**An essay on the local consequences of global competition in two different welfare professions**

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**Abstract**

The paper studies how the discourse of ‘competition state’ (see Hirsch, 1997, Pedersen 2011) as a political and fantasmatic logic (Glynos & Howarth 2007) emerges in the new era of globalization (1960-), and influence the area of policy making within the field of education and health management. We look at how it influence the policymaking on two forms of welfare institutions and their professionals making a fixation by listing historical nodal points, making in- and exclusion of political and fantasmatic logics visible (Thomasson 2008, Hansen 2005: 392).

We illustrate how politics within education and health management are influenced by the impact of a global competing environment. And how the same political instruments of necessity with increased governmental intervention (i.e. neoliberal policy as outlined by Williamson as ‘the Washington consensus (1990)) are implemented as active state welfare management in order to increase productivity and lower expenditure, while attempting to raise quality and performance. Furthermore, we see the discourse of the competition state in relation to the theory of societies under heavy social acceleration (Rosa, 2010, 2013).

We identify some of the transformations in logics following the rationale and arguments idealised by the competition state in recent reforms, and on that background list hypotheses for further investigation.

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# Introduction - The birth of the competition state

*“They're not debating it in China and India. They are seizing its possibilities, in a way that will transform their lives and ours. Yes, both nations still have millions living in poverty. But they are on the move. Or look at Vietnam or Thailand. Then wait for the South Americans, and in time, with our help, the Africans. All these nations have labour costs a fraction of ours. All can import the technology. All of them will attract capital as it moves trillions of dollars of it, double what was available even 10 years ago, to find the best return. The character of this changing world is indifferent to tradition. Unforgiving of frailty. No respecter of past reputations. It has no custom and practice. It is replete with opportunities, but they only go to those swift to adapt, slow to complain, open, willing and able to change. Unless we "own" the future, unless our values are matched by a completely honest understanding of the reality now upon us and the next about to hit us, we will fail.”* (Tony Blair at the Labour Party's 2005 conference)

Globalization in its first form has existed since at least since the first explorers sat sail and travelled around the world. Later on globalization expanded in complexity with the first international trade taking its form in the 19th century, though ending in protectionism after the First World War (Thyge-Winther 2004: 98-99). Hence, its content, its signifié has changed over time.

Several historical developments taking place at the end of the 20th century is causing an increased focus on the concepts *globalization* and *competition* (Hirsch 1997, Pedersen 2011)*.* As such, globalization is not a new concept but its form and challenges has changed over time with both sceptical, transformative and proactive understandings of how to grasp the development (Thyge-Winther 2004: 95-103). Knowing that the discussion about globalization is a discussion in itself, *globalization* is in this setting understood as “*‘post-national’ markets as a pre-requisite for increased international economical integration through inter-state trade”* (Pedersen 2011: 42, our translation) and today specialized through organizations like EU, WTO and OECD. Within that context, the foci of c*ompetition* is here not only at the increasing competition between companies, but also at the competition between nations (Raffnsøe-Møller 2012). This shift is highly marked by a shift in state policy, going from compensating the institutions for the consequences of international competition to a ‘tuning’ of the national institutions. With the ‘tuning’ public service such as education and health is becoming “*into the mandate of the WTO´s General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)”* as a commodification or institutionalizing with new systems of knowledge measuring e.g. happiness, health, education level and productivity (Pedersen 2011: 72, Robertson 2006: 2, Pedersen 2012: 107). The discourse for increased global national competition is, in reductionist terms, perceived as the making of institutional reforms, which can make the institutions flexible and adaptable. Thereby, opening up to national and regional markets for extended competition by deregulation of financial markets and labour market politics, to increase the mobility of capital and labour over national borders (Pedersen 2011: 42). Looking back at what was termed ‘the great transformation’ by Karl Polanyi, labour market policies since the wall street crash of the late ‘20s was formed by a Keynesian effort to de-commodify labour providing labour market security through welfare states (Standing, 2009). This form of economic politics ensured welfare through government benefits and progressive tax-systems, promoted equality and ensured a high level of social security. It was the rise of a focus on the empowerment of workers as consumers to drive forward the demands for goods and labour within national borders (Harvey, 2014). This is what Mikkel Bolt calls the Keynesian productivity agreement: Employers agreed to raise wages and workers agreed to raise productivity accordingly (Bolt, 2013).[[1]](#footnote-1) According to David Harvey, this caused a crisis in capitalism as it became difficult to create the surplus needed as the demands of qualified labour at a low price became increasingly hard to meet. Furthermore, as Bolt points out, one of the paradoxes of capitalism is the depletion of the body and the simultaneous dependency of a healthy population as an inherent paradox (Bolt, 2013). The welfare state tried to balance this contradiction under the productivity agreement: the worker agreed to increase productivity and was compensated with a fair wage and security from the state. Up through the 20th century, the labour market undergoes drastic transformations due to the expansion of intertwined economic systems, liberalization, deregulation and cheap foreign labour (Pedersen 2011). As the last barriers for the globalisation of commerce, finance and labour crumbled with the dissolve of the east/vest borders in 1989/90, the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the rise of state capitalism in China (Pedersen 2012) the opening up to a globalized arena became an insisting and pressing agenda. In 1993, President Clinton presented his first economical program speaking about global economy and the importance of handling the competition with nations around the world (Pedersen 2011: 43). Furthermore, Jaques Delors, as chair for the EU-commission, in 1993 opened up for the competitive race between Europe, USA and Japan with the “White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness and Employment” (Delors 1993). Two years after in 1995 WTO sees the light of day with NAFTA already being born and in 1995 *Agenda* *2000* is presented in Copenhagen by the EU-commission. (Pedersen 2011: 41-42)

Liberalisation of economy, rapid development of communication technologies and expanding trade influence national and European strategy for maintaining competitive advantages consequently influences on the national state policy (Hirsch 1997, Thyge-Winther 2004). The oil crises in 1973, the collapse of the Bretton-Woods system in 1971 and following devaluation of valuates for competitive advantages leads to immensely inflation and creates the foundation for new political movements. The politics in the ‘70s under Thatcherism and Reaganism emerged on a ground ready for a change on the view of the states role and view of humanity, with a refocusing on supply rather than demand. The refocusing is the Keynesian productivity agreement turned upside down with a neoliberal economical theory as method (Harvey 2014, Pedersen 2011). In 1989, Williamson termed the ongoing development as ‘the Washington Consensus’. He listed 10 points[[2]](#footnote-2), which he argued showed the shared themes among key institutions (like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and US Treasury Department)[[3]](#footnote-3) giving policy advice on conditions of loans for the rebuilding of Latin America in the ‘80s (Williamson, 1990). The first Washington Consensus was largely criticised and the reformulation by IMF, fist formulated in writing in 2005, highlighted that ‘good institutions’ or ‘Good Governance’ should be understood as having the goal of transforming the institutions in such a way, that they constitute the right conditions for the market (Pedersen 2011: 65). This include minimizing e.g. corruption and lack of quality in public institutions in order to work efficiently. This is a turn around, in the sense, that the institutions has to work directly for improving market conditions instead of protecting institutions from the flaws in the market.

