Paul Smeyers
Marc Depaepe
Editors

EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH 3

Educational Research:

the Educationalization of Social Problems

Springer

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Educational Research

VOLUME 3

Aims & Scope

Freedom of inquiry in educational research can no longer be taken for granted. Narrow definitions of what constitutes 'scientific' research, funding criteria that enforce particular research methods, and policy decision processes that ignore any research that is not narrowly utilitarian, in many countries, create a context that discourages scholarship of a more speculative, exploratory, or critical sort.

In this series, internationally leading scholars in *philosophy and history of education* engage in discourse that is sophisticated and nuanced for understanding contemporary debates. Thus social research, and therefore educational research, is again focused on the distinctive nature of what it studies: a social activity where questions of meaning and value must be addressed, and where interpretation and judgment play a crucial role.

This educational research takes into account the historical and cultural context and brings clarity to what actually constitutes science in this area. The timely issues that are addressed in this series bear witness to the belief that educational theory cannot help but go beyond a limited conception of empirical educational research to provide a real understanding of education as a human practice. They surpass the rather simple cause-and effect rhetoric and thus transgress the picture of performativity that currently keeps much of the talk about education captive. The authors are united in the belief that 'there is a place within the social sciences in general', and within the discipline of education in particular, for 'foundational' approaches that enable the systematic study of educational practice from a discipline-orientated approach.

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Editors

Educational Research: the Educationalization of Social Problems

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Chapter 1
Introduction–Pushing Social Responsibilities: The *Educationalization* of Social Problems

Paul Smeyers and Marc Depaepe

One does not have to look hard to find examples of the educationalization of social problems. Glancing through newspapers gives ample choice of what could come under this heading. For example, in February 2008 a local newspaper reports[1] that a number of companies in and around the port of Zeebrugge are facing staff shortages. To tackle this problem they are trying to convince young graduates to apply for jobs in this sector. However, as the newspaper points out, generally students are not terribly attracted to courses that focus on shipping and logistics – such courses are held in low esteem. Moreover, although the notion that such courses represent a typically male world unconducive to female candidates no longer holds, few women attend them. Consequently, the regional social–economic committee of Bruges decided some time ago to respond to this need in order to change the image that children and young people have of working at the harbour. It therefore asked K.U. Leuven's centre for informative games to develop an 'educational' game that challenges its players to develop the area of a port. This should involve a sense of balance that takes on board the relationship between port activities, the natural environment, tourism, mobility issues and housing conditions. The resources needed to allow trade to prosper have to be earned in the 'foreland game', where goods are imported and processed, and in the 'hinterland game', where goods are transported by inland waterways, by train and by road. The new game will be designed to fit in with the 'Anticipating Change' project, where the port regions of Zeebrugge and Hull are arming themselves against, and thus preparing themselves for, the rapidly changing economy.

Transferring these kinds of 'social' responsibility to the school is a phenomenon that historians are familiar with. It is a process that has been underway for a long time. Who does not recall the 'day' or 'week of . . .' from one's own schooldays, where special attention was paid to one or other social problem that was clearly only touched upon by the traditional curriculum. This would include paying attention to road safety, healthy eating, polished speech and manners, alcohol abuse and animal welfare. Such practices undoubtedly continue nowadays. In the history of Belgium's

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educational system this form of 'occasional' education was nearly institutionalized in what was called the 'school for Life' at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.[2] It may be seen as a compromise: the progressive educational reform and its call for emancipation of the child were channelled in the direction of 'adapted socialization', the hallmark of real 'education' since the Enlightenment. In exchange for obedience towards authority, children acquired some knowledge and skills (and thus the opportunity to acquire a good position, or as the case may be, to climb up the established social order). It was not in the least bit coincidental that 'school savings' (of money), 'temperance associations' concerning the consumption of alcohol and 'school mutual societies' (in view of mutual help) were propagated in Belgium at the end of the 19th century. Such interventions were seen as effective ways of solving the social issue of poverty and of resisting the threats of socialism and secularization. A permanent feature of the school for Life was the notion that education should foster the economic expansion of Belgium, which of course targeted Congo. Practically all primary school subjects focused attention on the colony. Subjects such as history and geography went to great lengths to detail the enterprise and courage of colonists who went to Africa and emphasized how much the colonized people enjoyed the 'benefactions' of Leopold II. Such themes also found their way into reading classes and dictation exercises, in writing business letters, in the problems they were confronted with and, last but not least, in school trips (to the port of Antwerp for example).

Insofar as this form of 'adapted socialization' constituted the core of a changing vision of education and the perception that social problems could and would be solved by education, it can be regarded as paradigmatic of Modernity. 'Looking ahead' and 'hard work', combined with the cultivation of frugality, obedience, usefulness, patriotism, decency, health, hygiene and so on, belonged to the essence of good citizenship, which in the course of the 19th and 20th centuries would, despite resistance, be gradually assimilated by the 'people'. Thus, according to historians of personal life,[3] the grand 'fight' against alcoholism among 'workers' was orchestrated in such a way that the conductors presented themselves as apostles of civil respectability. They generally wanted to improve others (as well as themselves), gather knowledge and rise above the level of their superiors. This explains why they pretty much blindly adopted (e.g. through education) the values and standards of the dominant class. Some authors even speak of a genuine 'civilization offensive'[4] through which the dominant classes were able to impose their values by inducing imitation,[5] though the resistance to it may probably be seen as a 'civilization defence'.[6] The solution to social problems (such problems were tackled within educational settings) created new ones, which, in their turn, could be tackled 'educationally'. This set off a spiral of educationalization as it were, the effects of which can easily be identified in the 19th and 20th centuries. An increased longing for individual freedom alongside the fear of abusing it characterized the internalization of the increasingly strict requirements. This involved a spiral of ever advancing modernization, medicalization, hygienization, privatization, etc. As a process, this phenomenon resulted in the fleshing out of a clearly demarcated set of social roles and expectations (father as the head of the household, the breadwinner, the idea of motherly love, civic duty,

respect for elders, employers, property, etc.) that ensured the rise of the (neo-)liberal, (neo-)capitalist market economy and which endeavoured to 'tame' the individual into accepting this form of society.[7]

It is thus not surprising that the notion of 'educationalization' (or 'pedagogization' – the concept is derived from the German '*Pädagogisierung*') was taken by educational historians, (who paid inadequate attention to philosophical considerations), as an umbrella term for the modernization process. This process became stronger in terms of upbringing and education from the 18th century onwards.[8] In this book the historically generated 'container concept' is dissimulated through the confrontation with the philosophy of education.[9] This kind of approach is a common feature of annual Leuven interdisciplinary seminars on the history and philosophy of education and has been remarked on before in previous introductions.[10]

In their contribution *Marc Depaepe*, *Frederik Herman*, *Malanie Surmont*, *Angelo Van Gorp and Frank Simon* admit that during the last decades they have treated the term 'pedagogization' as an essential research category to depict the general orientation of central processes and developments in the history of education. Following Ulrich Herrmann, they insist that this concept must be identified with the quantitative as well as qualitative expansion of the 'educational' ('pedagogical') intervention(s) in society. The increase in the number of child-raising and educational institutions was, according to them, accompanied by an increasing importance of the 'educational' gaze on society, even in sectors that initially did not belong to the professional fields of teachers, educators, psychologists and the like (which led, of course, to the annexation, i.e. colonization of new markets for educational experts). Aiming to describe one of the sub-processes of the 'modernization' of society, the educationalization/pedagogization concept was intended to be a neutral one. As a result of some internal contradictions and paradoxes, this concept (as a 'container' concept) acquired more or less negative (and even ironic) connotations. It was argued that educationalization did not lead to emancipation but contributed to the infantilization and subjection of the mind in order to serve the one-sided desiderata of a neo-conservative society. Against the background of such developments, Depaepe et al. gave the concept of pedagogization a more concrete place in the history of education, namely as the pedagogical basic semantic of the so-called 'grammar of schooling'. According to them this interpretation can be successfully developed as an essential component of a historical 'school theory'. This is due to the fact that the moral (even theological) dimension that lay at the heart of the pedagogization process at its inception had, in the meantime, been replaced by a psychological one. But this observation obviously does not constitute the end of pedagogization.

Taking us back a couple of centuries, *Daniel Tröhler* addresses the educationalization of the modern world. At the turn of the 17th to the 18th century, western Europe experienced a dramatic shift in its economic structure that challenged the kind of political ideals that had dominated up to then. A particularly prominent expression of this process is the founding of the Bank of England in 1694, which partook in an understanding of politics that viewed it as the object of private interests and therefore presented politics as a sphere that was largely indifferent to moral

questions. This kind of development evoked public criticism – commerce was accused of inciting the passions of the people. Passion was seen as being coterminous with femininity and by dint of this association, with desire and hysteria. In order to transcend this gender-biased conflict between passion and reason, two things needed to be dealt with during the 18th century. First, the nature of woman had to be domesticated, and botany was promoted so as to instil order in women. Second, the passions had to be separated from commerce and thus vocation from politics. The solution of this latter task was generated in the Reformed Protestant context, and it was in principle educational: The soul of the young should be strengthened in order to overcome the temptations of commerce, wealth and power. This educational paradigm successfully and enduringly promised to safeguard the modern world against possible dangers of modernity. Ever since, ideas of progress and concepts of education have been closely connected.

Next *Lynn Fendler* focuses on how educationalization has been characterized over time by a peculiar interweaving of knowledge and social reform. She offers a historical and critical analysis of changes in features of educationalization. The histories of the American Social Science Association written by Mary Furner and James Kaminsky provide a backdrop for this analysis of the interdependent relationship between knowledge and social reform. Drawing on the writings of Deleuze, the chapter highlights historical differences between previous and current educationalization features in research and schooling. Deleuze's depiction of 'societies of control' provides a framework for the analysis that distinguishes control societies from disciplinary societies. Fendler's chapter brings Deleuze's theory into conversation with standards, norms and practices in educational research. Three components of Deleuze's theory are outlined: an increased frequency of monitoring interventions, which is evident in the intensification of assessment mechanisms in both schooling and research, the multiplication and diversity of accountability standards, which is evident in models such as 360° evaluation and the foreclosure of possibilities for completion, which is exemplified in trends towards lifelong learning. Examples from educational research and teaching are cited to illustrate each of these trends. Building on the Deleuzian analysis, the chapter then examines characteristics of problem-based learning, which is a fashionable curricular approach that originated in the education of medical students. Problem-based learning is an example of the interweaving of knowledge and social reform because it casts education as an engineering task. In PBL, the purpose of education is to solve social problems. Education-as-problem-solving is contrasted with a very different sort of utilitarianism that was articulated by J.S. Mill. The chapter concludes with a critical analysis of norm-referenced standards in educational research and schooling, questioning the relationship between education and empowerment.

Lynda Stone takes up the organizing concept of the present volume. She looks at e*ducationalization* or *pedagogization* in the particular historical, cultural, social, political and centrally educational context of the United States. By being framed within a strongly historicist philosophical stance, a distinct concept, *educationalization*, is manifest. Educationalization manifests itself within writings that range from government documents to cultural studies accounts. It is discursive, permeating the

discourses of institutional practices that are themselves underpinned by rhetorical conceptions. Being situated in historicist philosophy and the concept of historicism, the chapter is organized so as to account for three aspects of an institutional present 'surrounded' by two major forms of rhetoric. The 'standard account' constituted of commonly held terms and understandings that organize positions towards institution and rhetoric helps us to make sense of these aspects of an institutional present and their rhetorical forms. Examples that are alluded to in this chapter include schooling movements, sections of No Child Left Behind, Structures of the Disciplines, Character Education, contemporary classroom discipline and responses to youth culture. Themes of 'reform' and 'crisis' are woven through such examples. This chapter draws on philosophical contributions from the likes of John Dewey, George Counts Nel Noddings and Ian Hacking. Historical inspiration is provided by Marc Depaepe, David Tyack and Thomas Popkewitz, while ideological positionings are taken from politicians such as Hyram Rickover, William Bennett and George W. Bush, and social–cultural interpretations from researchers James Coleman and George Lipsitz. The intent, overall, is to complement but extend a broad general conception of education and schooling in the west through a particular philosophical rendering.

Kathleen Coessens and Jean Paul Van Bendegem argue that Bourdieu's analysis of dominant forces in society, linking economic capital (objective, material goods and means) with cultural capital (subjective experiences, habits and taste), has revealed hidden factors that are relevant to the education of youngsters. The authors analyse the evolution of the concept of cultural education, that is to say the transmission and objectification of cultural taste in educational processes. The field of education contributes to the transmission and the 'seemingly natural' interiorization of dominant cultural values. A lot has been written on the influence of cultural capital on educational attainment. In the past, these dominant patterns were clearly defined and received the label of 'high' or 'elite' culture, reflecting social stratification. Today, we are witnessing the emergence of a variety of lifestyles brought together in the figure of the 'cultural omnivore'. Such a figure is the product of social, cultural and technological change on a global scale. Reflecting on this evolution allows the authors to ask particular questions and raise certain issues. How are these new patterns, which take the form of symbolic discourses and a semiotics of practices, sustaining ideas of globalization, democratization and postmodernist conceptions expressed in educational discourses? Are educational researchers aware of the merging of these processes, or are they just caught up in current practices and forms of transmission of cultural capital? Thus they end with some reflections on the need for a genuinely reflexive and ethical attitude concerning the educationalization of cultural capital.

Nancy Vansieleghem and Bruno Vanobbergen argue that today progressive education has become a main 'interest' in speaking and thinking about education. Producers as well as consumers of education are attracted by alternative forms of education in their search for optimizing the quality of education. The general aim is to indicate how a particular kind of 'educationalization' is active through the use of the contemporary discourse on progressive education. Their research does not aim to denounce the idea of progressivism as a myth, but to analyse the conditions

within which the discussion on progressive education has been possible. In their analysis they make use of three examples. The first one addresses the similarity one may recognize between progressive education and learning theories. The second one concerns the speech delivered by the Flemish minister of education, Frank Vandenbroucke, at the occasion of the 10th anniversary of FOPEM (The Flemish Federation of Independent, Pluralistic and Emancipatory Schools). The third deals with the starterkit for progressive schools. These examples *present* the way in which people are addressed today as individuals who have to look at themselves and others as investors in added value, both at the level of the producer and at the level of the consumer of education. Aligned with Foucault, it is argued that the actual discourse on education that welcomes progressive education is not imposed by a political party or by a group of intellectuals but meets a historical reality that forces us to relate ourselves in a particular way both to others and to ourselves. The second part explores the nature of a true alternative, one in which the critique of what we are is at the same time the analysis of the limits that are imposed on us. Inspired by the Célestin Freinet, this alternative can be considered as writing a free text, i.e. looking for a possibility to think something different that might serve to liberate us. Consequently, a certain kind of 'experience' is alluded to that takes precedent over epistemological questions.

Geertrui Smedts claims that what it means to be a parent today is framed technologically: educational researchers and those in the field of writing about and working with parents cannot help but see things in technological terms. That is hardly surprising, – we are people of our time: ICT has insinuated itself into our lives. Writing about parents and the Internet are forms of practical utterance that reflect this condition. It is therefore not the case that, in such writings, the computer is simply a mere artefact or tool that parents should get to know of in order to educate their children. Rather such writings exemplify the fact that the meaning of being a parent has been reduced to something technological. Educational research contributes to the continuation of this -ization, reducing parents to mere executors of tips and tricks that they are supposed to have learnt. She argues that this tendency is not new: technologization has its predecessors in medicalization and more generally in educationalization. Educationalization is present within technologization as the latter embraces the paradox of wanting to emancipate versus wanting to control or patronize. Technologization is just another dominant construct that frames our uncertainties, anxieties and problems when something new comes to light. This dominance is dangerous as it serves to provide a narrow lens on what it means to be a parent. Smedts therefore proposes that educational research should acknowledge that it is indeed yet another human construct that might have taken a different form. This also implies that what it means to be a parent might also have been different. She concludes that parents should be provoked into being more self-reliant and therefore attentive to what adherence to technological thinking means and how it may be exceeded by life experiences.

The introduction of citizenship education in England and elsewhere is often seen, *Naomi Hodgson* claims, as a response to contemporary social problems including a lack of democratic participation, anti-social behaviour, immigration and

globalization. She views citizenship education as an example of the educationalization of such social problems. The way in which educational research has responded to the introduction of citizenship education in England is illustrated by a review of research, policy and practice over the last 10 years commissioned by the British Educational Research Association. Hodgson argues that this review exemplifies work done within field of education policy sociology. Education policy sociology is derived from its parent discipline of sociology, being structured around the same concepts but lacking critical theoretical engagement with them. Instead, such concepts are operationalized in service of educational policy solutions. Such work is therefore conducted in the language of the policy it seeks to critically assess. A reading of the review identifies three dominant discourses – the academic discourse of education policy sociology, contemporary political discourse and the discourse of inclusive education. Hodgson draws attention to the relationships between citizenship education, policy and educationalization. The use of Foucault's concept of normalization in the study of educationalization is reconsidered following Depaepe's suggestion that it is inappropriate. This enables further consideration of contemporary policy and the relationship of research to it. Normalization is then discussed in terms of the demand on the contemporary subject to orient the self in a certain relationship to learning informed by the need for competitiveness in the European and global context. Hodgson argues that the language and rhetoric of education policy sociology implicates such research in the process of educationalization itself.

The next chapter, by *Michael Watts*, addresses educationalization by considering policies intended to widen participation in higher education in the United Kingdom and the apparent reluctance of educational researchers to interrogate those policies. The central argument is that the drive to widen participation has taken on a life of its own and that educational researchers typically fail to ask whether those policies can tackle the economic and social problems that underpin and justify them. This argument makes use of Jean Baudrillard's notion of the hyperreal whereby the link between the real and its representation is severed, as the representation of the real becomes its own reality. The economic and social justice bases of widening participation policies are examined, questioned and found to be wanting. In line with Baudrillard's perspective, it is suggested that widening participation is not happening. The chapter concludes with the assertion that by framing social problems as educational problems and by leaving higher education to deal with them, there is a risk that educational researchers are seduced by the government's policies and fail to notice that the strategies they generate all too often perpetuate the very social injustices they are intended to overcome.

In the changes that have occurred in Western education in the last two decades we have seen, *Jim Marshall* argues, national education systems moving from what may have been called a liberal education to a technocratic and entrepreneurial form of education. In New Zealand's past, such education took place in science departments, polytechnics and industrial settings. Within the last two decades polytechnics have either become universities or offer university courses. Whereas industry in the past shared the cost of qualifications through apprenticeship schemes and day release to

training institutions such as polytechnics, this has mainly been abandoned. Marshall argues that the process of entering the knowledge economy has been pushed right back to secondary and primary education. Therefore, social problems (as perceived by the State) have been educationalized. He argues that this situation is not unique to New Zealand. This paper looks first at Charles de Gaulle's efforts, mainly during the 1960s, to unite government, the military, industry, business and education for economic, military and social reasons. Marshall introduces the example of de Gaulle because the latter wished to bring these ideas to fruition as early as 1944 when he returned to France upon the liberation of Paris. This example provides an early case of modern educationalization in regard to the knowledge economy. After identifying several strategies in the French example, the chapter turns to the different example of New Zealand's educationalization of their economic, social and educational 'problems' in the 1980s and 1990s. Writing as an historian of ideas, Marshall, in drawing such a comparison, is concerned with the strategies adopted to *initiate* changes in education – the *how* – rather than the content of such changes.

Tom Popkewitz considers the thesis of pedagogicalization through focusing on the cultural theses generated around the family and child in American social and education sciences. Science embodies particular forms of expertise that function as the shepherds of what is (im)possible to know and do. It constructs the limits in accordance with which experiences are acted upon and the self is located as an actor in the world. Popkewitz argues that at the turn of the 20th century, Pedagogicalization can be identified as the *educationalization* of the family that rationalized the home to socialize the child for collective social belonging, and in the turn of the 21st century as the *pedagogicalization* of the family as lifelong learners, a mode of living as continuous innovation, self-evaluation and monitoring one's life without any apparent social centre. The notions of reason and 'reasonable people' embodied in the different kinds of expertise, however, do not merely refer to who the child is and should be. They entail double gestures of inclusion and exclusion. The expertise of the social and education sciences is a particular historical practice that emerged in the 19th century and mutates into the present. It has two overlapping qualities in modern societies. Science is the calculated knowledge about social and personal relations, such as knowledge pertaining to research about learning. It is knowledge brought into daily life for ordering personal experiences and takes on board the 'rationality' involved in planning one's biography and thinking about 'learning'. His approach is a History o*f the Present*; thus he considers how objects of the present become knowable components of reality and are shaped, fashioned and change position due to diverse conditions of possibility. Knowledge is the political. It partitions the sensible through the principles generated about the objects of reflection and action. Furthermore, the practices that generate cultural theses about modes of life are simultaneously processes of casting out and excluding what does not fit into normalized spaces.

A somewhat similar focus is provided by *Maarten Simons and Jan Masschelein* who draw attention to the concepts of 'educationalization' and 'the grammar of schooling' in the light of the overwhelming importance of 'learning' today. Facing

the current importance of learning they doubt whether the school/education-oriented concepts of 'educationalization', the 'grammar of schooling' and the related historical-analytical perspectives, are still useful to understand the present state of things. Additionally, they want to indicate that concepts such as 'disciplinary power' and 'panopticism' are no longer adequate for an understanding of what is at stake in so-called 'learning societies'. The term 'learning apparatus' is suggested as both an alternative concept to address these issues and a point of departure for an analysis that focuses on the 'grammar of *learning*'. For this analysis, they draw on Foucault and in particular on his understanding of governmentality. They use the formula 'governmentalization of learning': learning has become a matter of both government and self-government. In order to describe the governmentalization of learning and the assemblage of a 'learning apparatus' today, they indicate how the concept of learning, being disconnected from education and teaching, has been used to refer to a kind of *capital*. Such *capital* is something for which the learner herself is *responsible,* something that can and should be *managed* and something that has to be *employable*. Furthermore, they elaborate how these discourses are currently combined and play a crucial role in advanced liberalism that seeks to promote entrepreneurship. They explain that entrepreneurship implies an *adaptation ethics* based on self-mobilization through learning, and that advanced liberalism draws upon a kind of *learning apparatus* to secure adaptation for each and all. In the conclusion, they focus on the mode of power within the learning apparatus.

Richard Smith argues that philosophy itself has been the victim of a kind of *Pädagogisierung*. It has been subjected to many attempts to school it and render it orderly – to establish a definitive method for the practice of philosophy. The attempt to discover and stipulate method is of course characteristic of modernity. This chapter discusses one such attempt, R.G. Collingwood's classic *Philosophical Method* (1933). Collingwood argues that philosophy must avoid figurative language, on the grounds that it provides a distraction from thought. The aspiration here is reminiscent of the logical positivists' attempt to identify the crystalline purity of the logical a priori order of the world, and of the employment by some analytical philosophers of education of mathematical tropes, as if these guaranteed clarity of thinking and 'rigour'. These enterprises are cognate with the general effect of educational research to represent the business of education as tidy and prosaic. Clarity, however, while of course desirable, is itself a metaphor. Collingwood's own text makes considerable and often vivid use of figurative language, and his claim that the philosopher 'must go to school with the poets' is layered and revealing. Metaphoricity and even rhetoricity are ineliminable from philosophy as from other uses of language, and the boundary between philosophy and literature is not a secure one. Both are all the more complex and more interesting for it. To acknowledge this is to admit a richer range of language to thinking about questions of education and thus to conceive education itself more richly and with greater sensitivity to its diversity, nuances and differences.

In the final chapter, *Paul Standish* observes that Marc Depaepe's adoption of the idea of 'educationalization' offers us a new word and a new concept. He then goes on to consider how we analyse concepts and think about what is involved in creating

a concept. This chapter begins by identifying Depaepe's reasons for taking up the term 'educationalization'. It goes on to consider the obvious prominence of the idea of the 'concept' in philosophy, particularly analytical philosophy, but then seeks to show the limitations of an emphasis on the purely logical aspects of concepts to the neglect of their occurrence within sentences in natural languages. The language of marketing is taken as a striking example of ways in which concepts are mobilized to achieve effects beyond their referential function. This recognition lays the way for the consideration of the idea of the concept in Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's *What Is Philosophy*? The qualities of thinking that they are concerned with promoting are compared with Bill Readings' account (in *The University in Ruins*) of the importance of 'Thought'. The strengths of Deleuze and Guattari's approach are emphasized as means to richer ways of thinking about education, with the speculation that the concept of educationalization might be fruitfully exploited to this end.

In the Afterword, *Paul Smeyers* reflects on the preoccupations of the Research Community *Philosophy and history of the discipline of education. Evaluation and evolution of the criteria for educational research.* Starting from the initial questions that this group of scholars had set themselves a decade ago, he focuses on the picture of educational research that emerges from the detailed analyses. Thus attention is also given to the convergence of the studies of these philosophers and historians of education with the present state of the art.

Notes

1. *Het Volk*, February 18th 2008, p. 23.
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3. Aries, Ph., & Duby, G. (1999). *Histoire de la vie privée* (*De la Révolution à la Grande Guerre*). Paris: Seuil.
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5. Cf. the civilization process of Elias, Elias, N. (1969). Über den Prozess der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen. II: Wandlungen der Gesellschaft. Entwurf zu einer Theorie der Zivilisation (Revised edition). Bern: Francke (originally published in 1939).
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7. According to a concept of I. Hacking, cf. Hacking, I. (1992). *The taming of chance. Ideas in context.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
8. Depaepe, M. (1998). Educationalisation: A key concept in understanding the basic processes in the history of Western education. *History of Education Review, 27*(2), 16–28.
9. In an issue of 2008 *Educational Theory* (Vol. 58 number 4) published a number of contributions focused on 'Educationalization: The conceptualization of an ongoing Modernization process' with contributions by Marc Depaepe & Paul Smeyers, Maarten Simons & Jan

Masschelein, Naomi Hodgson, Bert Lambeir & Stefan Ramaekers, David Labaree, and David Bridges.

10. Cf. Smeyers, P., & Depaepe, M. (Eds.). (2003). *Beyond empiricism. On criteria for educational research*. Leuven: Leuven University Press; Smeyers, P., & Depaepe, M. (Eds.). (2006). *Educational research: Why 'What works' doesn't work*. Dordrecht: Springer; and Smeyers, P., & Depaepe, M. (Eds.). (2007). *Educational research: Networks and technologies*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Chapter 2
About Pedagogization: From the Perspective of the History of Education

Marc Depaepe, Frederik Herman, Melanie Surmont, Angelo Van Gorp and Frank Simon

> *Es ist die Überzeugtheit des Rechts zur planenden Manipulierung des 'ganzen Menschen' unter dem Aspekt und der Verantwortung der 'Bildung' und 'sozialen Gerechtigkeit'. Das 'Totalitäre' darin ist die Pädagogisierung des Menschen und der Gesellschaft, die hier als selbstverständlicher Anspruch vorgetragen wird.*[1]
> (Schelsky, 1961, p. 161)

For history researchers, it is not a needless luxury to consider from time to time the content and the significance of the basic concepts they use, certainly if they have the ambition to interpret and/or explain history in addition to purely describing it. This self-reflection, compelled by the annually recurring dialogue with educational philosophers (cf. Smeyers & Depaepe, 2006),[2] need not necessarily place an emphasis on philosophical abstraction but can just as well start from an examination of the history of one's own research. Such an approach need not succumb to navel-gazing. Instead, such historical self-reflection possibly points to the creeping (and thereby largely unconscious) shifts in meaning that accompany various fashions (consider the swirling 'turns' of recent years), which affect the social scientific vocabulary (historiographic, philosophical, pedagogical, psychological sociological, etc.).

By rendering such developments explicit, the epistemological wrestling with the stream of experiences we call 'history', a process that can be chaotic, may in the future perhaps be somewhat less sloppy. Admittedly, even the most critical concepts that emerged from our own work (which is discussed here) were not always used with methodological care and/or theoretical purity.

2.1 Pedagogization as a Container Concept

It is generally felt that the concept of 'pedagogization'[3] appeared at the end of the 1950s and was coined by the sociologist Janpeter Kob while working in Germany (see Höhne, 2002, 2004). He wanted to indicate, from an educational perspective,

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the trend that had emerged within virtually all societal institutions of a modernizing society. The Western welfare state revealed itself primarily as 'pedagogical'. This characteristic was related to professional groups' corporatist hunger for power and has been criticized by Helmut Schelsky (1961) and others. They would have aimed, among other things, for the expansion of pedagogical power because of the better prospects for employment. In contrast to related concepts such as 'industrialization' and 'bureaucratization', the concept initially had difficulty in securing acceptance. In German pedagogical historiography, it was only granted legitimacy in the 1980s (cf. Giesecke, 1996).

By the same token, pedagogization has only recently been accepted as a legitimate term within the Dutch-language arena, where the *Belgisch-Nederlandse Vereniging voor de Geschiedenis van Opvoeding en Onderwijs* (*BNVGOO*: The Belgian–Dutch Society for the History of Education) elevated 'pedagogization' to the central topic of a congress that took place on 14 and 15 November 1985 in Amsterdam. Judging from the title of the collection of congress texts (*Pedagogisering*, 1985), the intention was to investigate what this phenomenon had meant for the two countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. When using this relatively new but primarily fashionable term, the organizers were (by implication) referring to the increasing attention being given to the educational aspect of many sectors of everyday life and (in relation to this) the increasing significance of professional assistance. Nevertheless, the term 'pedagogization' did not appear in the definitive publication of some of the conference papers (Dekker, D'hoker, Kruithof, & De Vroede, 1987). Some Flemish educational historians for instance doubted if there was really any place for such a concept within their discipline (Hermans, 1987). As a consequence of the work of the German educationist Ulrich Herrmann, who in the meantime had devoted an almost 'programmatic' contribution in a standard work on the social history of the child (Herrmann, 1986), the concept soon appeared again in Dutch-language pedagogical historiography.

In regard to the reemergence of the term pedagogization, the contribution of our research group can hardly be denied. Since the late 1980s, we have used the word in the titles of our work. Frank Simon was the first to do this (Simon & Van Damme, 1989, 1992; Simon, 1994) followed by Marc Depaepe (1995, 1998a, 1998b). This occurred without too much attention being given to either the definition or demarcation of the concept. We tended to use the term 'pedagogization' as a label, an umbrella word to indicate the steady expansion and increased depth of educational action during the nineteenth and particularly the twentieth centuries. The Interbellum, in which child-raising, formation and education became the field *par excellence* on the ideological market and the social polarizations, served in this regard as the key period in the formation of the 'pedagogized' society (Depaepe & Simon, 1999).

More or less in conformity with the double line that Herrmann describes, the understanding of pedagogization that appeared in our work had both quantitative and qualitative aspects. Thus, as we saw it, the idea of expansion as it pertained to educational action not only concerned the increase in the number of child-raising and educational governmental bodies and the greater range of the child-raising and

educational processes but also encompassed the ever-increasing central role of the pedagogical in society. More pedagogical concern and more pedagogical care also sharpened qualitatively the specificity of pedagogical intervention. Of what did this consist? Generally speaking, it presented itself as a shift in the behavioural repertoire of the child-raiser, the educator and the teacher: physical compulsion (which naturally was also accompanied by psychological pressure) had to give way to a more psychological 'treatment' of the child. This might be understood as the 'disembodiment' of educational intervention that served to intensify emotional manipulation (see also Herman, Depaepe, Simon, & Van Gorp, 2007a).

This trend was seen as the result of an increased expertise that had emerged, thanks to the scientization (and the accompanying academization) of pedagogy and the pedagogical sciences. And to the extent that increased professionalism also provided strategies for the solution of problems that initially did not belong to the professional field of educators, psychologists, etc., it naturally also yielded territorial gains for the professional groups concerned. In this sense, the phenomenon of pedagogization differed little from, for example, that of medicalization, where analogous annexation and colonization mechanisms led to status gains (Nys, De Smaele, Tollebeek, & Wils, 2002).

A good example of such 'pedagogization' is, in our opinion, the 'educational punishment' (read: training), which was provided in the Netherlands in the mid-1990s at the behest of the Ministry of Justice for the parents of persistent truants (Tönis & Zonneveld, 2000). By providing specific educational interventions to deal with 'new' groups and categories of problem cases, as a consequence, new markets were constantly being opened up in the professional field. From that market perspective, the evolution from special to inclusive education, inter alia, can be readily understood. Both the initial 'exclusion' of 'abnormal' pupils (from the end of the nineteenth century on) and the 'inclusion' of problematic (or better, newly problematized) pupils in ordinary education (at the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first centuries) are ultimately expressions of the same phenomenon (that, at least in Dutch, can also be described as 'orthopedagogization'): educational specialists first demanded segregation of all problem cases, which had to be taken care of by professionals in special institutions. This 'exclusive' market became saturated and the movement towards integration commenced. This coincided with the detection of ever more specific behavioural and learning problems among 'normal' (or 'ordinary') children (such as ADHD, gifted, dyslexic children) (see, for example, Elst-Van Den Bergh, 2005).

Although pedagogization as a 'neutral' concept intends to describe these phenomena as a sub-process of the 'modernization' of the society, the content orientations of that process (and the internal contradictions or paradoxes that accompanies it) meant that the concept of pedagogization started to acquire negative connotations. The consequences of 'more' training, education and pedagogical care, were often described in terms of increased dependence, tutelage, patronization, mothering, infantilization, pampering and so on. Pedagogization could therefore be read in oppositional terms to pedagogical projects that aim for autonomy, liberation and independence. In this respect, pedagogization looks like a concept that is not

dissimilar to ‘medicalization’. A greater supply on the medical market does not necessarily lead to a more healthy society but can significantly increase the consumption of and dependence on health care. The irony that accompanies the concept of pedagogization can be illustrated by two examples. The first is taken from the 1980s, the second, two decades later.

For the French philosopher Jacques Rancière (1987, pp. 221–222), the paradox of pedagogization unfolded with the ideas of the Enlightenment that were propagated by the Republicans:

> Il suffirait d’apprendre à être des hommes égaux dans une société inégale. C’est ce que veut dire s’émanciper. Mais cette chose si simple est la plus difficile à comprendre surtout depuis la nouvelle explication, le progrès, a inextricablement mêlé l’une à l’autre l’égalité et son contraire. La tâche à laquelle les capacités et les coeurs républicains se vouent, s’est de faire une société égale avec des hommes inégaux, de réduire indéfiniment l’inégalité. Mais qui a pris ce parti n’a qu’un moyen de le mener à bout, c’est la pédagogisation intégrale de la société, c’est-à-dire l’infantilisation générale des individus qui la composent. Plus tard on appellera cela formation continue, c’est-à-dire co-extensivité de l’institution explicatrice et de la société. La société des inférieurs supérieurs sera égale, elle aura réduit ses inégalités quand elle sera entièrement transformée en société des explicateurs expliqués.[4]

There can be no emancipation, apparently, without infantilization and pedagogization. Inversely – so instructs an Austrian reader edited by Erich Ribolits & Zuber (2004) – pedagogization does not lead to emancipation but to the subjection of the spirit. Instead of adapting the society to people, the process of pedagogization (which constitutes the logical response to globalization and modernization) leads to the adaptation of the people to the neo-conservative society. The result is, therefore, the domestication of thinking and not emancipation. Pedagogization, as the title of their work expresses, is the art of making people ever more ‘stupid’ via learning. Here, the frequently praised notion of ‘permanent education’ comes to mind.

2.2 Pedagogization as the Pedagogical Basic Semantic of a Didactic Grammar

It was against the background of such paradoxes that, in our later work, the concept of pedagogization gained a more concrete place. Intrigued by the great sense of continuity that characterized pedagogical action, our research in the 1990s focused on the study of the everyday practice in primary education in Belgium from about 1880 to 1970 (Depaepe et al., 2000), a research interest that, moreover, paralleled similar research in Spain (see, among others, Viñao Frago, 2001a, 2002). The intention of this research was, among other things, to find an acceptable explanation for the great resistance to renewal that characterized the world of education and the output of educational experts. We wanted to account for the reasons why such resistance continued without historical reverberation (see also Viñao Frago, 2001b). While doing this, we came close to entering the vicinity of research conducted by authors such as Larry Cuban, David Tyack and William Tobin, who had detected the existence of the irony surrounding the ‘grammar of schooling’ (Cuban, 1993[2];

Tyack & Tobin, 1994; Tyack & Cuban, 1995). Rather than the pedagogical innovations changing education, these innovations were 'adapted' by education itself to the stubborn structure of running a school.

