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Quality management in its relation to professionalisation revisited: A landscape shaped by internal and external forces

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Abstract

This paper revisits a theoretical paper on quality published in the adult education journal RELA in 2011. It analyses the relationship between quality management and professionalisation in Germany, drawing on empirical studies conducted after 2011. The diverse and sometimes ambivalent results demonstrate that there is still a conflation of quality management and professionalisation, with the latter occasionally taking a dominant position. Nevertheless, bridges and mutual benefits between both logics are also observed. One significant finding is that the landscape of quality management is not solely determined by external forces such as policies and other professions. The role of trained educators is also crucial and perhaps relatively more important than other professions and disciplines.

Keywords: quality, quality management systems, professionalisation, Germany

Introduction

‘Quality’ and ‘quality management systems’ such as EFQM¹ or DIN ISO 9001² have been central terms, certificates and activities in adult education and policies on adult education in Germany for at least three decades (cf. Balli et al., 2002; Gieseke, 1997; Hartz & Meisel, 2006; Hartz & Aust, 2024; Klieme & Tippelt, 2008). In Europe, it has been the focus of a number of studies on quality management in adult education, particularly Sweden, which often linked to marketisation (Andersson & Muhrman, 2022a, 2022b; Fejes et al., 2016; Holmqvist et al., 2021; Mufic 2022a, 2022b, 2023; Mufic & Fejes, 2022) and Slovenia (Mikulec & Krašovec, 2016; Možina, 2014). Although evidence provided by empirical research is rather sceptical about its positive effects in



Germany, when looking beyond the organisational level at the learners and their learning (cf. Hartz, 2011; Töpper, 2012), it is unquestionably an established element within the field of adult education. The increased usage of the term quality does not have its origin in the science of education but, rather, in the field of economy (cf. Egetenmeyer & Käßplinger, 2011). Quality management is a term which is very much focused on organisational processes, products and controls by the means of standardisation. These processes and products are defined formally according to criteria or norms standards. Thus, quality seems to be a rather neutral term, which can be used in very different ways depending on the context. The central characteristic of quality assurance or quality development is a formalisation of organisational processes.

The effects of quality management can be studied in various ways. Here, it is intended to revisit a paper by Egetenmeyer and Käßplinger written in 2011, which has been cited by more than 60 researchers and has 17 citations since 2022 alone, according to Google Scholar. The paper seems to have had some impact and resonated with people. The main argument of the paper was that professionalisation and quality management are often conflated. The paper was based on the hypothesis that quality management and professionalisation follow two different approaches.

‘Professionalisation’ can be understood in different ways (cf. Gieseke, 2010). As in the paper from 2011 (cf. Egetenmeyer & Käßplinger, 2011), it will be used here again as a process and a goal. Such a process and a goal are focused on the process for developing a profession (e.g., adult education) and understanding professionalisation as a process of developing professionalism (cf. Tietgens, 1988, p. 38, or Milana & Skrypnyk, 2009) for people working in a specific field (e.g., adult education). Here, professionalisation means educating and training people who are working in adult education. The goal of professionalisation is to support the professionalism of adult educators. With this professionalism, a further improvement of adult education and a better employment position for adult educators, as with other professions, is intended and envisioned. Interestingly, it is also sometimes discussed whether quality managers have become a profession in their own right (Schmidt-Hertha, 2011). We will return to this argument later.

The paper from 2011 outlined the two approaches with a focus on their two different logics. It ended with a plea from Egetenmeyer and Käßplinger (2011) to acknowledge the boundaries between professionalisation and quality management but also discussed ways of building bridges between them without neglecting their essential differences. This will be discussed again, including empirical studies after 2011 with a focus on quality management. Thus, the guiding research questions are: What insights deliver empirical papers on quality management in relation to professionalisation in Germany? What influence do different external and internal actors have here? The focus will be mainly on studies exploring quality management and not on studies exploring professionalisation in adult education. While it would have also been interesting to study more in-depth studies on professionalisation, this would be beyond the scope of one single paper.