# Empirical material and methodological framework

The empirical data for this paper come from two unrelated research projects consisting of various qualitative empirical materials such as interviews, field notes and documents. The first project studies the workplace health promotion trend and has been following a pilot project in a large Danish municipality. The second project is about how the working life of Danish teachers at a public elementary school is changing in the midst of a national reform and changes in the control over working time and location. Apart from a shared methodological and theoretical approach, the common denominator of the projects is their engagement with welfare professions and their embeddedness in the larger tendency of global competition. The research on health promotion has been following a project carried out by the municipal public health department through one and a half year. The project aimed to create and test a model termed ‘health promoting management’, which was to be implemented throughout the municipal workplaces along with a workplace health promotion policy. In the second project, interviews with Danish teachers has been carried out concerning the teachers’ thoughts and expectation to the new way of doing school beginning in August 2014 in advance of the reform came into effect. The project has been motivated by the major political intervention in the area of school organization and educational policy, by commentators termed the biggest change in ages made by the government.

## Archaeology and genealogy

By using a Foucauldian archaeological and genealogical approach, we can use certain concepts in the study of how global, historical trends and situational discursive practices occur. We can see how ideas are intertwined and creating or transforming new epistemological fields of thoughts and new fields for possible actions; how certain practices come to life as certain ways of doing ‘things’ (Foucault 2009:357). In this view, different epochs are to be understood as epistemes, thought-systems, the ‘silent’ order behind the speakable and visible as continuum of knowledge, with different dispositifs[[4]](#footnote-4), an organization of the social with a certain purpose brought forward by organising or arranging a space of ‘possible actions’ (Jensen 2006: 81, 44, 333). The creating of ‘apparatus’ as fields of practices, such as the discipline, the pastoral, the bio-political, the insurance and right and safety. All dispositifs as arranged arrangements creating certain ways to act upon given problems in a given time by looking at the questions raised. Or seen as political epistemology that “(…) *consist in ideals for who got the ability to see what, and therefore it’s about who that individual is and how she can relate to the world around her”*, thereby producing the basis for legislation and spreading of an episteme (Pedersen 2014: 60, our translation). Ideals and power cause change in the consensus of what to be perceived as the normative i.e. for the normal versus ‘the sick’. The norm versus the deviation from the norm as being predisposing for future actions. These ‘codes of conducts’ are forming periods with different rationales of management i.e. discipline, risk management, control of the body or a shift from physical threats as war to risks caused by economy or globalization (Jensen 2006, Dean 2006). The main point being, that historical events are neither happening according to an inherent causal progression (Hegel) nor are they decoupled from events before them as the radical sceptic might tend to say (Hume). Instead, they are part of certain ‘thought-systems’ belonging to certain periods in time as expressions of power or the ‘will to power’ (Nietzsche). Highlighting and delimiting these thought-systems occurs by looking at significantly features creating certain patterns. Features such as giving new names to the sick, pushing the limits for the understanding of and control over the body, focusing on prevention of sickness and unhealthy behaviour such as smoking instead of only curing the ill. In other words, an acting upon on a hypothetical possible problem that might occur (Jensen 2006).

Foucault therefore speaks of discontinuity as the main philosophical term to approach history and the understanding of present social practices in order to find or illuminate power in ruptures, discontinuity or openings in new ways of governing the subject. (Foucault, 2012, Jensen 2006) For some, the theoretical contribution of Foucault is understood mainly as focusing on what Kärreman and Alvesson call Discourse with a capital D; meaning the macro-societal developments in history (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2011; Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000) which is no stretch if you look at his empirical work on the historical constitutive power of institutions like prisons, schools, religion, or mental hospitals. Foucault, however, also offers a comprehensive theoretical and analytical framework in his work—for instance in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and later on in *Discipline & Punish* —that can be used to bring together global and local discursive practices into analyses through the methods of archaeology and genealogy[[5]](#footnote-5). In the book, Foucault describes how some discourses, *archives*, become monuments of our time in their hegemonic claim of truth; forcing everybody to somehow relate to them, and, equally important, marginalising or silencing certain voices. In the book, he presents a methodology on how to study these historical monuments and with the genealogy saying more about the causes leading to the transformations, though as “*(...) complex, mundane, inglorious origins – in no way part of any grand scheme of progressive history*” (SEoP 2013: 8). This methodology encompasses a focus on how to deconstruct and question the apparent facts surrounding us to create knowledge that are messy and inconclusive as opposed to the logical statements of the traditional archival texts. (Foucault, 2012):

”*Foucault's philosophy is about bringing light to the previously principle of scheme or order that spurs light on a given time-determined empirical view, the episteme. It is the silent order behind the speakable that determines what kind of questions that may be asked at a given point in time, and what answers these questions pre-structures”*

(Jensen 2006: 67, our translation).

In the work by Janos Glynos and David Howarth in in *Logics of Critical Explanation in Social and Political theory* (2007) they try to operate between positivism and the subjectivism of interpretivism working from a post-structuralist perspective with thinkers as Laclau, Foucault, Derrida and Lacan (Thomassen 2008: 217). Without going in depth with the work, we want to highlight the three forms of logics presented by Glynos and Howarth:

1. *The Social Logics:* Concerning the description of rules or ‘grammar’ in a given social practice. These are often complex or compressed social rules that can be ‘uncowered’ through e.g. forms of ethnographic work.

2. *The Logics of Politics:* Concerning the struggle in order to change or maintain the norms connected to a given social practice. In the moment a struggle for changing given norms in a social practice appears, if someone tries to twist, challenge, institutionalize or turn them for another purpose they are by Glynos and Howart concerned logics of politics (Glynos & Howarth 2007: 17).

3. *Fantasmatic Logics:* Concerning the forms of logics that tries to get a hold of social practices. That is, trying to explain why subjects relate or identify to certain social practices. That, which can constitute a driving force, a certain view on the world that as a vector or force drives the transformation:

”*The role of fantasy in this context is not to set up an illusion that provides a subject with a false picture of the world, but to ensure that the radical contingency of social reality – and the political dimension of a practice more specifically – remains in the background (…) in fact, the function of many management and governance techniques could be seen in this light*” (Glynos & Howarth 2007: 145-146).

We will follow the two last forms of logics as an analytical guideline in continuation of the Foucauldian methodological approach by using it as tools for the fixation of ruptures, shifts and power. Asking to the logics is a way of asking to the field of power constituting transformation in a form of coherence.

# Theoretical framework

In the following we will highlight some of the theoretical ‘grips’ we use in order to fixate the field of discursivity stretched out with globalization and competition as key concepts of investigation in the empirical founds made out by political documents, articles, programs and white papers. These empirical elements are through articulation constituting a field relative totality (Hansen 2005: 392), which we discuss up against two theoretical concepts. That be competition seen through the spectrum of acceleration (Rosa 2010, 2013) as an expression of will of power and the influence of competition and acceleration on subjectivity with alienation as possible embodied materialization (e.g. Barad 2003, Deleuze & Guattari 2013).