We found the notion that educational practice was controlled by a set of rules that are often not rendered explicit but are rooted in historical practice extremely convincing. Didactic and pedagogical renewals were constantly adapted or, better, appropriated and integrated according to the logic proper to the educational system, which explained both the conservative outlook *casu quo* the conservational character of that system. Nevertheless, we had a problem with the content orientation that was given to the internal dynamic of running a school. We felt that these North American initiatives, taken to identify a virtually universal 'grammar of schooling', were a product of an all too behaviourist view of what actually took place on the work floor. Indeed, they only took account of the externally observable didactic behavioural patterns (such as the extent to which the teacher and/or pupils were speaking), without devoting much attention to the pedagogical, let alone the cultural, context in which that educational behaviour is embedded. Hence, we have conceived the concept 'grammar of schooling' – which we have invariably translated as the '*grammatica van de verschoolsing*' (i.e. the 'grammar of scholarization' in the sense of making schools more and more 'schoolish') – in our study of the Belgian primary school as a didactic exposition structure that, at the very least, had to be related to the pedagogical semantic (here moral, ethical and thus also social finality) in which it functioned. Teaching (that is, the transfer of knowledge via subject matter) could, particularly since the Enlightenment, no longer be separated from the formation project (and formation objective) from which it derived its meaning and significance (Herrmann, 1993). In our opinion, therefore, the didactic grammar of 'schooling' was complemented by a pedagogical grammar of 'pedagogizing' – an English gerund that ultimately involved an attempt (perhaps a rather awkward attempt[5]?) to translate and interpret the German concept of '*Pädagogisierung*'. Of course, it is not a chance occurrence that these two concepts had arisen within Anglo-Saxon and German contexts, respectively.

It is in the conjunction of these two traditions that we saw the greatest merit of our work. The behaviourally conceived phenomenon of 'schooling' was situated there as a component of a broader pedagogization and modernization (*casu quo* globalization) of society. This facet of our work went unnoticed by critics of *Order in Progress* (see Depaepe, 2004). Critics of this book tended to read our interpretation of events as conforming to naïve progress models of 'the longer the more' and 'the longer the better', to which the often normative association with the pedagogical past in the training of teachers more than once gave rise via the course on the 'history of education'. For us, the educational teaching processes generated via the curriculum ultimately followed a more complex pattern. Pedagogical and didactic interventions and forms of thought were essentially diverse, multiple, mutually overlapping (and generally often complementarily but sometimes also contrarily) active discourses. Thus, the language of the new school was used by the proponents of 'progressive' education in Flanders in order to emphasize the time-honoured wisdom of schoolmastership and therefore secure the genesis of meritocracy conceived

in neo-conservative terms. Jozef Verheyen, of whom we analysed the educational discourse in one of the former books of the Research Community (see Depaepe, Simon, & Van Gorp, 2006), is an obvious example. Teaching, in any event, turned out to be imbedded in the pedagogical barter trade with social consequences that had taken form in Belgium primarily during and after the last quarter of the nineteenth century: moralization (and the socialization, disciplining and domestication that flowed from it) was exchanged for knowledge acquisition, the lever par excellence for achieving autonomy and emancipation within a class society tinted by neo-capitalism. Paraphrasing Eric Berne's transactional analysis (Berne, 1964), we can conclude that pedagogization thus concerned the 'educational' game that was played in the classroom and school. What was at stake in this game (in part specified by social origin) was the increased level of cultural capital held by pupils and by implication, their greater chances for success in later life, which they had to redeem primarily with obedience and subjection to the pedagogical authority of teachers and the administration.

But probably the phenomenon of pedagogization is still much more complex than what the tension of such binary conceptual models (*grammar of schooling* versus *grammar of pedagogization/educationalization*, or even better*educationalizing*) or combinations thereof would allow one to suspect. Ultimately, for the operationalizing of these concepts, we have focused on the unravelling of the pedagogical–didactic interaction in the classroom whereby the teaching (the didactic) was seen as a process that took place via the subject matter, while the formation (the pedagogical) took place via interventions of the administration (for example, punishment, see Herman, Depaepe, Simon, & Van Gorp, 2007a) set apart from the prescribed curriculum. The question, of course, is whether or not any other dimensions were involved within pedagogization. Our analyses of textbooks (Depaepe & Simon, 2002) and exercise books (Herman, Depaepe, Simon, Surmont, & Van Gorp, 2007b) in the meantime can lead one to suppose that the formatting of scientific knowledge content into 'subject matter' occurred, just as much, in accordance with its own logic. In regard to this situation, Tom Popkewitz (2004) spoke about the alchemy of school subjects. Perhaps, there is here a 'grammar of knowledge transfer' involved, for we can imagine that, for example, the reduction and simplification that generally accompanies the conversion of knowledge into school knowledge, irrespective of the content of each subject, follows certain stereotypical patterns (see, e.g., Matthes & Heinze, 2007).

And what about the wave of ethnohistorical and school-archaeological research, which in recent years has been catching on primarily in Spain and Latin America (see, e.g., Ferraz Lorenzo, 2005; *Historia de la Educación*, 2006), and the material school culture (Lawn & Grosvenor, 2005; Escolano Benito, 2007) that is trying to interpret it, hermeneutically and otherwise, by evoking its experience? Still, apart from the fact that the rich Latin traditions cannot be ignored in the development of contemporary educational historiography, it is definitely the case that the architecture of the space in which the educational interaction took place and the material objects that were used in it can teach us much about the nature and content of schoolish behaviour. Can we say that these 'artefacts' from the educational past

(wall charts, textbooks, notebooks, and the like) do not act as contingent components of the educational strategy of emotional pressure, infantilization, and compulsion? Do they engender just as much interiorization of values and norms in the children and teenagers? Certainly, for what concerns the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, it takes little effort to read the internal renewals in education as the expression of a bourgeois civilization offensive (cf. Lenders, 1988), that is, as the incorporation of children into the mills of the refinement of behaviour (which Elias called the process of civilization) and the initiation into the complex world of the behaviour determining time associated with it. For us, surely, there is sufficient reason for wanting to delve more deeply into the formal rules of that educational 'game' at school via a new ethnohistorical research project, which, by means of the applied technique of oral testimony, immediately implies a shift of emphasis towards the second half of the twentieth century (Depaepe, Simon, Surmont, & Van Gorp, 2007).

2.3 Pedagogization as a Component of a 'Historical' School Theory

That research (which, because of the controllability of the context focuses on the Flemish primary school of the 1960s) is now being worked out in detail[6] and the first results have in the meantime been published in a number of intermediary papers and communications at congresses. These concern some of the aspects of the school culture mentioned above. But the ultimate objective of our research remains, with a view to historical theory formation from within (Tenorth, 1996), the identification of the structuring elements around which educational behaviour has been settled historically in the school. What we ultimately want to expose is, as it were, the morphology of the school. This has become 'genealogical', the pillars around which the everyday action patterns of education have taken form in the course of the years and made the school into a 'school': a theoretical model that thus encloses at the same time a structure (in the sense of isolated factors) and dynamic (in the sense of processes that flow out of the conjunction of these factors) and moreover also offers space for statements on the identity of the school that are both horizontal-generalizing (*in casu* rising above the history) and vertical-diachronic (*in casu* related to chronological development).

In this last respect, therefore, such a 'historical' school theory differs fundamentally from the organograms that previously developed and still do in the framework of didactics, didactic theory, school pedagogics or educational theory (as concerns the Flemish portion of Belgium, see, for example, De Corte et al., 1972; De Block & Heene, 1986; for the German context: Zierer, 2006). However, because of their nomothetic obsession, such organograms firmly continue to deny their own historicity. On penalty of denying the uniqueness of historiography, pedagogical or otherwise, the historical school theory here envisioned cannot be inversely assigned a delivery role in the construction of such models or in the construction of any

contemporary formation science whatsoever (Depaepe, 2001; Priem, 2006). Its relevance is restricted to a pure, cultural–historical relevance, even though an apparent contradiction seems, on first inspection, to emerge from this claim, for every theory has ambitions, irrespective of the existing cultural–historical differences in origin or object, of achieving universal knowledge.

In order to be able to do justice to the multi-coloured pallet of cultural contexts in which the institution 'school' has become a school, concretization in specific historical situations still remains necessary. The construction of a historical school theory presumes more than the construction of a meta-narrative on the basis of the existing literature. Insight into the 'becoming' of the institution of the school can, ultimately, only be obtained by good historical research into clearly delineated situations. Time-resistant action patterns in connection with interpersonal relations (such as the pedagogical–didactic interaction in the school and the classroom) come to light primarily by examining longitudinal cross-sections over time. As an epistemological category, the concept of 'non-contemporariness' assumes the contemporariness of historical situations; both are, like text and context, inevitably related to each other: non-contemporariness can only be conceived by abstracting from the very concrete, historical backgrounds in which it is anchored. Arguing that the Jesuits were already present at the foundation of the present-day grammars of schooling and pedagogization (Depaepe, Simon, & Van Gorp, 2005), for example, implies, of course, the omission of historical redundancy (cf. Hamilton, 1989).

This is why the concept of pedagogization is best defined within such a historical school theory in function of a developmental perspective, in particular as the increase of what is presented within the educational game in the classroom and the school as that which is specifically pedagogical. But with this, we have got ahead of ourselves in regard to what still needs to be discussed. Before a further examination of the dynamics of the pedagogization process, we must first come back to the structuring components of our historical school theory; their constellation probably constitutes the motor behind the self-guidance of this relatively autonomous sector of modernization.

In any case, from the analysis of the available literature, we recall the dimensions of 'space' and 'time' (Viñao Frago, 1996; Escolano Benito, 1992; Compère, 1997). It was on these axes that the delimitation of the school as distinct from 'life' was given form. Within this institution, there arose a specific pattern of behaviour with its own rituals and interpretations – some even call it a 'choreography' (Eggermont, 2001), which focused on the development of a power machine for disciplining the 'social body' (Kirk, 1998). Such a development was not, however, immune to flexibility. On the contrary, those who had the power over this development continuously constructed and reconstructed time and space on behalf of those who had to endure it (Perrenoud, 1994).

De facto, the regime of 'time-practices' regulated in large measure the daily life at school. This involved the adoption of long-term and middle-term perspectives on the curriculum as regards year classes and year programs, which alternated with long and short holidays. We might also note the short-term perspective of alternating lessons, recesses and other temporally recurring activities (Depaepe et al., 2000).

In combination with school time, various spaces within the school also had their own social logic and dynamic, thereby contributing just as much to the essence of the school dynamic. Classrooms, refectories, playgrounds, gymnasiums and so on received their significance not only via certain elements of the real topographical space they occupied or from their own morphological structure. They also (primarily) received their significance from the architectural ordering of objects that were brought together in them with a view to pedagogical and didactic interaction. Moreover, the social-abstract idea of a school or classroom building, a school refectory, a school playground and so on owes its existence primarily to the 'mediatorical' (that is, mainly, communicative, see below) function that was associated with them (Geppert, Jensen, & Weinhold, 2005). Mutatis mutandis, the same applies for the 'mental' school spaces, which, for example, were created by the painting of lines on the playground so that each row of pupils could be formed according to the class they belonged to. The same thing can be said for the red margins in school notebooks that regulated demarcation between the place provided for the schoolwork of the pupils and the space used by the teacher to evaluate their work. In short, within the public space, the school was conceived and pre-structured by adults as an educationally oriented space for children (see De Coninck-Smith, 2005). This does not necessarily imply that the children always responded to this space in accordance with such a power perspective (Van den Driessche, 2002).

Thus, the gate of the school might, in a certain sense, be thought of as the symbol with which the social subsystem of education was closed off from the rest of the world (Rockwell, 2005). However, it certainly did not function as a watertight seal. As we have already noted (Depaepe et al., 2007), the contrast between 'life' and the 'school', which came in handy in the binary discourse of the 'new' education, was primarily a matter of rhetoric. In everyday life, the school perhaps constituted a pedagogical island, but that island was situated in the midst of life itself and not outside it. With a nod to Hector Ruben Cucuzza (2007), the school gate might better be thought of as a revolving or 'swinging' door. Here, we might think of the swinging doors of a bar that keep moving for a while after one has gone through and do not so much 'close off' a space than mark a territorial border.

From a historical perspective, the genesis of the institution of 'school' as a material result of a mental fact – the topical identification of what attending school actually involved – was anchored in 'Western' culture. As Pierre-Philippe Bugnard (2006) has convincingly demonstrated, the social identity of the school recalls inevitably the religious project of church construction and Christianization, both at a structural and at a cultural level. School is more or less a secularized variant of the values and norms, the rituals, symbols and usages that were observed there. Obedience, respect, submission, control and discipline were enforced via activities such as singing, reciting, memorizing and repeating. These were all activities in which children were 'dealt with', admittedly simultaneously, but in which the influence of social origin, commitment, diligence and so much more played decisive roles. However, as modernization intensified, the school received a more stereotypical appearance both as a pedagogical work floor and as a socially segregated space (in which curricular differences were linked to social origin and class). The

'broad' pedagogical space of a church or palace was restricted to the limited model of a 'classroom' with exercises, discipline and examinations whereby one may well wonder about the extent to which it was still suitable for transmitting such fundamental values.

By assessing this situation we have come to consider the dimensions of pedagogical–didactic interaction and communication that we, together with Antonio Viñao Frago (1996) and others, consider to be just as essential for examining the particular nature of schoolish institutions. Here a distinction can be made between the verbal and the non-verbal environments inhabited by pupils. As regards verbal factors, the construction of a 'pedagogical' language was, naturally, decisive. In this regard, Fritz Osterwalder (2006) has pointed out that this language cannot be seen apart from the traditions of the theology and faith praxis out of which it arose. The empathetic-pedagogical language usage continued, even in the secularized version of the Enlightenment (Depaepe, 2006), to refer to the elevated pastoral task of the educator: he/she had to help the children learn to find their place in the society and help them to discover the meaning of their existence. Where could this meaning be found if not in the unfolding of the child's own personality? The teacher could help to foster harmony and internal happiness. He/she could lead the child to feel satisfied with himself and his 'natural' (in the sense of being willed by God) place in society? From the end of the nineteenth century, the message of pedagogical salvation marked the discourse of the New School Movement. This message took on a new religious élan, which reflected simultaneously its complex and paradoxical relationship with advancing modernization and secularization. Could this be explained as the result of primarily feminine religiosity filling the vacuum Darwin had left behind? However true that may be, the divinization of the child as well as the ideal image of the new person to which it had to be raised was often recurring elements of 'reform pedagogy' (or the so-called 'New Education'), as Meike Sofia Baader (2005) has plainly demonstrated. The apparent rejection of faith (men took the lead here!) generated a need for new saints, even if those saints had to emerge from the circle of pedagogical innovators (cf. in this regard the 'canonization' of Ovide Decroly into a saint of New Education: Depaepe, Simon, & Van Gorp, 2003).

Last, but not least, the non-verbal form of pedagogical communication can be easily read as a schoolish liturgy (Depaepe et al., 2000). The classroom was a pedagogical sanctuary, the chalkboard the altar on which the schoolish liturgy of the didactic could be performed. Wall charts, maps, photographs of king and queen, globes, time lines, measures of volume, and the like, together with desks set up in rows and the accompanying slates, slate pencils, ink pots and so on constituted the quasi-universal decor in which this pedagogical high mass had to be celebrated (Foulon, 1985). Essential to this, of course, is the question of how this mise en scène concretely influenced the history of pedagogical practice. Which continuities and discontinuities did it lead to as regards the behaviour of teachers and pupils? (Fend, 2007) How, in other words, were material objects concretely inserted into education? What changed, what did not change and why did things change/not change? These are questions that not only allow themselves to be answered from

the history of these very objects but presume a complementarity of the sources to be studied (not only visual or oral but also written, such as the journals for and by teachers, cf. Catteeuw, Dams, Depaepe, & Simon, 2005; Depaepe & Simon, 2002, 2005) and of the research techniques to be applied (whereby, for example, it must become possible to distinguish in the traditionally normative sources about education, the 'normality' of the everyday from the 'normativity' of the prescriptive, cf. Dams, Depaepe & Simon, 2001).

The fact is that the 'pedagogical' (in essence panoptic) figure of the 'pastor' was reiterated by an entire arsenal of pedagogical movements and gestures, from the raised finger of the schoolmaster through to the encouraging pat on the back. The 'teacher' stood on a podium, literally a step above the pupils, which emphasized the asymmetry of the educational relationship. The teacher incarnated the pastoral compulsion as regards 'training'. As source of authority, wisdom, good behaviour and morals, he/she acted as the pilot in the educational adventure to which the pupils were subjected while in the classroom. He/she knew the way that had to be followed and the techniques that could best be applied (Depaepe et al., 2000).

The relationship noted above between pedagogical behaviour and religion is, therefore, anything but a chance occurrence. In education, as with religion, the principal concern was to 'save' the child (cf. Dekker, 1985, 2001, 2006) to offer it help so that it would not meet with disaster (admittedly in the case of the former, this had little to do with the struggle for the hereafter but was more concerned with life as it is lived: *Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe*, as one reads in Pestalozzi). Therefore, for a considerable period of time, 'pedagogization' was bound up with 'moralization' (Depaepe, 1998a; Depaepe, Simon, & Van Gorp, 2005). The increased attention on the pedagogical sphere was meant to lead to the moral elevation of the people. This understanding of pedagogy encompassed the vision of harmonious and organic development of all human forces, which could be steered in the right direction by means of *Selbstbildung*. 'Self-discipline' and 'self-control' were (for the philanthropists at any rate, who succeeded in pedagogically codifying the desiderata of the bourgeois society like no other group) the spearheads of each pedagogical intervention. Before a person could assume responsibility for himself/herself in society, his/her character had to be trained and strengthened while residing on the pedagogical island that was the school (preferably a boarding school). This preparation would become ever longer over the course of time and would foreshadow the process of pedagogization. Also, at the qualitative level, the intervention of the Philanthropists may be considered paradigmatic in regard to the phenomenon of pedagogization. In the class, they wanted to bring the pupil to the point at which he/she would strive for 'the good', not because it was offered or rewarded (or the inverse, forbidden and punished), but 'because he himself wants it'.[7] With this, they indicated – almost a century and a half before Norbert Elias – the essence of the civilization process: external pressure or social coercion that is transformed into internal pressure or coercion of the individual psyche.

In both the mythologized educational ideology of progressivism and the Reform Pedagogy upon which countless believers came to rely, pedagogization increasingly gained the appearance of 'child-orientedness'. Therefore (and this was not

without infantilizing traits), a more strongly determined stress came to be placed on 'self-fulfilment' and 'self-development'. As a consequence of the increasing secularization and looser life style of the post-war years, these terms were increasingly stripped of the compulsory demands of the normative frameworks in which they had arisen.

The articulation of a child-oriented pedagogy was the interpretation of a hope or desire that one would be able to devise, on the basis of scientific research, forms of education that would be better adapted to the child. The child became the bedrock upon which pedagogization and medicalization came together. Much effort was oriented towards the exploration of the child. This orientation towards the child legitimated the school's involvement in a multiplicity of both medical and pedagogical networks resulting in a merger that might best be thought of in terms of medical/pedagogical networks. Our exploration of Ovid Decroly's networks (Van Gorp, Depaepe, & Simon, 2004), whereby his achievements in educational practice were taken as the starting point, is illustrative in this regard: to his network belonged, among other things, professional medical organizations and educational organizations as well as organizations that were situated on the cutting edge of educational practice and pedology, *in casu* pedotechnics.

In line with the positivism and the experimental-research orientation in education to which Decroly and other pedologists and/or educational reformers gave expression (around the beginning of the twentieth century), the educational objectives of the last few decades are no longer derived from one or another ideology. Instead, they emerge from the perspective of developmental psychology. Pedagogical correctness is becoming less determined by ethical coercion and/or social expectations of the person to be formed. As the legitimating science, psychology has increasingly come to replace theology. Pedagogical interventions are legitimated primarily in reference to the notion that they may do no harm nor generate frustration in the individual. In connection with the role of the educator, the metaphor of the shepherd came to be replaced by that of the gardener (which, as is well known, goes back to Fröbel's work on the kindergarten). By the same token the image of the 'guide' metamorphosed into the figure of the 'animator'. With these changes, offending and brutalizing elements of physical violence are replaced (at least in the rhetoric surrounding the 'art' of education) by the sweet smile, which emanates from the (forced) sphere of harmony and pleasure (that, if need be, is imposed on everyday reality using psychological threats. However, that phenomenon belongs to another discourse).

2.4 By Way of Conclusion: The End of Pedagogization?

Is this softer pedagogical mentality based on 'empathy' and 'negotiation', ushering in the end of pedagogization (cf. Giesecke, 1996, who speaks of the 'entpädagogisierte Schule')? Or was it the case that psychological discernment and empathy were already essentially present in Enlightenment pedagogization? And did that phenomenon constitute in essence a component of a broader form of 'psychologizing'

and/or 'modernizing', which in its turn was related to the increased privatization of the 'self' in modern and postmodern society (does this engender new paradoxes?)[8]? Does it concern a certain kind of personality that flourishes in the new economy and (with reference to Bauman's (2000) concept) thrives in 'liquid modernity', a personality oriented towards itself, not looking back, thinking only of the short term (cf. Sennett, 2007)?

The critics of pedagogization in the German language area cited above have, in the meantime, come to analogous conclusions. According to Ribolits and his colleagues (Sertl, Höhne, Erler, Geißler, Orthey, Gruber, & Schandl, in: Ribolits & Zuber, 2004), the phenomenon of pedagogization spread steadily, thanks to the neo-conservative context.[9] In this context, the self constantly has to prove its market value by means of 'employability', 'adaptability', 'flexibility', 'trainability' and the like. This led to not only the erosion of the idea of permanent education – all creativity is subordinated to the regulatory discourse of the knowledge economy and technology – but also of learning itself, which is reduced to a '*krisentaugliche Veränderungsroutine*' (Orthey, 2004, pp. 74–75). Postmodern court jesters know only the ideology of the silly illusion of work to which they are being prepared by means of universal change and the 'solution' model of flexibility. At present, the motto for learning might be summed up as *'die Vorbereitung auf die Selbstanpassung an den Wandel'* (the preparation for self-adaptation to change, Gruber, 2004, p. 98).

In the meantime, the question that emerges concerns whether or not the detection of this 'aberration' will suffice to stop it. Of course, thinking in this way depends on accepting both that the trend described here is a derailment and that the 'problems' we have identified have been correctly described by the conceptual approach employed in this article.

Notes

1. "It is the conviction of having the right to plan the manipulation of the 'whole person' under the aspect and the responsibility of 'education' and 'social justice'. The 'totalitarian' here lies in the *pedagogization of the person and of the society*, which here is presented as a self-evident entitlement."
2. Since the 1990s, Leuven has been home to the framework of the activities of *FWO-Vlaanderen*, an international research community dealing with the philosophy and history of the educational sciences. It has laid the foundations not only for this publication but also for the series in which it will be appearing.
3. Originally as *Pädagogisierung*, of which the English translation is rather problematic. In our former studies we have also used 'educationalization' as 'pedagogization', and even 'educationalizing'. A search on the Internet showed that 'pedagogization' is used more frequently than 'educationalization'. Therefore, we have chosen this term as the overall concept for this article.
4. In English translation, the quotation runs as follows: "It would suffice to learn to be equal men in an unequal society, which means to be emancipated. But this so simple thing is the most difficult to comprehend, certainly since the new explanation, progress, has inextricably mixed the one with the other, equality with its contrary. The task to which the Republican

abilities and hearts dedicated themselves was to make an equal society of unequal men, to reduce inequality forever. But those who took on this task had only one way to achieve it: the integral pedagogization of the society, that is, the general infantilization of the individuals that compose it. Later on, one would call that continuous education, that is, the co-extensiveness of the explaining institution and the society. The society of inferiors/ superiors will be equal; it will have reduced its inequalities when it will be entirely transformed into a society of explained explainers."

5. The word 'educationalizing' also appeared recently in 'Bushisms' which documented the pronouncements of the president of the United States. The term was castigated on the Internet, albeit not so much for its own absurdity but because of other associated linguistic blunders such as this statement made before Congress: "Mathematics are one of the *fundamentaries* of educationalizing our youths."
6. Cf. OT.O6.24 of the *Bijzonder Onderzoeksfonds* of the K.U. Leuven: *"Ethno-history" of the primary school: the key to the explanation of the pedagogical paradox*; cf. *FWO-Aspirantschap* of M. Surmont (1.1.211.07.N) *The experience of school time and school space in the 1960s. An ethnohistorical research.*
7. As cited by Christian Gotthilf Salzmann in the *Ameisenbüchlein* [ant booklet] of 1806.
8. Cf. in this regard the increased culture of the "I" with the removal of the autonomy of the subject and the emergence of the 'self' in the framework of postmodern philosophy.
9. Also on the basis of Basil Bernstein's essay *A Totally Pedagogised Society*, which is actually the transcription of an interview via videoconferencing recorded in the summer of 2000, a few months before his death, and published in his compilation, *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity* (2000). See Sertl, 2004.

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Chapter 3
The Educationalization of the Modern World: Progress, Passion, and the Protestant Promise of Education

Daniel Tröhler

3.1 Introduction

In the foreword to his very last *World Development Report* by the World Bank Group in 2007, World Bank Group President Paul Wolfowitz (2006) reminds readers that the Bank's overarching mission is to fight poverty throughout the world. A core task in this fight is to invest in young people, more precisely in their education. Never before, Wolfowitz asserts, has the time been better to invest in young people, because never before in history has the number of people worldwide aged 12–24 years been larger, and never before have young people been as healthy and well educated as today. Because of falling fertility, the need for this investment has become even more urgent, since the aging of societies will cause tremendous social, economic, and political challenges in the near future. In order to avoid the fundamental problems of aging societies, it is necessary to raise the share of the population that is working and to boost household savings. After all, Wolfowitz reminds the readers, the young people of today are "tomorrow's workers, entrepreneurs, parents, active citizens, and, indeed, leaders" (Wolfowitz, 2006, p. xi).

At least two discursive patterns in this *Foreword* by Wolfowitz might catch our attention. First, we might note the rhetorical trick that reformers always use by urging that 'never before' has such and such been the case and that it is most important 'especially today' to think or act in this or another way. The seriousness or even tragedy of the present is presented as an indisputable fact. However, despite the fact that the alleged appraisal of the present can only be read as historical argument, it is not based on any historical investigation at all but instead appeals to general sentiments that people have had forever as they deal with everyday life and strive for certainty. According to John Dewey's (1929) Gifford Lectures, *The Quest for Certainty*, this striving is the fundament on which people construct dualistic worldviews, praising religiously the intelligible eternal world and being sceptical toward the contingent empirical world.

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Although this discursive pattern would still deserve much more attention in research – for it has a hidden, shaping influence on most of ethical, political, social, or educational discourse – in this chapter I am more interested in a second discursive pattern that is younger historically than the patterns stemming from the fear of the present, for there are good arguments that the latter is in some sort of way the heir of the former. In any case, this second pattern is certainly not independent of the first. It is characterized by isolating educational questions from the social, economic, or political problems of society in order to champion education as a solution to these perceived social, economic, or political problems. The genesis of this specific mode of thinking can be labeled as the 'educationalizing' of social, economic, and political problems. As a dominant mode of looking at solutions for perceived non-educational but social, economic, or political problems, it was developed mostly in the eighteenth century. Upon this background we get an idea of why, when discussing the first discursive pattern, Dewey ends his investigation with the eighteenth century because the latter might well be the successor of the first, transferring the religious energy of the first to the second pattern; what was 'above' in the first pattern, heavenly salvation, now lays 'ahead' in the future, where these perceived problems are solved on earth by means of education. In any case, since the shift to, or genesis of, this (second) discursive pattern occurred, it has experienced a triumphant advance up until the present, as we see, for example, in Wolfowitz's *Foreword*. Even though education was given prominent attention by people like Plato, Aristotle, Erasmus, the Jesuits, or others in their conception of the good life, no evidence can found that before, say, 1750 education was dominantly determined to shore up an uncertain future of the social, political, or economic aspects of society by means of education.[1]

The two key words 'education' and 'around 1750' usually generate a reflex within educational discourse, namely, the reference to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, more precisely to Rousseau's *Emile*, published in 1762. Whatever history of education we are looking at, Rousseau and *Emile* are seen as the key events within the development of ideas on education, the demarcation line between old and new, between the dark ages of education and the dawn of modernity – an assessment that is shared not only by historians but also by philosophers of education (Tröhler, 2003, 2006a). However, reflexes are sensual and mechanical, and not very intellectual or carefully considered. As an important mode of non-reflexive reactions within discourses they certainly deserve deeper analysis. Of course, there is no doubt that Rousseau's *Emile* was a frequently heard voice in the eighteenth century, but at the same time we have to recognize that this was only one voice within a big, untuned chorale provoked by fundamental societal transformations that took place at the end of the seventeenth century. Rousseau's may have been the most conspicuous voice within this music, but it certainly did not imply that educational concepts could solve alleged problems of the present and the future caused by these transformations. Rather than asking how the darker sides of these transformations could be tempered by education in order to secure their advantages, *Emile*'s educational theory tries to ignore the social and economic context and arguably tries to educate a pure and independent human being (Emile ends up as a slave-chief in Algeria, having been cheated on by his

wife, Sophie). On this background, Rousseau's educational concept in *Emile* can be seen as almost anything but modern.

But as we know, the education of the pure and independent human being was not Rousseau's favored solution to education. In the very first pages of *Emile*, when complaining about the present, Rousseau mentions his favored educational concept 'public instruction'. Rousseau felt that this concept was incompatible with modernity: "Public instruction no longer exists and can no longer exist, because where there is no longer fatherland, there can no longer be citizens. These two words, *fatherland* and *citizen*, should be effaced from modern languages" (Rousseau, 1762/1979, p. 40). Surprisingly, it has rarely been noted that Rousseau himself uses these two words unabashedly. He first uses them in the third book of *Emile*, and he praises the concept of public instruction in *Lettre to d'Alembert* (Rousseau, 1758), where he defends the educational practices in his hometown of Geneva. A similar defense appears in *Considerations about the Government in Poland* (Rousseau, 1782). He defends the concept of *citizen* education as compared to the education of a *bourgeois*, the latter being the dominant concept in the new transformed eighteenth century. For Rousseau, this is a terrible sign of decay. In *Emile*, Rousseau writes: "He will be a Frenchman, an Englishman, a bourgeois. He will be nothing" (Rousseau, 1762/1979, p. 40).

The *bourgeois*, the concept Rousseau is challenging, is primarily an ideological attribution, a *parole*, if you wish, that refers to a specific ideological *langue*, namely, the *langue* of republicanism. Within this *langue* of republicanism, the counterpart of the *bourgeois* is not the pure and independent human being but rather the *citoyen*, the virtuous citizen. In *Emile*, Rousseau hides this distinction to a certain degree. This is unfortunate, particularly when we consider the bizarre reception of the novel. However, he makes the distinction clear in *A Discourse upon the Origin and Foundation of the Inequality Among Mankind* (Rousseau, 1755). On this background we understand why Rousseau says in *Emile* that he wants to efface the "two words, *fatherland* and *citizen*," because the transformation of the big European societies – save those of Switzerland and of Poland – has made them obsolete. The ideal of the republic appeared to be unreachable under the conditions of modernity in the European monarchies that resulted from the previously mentioned fundamental transformations.

But what was at the core of this transformation of the societies in the eighteenth century that in the eyes of Rousseau obviously seemed to be incompatible with the ideals of republicanism? It is a process that we can call somewhat sweepingly the 'capitalization of society' that became possible after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 and the death of Richard Cromwell in 1658. Capitalism builds essentially on trade, and trade requires peace.[2] This process, described by numerous inspiring studies, caused, on the one hand, a transformation of the social structure of the societies, and on the other a deep ideological conflict, for since antiquity, views on commerce have always been conflicting. A large part of the discussions of the eighteenth century dealt with this conflict; it shaped the 'gigantic *querelle*' between the ideal of the modern entrepreneur on the one hand and the ideal of the virtuous Roman citizen on the other (Pocock, 1980, p. 301). It is within this *querelle* that

Rousseau published most of his writings, looking to the future with an idealized past in his head and heart, and it is in the very same *querelle* that a less provocative solution was presented. This solution was also educational, but dedicated to harmonizing the modern economy and republican ideals, the future and the past. It is in this context that the second discursive pattern that we find in Wolfowitz's *Foreword*, identifying improved education for the salvation of the social future, arose in the middle of the eighteenth century.

It is no coincidence that this educational solution arose in a Protestant context, more precisely in a Reformed Protestant context, that is, in Swiss Protestantism, of which Rousseau – as a citizen of Geneva – was a part of, of course. I will demonstrate this development showing four stages. First, I will reconstruct the conflict between commerce and republicanism that took place around 1700 (1.), in order to reconstruct the preferred methods for moving beyond this conflict. Two such methods were adopted in Great Britain, namely, the 'botanizing' of women and the adjustment of the political vocabulary (2.). In the third step I show how this conflict between the rise of commerce and the renaissance of republicanism expressed itself around 1750 (3.), in order to explain how the educationalization of the modern world became the favored solution in Swiss Protestantism (4.). At the end I will outline how this educationalization has become a global idea that dominates educational thinking.

3.2 The Ideological Conflict Between the Rise of Commerce and the Renaissance of Republicanism Around 1700

Rousseau and many others criticized current social and political developments based on economic transformations; this conflict can be seen as a reaction to the 'capitalization of society.' A particularly prominent expression of this process is the founding of the Bank of England in 1694, an event that illustrates the 'triumph' of the economy, so to speak. When William of Orange took the throne in 1688 (William III), years of political unrest had depleted public finances. The Scottish trader and financier William Patterson (1658–1719) proposed the establishment of a creditor association of wealthy private citizens to lend money to the nation, a total of 1.2 million pounds at an interest rate of 8%. With the founding of the Bank of England a successful and enduring system of public underwriting emerged that from this time onward allowed individual persons and companies to invest in the state. This meant that owners of capital assets were in a position to transform "the relations between government and citizens, and by implication between all citizens and all subjects, into relations between debtors and creditors" (Pocock, 1979, p. 149). The competition between politics and capital was thus decided; politics became the object of private interests. Consequently, politics became largely indifferent to issues pertaining to morality.

These developments, which capitalized people's relations to the state and each other, were associated with the Whig Party majority in the English Parliament.

Language, ideology, and political party were bound together. The Tories, the political opposition, consequently formulated their arguments in a decidedly anti-capitalist *langue*, which led to a renaissance of the *langue* of republicanism. This revival of the republican ideal made it possible for representatives of the 'commercial society' to be accused of 'corruption' and for the ideal of the patriotic citizen to be raised against them (Pocock, 1979, p. 148). The accusation of corruption was based on the reasoning that people whose lives are so utterly shaped by trade and commerce could make no contribution to the common good. The 'commercial men' were specialists dedicated to the production and trade of specific goods, who paid other specialists, that is, politicians and soldiers (mercenaries), to lead the country politically and militarily. From the view of republican ideology, 'commercial men' lacked rationality and efficiency, for they were subject to their passions: "For these the appropriate term in the republican lexicon was corruption" (Pocock, 1975, p. 464). Against this, the patriotic ideal was the fully moral person able and willing to fulfill public duties. This ideal is based not on owners of money and goods but on owners of land. This person is, in the term of Rousseau, a true *citoyen*, whereas the commercial man is a *bourgeois*, a 'nothing.'

Thus, the main argument against these developments was psychological. It built on the assumption that, as a rule, commerce, or trade, are coterminous with passion, passion being seen as the opposite of reason and politics, and the explanation for the corruption of the soul. Passionate people with social and/or political power were – in the eyes of critics – the exact opposite of the political ideal they shared, which was the autarkic citizen filled with the overarching and only legitimate passion, love for the fatherland. This ideal citizen is oriented toward the common good. He is quite unlike the entrepreneur that is always worried about stock markets or the destiny of trading ships holding expensive goods. Such an individual is only consumed with passionate concern for his own fortune. Obviously, the ideological conflict between reason and passion was not only a political one but also a clearly gender-biased one, for the ideal of the republican citizen had an unmistakable masculine connotation. In the dominant languages of the seventeenth century, economy and passion were feminine attributes, being connected with desires, fantasies, and hysteria. Both Luxuria as the Greek Goddess of indulgence and Fortuna as the moody Roman Goddess of fate were connected (in the discourse of the time) with the results of capitalist economy. They provided a challenge to the male-godlike *logos* and thus were set in opposition to the masculine *virtú* of the (male) citizen. Feminine attributes on the social or political level connoted either apocalypse, or, at the very least war. Consequently, the only solutions that seemed possible would have to emerge within an anti-commercial ideological setting, that is, in an agrarian economy. This attitude was not only held in England but was a feature of the discussions over republicanism taking place across Europe. Such an attitude even influenced Thomas Jefferson: "I repeat it again, cultivators of the earth are the most virtuous and independent citizens (. . .) But the actual habits of our countrymen attach them to commerce. They will exercise it for themselves. Wars then must sometimes be our lot; . . ." (Jefferson, 1785/87/1984, p. 301).