Methods and data

The paper will be revisited by looking at and comparing empirical results of studies on quality management in Germany (Käßplinger, 2017; Käßplinger et al., 2018; Käßplinger & Reuter, 2017; Reuter et al., 2020). The paper here in *RELA* is not a systematic literature review but offers in-depth and substantial insights into empirical research on quality management in Germany, which recent overviews in handbooks in Germany by other authors mention as few empirical studies on that issue (cf. Hartz & Aust, 2024).

Nonetheless, there is more to add (cf. Nittel & Kılınç, 2020; Nittel et al., 2023), which will be also discussed later in the final section of this paper.

A focused and criteria-based re-analysis of three papers will be conducted, which are most likely not known to non-German-speaking readers, on the issue of the relationship of professionalisation and quality management.

The first paper (Käpplinger, 2017) carried out an analysis of qualitative and quantitative research using the theoretical approach of micro-political analysis (Neuberger, 1995). Instead of assuming that organisations react and interact with quality management processes in a uniform way, micro-political analysis explores how different personal groups have different interests, positions and power resources beside commonalities. Eight empirical studies (Behrmann, 2008, 2010; Bosche, 2007; Feld, 2008; Hartz, 2011; Hartz et al., 2008; Kil, 2008; Knoll, 2008) were criteria-based selected and re-analysed with a focus on different personal groups within organisations offering adult education. The method used was qualitative content analysis following Mayring (cf. Mayring & Fenzl, 2019).

For the second paper (Käpplinger et al., 2018), 83 quality assurance agencies offering adult education providers accreditations in quality management were contacted with a quantitative questionnaire containing closed and open questions, of which 27 agencies replied. These agencies were asked questions about the market of quality management (the fees, costs, guidance, etc.) and what role the further education of the providers' staff has. It was considered advantageous to ask these questions to rather neutral observers but ones with many insights into the processes and structures of training providers instead of asking the management of the providers themselves, which might be biased due to legitimising reasons and socially desirable answers. The descriptive data were quantitatively analysed.

The third paper (Reuter et al., 2020) looked at the diffusion of quality management in the field and different subfields of adult and continuing education in Germany. Here, adult education providers in Germany responded to the established quantitative survey *wbmonitor*,³ which tries to cover as many providers of adult and continuing education in Germany as possible. Although the response rate was only 9%, 1,755 providers still took part in the survey. The providers were asked questions concerning if and why they had introduced quality management systems in their organisations.

All three papers were re-analysed with the help of content analysis (cf. Mayring & Fenzl, 2019) and focused on the relationship between quality management and professionalisation. The following deductive criteria of the original paper (Egetenmeyer & Käpplinger, 2011, p. 23) were used again:

- Scientifically based specialist knowledge with a specific subject terminology
- Theory-based academic qualification pathways
- Specific norms and codes of ethics
- Professional autonomy
- Client-based and social interactions
- Self-control by professional associations

This deductive approach informed the analysis, although the sub-titles of the following results section outline the main results of the analysis and are not based on the criteria used.

Results

Winners and losers within the (different) professions

Professionals in adult education are not a uniform group but entail different subgroups. A main distinction could be drawn between:

- Leaders and management of adult education organisations
- Staff in programme planning, in charge of organising the provision of training but not offering it themselves
- Staff in administration, such as secretaries or janitors
- Staff in teaching and counselling roles

Although not all staff subgroups can be characterised as a profession or as a semi-profession, it is important to be aware of the different professions and semi-professions. A semi-profession is an occupation that requires advanced knowledge and skills but falls short in comparison to true professions (Milana & Skrypnik, 2009). Quality management affects different staff groups differently in a number of ways. First, the choice of the quality management system is mainly made by the management. Since there are more than a dozen quality management systems currently available in Germany (cf. Käßplinger & Reuter, 2017), there is a choice. For example, below are the quality management systems and their distribution in percentage points in 674 of the 846 public adult education centres (VHS, Volkshochschulen) in Germany in 2021 (Ortmanns et al., 2023, pp. 56-57)⁴:

- AZAV – Akkreditierungs- und Zulassungsverordnung Arbeitsförderung...**31.9%**
- EFQM – European Foundation für Quality Management.....**17.6%**
- LQW – Lernerorientierte Qualitätstestierung in der Weiterbildung..... **13.6%**
- DIN ISO 9000ff – Deutsche IndustrieNorm and International Organization for Standardization.....**13.2%**
- LV-VHS – Quality management system by umbrella organizations of VHS..**9.7%**
- Regionales oder Landesweites Gütesiegel – Regional quality management systems.....**6.7%**
- Diverse internal quality management systems.....**3.9%**
- IWIS – Institut für Weiterbildung, Beratung und Planung im sozialen Bereich.....**2.1%**
- Other quality management systems.....**7.0%**

There is no leader in the market of quality management systems, but rather a diverse landscape with many choices. However, the choice is also partly limited, since certain subfields or markets of the adult education system require specific quality management systems, which also results in the fact that some adult education organisations have more than one quality management system since not all systems are accepted by all financing agencies. For example, a provider who wants to offer courses in the field of labour market policies for the unemployed has to choose the quality management system AZAV in order to be able to provide courses in Germany. Thus, the choice for or against certain quality management systems is also a managerial decision resting with the power of the leadership concerning where the organisation wants to focus its work. There are different public sectors, ‘quasi-markets’ (Hake, 2016) or real markets existing in German adult

education, since there is not one single market (cf. Lewis, 2017). Public administrations require the existence of a quality management system, especially in quasi-market procurements (cf. Holmqvist et al., 2021) for a first selection of applications. Only organisations with a quality management system – and sometimes only with a specific quality management system – are eligible to apply. Thus, the quality management system chosen has the potential to strengthen the position of professions who are working at the level of management.

For staff in the medium tier of training organisations in charge of planning adult education, the choice of quality management system can also define the standards of their work. Since quality management systems often ask for defined and fixed procedures instead of a variety of approaches, this can be used to define how to work and what is, from an organisational perspective, perceived as good work.

The teaching and guiding staff are often the least involved staff group when it comes to defining what quality means in their respective organisations. There is a certain tendency for quality management systems and their tools to put (more) power into the hands of the administrators of adult education organisations with a certain degree of pragmatism (cf. Ehses, 2016).

Nonetheless, it would be far too easy to assume that quality management systems are solely the privilege of the higher levels of the organisation. First of all, it is important to also consider who was included in the quality circles or the working groups who defined good work during the accreditation process. These quality circles and working groups are often comprised of different staff subgroups. Thus, the membership within these groups crosses hierarchies and professions with multidisciplinary group characteristics.

However, this creates a new ‘inside’ and ‘outside relationship’ in the organisation. This can then lead to unintended systemic consequences. Marks et al. (1986) prove in a study on the effects of quality circles that demotivation and losses in productivity increase among non-participants of quality circles. (Kil, 2008, p. 260)

Classical professionals often have an interpretative mandate. They do not work to totally fixed standards but use their expertise in relation to their clients and their often-unique situation. However, in contrast, quality management systems do adhere to fixed standards. This creates a certain tension, and professionals who want to make use of their interpretative mandate can struggle with certain organisational pressures. Thus, professionalism can partly lose its professional autonomy.

Professions are also networks of people who exchange views on how work can be done. Communication and mutual exchange are core elements of any profession, which can also lead to a code of ethics and shared norms within the profession. In contrast, education work can tend to be more solitary, which is especially valid for the teaching and guidance roles. Successful quality management can stimulate such exchanges and help in reflecting how the work is been done and how it can be improved.

Each course instructor is tasked with providing a curriculum for his or her course. And that is then broken down into individual hours. [...] Anyone who is forced to act as lecturer to think about this teaching content and sometimes to list it in such a way that someone else can understand it—they already have one themselves thought process involved. So that gave me something [...] What did I ... 14, 15 different courses? So, I had to write a lot. But I have that really gave food for thought. (statement from a course instructor: Knoll, 2008, p. 213)

Such remarks partly express ambivalence, since quality reports can lead to a substantial amount of extra work but are also a stimulus for reflecting on one’s own practices.