## Competition through acceleration

*“(…) there can be little doubt that the globalized high-speed-world of late modern societies requires a vast number of complex cultural competencies and dispositions for individuals to successfully cope with the challenges of everyday life*” (Rosa 2013b: 1).

According to Rosas theory about *social acceleration,* the way to understand the process of modernization and late-modernity lies at the hearth of the “*acceleration of time*” (Rosa 2010: 14). Social acceleration is with the dynamism, “*its driving force and its logic or law of change*” (Rosa 2010: 54) forming the narrative of late-modernity. According to Rosa, the acceleration leads to different forms of deceleration and alienation[[6]](#footnote-6) (2010). Consequently, in this line of thought an important part of understanding the contemporary society is grasping the possible consequences of the dynamism, speed and performance influencing nations, institutions and individuals today. Both externally as demands for increased productivity and internally as forms of self-acceleration, which in the optic of Rosa might lead to stress, burnout and depression (Rosa 2010). However, in a poststructuralist frame, it is more interesting to ask the question why, and on what ground the insufficient speed, and dynamism of subjects and institutions becomes a problem - as a shift in fields of discoursivity promoting new forms of logics. Acceleration is in Rosas line of thought understood objectively as an increase in actions per time unit. In economic turns, this means time equals money. However, as Rosa touch upon, discourses of self-realization also plays a distinct role. In this way, we can both understand Human Resource (HR), Human Resource Management (HRM) and governmental strategies for efficiency such as New Public Management (NPM) and New Public Governance (NPG) as ways to accelerate or improve the possibilities for surplus value. Sequentially, with Glynos and Howarth we can see pursuit for further self-acceleration as fantasmastic logics constituting driving forces in the pursuit for desired needs or acting accordingly to fields of discoursivity.

Rosa operates with a schematic distinction of social acceleration. Rosa calls these acceleration driven ‘mechanisms’ for motors. Consequently, these leads to an increase in the pace of social transformation.

Social acceleration

Technological acceleration

Acceleration of social transformation

Acceleration of the speed of life

Economical motor: Time equals money—processes within society

Rates of change are changing: contraction of the present (Lübbe) - the horizon of experience in which expectations are congruent

Social motor: competition

The cultural motor: promise of eternity

The constant time-deficit can result in different forms of alienation

Increase of contigency

The acceleration of the three dimensions technology, social change and the ‘pace of life’, even as idealised structuralistic constructions, is together with the acceleration of transportation, the acceleration of communication and production, key factors and intertwined part of the globalization e.g. in the speed of capital circulation. Getting ahead of a competitor, be that by production, education or innovation, level of knowledge or new technologies becomes key factors for growth and productivity: *“(…) the basic dominating principle of allocation in almost all spheres of social life in modern society is the logic of competition*” (Rosa 2010: 27). Despite for Rosa perhaps missing a clearer concept about power and agency, it allows seeing the transformation of history through this lens, render visible the driving forces leading up to contemporary societal transformation.

Furthermore, if social acceleration lies at the very hearth of the complex interplay between states competing with each other over productivity, growth and innovation to gain competitive advantages. Then the acceleration by global competition can be seen as leading to a comprehensive (re?-)integration of socio-technical performance optimising and time consumption reducing (often tayloristic) standardised disciplining production methods such as LEAN, TQM, electronic time recording systems and just-in-time production. According to Rosa, breaking the natural intrinsic rhythms of humans and events[[7]](#footnote-7) (Eigenzeit and Eigenrhythmen) in order to gain competitive advantages (Rosa 2013a: 165-168) and in our perspective representing certain subject positions to act within with an alienation potential. In addition, furthered acceleration in the mobility of capital, mobility of labour and production and as mentioned, in institutional changes of logic placing competition and efficiency at the core of normative articulation. For Rosa, on behalf of the work by e.g. Herman Lübbe and Helga Nowotny, this has, within the given field of subjective doings, the possibility of leading to heavily altering of the way we experience time as past, present and the future. Alterations with the possibility of time-based forms of alienations (Rosa 2010). Competition through acceleration might in addition seem leading to increased consciousness about increasing bodily and mental performance to gain competitive advantages through technics as mindfulness, meditation and the use of ‘life hacker’ technologies measuring the health condition of the body as respectively forms of consciously deceleration and acceleration gaining competitive advantages. Opposite or paradoxically to this development, the stress, physical deterioration, burn-out and thereby unintended deceleration of worn out bodies can be seen as part of quite concrete consequences[[8]](#footnote-8) of the attempt to try to keep up with today’s rapid transformation of the social in a globalized work setting.

Within the frame of acceleration, the performance of the body becomes important part as an economical factor, as well as tests as PISA giving indicators for a country’s competitive performance in comparison with other countries. Further, the intervention in the time structuring of work and everyday life, the modification of the individual’s time autonomy and the political and public discourses about time use, such as teachers not working enough, becomes a question of ethical consideration. Especially when alterations of work time and mobility infringe on e.g. teachers’ professional self-understanding and thereby as a narrative, a field of discourse and articulation, becomes an existential work-life question:

*Because the solid facticity of time and its nonetheless social nature are therefore indissolubly intertwined, temporal structures form the central site for the coordination and integration of individual life plans and ”systemic” requirements. And, furthermore, insofar as ethical and political questions basically concern how we want to spend our time, they are also the place where social-scientific structural analyses and ethical-philosophical inquiries can and must be tied together*” (Rosa 2013a: 5).

In the more ‘existential’ considerations over time use e.g. in relation to being a teacher or becoming healthy, lays a reflective agentialism. Spending time on activities, accepting changes for working hours, planning short or long-term for the future, considering whether the tempo at work is too much and thereby creating forms of resistance indicates both the individuals capability to reflect and act upon given situations. The discourse of acceleration and dynamization is in that sense not a determine force but a discourse influencing on the ‘field of possible actions’ and ‘silent’ order behind the speakable in the competition-state (cf. Foucault).