The notion is that landowners are far less concerned with income than people who invest their money in the stock markets and thus become nervous and passionate regarding their own interests. By contrast, land owners are in a political position to put themselves fully in the service of the common good: "The landed man, successor to the master of the classical *oikos*, was permitted the leisure and autonomy to consider what was to others' good as well as his own; but the individual engaged in exchange could discern only particular values – that of commodity which was his, that of the commodity for which he exchanged it" (Pocock, 1975, p. 464).

3.3 Botanizing Women and Adjusting the Vocabulary: The British Example

The ideological tension between the real material process of the 'capitalization of society' and the growing discursive critique of the consequences of this development brought about a need to modify the dominant political language: money had to be made more 'socially acceptable'. As Pocock notes (1980), the problem behind this need was that although the commercial society came to reign, it never succeeded in developing a concept of a person that was as attractive as the image of the patriot whose central passion was the common good. In relation to this background, from 1700 on, 'patriot' and 'investor' stood in dialectical ideological opposition to one another: "The social thought of the eighteenth century has begun to look like a single gigantic *querelle* between the individual as Roman patriot, self-defined in his sphere of civic action, and the individual in the society of private investors and professional rulers, progressive in the march of history, yet hesitant between action, philosophy, and passion" (Pocock, 1980, p. 349).

In other words, the dominant mode of economy did not have a dominant language at its side but rather a critical one. This obvious tension caused the need to change the traditional political *langue* and its vocabulary. It had to give way to a language in which money, capital, and capitalism could not be stigmatized any more – and where passions no longer played any crucial role. Two different strategies can be distinguished: One was to domesticate the female nature, so that economy in the eighteenth century could become a masculine affair, and the other was to replace the notion of passion with the notion of interest, so that the emotions of trading men were ideologically more acceptable.

At the core of the first strategy, we find botanical texts that were unequivocally addressed to the female sex (George, 2006). The language of these botanical texts, focused on "reproduction and sexuality, experience and science, classification and order, introspective solitude and public debate" (p. 3), and served to define the intellectual, moral, and social status of women (p. 3). The pioneer of this discourse (based on a new system of hierarchy of orders and classes in botany) was the Swedish scientist Carl Linnaeus or Carl von Linne (1707–1778). Linnaeus was interpreted by and used by authors who derived social implications from his ideas and encouraged women to engage in botany "as an antidote to feminine faults"

(p. 6). Following Linnaeus' logic of order, some of the treatises written by these authors focused on botany as a specific curricular subject for young women, "who were imagined to lack discipline" (p. 6), so that they would "engage with order and regularity" (p. 6). The most famous of these authors was – again – Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who wrote *Lettres elementaires sur la botanique*[3] in 1771–1773. The *Lettres* were translated into German in 1781 (*J.J. Rousseau's Botanik für Frauenzimmer in Briefen an die Frau von XXXXL****) and in 1785 an English translation by Thomas Martyn, Professor of Botany in Cambridge, was published (*Letters on the Elements of Botany Addressed to a Lady*) (p. 6). In the letters Rousseau makes it clear that a young woman should be engaged with nature in general and, in particular, with plants, because this will "suppress the taste of vicious pleasures, preempt the break-out of passions and give the soul useful food by fulfilling it with the most dignified objects of her examinations" (Rousseau, 1781, p. 2 [freely translated from the German translation here]). In addition to this botanical/pedagogical domestication of the female passions, a set of reading lists containing books for women emerged. The books on these lists (*woman's libraries*) would then allow women to participate in the male world of reason (at least to a certain degree).

In regard to the second strategy, Felix Raab's (1964) is worthy of mention. Raab demonstrated how the concept of 'interest' changed over the last decade of the seventeenth century and gradually became the substitute for 'passion.' In the sixteenth and for most of the seventeenth century, the concept of 'interest' had political connotations; it encompassed a notion of the prince's acquired knowledge, which served to maintain or expand his power. However, shortly before 1700 the emphasis changed and took on a primarily economic resonance (Raab, 1964, p. 237). Albert O. Hirschman (1977), in his famous study, *The Passions and the Interests*, showed that this transformation did not come about by chance, but occurred in order to depict the feared consequences of commercialization, which were seen in the raging passions. In the classical dual between reason and passion, 'interest' could take an intermediate position, because it was understood to be free of the destruction that characterized the passions but also free of the ineffectiveness of reason (Hirschman, 1977, p. 42). Upon this background it is not surprising that 'interest' became dominant in British and to a lesser degree in the French philosophy of the eighteenth century as a crucial notion within social theory (Locke, Hutcheson, Hume, Smith, Bentham, Hélvétius, Holbach, Condorcet).

3.4 The Conflict Between the Rise of Commerce and the Renaissance of Republicanism Around 1750

The very same ideological conflict that occurred in England around 1700 re-emerged around 1750 in Switzerland – at about the same time that the notion of 'interest' had successfully supplanted the notion of 'passion' and the question of luxury had moved from a moral category to a morally neutral economic issue (Berry, 1994). However, the contextual conditions in Switzerland were not the same as they had

been in England, which is why eventually another solution to the conflict was found. The accepted solution in England and France for tempering the passions, which was only applied to women, was seen (by the Swiss) to be relevant to men also. However, botany was not, in this case, seen as a mediating device. The differences between the contextual conditions in Great Britain and Switzerland were not grave but crucial enough to lead to another solution. Like the Scots, the Swiss were (dominantly) Reformed Protestants, but they were fundamentally embedded in a republican tradition. This did not apply to the Scots. And compared to England, in Switzerland both the republican tradition and Reformed Protestantism were much more broadly established and were not simply limited to dissenters and outsiders. This was partly due to the fact that many of the exponents of Protestant republicanism had left England for the New World by 1700 (Woods, 1969; Pocock, 1975).

In other words, when the ideological *querelle* that dominated the discussions in the eighteenth century 'entered' Switzerland, it met two preconditions that put this *querelle* into a distinct mode. This twist allowed the educational idea to become the rescuer with regard to the fundamental societal problems that were ideologically connected with economic developments. This idea became the pivotal means to allow for and secure progress without giving up on political ideals. So we have two preconditions: First, the *querelle* between commerce and free republic had to be viewed as a crisis in the *langue* of traditional republicanism; second, the understanding of the human soul in Reformed Protestantism (more precisely the Protestant unification of Calvinism and Zwinglianism of 1710, called *Formula Consensus*) was able to suggest a way out of the crisis.[4] At the center stood Zurich, and later also Basel; both were Protestant commercial republics.

Thus, once again, there was an originating process that we might call the 'commercialization of society,' and once again, there was a reaction that led to a renaissance of the republican language. The preconditions were steady population growth and continuous development of 'industry' (mainly, spinning and weaving) and trade in Zurich. This development, which had been spared any larger crises, alongside a system of duties and taxes, resulted in the relatively great wealth of Zurich around 1750. In contrast to the monarchies in other countries, which in the eighteenth century staged elaborate lifestyles and had a huge need for finances (this was partly due to the fact that they needed to finance their standing armies), the problem for Zurich was not the procurement of finances but investment. This can be shown by the rate of interest, which had been set at 5% since the Reformation but fell to 3% in the eighteenth century. Seeking better investment vehicles for the accumulated monies, Zurich began to consider exporting capital, for there were plenty of interested parties. To this purpose, in 1754 the government of Zurich established a committee to oversee return on investments. This interest rate committee first invested monies from the various city funds in what were called the 'Town Hall Bonds' at 3–3.5%; from 1755 on private monies were also invested. With the goal to bring in higher returns, the monies were invested in loans to foreign powers but also in loans to trading companies and plantations in Middle and South America (Peyer, 1968, p. 140). Soon six private banks came into being that operated according to the same model.

What was decisively new about these allocations of monies was that business was conducted with more or less any interested party, regardless of that party's political allegiances. That meant that the credit system that had been previously bound to personal contacts was superseded by (impersonal) loans. Prior to 1750, the allocation of credit had concentrated mainly on interested parties of the same political or religious persuasion (Peyer, 1968, p. 124). While a few loans had been made to large cities, Zurich had been restrained in the case of France, which favored the Catholic parts of Switzerland (p. 130). In contrast to this credit system, the impersonal system of loans came to be dominant after 1755. The countries that profited most from this were those toward which Zurich, for political reasons, had been very cautious (Fritzsche, 1983):

> Mediation by the banks not only made the loan business easier but also impersonal; the impersonal investments, loans and bonds of private societies were politically neutral–they could be sold also prior to the end of the stipulated period. Because of division into shares, risk was spread more broadly. With the credit market becoming independent, the Zurich government was able, via the interest rate committee, to invest in the English, French, Austrian, Saxon, and Danish national debt. (p. 42; freely translated here)

For this reason, the conditions in Zurich around 1750 were not identical to those in England around 1700. However, both experienced comparable commercialization. The Bank of England was established in England because the state needed monies; the interest rate committee was founded in Zurich because Zurich possessed surplus capital. In both cases, a commercial society developed in which political relations were not marked by moral or religious concerns but were instead shaped by the forms of trading. Investments were made not on the basis of political or religious preference but instead in accordance with the impersonal laws of the market. As a consequence of this background Zurich saw a renaissance of the language of republicanism. One of the most important exponents of Zurich republicanism was Johann Jacob Bodmer (1698–1783), professor of history at the Zurich Academy.

3.5 Educationalization of the Modern World: The Swiss Protestant Promise

In the wake of these developments, Zurich's city parliament began discussing new sumptuary laws in 1755. Johann Jakob Bodmer (1755), who was a member of the parliament, comments in a letter to a friend:

> It is believed that luxury is a consequence of the industry, of abundance, of commerce, and that these areas would suffer if the law restricted the enjoyment of their fruits. But on the other hand, it is believed that luxury creates a strong break in the spirit of equality and mitigation that is so important in a popular or semi-popular state. But a soul depraved by luxury has many other desires and soon becomes an enemy to the laws that confine it. (Freely translated here)

It is interesting to note that Bodmer's words here are almost identical to the words of Montesquieu in *The Spirit of the Laws* written in 1748 (Montesquieu, 1951,

Book VII/2). We can therefore clearly see that Bodmer 'speaks' the republican language using Montesquieu's words or *paroles*. This language enabled recognition and articulation of a problem, namely, the capitalization of society, interpreted as a cultural crisis. In this way, this language is transnational and to a certain extent trans-denominational; Montesquieu was Catholic and Bodmer a Reformed Protestant. But, precisely *because* of this, it is easy for Bodmer to formulate the problem in educational terms. Bodmer's (1755) letter continues:

> Only a small number of them seriously seek new sumptuary laws. Vanity is the shared characteristic of both the noble and the common. You would not believe how absurd the pomp of clothing, furniture, food, and beverages has become. Who will control those who are assigned to control the people? There is no way to correct corrupted customs in one go. How can fathers that lack sentiments implant sentiments in their children? What kind of an education can a father provide them if he himself needs education? (freely translated here)

The problem is, again, the passions. Here is Bodmer (1755), once again applying the language of Montesquieu: "Une ame corrompue par le luxe a bien d'autres desires que l'amour de la patrie" [A soul corrupted by luxury has other desires than the love of fatherland]. Obviously the problem became 'educationalized' by transposing it to the father–son relationship. The question that arose from all this concerned the concept of education that could be utilized to deal with this 'educationalized' republican perception of crisis. Some radical approaches – like that of Rousseau and approaches inspired by Rousseau – foresaw the primate of the agrarian economy and education in the countryside, which was rather unrealistic in the face of Zurich's commercial economy, despite the fact that Pestalozzi followed precisely this plan and failed in several respects (Tröhler, 2006b). For this reason, the concept that became successful was one that aimed at mediating between commerce and republic. This mediation was thought of as the task of education, which was essentially shaped by the Protestant psychology or the Protestant view of the soul.

One of the influential authors was Johann Kaspar Hirzel (1725–1803),[5] physician to the city of Zurich, whose work, *Der philosophische Kaufmann* [The Philosophical Merchant], was published in 1775. In this work, Hirzel first seeks to demonstrate, in contrast to the republican accusations, that one's profession per se does not impair the person. Hirzel emphasizes explicitly that "in the profession of the merchant the moral virtues and correct taste for the good and beautiful can be present as much as in any other profession" (Hirzel, 1775, p. 53). In other words, contrary to the diverse ideological accusations, merchants are not more strongly subject to the passions than people in other walks of life. This comment is equivalent to a morally neutral stance toward the professions. Hirzel, however, does not formulate it in order to rationalize a liberal-capitalist state but rather a republic with the ideal of the virtuous citizen. This is thus Hirzel's attempt to resolve the *querelle*.

It is characteristic that Hirzel's *Der philosophische Kaufmann* does not, in fact, describe the practice of a 'philosophical merchant' but instead lays out educational maxims for the prospective merchant. The work is thus an educational work, even if this is not apparent in the title. The book culminates in the conclusion that a person aspiring to be a 'philosophical' (meaning moral) merchant must be educated in the virtues at an early stage in life. This education should take place alongside actual

training for the professions in bookkeeping, correspondence, and foreign languages. It targets the 'soul,' which is to be educated to be virtuous (Hirzel, 1775, p. 84). The means of doing so – and this is where Protestant psychology finds expression – is self-examination. The philosophical merchant-to-be should be taught, from the earliest days of youth onwards, to subject his inner self to permanent self-examination and to justify his motives (p. 119). The soul that emerges from this, tested and justified, is the guarantor of a virtuous commercial republic.

Here we see how the first and second discursive patterns that Wolfowitz (2006) uses in his *Foreword* are linked to each other, and it is only in Protestant psychology that the second pattern can appear as heir to the first. What in the first pattern was the (religiously interpreted) intelligible eternal world is now the individual human soul, which according to Protestant theology, is the single 'place' on earth where God and individual can merge together under the circumstance of deep faith and reading of the Holy Bible. The faithful soul, in this view, is 'above' the earth, disconnected from social, economic, or political questions – not even to the Holy Church, for in Protestantism there is no Holy Church any longer. By this means the Protestant soul becomes the key to the solution of earthly problems. In other words, it becomes the key to a secure future without having to debate over whether or not commerce corrupts the soul. The corruption of the soul is neither a question of wealth nor professional identity, and this is why Swiss Protestantism could now accept the rise and dominance of commerce and not give up the ideals of Republicanism. The corruption of the soul was now a question of individual inward-looking faith. This Protestant faith was solitary, and no sacred ritual, smells, bells, or costumes could help the man exposed to the world of passion caused by commerce. The crucial issue was that this man would not be strong enough to be faithful. The solution is then evident: Education has to lead the soul to strength and faithfulness by following an inward-looking trajectory. The traditional military *virtù* had become an inner virtue, which would help citizens to secure the freedom of the republic.

Hirzel's concept was not unique but instead represented the opinion of the elite in Zurich, who wanted to profess their faith in the principle of the republic and of commerce. This is shown by a most explosive case of censorship that occurred in the face of the translation into German of Gabriel Bonnot de Mably's (1763) *Entretiens de Phocion.* Mably's work is an anti-capitalist tract of classic republicanism, a plea for an agrarian republic (it was also published as *Phocion's Conversations: Or, the Relation between Morality and Politics* in London in 1769). The translator of the work into German, Hans Conrad Vögelin, came into conflict with the censor because of the passage in which Phocion, in accordance with agrarian republicanism and the ideal of the *landed man*, espouses the opinion that tradesmen should not be allowed to participate in government. It would take a miracle to "turn them into just, clever, and courageous people," for which reason it would not be wise to allow them to participate in government (Mably, 1764, p. 109). The censor objected to this passage, as Vögelin recounted in a letter, because it was "directly opposed to" the economic structures and would therefore cause "civil commotion" (Vögelin, cited in Zehnder-Stadlin, 1875, p. 664). For this reason, Vögelin added a note to the German translation, stating that the corruption of tradesmen noted by Phocion did not lie in

the trades per se. There was no reason why a tradesman could not be virtuous: "Why shouldn't they be industrious and moderate, why shouldn't they be able to have a desire for fame and religion?" And opposing the opinion that agriculture was a considerably more favorable basis for a republic than the trades, Vögelin wrote further: "What then is especially virtuous about the plow, more so than the hammer?" Vögelin's conclusion regarding Phocion's criticism of tradesmen is as follows: "The nobility are good, tradesmen are good, commerce is also good, as long as it can be correctly modified" (Vögelin, cited in Mably, 1764, p. 111).

This modification, the education of the soul to (public) virtue, here becomes an attractive solution to this fundamental conflict between modern economy and classical republicanism. Such adherence to 'modification' is shown also in the book *Schreiben eines Vaters an seinen Sohn, der sich der Handelschaft widmet* [*Letter of a Father to His Son Who is Devoted to Trade*] (Iselin, 1781), written by Isaak Iselin (1728–1782), council secretary of Basel. Whereas the book depicts farming the land as an especially noble occupation, following closely in second place, we find the occupation of merchant. However, Iselin warns his son against choosing that occupation simply in order to enjoy privately the "pleasures and delicacies" that "the stupid mortal buys with money, often to his doom." Iselin therefore goes on to advise his son to apply the "eight principles" that underlie any occupation including the occupation of merchant (p. 392). To ensure that his son submit to these good intentions (p. 420), Iselin, in a supplement at the end of the book, draws up a procedure designed to serve "Preparation in the Morning. Examination in the Evening." Following this procedure, his son should start the day by recalling his duties to God and humanity. Here, he should apply *reason*. Only insights into good and evil should adorn his soul. He should treat the poor well, fight against depravity, and refrain from pride and malice. He is to treat women 'respectfully' and not bother them with 'criminal passions'; hard work, restraint, gentleness and fairness should be the central virtues. Along with hedonism and flattery, vanity and garrulousness are to be avoided (p. 423). Then, as the day draws to a close, his son should ask himself the following questions: "From what fault have you freed yourself today? What evil have you conquered? To what extent have you improved your soul?" (p. 425).

Educating the young toward self-examination thus appeared as a key to resolution of the conflict between republican politics and the modern economy, as guarantor of an ordered modernity that does not fall prey to the passions but instead will ensure justice and progress. In Switzerland, the notion of 'interest' was not able to replace the 'passions' – it ('interest') hardly appears even in the moderate reform discussion. Even the most moderate exponent of Swiss republicanism, Iselin (1764), in a speech criticizing the radical republicanism of Bodmer's school, accepted passion as artifact. By distinguishing patriotism from radical patriotism, Iselin's definition of 'enlightened patriotism' is based on rational considerations, and the true patriot is neither proud nor disheartened; he is steadfast. According to Iselin (1764), if the patriot 'believed' his efforts to be fruitless, he would resign, but he 'knows' the 'eternal truths of virtue,' he 'knows' that good deeds are immortal. The patriot also knows himself as 'tool of felicity,' and he holds strong against the 'passions' – "nothing is able to keep him from doing things he knows are truly

good" (p. 147; freely translated here). A free man, a citizen (a man living in a free republic), first has to be free from the passions, for the passions turn every man into a slave (Münch, 1783, p. 25) – slave being the fundamental opposite of the citizen or *citoyen*. This is exactly the point Rousseau made in Book V of *Emile*, where he discusses political issues and ideals of citizenship and fatherland as if he had never (in Book I of *Emile*) announced that these two words should be deleted from the modern vocabulary: "Freedom is found in no form of government; it is in the heart of the free man. He takes it with him everywhere. The vile man takes his servitude everywhere. The latter would be a slave in Geneva, the former a free man in Paris" (Rousseau, 1762/1979, p. 473).

In the age of commercialism the core element of the free state, of the republic, is not (is no longer) the Machiavellian *virtù*, but the educated, strong inner (Protestant) soul. It guarantees that the motor of progress, economic development, will not corrupt the (free) soul of the citizen, for this soul has been made strong by means of education toward self-examination. The ideal of the virtuous citizen was seen to be able to resist the threats of commerce without rejecting modern economy as part of modern social life. Economic development and political justice are able to harmonize and to succeed by means of education that focuses primarily on the soul and prevents its corruption.

3.6 Outlook: Education, Schooling, and Progress

If I am not mistaken, it was this idea that became attractive in the Western world in the most diverse contexts, and it is still the basis of our thinking on education and schooling today, finding expression in texts like Paul Wolfowitz's (2006). The history of this idea has not been written yet, although some attempts have been made to do this within what is called neo-institutional sociology by John Meyer and his circle. They argue that the idea originated in the nation states of the nineteenth century (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Meyer & Ramirez, 2000). The history yet to be written would make clear why it is that public attributions to education still have a strongly religious, that is, Protestant character, even today. Such attributions are steeped in the language of earthly redemption.

Writing this history, two problems have to be dealt with. First, it is necessary to reconstruct the way in which this deeply Protestant, future-oriented view of solving social problems became attractive to denominations and religions other than Reformed Protestant and to forms of government that did not embrace republicanism. It is more than obvious that this idea fascinated the public, so that education became one of the central themes in many countries on both sides of the Atlantic in the decades around and after 1800. Cult figures like Pestalozzi knew (by making use of the booming media market) how to go about promising that by means of the 'right' educational methods, lasting solutions to the problems of society would be achieved. Second, it is necessary to explain how this clearly private (or family) setting of education toward self-examination was transfused after 1800 into the modern organization of schooling. Except for the fact that the school could discipline young

people and therefore control their behavior, it is not obvious how the curricular structure of the organized mass schools could 'reach' the soul in order to strengthen it against the passions. The result was a parallel transnational phenomenon of the developing of mass school systems in the Western world during the long nineteenth century (Tröhler, Popkewitz, & Labaree, in press) with apparently such good results that in the last couple of decades there have been attempts to implement the promises of education in non-Christian nations as well. Upon this background, the World Bank, Wolfowitz, and others are only representatives of this Reformed Protestant promise of earthly salvation that in the long term seems to have been (due to its decisive contribution to the 'educational turn' in relation to societal problems of the eighteenth century) more successful than any other ideology of the last 500 years.

Notes

1. One might argue that, for instance, Plato's conception of education in his *Politeia* is directed toward justice as a core factor of society. This is certainly true, but the difference between Plato's conception and the one described here is that Plato by no means wants to solve a social problem (injustice, in his case) *progressively*. Compared to Plato's philosophy the pattern described here asks how can we accept the multiple factors of social development (as, for instance, the economy) and still secure the good life by specific means that foreclose possible dangers arising from this development. Against this background, the Jesuit's educational reaction toward the Reformation, for instance, is not similar to the pattern discussed here.
2. As we know from landmark studies, such as the study by Jacques Le Goff (*Marchands et banquiers au Moyen Age*, 1956; *La bourse et la vie*, 1986), capitalism, as a specific economic mode, is not the child of the eighteenth century. But it is no coincidence that the advent of the notion of "capitalism" is in the second half of the eighteenth century (in French and English) or even nineteenth century (in German), as it indicates that this mode of economy has become in some way conspicuous and for some people a specific ideological problem. Max Weber (1904/05) dates the crucial progression of the older capitalism to a dominant social phenomenon with the activities of the English dissenters in the second half of the seventeenth century. This corresponds with the analysis found here.
3. These letters were addressed to Madelaine Catherine Delessert (*1747), respectively, to her daughter Marguerite-Madelaine (*1767). They were published in 1781 in the *Collections Complètes des******* Œuvres de J.J. Rousseau*, which was the basis of the German and English translations (George, 2006).
4. The Lutheran conception differed from this, first because Lutheranism was never compatible with Republicanism and thus the *querelle* in Germany was essentially different (and hardly recognizable as a *querelle*), and second because the concept of the soul was different. The concept was then (and is up until today) inseparable from the notion of *Bildung* (Horlacher, 2004; Tröhler, 2003).
5. In 1761, Hirzel became renowned throughout Europe with his work, *Die Wirthschaft eines philosophischen Bauers.* In this work he applauded hard work, thriftiness, common sense, and obedience arguing that these were the fundamental virtues of the 'wise' farmer. The work appeared as early as 1762 in French translation, under the title *Le Socrate rustique, ou description de la conduite économique et morale d'un paysan philosophe*, translated by Jean Rodolphe Frey, who was from Basel and was an officer in the French Services. The Frey translation was translated into English by Arthur Young and published in London in 1770 in an anthology under the title *Rural Oeconomy.* These translations appeared in several editions; an American edition was published in 1800. Thomas Jefferson recommended this book in 1820 as a title

that should belong in an agricultural library. (I thank Ellen Russon for this instructive hint, see http://www.lib.umd.edu/RARE/MarylandCollection/Riversdale/biblios/jefferson.html.)

An undated, probably earlier edition was published in Italian translation in Florence under the title *L'economia d'un contadino filosofo*.

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Chapter 4
Educationalising Trends in Societies of Control: Assessments, Problem-Based Learning and Empowerment

Lynn Fendler

In order to provide some parameters by which I might identify characteristics of educationalisation, I have found it helpful to draw on Mary Furner's (1975) history of the American Social Science Association and James Kaminsky's (1993) history of educational philosophy. Furner argues compellingly that the mission of the early American Social Science Association was one of reform. Her book is aptly titled *Advocacy and Objectivity*, and she writes:

> Though ASSA [American Social Science Association] reached in many directions, two definite impulses were always present: the urge to reform and the quest for knowledge. At the beginning, reform was the dominant theme.
>
> (Furner, 1975, p. 11)

In this characterisation of social science the inextricable relationship between research and practice is already apparent.

In its early days (ca. 1865), the ASSA positioned itself to guide legislators in their design of scientifically valid social policy. Furner emphasises that the ASSA approach to government was new and different:

> Through the ages political thinkers had relied on a priori theories, using moral rather than empirical justifications for the measures they wrote into law. No one had advocated scientific methods for the improvement of government.
>
> (Furner, 1975, p. 26)

I find that Furner's history illuminates aspects of educationalisation by explicating some historical relations between the search for knowledge and the urge to reform society. The history of the ASSA sets the stage for general expectations that educational research will contribute to the solution of social problems.

Similarly, Kaminsky's (1993) history of educational philosophy ties the history of the social sciences together with educational projects: " 'Social science' and 'education' were related concepts in mid-nineteenth century Europe and America. They had a common ancestry in social and moral philosophy" (Kaminsky, 1993, p. 8).

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Drawing favourably on Furner's work, Kaminsky makes the point that the ASSA, with its twin agendas of research and reform, puts its institutional faith in education as the means by which society might be improved:

> The American Social Science Association articulated the questions of moral philosophy to social reform, social practices, and institutions of everyday life... The association's original goal, the generation of social facts, represented a not inconsiderable faith in the power of ideas. This naïve faith in ideas was a conceit of influential members of America's middle class that led to the belief that information would somehow conjure away poverty and its ancillary evils, or failing that, legislate them away.
>
> (Kaminsky, 1993, p. 8)

Furner's and Kaminsky's historical insights help me to understand the ways in which educationalisation interweaves knowledge and activism. From that starting point, I have begun to recognise the following characteristics of educationalisation in current times:

- Rationalisation that is pervasive and fine grained
- Governance modes that resemble *societies of control* (Deleuze)
  - Monitoring that is more frequent and faster paced
  - Accountability to more and different bosses
  - Foreclosure of the possibility of completion
- Seeing the world in terms of problems to be solved
- Norm-referenced evaluations

As a way of trying to understand current technologies of the interweaving of knowledge and reform, I look at each of these characteristics in turn.

It is not my intention to claim that educationalisation is a bad thing, a good thing or a dangerous thing. I am more interested in thinking about how educationalisation works these days in research and practice—the technologies of educationalisation. I would like to explore the distinguishing characteristics of current educationalisation technologies, with particular reference to how such technologies are different from previous eras. The purpose of this historical comparison is not to make claims about historiographical continuity, discontinuity or exceptionalism, but rather to more acutely discern the effects of educationalising technologies on the power relations I engage in.

4.1 Rationalisation

The progressive rationalisation of social processes over the past 100 years has already been well documented in educational research. Drawing from parallel analyses in history, sociology and political science, educational researchers have studied how education in general, and teaching in particular, have become understood more and more in terms of atomistic components, fixed knowledge concepts and law-like principles. Popkewitz (1994), for example, wrote, "A widespread rationalisation of

school processes occurred not through direct state intervention but, rather, through epistemologies associated with local school administration" (p. 267). Similarly, emphasising the classical opposition between rationalisation and bureaucratisation, Labaree (1992) wrote:

> while opposing bureaucratization, the [teacher professionalization] movement promises to enhance the rationalization of classroom instruction. The difference is that bureaucratisation focuses on organization in the narrow sense of the word, locating power in a hierarchy of offices and thus effecting outcomes by command from supervisor to subordinate; whereas rationalization focuses on organization in the broader sense—as process—embedding power in the principles of formal rationality that shape the discourse and procedures by which people guide their actions.
>
> (Labaree, 1992, p. 147)

Rationalisation has been recognised as a component of modernisation, and in that way, educational systems and educational research contribute to and are influenced by rationalising processes.

We can see in more recent standards-based reforms that rationalisation impulses have become even more intensive and more pervasive. In 1988, it was reasonable for Abbott (1988) to assert that there were professional fields in which knowledge remained outside the realm of rationalisation. Abbott wrote, "some professions work with knowledge that is highly rationalisable, as does engineering, while others, like psycho-therapy, do not" (Abbott, 1988, p. 178). However, professional domains that had previously been exempt from thoroughgoing rationalisation have recently been permeated and shaped by the intensification of rationalisation in nearly all areas of life including most forms of psychotherapy. The intensification of rationalisation also appears in the form of increased attention to detail; it might even be called micromanaging. These days we see step-by-step guidebooks for creativity and brainstorming.[1]

4.2 Societies of Control

Rather than argue about educationalisation in traditionally structural terms of autonomy and subordination, Gilles Deleuze (1992) outlines a mode of governance that he calls 'societies of control'. Deleuze's approach does not assume an institutional separation between those who govern and those who are governed. Rather, Deleuze examines relations of power in which governance can be exercised in many forms by different people and various mechanisms. The major purpose of his analysis is to draw a provocative distinction between 'societies of control' and 'societies of discipline'.[2] I find Deleuze's theory generative as a means to understand mechanisms of educationalisation in which the relations of power do not conform to traditional patterns of domination, subordination and socialisation. Furthermore, Deleuze's theory affords some critical leverage for exploring ways in which educationalisation is conducted in ways that are more or less explicitly defined.

Among other things, when he characterises current conditions of governance, Deleuze sounds a death knell for traditional modern institutions of social organisation:

> The administrations in charge never cease announcing supposedly necessary reforms: to reform schools, to reform industries, hospitals, the armed forces, prisons. But everyone knows that these institutions are finished, whatever the length of their expiration periods. It's only a matter of administering their last rites and of keeping people employed until the installation of the new forces knocking at the door. These are the societies of control, which are in the process of replacing the disciplinary societies.
>
> (Deleuze, 1992, p. 4, emphasis in original)

Here Deleuze suggests that new or emerging patterns of power relations are sufficiently distinct from the relations of modernity that a society of discipline no longer pertains to all aspects of society, and that the emerging power relations constitute societies of control. I have taken Deleuze's analysis and used it to illuminate some of the current temporal features of educationalisation. I understand Deleuze's control society as different from a disciplinary society in three respects. To summarise briefly:

- Both discipline and control societies are characterised by the self-monitoring gaze, but in a control society the monitoring is conducted at a higher frequency than it is in a disciplinary society. This appears as an unrelenting series of assessments as an approach to solving problems.
- Regulations and standards in a disciplinary society tend to be fairly centralised and relatively stable; however, standards in a control society are more heterogeneous and quickly changing. This appears as diversified accountability measures by which a wide array of different standards may be applied simultaneously to evaluate practices and performances.
- A disciplinary society afforded the promise of closure or completion of a project; however, a control society offers no possibility of closure or completion. We can see this mode most clearly in the pervasive and enduring support for lifelong learning.

High-frequency assessments: Assessment is an educational practice, and the proliferation of assessments is an indication of educationalising trends. The first salient aspect of the disciplinary society that is different in the control society is in the frequency and pace at which assessments are administered. In a disciplinary society, the outcome or product may be evaluated only once, perhaps by a final exam or quality control unit at the end or completion of a session. Similarly, in a disciplinary society, at the end of the term or factory-assembly line, students or products are inspected, tested and evaluated. Within the educational domain, the intensification of assessment mechanisms is evident in patterns of teacher certification. Previous practice was that teachers were certified once and for all. However, current certification requires 'Continuing Educational Credits', re-training or refresher courses

to maintain certification, and the proliferation of assessment instruments that provide institutions and social agencies with minute-by-minute data updates on teacher effectiveness.

High-frequency assessment practices also shape educational research. For example, I was recently required to update my certification to conduct research involving human subjects. My university Institutional Review Board (IRB) has out-sourced this training to a professional body called CITI (Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative: http://www.citiprogram.org/) that provides online training modules complete with graphics and quizzes. CITI reports to my university when I have passed the tests for conducting research. Our IRB will not approve any research protocol unless the investigators have completed the training and refresher courses. According to this relatively recent policy implementation, I must refresh my research certification every year. According to the directions on the research-training module, the training session is supposed to take 2 h. There are several different training units from which I was required to choose five, such as Using Historical Documents, Doing Research in Schools and Using Double-Blind Trials for Drug Testing. Most of the questions in the quiz directly following the modules are answered directly within the training module text.

In these training modules for research ethics, we can see evidence of high-frequency assessments as a particular technology of educationalisation. Embedded in this training exercise is the assumption that a track record of research experience is not a satisfactory indicator of the ability to conduct ethical research. In other words, even if a researcher has an impeccable record of ethical conduct in research after 10 or 20 years, that record will not serve to certify that researcher as qualified in the eyes of the IRB. A career record of exemplary scholarly conduct is not acceptable as an indicator of the capacity to do ethical research. Rather, yearly participation in these 2-h training modules—however perfunctory—is the only recognised indicator of the qualification to conduct ethical research. In this research-training module, the implication is that if I take 2 h every year to read brief online training documents and pass the corresponding quizzes, then I can be regarded officially as an ethical researcher.[3] Most interesting, perhaps is that the very last required section of the training module is an evaluation of the training module itself. Of course, post-event evaluations are not new. However, they have recently become ubiquitous; evaluation forms are obligatory for almost any institutional gathering these days. My university even administers evaluation forms for some ceremonies and celebratory events. Furthermore, the mechanism of educationalisation was explicitly associated with the development of an ethical disposition. The evaluation form included the question, “Because of this training module, I am now a more ethical researcher. Agree or disagree.”

There is an expectation that all sorts of life decisions will be made on the basis of assessment data including career choices, marriage choices, architectural designs and restaurant menus. In the United States, many prison walls are now painted pink as a result of assessments that indicate a decrease in violent behaviour in environments with pink walls. Business and marketing decisions are driven less by individual aspirations, visions, innovation and improvement; rather, the modern

approach to business is to base almost all decisions on assessment data about what will sell.[4] Assessments are used not only in educational and business sectors but also in religion. *CHAT* stands for Church Health Assessment Tool, "a convenient, affordable, user-friendly online survey that allows you to get an accurate measurement of your church's health in as little as 30 days."[5] In the United States, corporations that develop assessment instruments (e.g. Educational Testing Services and ACT) have grown to multi-billion dollar industries, and they have diversified the range of assessment instruments beyond the academy and the school. In 2002, ACT restructured itself into two divisions, "Education and Workforce Development."[6] The ETS homepage announces, "The Family: America's Smallest School." The increased reliance on assessment data in many social domains is one way educationalisation is operating now.

According to Deleuze, monitoring in a control society is more frequent than in a disciplinary society. A control society is characterised by continuous monitoring: "Indeed, just as the corporation replaces the factory, *perpetual training* tends to replace the school, and *continuous control* to replace the examination" (Deleuze, 1992, p. 5, first emphasis in original; second emphasis added). In schools, there is evidence of a shift from grading on the basis of a final exam to grading many more frequent tests throughout the semester. Smaller, weekly papers are replacing the 'one big' research paper required in previous decades. Interactive teaching as a pedagogical technique constitutes continuous monitoring; the discourse directs attention to each turn of dialogue—each 'interaction' in a way that is more frequent than previous lecture-based or discussion-based pedagogies. New teacher preparation standards include requirements for something called 'embedded assessments'. To embed assessments means to add an assessment dimension to all teaching activities: to keep track of participation in discussions, to check up on students' thinking in informal conversations and to include activities and assignments that reveal standards-based performances. Assessment instruments have twin purposes of producing knowledge and directing reform efforts; they are proliferating not only in educational sectors but also in workplaces, governments, churches and families.