A new sub-profession of quality accreditors and guides?

The establishment of quality management over the last approximately 30 years in Germany has led to the emergence of numerous quality management agencies (see the list on p. 4). These agencies employ their own staff as well as freelancers as counsellors or accreditors. Empirical studies (Reuter et al., 2020) have shown that the most sought-after academic background was university studies of education (64%), followed by economics (58%), while other disciplinary backgrounds such as psychology, sociology, law or engineering were mentioned by less than 15% in a multi-optional question. It is somewhat surprising that university studies of education rank first, although the interdisciplinary composition of quality management personnel is also evident. It is not the case that other academic professions are instituting a ‘takeover’ of the adult education territory. Instead, a significant fraction of people who studied education are now in charge of quality management, although the new ‘profession’ of quality managers is also characterised by a multidisciplinary composition, as with adult education professionals generally.

The introduction of quality procedures has perhaps been the greatest monetary blessing for auditors and certification bodies, as a huge ‘market’ or ‘quasi-market’ (cf. Hake, 2016) was established within just a few years through public actions and regulations. We estimate that several million euros are spent annually as direct costs for quality management. Thus, it has become its own business area. For some time, scholars in adult education research have even addressed the question of whether quality auditors could be considered a new profession within the field of adult education. Schmidt-Hertha (2011) notes:

At the same time and receiving far less attention from scientific observations, a new profession is developing in the quality agencies and accreditation associations that, in view of the boom in quality that is understandable in all areas of education development systems, is likely to continue to grow. (p. 164)

It is difficult to estimate whether this new profession has really grown further since 2011, as monitoring systems of adult education staff do not collect data on that group. Personally, we are rather hesitant and sceptical to fully support the argument of a new profession within the field of adult education, since there is no specific academic training or an emerging research community available for such a profession, which would be among the criteria for calling it a profession. Nonetheless, it is important to consider it as a vocation and a stakeholder group with its own interests in its field of business. Other empirical studies see a partly ambivalent and complex role between control and support (Koscheck & Reuter, 2020). The interdisciplinary composition of the group is partly visible, although education and economics are the main pillars in relation to disciplines.

Changes in the further education of the professions

German adult education organisations spend millions annually on certification and recertification costs. In 2015, we estimated €3.2 million per year for direct costs alone, excluding indirect costs such as time spent in internal quality circles, writing quality reports, and attending audits (Käßplinger et al., 2018). While this figure is not substantial in a market estimated to be worth billions of euros in Germany, it is significant considering the often-limited resources of adult education organisations. It is worthwhile to question here what is the quality of quality (Nittel & Kılınç, 2020) and who decides on

it. Perhaps the most important question, however, is whether the costs of quality management are justifiable in a field that is often struggling with austerity and underfinancing. These additional certification expenses could potentially reduce institutions' internal training budgets. However, as Schmidt-Hertha suggests, certification might drive further training, as quality guidelines explicitly require defined personnel development: 'Quality development is undoubtedly a key driver of professionalisation in various pedagogical fields of action' (Schmidt-Hertha, 2011, p. 164). A survey of 13 certifiers from different quality management models in further education revealed that the importance of internal training, such as organisational quality circles, has increased (Käpplinger et al., 2018). This is partly explained as a reactive measure by adult education organisations to refinance certification costs, as external training for staff is considered expensive and a potential area for budget cuts.

While the expansion of internal training opportunities at the expense of external training suggests a positive effect of certification on professionalisation, there is a significant risk that internal training may be too experience-oriented and introverted. Real professionalism requires external training and exchanges beyond organisations and within professions, including scientific knowledge, codes of ethics and professional associations (Käpplinger et al., 2018).