## Individualization, competition and acceleration as materialized embodiment

The definitions of individualization made by classical and modern sociologist such as Ziehe, Beck, Giddens and Bauman are conceptions challenged by the sociology of differentiation and power such as Bourdieu, Foucault, Dean, Rose etc., which stresses classes, power and social reproduction. However, as Klaus Rasborg argues[[9]](#footnote-9), we see the two opposite views on the conception as intertwined. The ability or capability to use and handle the possibilities and demands of individualization depends on economical, social and cultural capital – not the least in the framework of gaining competitive advantages (Rasborg 2014). Furthermore, these are important factors in the light of competitiveness embedded in acceleration. This means, that the neoliberal differentiation and individualization is dependent on certain capital forms with factors such as health, body, forms of education and competencies as something that first and foremost requires access in order to be ‘individualized’ accordingly to the sociologist approach and hence as decisive factors in an competition/acceleration race. Being healthy or a good teacher according to the contemporary perception as individualizing traits requires pre-dispositions relying on forms of economic, social, bodily and cultural capital. Furthermore, to those who are individualised by the discourses of health, a govermentality of self-management seems evident. For them health is not simply a disciplinary effort ‘sacrificing immediate satisfaction’ as they describe health as a satisfactory action in itself. Health – and for that sake time pressure – is not ‘just’ a discourse but also a very material and individually *experienced* matter. Doing health or educating under time pressure takes discipline. These phenomenological experiences of health and time pressure, as norms for being healthy or always being behind the clock, works as material bodily manifestations. This force reflection on the interplay between discourse and materiality, a popular theme in discourse, constructionist, poststructuralist and especially science and technology studies theory (e.g. Ahmed, 2006; Alvesson & Kärreman, 2011; Barad, 2003; Butler, 1993; Fournier & Grey, 2000; Haraway, 1991).

Karen Barad objects to the typical constructionist assumption that the physical world can be represented through language and that discourse analyses must focus on the meaning of the physical world as it manifests itself into (human) language. Instead of this anthropocentrism she suggests a realist account of the material world that understands matter as agential and intra-acting with human language. (Barad, 2003) This agential realism understands both subjects and objects as something always in becoming, never (pre)existing, and agency is thus understood as the reconfiguring these material-discursive apparatuses[[10]](#footnote-10).

On an agential realist account, discursive practices are specific material (re)configurations of the world through which local determinations of boundaries, properties, and meanings are differentially enacted. That is, discursive practices are ongoing agential intra-actions of the world through which local determinacy is enacted within the phenomena produced. Discursive practices are causal intra-actions—they enact local causal structures through which one “component” (the “effect”) of the phenomenon is marked by another “component” (the “cause”) in their differential articulation. (Barad 2003: 820f)

This represents an understanding of a materiality with agency having causal effects on discursive practices and vice versa[[11]](#footnote-11). This means that an analysis of the implementation of for instance health practices must treat the physical effects of doing health as real (or as real as language), and the discourse of getting healthy as something causing agential materialist intra-action with the world. In this way, discourses about time structures becomes real or material manifestations. In this way agential realism builds a bridge between a biomedical and constructionist paradigm of the body and mind. This does not mean, however, that we can always simply determine these causes as they intra-act. But we must include them in our methodology as apparatuses.

To understand what individuality means and why it is important to health management and teachers affected by changes in educational policy, we discuss how individuality differs from the mass or the animal with the help of Max Horkheimer, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. In this line of thought individuality is not a natural state of being in the world. Rather, it must be seen as something external produced through discourse. In *Anti-Oedipus* Deleuze and Guattari argue that contemporary societal development must be seen in the light of extreme exposure to the logics of psychoanalysis and capitalist market rationale. In their rather potent use of words they see these as examples of ‘desiring machines’ that promise the miraculous salvation of subjects if they, through neurosis subject themselves to their treatment. For Deleuze and Guattari this for instance encompasses the acceptance of seeing the psyche as always faulty and in need of help from (psychoanalytic) experts to ever be complete. In this process, our bodily needs or aspirations and value-based beliefs are seen as unhealthy or wrong and subjectivity is formed as an individual state of being rather than a collective one. The danger of this individualism to Deleuze and Guattari is the inherent fascism in the belief of being right or correct. When one acquire a firm belief in for instance the market or psychoanalysis, one is prone to see sanctioning others as legitimate action: for instance the schizophrenic, the Marxist (Deleuze & Guattari, 2013) or the unhealthy or the unproductive teacher.

As Horkheimer has illustrated, individuality comes at a price (Horkheimer 1947). To become an individual you need to discipline yourself in order to gain the security, material and spiritual benefits in society. At the same time, the more you strive to attain these things, the more genuine individual traits and reason will be displaced. This means that moral and ethical reflection will have hardship when ideology is formed by those most entangled with (the material and discursive) things. Almost 70 years later, Horkheimer’s dystopia of the dangers of material aspiration seems rather realized as modernist psychology (Foucault, 1991; Deleuze & Guattari, 2013), debt (Lazzarato, 2012), consumerism (Bauman, 2004) (self-)acceleration as a way of achieving recognition and ‘eternity’ (Rosa 2010, 2013), depression (Ehrenberg 2010) and a meta-reflective imperative for educated young people Archer 2012)—just to name a few possible consequences of capitalist modernity. All which have proved to be important discourses framing the possibilities of working class reflectivity and are constantly pushed forward by for instance neoliberal labour market policy.

Coincidently, this understanding of the body aligns with that of Deleuze and Guattari who argue that the neurosis caused by psychology prevents us to feel our bodily desires. They argue that a politics of change must incorporate these satisfactorily into a collectivised subjective resistance of the (psychoanalytic, capitalist) regime. (Deleuze & Guattari, 2013) One might be wary of their normative stance, but what seems important is the societal potential of e.g. health: When implementing a reorganisation of bodily wellbeing a sensitivity of malice manifested in our body might be promoted. This awareness can lead to the governmental management of selfhood but it might also empower workers to feel how societal trends like social acceleration (Rosa, 2010) stresses subjects leading to intended[[12]](#footnote-12) or unintended deceleration, and that the answer to these problem are perhaps best addressed outside the body; through organisational or even societal resistance.

Producing the corporate body through management of health and individualisation in the competition state bear two meanings, as it not only relates to the subjective material-discursive management of health. It also implies the managerial trend of organisational health promotion, time management/control,and the special position ascribed to managers in this ambition: primarily on a local level but also on a wider societal level of what Fournier and Grey call ‘managerialism’ in which managers are seen as central actors to organisational as well as wider societal analyses (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000; Fournier & Grey, 2000). Managers are in general placed in powerful positions in society but in the municipal study they are given certain power of definition in relation to health promotion as they are given the responsibility to make health permeate all levels of organisational life. Moreover, their own health behaviour is assessed by top management as they are seen as ‘role models of healthy behaviour’ or ‘health ambassadors’.