In educational research, then, we see pressure for 'evidence-based' or 'data-driven' studies. For many types of educational research, evidence is defined as data from assessments. Insofar as educational research perpetuates reliance on assessment data—as the focus of analysis and as the genre of argument—the characteristic of educationalisation as faster-paced assessments gets reiterated and reinforced.

Accountability to more and different bosses: The second aspect of governance in a control society is in the heterogeneity of standards. Standards in a disciplinary society could be regarded as relatively centralised or coherent. In contrast, a control society is one in which "standards and demands can come from anywhere at any time, in any form" (Ball, 1999). For example, a school curriculum is no longer accountable only to state-of-the-art knowledge in the (university) disciplines; rather, accountability requirements have even gone far beyond school boards and

departments of education. More recently, school curricular decisions are now also accountable to local businesses, churches, parents' groups, social service providers, psychiatrists, and police forces. In order to manage a classroom, teachers must be familiar with a wide range of experts in order to make appropriate referrals for children to social services, parent representatives, community liaisons and legal services. Education is understood to serve a multicultural, multilingual and culturally fragmented constituency. In some places, school governance includes the participation of representatives from the McDonalds or Taco Bell franchises that operate in the school lunchrooms (Kaplan, 1996).

Hatch (1988) provides some specific examples of the heterogeneity of standards that is common across professional domains:

> In our own day, the ascendancy of the professions is accompanied by equally strident attack from at least four quarters: from consumer groups who complain of escalating professional fees and unequal distribution of professional service; from critics of professional schools who lament an exclusively utilitarian curriculum; from those who fault the strictly academic standards of access to the professions; and from those who find that professionalism serves to reinforce and extend the inequalities of American society.
>
> (Hatch, 1988, p. 5)

Accountability mechanisms are self-perpetuating. With several masters to please, dissatisfaction is inevitable. Dissatisfaction can then become a warrant for further reform. In order to carry out reform, usually more performance assessments are required. A program evaluation approach called '360-degree feedback' is becoming industry standard. Also called 'multi-rater feedback' or 'multisource assessment', 360-degree feedback means that everybody in an organisation evaluates everybody else: professors evaluate students, custodians evaluate professors and secretaries evaluate supervisors. Evaluation approaches such as 360-degree feedback are symptomatic of educationalising trends that generate and maintain accountability to heterogeneous standards.

In educational research, the proliferation of standards can be seen in the diversification of funding sources and in the diversification of readership circles. Traditionally, educational research has been funded by national endowments and state departments of education. However, more recently, the sources of research grants have shifted from government agencies to private foundations. With foundation funding, a much more diverse array of criteria have been put in place that include meeting the needs of various interest groups, addressing special needs requests and implementing particular commercial curricula or materials. In this way the standards and criteria for research funding have diversified and research accountability has shifted away from a monolithic standard and towards multiple and changing standards. Furthermore, in recent sets of university expectations, educational researchers are expected to publish research reports that are directed not only to an audience of academic peers but that are also readable by the local public, and of interest to readers all over the world. This expectation has established a different set of rhetorical demands on educational researchers. Evidence and arguments are

drawn eclectically from scholarly and popular literature in order to be able to speak effectively to a wide array of stakeholders at the same time.[7]

Never-ending improvement: According to Deleuze, the final contrast between the discipline society and the control society is in the (im)possibility for completion. In a disciplinary society, one could graduate or be finished with a course of education. However, in a control society, completion is not an option:

> In the disciplinary societies, one was always starting again. . ., while in the societies of control one is never finished with anything–the corporation, the educational system, the armed services being metastable states coexisting in one and the same modulation, like a universal system of deformation.
>
> (Deleuze, 1992, p. 5)

The notion of 'never finished' is inscribed in lifelong learning and continuing education programs that have been promoted as mechanisms for educationalisation. One never graduates; one never completes an education; one is continually in the process of educationalising.[8] Considerable literature has now been devoted to lifelong learning and lifelong education from the point of view of both advocacy and critique. The most recent (2001) *International Handbook of Lifelong Learning* contains 40 chapters, most of which regard lifelong learning as a good thing (although some chapters are quite critical of aspects of lifelong learning). In his introduction to the handbook, Peter Sheehan (2001) wrote:

> So important is the concept [of lifelong learning], it should be seen by all of us as representing a new philosophy of education and training, one that aims to facilitate a coherent set of links and pathways between work, school and education, and recognize the necessity for government to give incentives to industry and their employees so they can truly 'invest' in lifelong learning.
>
> (Sheehan, 2001, p. xi)

Like Sheehan, most authors represented in this handbook praise the fact that education is now coherently linked with work and government. It appears that advocates of lifelong learning seem to regard educationalisation as a desirable thing. Their aspirations reflect those of the early American Social Science Association, in which education and social improvement are mutually supportive.

We are all familiar with educationalising efforts that are extended through lifelong learning for people who are older and older. However, there are also extensions of current educationalising projects for people who are younger and younger. New standards of teacher preparation in the United States have begun to talk about a curriculum for children from 0 to 3 years. That is from 0 years old until 3 years old. In some places, teachers can be certified for the 0–3 age group.

Insofar as lifelong learning is regarded as a step towards social improvement, educational research can then assume that the problems of society are due to a deficiency of educational interventions. That allows research to focus on how to deliver more education more effectively, more efficiently and over a longer period of time.

4.3 Seeing the World in Terms of Problems to be Solved

In addition to Deleuze's modes of governance in a control society, another educationalising trend is a change in technologies by which knowledge gets generated, that is, a change in assumptions about what we ought to know. One of the trendiest approaches to pedagogy in the United States now is problem-based learning. This approach began in medical schools and is still used in the training of medical professionals in the United States. In its medical school origins, a PBL approach presents medical students with a case of a patient who has a set of symptoms. Medical students then draw on knowledge and do research in order to analyse the case and arrive at an accurate diagnosis and plan of action. Problem-based learning is now popular in disciplines other than medicine, and especially in science courses at secondary and college levels.

When science is taught according to an approach of problem-based learning, it tends to conflate science and engineering, intellectual and practical domains. We can see a similar trend in the growth of courses and departments of forensic biology, the application of biology to law enforcement. Educators often advocate problem-based learning because they see it as relevant to students' interests; PBL is seen as an appropriate and effective pedagogical approach because by contextualising knowledge in applied settings, students can appreciate the real-life value of scientific knowledge. PBL is supposed to increase students' motivation to learn. Furthermore, PBL is regarded as effective pedagogy insofar as the purpose of schooling is seen as preparation for the workforce.

Just as the American Social Science Association combined purposes of intellectual inquiry and social reform, a PBL approach to educational research combines intellectual pursuits together with applied solutions to everyday problems. The combination of intellectual and practical domains is characteristic of professionalisation trends. In this way, discourses of relevance, motivation and utility combine with science (a conflation of science and engineering) to render a particular professionalised worldview. As a result, it has begun to make sense to look at the world in terms of problems to be solved. When we see the world in terms of problems to be solved, then knowledge pursuit must be justified in terms of applicability and utility. Applications for grant funding increasingly require an answer to the question 'So what?' which means, 'What good will this do us?'

This current educationalising trend of investigating the world in terms of problems to be solved may appear to be an expression of utilitarianism. However, the current version of utilitarian thinking has diverged dramatically from that of John Stuart Mill. Mill, for example, supported Comte's distinction between the concrete and abstract sciences. For Mill scientific development meant a progression towards mathematics and away from social governance concerns. Mill explicitly argued against an approach of problem-based learning:

> How few ... of the discoveries which have changed the face of the world, either were or could have been arrived at by investigations aiming directly at the object! Would the mariner's compass ever have been found by direct efforts for the improvement of navigation? Should we have reached the electric telegraph by any amount of striving for a means

> of instantaneous communication, if Franklin had not identified electricity with lightning, and Ampère with magnetism?
>
> (Mill, 1865/2005, online version)

Problem-based learning, then, illustrates a particular way in which educationalisation works in research and schooling these days. Justified on the basis of its scientific relevance and professional utility, PBL represents a radical departure from earlier notions of science and utility. The PBL approach also circumscribes what counts as knowledge and reinforces the attitude that education ought to be about engineering: solving existing problems.

4.4 Norm-Referenced Evaluations

In this section I think about norm-referenced evaluations in educationalising trends as an indication of closed-loop thinking and built-in conservatism. Norm referencing has some relation to reproduction theories of schooling; however, reproduction theories have generally emphasised the reproduction of social hierarchies, and also the imposition of privileged-class values on society at large. Norm-referenced evaluation, in contrast, is more amorphous and hegemonic than unified and dominant. Norm referencing is a heterogeneous dynamic in which norms and standards can be generated and maintained by any minority or sub-group, and the shaping of norms can just as easily come from the 'bottom up' as from the 'top down'.

Until now, evaluation instruments have been classified as either criterion referenced or norm referenced. In this classification, a criterion-referenced score reflects the test taker's performance against a degree of mastery in a selected domain; a norm-referenced score reflects the test taker's performance against the performances of other test takers. This distinction may be taken to imply that criterion-referenced tests are not based on social norms. However, I think that norm referencing has prevailed, and recent evaluation procedures indicate an intensification of the technologies of norm-referenced testing. Even evaluation instruments that claim to be criterion referenced are now shaped by norm referencing in their processes of design and development. For example, for any evaluation instrument, particular test questions are derived not from canonical texts or authoritative principles but rather from popular surveys about what is important to know. Test items must be selected and edited to be in conformity with established norms of political correctness, inclusivity and religious proscriptions.[9] In yet another layer of norm referencing, test items are chosen through a process of test development in which results from pilot tests get compared to the results of previously established tests, and new test items are continually modified until the new test results correlate with the old test results. In that way, evaluation results may be reported in terms of criteria (i.e. on the basis of a percent of right and wrong answers), but the questions and the answers were designed to conform to and reinforce existing social norms. From a historical point of view, so-called criterion-referenced tests are also norm-referenced tests because

knowledge requirements (the criteria) have all been set by popular opinion and convention.

The intelligence quotient is an example of another kind of conflation of norm-referenced and criterion-referenced thinking. By definition, an IQ score of 100 is calibrated to represent the 50th percentile (norm referenced) of test takers, so for an IQ measurement, there is literally no distinction between a criterion-referenced and a norm-referenced score.

The norm-referencing aspect of educationalisation can also be seen in the growing popularity of focus groups as the means by which social entities gather information about what to do and how to think. Originally designed to tap into popular opinion about the reception of commercial products, focus groups have become increasingly popular and diversified in purpose. For example, the US federal government uses focus groups to guide decisions about substantive changes in programs and also to tailor public-relation campaigns.

4.5 Conclusion: Educationalisation Is More Powerful than Ever

From the early days of the American Social Science Association, education and social improvement have been conjoined. Cruikshank's (1999) work calls our attention to ways in which educationalising is a project of empowerment. In her book, Cruikshank analyses the ways empowerment works to produce citizens. If we take her analysis and substitute *educators* for *citizens*, then we can gain some critical purchase on the workings of empowerment in educationalisation:

> Like any discourse, the discourses of empowerment are learned, habitual, and material. . .. It is quite natural to seek the cause of political problems in order to prescribe a cure. It is my hope that readers. . .will find it harder to pin a political problem on the lack of *education.* I hope that in its stead we will interrogate what there is in the will to empower, the technologies of *educationalisation*, and arts of government by which the various kinds of *educationalisation* we have are constituted.
>
> (Cruikshank, 1999, p. 123; italicized words added in place of the original *citizen, citizenship*, and *citizens*.)

Cruikshank (1999) sees empowerment as yet another kind of discipline: "I link the operationalisation of social scientific knowledge to what Theresa Funiciello calls 'the professionalization of being human' or what Foucault called 'bio-power' " (Cruikshank, 1999, p. 20). From this point of view, the appeal of educationalising trends becomes apparent. Educationalising is desirable because it empowers people and solves problems.

Right-wing think-tank contributor Charles Murray agrees that educationalisation is a prominent trend. Murray's position on race and intelligence is famously objectionable;[10] however, his statement about educationalisation is some indication

that educationalising trends are acknowledged not only by critical intellectuals but also by academics from a diverse array of political persuasions:

> Education is becoming the preferred method for diagnosing and attacking a wide range [of] problems in American life. The No Child Left Behind Act is one prominent example. Another is the recent volley of articles that blame rising income inequality on the increasing economic premium for advanced education. Crime, drugs, extramarital births, unemployment – you name the problem, and I will show you a stack of claims that education is to blame, or at least implicated.
>
> (Murray, 2007, p. A21)

What then might be considered to be characteristic of non- or anti- educationalisation? Perhaps the closest version has been described by Paul Smeyers as that which is "haphazard, discontinuous and unsystematic." This exploration of current technologies of educationalisation has suggested that the analytical concept of educationalisation is a fruitful one that helps us see some patterns and trends of governance. At the same time, this characterisation of educationalising technologies has provided another perspective on the original American Social Science Association's optimism that the world can be made a better place through the power of ideas. Yes, educationalising is faster, more powerful and longer lasting. At the same time, the effects of educationalising technologies are shaped by the historically specific characteristics of those technologies, which these days include reliance on assessment-based decision making and problem-based evaluations of what counts as knowledge.

Notes

1. See, e.g. http://www.jpb.com/creative/brainstorming.php
2. By choosing those terms of contrast, Deleuze is apparently suggesting an alternative to Foucault's theories of discipline.
3. I recognize that one factor influencing the research-training requirement is the university's response to an increasingly litigious society. The university requires training courses as a way of protecting their legal interests. This factor does not diminish the relevance of high-frequency assessments as a mechanism of educationalisation.
4. An exception to assessment-based marketing occurred with Absolut vodka. A phenomenon in the advertising field, Absolut ran an advertising campaign that was personal and quirky. The marketers' decision-making process rejected all accepted wisdom about how to make advertising decisions. The result was wildly successful. (See Lewis, R.W. (1996). *The Absolut story: The Absolut Vodka advertising story*. Boston: Journey Editions.)
5. http://www.healthychurch.net/
6. See http://www.act.org/aboutact/history.html.
7. This chapter exemplifies that educationalising trend.
8. I was hopeful when I ran across a citation for an article called, "Sentencing Learners to Life: Retrofitting the Academy for the Information Age," but it turned out that only the title is pertinent here.
9. US standardised test designers reject any test items that refer to farms or farming. They argue that test questions about farms put urban children in a disadvantaged position.
10. See Herrnstein, R.J., & Murray, Ch. (1994). *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and class structure in American Life*. New York: Free Press.

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Chapter 5
Educationalization in a USA Present: A Historicist Rendering

Lynda Stone

5.1 Introduction

Educationalization as rendered in this chapter is a complex, multidimensional institutional and rhetorical text formulation meant to encapsulate a schooling present in the United States of America today. It draws contingently on various exemplars of discursive evidence to set out aspects of school practices. Sources include philosophical and historical writings, government documents, political polemics, studies from the social sciences, cultural studies accounts, and media coverage. As the title suggests it is *a* present, a philosophical treatment, reminiscent of 'histories of the present' currently written by cultural historians of education but distinct. As will be overviewed, it entails a strongly historicist position with origin in the concept of 'historicism'; it is also nominalist. As Ian Hacking asserts, it exemplifies a kind of 'philosophical analysis' with debt to Michel Foucault. For introductory purposes, Hacking writes this

> Philosophical analysis is the analysis of concepts... [of] words in their sites. Sites include sentences... always in a larger site of neighborhood, institution, authority, language.... But... [the look is] into the social rather than the personal formation of the concept. It involves history. The application is to our present pressing problems. The history is history of the present, how our present conceptions were made, how the conditions for their formation constrain our present ways of thinking.
>
> (Hacking, 1988, 2002, pp. 68, 70)

This stance differs as philosophy from current histories and their concepts such as *pedagogization* in this volume. Compare Hacking's philosophy with similarity but importantly difference from a recent description by Thomas Popkewitz

> The history of the present is to explore social epistemological changes that produce the principles governing who the child is... [for example]. Its use of primary sources of the past and present is to understand the distinctions, differentiations and divisions through which the objects of schooling are produced, ordered, and classified.
>
> (Popkewitz, 2008, p. 7)

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These differences are briefly elaborated below. Overall, in what follows, a present as a 'concept' receives historicist attention, it is of a moment all the way down. As indicated, the moment is textual, institutional, and rhetorical; it is also a unique construction. In the chapter, out of a specific USA context, three 'institutional' aspects are interwoven with two rhetorical underpinnings; organizing this structure is a new concept helping to describe educationalization always in its particularity, that of a standard account. The philosophical position of the chapter is theoretically situated in the next section—followed by the particularist rendering that constitute the central sections. The conclusion summarizes the stance and contribution of the chapter.

5.2 Historicist Philosophy

A contemporary definition of 'historicism' initiates explication of a historicist philosophy. Kai Nelson in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy* offers this "[Historicism is] the doctrine that knowledge of human affairs has an irreducibly historical character and that there can be no a-historical perspective for an understanding of human nature and society" (Nelson, 1999, p. 386). What this has come to mean, at the least, is that all research in the humanities and social sciences, no less that of education, has a temporal and indeed social dimension. Even most devotees of post-positivist science, following on from Kuhn and other 'social constructionists,' concur that the natural sciences exhibit change and thus have historical dimensions to their understandings as well. In Stephen Toulmin's terms, the timely replaces the timeless (Toulmin, 1992).

How this definition came to be generally accepted, a history of historicism, requires some explication. Importantly, as Hacking implies above, brought together are disciplines of history and philosophy, and herein literary theory, under the umbrella of 'philosophy of history'. Significantly, there is no one philosophy of history in a field that one commentator asserts is "heterogeneous, comprising analyses and arguments of idealists, positivists, logicians, theologians, and others, moving back and forth between European and Anglo-American philosophy" (Little, 2007). Given these traditions, he indicates a major divide between hermeneutics and positivism. Indeed a brief review of the history of the concept reveals two strands, but variously described and contested.

In his now classic account, Georg Iggers (1995) identifies the first use of the term *Historismus* by Friedrich Schlegel in 1797 followed by a second-term *Historism* from Novalis the next year (p. 130). This first use recognized "individuality in 'concrete temporal-spatiality' " as distinct from either a "fact-oriented empiricism" or a "system-building philosophy" (ibid.). Within the field, two traditions were present, a first of epistemological idealism, of history as thought and meaning, evolving into the twentieth century down to Meinecke, Croce, and Collingwood among others. Reacting to this orientation, a second arose in which the aim was "understanding of the general through immersion in the particular" (p. 131). In different ways, this generalizing... [variety against the] individualizing formulation, united early

historicists such as Ranke and Hegel. According to Iggers, what was also centrally related to this first major division was an evolving shift away from debates about philosophy and history toward ones between the human and natural sciences (p. 132). This origination is itself historicized by F. R. Ankersmit's account that another debate was 'foundational,' that of locating the concept in Enlightenment natural-law philosophy with its affinity to science rather than in a tradition of historical writing as literature and rhetoric (Ankersmit, 1995, pp. 145–146).

Several other divisions appear in the literature that culminate in one strand with a return to rhetoric—and as taken up in this chapter. Within Anglo-Saxon philosophy of history, Ankersmit identifies epistemological and narrativist strands (Ankersmit, 1986). Within the first, two major traditions were identified as the Covering Law Model, the most positivist version exemplified among others in the writings of Carl Hempel, and an analytical hermeneutics as distinct from the German variety. The latter is more closely associated with the second, narrativist tradition with its early proponent, R. G. Collingwood and his 'reenactment theory'. For present purposes this last is later greatly influenced by the work of Hayden White on figurative elements in historical discourse and what becomes 'the new (or even new new) historicism' in literary theory (see White, 1975 and later Zammito, 1993). What is significant about Ankersmit's treatment of these various strands is his 1995 claim that they are more alike than different.

Ankersmit's position on historicism is helpful for another reason; this is to compare the historicist stance of this chapter with that of the volume's framing work on pedagogization. Herein there are similarities and differences but also a proposed rapproachement. First, it is important to remember that this chapter manifests both in its theory and substantiated ideas a philosophy and not a history per se. Here is its historicist position: First, language use, that is its particular discourse, is nominalist and is of paramount importance. The text is constructed in and of a particular historical moment. Second, it is highly and originally interpretive even as it draws on elements of a culturally specific standard account. Overlapping with other interpretations of the same institutions and practices, it is nonetheless unique. Third, it is reflexive in terms of perspective; there is no acontextual philosophy. Fourth, its focus on texts constitutes a microfocus on 'historical entities' that while an interplay of institution and rhetoric does not portend macro influences or effects. There is no creation of a larger theory. Fifth, as indicated above, it draws on the rhetorical, discursive formulation of 'new historicism' taken from literary criticism in addition to history and philosophy.

In comparison to the historicist philosophy of educationalization, a historicist history of the volume's framing concept, pedagogization, entails shared as well as non-shared elements. First, both have a perspective on research that includes disciplinary-based paradigms and consensual views of inquirers; across philosophy and history these overlap as in the influence of Foucault (see Depaepe, 1998). Second for both there is more to schooling than the educational behaviors of teachers and students but difference occurs over language emphasis. For philosophy discourse is paramount; for history language appears to serve a mediating function. Third the historical position toward pedagogization contributes to a "historical

school theory" that has wide application; posited is an interplay of macro and micro aspects in application to a "multi-colored pallet of cultural contexts" (Depaepe, Herman, Surmont, Van Gorp, & Simon, this volume). Fourth both share views on the importance of cultural complexity and specificity, but for the philosophical stance, specificity is all there is. Fifth, in contrast to specificity, in a historical account, direction and scope of the central concept is posited, one toward increased intensification in schooling and on the child. (Ibid., also Depaepe, 1998, pp. 19–20)

5.3 USA Present I

In practice, *educationalization* in the US context has most often meant that schools are to correct societal problems with curriculum solutions. A relatively straightforward example is the increase in teen drivers in the 1930s that prompted the instantiation of driver education programs in high schools across the nation. The present educationalization moment is epitomized by the well-known No Child Left Behind federal legislation, signed into law in January 2002. Its history is not only complex but also indicative of one aspect of an educationalization shift. No longer is there direct curriculum response to societal problems; attention is now to school reform more comprehensively and differently conceived.

'No Child' culminated a two-decade effort to 'standardize' and 'nationalize' schooling as a response to both the international economic competition and the reputed social excesses of the 'sixties'. Its accountability form has largely involved testing of students and grading of teachers and schools. Under auspices of the Reagan presidency, from 1983, a first step toward 'No Child' was release of *A Nation at Risk*, the result of inquiry by a national policy commission. Its charge was primarily to 'assess teaching and learning in the nation's schools and to compare them to institutions in other advanced nations'. The now infamous opening salvo of the document, worth quoting at length, indicates the general rhetorical character of the originating moment

> Our Nation is at risk. Our once unchallenged preeminence in commerce, industry, science, and technological innovation is being overtaken by competitors throughout the world. . .. We report to the American people that while we can take justifiable pride in what our schools and colleges have historically accomplished and contributed to the United States and the well-being of its people, the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people. (a)[1]

Fast forward to 2002 and the discourse has shifted somewhat. It has a more long-range, historical feel even as it reads as more localized and personal. Here is exemplary manifestation: First, on the web page of the US Department of Education, a link is made to the 50-year*old outlawing of school segregation: "No Child Left Behind continues the legacy of the *Brown v. Board* decision by creating an education system that is more inclusive, responsive, and fair". Other historic connections are to the *Civil Rights Act of 1964* and to the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965*, of which No Child is itself a reauthorization. (b)

Now consider statements from the act itself, one the Forward written by President George W. Bush and the other the Executive Summary. Bush asserts,

> The quality of our public schools directly affects us all as parents, as students, and as citizens. Yet too many children in America are segregated by low expectations, illiteracy, and self-doubt. In a constantly changing world that is demanding increasingly complex skills from its workforce, children are literally being left behind. . ..
>
> Bipartisan solutions are within our reach. If our country fails in its responsibility to educate every child, were (*sic*) likely to fail in many other areas. But if we succeed in educating our youth, many other successes will follow throughout our country and in the lives of our citizens.

And following an epigraph from Thomas Jefferson, the summary states,

> Although education is primarily a state and local responsibility, the federal government is partly at fault for tolerating these abysmal results. The federal government currently does not do enough to reward success and sanction failure in our education system. . ..
>
> Over the years Congress has created hundreds of programs intended to address problems in education without asking whether or not the programs produce results or knowing their impact on local needs. This "program for every problem" solution. . .[has] fallen short in meeting our goals for educational excellence. . ..
>
> The priorities. . . [in the legislation] are based on the fundamental notion that an enterprise works best when responsibility is placed closest to the most important activity of the enterprise, when those responsible are given greatest latitude and support, and when those responsible are held accountable for producing results. (c)

The stage is set here to focus on schools as *both* problem and solution, another educationalization shift. In her recent book, *When School Reform Goes Wrong*, Nel Noddings (2007) writes about the rhetoric and its result: "The language of current reform. . . is hard to oppose" (p. 25). . .. Today's reform movement is typical in that it began with alarmist language from critics. . . [who] blamed schools. . . [for societal problems]" (p. 16). Two central rhetorical tropes have been 'reform' and 'crisis,' each turned to subsequently.

One more comment about this No Child present. There has been much media attention to the impact of the legislation on schools, teachers, and children. One strategy in a growing discourse of criticism has been to underscore impact on daily lives in classrooms. An example is from *Time Magazine* in June 2007.

> It's countdown time in Philadelphia's public schools. Just 21 days remain before the state reading and math tests in March, and the kids and faculty at. . . an all-black, inner-city school that spans pre-K to eighth grade, have been drilling for much of the day. At 2:45 in the afternoon, Rasheed Abdullah, the kinetic lead math teacher, stages what could be called a pep rally with 11 third-graders. . .. [The] children chant, We believe that we can reach our learning potential. . .. We believe that Blaine will become a high-performing institution. . ..
> Abdullah starts pumping his fists as the kids finish with passionate vows.
> I'll never give up! he shouts.
> I'll never give up! They echo.
> Even on the PSSA test!
> Even on the PSSA test!
> Cause winners never lose, and I am the best.[2]

The article continues with a current assessment of No Child at the time of its reauthorization. Its conclusion is a "C" grade with consensus on the need for schooling

accountability but much dissensus on how to achieve this—and on whether present practices are even producing desired results.

5.4 Standard Account

In a historicist 're-formulation' of *pedagogization* as *educationalization*, a concept besides a pan-cultural 'grammar of schooling' and a 'pedagogical grammar of pedagogizing' (see Depaepe, Herman, Surmont, Van Gorp, & Simon, this volume) is of use. Also influenced by historian David Tyack, it is a nationally or culturally, historically specific *standard account*. In a recent set of essays, *Seeking Common Ground*, he writes of American schooling, "If one takes the long view of the development of public schools in a diverse society, certain *basic motifs* and puzzles recur. . .. [For him, some of these] recurrent and interactive themes. . . [are] unity, diversity, and democracy" (Tyack, 2003, p. 1, emphasis added). Within Tyack's 'long view,' particular arrangements of these motifs can be identified.

At the outset several things might be said analytically about standard accounts. First, they constitute a body of consensus information and terms employed widely by theorists, by media, by policy makers, by practitioners, and are often taken up by a public. Second, various positions, both disciplinary and ideological, can be and are posited toward an account. Third, it is a mistake to consider any account as monolithic or hegemonic but majority–minority or central–marginal positions might be characteristic. As Tyack's own rendition makes clear, tensions, conflicts, discriminations, and inequalities are characteristic of actual and theoretical interactions among account elements. Fourth, philosophical and other theoretical substantiations are available for any account; these point to basic but again changing relationships of a society to its education function.

A fifth dimension is thus that each society will have specific instantiations of social–educational relations that are reflected across discursive domains. Among them are these: the purpose of education within a society; the relationship of individual and collective societal success relative to education; the societal organization of itself, its educational institutions, their participants, and the frame of governance; the interaction of governance to institutions such as schools in the United States to their goals. One way to interrogate these relationships is through Tyack's recurring, motif themes; another is to move to historicist exemplifications.

As just listed, a significant element of standard accounts are philosophical substantiations that indeed become 'standard' themselves. Two examples come from classic twentieth century 'philosophies' of the relationship of school and society in the United States. A first is John Dewey's well-known talks to parents and community of the University of Elementary School at the University of Chicago in April, 1899, aptly titled *The School and Society* (Dewey, 1899, 1915, 1976). In a 1974 introduction to Dewey's text, Joe Burnett points to its significance as he incorporates standard elements. He assesses

> [By the turn of the century] Dewey had already begun developing an original social and educational philosophy that took account of the unique aspects of American industrialization,

> technology, and urbanization. He was knowledgeable about and even sympathetic to European theorizing, but had already begun to tailor. . . a philosophy. . . based upon scientific thought *à la* Darwin, the American experience, and American concepts of democracy.
>
> (Burnett, 1974, 1976, p. xviii)

Dewey's 'and' in the text title is generally indicative of an interactive relationship he envisions between the school and the society. In the first chapter, "The School and Social Progress," he offers, "All that society has accomplished for itself is put, through the agency of the school, at the disposal of its future members. All its better thoughts of itself it hopes to realize through new possibilities thus opened to its future thought" (Dewey, 1899, 1915, 1976, p. 5). And in summary he writes, "[Necessities] of the larger social evolution. . .. [mean] to make each one of our schools an embryonic community life. . .. When the school introduces and trains each child of the society into membership. . .. we shall have the deepest and best guarantee of a larger society which is worthy, lovely, and harmonious" (p. 20). For Dewey, society puts its best in school in order that the school produces a society still better. It seems appropriate to claim also that for him the school—and this interaction—had a distinctly 'American' character.

A second example is constituted of three speeches that George Counts delivered before members of the Progressive Education Association three decades after Dewey's talks. His era was a 'different world', one in the United States and elsewhere known as "The Great Depression". A difference in institutional and rhetorical emphasis is evident it its title, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order*? Also in a later study, Ellen Condliffe Lagemann writes

> Counts believed educators should serve what amounted to a prophetic function. Education was a moral enterprise, requiring acquaintance with all the 'social forces' at play in the nation and the world. . .. It was the means by which a society transmitted and transformed its cultural heritage. . .. [To do this, educators must be able] to interpret current events in light of established values and traditions as well as new circumstances and to present their interpretations to the public as guides to thought, action, and decision making.
>
> (Lagemann, 1992, p. 138)

Commenting earlier, Wayne Urban refers specifically to the immediate impact of Counts's proposals as the association actually suspended its convention agenda in order to consider the 'vigorous, bold and optimistic' call for action (see Urban, 1978, p. vi). In its own opening, here are aspects of the standard account: "Like all simple and unsophisticated peoples we Americans have a sublime faith in education. Faced with any difficult problem of life we set our minds at rest sooner or later by the appeal to the school" (Counts, 1932, 1959, 1969, 1978, p. 1). And, "My thesis is that complete impartiality. . . [of the school] is utterly impossible, that the school must shape attitudes, develop tastes and impose ideas. . .. I believe firmly that democratic sentiments should be cultivated and that a better and richer life should be the outcome of education" (pp. 16, 17). This call from economic socialist Counts reads as more radical than that of Dewey even as he too advocated government regulation of the economy out of the Depression. For present philosophical purposes, these two

examples show that standard accounts do retain key motifs or themes but that they change to fit changed times.

5.5 Reform

Within historicist standard accounts, specific rhetorics appear that differ across time; from the introduction above, two most central to a US educationalization present are turns to the concepts of 'reform' and 'crisis'. Recognition of the centrality of reform is found in writing from Popkewitz in cultural history. He states

> [The] word *reform* embodies different concepts over time in the context of historical developments and social relations. In the beginning of the 19th century, reform was concerned with helping sinners find salvation, but by the mid-20th century, reform referred to the application of scientific principles as a means to achieve social enlightenment and truth. . .. [There] is no constant definition of the term. . . [and] its meaning shifts with a continually changing institutional environment. (p. 14)

For him, the institutional context includes schooling, teacher education, and pedagogical practices (ibid.). In another account of the concept, Noddings (2007) in the text citied above focuses on present meaning. For her reform serves as a connecting term for other educationalization concepts that have specific meaning in a US context. Related to current school practices, these include equality, accountability, standards, testing, and choice.

In a 'present' of this chapter, one understanding within a reform rhetoric comes from distinguishing the use of 'reform' from 'reform movement'. A second arises from comparison between movements in order to understand their historicist differences. In general the following conceptual use seems evident in US educationalization: One, reforms respond to needs and reform movements respond to crises; evidence is required for both but there seems no single criterion for either. Language use is indicative of purpose. Two, reforms are assigned to specific groups or aggregates of persons and reform movements are potentially to effect everyone. Central to the politics of reform of either is identification of group or groups and justification for 'special treatment'. Three, reforms implementation is targeted and dispersed in some way and reform movements implementation is just more insistent. Often insistence has the force of the law or of the 'government'. Finally, reform movements might well be understood to incorporate multiple reforms—or at least are much more characterized by a plural-part constitution than 'a' reform. In No Child, for example, reforms include among a comprehensive set, accounting for student performance, improving teacher quality, utilizing 'what works' research, empowering parents, and encouraging safe schools.

Not detailed, nonetheless comparison of another reform movement to No Child described above is found in the Structures of the Disciplines movement in the mid-decades of the twentieth century. One notes, at the outset, its conventional formulation as a school based but multi-faceted program to solve societal problems. As

well, it illustrates a specific relationship of societal context to schooling as well as a continually changing conceptualizing of educationalization. Here is the reform story within which to note its central narrative elements—its own standard account.

Impetus for the Structures reform movement is conventionally set at the launching of Sputnik, the first Russian satellite in 1957. As John Goodlad (1964, 1997) details, "This spectacular event set off blasts of charges and countercharges regarding the effectiveness of our schools" (p. 45). Leading the criticism was retired admiral Hyram Rickover who testified before Congress: "If we adult Americans are not intelligent enough to figure out a way to improve American education, we cannot hope that our children will be intelligent enough to keep our Nation strong and prosperous and capable of living up to its task of leading the free world" (Rickover, 1963, p. 308). Foreshadowing the present moment, he called for the establishment of national scholastic standards of academic excellence through national examinations for students, similar exams for "highly qualified teachers," and the "use of government grants" to foster these reforms (ibid; see also Rickover, 1959).

Public attention resulted in federal legislation, the forerunner of No Child, and federal sponsorship of curriculum reform in specific projects.[3] Largely but not exclusively for high school, these projects 'reformed' mathematics, various sciences such as biology and physics, various social sciences like anthropology and geography, and English. There were many innovative elements, conceptions like 'bases' in the new math, and anthropological content in MACOS, Man A Course of Study in the new social studies among them. They were also largely developed by teams of university experts who saw educational excellence as mirroring adult cognitive and deliberative processes. In the historic evolution of the projects relatively conventional adult components came to be seen as 'radical,' then 'too radical' for youth. The famous case concerns MACOS as public outrage and Congressional testimony resulted from a film loop vignette of Eskimos putting an old person out on the ice to die. This incident became part of the lore of a general climate change among and about youth that set the stage for educational crisis in the eighties. At the time, however, more important to ultimate failure of the reform movement (thousands of 'kits' relegated to closet shelves) were serious mistakes of the developers in not taking account of the strength of traditional approaches to curriculum and of the need to spend considerable time training teachers for implementation. One need was for teachers to understand the idea of 'structure'.

Brief comment about 'structure' is helpful as its meaning demonstrates a historicist stance. A general conception of broad structural theories in the social sciences became tied specifically to school subjects in the Structures movement. Jerome Bruner put it that "the curriculum of a subject should be determined by the most fundamental understanding that can be achieved of the underlying principles that five structure to that subject" (Bruner, 1960, 1977, p. 31). Problems arose when basic subject structures could not be easily identified. As Denis Phillips asserted in a critique from 1974, this picture of a discipline proved to be "too clean," even as "a person who has mastered a discipline seems. . . to be 'at home'. . . [with] an ordered

understanding of it" (Phillips, 1974, 1987, p. 135). Perhaps knowing school subjects is itself more historicist than reformers of this era had envisioned.

5.6 USA Present II

Strikingly missing from the documentation and discourse surrounding No Child is connection to a second reform movement; this is known as character education. Its standard account contains many conventional elements with its own insistence coming largely from a 'crisis' rhetoric. Character Ed is distinctive from No Child with its focus on reform of personal moral virtue and behavior rather than academic achievement and advancement.