More training does not necessarily have a direct positive effect on staff professionalisation (Käpplinger et al., 2018). Further research is needed, particularly from the perspective of training organisations and the professionals themselves, as information from certifiers may be imprecise and one-sided. A more comprehensive understanding of the precise meaning and effects of quality management on professionalisation and professionalism requires additional empirical research to better comprehend the struggles, bridges, ambivalences and contradictions in this field.

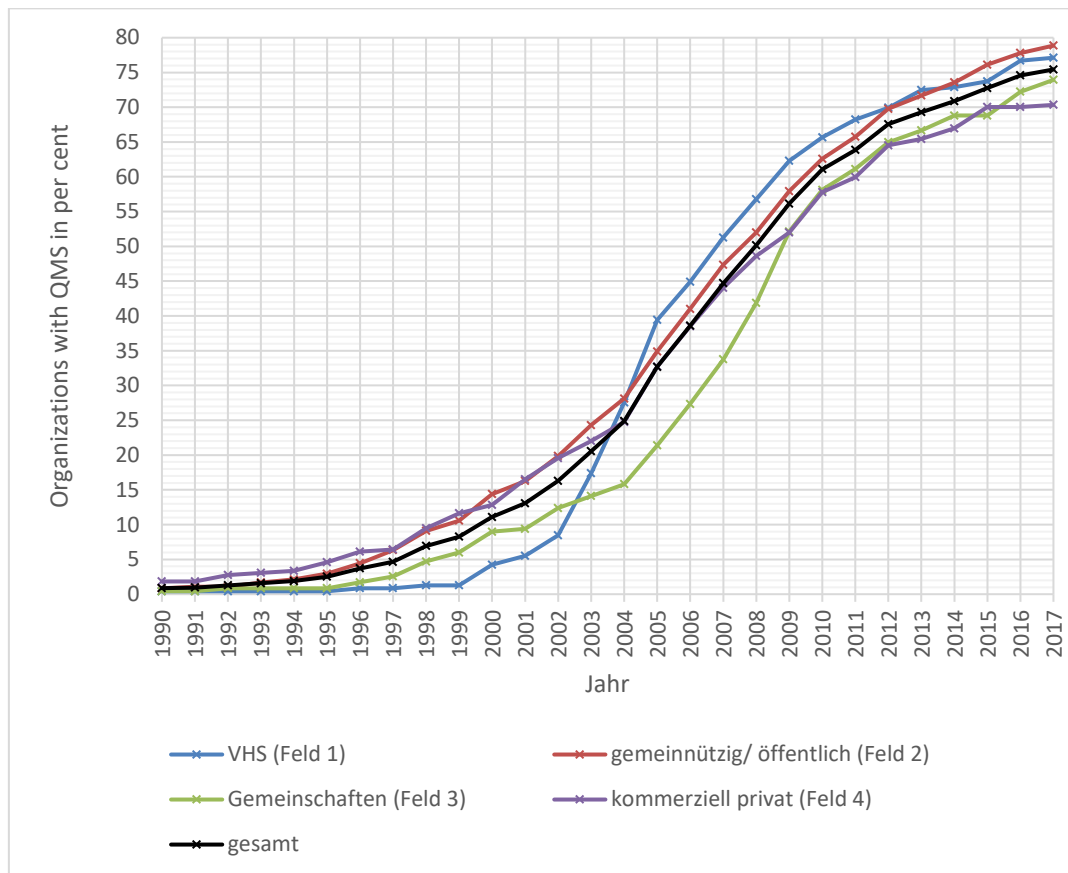
Wide diffusion of quality management to all subfields of adult and continuing education

The field of adult education in Germany, as in many other countries, is diverse and far from uniform. Scholars such as Gieseke sometimes use the notion of rhizomes (Käpplinger, 2015) to describe this dynamic plurality, characterized by growing or decaying networks and new developments. The landscape includes various providers:

1. Public organisations, such as the VHS, which are adult education centres in the tradition of Grundtvig's Danish folk high schools
2. Other public organisations
3. Non-governmental organisations associated with various social movements and communities representing different worldviews
4. Commercial organisations offering adult education services