# Analysis - The changing of welfare professions at policy level

## Politics of necessity - from welfare- to competition state logic

The welfare state was largely a reaction to the Second World War. As a cultural institution, it had the ideal of shaping the future with equality, democracy and recognition of each individual’s uniqueness as it core values. This should create the bulwark against e.g. economic and social in-equality, nazism, fascism, unemployment and recessions like in the 1930’s. In that way “*politic was made the primary, the market secondary*” (Pedersen 2011: 16, our translation). In relation, the agenda for the competition state is different with a shift towards neoliberalism. In this way, the competition state is a transformation in the logic of state management based and developing upon former state rationales. By asking the question ‘what logics are present at different periods of history’, it is possible to indicate that the globalization is not only a change in economy – also politics is undergoing a new form of alterations in logics e.g. starting to articulate internal state problems in form of institutions and welfare services. Reading the *White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness and Employment* (1993) resembles a wake up call from a slumber. Future growth sectors has been neglected, high cost of unskilled workers is holding back job creation in services with the loss of millions of jobs, the employment system has aged regarding flexibility, education, training systems and social protection and countries at the south are competing at cost levels that cant be matched (Delors 1993: 11). This is the manifestation of the new global order – and as written above, wo years later WTO is founded and in 1995 *Agenda 2000* is presented by Delors as the strategy for future state competition (Pedersen 2011: 42)

In *The Birth of Biopolitics*, Foucault points at two models of liberalism both prevalent in current society that is important to bear in mind for our endeavour: Ordo-liberalism and neoliberalism (Foucault 200). The former also known as social liberalism tries to balance a market based price regulation and at the same time understands state as a necessary actor in the ensuring of social equality, welfare and legal rights. In neoliberalism, the free market is implemented in domains not traditionally marketised (family, crime, criminal policy, education) as well as those already being marketised (health care, labour market, housing policy). In Denmark, the neoliberal program was explicitly formulated by the right-wing ‘Fogh Rasmussen’ government from 2000 with a focus on marketization of the public sector through privatization seeking to develop Denmark to the most competitive economy in the world (Ahrenkiel et al 2012). The goal is to strengthen the potential of the economy and get the outmost of its resources, be that national or at a European scale. This puts, among other, productivity, growth, education, health, innovation, at the front, rephrasing the challenges that the nation confronts (e.g. China, PISA, public expenses). Hence, replacing the state with a new set of values at its core and a new form of politics. Be that, at this geography, the national and European ability to compete in order to maintain its welfare level with changes in the political culture (Pedersen 2011). The ‘politics of necessity’, as a sort of language game in negotiations, becomes the standard argumentation for the completion of excessive reforms of core welfare institutions and welfare ideals. Hereunder interventions undermining The Danish Model constituted at Septemberforliget in 1899[[13]](#footnote-13). It has been discussed immensely what neoliberalism actually stands for (Greve 2002. Nielsen 2006, Kamp et al 2013). However, as opposed to a widespread understanding neoliberalism is in our understanding not seen as a withdrawal of the state in opposition to the market, also known as the movement towards the minimal state. Quite the opposite in fact. The state has to play a much more active role in making sure that the market and state serve each other needs by adjusting the pre-requisites for cooperation. This has lead to the borders between the public and the state dissolving gradually:

“*The development of the neoliberal State did not lead toward a “thin” form of rule in the sense of the progressive dissipation or disappearance of the state as a social actor. On the contrary, the State did not become a weak but rather an increasingly strong subject.”*(Hardt & Negri 1994: 241, from Nielsen 2006: 8).

Economy and market relation logics plays a larger role and the state becomes a crucial actor in ensuring that the economical rationality – based on rational choice theory – is created, regulated and spread through strong and active state policy. The ‘politics of necessity’ thereby changes from a welfare state based logic into the transformation of welfare state institutions and individuals that correlate with the logics of the competition state and its inherent drivers.

## What becomes problematic?

With that form of socio-economical perspective several factors becomes ’problematic’. As stated above, education and knowledge production is a fundamental part of staying ahead creating jobs through e.g. the innovation of technology and securing a high level of expertise. In addition, the old inactive decayed body, the overweight, the unhealthy, the sick becomes an expense for society and hence discursively an unattractive attribute when ‘selling’ oneself at a job interview or sick-absence being illegitimate. Concerning education, values like democracy is, as stated above, becoming an economically attractable surplus value, which can be translated into to a socioeconomic value. School values like school class well-being is not just intrinsically good, but at the same time, when targeted those who do poorly, the most efficient way to raise the PISA score. The logic becomes double and to some extend paradoxical. We will try to show this shift in logic through an historical, subjective selective assessment and investigation of the transformation of logics shifting as the ‘new globalism’ as global competition becomes apparent in the competition-state.

## The transition period – the first signs of globalization in school policy

Education has always been influenced by the given cultural and historical situation surrounding it. In Denmark, both the war in 1864 and the Second World War changed the norms and values in respectively the national and welfare state. In these periods, the schools cultural-historical logic were the war[[14]](#footnote-14) as a cultural frame of reference. The school was seen as one of the most effective institutions when it came to disciplining the pupils to a sense of community and solidarity – working as the bulwark against the horrors from the war. This helped uniting the people in a common national identity with trust and loyalty towards the state and its institutions (Pedersen 2011). However, as we will show, other forms of national challenges have replaced the war and influenced the education.

