes and functions of governmentality, the profession would become more open to, and demanding of, the need for greater exposure to such critical analyses and greater involvement in policy-making which prioritises political-economic concerns.

Policy-makers

This study demonstrates *how* policy-making under neoliberal governmentality directly facilitates the implementation of wider political-economic agendas. The work of policy researchers, writers and analysts shapes and articulates the dominant rationality and breaks it down into workable technologies and techniques. This is how individuals and institutions are steered into making officially preferred choices, practices and futures.

Stronger Social Science and Political Studies backgrounds would assist policy-makers to navigate their work and its governmental purposes. Knowledge of the fundamental premises and assumptions of neoliberalism as rationality and how public (and increasingly private) sector workers make governmentality truth through policy, is overdue. This would enable analytical understanding of *how* neoliberal governmentality operates through ordinary programmes.

Policy content reflects the deeper philosophical and ethical understandings embodied in policy and political arguments, as well as those that people bring to such work. These forms of awareness cannot simply be read at the textual level, nor do they reside in knowing the purposes of singular policy areas. This requires sustained engagement with the philosophical, ontological and epistemological foundations of rationalities and their operation techniques. Ideally, governmental contexts would benefit from the circulation of these understandings and knowledge. This could also generate multiple and oppositional perspectives to inform policy-making, rather than just the views or truths of the party in power. The dissemination of such knowledge and its presentation for public consumption, could become a professionally mandated activity for policy experts.

Stronger links with universities might assist this process. For example, there are historical, epistemological and theoretical links between the current hegemony of technical-instrumentalism, scientific managerialism, the dominance of quantification and theories of management, educational and social administration. Unpacking the basic premises of this power-knowledge and its understanding of humans, the purposes of work, social life and the politics of institutional power and control, could usefully inform contemporary debates.

Similarly, there are questions around the biopolitical role of policy at the individual/corporeal and population level. This includes the commercialisation and instrumentalization of humans, intelligence and relationships, including even singular bodily parts and capabilities under governmentality. Greater intellectual openness could enable consideration of significant personal, political-socio-cultural questions and the ethics of marketisation and economisation. Likewise, futures being constructed on the basis of increased numerics, calculativity and algorithmic governance and their direct links and progression into Artificial Intelligence, more sophisticated surveillance and human implantables must feature here.

A code of professional ethics in relation to the deeper ethics and purposes of policy participation, practice and professionalism, could assist the opening up of governmental power-knowledge and the democratic broadening of the policy environment.

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