The quantitative survey by Reuter et al. (2020) demonstrated that the diffusion of quality management among providers in the German adult education sector began in the second half of the 1990s (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Density of adult education organisations with QMS by year and organisational field. Source: Reuter et al. (2020, p. 107; reprinted with permission)



Note. Translation and description of terms: VHS (Feld 1), public adult education centres; gemeinnützig/public (Feld 2), voluntary organisations, such as adult education organisations led by the churches; Gemeinschaften (Feld 3), trade unions, employer organisations, etc.; kommerziell privat (Feld 4), commercial organisations; gesamt, total.

Commercial organisations were the fastest to implement quality management systems. For example, by 2002, more than 20% of commercial organisations in adult education had introduced a quality management system, while less than 10% of public adult education centres had done so. Interestingly, the late adopters later became the ones with an even higher diffusion rate. By 2010, more than 65% of public adult education centres had introduced a quality management system, while less than 60% of commercial organisations were using one. The diffusion rate of quality management systems across all organisations in adult education ranged between 70 and almost 80% by 2017. Public organisations and communities dependent on public co-financing have the highest diffusion rates, while commercial organisations are at the bottom, but still have a diffusion rate of 70%.

Overall, it is almost inevitable that an individual working professionally in adult education in Germany encounters quality management systems. It is even more likely to work with them if one is employed at a public adult education centre. Even in commercial organisations, it is very likely that one will need to deal with quality management systems. How strongly one's professional work is affected certainly varies. A popular critique, supported by the empirical study of Hartz (2011), demonstrated that quality management

is often limited to the management level and organisational procedures, while teaching and learning are much less affected. Sometimes, the effect is rather symbolic; the mission statement is legitimised with quality management, but between certification and re-certification, its effects are much less obvious.

Discussion and outlook

The paper by Egetenmeyer and Käpplinger (2011) concluded with a plea for acknowledging the boundaries between professionalisation and quality management, while also discussing ways to build bridges between them without neglecting their essential differences. Examining the results of empirical research on further developments over the following decade, the connections between quality management and professionalisation have become quite apparent.

The vast majority of organisations in adult education employ quality management systems, although there is also still a minority of roughly one fifth without a quality management system. This is interesting and perhaps worthwhile to study since there seems to still be an option to opt-out from a formal quality management system despite the mainstream trajectory.

The academic discourse connects quality management mainly to organisational education studies and much less to professionalisation (cf. Hartz, 2018). No subfield (public, commercial, or NGOs) of adult education is likely not to use it, making quality management seemingly omnipresent. However, the prevalence of professionally qualified staff might be lower than that of quality management systems in organisations. Organisations appear to refinance quality management costs by reducing external professional development and substituting it with internal training, such as quality circles. While this may have positive aspects and serve as one of the bridges mentioned in the paper by Egetenmeyer and Käpplinger (2011), the reduction in external training could potentially weaken professions, which ideally should also extend beyond individual organisations. For example, the definition of and agreement to share professional codes of conduct beyond organisational boundaries could be important.

The tension between professions and organisations likely plays a significant role, with organisations possibly gaining more influence than professions in adult education. This presents an interesting avenue for further research. It would be naive to assume the relationship between professions and organisations is entirely harmonious.

There also seem to be power struggles between different groups regarding quality management, as some have more influence in shaping the system and its implementation. Quality circle members and those primarily responsible for quality management systems often wield considerable influence. Consequently, quality management systems appear to have the power to restructure relationships among personnel and different groups beyond professions. Management and administration within adult education organisations can leverage quality management systems during implementation as a tool of organisational power to shape or reshape the entire organisation. On a positive note, this could lead to increased interprofessional exchange and greater reflection on one's work.