## The logic of education from 1960-89

The first signs we point at is the collapse of the Bretton Woods system, the oil crisis in 1973 and the membership of EF. By the international economy, the national economy is to larger extent integrated in and affected by the global economic alterations. This raises question about the purpose of the school (Pedersen 2011: 13). Around 1970 critical voices utter that the schools are failing at giving the students the right competencies to continue at a secondary education or giving them the competencies to fit the changes on the labour market. Flexible workers and a shift from practical skills to a post-industrial knowledge was becoming the dominant demand (Korsgaard 2003: 28). Consequently, the teachers are held partly accountable for the economy crisis through the 80-90s (Pedersen 2014: 23). There is a rising demand for qualified labour force and the potential for expanding economic growth through only increased involvement of labour has decreased with the increasing level of technology and knowledge. Learning and knowledge is the new economy. This creates new demands for the educational sector due to the increased complexity and labour market that emphasis flexibility and adaptability in order to obtain and maintain competitive advantages. (Illeris, Laursen & Simonsen 1982: 96) Despite this development, participatory democracy, equality and solidarity dominates the elementary school. These ideals were initially written in the law from 1958 and the Blue Report from 1960 stating that besides giving pupils the skills, the purpose of the school should be to create the best possible foundation for the children growing up being harmonic, happy, and good people (Den Blå Betænkning, nr. 253: 29). Making them not just something but somebody. In the primary school law from 1975, as in the law from 1993, there the individual pupil is in focus, giving the pupil a personality and “(…) *prepare the pupils for sympathy and participatory democracy in a democratic society and for shared responsibility for the solution of common tasks”* (Gertz 2010: 9, 13, Pedersen 2014: 24, folkeskolen.dk 2009, our translation). In the first major reforms of the schools’ object clause, besides the focus on equality and democracy, there is a strong focus on the development of personality being seen as a culturally, spiritually and morally constituted factor. At the time, academic knowledge came in second row (Illeris, Olsen & Rasmussen 1976: 13-14). In the 1970s, social technologies such as ‘hour of the class’, group work and other forms of social activities trying to equal the teacher and the pupils are integrated. Since obedience and discipline still connects to the horrors from the First and Second World War, the teachers’ authority as ‘keepers of the truth’ are being questioned (Illeris 1976: 58). This leads to the approach that *“A lesser degree of inequality is a common accepted political goal in our society*” (Hansen 1973: 6, our translation). The school is, despite the external economy pressure, and new European and international collaboration, still seen as a ‘nation and welfare builder’ with democratic values at its core. In the U90 plan for actions on the educational area up until 1990, published by the Ministry of Education, it says that society’s efforts for decreasing inequality likewise must be apparent in the politics of education (Det centrale Uddannelsesråd 1978). The teacher must avoid being authoritative and the student herself should, as far as possible, get educated through self-discipline. The turning point in logic is here that the individual, its existential development through self-realization becomes the pre-requisite for solidarity. As repulsion, debates in the ‘70s start questioning the pedagogy of the time for its lack of focus on quality and knowledge – a development strongly influenced by the ‘discipline crisis’ with the unsuccessfulness of getting especially boys from worker families to participate in the school learning (Jacobsen 1977: 7, Undervisningsministeriet 1975). The socialist teachers dominating the schools intensifies the debate about the purpose of pedagogy due to not seeing teaching as a ‘calling’ but instead as a regular wage earner job. This happens in the middle of an unsafe period in regard of employment and national economy’s deficit on the balance of payments. They are being accused of socialistic indoctrination and for not taking their work seriously. Remarkable, the direction towards ‘wage labour mentality’ is supported by the Danish Teacher Union despite of massive public protest and the teachers’ reputation, status and trust towards the teachers working what they are supposed are dropping drastically. (Grinder-Hansen 2013: 280). This left the school on a ‘shacky ground’. Furthermore, it left the pedagogy in a Gordian knot. How should it enhance a democratic form of culture through self-realization and turn away from discipline and authorities at a time were the teachers’ dedication, results and use of hours at work were coming under heavy fire. The school should, as its inherent political logic, motivate the individual to actualise the national solidarity through democratic participation. Furthermore, it should give them spiritual and cultural values so that they, through the democratic participation, could become happy, harmonic and good citizens as stated in the ‘The Blue Report’. An area that were already characterized by an increase of governmental regulation on the school policy area i.e. with plans/guidelines/value debates for education now also had to take on the responsibility of adapting to an ‘outer world’ in an more economic and labour oriented sense. Hence, the school becomes a political and public battlefield under a heavy discussion on the authority of the teachers. From the 1970s up until 1989-1991, we see the first indications of the elementary public school as being continually more linked to the future growth and decisive for maintaining a high welfare and living standard. Around the 1960-90s OECD (1961) programmes as CERI (1968), ENSI (1968) and PEB and UNESCO publishing the report *Learning to be*  (1976) emerges, working to influence the educational policy (Winther-Jensen 2004: 132). The period up until the 1990s was a period working as a form of transition with the slow start of globalization accelerating with the fall of the Berlin Wall, the end of the Cold War, the spread of economic liberalism and capitalism and the rapid development of especially ICT putting education in the front of strategies of competition. When the Danish Teacher Union in 1977 was claiming: “*constant changes are the normal situation*” (DLF 1977: 1, our translation) they were unconditional right in their prediction. The globalization process had created tensions between two sorts of logics: The labour market demands and the cultural heritage in the school pedagogy.

## The logic of education after 1989

The ‘global order’ starts with new political lines for the future, the opening of EF to the eastern countries, with direct developments of strategies for how to handle the global competition. The raise and further development of international economy and a whole new form of centralized school policy with threads reaching out through i.e. the Bologna process and the Lissabon declaration (Pedersen 2011: 13-14). With the Lissabon declaration, education is placed as a strategic key component when it comes to promote the competitiveness and economy based on knowledge. This step is among other based on the principle about lifelong learning – a concept made the overall goal in UNESCO already in 1972, and implemented by OECD in 1996, though at OECD seen from an economic perspective: “Making Lifelong Learning a Reality for All” and furthermore 1996 is the European year for lifelong learning (Holm-Larsen 2010: 102, dfs.dk). In the report *Learning: The treasure within* it says:

*“The concept of learning throughout life emerges as one of the keys to the twenty-first century. It goes beyond the traditional distinction between initial and continuing education. It meets the challenges posed by a rapidly changing world”* (Delors 1996: 22).

Furthermore, here is an advocating for what could be articulated as the logic of the opportunistic subject:

*“Today, the Commission ventures to claim that the pressures of competition have caused many of those in positions of authority to lose sight of their mission, which is to give each human being the means to take full advantage of every opportunity”* (Delors 1996: 17-18).

In the report ‘*Revisiting* *Learning: The treasure within’* they reflect upon lifelong learning as a concept necessary in a globalized world in rapid transformation with learning as its DNA by stating:

*“The concept was to be one of the keys of the 21st century because “it meets the challenge of a rapidly changing world, and it is necessary because of its advantages of flexibility, diversity and availability at different times and in different places. It also goes beyond the traditional distinction between initial schooling and continuing education”****.*** *With the lifelong learning paradigm set as a backdrop, the report is based on four key pillars underlying education and life; learning to know, learning to do, learning to be and learning to live together”* (Tawil & Cougoureux 2013: 3).

OECD, UNESCO and EU to a larger and larger extent become political actors on the educational field with the awareness of globalization and increased labour and economy competitive reality between nations (Winther-Jensen 2004: 130-152). It enhances a fluid logic with the transformation of perceiving knowledge as something static, essentialist as programming, to a fluid, dynamic always-ongoing activity through all aspects of life in a lifelong perspective. The upcoming of tests in the schools boost this tendency in a peculiar way. The interpretation of learning as concept gets diffuse or open for multiple interpretations but the testing of standardised measurements for learning intensifies. The first international test conducted in 1991 by IEA regarding the reading skills of the Danish students published in 1994 accelerate this tendency on the basis of the dissatisfying results (Thejsen 2009:2). The world’s most expendable elementary school cannot deliver the best results in comparison to the countries, which Denmark normally compare itself. This seems to be creating a disturbance in the self-perception and marks the start of an evaluation avalanche, a start of a crisis for the pedagogical and normative foundation under the public school. The school has ‘educating for life’ as its slogan, but ‘life’ is from a governmental perspective is gradually seen more as equalled with occupation. This is the first educational comparison in a framework of globalization and the start of competition by comparison in educational tests (edu.au.dk). Once again, the teachers become the object for public bashing (Grinder-Hansen 2013), but this time with a clearer agenda reaching beyond the Danish borders. The new threat or risk for the national economy is the lack of skills and knowledge produced by pupils. Subsequent, evaluation is introduced as a regular technology in 1993. In 1996, the international TIMSS-examination is testing math and natural science with bad results. In 1999 the Evaluation Institute is founded.

In 2001 two left wing parties replace the Social Democratic government. This is a shift in paradigm (Holm Larsen 2010: 99) and leads to an overwhelming reformation period.