Like No Child, Character Ed emerged as a response to societal crisis of the 1960s and 1970s. Outrage over MACOS was one instantiation, as was *A Nation at Risk,* of a general belief concerning a national malaise. As a recognized leader of educationalization over the last couple of decades, Reagan's education secretary, William Bennett wrote of specific societal conditions and their influence in his widely read treatise, *De-Valuing of America: The Fight for Our Culture and Our Children* (1992). This particular sentiment appears in a chapter entitled "America's Nightmare"

> Somewhere along the way, in the late 1960s and 1970s, part of America lost its moral bearings regarding drugs. Drugs were not only seen as a political statement of sorts but also were advertised as a path to self-discovery, self-expression, and liberation. (p. 94)

Then,

> [This] violates everything a civilized society stands for. . .. At the very time we need to affirm belief in things like individual responsibility, civic duty, and obedience to the law, too many segments of society are equivocating and sending mixed messages. This sort of moral enervation must be challenged. (p. 106)

Making connection to schools 10 years later, Christina Hoff Sommers adds her voice

> [In] the public schools for thirty years. . . moral education has gone under various names such as values clarification, situation ethics, and self-esteem guidance. These so-called value-free approaches to ethics have flourished at a time when many parents fail to give children basic guidance in right and wrong. The story of why so many children are being deprived of elementary moral training encompasses three or four decades of misguided reforms by educators, parents, and judges. . .. Reduced to its philosophical essentials, it is the story of the triumph of Jean-Jacques Rousseau over Aristotle.
>
> (Sommers, 2002, p. 25)

Coming under attack from Sommers are proponents for moral education programs from previous decades that resulted in "value-free kids". They include values clarification advocates, Sidney Simon and Howard Kirschenbaum, and Lawrence Kohlberg and his cognitive moral development approach.

Within the movement a rhetorical turn in order to implement reform is toward positive action. This is expressed in the current mission statement for the state-mandated Character Education program of North Carolina. It illustrates discursively how many institutional and rhetorical elements are brought together. It reads

> Character Education is a national movement creating schools that foster ethical, responsible, and caring young people by modeling and teaching good character through an emphasis on universal values that we all share. It is the intentional, proactive effort by schools, districts, and states to instill in their students important core, ethical values such as respect for self and others, responsibility, integrity, and self-discipline. It provides long-term solutions that address moral, ethical, and academic issues that are of growing concern about our society and the safety of our schools. Character education may address such critical issues as student absenteeism, discipline problems, drug abuse, gang violence, teen pregnancy, and poor academic performance. At its best, character education integrates positive values into every aspect of the school day.[4]

As other moments of educationalization, and as No Child, Character Ed has a history constituted of its own discourse in a standard account. Overall, historicist shifts have been documented of overt and covert schooling efforts to educate for morality. For example, the reading and reciting of Protestant catechisms during the nation's founding might well be "replicated" but in a different form in memorization of virtue definitions today. At many times, specific societal elements come together: Among these is the relation of moral education to religious change in the nation's history. Another is the relation to demographics growth and diversification, to emergence of majority and minority viewpoints, and to legal involvement. A third concerns significant attention from philosophers and psychologists focusing on the lives of children with impacts on schooling practices. Theorists have been variously supportive and critical. A fourth, turned to below, concerns a late twentieth century public attention to, even obsession with, adolescence (see here Lesko, 2001). Importantly, authors of two relevant texts differ as to the state of current affairs. Writing in 1999, Edward McClellan asserts, "support for some form of moral education seems stronger at the century's end than at any time since the 1950s" (McCellan, 1999, p. 104). Further, educators seem willing to respond to this public interest and proponents of the reform movement seem heartened by a present state and district engagement (pp. 105, 106). In contrast, James Davidson Hunter, from 2000, claims "the death of character". For him, while intentions are good, "the moral education establishment. . . [has obliterated] the differences of particular communities and creeds and. . . [emptied] morality of its substance and depth" (Hunter, 2000, p. 225). What is needed is understanding that a larger story of life's design and destiny occurs "through enactments of particular lives, traditions, and institutions that constitute the living memory of our communities" (p. 227). In his writings, design and destiny connect the Character Ed reform movement to specific religious beliefs and values.

Once again Noddings offers insight in her writings about the movement and an alternative in care theory. Features include direct instruction of virtues, dependence on strong community with a consensus view on values and teachers transmitting

this common view, and programs which establish "a system in which rewards for appropriate behavior become an incentive for which children compete" (Noddings, 2002, p. 7).

5.7 Crisis

In keeping with the organization of this chapter, a second rhetoric joins reform discussed above. 'Crisis' language has been implicit at various points, for example, in Noddings's recent mention of 'alarmist language' as leading to No Child and, earlier, in Counts's reference to the Great Depression. One place to begin is in comparing the rhetorical scope of reform and crisis. Reform purports to be positive, forward looking, advocating of change for the better (even if unsuccessful), contributing in small units or one synthetic. Crisis is always *big*, enduring, negative and backward looking. Events and persons are retrospectively named in 'crisis'. In crisis, a present condition demands attention; there is urgency that may be caused by 'reform' but that seems to necessitate 'reform movement'. When crisis was previously implied in this paper, the following terms were mentioned in a parceling out of good and evil: Mediocrity, left behind, abyss, responsibility, blame, and sanction.

Crisis rhetoric crosses the domains of educationalization of this chapter, applicable as it has been to US society, to schools, and foreshadowing, to youth. A first example comes from the discourse of the Character Education movement. While the word is not specifically used, in his manifesto for 'values education,' Thomas Lickona points to a society replete with "escalating moral problems... ranging from greed and dishonesty to violent crime to self-destructive behaviors" (Lickona, 1991, pp. 3–4). He continues, "There is today a widespread, deeply unsettling sense that children are changing—in ways that tell us much about ourselves as a society" (p. 4). He sets blame in 'the rise of personalism'. Alongside good elements such as extensions of rights, "[people] began to regard any kind of constraint on their personal freedom as an intolerable restriction of their individuality" (p. 9). What resulted was a rebellion against authority in general, abuses of power, and a new selfishness. For him, also, these trends have continued into the present moment.

In the book cited above, Bennett ties crisis directly to the schools. In a chapter titled "Crisis in American Education," he too situates a crisis. Recalling his agenda as Education secretary, Bennett announces this "What was needed... [in American schooling] was... on the order of a demolition squad. My target was the entire mediocre education enterprise in America, and my goal was to replace it with a better one" (Bennett, 1992, p. 47). A first attack is against bad teachers followed by one on the curriculum. Bad teachers in his view are supported by the education establishment including the unions and the 'blob,' the bloated education bureaucracy. Here he says, "[The blob] may be staffed by fine, well-intentioned people, but when they are all together, it is a powerful obstacle to educational achievement and to

school and parental authority". Prophetic of No Child and its political context to come, he continues: thusly: the establishment

> opposes every common-sense reform measure: competency testing for teachers, opening the teaching profession to knowledgeable individuals who have not graduated from 'schools of education,' performance-based pay, holding educators accountable for how much children learn, an end to tenure, a national examination to find out exactly how much our children know, and parental choice of schools (ibid).

Furthermore, in a crisis mentality, he then names specific educational organizations and their leaders. "The modern-day NEA is primarily a political action organization. It routinely takes liberal even left-wing stands. . .. [that have resulted in the 'cultural deconstruction' of the nation's schools]" (pp. 48, 49, and 51).

Along with blame with teachers and professional organizations, Bennett turns to the school curriculum and has this to say at length:

> [Beginning in the sixties, schools] became laboratories and students guinea pigs. If there was a bad idea in the land, often the first place it was tried out was in the school. If we had problems of order in the classroom, the solution was an open classroom and not order at all. If our students weren't learning history, the solution was not to teach them history but to teach them social studies, often a sloppy amalgam of half-baked, 'politically correct' sociological theories. (p. 53)

Other targets in his 'crisis' include bilingual education as well as the connection between school spending and achievement. Bennett's statement reads "A review of 150 studies shows no correlation between spending and educational achievement" (p. 55). Enter educationalization concepts connected to science and research as well as 'achievement' that garner large currency into the new century.

While the historical moment of youth culture is turned to subsequently, a preliminary discussion concerns their connection to crisis. In his study, *Youth, Murder, Spectacle*, Charles Acland (1995) begins with attention to the 1980s—another decade to be heard from. Particularly significant was media attention, highlighted by Oprah Winfrey's signal program on 'youth in crisis' (Wife of the US Vice-President), Tipper Gore's book on 'raising PG Kids,' and the documentary "Why did Johnny Kill?" This last was indicative of a new cultural phenomenon for public consciousness, youth murders. Examples abound such as Brenda Spencer's killing and wounding 11 high school classmates in 1979; after Columbine and more recent slaughters it is difficult to assess its 1980s impact. Instances of that decade, however, were tied to racism, to gang culture, to fantasy games, to meaninglessness. Here is Acland "Throughout the 1980s, there was a renewal of old debates, such as the negative influence of rock and roll. . . questions of censorship, and toughening of penalties for juvenile offenders" (p. 6). In a position very different from that of Bennett and Lickona, and indicative of the complexity of the educationalization context in the United States, Acland's position is that "[an] ample public belief. . . in the increasingly violent nature of American youth must be understood as a *felt crisis*" (p. 8, emphasis in original). In keeping with the historicist position of this chapter, Acland writes in summary, "Youth is not just a social category with particular forms of cultural expression and investment; it is also a conjunction point for

various discourses with powerful implications for the forms and specificities of the popular at a given moment" (p. 10).

5.8 USA Present III

In the two previous aspects of a present, school-based reform movements have been described in discourses of institution and rhetoric. These are related to still two other historic and historicist moments, one concerning discourses of school and classroom discipline practices and the other concerning conceptions of young people. Each of these is substantiated by the standard account; each has its own and interrelated historical story. All too briefly, named here is a 'third' present.[5]

Connected by Noddings above to character education, contemporary discipline of youth is often proposed as 'systems' or, not surprisingly, in programs. Before turning to examples, a general rhetorical picture is once again expressed by Bennett. He invokes a now well-recognized American icon, New Jersey high school principal Joe Clark, in a presentation of 'what works'. Represented in the film *Lean on Me*, Clark's stance involved rules, a bullhorn, and stringent punishments. With approval Bennett writes

> Everyone was given a list of rules. If you talked back to a teacher you were suspended for five days. If you painted on a wall, ten days. Clark announced a dress code. . .. The school was cleaned from top to bottom. Security guards were put in the stairwells. . .. Twenty. . . [teachers] transferred. Three hundred juniors and seniors were expelled.
>
> (Bennett, 1992, p. 79)

Again with historicist difference, discipline from the early 1980s has its current counterpart in no tolerance policies. Also found today are some remnants in schools and classrooms of 'assertive discipline,' a system from a previous decade or so in which misbehaving students found their names on blackboards with checks for infractions followed on by established consequences. Harkening back to behaviorist psychology but with a contemporary rhetoric of 'intervention,' one system available to districts and schools today is PBIS, Positive Behavior Intervention System. The program's web site ties its aims precisely to character education and early literacy. Its purpose is thus

> Attention is focused on creating and sustaining primary (school-wide), secondary (classroom), and tertiary (individual) systems of support that improve lifestyle results (personal, health, social, family, work, recreation) for all children and youth by making problem behavior less effective, efficient, and relevant, and desired behavior more functional.[6]

One more program-system antidote to misbehavior is now available. Overall, the point of this brief attention to discipline is to see schooling practices in the USA present as 'all of a piece'. That is, No Child, Character Ed, and strict discipline operate simultaneously. Particular attitudes toward youth also figure.

In a USA present, discursively and rhetorically 'youth' emerged in US culture in the 1960s; even historicist, the designation incorporated other labels and various shifts. Today youth are comprised of such identifications as 'adolescent' and 'teenager'. They also entail generations that have had their own designations, Baby Boomers and 'post-boomers', as 'generations x and y'. Youth emergence as a key cultural category occurred when they became the largest US population group in 1964. Since then, and surely before, they are seen as good and bad.

Retrospectively, it appears as if 'bad' youth lived in the 1950s. In an exploration entitlted *A Cycle of Outrage*, James Gilbert describes misunderstanding, hostility, and suspicion between generations of that era amid stories of "vicious and bored youth... [who] turned to murder and mayhem for amusement" (Gilbert, 1986, p. 13). In the mid-decade years especially, a commonly held belief was that comic books and films, broken families, mobility, and working mothers contributed to a youth crime wave and to a generally aggressive youth group. Note elements of the standard account of this decade and, from Gilbert, its rhetorical character. Specific events and these general impressions actually led to a US Senate investigation in which delinquency as a crime received vast national attention.

Now forward one more time to the next decade—the 1960s, the one of excess and crisis. Significantly the rhetorical, negative judgment of Bennett and others in the 1980s and 1990s was not the only opinion. From above, it is generally agreed that a youth subculture in the United States was named by James Colement in his sociological investigation. His text, The Adolescent Society, documents the lives of young people in ten mid-west high schools. It was framed in a national, changing, industrialized economic structure in which a generation of teenage children began to live in 'a world apart' from their parents (Coleman, 1961, p. 7). Coleman explains

> The setting-apart of our children in schools—which take on ever more functions... for an ever longer period of training has a singular impact on the child of high school age. He is 'cut off' from the rest of society, forced inward toward his own age group.... With his fellows, he comes to constitute a society.... [composed] of distinct social systems] which offer a united front to the overtures made by adult society. (pp. 3–4)

The study describes the makeup of a new culture with specific habitats, interests, activities, and values. Interestingly this generation was seen as 'smart' enough to tackle the new curricula of the Standards movement as well as moral decision making posed by Kohlberg and his followers. Overall since Colemen, youth culture has become commonplace—with adults 'buying into' much of its continuously changing orientations toward lifestyle, dress, and music and other media tastes.

Thus far US youth have been characterized as good and bad, depending on the historic moment and, of course, who is making the judgment. Contemporary views, those that have led to No Child, Character Ed, and specifics of school and classroom discipline practices, do demonstrate the complexity of any historicist educationalization. One last comment concerns the 'sixties' themselves. Held to be excessive, many were and still remain positive about a counterculture that emerged just then. In

his own study, George Lipsitz recounts a time constituted by "instability and social change within a society suffering from a bloody war overseas and racial conflagration at home" (Lipsitz, 1994, p. 11, as downloaded) when disparate groups coalesced to make a difference. Subject to time, he offers this summary judgment: "[For] all its oppositional intentions, the counterculture did too little to interrogate the axes of power in society. . .that constrained individual choices. . .. [Its] problem was not its radicalism. . . but rather the ways in which it so closely mirrored the system it claimed to be overturning" (pp. 13, 14, as downloaded).

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated a philosophical 'history of the present' as educationalization in today's schools in the United States. Its basis is an assemblage of discursive evidence drawn from a range of academic and popular sources. Its thesis is that pedagogization as framed in this volume is best rendered philosophically in a strong historicist sense. Discourses exemplify both institutional and rhetorical aspects of educationalization in which elements of a standard account appear. Its philosophical stance, identified by Hacking, is tied to the central concept of historicism in western philosophy of history as it is manifest in a 'new historicism'. In the words of commentator John Zammito, it becomes "a textualism without residual" (Zammito, 1993, p. 802). Debts for this stance go to Hacking, to neo-pragmatists such as Richard Rorty, to post-structuralists such as Jacques Derrida, and to Foucault and White mentioned above. White's analysis of the narrative structures of history returns the discipline to its connections with rhetoric, poetics, and literature. As such disciplines are blurred and new forms of inquiry can be posited. This chapter is one such illustration—perhaps with implications for philosophy of education itself.[7]

Notes

1. For textual coherence, website citations in this section are listed here. (a) http://www.ed.gov/pubs/NatAtRisk/risk.html; (b) http://www.ed.gov/nclb/overview/intro/guide/guide_pg12.html#history; (c) http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/reports/no-child-left-behind.html
2. This is taken from *Time Magazine*, June 4, 2007, beginning p. 34. See Wallis and Steptoe in references for full listing. Copies of the text are available on line from Gale, Academic OneFile Print and from EBSCOhost.
3. The two previous Congressional acts are the National Defense Education Act and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, respectively passed in 1958 and 1965.
4. See http://www.ncpublicschools.org/charactereducation
5. I have named these two constitutive components part of a present because, as the vignette in the mathematics lesson above, they demonstrate specific and material discursive effect. As all elements they could well receive much more attention,
6. See http://www.pbis.org/schoolwide.htm
7. Thanks for Paul Smeyers, Marc Depaepe and members of our Leuven research group named in this volume for response to this chapter. Thanks especially to Jim Marshall for his patient assistance.

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Chapter 6
Cultural Capital as Educational Capital—The Need For a Reflection on the Educationalisation of Cultural Taste

Kathleen Coessens and Jean Paul Van Bendegem

6.1 Educationalizing Culture or Culturalizing Education?

Research is as diverse as the different contextual, paradigmatic, social, and ideological perspectives that inform it. Opinions, expectations, and approaches are at the same time 'cultivated' and 'bound' by their embeddedness in specific traditions/cultures and current economic, social, political, and educational developments (Crossley, 2005, p. 315). This is also true for educational research, which is contextually limited by the paradigms of the surrounding culture and the research community. When looking at educational journals, it becomes apparent that the core paradigm of research is methodologically focused on quantitative empirical research. More disturbing voices, characterized by methodological and content directed alternatives such as qualitative or philosophical theoretically oriented research, post-colonial and multicultural approaches, remain in the periphery. This seems strange given the intimate interaction between culture and education. Western societies maintain an equally constant interest in finding ways to valorize and perpetuate their own cultures. They do this by implementing and sustaining an expanding educational enterprise. Territorially, education has developed into an institutional octopus; ideologically it has become a valuable form of social representation, offering the (right) kind of instruction to cope with the complex world in all its important facets. Last but not least, materially education delivers the password for a promising future by means of certificates, diplomas, and aggregates affirming good conduct, intelligence, skill, knowledge, or civility.

Consider the following thought experiment: what would our society be like without the whole educational institution? Ivan Illich's 'Deschooling society', experiments such as 'Schools without walls' in Philadelphia and A. S. Neill's Summerhill represent rather marginal enterprises. Nevertheless they constituted a call for alternative pedagogical spaces that should be epitomized by a more informal kind of education.

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Culture and education are inextricably tied together—they sustain each other as cultural and knowledge processes becoming more complex. Since the time the child attained an exceptional status in western culture, the human being's life has been progressively partitioned into 'educational periods'. This accords with the 'educational' classification of students into the categories—'pre-schooler', schoolchild, secondary school student, and college/university student. Spending years at the school desk should guarantee mastery of the indispensable manual to cope with the world's complexities, the most important of which is how to enter society and become an accepted and cultured member of that society.

National and international policies and institutions such as Unesco, Unicef, the international monetary fund, and the European community propagate the need for citizenship education, educational depth, and lifelong learning. On the one hand, the increasing amount of technology, information, and knowledge that emerged in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries urges societies to focus on the development of 'know-how' and intensify 'specialization'. On the other hand, cultural globalization and growing intercultural relations impose the need for greater equality and democratic accessibility. Education, as an institutional enterprise, is the dominant vehicle, used by western societies, to continue their heritage. Of course, we should not forget the impact of a hidden informal education. Trying to cope with these exigencies, increased education is once again the response of western societies to fulfill higher aspirations. Thus, education is subject to a continuing process of supply and demand. Education, when confronted with difficulty or failure in regard to obtaining these goals, will rethink and revise its processes. Such revisions are incited by societal critiques and incentives.

Education employs meta-educational reflection when considering its role in society. Education and educational research can then be oriented in two distinct (and opposing) ways. On the one hand, a self-reflective attitude can allow education to recognize its own limits. This can be observed when education momentarily stands aside from the economic or political turbulence of the world, or when it behaves rebelliously, confronting existing elites by highlighting their dogmatic positions. At the other extreme, the educational enterprise can adhere to dominant ideological values and can then become fanatical. This results in navel-gazing and narcissism. When this happens, education gets caught up in a never-ending process of 'educationalization', which requires the imprinting, by different educational means, of the 'right' or 'expected' conduct and attitudes. Such a process is at one with the norms of society and the voice of those in power. It follows the logic of a 'father' paradigm. Past examples of this process include cultural imperialism characterized by the imposition of political and ideological premises of the western nation-state. Today, the 'father paradigm' appears in the form of 'scientism' or neo-liberal 'scientificity' and metaphysical excess in educational research (e.g., Carnoy, 1974; Ball, 1984; Altbach & Kelly, 1978; Sorell, 1991; Beck, 1992; National Research Council, 2002).

As a consequence of institutional methods and curricula, the ignorant human individual will be rendered 'educated' and 'cultured': capable of recognizing,

implementing, and perpetuating the knowledge, values, limits, and rules of society.

This broad picture of the ambiguous relationship between culture and education provides the background for this article. The title of this introduction 'Educationalizing culture or culturalizing education?' refers to the fundamental entanglement of education and culture. Surely an 'educated' individual is a 'cultured' individual. However, the questions that we are trying to deal with pertain to whether 'culture is sustaining education' or 'education is sustaining culture'?

We shall approach these questions by looking into the seemingly hidden but all pervading element in societal and educational transmission: 'culture'. We shall examine the various meanings of 'culture' and consider what it means for an educated individual to acquire 'cultural taste'. What does it mean to have acquired cultural taste? What does becoming an 'educated' or 'cultured' being' involve? Do these concepts overlap? What we can say is that notions pertaining to taste and culture are constantly under construction, are subject to paradigmatic shifts historically, geographically as well as ideologically, but are nevertheless seemingly constant within spatio-temporal limits. A dominant template of culture—a concept of culture to be perceived as what is 'right, good, valuable culture'—permeates educational processes and educational research. In western education, a 'cultural education' has been understood in terms of cultural skills, coping with ones own culture, understanding culture (cultural knowledge), elevating oneself by way of culture, tolerating culture, and adopting a multicultural outlook. When we look at the meta-level of enquiry, we can see that these templates are re-applied: prevailing value judgments about culture and cultural-taste orient the educational enterprise itself, its discourses, and its research. Indeed, not only the pupil, the student, but also the teacher and, last but not least, the researcher are embedded and educated in prevailing constructions and beliefs about 'culture'. This represents a continuation of the values of society when educating and doing research.

In this paper, we will approach these societal cultural values through Bourdieu's notion of 'cultural capital', look at the impact of prevailing templates of 'culture' on educational practitioners, as well as the educated subject and focus on how these are received and transmitted in educational research. We will start with Humboldt's elevating concept of Bildung in the nineteenth century and move on to Bourdieu's account of educational failure in regards to the distribution of 'cultural capital'. Following this, we will then consider the emergence of a wide range of cultural tastes torn between a nostalgia and an omnivorous appetite. Finally, we will consider both the influence of dominant cultural patterns on educational research and the all pervading re-appropriation of cultural transmission by our western educational systems.

We do not claim to write history of education, but will undertake a philosophical analysis of the reception and approach of the concept of cultural education and its value (as regards 'cultural capital') in educational research. We hope this will demonstrate how historical/educational research can embody a reflexive approach.

6.2 The Concept of Cultural Capital: Revisiting Bourdieu

How does society reproduce its social practices? Knowledge about the social world is realized by acquiring social representations at the levels of reflection, practice, and communication. Society imprints itself on the individual, often imperceptibly, by repeating social practices, responses and experiences, patterns of conduct and lifestyle: language, the way we eat, speak, how we walk, how we behave, our outlook on the world, what we like. Seemingly natural, once they have been integrated, these socially imposed, collectively and historically developed ways of life are neither natural nor universal. They have become 'habituses':

> Systems of durable and transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structures that structure, this means, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be adapted objectively to an end, without supposing a conscious perception of the aims nor a precise mastering of the operations needed to obtain them (systèmes de dispositions durables et transposables, structures structurées prédisposées à fonctionner comme structures structurantes, c'est-à-dire en tant que principes générateurs et organisateurs de pratiques et de représentations qui peuvent être objectivement adaptées à leur but sans supposer la visée consciente de fins et la maîtrise expresse des opérations nécessaires pour les atteindre).
>
> (Bourdieu, 1980, p. 88)

Thus, the habitus is a bundle of schemes that structure perception, thought, action, and communication in socially oriented ways. In a certain sense, they are imposed on the individual, though this is not the result of strategic calculation, direct interaction, or conscious negotiation. Collective and mutually adapted implicit practices rise spontaneously, as an embodied faculty, a lex insita to react harmoniously in and on the world (Ibid., p. 97). Social order imposes itself on the body and compels it to act in this or that particular way, depending on time, space, circumstances, and existence alongside others. Habituated, embodied, and social practices merge in such a way that it becomes impossible to separate personal bodily practices from social patterns and vice versa. They form a kind of embodied knowledge of how to behave, how to understand, and how to think about the human world. This social logic imposes itself most of the time imperceptibly and unconsciously, but can be imposed by strategic actions, e.g., pedagogical action. Moreover, we should not forget that these conscious, strategic forms of action are but the result of unconscious social conditioning and pressure.

Aspects of these socially imprinted structures and schemes, those visible and invisible elements that concern information, education, perception, and practices of the cultural world—"*subtle modalities in the relationship to culture and language*" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 82 in Raey), can be considered as 'cultural capital'. Besides cultural capital, Bourdieu denotes other sorts of 'capital': social capital, economic capital, and symbolic capital. The notion of 'capital' means that possession or acquisition of these 'goods' secures a return, has value, and is worth the investment. Possessing such capital offers a certain amount of prestige, respect, power, and advantage in society. To think in terms of the acquisition of capital is not limited to the notion of return. It also accommodates the notion of acquisition. These kinds

of capital are not biologically defined or given, neither are they freely accessible to everybody: they are transmitted and accumulated across generations. It follows that they are potentially subject to monopolization, unequal distribution, and will thus be unequally transmitted and acquired.

Cultural capital contains three layers. The first layer concerns the interiorized or embodied aspects of cultural practices: embodied practices and patterns of thought concerning cultural values and attitudes. Pedagogical action, parental investment, and the influence (as regards the attitudes) of other people subtly sensitize the child to cultural distinctions and behavior. The second layer concerns the materialized or objectified forms of culture which the child is regularly confronted with. These include works of art and cultural goods such as books, music, and artifacts. Third, a remaining major layer of cultural capital is supplied by institutional goods, which include those recognized elements, often designated by educational qualifications that grant cultural status: diplomas, prizes, awards, and reviews. Moreover, as with money in economic capital, credentials offer an objective exchange value on the labor market.

6.3 Cultural Capital: To be or Not to be in Education

Education has long claimed to possess the tools (clues and skills) that offer youngsters access to culture. The ideal of cultural education, of educating youngsters to become culturally skilled citizens, of initiating them into the world of human creation, still has major importance in the educational world. That it has always been so will be demonstrated by two examples taken from the Prussian and the French histories of education.

Wilhelm von Humboldt, a pioneer in nineteenth century Prussian educational policy, wanted to make explicit links between knowledge, science, cultural attitudes, and a kind of 'art of life'. He advocated an educational system that would render the human being fully 'human' by sensitizing him (or her?) to the example of Greek perfection and humanist values. The concept of Bildung considered the human individual to be independent of its social position, striving for human self-accomplishment in a process of 'éducation permanente' and developing a critical attitude toward established values (Helsloot, 1998, pp. 41–46). But was this prototypical ideal so independent of and so autonomous vis-à-vis society and class as it appeared to be? Did the classical ideal of Bildung perhaps incorporate established 'higher' values of self-development, a canon of aesthetic attitudes, appreciation, and a certain intellectual elevation? Were these ideals, canons, attitudes, values not supported, desired, required by some part of society? Might we say, more specifically, that Humboldt's approach only reinforced support for that part of society which partook in higher education and could be characterized by disinterested, aesthetic, and ethical aristocratic values? And was Humboldt's vision applicable to everybody, not only to those belonging to artistic and intellectual milieus, but to (roughly speaking) the bourgeoisie? Did it have anything to say to the poor who, due to birth, economic,

or social position, had no entrance ticket to this educational ideal? Bildung was not directed at practical value, skilfulness, or a specific profession. On the contrary, it was something elevating, something that could bring respect, a set of intellectual and esthetic attitudes that allowed for consideration by oneself and by society in general.

Bildung in that sense represents a nineteenth century precursor to later attempts to fill-in 'cultural capital'. It projected itself as disinterested and therefore non-instrumental. It took, or appeared to take the form of, a set of 'higher' intellectual and cultural attitudes, which were worth obtaining. In Humboldt, who, as a director of education and culture of the Prussian ministry, wanted to reform the university into an 'institution of Bildung', we see a very interesting example of the 'paedagogisierung', or 'educationalisation' of esthetic and intellectual attitudes concerning art and culture.

Agnes Van Zanten's analysis of French society offers a further example of this kind of educationalization. She notes that the content of cultural capital had since the end of the nineteenth century been controlled by the Jesuits who "transposed the aristocratic vision of society and its 'cult of glory' into religious and educational institutions" (Van Zanten, 2005, p. 673). In their educational system, they disguised social heritage by transforming it into talent and personal merit. An important process of the educationalization of cultural and intellectual attitudes took place, inculcating the 'uneducated' or the 'uncultured' youngster with the necessary input. These cultural novices had to be trained into and imprinted with Jesuit values. This involved the privileging of style over content. It focused on the importance of ranking and competition, mastering oneself through asceticism, self-possession, and consecration (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964, 1970). These values and attitudes remained, for multiple generations, part of the process of elite formation, as Bourdieu describes them in his 'La noblesse d'état' (1989). Education was the medium to continue this system of cultural distinction.

Bourdieu's analysis of cultural capital thus lays bare a double defeat for education, putting in doubt its autonomy concerning the choice or neutrality of cultural values as well as the equal chances of its pupils. What is appropriately called a process of cultural 'educationalization', disguised a degree of educational impotence.

First, the educational system did not have autonomous power over the content, form, or style of 'cultural capital'. The cultural canon, taste, knowledge, and attitudes came from society, more particularly from the part of society in power. The style of schooling is dependent on the requirements of the dominant social groups (Van Zanten, 2005, p. 673). Its autonomy is relative, depending on the relationships between the educational system, the teachers, and the dominant faction in society as well as on the power of its traditional pillars and the bureaucratic institutionalization of the educational system. Indeed, the educational system is a medium for passing on the symbolic and semiotic systems of society; it is not the origin of these systems. It would therefore be interesting to analyze the exchange between dominant social groups and educational curriculum and values.

Second, the educational system could not really redress deep inequality. As Bourdieu remarked, cultural capital is something acquired for the most part in the social

context of the family and by social position. As primary socialization is enhanced by education, it follows that the continual transmission and accumulation of cultural capital perpetuate social inequalities. Moreover, because of the close relationship between educational cultural content and dominant cultural values and attitudes, education lacks a neutral basic attitude toward the 'uncultured' youngsters, who in their turn are deprived of the appropriate tools to understand educational discourse or to satisfy teachers' expectations. Education unconsciously expected a kind of embodied, acquired, or innate set of gifts, talents, interests, and understandings of culture, which was only accessible to those brought up in the appropriate cultured milieus.

In this sense, Bourdieu's findings clash with the ideal of educational autonomy as implied in the concept of Bildung as well as in the idea of natural giftedness: neither a prototypical ideal of wisdom and education nor natural aptitudes and intelligence guarantee academic success or failure. Instead, an important role has to be attributed to positioning inside a specific social layer or a specific 'cultural ambiance'. Notable inequalities exist as regards opportunities for education, access to schooling, comprehension of educational discourse, and educational credentials and qualifications. You have to be born in the right place at the right time to have the chance to go to the right school and you have to grow up in a certain cultural, linguistic, and intellectual environment to easily comprehend teachers' discourses and satisfy their expectations. And, finally, if you can cope with all this, you will obtain the right prerequisites to become a 'gifted' and 'talented' cultured citizen.

What does this mean for educational institutions, schools, universities, teachers, and pedagogues? What kind of neutrality does education show toward society? What impact does education have on youngsters' future opportunities? Answering these questions is beyond the scope of this text, as we will continue to focus on educational research and not educational practices as such. The question we will try to answer is this: how is the concept of 'cultural capital' received in educational discourse today? And in what sense does educational research account for different aspects of cultural educationalization?

6.4 Reception Today of Cultural Capital: Torn Between Bildung and Postmodern Lifestyles

A large part of research on education is concerned with the relationship between education and culture. This research often deals with issues pertaining to cultural capital, cultural taste, dominant cultural patterns, although the various issues are not necessarily formulated in this way. The cultural paradigms (those of western research, analysis and educational values) to which the research itself is subject are always ineffable and present, as the researcher is a member of his culture and subject to its cultural aspirations.

As we remarked in the previous section, cultural education is seen as a necessary, important, and integral part of the educational curriculum. It is a 'target'

for education, sustained by the scholarly community, by its educational discourses, and (with a particular kind of intensity) by educational research. In the discourses of practice and research, education is considered to be the bearer, the sustainer of society and its ideals: it is an essential link in socializing, normalizing, and civilizing the human being. Thus, education has the hard and troublesome task of transmitting cultural capital. But, as society changes, not only the shape but also the content of cultural capital changes. It follows the paradigmatic leaps and societal upheavals of what is culturally acceptable, valuable, elevating. The sociocultural environment has profoundly changed since the conception of either Bildung or the Jesuit style, in which education mirrored the workings of higher society and its cultural capital. From a layered society with distinguishable classes and their respective lifestyles, the human world has become much more diverse—social boundaries are more permeable. What has happened to cultural capital in the light of these new horizons? What can we say nowadays about cultural capital's link with education?

Analyzing the literature and research on cultural capital, we find three main directions followed by educational researchers.

(1) Most research continues to adhere to Bourdieu's interpretation of cultural capital. It is still caught up in a traditional view of culture in which some regret or nostalgia for a 'highbrow cultural taste' reverberates.
(2) A second type of research supplies a more reflective approach to cultural capital and involves an alternative form of interpretation and study. This kind of research has, for a long time, remained marginal and, for the most part, disconnected from educational research itself. However, this area of research is expanding and incorporates cultural or sociological studies, which aim to investigate the possibilities of esthetic mobility, the process of gate keeping, and the tensions between high and popular culture.
(3) A third strand of research brings the socialcultural environment and the educational system together and analyzes the impact of postmodern lifestyles on cultural capital as well as the adaptation of education to the changing content of cultural capital.

1. *The importance of traditional values (maintenance of a traditional cultural capital paradigm)*: Until recently, most educational research maintained a mainstream, dominant interpretation of Bourdieu's concept. In this dominant interpretation, the content of cultural capital refers broadly to 'highbrow' esthetic culture. This embodies a rather traditional western view in which 'being cultured' is equivalent to partaking in prestigious cultural practices. The continuation of this view maintained/maintains a view of society characterized by coherent status groups with their coherent lifestyles (Lareau & Weininger, 2003). This echoes the kind of societal analysis Bourdieu made in the 1960s, in 'La distinction', and (as we argued earlier) involved an analysis of both 'Bildung' and Jesuit education from the perspective of 'cultural capital'. Research that abides by this interpretation looks at the effects realized by the educational process and examines the interrelationships between inherited cultural capital' and 'scholastic cultural capital'. It charts the movement from the original, social level of cultural capital, to the level obtained after schooling

and 'cultural education'. When implemented in studies about the link between education and cultural capital, the level of 'high status' cultural practices and attitudes is used as the empirical measure (Lareau & Weininger, 2003). Stuck in this narrow interpretation, the effects of a certain kind of cultural capital are measured without an adequate or critical view of its content or context (Lamont & Lareau, 1988). The measure of cultural capital is generally narrowed down to traditional high status participation such as museum, theatre or concert attendance, and knowledge of high culture (e.g., DiMaggio, 1982, DiMaggio & Mohr, 1985) as defined by 'appropriate manners and good taste' (De Graaf, 1986), 'competence in a society's high status culture, its behavior, habits, attitudes' (Kastillis & Rubinson, 1990), or 'high status cultural signals, such as attitudes, behaviors, preferences, and credentials' (Eitle & Eitle, 2002). Without going into details, it is worth mentioning that, in this respect, mathematics with its western connotations of 'high culture' and 'abstract thinking' plays a very specific indicative role (Bishop, 1988).

Nevertheless, we can mention that some research broadens the scope of cultural capital by not only looking at prestigious interests and practices but also examining forms of linguistic competence such as reading (books, newspaper), visual competence in regards to television (types of TV program) or cinema and measuring cultural knowledge, variety of vocabulary, school behavior, academic habits, and motivation (Sullivan, 2001; Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999; Farkas, Grobe, Sheehan, & Shuan, 1990).