Quality management systems can be applied in various ways, yielding different effects. While they have an economic core and often lead to standardised approaches to professional work, professional approaches should ideally follow a different logic, one focused on people and clients rather than customers. Although it might be a bit too overly simplistic to equate quality management solely with economisation (Nittel et al., 2023), there is indeed a danger that it is used solely in a mainly narrow economic meaning and understanding. The impact of quality management systems depends largely on the

individuals who implement and supervise them. Notably, a high percentage of these individuals are from the field of university studies of education. This counters and challenges the notion that the field of adult education has been overtaken by people with non-educational backgrounds in economics, sociology, or psychology. While one's field of study does not necessarily dictate future career paths, it is crucial to prepare professionals to engage with quality management systems in a meaningful way. This preparation should emphasize the distinction between quality management systems and professionalisation, avoiding their conflation. Thus, adult education researchers might have to reflect in-depth on how they teach and discuss quality management systems with their students and if there is a need to change that in order that alumni try to not conflate quality management with professionalisation.

A limitation of this paper is its focus on Germany. It would be valuable to explore the situations in other countries (cf. Hartz & Aust, 2024). In the European context, a number of studies on quality management in adult education are available, particularly from Sweden (Andersson & Muhrman, 2022a, 2022b; Fejes et al., 2016; Holmqvist et al., 2021; Mufic, 2022a, 2022b, 2023; Mufic & Fejes, 2022) and from Slovenia (Mikulec & Krašovec, 2016; Možina, 2014). Here, quality and quality assurance are often intensively linked to marketisation and exogenous forces, but it also becomes apparent that different people are affected differently. I agree with the high relevance of such exogenous forces from the fields of policy/administration or commercial actors, but the empirical analysis presented here also makes the point that there are endogenous forces of adult educators profiting and strengthening their positions through the means of quality management. At least, this is the case in Germany and comparative studies might be needed in order to check if this is similar in other countries. If we want to study quality management, we should not assume that the terrain of adult education was colonised solely by outsiders without any or even major involvement of insiders.

However, it would be beneficial to gain additional insights into the diffusion of quality management in more countries or even from a comparative perspective. For example, the quality management certificate Ö-Cert exists in Austria, but there seems to be a lack of studies on that system and its effect. It might be possible that some countries simply lack research on this topic, while the field of practice does exist to similar degrees in countries such as Sweden, Slovenia, and Germany.

The empirical data from Germany provides numerous insights and overviews (cf. Hartz, 2018; Hartz & Aust, 2024; Jenner, 2023), but more research is still undoubtedly needed. It is a limitation of the paper presented here that the analysis was limited mainly to three papers.

Future research could go in several different directions, particularly since there are many quality management systems available. Käßplinger and Reuter (2017), for instance, provided an overview of more than 10 major systems. These systems are often under revision, and there is competition among them to be the most widely used in the field. It would be valuable to investigate which systems interact with professionalisation and how. Some questions to consider include:

1. Do quality management systems tend to dominate professionalisation? Is that valid for all quality management systems or for some systems more or less?
2. Do quality management systems seek a co-existence of professionalisation and quality management beyond conflation? Is that valid for all quality management systems or for some systems more or less?
3. Is there a learning process or progress with the different quality management systems over time that promotes or disadvantages professionalisation?

4. What is the quality or inherent logic of quality management systems themselves (cf. Nittel & Kılınç, 2020), and how does it evolve over time?

These questions highlight the need for ongoing research into the relationship between quality management systems and professionalisation in adult education. How is it shaped and re-shaped by the adult education professionals in charge of it?

Notes

- ¹ Webpage of the European Quality Foundation (2025).
- ² Webpage of the DIN-ISO 9001 (ISO, 2025).
- ³ wbmonitor – the continuing education and training landscape from the provider perspective (BIBB, 2025).
- ⁴ 79.7% of all VHS in Germany have at least one quality management system. Simultaneously, the sum of the percentage points results in 105.7%. This indicates that many VHS with a quality management system have more than one system. For example, this can be the case if different financiers (e.g., regional financiers or federal financiers) ask for different quality management systems in order to be eligible to receive public subsidies.

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The author declares no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship or publication of this article.

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