The first PISA[[15]](#footnote-15) results in 2000, carried out by OECD[[16]](#footnote-16), amplifies this by the new dissatisfying results. The PISA reports, with the words of Professor Peter Dahler, “*(…) heralded an almost epidemic spread of and totally predominant positive meaning of the word [evaluation], that be a popularization*” (Dahler-Larsen 2006: 7, our translation) and fuelled the further development of the already ongoing ‘School-Effectiveness’ wave (Krogh- Jespersen 2005). In the years after 2000, the direction took a much more OECD favourable approach. In 2001 ‘Clear Goals’ are implemented replacing the booklet made in 1993. In order to make evaluation an easier task, the government decides to make the education more transparent with public grades on the internet as the most radical part making it possible for parents to compare the schools’ results. In 2002, they complete an amendment towards bilinguals removing the municipal duty when it comes to offering education on the native language, furthermore the supervision with independent schools are tighten as a response to the growing number of Muslim schools, and an obligatory language-stimulation for 3-6 years old bilingual children is passed. The Innovation Council is established in 2003 with the purpose of enhancing innovation and flexibility by looking at what forms of cultural preconditions that characterise Danish competitiveness. Here the ‘tradition’ moves in as an attractable value for achieving competition: “*Fundamentally, the Danish growth model – the Danish prosperity motor - is build upon a positive view of humanity. The Danes don’t believe in systems – they believe in humans, at the individual can do a difference*” (Innovationsrådet 2004: 21, our translation). A Globalizing Council is founded in April 2005. Under the headline, ‘The elementary school and globalization’ the council states: “*The elementary school carries a main responsibility to ensure that all young people are prepared for being a part of the global world”* followed by six ambitious goals many of them being the foundation of the current reform from 2013. Further: “*Meanwhile, our schools also have some strengths important in a global world. We shall protect and keep build on these.*” highlighting self-confidence, happiness, cooperation, knowledge about societal issues and widespread democratic understanding. (Globaliseringsrådet 2005: 1-2, our translation) The values, which the educational system had developed for over a hundred years hereby, as a shift in logic, becomes an important instrument for the economical participation and competition in a global world.

Free school choice gets on the agenda in 2004 for increased competition among schools. The law is carried through in 2005 with inspiration from the work of the American economist Milton Friedman and the “No Child Left Behind” program in the USA building on: “*Stronger accountability for results, more freedom for states and communities, proven education methods, and more choices for parents*”. A statement also clearly visible in the government’s political vision for the public school already in the government platform from 2001. With the new school reform in 2003 ‘Clear Goals’ becomes ’Common Goals’ - with the further purpose of making sure that the pupils reach certain academic skills. (Holm-Larsen 2010: 101, Gertz 2010: 19-23)

In the Danish Globalisation Council, the Danish Prime Minister, as chair, express that the Danish elementary school has to do better due to Denmark educationally:

*“is falling (...) behind in comparison to other countries (...) We must have educations with world class. We need to be a leading knowledge society. We need to be a leading entrepreneurial society. And we have to be an innovative society were everyone is contributing to change. This goes for the public sector as well. It’s big compared to other countries”* (Globaliseringsrådet 2005, our translation).

The shattered self-image as Denmark being a leading knowledge society strengthens the accelerating change in the educational area. In 2005/6 the history canon is introduced, in 2006 the pupil plan is introduced as another social technology and a new law for the elementary school is implemented and national tests becomes a part of the public school law (though only properly realised in 2010) and PIRLS, the reading test, are being conducted again in 2006 along with a change of the public school law now focusing on: “(…) *preparing them for further education and giving them the motivation to learn more (…) The public school shall prepare the pupils for participation, joint responsibility, rights and duties in a society with freedom and democracy”* (folkeskolen.dk 2009). In 2009 the ‘Common Goals’ are revised again, which happens again in 2013/2014. The heart of securing Denmark for the globalized era lies in the elementary school and thereby, it is the teachers’ responsibility - at a time where the loss of authority has followed the teachers up until today. Test and evaluation as a way of tracking the schools’ competitiveness and efficiency is today a permeated part of the teachers’ professional work. Its performance can to some degree being seen as a consequence of the opening up to a global world, a transformed liberalised capitalized market, labour mobility and not the least, new forms of cooperation and comparisons between countries, with the question of how to provide the children with the skills needed in the future. In that way: “*OECD/PISA is a collaborative process. It brings together scientific expertise from the participating countries and is steered jointly by their governments on the basis of shared, policy-driven interests*” (OECD 1999: 7), which influence the everyday work of the teachers. Latest, by forcing them to work at the school for the most of their work time, when being used to flexible work hours working at home, in the evenings and in the weekends. This change has been a strategic goal for years (Due & Madsen 2007, Kamp et al 2011).

Kilde: Folkeskoleloven med kommentarer, Gertz 2010

In the years up to the collective bargaining and lockout in 2013 rapports regarding teachers’ time use, ordered by KL (the Local Government Denmark) and the Ministry of Education, starts to emerge together with reports about the lacking ‘space’ for management and willingness to change at public workplaces. In a thorough 162 pages long rapport made by the consultancy Rambøll, they measure how the staff is spending their time. Time is separated in ‘directly user-oriented activity’ and ‘indirect user-oriented activity’. Direct user-oriented activity is activity directed towards pupils and parents to pupils in the school. They reveal the five most time consuming tasks as *preparation* (6 h and 26 min)of their education, *meetings* (2 h), *planning* *of the school year* (1h 12 min), *school-home related tasks* (49 min) and *special functions* (43 min). (Rambøll 2009) A research by Slotsholmen again ordered by the government in 2010 also focusing on the time use, indicates that the bureaucracy and rigid time counting, which the school was assigned to after the time regulation under the collective bargain in 2003 regulated again in 2008 with a removal of the rigid time registration, are on a retreat. This can be interpreted as a strategic way of legitimizing the actions taking place at the lockout in 2013 in the pursuit of a widespread tendency within welfare institutions to expand the managerial right over the teachers (Hjort & Raae 2014). An approach clearly stated by KL in a discussion paper from 2012 saying: “*In the public schools the pupils need to get more out their schooling. Therefore shall the teachers be more together with the pupils in their working hours and spend more time teaching*” (KL 2012). The interference by government can in that light be seen as a planned intervention in order to gain the required flexible room for maneuverer within school management e.g. break with the individualistic time structures characterizing much of the teachers’ work. The effort to get more efficient and competitive schools have ended up changing the very way teachers can control over their work time and space in order to finance the extra teaching. Today, some have to punch in and out at work. Furthermore, in the plan *Denmark 2020 – knowledge > growth > prosperity > welfare* the government listed ten goals for obtaining better competition number three being “*Danish pupils shall be amongst the best in the world”* (stm.dk). Finally, the government has furthermore asked the consultancy McKinsey to assist the implementation of the reform by evaluating the implementation and revision of the working hour provision. T

## The emerging competitive labour market and the marginalisation of the unproductive worker

The labour effects on health is not a new field of knowledge. Since ancient Greece, scholars have been occupied by the risks of work. In 1700, the first classification on risks of specific professions was made by the Italian doctor, Bernardino Ramazzini, who was the first to systematically ask his patient about his occupation. He was also the first to point out that this knowledge should be used to prevent illnesses. (Jacobsen, 2011)