This narrowing to a traditional cultural capital paradigm, when coupled with education, contains a second constriction regarding the effects that are measured. Such measurement invariably pertains to grades and educational levels. In most of this research, we observe that issues pertaining to skills and abilities are discarded, while technical and social competencies are separated off from one another (Lareau & Weininger, 2003). This way of looking at things closely adheres to Bourdieu's approach to cultural capital in the French society of the 1960s. Such research does not attempt to reconfigure Bourdieu's cultural capital theory in relation to new contexts. When measuring cultural capital, research tends to focus on the embodied part that is socially prestigious. This includes—attitudes, behavior, and symbolic knowledge (as mentioned earlier, this typically includes attention to mathematics). Thus, as Lareau and Weininger remark, skill and status, the technical and the symbolic, doing and being are separated. The latter member of each pair is then considered in relation to cultural capital. When measuring the relation between cultural capital and education, materialized and institutionalized factors are often privileged. These include degrees, grades, and school success. Here too, attention tends to be directed toward social prestige as it pertains to levels and grades. Issues pertaining to skills and abilities are neglected. Therefore, the traditional cultural capital paradigm results in a traditional educational paradigm: the question of the impact of cultural capital on educational outcomes seems to be reformulated in terms of the impact of cultural status on educational status.

2. *Cultural capital and society: esthetic mobility and new paradigms*: For research that acknowledges the difficulties of an adequate interpretation of cultural capital and its relation with education, one has to turn to the wider literature on the

links between societal context and cultural representations and paradigms. Simple questions point to the complexity of the subject. What exactly is 'high' culture? When is what is regarded as high culture actually high culture? What in comparison is 'low' culture? There is 'a need for research in specific questions about the contexts in which culture is explicitly made' (Dowd, 2007, p. 29). Indeed, it is unhelpful to divorce questions pertaining to the production of culture from social and technological contexts. For example, in the twenty-first century, a lot of decisions regarding culture are in the hands of media industries, who are, in their turn, forced to take account of both societal norms and the interests of specific social agents in culture, and vice versa (Negus, 1999). These different actors (industry, society, media, and gatekeepers) influence esthetic mobility: cultural forms can change status, become 'consecrated', or be turned into 'fine art'. Dowd gives the example of Cinema. Cinema started life as popular entertainment for twentieth century working class audiences. External changes in the broader society, such as the advent of commercial television and the expansion of higher education, brought film within the range of a middle class audience. The combination of internal changes relating to the growing artistic nature of film, the interest of film studies, the prestige of film festivals, and growing author/director theories, added to the ascendancy of film in the cultural hierarchy. By institutionalizing 'film', a legitimizing ideology was established, sustained by analytic, esthetic and semiotic film reviews, museums, and archives. This resulted in the upward trajectory of the film genre. Dowd points to the different actors who consecrate culture, ranging from professional artists and academic connoisseurs, cultural entrepreneurs, high status individuals to academics and non-profit making organizations such as education (Dowd, 2007). On the production side, 'open, natural, and complex culture-industry systems' have to interact with the diverse consumer demands of unpredictable and dynamic audiences (Lizardo & Skiles, 2008). Complex interactions between these different 'actors', in connection with existing traditions and new forces, constitute the social–cultural environment. This environment provides templates or cultural models of patterns of cultural involvement (Lizardo, 2005). As education is concerned about cultural transmission, it will take over these cultural patterns perceived to be important by society at large (industry, entrepreneurs, audience, and media), but at the same time maintain a form of inertia because of its roots in traditional cultural values. This could explain why so much of educational research on cultural capital remains bound to a conservative elitist approach. Changes (or at least the desire for change) have to first emerge in the broader society before they can find an audience and be implemented by dependent and institutionalized forms such as educational systems. Patterns of cultural involvement permeate different supra-individual structures and are then transferred from supra-individual structures to individual actors. However, often, educational research seems to be stuck in this complex fabric and we have to turn to sociological research for some meta-understanding of these processes and the possibilities for further evolution.

In recent decades, a global cultural model has emerged together with a modern individuality (Giddens, 1991). These new cultural patterns are rooted in the reflexivity of modern thinking and science, in material and virtual mobility as well as

in transnational technological, political, and economic processes (Castells, 2000). The 'erosion of high culture', the 'culture declassification' (DiMaggio, 1991), or the 'disappearance of high culture' (Crane, 1992) are not explanations that can definitively account for new modes of cultural attitude and lifestyle. Lizardo refers to a 'postmodern aesthetics that crosses boundaries between high and low' (Lizardo, 2005, p. 87) and is linked to global cultural principles such as universalism, rationalized voluntarism, individual freedom and choice above tradition, imposed classification schemes, and ritualized distinctions (Ibid, p. 88).

These transformations have had a tremendous effect on education and, by way of education, have led to a 'knowledge society' defined by an unprecedented increase of knowledge in terms of quantity as well as quality. They have led to an accelerated production of knowledge, pervasive permeation of all spheres of life by knowledge, and the development of knowledge as a key economic factor in the service economy (De Weert, 1999). International technological and broadly accessible media such as the Internet have facilitated this process and radically altered the notion and expression of knowledge, decentralizing its loci, fragmenting the state and intellectual monopoly on knowledge, and vastly expanding the intellectual and cultural capital available to the public. A growing awareness and tolerance of a wide variety of cultural forms of expression and behavior has pushed traditional and local notions of cultural capital aside.

The ascendancy of a variety of cultural genres has gone hand in hand with social and economic prosperity. Since the 1950s, hedonistic consumption is no longer the monopoly of the few (Vander Stichele & Laermans, 2004). A variety of consumption patterns and lifestyles are materially accessible to many layers within western populations. These material conditions, coupled with educational policy, facilitated educational ascendancy: more youngsters had the leisure to undertake advanced/higher education. In recent decades, technological facilities have accelerated this movement. The combination of these factors has made a transmission of broad cultural patterns and lifestyles possible by dint of "increasingly standardized and cross-nationally similar educational systems and school curricula" (Lizardo, 2005).

The effect of these transformations on cultural capital is complex and only recently has there been research in education that concerns itself with these new emerging paradigms, showing how educational research is merged into the process of society itself.

3. *Paradigmatic shifts: From cultural capital to multicultural capital in education*: Bourdieu's work shows that, as the Bildung concept and traditional cultural capital were accessible only to the few, and as education was itself 'educated' by the dominant culture, education could not realize a broad transmission of culture. But, as we remarked in the beginning of this article, education can only exist by catering for the aspirations of society. So, how did education react to recent paradigmatic shifts concerning cultural capital? How was this received and interpreted by educational research?

Research into new cultural patterns confirms a western/European trend characterized by a developing culture of tolerance, multicultural values, and a broad spectrum

of lifestyles in which ancient dominant forces have, to some extent, been dissipated. The new patterns are sustained by technological means (such as the Internet) as well as by the realm of consumption in which national and transnational firms become the gatekeepers of cultural goods. Education, by way of longer school curricula, of technological virtual aids and notions such as 'lifelong' learning, has become an increasingly important medium for the transmission of cultural capital. Education, which is now more diffuse, multiculturally oriented, more open to diverse kinds of media, and accessible to a growing audience (different cultures and different age groups) seems to have become the primary space for cultivating and acquiring a more cosmopolitan form of cultural capital. Global diversity has entered the classroom. At the same time education's multicultural curricula, values, practice, and research have reached a world audience. This resulted from the micro-level—individuals 'googling' over flexibly linked small networks—to the macro-level—the formation of tightly knit international research groups.

Sociological research points to new tendencies in the transmission of cultural capital. These include omnivorous cultural consumption patterns and growing awareness of multicultural and diverse cultural lifestyles. First, there is the impact of this esthetic mobility and consecration, pointing to a new paradigm of cultural capital, the 'omnivore paradigm'. Here the pursued cultural patterns and attitudes are no longer uniquely centered around elitist high culture, but contain a wide range of cultural forms and tastes, including fine arts, popular, and folk culture. This alternative cultural model originated in the 1980s and 1990s and was developed by the upper classes within Anglo-Saxon countries. Since then, it has been widely circulated in most western countries and contemporary developed societies (Peterson, 1992, 1997). Even if there remains a strong link between patterns of cultural taste and high social stratification, a broader affluent middle class has the possibility to engage in it (Sullivan & Katz-Gerro, 2006). The briefly mentioned special status of mathematics has also undergone a fundamental transition into what some call 'postmodern mathematics' (Tasic, 2001).

Second, cultural patterns are broadening in scope and in audience far beyond any established boundaries. On the one hand, there is the growing modern individual paradigm as described by Giddens: individuals have access to a fluid, flexible choice of lifestyles, inviting if not compelling them to self-reflection and choice concerning their consumer preferences. On the other hand, a social, esthetic, material, and virtual mobility opens up to a world-citizenship, which enhances multicultural tolerance. But this is only possible because the new technological and political possibilities of society offer new resources for educational practices. Indeed, if we look at national and international educational policies, we see the appearance and support of omnivorous educational consumption patterns. The knowledge society with its transnational networks, educational curricula, research groups and non-governmental input provides an increasingly multicultural education to a global citizenship (Coessens & Van Bendegem, 2007). Recent research on education and cultural capital points to the increasing influence of this global educational system and network on citizens' levels of cultural capital. A continuously evolving cultural education takes place by diverse means, permeating the whole social, spatial, and

temporal realm of the individual. Primary socialization has been driven back by a high diversity of secondary socialization processes, or should we say, by the diverse, far-reaching, and long-lasting 'educationalization' processes of the knowledge society? These processes are sustained by a multiplicity of educational policies, laws, and financial facilities. Compulsory education was one of the first obligations: at the beginning of the twentieth century, it was limited to the age range of 6- to 12-year olds. This rose to accommodate 15-year olds in 1950 and 18-year olds at the end of the century in most European countries. Other measures concerned financial and time-dependent advantages to continue education, like scholarships, grants, checks for education, financially rewarded time-off for education, temporary career suspension initiatives, career counseling, policy-sustained Internet accessibility, and so-called 'lifelong' learning projects.

The effects of the impact of education have become recently visible in empirical research: education is becoming the main medium and predictor for cultural capital (Van Eijck & Bargeman, 2004; Claeys, Elchardus, & Vandebroeck, 2005; Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007; Silva, 2006). This is as relevant to the omnivore cultural capital paradigm as it is to the multicultural capital paradigm.

6.5 Cultural Capital: To be or Not to be in Educational Research

> the concern to control his discourse, that is the reception of his discourse, imposes on the sociologist a scientific rhetoric which is not necessarily a rhetoric of scientificity: he needs to inculcate a scientific reading, rather than belief in the scientificity of what is being read– except in so far as the latter is one of the tacit conditions of a scientific reading.
>
> (Bourdieu, 1988, p. 28)

Three paths emerge from this analysis of the reception of 'cultural capital' in educational research:

(i) The first is the recurrent (re-)positioning of educational research in regards to the subjects of the cultural field and cultural capital. Educational research is concerned with cultural capital transmission and its influence on and presence in the education of young citizens. From Prussian analysis to current educational research, a variety of approaches contradict each other, focusing on different paradigmatic and historically transmitted shifts. Earlier, we charted the evolution of the paradigm of cultural capital from 'Bildung' to 'elite' models and moved on to consider 'multicultural' and 'omnivorous' models. Education was convinced of its own power to transmit cultural capital. This is evident in the examples of Jesuit and Prussian education. Bourdieu showed the fallacy of this argument, remarking that the presupposition of the possession of cultural capital as something natural impeded its pedagogical transmission. Starting in the social sciences, Bourdieu's findings have since been the object of numerous research projects in education. Bourdieu also stressed the importance of the dominant cultural capital paradigm: cultural capital as coined by the prevailing

elite. In the last decennia, the cultural capital paradigm has moved from an 'aristocratic' to a 'multicultural' and 'omnivorous' interpretation. These tendencies are broadly discussed in the social sciences but have only recently been dealt with by educational research, where they merge in a mutual process of appropriation of culture by education and education by culture. Indeed, the concept of cultural capital has, for a long time, been in the grip of a process of educationalization: education claims the privilege of fostering cultural capital, of transmitting cultural values.

(ii) Educational research stresses that education has been convinced of its ability to equip youngsters with 'adequate' cultural capital. Tracing the line from Bildung through to the idea of 'multicultural capital' (while meeting the concept of cultural capital on the way), (initial) lack of success has been compensated for by (re-)introducing both new and old ways of 'enculturing' youngsters in practice and of offering new and old paradigms of 'cultural education' in research. Moreover, as education has found new technological ways to impact on cultural capital, it pervades not only public space but also private space, not only childhood but also the lifelong path. Consequently, the dividing line between culture and education is becoming increasingly blurred. With the practical, theoretical, and cultural means at its disposal, education has increasingly become the domain in which cultural knowledge and the necessary attitudes to cope with it have been transmitted. Recent educational research emphasizes the impact of education on cultural capital, with higher education becoming an important predictor of cultural choices and of the acquisition of cultural capital (Van Eijck & Bargeman, 2004; Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007; Lizardo & Skiles, 2008).

(iii) Third, educational research on education is not neutral in regards to 'cultural taste' or cultural value. Researchers often develop their theses, paradigms, and analyses of empirical research from a 'cultural-taste' template, which emerges from their educational 'habituses'. Such habituses are, themselves, shot through with value judgments. This is visible in most of the empirical educational research, which continuously focuses on high status cultural participation and knowledge, leaving behind broader dimensions of cultural capital such as its multicultural aspects, its middle class motivational aspects, and the importance of societal and economic efforts and incentives (Reay, 2004). It is also notable that educational researchers themselves use a vocabulary implying a latent rhetoric of the 'good', meaning the 'elite status notions', using terms such as 'highbrow', 'prestigious', in contradistinction to terms such as 'middlebrow' or 'lowbrow' (Lareau & Weininger, 2003).

Are these researchers conscious of the loaded discourse which they are employing? Again, we find some help for dealing with this issue in Bourdieu's reading of the French academic and intellectual world in his *Homo Academicus*. Looking at this book in purely descriptive terms, we should consider the fact that Bourdieu was himself immersed in the world he was describing. By the same token, as researchers,

do we not feeling uncomfortable reading this book, reflecting on the 'cultural' status position from/in which we do research? Surely our research, our entire university system, our research questions and subjects, and the ways in which we respond to them, our 'procedures' for refereeing, promotion and tenure, our 'formal' criteria for belonging and excluding, must, in some way, be influenced and inextricably tied to the dominant cultural values in which we find our way as professors, students, researchers, etc. A 'cultural habitus' is inscribed in our research descriptions, attitudes, and topics. These areas are invariably bound to some form of 'normativity' and therefore challenge all our efforts to be neutral ad reflexive. As Hervé Varenne writes *The 'goals' of the university, that is the uses to which it is put by those who are not 'of' the university but are in control of it, cannot possibly be bracketed (1996).* Do educational researchers question their own cultural-taste habituses, the influence of their own trajectories? They do. But often 'western' and 'traditional' views on cultural capital prevail, and, if there is some syncretism with other cultural values, these are described from a western research standpoint. Research on multicultural attitudes, on tolerance, and acceptance of non-western attitudes and cultural tastes provides ways of appropriating new patterns and as such, remains within the dominant framework of western education and science. Educational research is still questioning its implications: how will the following generations handle cultural capital? And if educational research remains in the grip of its own cultural taste paradigms, how will it help education pave the way for equal cultural capital rights? (Self-)reflexivity is a difficult task even for researchers aware of the need for it!

6.6 Conclusion

Cultural patterns, taste, and knowledge and the educational enterprise are in a mutual process of appropriation and re-appropriation. Cultural capital has to be sustained by education, even if this sustenance is marked by failure. Nevertheless, society asks education to pursue this difficult task. Indeed education sees this as its highest task, from the concept of Bildung to the multicultural paradigm. To realize this task, it has, on the one hand, to adhere to traditional values, offering stability to society, and to the individual. On the other hand, it has to develop and both transmit societal values and include transformations. This used to be done by directly and overtly transmitting acknowledged cultural capital in the schoolroom in a system that was compulsory but restricted in time and apparently not particularly successful. Nowadays this approach has been largely replaced by a much more pervading and omnipresent 'knowledge society' system of educationalization. Educational research is still questioning its implications: how will the following generations handle cultural capital? And if educational research remains in the grip of its own cultural taste paradigms, how will it help education pave the way for equal cultural capital rights?

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Chapter 7
The 'Educationalisation' of the Language of Progressivism Exploring the Nature of a True Alternative

Nancy Vansieleghem and Bruno Vanobbergen

> *Si j'avais à organiser aujourd'hui cette école du people, je m'appuierais sur ce principe que ce qui conditionne la vie des hommes, ce qui suscite et oriente leurs pensées, ce qui justifie leur comportement individuel et social, c'est le travail. Dans tout ce qu'il a aujourd'hui de complexe et de socialement organisé, le travail est moteur essentiel, élément de progrès et de dignité, symbole de paix et de fraternité.*[1]

7.1 Framing Progressivism

In Flanders, at the beginning of the 1990s, some schools tried to curb the declining number of pupils by transforming themselves into progressive schools. Other so-called progressive schools appeared to be frontrunners when it came to taking in a mixed ethnic cohort. Nowadays, both groups of progressive schools receive a lot of attention due to the fact that they reflect alternative ways in which the school can meet the children's needs for learning. In short, progressive schools appear to be of great interest to both the producers and the consumers of education.

In relation to this phenomenon, many authors within the fields of philosophy and history of education have discussed the notion of Progressivism. A widespread perspective in the history of education describes Progressivism in terms of a continuation of the grammar of schooling (Oelkers, 1996). According to Oelkers, what has been called Progressivism does not represent original educational ideas and practices at all. Instead it builds upon the educational thought of the enlightenment. Since Rousseau introduced his ideas on education, most educational thinking can be considered as progressive in one way or another. At the same, it is claimed that the main ideas and principles of Progressivism are reformulated into the rules of the traditional grammar of education, characterised by order and disciplinary power. While Progressivism explicitly aimed to react against forms of hierarchic education, it is argued that instead it simply stirred up the process of educationalisation (Depaepe,

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Simon, & Van Gorp, 2005). Researchers within the philosophy of education criticize Progressivism by comparing it with a certain kind of educational managerialism. Progressivism seems nothing more than the drive to prepare people effectively for work (Blake, Smith, & Standish, 1998). Progressive schools adapt individuals in accordance with the needs of the economy. This critique bears some similarities to the critiques made by other philosophers of education who try to reveal the economic ideas operating behind the actual discourse on education. For example, Peters (2003) writes about a new economy governing the knowledge society:

> Many of its characteristics [the new economy], it might be argued, are the contemporary expression of a structural policy shift that has acted as a macrofilter for much international and national policy-making. I am referring to a significant shift in the funding regime characterising US science policy – from a Cold War federal funding regime to a globalised privatisation regime.
>
> (Peters, 2003, p. 88)

The growing influence of an approach to education that is narrowly concerned with economic questions oppresses children in our society. "[I]n promoting the development of the individual, contemporary crises show that the individual is to be regarded now as the loser in this game" (Darling & Nordenbo, 2003, p. 306). It has been argued that this homogenisation of education is a danger to pluralism and diversity. The use of child-friendly and human concepts in today's discourses on education seems nothing more than an attempt to disguise the (so-called) *real* economic motives.

7.2 A Foucauldian Research Alternative: The Free Text

This chapter will neither deal with the growing influence of economic thinking on education nor try to illustrate how alternative forms of education have up until now not been given the space to realize themselves fully or create a real pluralistic society (Darling & Nordenbo, 2003). Facing the current preoccupation with learning, we consider these kinds of critical question. These questions form part of a strategic configuration that demands that we look at ourselves and others as subjects who are permanently in need of analysis by means of which we might judge ourselves and act upon ourselves to become better than we are (Rose, 2001). In short, since historical and philosophical studies are used to point out the underlying principles of the (capitalistic) world order, these kinds of studies lose their analytical force and become characteristic of a (strategic) configuration that seeks 'interesting' forms of analysis so as to stimulate and activate the learning process. We will write another kind of critique, a critique in line with what Foucault (1984) called an 'ontology of the present'. This critique does not emerge from any shared (political) perspective or position, nor does it propose a new kind of politics (a better one). The objective is rather "the analyses of political reason itself, of the mentalities of politics that have shaped our present, the devices invented to give effect to rule, and the ways in which these have impacted upon those who have been the subjects of these practices of government" (Barry, Osborne, & Rose, 2005, p. 2). In this sense, the range of more

local conceptual devices like strategies, technologies, programmes and techniques do not serve to sum up the historical 'conjuncture'. Rather, they function as material to help us understand the (strategic) configuration or regime of power that we inhabit (and which inhabits us) today. In this sense, we do not want to make references to concepts such as commercialisation, economisation or 'Disneyfication', to characterize a certain kind of break with the past or to indicate a 'crisis'. Foucault writes that the present is not presumed to be the bearer or culmination of some grand historical process; it has no essence or underlying cause:

> The 'presence', in Foucault's work, is rather an array of questions; and the coherence with which the present presents itself to us. It is something to be acted upon, to be cut up and decomposed so that it can be seen as put together contingently out of heterogeneous elements each having their own conditions of possibility.
>
> (Barry et al., 2005, p. 5)

This means that the focus of this research is not on the limits of the actual procedures of legitimation, on what is included and excluded, but on the limits of what is experienced today as necessary and fundamental. The aim of our research, then, is not to denounce the idea of Progressivism as a myth, but to analyse the conditions within which the discussion on progressive education has been made possible – how it has become a form of educationalisation. Aligning ourselves with Foucault, we will argue that the actual discourse on education that welcomes progressive education is not imposed by a political party or by a group of intellectuals, but meets a historical reality that forces us to relate in a particular way to others and to ourselves.

7.3 Abandoning Progressive Education: Talking About 'Interest'

In the second half of the twentieth century, several educational movements tried to establish 'the new school'. Inspired by the emancipatory writings of Adorno, Marcuse and Mollenhauer, these movements are characterised by a longing for a more human and democratic society. The often paternalistic and suppressive dimension of the state and the roles of social experts in different institutions are questioned. A new view on freedom and emancipation emerges accompanied by an arsenal of techniques that make it possible. Discourses about self-development, self-actualisation and the possibility to construct life oneself appear in different places as forms of critique against the disciplinary regime. In the case of education, ideas pertaining to anti-authoritative and emancipatory education have had an effect on the relationship between the educator and the pupil. Furthermore, it is argued that progressive ideas on education can be of major importance when looking at education in a critical way. Progressive education appears to be one of the main suppliers of the new demand for an education in which educational problems are understood as problems of self-actualisation.

We will demonstrate how initial forms of critique and forms of alternative education, identified in the second half of the twentieth century, have become part of

a strategic configuration that seeks to promote education as a 'producer' of educational profit. In order to describe this (strategic) configuration, we make use of some examples of discourses about progressive education in which people (schools, teachers, pupils) are addressed as investors in added value and performativity.

From the 1990s onwards, the politics of educational reform initially mobilized in the 1960s and 1970s has become part of a specific configuration that seeks to promote education as a 'distributor' of educational profit. In order to describe this configuration, and look at the way in which progressive education has become both an effect and an instrument of it, we make use of three examples. The first example pertains to the similarity that can be recognised between progressive education and theories of learning. The second is the speech delivered by the Flemish Minister of Education Frank Vandenbroucke at the occasion of the tenth anniversary of FOPEM (The Flemish Federation of Independent, Pluralistic and Emancipatory Schools). The third example is the starterkit for progressive schools. These examples *present* the way in which people are addressed today as individuals who have to look at themselves and others as investors in added value. This happens at both the levels of producer and consumer of education.

7.4 On the Similarity Between Progressive Education and Learning Theories

Our first example notes the tendency to identify similarities between methodical assumptions of progressive education and what is generally accepted as *the* learning theory – social constructivism as 'new learning': "What is intuitively felt during the New School Movement was corroborated empirically by learning theories today". This can be witnessed by looking at professional journals (Standaert, 2005). The assumption contained within these learning theories (as argued by Masschelein & Simons, 2002), which play an important role in the discursive horizon of educational policy and practice, is that learning is not evident nor is it to be identified with absorption. Learning is now seen as an active construction of knowledge; it is about permanently linking new information to information that is already available. Moreover, we would like to draw attention to the generally held belief that nowadays it is the learner who constructs meaning and interprets and reconstructs transmitted information into personal meaning. Learning is a process that she can become conscious of and, furthermore, it is self-directed. As a consequence, the responsibility for learning is seen as an opportunity. The learner is autonomous and responsible for her actions and thoughts. She is not a passive being, but an active individual – someone who makes choices. Gathering information is different from the transmission of knowledge: this construction of knowledge is strongly dependent on contexts, situations and personal experiences.

Learning is not based on general principles or norms, but begins with the (living)-environment: the individual's (learning)-needs and potential. According to social constructivism, learning is the development of a self who acquires instruments and

techniques which circulate in an environment and (re)construct knowledge. The essence of social constructivism is that learning is understood as much more than acquiring knowledge and competence: it is considered to be a permanent process of (re)connecting circulating information. Learners, so Boekaerts & Simons (1995) put it, are organisms, and they are (re)creating and (re)organising themselves. The learner herself is at the centre of that process. The concept of teaching related to this concept of learning is focused on the provision of powerful stimulating and facilitating learning environments (Masschelein & Simons, 2002). In these learning-environments, learners are challenged to move and circulate. Some writers argue that learning-environments, rather than obstructing and frustrating self-development, stimulate self-developmental or learning processes.

By exchanging information in a learning-environment, both the learning process and the available potential for constructing an individual profile or project become transparent. Learners are provided with learning opportunities and means that fit their individual learning needs. Depending on the individual learning needs and aims, which are relative and variable, a personalised course or project can be designed. Of crucial importance are the access to and availability of instruments and techniques and opportunities to grow, expand and augment this self-developmental process. Thus screening and coaching come to the forefront as well as workshops, events or examples of good practice (Simons, 2006). To put it another way, the learning-environment in which the learner circulates and moves offers the necessary resources to invest in the realisation of the individual self-developmental project. The actual space of thought and action as regards education can be treated as a space of thinking and acting in a learning environment where flexibility and employability are high on the agenda. There is no outside, no centre or general norm that guides our life and behaviour. Instead there are instruments and opportunities to realise the transformation and mobilisation of the process of self-improvement.

7.5 The Alternative School as Added Value

The current interest in progressive education can be situated in accordance with the desire for more flexibility, availability and skills in gathering information and diagnosing individual learning needs, optimal development and choice. This is illustrated by the speech delivered by the Flemish Minister of Education Frank Vandenbroucke at the occasion of the tenth anniversary of FOPEM.

> In your schools, 'working together' and 'living together' are at the foreground. The child is the key figure with its emotions, needs and experiences. The most important cornerstones are working for oneself and the child's initiative. You also make a link with reality and current affairs through project work. And it's not only about knowledge, not during the lessons and not during the evaluation. Besides standard evaluation, the children also receive social appraisal. In both forms, attention is given to attitudes and skills. Your schools are also truly learning organisations. Teachers learn from each other, they attend each other's lessons, and consult each other. Teamwork is central. The headmaster motivates and stimulates, and puts trust in the teacher's ability to shape their ideas and their creativity in the school. Moreover, progressive schools are typically known for a high degree of parental participation. In some

> progressive schools there are steering committees consisting of parents, headmasters and teachers who take the mission of this kind of education forward. Also, parents are helping with lots of activities [. . .]. In short, progressive schools generate a lot of joy for children as well as for teachers, headmasters, and parents. Whether children in method-schools learn better and earlier, than in other schools, I as Minister of Education, may not judge, neither can I do so. The only thing I can say is that the diversity in educational methods that we are familiar with in Flanders benefits the educational system. Parents cannot only opt for a certain educational method themselves; the existing diversity also stimulates the dynamics of education in Flanders. I think that other schools can learn a lot from yours.
>
> (Vandenbroucke, 2006, p. 1, our translation)

In the first place, this illustration shows that contemporary educational policy is not looking for *the* general method or orientation; educational policy is, instead, looking for methods, procedures and instruments to orientate itself in a permanently changing environment. Education is not concerned with the transfer of knowledge anymore, nor is it preoccupied with the transformation of the child through standard curricular and educational methods. The learning process of the individual learner is at the centre of educational concern and it is fundamentally important to construct learning environments that encourage and stimulate differences and dynamics. In this sense, it is not finding the most efficient educational method that is at stake, but the demand for a diversity of learning environments. The more diverse the learning environments, the more possibilities there are to forge learning potential into new and greater learning opportunities. To put it differently, a greater diversity of educational methods and instruments strengthens the possibility of meeting the individual needs of the learner. Such diversity will also mean that schools will be stimulated to reflect on their individual profiles as regards knowledge and skills. Within this mode of thought, there is no general argument for experience-based learning, contract work or participation. What is at stake is the permanent search for optimal return and output and the attempt to generate new possibilities and forms of infrastructure so as to produce a*greater* return. Since participation, experience-based learning, contract work, feedback, self- or peer-assessment, exchange of information/participation are all conditions of learning, the issue of whether or not these instruments should be used or these techniques applied does not arise as a choice but as a necessity and right of every individual child, parent, teacher and school. However, the adoption of these techniques and instruments is not simply concerned with rights – they also create the conditions for freedom. Experience-based learning, contract work and feedback are no longer elements that are typical of progressive education, but are conditions for every learning situation inviting individuals to take responsibility for their lives. Nowadays progressive education appears to offer additional learning goods or extra opportunities to be diagnosed in terms of school output. The question that emerges is 'Do schools produce more output when they are inspired by specific figures of progressive education?' (Vandenbroucke, 2006; Standaert, 2005).

What this example indicates is that what we regard as necessary for life and personal freedom is, from the very beginning, coterminous with an attitude that asks us to think of ourselves (and others) as individuals who are primarily concerned with added value, self-development and learning return or output. Here, we see

individuals who are preoccupied with permanent change and difference. The current goal for these kinds of school and forms of alternative education is not a quest for better education but a drive for diversity in educational supply. It is the isolation of that aspect in the learning process that makes all the difference. The 'educational' project becomes a search for resources in order to achieve added value, an improvement of the learning process based on permanent evaluation and responsiveness to a constantly changing environment. This search will never end since the learning process depends on learning needs that are always relative and variable. Mapping the difference in output between traditional schools and alternative schools characterises the actual discourse on progressive education. This will be felt as long as it stimulates the self-improvement process and what that process produces in terms of added value. Therefore, being focused on output not only implies 'educational managerialism' in the name of the economy (this will be developed later) but generates a survival strategy towards the self and others.

7.6 A 'Starterkit' for Progressive Schools

This aforementioned attitude can be recognized in the debates between proponents of progressive education themselves. In the correspondences and initiatives of the members of FOPEM, we can see the importance ascribed to meeting the learning needs of every individual child and every individual school. A lot of effort is being put into optimising the learning process of every individual. This process is illustrated by the 'starterskit' for progressive schools. In contrast to traditional educational policy, a 'starterkit for progressive schools' does not prescribe the norms and rules a school has to submit to. A 'starterkit' is not about how to abide to the norms and existing rules. Instead the term refers to the provision of an infrastructure for mapping individual learning needs and aims and relating these needs and aims to realistic choices; this means choices that correspond to individual learning potential: "*Maybe you are a self aware parent who wants to send her child to a Freinetschool but do not find one in the neighbourhood. . .*"[2] By providing 'starterkits' for method-schools, proponents of alternative education are asking individuals to emancipate themselves from the constraints they experience. At the very least, they want to make these constraints transparent so that they might be controlled and managed in the context of a personal life project. On the basis of information about official rules and regulations of school- and class-management, staff and finances, examples of good practices and information about possibly inspiring figures (such as Célestin Freinet or Maria Montessori), realistic school projects become possible. The important issues relate to, on the one hand, the provision of information that will allow candidate school starters to make the most of individual needs and skills and, on the other, to create opportunities concerning the particular school-project. Again, individual (learning) needs are central to (and provide the initial motivation for) a professional planning process. Here the different steps one has to take are clarified when one wants to set up such a school, i.e. to maximize the opportunity

for satisfying personal preferences. As a consequence of the provision of 'starterkits' to progressive schools, teachers and parents are no longer seen as objects of educational policy, but as self-determining, emancipated, independent partners, having individual needs and the potential to help construct an autonomous school. By making use of a 'starterkit', individual needs and aims become transparent and are related to existing opportunities in order to meet these needs. In this way school autonomy, i.e. the possibility for developing an alternative school, appears as an attitude and activity that people can invest in. Investment in alternative schools is expected to lead to an increased learning return.

In all three cases, a particular kind of 'educationalisation' operates, at a meta-level, through the discourse on learning theories, the discourse of added value and finally through the use of the 'starterkit' for progressive schools.

7.7 Free Writing or What Rests

The space in which progressive school practices are developing and become visible first includes people with learning needs and learning potentials essential to living an autonomous life. The individual's life is, however, continuously developing and she needs resources to stimulate and manage the developmental process. Instead of operating within educational spaces as forces of rupture and obstruction to traditional education, nowadays alternative schools appear as competitive providers of learning opportunities. As providers of education, these schools do not aim to criticize each other. Rather, they learn from each other so as to stimulate pupils' learning processes. This means that schools have to look at themselves and at other schools as resources or potential to invest in, in order to develop more possibilities. In this sense, we can say that it is not the product that is most interesting, but that which makes the difference or profit. Difference becomes profit or interest. It is not that talk of what is 'better' has completely disappeared but this notion must, for the time being, be deemed to be indefinitely revisable. In relation to this, there is talk of 'critical friends', 'healthy competition' or 'win–win situations'. The norm and the difference (the critique) have changed place. When learning return and learning potential are the starting points, the difference between traditional and alternative education can no longer be thought of in terms of a radical break or rupture. A mode of thinking about education that starts from learning needs does not benefit from a concept of education seen as counter-practice. When thinking and acting are focused on learning return and learning potential, difference and critique reveal themselves to be sources of investment. Contrary to the transmission model of knowledge, education now provides or produces challenging (learning)-environments. In learning-environments, difference and discomfort are experienced as opportunities to work upon the self and as something to invest in. This is beyond the difference between norm and need, adult and child, conservative and progressive, method or without method, comfort or discomfort. Of course, there is still talk of difference between adults and children, conservatism and progressivism, progressive schools and traditional schools, comfort and discomfort, norms and needs, but these differences and

figures are only visible within an understanding of people's lives that is taken as the result of (informed) choices that individuals make (Masschelein & Simons, 2002). Difference appears in the light of the fact that each individual is trying to develop herself through the learning she accomplishes and the difference this makes in the marketplace of life (Miller & Rose, 1995).

The critical call in the 1960s to install a form of education that would be focused on resistance against repressive and tyrannical education is normative for education, today. These days, education has to do with the provision of learning environments or instruments and techniques to transform everything that is different into something one can invest in. Moreover, education (and educational research) is not about mastering difference, but about permanently focusing on and responding to differences to continue the ongoing accumulation and optimisation of learning opportunities and learning return. Thus, it can be argued that everybody is included in the open space that education wants to offer: an open space or environment from which nobody can escape. From this perspective, the notion of 'escape' loses its force – 'escape' becomes synonymous with a refusal to take up one's freedom and opportunities and disavowal of the responsibility for finding one's own way of life. Everyone and everything is conceived in terms of optimisation opportunities, flexibility, free choices, self-control and optimal learning. Not taking up one's freedom is not interpreted as not exercising, shamefully, one's responsibility, but as the lack of opportunities and instruments to work upon the self. Understanding education in terms of (learning)-environments is in other words an understanding of a time and space in which there is no outside and no exclusion possible. Inclusion and exclusion, inside and outside, norm or need, all belong to the list of 'survival indicators' (Corning, 2000).

What rests is not again a thinking of difference in terms of a critique against repressive forms of education. Besides, taking up a critical position against the norm and making possible obstacles in the process of self-development transparent, there is what one is expected to think and to do today. Looking for a true alternative today is not necessarily a rejection of the present nor a matter of being for or against an alternative. In the line of Foucault (1984) thinking, difference means moving beyond the outside–inside alternative, to arrive at the frontiers. If the need becomes the norm then a true alternative is a way of acting and thinking that is not only the radical acceptance of being without (a) (final) orientation of life but the acceptance that being without orientation is not so much a problem but an opening to put oneself and the subject one has to be to the test of contemporary reality (Foucault, 1984). This acceptance does not bring us back to metaphysics, but takes us to the limit that we may transgress, to the work carried out by ourselves upon ourselves as free beings. As such, a true alternative might be thought of in terms of a critical attitude, an *ethos*, a practice or a free writing "in which the critique of what we are is at the same time the historical analysis of the limits that are imposed on us and an experiment with the possibility of going beyond them" (Foucault, 1984, p. 50). From Foucault's perspective, doing research can be considered as *writing a free text*. Typical for a free text is the absence of any purpose or destination, as a free text is guided by the confrontation with freedom itself. After all, it does not aim at interpreting deficits in regard to underlying principles such as justice, rationality or equality. A free text is

rather the expression of an individual experience aimed at freeing ourselves of what we are supposed to take for granted. The drive of writing this text cannot be situated in the search for the *real* voice of the child or questions pertaining to how we can do justice to the voice of the child. The force at work here is not alluded to in the spirit of poststructuralist playfulness. It is undertaken to allow a space for the work of freedom, opening up a possible transformation of or the refiguring of experience itself. Writing a free text means to look for a possibility to think something else. Through looking for this possibility, we liberate ourselves. Therefore, writing a free text is not about truth, but a kind of experience (Foucault, 1997). The nature of this writing does not lie in the presentation of a set of historically verifiable conclusions, but in the experience to which this thinking in terms of historic verifiable conclusions offers this possibility. In this sense, such a text does not represent historical shifts, but "a shattering of conventional thought that strikes at the heart of our most taken-for-granted motivation" (Barry et al., 2005, p. 6).

This notion of the free text opens the possibility for interpreting Freinet's ideas not as operating within a specific configuration, but as allowing a general *ethos* (or critical attitude) to be put to work with which the study of the present can be approached. A special place should be allocated to his ideas about writing a free text. According to Freinet (1978), writing and printing are exercises in accepting what comes into being. This kind of writing is free, not because the text gives the right arguments to defend a certain position, nor because it expresses the real feelings of the child, but because it is writing itself that discloses. He considers writing as the expression of what can be said and thought, the expression of freedom itself. The child feels a need to present what freedom is, just like it feels the need to walk and to talk. Here the child puts itself at stake.

Taking up this legacy is the real challenge for progressive education that has freed itself from the burden of the dominant discourse. Arguing that it (free writing) is itself free of other kinds of educationalisation is to overstate matters, but it may be able to do just what is needed to honour the spirit of a true alternative.

Notes

1. If I should be responsible for organising school for the people today, I would lean on the idea of work, as work shapes people's lives, gives orientation to their thoughts and justifies their individual and social behaviour. In the complexity of today's social life, work can be regarded as the driving force, a hallmark of progress and dignity and a symbol of peace and fraternity.
2. www.methodeschoolopstarten.be downloaded on 20/10/2007.

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Chapter 8
Parenting and the Art of Being a Parent

Geertrui Smedts

> *It's not the technology that is scary. It's what it does to the relationships between people, like callers and operators, that's scary.*
>
> (Pirsig, 1974, p. 155)

8.1 Dipping into the Technological Submergence of Education

During the last decade, newspapers, educational books, web sites, and research have informed us extensively about the existence of 'cyber kids' or 'digikids' surfing the Net at different times of the day for different purposes. In fact, for a topic as petty as the Internet (this seems like a petty topic when one considers the amalgam of issues surrounding bringing up children), the attention paid to it is astonishing. Here, a number of topics rear their heads. Children have a 'Second life' in cyberspace in which they experiment with the borders of life's possibilities (Het is een tweede kans, 2007). And, as we once used to have a diary at primary school, children now construct weblogs to record what happens in their lives (Delver, 2004). Of course, as in real life, much communication takes place: cyber talk in chat boxes and cyber cafés with cyber friends are common practices among youngsters today. Most interestingly, problems and risks, which we encounter in real life, have become cyber issues too: people can become cyber addicts if they use the Internet too extensively and are at risk from cyber pedophiles: "Be aware that sex perverts and paedophiles have direct access to your child. That cable in your house connects them to the whole world" (Gerarts in Beel, 2006, Binnenland 12).

When children enter a cyberworld, parents obviously need to know about that world so as to be able to bring their children up in it – it is comparable to the need to know about traffic rules if you want to teach your children how to cross the street. In accordance with an expanding computerized world, parents are urged to engage with technological means and possibilities. It is said, for example, that parents "will have to learn what MySpace is, and how children use it" (Deckmyn, 2007, Economie

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24) or that "[i]f you really want a thorough protection, you are better off with a specialized software package. With the program CyberPatrol you can add several users for whom you can choose a standard profile per age category" (Bossuyt, 2006, p. 2.1) and "to protect children from inappropriate books or magazines, parents should supervise what their children read. Similarly, parents need to watch where their children travel in cyberspace" (Bremer & Rauch, 1998, p. 559). Thornburg & Lin (2002,7.1) argue that acquiring this knowledge and these skills is not superfluous, as parents cannot fall back on their previous, real-life experiences because ". . . some real-world lessons do not carry over well to cyberspace" and "[r]ules of behaviour in cyberspace are sometimes different than in real life, and new behaviours and traditions are created".

Having dipped at random into the wealth of material found on this topic, we see that the Internet in education is a vivid and popular topic in research, the media, and educational support. Indeed, parents as well as educational experts wonder in which ways these new trends (that children especially are rather fond of) have repercussions for education and educational relationships. In the examples mentioned, it is interesting to see the authors emphasize that they have discovered *new* traditions and *new* rules of behavior that should be taken into account by education. According to Thornburg & Lin (2002, 7.1), who engaged in a profound study on youth and pornography on the Internet (in America), these new rules and traditions:

> . . . are often a mystery to parents, though their children may be quite comfortable with them. For example, technology enables multitasking to a much greater degree than has been possible in the past (e.g., conducting a number of conversations via instant messages and telephone simultaneously), whereas a rule that governs many, though not all, adult interactions with other people is one of paying full attention.

So it is believed that the Internet is a mystery, for parents especially, bringing about something new, something extra into our lives and therefore, into education too. But it is not just the Internet environment that is new, nor is it simply the case that there is more on offer now; the educational relationship has also changed. In this citation, Thornburg and Lin refer to the differences between the levels of attention paid when working on something, ranging from adult's full attention to youngsters multitasking efforts. As such, we can see that parents and children have different approaches to reality and it is not the parents' approach that is postulated as more valuable than the children's. What is more, the rules children and adults apply (online) are not just divergent. It is also believed that children are more knowledgeable than their parents. In that respect, Thornburg & Lin (2002, 7.1) continue by saying that

> [t]he generation gap with respect to the Internet is large and profound. Perhaps for the first time, children – as a group – are more knowledgeable than their parents about an increasingly pervasive technology. These 'digital children' have never known a world without personal computers, and many have been exposed to the Internet for a very large fraction of their lives. They also have the time and the inclination to explore the limits of the technology. The result is that, compared to their parents, they are more knowledgeable about how to do things on the Internet and with other forms of information technology, and more knowledgeable about what things can be done and what experiences can be had on the Internet. In practice, such expertise makes the teenager rather than the parents the in-house expert on computers, and such reliance on the teenagers whom one is trying to guide and parent presents interesting challenges not generally faced by parents in the past.

These two citations highlight the two major issues that underlie the need to investigate and write about the Internet and parenting. First, years after television had seen the light of day and caused such excitement, there is once again the emphasis on the fact that something *new* happens to us – with the Internet this time – and makes us wonder about how to deal with it educationally as we did years ago. Second, however, in comparison to the television, the Internet seems to have brought about an inversion of the educational relationship. Subsequently, writers in this field suggest that the Internet introduces *interesting challenges* for parents. Parents are not the ones who have total authority over what is to be learned as children are knowledgeable about the Internet and they are not. It is the teenagers that are the *in-house experts*. Taking account of both these matters, what does parenting or being a parent mean?

8.2 Challenges for Parents: The Imperative of Technology

If we adhere to the view presented by the prominent American scientists Thornburg and Lin (as well as the other authors mentioned above), the interesting challenges which face parents in the age of the Internet involve the fact that they *will have to learn* about the possibilities of the Net. They *should supervise* children when they are surfing, and they should use *specialized software* in order to deal with these new rules and traditions. All these ideas pertaining to what parenting involving the Internet should look like refer to the view that technology is an artefact or tool (Introna, 2005), meaning that: "[w]hen tools become incorporated in practices [such as households] it tends to have a more or less determinable impact on those practices" (Introna, 2005, 5.). It is not only the goals that will be determined by technology, but also the means to achieve those goals. I will call this tendency the *technological submergence* of our lives. This will involve reference to the *technologization* of the society we live in, a condition in which everything is seen in terms of instrumental value.

The immediately visible impact of technologization is that youngsters are seen as the experts while parents *must* catch up. Parents *have to* cope with the Internet, without being questioned about what their position toward the Internet is – they *have to* become knowledgeable about it. Moreover then, being a parent is reduced to the same thing as being technologized. Parents cannot *but* follow. Introna (2005) elaborates on this view using a nice example:

> A thermostat on the wall that we simply set at a comfortable temperature now replaces the process of chopping wood, building the fire and maintaining it. Our relationship with the environment is now reduced to, and disclosed to us as a control that we simply set to our liking. In this way devices 'de-world' our relationship with things by disconnecting us from the full actuality (or contextuality) of everyday life. [. . .] . . . contemporary humans surrounded by devices, are doomed increasingly to relate to the world in a disengaged manner.

What I am trying to get across is that we fell in love with the Internet, had high hopes for what this new thing had to offer (Lambeir, 2004), and are now swamped in it and submerged by it. *Both* children *and* their parents are usurped by the Internet. A practical consequence of technologization is a tendency toward multitasking.

Technology gives youngsters the possibility to do many things at once. It is argued in some quarters that multitasking involves disengaging from reality, as multitasking youngsters seem to be disconnected from or no longer engrossed in what they are doing anymore. They flit from one task to another and therefore are uninvolved or 'de-worlded'. Parents, on the contrary, are believed to pay full attention to what they are doing. They stand for what Pirsig calls "old-fashioned gumption" (1974, p. 358; *see further*). But if we may take the opinions on how to deal with our surfing children for granted parents are also 'de-worlded'. They too are usurped by technology and are technologically dependent. To put things more strongly, from merely looking at the examples, it is not the educational relationship *an sich* that matters anymore, but the educational relationship *in connection with* the Internet that is most important when it comes to parenting today's children. This means that, in other words, parents no longer go through the process of 'chopping, building, and maintaining' but are in fact mere *executors*. Indeed, when seeing it in this way, both children and parents have a kind of a technological attitude toward things: they *do* things without being *really* attentive to them. Or, let me formulate it more practically: parents are multitaskers too. They are not completely focused on their jobs, their households, or their children. They have to work, clean, to taxi children around, and so on. They *do* so many things that, like their children, they can hardly pay full attention to everything..

Pirsig (1974, p. 35) analyses this aspect of life, saying that a separation between "what man is and what man does" is in play. Pirsig wrote about his thoughts on this matter, about this relation of man and technology, in *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* as early as 1974. Here is Pirsig:

> [t]he mechanics in their attitude toward the machine were really taking no different attitude from the manual's toward the machine, or from the attitude I had when I brought it in here. We were all spectators. (reference)

The books, web sites, and newspaper articles cited above consider children and parents to be mechanics, whose devoted interest and involvement is not immediately taken into account. It suffices that they are spectators of the process and adapt their mechanical insights 'in accordance with the book'. As we have already seen, in regards the Internet, the sole things that matter in parenting are the ability to apply specific computer knowledge within specific situations and acquiring the accompanying skills. Parenting is about having knowledge of or expertise in regards to the topic under concern, following the manuals, following the guidelines set up by outsiders. It is about expertise, control, and protection. In order to cope with children's online lives, parents are urged to become technological experts, or at least they should stay attuned to what their children do online.

8.3 Something Old, Something New, Something Borrowed, . . .

Some writers argue that an understanding of parents as spectators or mechanics is something new due to the fact that they are responding to a challenge "not generally faced by parents in the past" (Thornburg & Lin, 2002, 7.1). It seems that the

technological submergence of society has caused changes in parenting practices. However, with the introduction of the television, comparable speculations and perceptions of change can be noted. The tendency, to jump on seemingly new aspects of education and experience this in terms of transition, is common. This is because we obviously start to feel uncertain and want to get a grip on what has happened; we want to be in control. We therefore turn to expertise in order to adapt ourselves to these new winds in education. The notions of control, expertise, and protection are thus not new. The issue of the computer at home just brings these ideas out of hibernation.

Even when we consider a topic that is more remote from the Internet such as the medicalization of education, a similar tendency of change in the direction of what was on offer took (and takes) place. At the end of the nineteenth century, parents were urged to listen to what was considered important at that time. All kinds of problems were defined in medical terms, as the medical world became predominant due to huge developments in the field. As Conrad (1992, p. 209) notes ". . . nonmedical problems become defined and treated as medical problems, usually in terms of illnesses or disorders" and, as regards medicalization, "[w]hile it literally means 'to make medical', it has come to have wider and more subtle meanings" (Conrad, 1992, p. 210). So, from the moment medicalization begins to exert an influence more and more issues in everyday life, such as education and being a parent, are under the influence or even dominion of medicalization. Petrina (2006), in his historiographic synthesis on the medicalization of education, describes how practices in schools become medicalized. He argues, for example, that physical education, dietetics, and school hygiene are subtle, though influential examples of medicalization. Petrina thereby shows that medicalization does not mean that there are always experts (doctors) involved in the issues that have been medicalized. Rather, medicalization is about ". . .defining a problem in medical terms, using medical language to describe a problem, adopting a medical framework to understand a problem, or using a medical intervention to 'treat' it" (Conrad, 1992, p. 211).

The same thing holds for the phenomenon or slant of educationalization and, in this day and age, technological submergence. Educationalization, as the progressive colonization of practices under the direction of educational control, means that everyday, non-educational issues become defined in terms of (lifelong) learning, competencies, gaining skills, final attainment levels, learning disabilities, and so on. Being a parent, which used to be seen as a natural thing, has now become something one can be trained for by attending parenting courses. Technologization in its turn is not *just* about the introduction of devices at home; technology is not a mere artefact or tool. More than this, it pertains to an increasingly expanding technological view of society. It is a deeper, more profound societal condition that provides the background to schooling or, in this case parenting, rather than *just* a new phenomenon. In this respect, the concerns mentioned above are, in one sense, far from new. As Depaepe (1998) notes, there is more continuity than change or discontinuity. Although technologization has become the predominant construct, which directs us and helps us to define issues and consider what it means to be a parent, it has its ancestors or roots in educationalization and medicalization.

Consequently, although people may have their own ways of understanding what parenting is about today, what parenting means is still by and large understood according to its "... historical context, that is, in terms of the criteria of the period under study" (Depaepe, 1998, p. 19). In times of prominent computer use by all, and an ongoing technologization of society, the ideas of continuously evolving *expertise*, augmenting *control*, and thorough *protection* are highlighted as our criteria and tell us what counts as *good* parenting (in our world, in our time). These notions serve accounting and recounting or the continuous revival of what it means to be a parent (Cavell, 1994). Let us put this even more strongly – the digital divide is 'smaller' than it seems: we are *all* interpellated by technologization. Parents are more like digi-parents or cyber parents than they think they are, or researchers who write and cite about parenting think they are. We are *all* usurped by the determinative impact of technology and are therefore like mechanics following practical guidelines to control the situation. This sounds like something new, but once again, by thinking in this way, we reiterate the discourse of newness.

Is there nothing new about the introduction of the Net then? Does it have any *real* or*new* repercussions on parenting? There is, as described, obviously more continuity than discontinuity in play. We should acknowledge that technologization is a continuation of educationalization and the educational paradox as described by Depaepe (1998). He says that, in times of lively computer use, we can still observe the two-sided process of, on the one hand submergence, and on the other our wish to *emancipate* ourselves from this submergence . More specifically adults think it is fruitful to let children explore the Net, but they want to control them and protect them at the same time. In this respect, the metaphor of 'creating a safe Internet sand pit', as formulated by Verbeeren, a Federal Computer Crime Unit expert (Ghijs, 2006) seems attractive. In a parental conference at the end of 2006, he acknowledges the fact that adults want to patronize children by creating a technological sand pit online to preserve them from danger (with specialized software and the function *CyberPatrol* for example). But, at the same time he argues that "[p]arents protect too much against the Internet" (Ghijs, 2006, Title); he says they suffocate their children, inhibiting their opportunities for exploration. Interestingly, without recognizing the paradox, he offers advice for parents to follow. Verbeeren says that there is only one thing parents should do and that is to "... make your children able-bodied. Talk with them about it. Teach them the dangers that might be behind phrases such as "don't tell this to anyone" or "if you do not give me your password then...". This advice bears obvious similarities to the advice that tells children to ignore strangers who promise sweets" (Ghijs, 2006). The example demonstrates that even though some of us who write about parenting try to leave the technological behind us by eliminating the educational paradox, we fall back on *other* technologies – we once more *start* the reasoning *within* ICT – such as educational step-by-step plans to overcome our incertitude and get a grip on the situation. Opponents and proponents thus share the same flaw: it seems that we cannot escape the technological sand pit. We cannot *but* reason in line with what is on offer. Therefore, the introduction of the Internet has not introduced an entirely different way of thinking and acting. It rather represents more of the same. Technologization is *just* yet another tendency in which we inscribe ourselves and in which we are so easily stuck.

8.4 . . . Something Blue? The Dangers Posed by the Imp of Technologization

I used the term 'stuck', because the determinable impact of our own thoughts and creations reduces parenting to 'cyber' measures – in the broadest sense of the word – in accordance with cyber life. We are not able to see parenting *apart* from technology. In fact, the word parenting, as a verb, is an utterance that derives from technologization. The verb 'parenting' points to the fact that one has to *do* something. Parenting is an activity, a process (Lambeir & Ramaekers, 2007, p. 106, footnote 2 in the text). It is therefore not static, something that can be learnt or be improved on, something one ought to be 'doing'. This 'doing' takes the form of gaining information and *concrete* advice on how to deal with one's children; being a parent is presented as a learning process (finding its grounds in educationalization!). Indeed, in their article 'Should parenting be taught?', McGaw & Lewis (2002) say that 7 out of 10 people who participated in the Survey of the National Family and Parenting Institute see parenting as something that can be learnt. Of course learning is then dependent on outside information and *expertise* in relation to topics within upbringing that are considered important.

Stronger *parenting* demands an ongoing attitude, which encompasses the whole experience of being a parent. This attitude is nicely expressed in the online dictionary allwords.com. Parenting is "[t]o be or act *as* a parent; to care for someone or something *as* a parent" (My emphasis) and, when used as a noun, parenting refers to "[t]he activities and duties of a parent".[1] Being a parent means acting *as* a parent: a standard of how one is to be a parent is laid down and parents are to act according to this standard. Their identity is fixed. As Ramaekers & Lambeir (2007) put it, the recommended attitude is ". . . an attitude of something like an 'educational entrepreneur'" (p. 105). These entrepreneurs are expected to enhance their own knowledge and skills in order to be called responsible or good parents. It is their *task* to follow what is presented in the publications and initiatives described above.

The word parenting and its connotations might be seen as somewhat depressing, as it technologizes what it means to be a parent. And this technologization stretches over not only the topic of the Internet in education but also the whole process of bringing up children. Supernanny shows us on a daily basis that we are to approach the role of parent in this way, augmenting parents' knowledge and skills (especially) so they might act *as* parents. The problem with this is that we ". . . have no platform from which to discuss [this] other than the modes themselves" (Pirsig, 1974, p. 73). As the computer becomes predominant, we just cannot think ourselves *out of* this technologization.

We could speak of the 'terror of technologization'.[2] To do so would suggest that technology and the parenting requirements that accompany it stimulate the discussion of how to deal with technologization. However, questioning the logic of technologization itself becomes impossible. Here, it is helpful to think about what happens when our computers break down or the Internet fails while at work. We feel lost and do not know what to do. We feel as if we cannot do *any* work anymore. Instead of questioning our dependence on technical devices at such a moment, we

simply end up waiting for things to work themselves out. This is so because "... when confusion starts it is a good idea to hold it down by making everything formal and exact" (Pirsig, 1974, p. 108). We wait until it is fixed, brought back to its former status. When we feel lost or uncertain or when something other than the technological approach is suggested, we will *still* fall back on technology rather than questioning it. We cannot but think in accordance with it. Indeed it is as though one has to think in accordance with it or disappear. When we are unable to access our email accounts or use our mobile phones we lose our sense of belonging, of being part of the world. Of course, we may choose not to join in and partake in *soft* terrorism. However, taking such a decision makes one into a pariah, people will think we are lost. There is so much information based on research and expertise in regards to Internet use and parenting that if you deny its existence or turn away from it, you are considered to be an ignorant, *bad* parent. However, we fail to see what is lost when thinking in this way. Pirsig nicely expresses this loss when referring to Phaedrus:

> Phaedrus remembered a line from Thoreau: 'You never gain something but that you lose something.' And now he began to see for the first time the unbelievable magnitude of what man, when he gained power to understand and rule the world in terms of dialectic truths, had lost. He had built empires of scientific capability to manipulate the phenomena of nature into enormous manifestations of his own dreams of power and wealth – but for this he had exchanged an empire of understanding of equal magnitude: an understanding of what it is to be a part of the world, and not an enemy of it.
>
> (Pirsig, 1974, pp. 377–378)

Like previous '-izations' in which we have been (unconsciously) submerged, technologization makes us lose some things and, I will argue, therefore poses some direct dangers for how we approach being a parent. In other words, being a parent has lost some of its fundamental aspects due to the Imp of technologization.

First, what man is and what man does are separated, "[c]aring for what you are doing is considered either unimportant or taken for granted" (Pirsig, 1974, p. 35). Pirsig feels that this tendency is bewildering, not just in terms of motorcycle maintenance but, most particularly, in regards to parenting – which has become especially 'mechanicalized'. By *doing* things such as getting involved in children's cyber lives through *technological* measures such as CyberPatrol and specialized software packages, we affirm that we want to 'take care' of our children. However, curiously, we negate what it is like to *be* a parent. We fail to recognize that being a parent is essentially a natural process, irreplaceable by technological means; that *caring* for what you do *is* a central concern, not something unimportant to be casually disregarded. The danger of technologization posed here is what Poe (in Cavell, 1994) tries to theorize with his idea of the 'imp-erative'. He argues that our language serves us on the one hand, but makes us subject to it to the other. In combination, the idea of the computer, how to educate our children with it, the whole technologization of our language, and interactions that comes with it generate such an imp-erative. When we speak about being technologically submerged, we simultaneously affirm and negate something. What is negated in the 'mechanicalized' version of being a parent is that the essence of being a parent is in the first place *being* caring and not *doing* caring things.

In accordance with this, a second danger of technologization might be formulated. It is argued that parents are to try to stay attuned with what their children do online and should commit themselves to become cyber experts in order to protect their children from cyber dangers. Placing emphasis on this form of behavior negates the fact that parents have a whole amalgam of previous experiences of children and what they are about. We tend to forget that parents know how the Internet fits into life in general, that they know *how* to *have* a life, in comparison to their children who have only mastered the *technical* aspects of Internet use. When speaking about a digital divide (as we have seen, this is a commonly used expression within technologization), this idea is totally overlooked.

Third, and Ramaekers (2005, p. 162) puts this quite strongly

> [w]hen an educational practice is confined to the game of efficiency [yet another technologization term], there are fewer opportunities for parents to find their own voice. Thus, in one important sense, the meaning of education is lost: it no longer serves the purpose captured in the concepts of 'to evoke' or 'e-vocation' – literally, 'to bring out voices'

We definitely *should* feel blue instead of taking the old and borrowed and new for granted. Taking the old and borrowed for granted, means forgetting things and as such endangers parenting and education in general. If we forget that there *might* be other things in play (and herein history keeps repeating itself) then this means that what people pin down as the meaning of being a parent is *narrowed* down to a technical discussion, i.e., a discussion of following certain guidelines which help parents cope with the so-called 'new' situation. The whole discussion is framed in accordance to the pedagogical reality internal to the system. Pedagogical in its full glory is exorcized from the scene. As Cavell (1994) says, we have lost our ability to think for *ourselves*. In Pirsig's terms, being a parent means being a *spectator* on education.

8.5 Paying Full Attention

Some issues that slip through the net of technologization are to be found in the examples described above. The notion of 'paying full attention' is particularly eye-catching. Being a so-called 'parental value,' it is described as unfitting technologization. It is nevertheless quite astonishing that authors *do* refer extensively to this matter, ascribing huge importance to it.

Some authors, however, cleverly find a middle way by locating the phrase 'paying full attention' *within* the realm of technologization. For example, Lambeir (2004) in *The educational cyberspace affaire* concludes that we "…must keep alive our imagination about how to use it [ICT] in multiple ways" (Lambeir, 2004, p. 310) and that we should go for "total involvement, of committing one's entire being" (Lambeir, 2004, p. 314). As regards the educational relationship, he concludes by saying that ICT offers opportunities for 'educational dialogue'. Lambeir argues that: "… experimenting with hypertext, websites, virtual design, and online identities contribute to the constitution of the person (of both the youngster as the educator).

Nothing is more educational" (Lambeir, 2004, p. 355, *my trans.*). Although this approach seems to break away from the view that sees 'technology as a tool', the author does not renounce the technological (our educational relationship*in regards to* ICT) and does not focus his thesis on the pedagogical relationship in its full glory. He is still absorbed by technology.

This also applies to Introna (2005) who, after having described several approaches toward technology, concludes that: "...we have the moral obligation not to settle mindlessly into the convenience that devices may offer us" (Introna, 2005, 2.2). For Introna, 'not to settle' means to keep paying full attention to what technology has on offer, acknowledging that both that technology and the human being are co-constitutive. The parents' approach, when following this author, should be one of problematizing our ongoing relationship with technology. The idea that ICT and man are co-constitutive is also part of Lambeir's thesis. Lambeir presents a phenomenological approach to technology. This is interesting, but it still comes down to walking the same dangerous route described above, wherein what it means to be a parent is narrowed down to (our relationship with) the technological.

We might argue, however, that the notion of 'paying full attention' requires a different response to the kind of approach presented by Lambeir. It will be helpful if we move in the direction of what Pirsig (1974) and Cavell (1994) argue for. Pirsig argues that we think according to a theoretical model that is straightforward, unadorned, unemotional, and economical, proceeding in accordance with reasoned behavior. He wants to indicate that we forget the other mode of comprehending the world – the romantic or aesthetic mode. The romantic/aesthetic mode stands for inspiration, imagination, and intuition. It is this mode that I am referring to when I use the expression 'the *art* of being a parent'. The art of being a parent is about reminding ourselves of what we as parents of our children find valuable and bringing that out, voicing that to our children. But, to quote Pirsig (1974, p. 169), "...I guess what I'm trying to say is that the solution to the problem isn't that you abandon rationality but that you expand the nature of rationality so that it's capable of coming up with a solution". The added ingredient that allows a parent to be a parent in its full glory has to do with *full* attention; attention *beyond* the technological or the ready-at-hand. Pirsig (I should emphasize that Pirsig did not write on the subject of parenting – his point here refers to humanity in general) writes "[w]e *do* need a return to the individual integrity, self-reliance and old-fashioned gumption. We really do" (p. 358). This idea bears some resemblance to Ramaekers' argument (2005). Ramaekers wants to go back to the notion of 'evocation' (see earlier), and Cavell (1994, p. 91) points in his *The claim of reason* to the feeling that "... human beings [are] in jeopardy of losing touch with their inner lives, altogether, with the very idea that each person is a center of one, that each *has* a life" (p. 91). The emphasis on attention, imagination, involvement, or *having* a life shows that these authors, and I will clarify this shortly, emphasize the importance of being *a parent* in *such and such* a way instead of *being* so in a Cavellian sense.

8.6 A Plea for Being a Parent *à la* Pirsig: Being So

The practice of parenting has been technologized. Alongside life on the workshop floor and school life, parenting too is subjected to the laws of technological language and reasoning. Parenting is presented as though it could be compared to the work of mechanics charged with simple motorcycle maintenance tasks. Currently, we cannot but *be* so (Cf. Cavell, 1999). We construe parenting in accordance with a tendency that we constructed ourselves. Motorcycle maintenance *à la* Pirsig (1974), however, tries to give the insight that instead of letting ourselves be determined *as* so, we might as well be *so*. This would mean *not* allowing ourselves as parents to be determined once and for all as mechanics 'dealing with' our surfing children. It would rather mean *having a life* and combining the theoretical and esthetic mode in order to 'evoke'. This is about keeping the door open to wonder as regards what technologies really mean to us and/or wondering what it really means to be a parent.

In fact, motorcycle maintenance *à la* Pirsig has several things in common with what being *a parent* in times of the Internet is like. First, being a parent involves living with technology. But as Pirsig (1974) tries to point out, this does not necessitate an exclusively technological relationship. Emphasizing this point Pirsig (1974, p. 111) argues that

> [a]n untrained observer will see only physical labour and often get the idea that physical labour is mainly what the mechanic does. Actually the physical labour is the smallest and easiest part of what the mechanic does. By far the greatest part of his work is careful observation and precise thinking.

Being a parent is not an easy 'job'. As Lambeir and Ramaekers note, it is not to be considered as "...a nine-to-five profession besides the nine-to-five one, with tasks, management, time-schedules, responsibilities, legitimation and approval or disapproval at the end" (2007, p. 7). Rather, just as Pirsig (1974) is absorbed with his motorcycle *life*, being a parent is about being absorbed by what one does. It is *a life*. Careful observation and precise thinking, when being a parent, means taking into account one's previous experiences: a parent has life experiences that the child lacks. Those experiences *together* with one's (limited) technical knowledge and skills make up what it means to be a parent. Life experiences are at the bottom of a parent being *so*.

Consequently, in making choices on how to educate one's child, it is not the technological dimension that has a 'determinative impact'. To quote Cavell (1999, p. 62)

> ...what may be incomplete in a claim to truth is not its correspondence with the facts but the claimer's right to the claim. (Knowledge is *justified* belief. At the very last.) Knowing how to make serious assertions is knowing how to justify them, and also knowing how to excuse them.

Knowing how to educate one's children then, implies an ability to justify one's beliefs. These beliefs may be based on experts' research and newspaper articles

(and as we can see these provide us with opinions), but they might equally be derived from one's real (life) experiences with one's children. It is therefore not full technological knowledge, but full attention to technology *and what is beyond it* that makes parents able to justify their beliefs. The essential point here is that being a parent – just like being a real biker – is about the realisation that "[a]ctually I've never seen a cycle-maintenance problem complex enough really to require full-scale scientific method" (Pirsig, 1974, p. 107). It is attention, *full* attention that is needed.

Full attention also means – and this is my second point of consonance between motorcycle maintenance and being a parent – not taking the way that is presented to us via route planners. It is about deliberately taking secondary roads instead of going for the (Internet) highway. With Pirsig (1974, p. 12), "Plans are deliberately indefinite, more to travel than to arrive anywhere. We are just vacationing. Secondary roads are preferred". This means using your imagination and taking intuitive measures. This might sound frightening and might cause doubt, because it means that even though technologization supplies many criteria for parenting, parents will still not end up in a position of certainty. The end is the demonstrative, meaning that "'objects' will (= can) be pointed to only in definite kinds of contexts" (Cavell, 1999, p. 73). What it means to be a parent is only definite in the specific parent/child relation. The end is *being*, being *a parent*. Moreover, Cavell (1999) says, it is *better* not to be fully certain as certainty deprives you of your full attention. Or with Pirsig (1974, p. 152)

> You are never dedicated to something you have complete confidence in. No one is fanatically shouting that the sun is going to rise tomorrow. [. . .] When people are fanatically dedicated to political or religious faiths or any other kinds of dogmas or goals, it's always because these dogmas or goals are in doubt.

Dedication and doubt are so important here. There will always be some doubt. The thing is that we should *allow* doubt to leap into our thinking and that we should in a way *accept* it instead treating the world around us technologically in order to control it.

8.7 In Conclusion: On Educationalization and the Expert/Parent-Relationship

In a way, this article is a plea to honor the paradox of educationalization that we have been struggling with for decades now. It will be ever present in parenting, expanding now within the notion of technologization. Notions of *learning*, attaining *skills*, and *competences* are undeniably present in our way of speaking within the practice of education. Parents are submerged by this imperative. It is in fact a double imperative as it concerns content and relation: it is clear that what is written about 'parents and the Internet' is not being limited to dealing with the artefact – "how to deal as a parent with the computer at home" – but expands over peoples' thought and action. Technologization explains how parents are *to be*. It pins down their essence.

Educational experts support this, due to the fact that while writing about education, they do not just describe what parents *might* do. Instead, they discuss the meaning of being a parent in purely technological terms. There is only one good way to do things: the Supernanny way. And, in Pirsig's words, *that* is what is frightening, because what it means to be a parent is being reduced to the role the parent is to play in order to be a good parent rather than to be *a parent.* If outsiders treat what it means to be a parent in that way and that way alone, Supernanny will become *the* Nanny, replacing the parents with her knowledge, skills, and competences.

In response to this problem, I argued that parents and those who write about parents should be aware that being a parent is about being *so* rather than *being* so. It is about awareness that we do not all have to become experts or mega skilled in computer issues in order to be able to educate children. This requires the awareness that there might be more to life than technologized reasoning and acting. In order to restore the wonder of what it means to be a parent, let it be noted that full attentiveness just might show us the secondary roads. Both online and offline, there are an indefinite number of roads to be taken besides the straightforward one. As regards technologization, I have tried to account for it and rethink it in a more healthy way. Technologization can be seen as yet another social construction (just like medicalization once was and educationalization is now). It is a construct we have created to conceptualize, evaluate, and understand the 'new' things that are going on in our society. These constructs that were once created by bringing together bits and pieces now, unfortunately, usurp our lives and drive our thinking and acting. This resulted in a form of technological submergence – we have forgotten that a technological understanding of the world was our construction in the first place.

In conclusion, the advice I would like to formulate for experts who try to write about parents aims to move beyond our ongoing but tired debates on educationalization and technologization (debates on whether multitasking is good or bad, whether chatting is dangerous for all children, and so on). We need to bring a halt to the thought that there is only *one* way, because

> . . . there never is. And when you presume there's just one right way to do things, of course the instructions begin and end exclusively with the rotisserie. But if you have to choose among an infinite number of ways to put it together, then the relation of the machine to you, and the relation of the machine and you to the rest of the world, has to be considered, because the selection from among many choices, the art of the work is just as dependent upon your own mind as it is upon the material of the machine. That's why you need the peace of mind.
>
> (Pirsig, 1974, pp. 166–167)

In line with Pirsig then, I plead for a return to old-fashioned gumption, *full* attention in its truest sense, and the taking of secondary roads. My advice for educational experts and educational researchers is to *provoke* this, emphasizing the importance of one's own mind, one's own experiences, and self-reliance. Although information will keep finding its way to parents and parents will always ask for specific means-to-an-end Supernanny advice, this idea implies that educational experts should not forget to emphasize that what it means to be a parent is, in the end, *not* about *doing*

caring things about being *caring*. It is only by provoking parents to think critically that e-vocation as embraced by Lambeir & Ramaekers (2007) will see the light (again) in educating one's children. The art of being a parent that is to be embraced by educational researchers and practitioners like Supernanny is not to get caught up in our constructs but to let parents *be*, to let them *have a life*, and believe in their own *gumption* when they are thinking about how to raise children.

Notes

1. *Parenting.* Retrieved November 26, 2007 from http://www.allwords.com/query.php?SearchType=0&Keyword=parenting&Language=ENG&NLD=1&FRA=1&DEU=1&ITA=1&ESP=1
2. I use this idea in analogy with Jehaes & Simons (2001, p. 298) argument concerning 'the terror of the optimizing principle'. Performativity is certainly one of the underlying principles of technologization, so I believe the analogy is easily drawn. These authors argue that "[t]he logic of performativity enables a discussion in terms of efficiency and efficacy, while a question for this logic itself becomes impossible" (Jehaes & Simons, 2001, p. 298).

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Chapter 9
The Educationalisation of Social Problems and the Educationalisation of Educational Research: The Example of Citizenship Education

Naomi Hodgson

9.1 Introduction

Since the introduction of citizenship education in England in 1990, educational research on this topic has proliferated and activity increased further when citizenship education became a compulsory part of the National Curriculum in 2002.[1] The introduction of citizenship education is widely seen in the educational research literature as a response to particular social problems nationally and globally. For Bernard Crick (1999), who chaired the Advisory Group that led to the introduction of citizenship education, for example, "some historically contingent sense of crisis has been the trigger" (Crick, 1999, p. 338). The concern here is with citizenship education in schools; however, it is acknowledged that the introduction of educational measures in response to social problems is no longer limited to the domain of the educational institution. In the United Kingdom, for example, immigrants wishing to become British citizens must pass an examination in 'Citizenship' and have obtained a certain level of English language qualification before being eligible for naturalisation. Parents of children with what are termed anti-social behavioural problems are now offered parenting classes, and those claiming unemployment benefits are expected to seek further training to 'upskill'. These measures have been introduced in recent years to address problems defined according to particular discourses of citizenship based on a balance between rights and responsibilities.