In 1788 the first example of work medicine studies affecting the law was made. 15 years earlier, a British surgeon, Percival Potts, documented that chimney sweeps had an increased risk of scrotum cancer from contact with sot. The law made it illegal to employ children under the age of eight and to have no more than eight apprentices. While the law itself had no real impact, during the 1800s England took several steps to promote worker health and safety as philanthropic employers and the emerging labour movement demanded better working condition. (Jacobsen, 2011)

In Denmark, the first labour protection law was implemented in 1873 limiting the use of child labour. While the law itself had a very narrow reach (the use of children in factories), a factory auditing agency (today called the Danish Working Environment Authority, ‘Arbejdstilsynet’) with a strong legal mandate is formed the same year to audit the law thus providing an authority for later labour protection laws. Later, in 1889, the first law to protect adult workers, The Machine Workers Protection Law, was passed. (Jacobsen, 2011) The latest law, the Work Environment Law, was passed in 1974 (along with OHS laws in the rest of Europe). The new law was meant to ensure “a safe and healthy work environment which at any time is in accordance with the technical and social development in society” and that ensures a “framework for organisations to be able to address security and health issues with guidance from the labour market organisations as well as guidance and control from the labour auditors.” (Jacobsen, 2011)

Sundhedsstyrelsens historie

The emergence of the globalised labour movement (Braithwaite & Drahos, 2000)

Since 1919 member of the ILO. (Conventions <http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:11110:0::NO:11110:P11110_COUNTRY_ID:102609>)

1991 WHO healthy cities network. In Denmark the effort to promote workers’ health as a part of the public health campaign has been clear in the Healthy Cities network. In 2005 ‘The Luxembourg Declaration on Workplace Health Promotion in the European Union’ was created as an important policy document that reorients the OHS tradition towards envisaging the workplace as one of many arenas for public health programmes. The document strongly advocated member states (including Denmark) for prioritising WHP awareness.

2009: Denmark signs the ILO convention on ‘Promotional Framework for Occupational Safety and Health Convention” from 2006 which (http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100\_INSTRUMENT\_ID:312332)

Organisationer: SST, DSI, NFA,

”Den viden, KORA skaber, er uvildig. Instituttet skal rådgive offentlige myndigheder samt formidle resultaterne af instituttets arbejde til relevante offentlige og private interessenter og offentligheden i øvrigt.”

Lea Sell: Ingen sammenhæng mellem KRAM og produktivitet. (Sell, Lund, Holtermann, & Søgaard, 2014) http://www.arbejdsmiljoforskning.dk/da/projekter/forebyggende-intervention-mod-nedslidning-paa-arbejdspladsen-for-langsigtet-effekt--finale/publikationer

Nick Hækkerup: Forbyd at spise foran computeren.

## Creating hypotheses – the fantasmatic logic of the productivity agreement

Hypothesis 1: In the analysis a new field of discoursivity appears with altered political and fantasmatic logics correlating with the ideals behind the competition state. A field, which to some extend aligns with the historical shift and transformations seen in the movement from welfare to competition state.

Hypothesis 2: The field of discoursivity creates new sets of logics, which circle around the rationalities and power symbols related to the policy in the competition state, with the ‘opportunistic man’ or the ‘opportunistic institutions ‘as central figures of fantasmatic within both the field of education and health management. It is primarily through the expansion of the field of management that the fantasmatic logic shall be realized, thereby working through the logics of politics and social practice. Competitive advantages and competition as a whole is desirable features. Furthermore, health management as a field of power and political logic is transferred through increasing influence on the more subtle and affective processes at the work place re-presenting a fantasmatic logic of the healthy body rather than well-being.

Hypothesis 3: The neoliberal policies puts a strong emphasis on the regulation of health and education in order to ensure a (re)productive labour reserve that fits the current and imagined future needs defined by market demands in a scale reflected up against the risks from global competition.

Hypothesis 4: A new field of unbalanced non-negotiable subtle power is at stake in the space between of employers and employees, between state and institutions, which to a larger agree regards managing dynamic elements such as bodily health and influence on classroom education. The managers’ power is increased in order to gain more influence on the process transgressing the field of professional autonomy. With the influential authority being increased as defining more latent norms for process defining behaviour becomes legitimate, and thereby crossing limits for intervention in areas that a few years ago would have been considered private – the managerial and governmental influence in daily practices has moved a lot closer to the employees.

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1. Which corresponds to the ordoliberalism of Foucault. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. These policy advises include liberalisation of foreign investments, tax reform (broadening tax base and moderate marginal taxes), privatisation of public companies, trade liberalisation, protection of property rights, deregulation of market barriers, strict fiscal policy, competitive exchange rates, and public investments in areas such as education, poverty control and health care. (Williamson, 1990) [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Conditions that are seemingly still being used today in the rebuilding of Greece and Spain (Bolt, 2013) and in the policy making of the competing states (Pedersen, 2012). [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. As Anders Fogh Jensen points out, the dispositif is somewhat similar to Pierre Bourdieus use of habitus (Jensen 2006). [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. One example in the analysis of policy is Carol Bacchi *Analysing Policy: What's the Problem Represented to Be?*(2009). [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Rosas thereby tries to revitalize and develop the concept of alienation as it were presented by e.g. Karl Marx and the Frankfurter School of critical theory, though undergoing heavy critic from the postmodern thinkers for talking from a ‘privileged position’. Rosas does not, yet at least, seem to find the balance between these traditions, as if he hesitates to ‘choose’. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. One extreme example is the story about a banker that controlled his intake of fluids systematically in order to reduce the downtime, which a toilet break would cause. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. We are at the same time well aware of all the possibilities (for further discussion about ’being’ globalized citizens see Peter Kemp (2008) [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. For a throrough exposition see Rasborg 2014. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. For the sake of saving space, we will treat Barads concept of apparatuses as synonymous to Foucault’s above concept of archival discourses. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. The same line of thought being presented at Glynos & Howarth in their structure/agency considerations (Thomassen 2008: 220-221) [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. E.g. mindfulness, yoga-retreats and extreme exercise. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Last seen at the teachers’ collective bargaining, with the Government strategically waiting for an appropriate moment to intervene the negotiations between KL and DLF, not willing to loosen any of the demands regarding the teachers working time provision. The change of law had to pass as a necessity for financing the school reform. Recently, a group of economists commissioned by the Danish government (the Productivity Commission) presented their recommendations on how to increase productivity in the labour market. That be, broader collective bargains in order to ensure more flexibility in the organisation of tasks across different fields, more measurement of results, clearer leadership, decentralisation of the working hour provision in order to make better use of it, a more performance oriented wage in order to brake ‘*the evil circle of bureacracy*’ (Produktivitetskommisionen 2013, our translation) [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. See fx Rømer 2011: 130-156 for a review of the pedagogical philosophical tradition and a critical perspective on the development from 1950-60 up till today. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. PISA was initially meant to be an instrument for the OECD countries but today it is used in over 65 countries and economies and thereby the most globalized educational comparison (Breakspear 2012: 5). [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. The decision to participate was carried out by the government in 1997 (Andersen et al 2001: 5). [↑](#footnote-ref-16)