In the context of the popularity of citizenship education as a research topic and an increasing focus, politically and academically, on the purpose and effectiveness of citizenship education, the British Educational Research Association commissioned a review of recent research, policy and practice. The consideration of the resulting review conducted by Audrey Osler and Hugh Starkey, "Education for Democratic Citizenship: a review of research, policy and practice 1995–2005" will provide a focus for the discussion that follows. Citizenship education is taken in this discussion as a contemporary example of the educationalisation of social problems, following Depaepe's (1998) treatment of the term. I draw attention to the way that

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educational research has responded to this particular educationalisation of social problems by locating Osler and Starkey's review within a particular field of educational research, termed 'education policy sociology'. This is shown, through the reading I provide in the first section, to place itself in a particular relationship not only to education policy but also to the 'parent discipline' of sociology, which limits its potential for critique and implicates itself in the very process it attempts to study. To illustrate this I focus on the implications of three dominant discourses within Osler and Starkey's review: the academic discourse of education policy sociology, the contemporary political rhetoric that the review's language echoes, and the discourse of inclusive education that informs both the academic and the political in this context. What emerges from the reading of the review is a more complex relationship than is suggested by educational research merely responding to the educationalisation of social problems. Rather, the approach and rhetoric of education policy sociology are shown to implicate it in the process of educationalisation.

This points then to educationalisation as constituting a wider scale process, not limited to the educational institution and the interactions therein, but identifiable throughout areas of educational and social policy that seek to orient the individual in a particular way in relation to learning. In light of the reading of Osler and Starkey's review I return in the second section to Depaepe's (1998) paper and take issue with his suggestion that Foucault's concept of normalisation is inappropriate for understanding educationalisation. I suggest that this rejection is based on misinterpretation of aspects of Foucault's concept, particularly with regard to the implications of normalisation and the agency of the individual it is based on. This leads to discussion of normalisation, drawing also on the work of Nikolas Rose (1999) and Jan Masschelein & Maarten Simons (2002), to reassess the concept of educationalisation in light of the contemporary demands of policy in the formation of subjectivity, particularly as this relates to the introduction of citizenship education and to educational research upon it.

This treatment of educationalisation and normalisation in the contemporary context leads finally to a return to consider the implications for the way in which educational research responds to policy, and the suggestion that its conduct in terms of the language of policy itself represents its own educationalisation as I come to understand it here. The scope of Osler and Starkey's review is briefly introduced before being discussed in terms of the discourses I identify.

9.2 The Educationalisation of Social Problems Through Citizenship Education: An Example of the Response from Educational Research

Osler and Starkey's review, "Education for Democratic Citizenship: a review of research, policy and practice 1995–2005", is concerned with the school sector in England since 1995. As well as synthesising research literature on education for

democratic citizenship, Osler and Starkey seek to situate national curriculum policy within the broader European and global context, focussing particularly on the introduction of citizenship education elsewhere as indicative of an international institutional recognition of the relationship between such educational provision and the maintenance of democracy. The authors are prominent in the field of educational research on citizenship education and take a human-rights-based approach to citizenship education, which they apply to the review.

In the reading that follows I draw attention to three dominant discourses in the language of the review. First, in academic terms, the language of Osler and Starkey's review derives from sociology, in a style commonly found in mainstream educational research. This exemplifies the reduction of the broader, theory-led sociological discourse of the 'parent discipline' to education policy sociology. This aspect of the review's language will be discussed with reference to Basil Bernstein's critique of certain tendencies within the sociology of education. Second, the language conforms to contemporary political rhetoric, characterised in the United Kingdom by discourses of integration and community cohesion that form part of a particular regime of truth constructed around immigration and the 'war on terror' and situates the nation-state in relation to the rest of the world. Third, the review appeals to the discourse of inclusive education. In the reading of the review I will show how the rhetorical effect of this discourse, particularly in combination with the other two, undermines its stated ends and has implications for the ability of such a review to provide critique.

9.2.1 Education Policy Sociology

The 'Contents' page of the latest edition of Anthony Giddens' textbook *Sociology* illustrates the categories according to which such disciplinary knowledge is ordered: globalization, class, poverty, exclusion, gender, education, etc. (Giddens, 2006, p. vii). These organising categories are evident in the field of education policy sociology, derived from mainstream sociology, to which Osler and Starkey's work belongs. 'Education policy sociology' is an example of what Blake et al. (2003) have described as a pseudo-discipline that has emerged from the weakening influence of the disciplines on the study of education in the context of the growth of the research fields of 'school effectiveness' and 'school improvement' (Blake et al., 2003, p. 14). It can be argued then that education policy sociology lacks the reflexive, dialogic relationship with the key terms of its source discipline resulting in a fixity of conceptual language. This is illustrated by, for example, the appeal to race and gender in Osler and Starkey's criticism of the Crick report. These are organising categories around which critique and analysis are unquestioningly organised.

Osler and Starkey's review illustrates a tendency in the sociology of education, informed by theories of reproduction, identified by Basil Bernstein (1993). They

> assume, take for granted, the very discourse which is subject to their analysis. These theories, in particular, see pedagogic discourse as a medium for other voices: class, gender, race.

> The discourses of education are analysed for their power to reproduce dominant/dominated relations external to the discourse but which penetrate the social relations, media of transmission, and evaluation of pedagogic discourse.
>
> (Bernstein, 1993, p. 165)

Such assumptions are evident in Osler and Starkey's criticism of the Crick Report, which they suggest:

> presents citizenship within a historical vacuum, implying that the project of citizenship is complete, rather than ongoing. Thus, the differential ways in which citizenship is experienced, according to gender, class or ethnicity are ignored in the report, as are the on-going struggles to claim equal citizenship rights (Osler, 2000b).
>
> (Osler & Starkey, 2005, p. 14)

Osler and Starkey offer their own human rights-based conception of education for cosmopolitan citizenship as counter to this, which is assumed to address the potentially discriminatory nature of the citizenship education that Crick provides. As Bernstein suggests, theories of cultural reproduction

> are more concerned with the surface ideological markings of the text (class, gender, race) than to analyse how the text has been put together, the rules of its construction, circulation, contextualisation, acquisition, and change.
>
> (Bernstein, 1993, p. 177)

While Osler and Starkey criticise Crick on the basis of such 'ideological markings' this same scrutiny is not afforded the contextualisation or the purpose of the Crick report, or indeed their own proposal for citizenship education. The terms – race, gender, ethnicity, etc. – take on a rhetorical effect as they form part of the wider human rights/social justice/inclusion discourse, which is seen to speak for itself.

The reduction of sociology to education policy sociology also reflects a distancing of the field from theory and philosophy. The irrelevance of philosophy suggested below invokes the charge of elitism often made by educational research.

> The Crick Report sought to differentiate citizenship education from personal and social education, an area of learning that was already well-established in schools. It is therefore not surprising that cultural and personal elements of citizenship were neglected within this initial framework. This presents a real difficulty, since in addressing citizenship education we need to recognize that citizenship itself is not simply something from the realm of ideas which can be discussed in abstraction by political philosophers. Citizenship, from its beginnings, has been experienced as exclusive and has involved female, racial and class subordination. The struggle for political equality and justice continues to the present day. Citizenship is more than legal status. It is more than political activity or advocacy. It is also a sense of belonging, which means that any education programme has also to engage with learners' cultural and personal identities or feelings.
>
> (Osler & Starkey, 2005)

The neglect of the personal and social is taken by Osler and Starkey to be symptomatic of the philosophical preoccupations of Crick's conception, which in turn, for them, implies neglect of the social justice aspects of citizenship education and its study. This reflects a common distinction made within educational research between

the philosophy and the practical concerns of empowerment and social justice that, often self-consciously, concern educational research. Osler and Starkey's denial of the relevance of philosophy to the engagement with one's cultural and personal identity and feelings represents a betrayal of the social justice concerns of educational research by its own rhetoric.

9.2.2 Political Rhetoric

Osler and Starkey are concerned to situate their review within the contemporary global context and refer frequently to policy documents from transnational organisations such as UNESCO and OECD. These are drawn upon in particular to illustrate the international consensus that exists on the need for a human rights-based citizenship education in light of the contemporary social problems widely faced. This not only depicts a context from a particular perspective, but Osler and Starkey invoke these authorities throughout the review alongside academic sources without distinction between the differing purposes or power relations they may represent. Osler and Starkey's presentation of the problem and the solution also sets out a clear relationship between purposes and types of knowledge: governmental and international organisations identify problems, educational research finds the solutions.

The relationship between the socio-political context and the need for citizenship education is stated early on

> In established democracies, such as those of Western Europe and North America, in newly-established democratic states, such as those of Eastern and Central Europe and Latin America and, indeed, in countries taking steps towards democracy, there is a recognition that democracy is essentially fragile and that it depends on the active engagement of citizens, not just in voting, but in developing and participating in sustainable and cohesive communities. This, in turn, implies education for democratic citizenship.
>
> (Osler & Starkey, 2005, pp. 3–4)

The frequent reference to international organisations such as UNESCO, OECD, and the Council of Europe reinforces the message that an international consensus exists in support of citizenship education as a necessary response to the problems presented by the current global context. The near universal ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) is cited as evidence of this political acknowledgment. The Convention

> includes among the agreed aims of education: 'the development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations'; respect for the child's identity, culture and values, national values and those of 'civilizations different from his or her own' and 'the preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples'.
>
> (cited in Osler & Starkey, 2005, p. 5)

The use of repetition throughout the review is reinforced by the use of lists, as seen above. For example, a further list of aims for citizenship education is cited, taken

from UNESCO: “skills and attitudes for personal autonomy; employment; living together; respecting social and cultural diversity in their communities and globally; and peace-building and peaceful conflict resolution” (Osler & Starkey, 2005, p. 5). And from Osler and Starkey’s own principles of citizenship education: “dignity and security; participation; identity and inclusivity; freedom; access to information; and privacy (Osler & Starkey, 1996, 2005a)” (Osler & Starkey, 2005, p. 24).

The focus shifts from the global to the local level when Osler and Starkey introduce their discussion of current curriculum arrangements in England

> The political and constitutional developments [in the UK] are encouraging debate about the meanings of nationality, national identity and citizenship and the extent to which individuals and groups from both majority and minority communities feel a sense of belonging to the nation and the State (Figueroa, 1999 and 2004; Hall, 2000; Osler, 2000b and 2005b; Runnymede Trust, 2000; Osler & Starkey, 2001a; Smith, 2003; Gifford, 2004; Olssen, 2004). Such debates are likely to intensify, following the July 2005 London terrorist bombings by suspects identified as British citizens.
>
> (Osler & Starkey, 2005, pp. 2–3)

The argument is supported here by the extensive list of references, a further feature of much mainstream educational research, and a further example of the tendency for repetition – it is not enough to provide one or two references – rather than discursive review of the academic content of the texts referred to. The volume of references implies support for a human rights approach assumed as unproblematic in light of the illustrated ‘international consensus’.

9.2.3 Neutralisation of Critique

The main criticism made in Osler and Starkey’s review is of the Crick report’s conception of citizenship education, for its failure to address the historically exclusive nature of citizenship on the basis of race and gender. This leads to their call for citizenship education to address the personal and the cultural. This, together with the overarching human rights basis they advocate and the call for children to be acknowledged as citizens now rather than in the making, suggests an ethical sensitivity in the authors’ approach that would lead them to address questions of power, voice, and representation. A reference to positionality, common to much educational research, is given briefly in Osler and Starkey’s methodology, but with the effect of closing down alternatives rather than suggesting openness to other interpretations. Osler and Starkey’s own positioning is fundamental to their authorship and the content of the review. Their own work, articles from volumes they have edited, or reports from committees of which they were members are frequently cited. They draw heavily on documentation from the OECD, UNESCO, and the Council of Europe for whom they have conducted research and acted as consultants. This positioning is not acknowledged, however, as anything other than making the appropriateness of their conception of citizenship to the socio-political context unarguable.[2]

The assumed value of citizenship education for achieving the ends sought by policy-makers and educational practitioners means that questioning the need for a discrete citizenship education curriculum is side stepped. Osler and Starkey note that

> Citizenship is a contested subject and it is therefore not surprising that education for citizenship in schools often tends to provoke heated debate and controversy, with various proponents adopting different approaches and certain critics even questioning whether schools should be engaged in this area of learning.
>
> (Osler & Starkey, 2005, p. 4)

A footnote accompanies this, which first highlights the tension identified by some authors in the teaching of democracy in schools, since they are traditionally authoritarian institutions, who conclude that schools are the only appropriate place to provide such teaching. This is then contrasted with

> traditionalists, coming from the right of the political spectrum, [who] challenge the place of citizenship education in the curriculum. They argue it is a distraction, removing time and resources away from what they present as the established canon of learning. For example, Melanie Phillips (2002) criticises the active learning approaches of citizenship education and suggests that children will be subject to 'propaganda': 'citizenship education will inculcate the politically correct mumbo-jumbo of globalization and cultural diversity. Children won't be taught about their own culture, only that other cultures are beyond criticism'.
>
> (Osler & Starkey, 2005, p. 51)

By placing Melanie Phillips' (2002) comments in a footnote, the debate about the need for a citizenship education curriculum is sidelined. While Phillips' comments are evidently oppositional to the very idea of citizenship education, hers is the only alternative position referred to (apart from Crick's). Melanie Phillips is a journalist and author who perhaps represents a caricature of this anti-'politically correct mumbo-jumbo' point of view. Rather than providing a *review* of an important area of debate on citizenship education, the only disagreement identified by Osler and Starkey is presented as an unreasonable one.

The effect of invoking such an oppositional point of view implies that to be anti-citizenship education is to be anti-social justice and human rights. As such, it removes the possibility of debate beyond these terms. So fixed are the terms of discussion that important aspects of recent analyses of citizenship education (e.g., Enslin & White, 2003 or Pring, 1999)[3] are excluded from their review, relegating to footnotes those who challenge the need for citizenship education, and circumscribing the way in which citizenship can be talked about.

This illustrates further the way that the discourse of education policy sociology is organised according to fixed themes. The nature of the social justice rhetoric means that Osler and Starkey are disapproving of the conclusions of some research:

> We have also noted a tendency (Starkey, 2000), even among writers who adopt an inclusive approach to minority groups, to assume that migrants to Europe are likely to be ignorant of democratic practices and procedures (see, for example, Costa-Lascoux, 1999).
>
> (Osler & Starkey, 2005, p. 8)

Here, the term 'inclusive' has the effect of overtly neutralising criticism or negative conclusion. This conclusion is interpreted by Osler and Starkey as being counter to the inclusive claims of the research approach. Later in the review, however, Osler and Starkey reflect positively on research that revealed that

> Young people from minority ethnic groups are particularly likely to make contributions within their homes, families and communities, the highest rates of participation in civic activities being recorded by black Caribbean and mixed race respondents. This confirms evidence from the DfES survey, which found that students from visible minorities tended to have more positive views about volunteering (Cleaver et al., 2005).
>
> (Osler & Starkey, 2005, p. 27)

No broader context for the research is given in either case but Osler and Starkey seem to find research that draws positive conclusions about ethnic minorities or immigrants to be more acceptable than the previous example.

Although a positive role is attributed to debate and dialogue within citizenship education in the review, this is compromised by the structure of Osler and Starkey's own presentation, where the potential for critique of their own position is neutralised. This treatment of debate also has implications for the type of education citizenship education is proposed to be. The concepts of freedom and autonomy often appear in the lists of ideals or objectives and are frequently invoked in Osler and Starkey's call for the citizenship curriculum to recognise the status of children as citizens now and to give them a voice. This is compromised, however, by the more technical and instrumental nature of citizenship education that the international organisations they cite hint at:

> UNESCO has identified an international consensus on the need for citizenship education which will equip young people with skills and attitudes for personal autonomy; employment; living together; respecting social and cultural diversity in their communities and globally; and peace-building and peaceful conflict resolution. It confirmed a need for education which ensures that: All young people acquire the competencies required for personal autonomy and for citizenship, to enter the world of work and social life, with a view to respecting their identity, openness to the world and social and cultural diversity. [UNESCO, no ref. given in text]
>
> (Osler & Starkey, 2005, p. 5)

Similarly, Osler and Starkey note the OECD's call "not only for skills directly relevant to the workplace, but also skills that would support democracy and social cohesion" (Osler & Starkey, 2005, p. 7). In these terms citizenship becomes a skill to be attained, a measurable objective. Osler and Starkey invoke such texts in support of their case for a human rights-based education for democratic citizenship and do not identify any tension between such a skills- and competencies-based conception of citizenship and their own. Osler and Starkey cite examples from the research literature that point to the nature of the education they believe education for democratic citizenship should be. For example,

> From the mid 1990s, a number of studies explore the implications of European citizenship and its meanings for UK schools. Following the Maastricht Treaty (1992) there was an intensification of interest in this area as research funds were made available. Bell (1995)

> reports on a series of projects addressing the apparent tensions between citizenship education for a national identity and a sense of European citizenship. This challenges the prevailing nationalist paradigms of citizenship education and highlights the benefits of comparative study.
> An EC-funded Erasmus research and curriculum development project involving 30 universities explored the cultural basis for European citizenship. It investigated the extent to which proclaimed European principles were or could be operationalised in the context of teacher education. Osler (1996) and Holden & Clough (1998) report the results of this project, presenting a series of case studies which focus on the values of democracy, social justice, global responsibility and respect for human rights. . ..(Osler & Starkey, 2005, pp. 30–31)[4]

The focus is on how to 'operationalise' the principles of citizenship, as inscribed in the policy language, into the school or teacher training curriculum. Osler and Starkey cite, to further illustrate the international consensus for citizenship education, a statement from the Council of Europe, made at a conference in 2000 entitled, "All Different, All Equal: from principle to practice":

> Europe is a community of shared values, multicultural in its past, present and future;
> . . .Full and effective implementation of all human rights without any discrimination or distinction, as enshrined in European and other international human rights instruments, must be secured;
> Racism and racial discrimination are serious violations of human rights in the contemporary world and must be combated by all lawful means;
> Racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance threaten democratic societies and their fundamental values;
> Stability and peace in Europe and throughout the world can only be built on tolerance and respect for diversity;
> . . .All initiatives at greater political, social and cultural participation, especially of persons belonging to vulnerable groups, should be encouraged.
>
> (cited in Osler & Starkey, 2005, p. 9)

The relentlessness of the campaigning tone of these political statements and related policy leads to its being taken at face value. The positioning of the authors and of educational research in relation to policy leads to a desire to put these concepts into practice, to operationalise them through a curriculum. It also leads to a turning away from the interrogation of the actual values that underpin these ideals and from theoretical and philosophical analyses of their implications.

The language of the review, formed of the social justice-oriented discourses of policy, educational research, and inclusive education, is seductive and emotive. For its audience, in light of the status in the field of the authors of the review and the centrality of social justice to educational research orthodoxy, what are the implications of disagreeing with Osler and Starkey's approach? The social justice approach and the concern with practice combine to suggest the elitism of theoretical or philosophical work due to a confused interpretation of the postmodern rejection of grand narratives common within educational research. What results, however, is an orthodoxy that constructs a dominant narrative within educational research that undermines its social justice/inclusive credentials and, with its lack of engagement with the broader theoretical knowledge of the disciplines, could be argued to be unethical.[5]

Osler and Starkey's review has been used here as an illustration of the way in which educational research has responded to the educationalisation of social problems – in this case illustrated by citizenship education. The example illustrates, however, that the distinction between the education policy and the academic response to it by educational research is not straightforward, as Osler and Starkey's review is couched in the dominant discourses of education and of policy itself and, as the frequent reference to governmental organisations suggests, shares its aims and its understanding of the nature of citizenship education and the social problems that it is required to address. The education policy sociology field in which I identify such work as belonging can therefore be said to be more closely linked to the process of educationalisation itself than to the study of it and its critique. This relationship will be returned to in the third section following further analysis of the term educationalisation itself.

9.3 Normalisation and Educationalisation

I return now to Depaepe's (1998) treatment of educationalisation to focus particularly on his suggestion that Foucault's normalisation thesis is not appropriate for its study. The identification of some misinterpretation in Depaepe's treatment of normalisation leads to a discussion of the way in which it operates in the contemporary policy context. Drawing on the work of Nikolas Rose (1999) and Masschelein & Simons (2002), both informed by Foucault, I illustrate how citizenship education and in turn educational research in this area contribute to particular ways of speaking about the self and as such are instrumental in the contemporary process of educationalisation as I understand it in the discussion that follows.

Depaepe's treatment of the concept of 'educationalisation' is oriented toward the historical study of this process and with the definition and circumscription of the 'child' both through the application of disciplinary knowledge not only through educational institutions but also through the family. Depaepe notes how being a child became increasingly "'educationally' ordered" during the 17th and 18th centuries (Depaepe, 1998, p. 19).

> In this sense, it seems more justified to speak of an increasing educationalisation (following the German term 'Pädagogisierung') of the child's life – for example, in the direction of being a pupil – with which at the same time the question of the great revolution is diverted in the direction of more historical cultural continuity and/or discontinuity, something that seems to be a significant qualification. This process-like character of the evolving and/or changing child-raising mentality was previously already emphasised in studies that are in line with the historical cultural and sociological analyses of Michel Foucault. . ..and of Norbert Elias (from 1931 on) in the direction of respectively, 'normalisation' and 'civilisation' of human behaviour.
>
> (Depaepe, 1998, p. 19)

Where Depaepe is concerned with the study of the experience of the subject of education historically, my concern here is with the construction of the contemporary subject of education. In his treatment, Depaepe questions the ability of Foucault's

concept of normalisation to analyse the process of educationalisation. Depaepe summarises that it "comes down to having to make normal everything that is not normal" by means of disciplining interventions that instil disciplinary power over the individual (Depaepe, 1998, pp. 20–21), and suggests that it provides only limited insight: "Not all historical events can be thrust effortlessly into the straitjacket of the normalisation thesis or hypothesis" (Depaepe, 1998, p. 21). I argue, however, that the insight that the normalisation thesis can offer should not be dismissed, whether focussing on the historical or contemporary context, and that Depaepe's rejection of it is based on some misinterpretation.

Depaepe's reference to de Certeau suggests an understanding of normalisation as a totalising force that goes further than perhaps Foucault intended.

> According to Foucault's contemporary de Certeau, the image of unilateral control is difficult to maintain, for people constantly try to escape the imposed pressure and succeed. Rather than as an orderly whole, society appears as an uncontrollable confusion of individuals who are moved by individual emotions, insights and experiences. Note that this does not mean that de Certeau would deny the existence of tough structures in the society, but that they [children, the abnormal] are, all in all, hardly susceptible to the influence of the guided interventions of planners, sociologists, psychologists, educators, and the like. From this perspective, Foucault's paradigm, therefore, seems to be unsuitable for explaining why the progressive institutionalisation, structuring and isolation of the life world of the child – called 'educationalisation' above – paradoxically enough seems to reduce rather than increase the autonomy of children and youth.
>
> (Depaepe, 1998, p. 21)

A number of misconstruals arise here. First, that the normalisation thesis denies the ability to escape imposed restrictions. The sense of unilateral control succumbs to the statist readings often applied to Foucault that assume his denial of the agency of the individual. Clearly there is some element of controllability present among populations as the majority are law-abiding and respect established norms of civility and order. The way in which they do so, and the way in which those who do not are categorised and dealt with, are the focus of Foucault's thought.

Second, normalisation relies on the employment of disciplinary and professional knowledge, not on individual professionals per se. Foucault was in part concerned with the way in which disciplinary knowledge is instrumental in constructing such norms and the way in which individuals understand their own 'emotions, insights, and experiences'. It is the intervention of the knowledge, therefore, of planners, sociologists, psychologists, educators, etc., that is at work in enacting discipline and punishment rather than the physical presence of these individuals as suggested by de Certeau's critique.

A third issue relates to normalisation and autonomy. Foucault's normalisation thesis is deemed inappropriate as the autonomy of children and youth is seen to have reduced rather than increased with the process of educationalisation. This suggests an understanding that assumes that being subject to processes of normalisation in society and education would enable to children to live a more autonomous existence as they would not be subject to stigmatisations of abnormality and could function normally; they would be free from such pressures. But Foucault's normalisation

thesis does not lead to an either/or analysis of the historical development of processes and techniques of normalisation. Rather, normalisation refers to the maintenance of the individual and the community's correct functioning and orientation to family, social life, work, health, education, etc. It is not a case of being 'normal' equating to a form of freedom in the negative sense. The binary-based understanding suggested by the citation of de Certeau implies that once one chooses to be, or is, bad or abnormal one is beyond the control of the stated authorities and that these are physical authorities. Rather, according to Foucault's thesis, and in further work on bio-power and governmentality, it is the normal that provides the definition or boundaries of the abnormal, and it is the disciplinary knowledge of, rather than the physical presence of, the sociologist, psychologist, etc. that is brought to bear on the definition of categories of normal and thus on the conduct of the individual.

Nikolas Rose (1999), applying these ideas to the contemporary context, argues that the strict disciplinary techniques of Foucault's original thesis are no longer required as it is now assumed that the individual *wants* to be healthy, clean, successful, etc. and thus normalising techniques operate differently as the citizen is situated as consumer rather than subject, given the freedom to make choices based on their 'desires for self-development' (Rose, 1999, p. 88). Instead:

> The project of responsible citizenship has been fused with individuals' projects for themselves. What began as a social norm here ends as a personal desire. Individuals act upon themselves and their families in terms of the languages, values and techniques made available to them by professions, disseminated through the apparatus of the mass media or sought by the troubled through the market. Thus,. . .it has become possible to govern without governing society – to govern through the 'responsibilized' and 'educated' anxieties and aspirations of individuals and their families.
>
> (Rose, 1999, p. 88)

However, Rose argues, a minority fall outside of this 'regime of civility' into a category populated by "the 'usual suspects' – the lone parent, the delinquent juvenile, the school truant, the drug user, the homeless person, the alcoholic" (Rose, 1999, p. 88).

> The 'urban underclass' becomes a new way of codifying this socially problematic and heterogenous population of anti-citizens – an amalgam of cultural pathology and personal weakness which is racialized in particular ways, spatialized within the topography of the city, moralized through a link with sexual promiscuity and the 'unmarried mother', criminalized through a propensity to drugs and lawlessness.
>
> (Rose, 1999, p. 88)

In light of this changed relationship between the individual and the state and the way in which categories of civil and uncivil, normal and abnormal are constructed, the way in which social problems are constructed through the knowledge of the disciplines, as represented by the discourses of the professional experts (e.g., on television in *Supernanny*, *You Are What You Eat?*, in newspaper health pages every Tuesday, the identification of 'superfoods', the frequency with which one reads

'Research says. . ..') requires attention if the educational solutions sought to overcome them are to be scrutinised.

Masschelein & Simons's (2002) analysis of the European space of higher education relates how a central aspect of citizenship involves the creation of the entrepreneurial self. Revealing again the centrality of terms such as autonomy and empowerment to policy discourse, Masschelein and Simons show how individuals are positioned as stakeholders: "The student is no longer an object of teaching, but a self-determining, emancipated or empowered partner. . ." (Masschelein & Simons, 2002, p. 5). Their analysis refers particularly to the European space of higher education but can be seen as indicative of education across Europe more broadly and the space created by situating the individual as a European or global citizen.

Research oriented toward the operationalisation of the principles of citizenship – freedom and autonomy among them – arguably then becomes instrumental in shaping the techniques available to the entrepreneurial self. The normalisation thesis should not be dismissed as inappropriate for the study of educationalisation. In the contemporary context in question here educationalisation is taken to be a process of a particular nature at work, of a different order to the necessary relationship between the education and the social world it seeks to prepare students for. It is seen as referring to a process of induction into dominant contemporary educational discourses. The rhetoric seen in Osler and Starkey's review and the field of education policy sociology more generally can be usefully understood in this context. In the current context these discourses work to orient the citizen in relation to the wider context of Europe and the global economy in service of national competitiveness. Educational and social policy are oriented toward maximising one's worth as a citizen, through achieving one's potential in education, investing time and effort in volunteering, and contributing by working effectively and efficiently to one's full potential. The commodification of rights and responsibilities in contemporary discussion of citizenship further adds to this sense of 'investment', 'valuable contribution' or, for the anti-citizen, 'paying one's debt to society'. Responsibility for learning in this contemporary discourse of education lies with the learner, an autonomous stakeholder (Masschelein & Simons, 2002, p. 4). In the era of lifelong learning, educationalisation is no longer concerned only with the relation between adult and child in the educational institution but is all pervasive.

Normalisation should not be seen as a totalising singular process as Depaepe's use of de Certeau may suggest, but as referring to an orientation in a particular direction in relation to work, family, education, and health determined by the diagnosis of social norms and problems by professional knowledge. This is no longer solely the public knowledge of the state but, as Rose has suggested, is also informed by an interrelationship between the public and the private that allows consumer choice to inform the direction one takes and the discourses according to which one identifies and works toward their aspirations. Not being oriented in such a direction, being outside the 'regime of civility' in Rose's terms, leads not to freedom from such technologies but to subjection to interventionist strategies operating in their name. These measures are not invoked solely for the criminal or ill, restricted to the

strict discipline of the penal or medical institution, but encompass measures such as driving courses rather than fines and custodial sentences, parenting classes, or even one-to-one help with reading at school if sufficient progress is not being made at a particular stage.

For Depaepe, Foucault's normalisation thesis has instructive value yet limited insight for the study of educationalisation. Having argued for the reconsideration of Foucault's normalisation thesis in this regard, I have tried to show how educationalisation, in the contemporary context, can be seen as a process of rendering certain forms of knowledge into a dominant educational discourse with implications for the nature of the subject of education. Rather than rejecting the response of educational research to the educationalisation of social problems as inert because of a seeming lack of critical purchase, the implications of the knowledge it produces and the language in which it is expressed demand further attention.

9.4 Conclusion: Educationalisation of Educational Research

My discussion of Osler and Starkey's review was intended to illustrate the way in which educational research has responded to the educationalisation of social problems, in this case through citizenship education. This reading illustrates how the fixity of conceptual language within education policy sociology not only limited the scope of the analysis but also pointed to the inability of such research to provide critique. As Bernstein's analysis suggested, discussion takes place in terms of the text's surface ideological markings – e.g., class, race, and gender – rather than being concerned with the construction or purpose of the text, for example, of the policy document or pedagogic communication, with which Bernstein was particularly concerned.

The terms through which citizenship education is discussed were seen to mirror those of the policy discourse of national, European, and international organisations, reflecting the dominance of the discourses of social justice and inclusion, prevalent in educational research, from which Osler and Starkey's human rights-based conception of citizenship education draws. This concern and the frequently listed principles through which it is expressed – freedom, autonomy, unity, toleration, inclusion – are in tension with the style of the review, the nature of the research it supports, and the nature of the education it proposes.

My reconsideration of the potential to understand educationalisation in terms of normalisation illustrates the way in which education policy seeks to instil a particular orientation to learning and thus to the formation of subjectivity of which citizenship education is part. The way in which education policy sociology, in its concern for apparently the same ideals of human rights, democracy, inclusion, freedom, and autonomy, speaks about citizenship education through the discourses of contemporary policy-making, illustrates the implication of this field of study in the formation of a particular type of subject. Such research understands its purpose as informing such policy in the name of these liberal democratic ideals, without acknowledging the governmental nature of policy or its constitutive language.

The reduction to the sub-field of education policy sociology arguably represents the educationalisation of educational research itself. Educational research is governed – indeed governs itself – according to the dominant discourses of education policy, the field of education policy sociology representing the operationalisation of key concepts in pursuit of solutions. Practical concerns are narrowly identified as not requiring theoretical or philosophical investigation, which is regarded as abstract or elitist and unable to address the social justice concerns of educational research. For this reason, as shown, academic opposition to the need for citizenship education is not discussed. The relationship between citizenship and education is supported by political rhetoric, the power relations operative in this remaining unaddressed as the research becomes part of this rhetoric.

The refusal of the theoretical or philosophical enables ignorance of a fundamental question about the inherent relationship between citizenship and education. The coupling together of the two terms has become so central to the educational and political discourse that that they mutually imply one another and the nature of that implication cannot be addressed. It is not that they are interrelated that is problematic – Plato and Rousseau, for example, have both implied a deep connection between the two – but how this interrelationship is conceived. The relationship is overlooked by a field subsumed under the language of policy to which its work responds and according to whose discursive regimes its ways of thinking are shaped.

Notes

1. This followed the publication of the report of the government-established Advisory Group on Citizenship, 'Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools' (QCA, 1998). This report is often referred to as the Crick Report after Professor Sir Bernard Crick who chaired the Advisory Group; this reference will be adopted here for brevity. This report and the citizenship education curriculum that it led to have continued to serve as a starting point for any discussion of this area in the English context.
2. Osler and Starkey do acknowledge their position in the methodology section of their review, stating that they were able to draw on literature reviews previously carried out. They are explicit about adopting a human rights approach: "The key words we chose [when searching the literature] reflect our conviction that human rights principles need to underpin EDC [education for democratic citizenship] within multicultural nation-states (see Osler & Starkey, 1996 and 2005a). While there is, as we have discussed above, a growing international consensus on this issue, we have not restricted our review to publications which conform to this position. We nevertheless judge it important to be explicit about our own positioning." (Osler & Starkey, 2005, p. 12). The key words being determined in this way narrowed the scope of the review in advance. The acknowledgement of positionality has become so prevalent in educational research that it has almost been reduced to the individual. Osler and Starkey acknowledge their own position as counter to Crick's without more detailed exegesis of the origin or construction of either.
3. Osler and Starkey do state in their methodology section that "we did not restrict ourselves to any particular type of research, but did exclude those books on how to teach citizenship, aimed at new or experienced teachers, which do not make explicit links to research evidence." (Osler & Starkey, 2005, pp. 11–12). Philosophical work is not excluded, however, the nature of the selection of the texts suggests selection was made in light of their own preoccupations. They add: "We note that previous research reviews (for example, Deakin Crick et al., 2004) have

privileged the terms ‘values education’ and ‘moral education’. The relatively modest scope of this study led us to exclude these terms, which would have generated a mass of material not related to citizenship education and which would have required an additional extensive hand-search.” (Osler & Starkey, 2005, p. 12).

4. In the social and political sciences more broadly ‘following the Maastricht Treaty (1992) there was an intensification of interest in this area as’ it conferred European citizenship on all nationals of European Union member states and thus raised legal, political and cultural questions, not just because – as a result and due to the desire to foster such citizenship – ‘research funds were made available’.
5. For more detailed discussion of the nature of critique in educational research see Hodgson & Standish, 2006.

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Chapter 10
Higher Education and Hyperreality

Michael Watts

10.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the issue of educationalisation via Jean Baudrillard's concept of the hyperreal and uses this concept to consider why educational research and researchers often fail to interrogate the validity of policy claims that frame social problems as educational problems. Here in the United Kingdom, as elsewhere, higher education is promulgated as a means of addressing the interrelated problems of social and economic inequality and widening participation strategies are intended to tackle socially generated injustices. Yet with educational systems being deeply complicit in their reproduction (Bourdieu, 1977, 1996; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) how can higher education redress problems that are (at least in part) of its own making? The answer (at least in part) is through the creation of a simulacrum – the model of something that does not exist – so that "you can never really go back to the source, you can never interrogate an event, a character, a discourse about its degree of original reality" (Baudrillard, 1993a). Perceptions become blurred until the social problems that are framed as educational problems slip into the hyperreal. Hyperreality concerns deceit and erasure in a media-generated world in which the first Gulf War did not happen, which begs the question, Does higher education 'really' take place? In particular, does it take place for those widening participation students targeted by government policy?

The suggestion here is that framing social problems as educational problems pushes them into the hyperreal where scandals are hidden (Watergate, after all, and for Baudrillard, was not a scandal but a truth that exposed the rottenness of government) and we can all pretend that injustices can be resolved. But where is the evidence that this is happening? In the posited hyperreality of higher education, educational researchers should be able to expose the scandal behind such educationalisation. But do we? There is a tendency to valorise widening participation strategies and to overlook the inconvenient scandal that such strategies so often perpetuate the

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very injustices they are intended to overcome. There is a risk, it seems, that we buy into the deceit, help construct the simulacrum and fail to ask: If higher education is the answer, what is the question? Thus, this chapter does not set out to interrogate the concept of educationalisation (that has been done by other contributors to this volume) but to consider how it leads into a precession of simulacra and how the simulacra is dealt with in educational research.

This is not a defence of the social stratification that generates educational and, particularly here, higher educational inequalities. Instead, it is an acknowledgement that addressing social problems requires an understanding of those inequalities and their manifestation in the real lives of people rather than some quixotic attempt to pretend that social justice can be achieved through widening participation in higher education. In this sense, it articulates with Bridges' chapter by considering how social problems get framed as educational problems and it then extends it by examining the process whereby this reframing obscures the deeper problems of policy. There is a role here for educational researchers but it is not one, I suggest, that they are always ready to take up.

Nor is this chapter an argument against widening participation. It is, though, a critique of what widening participation has become or, at least, is (in danger of) becoming and of the non-participation of educational researchers in this process. By way of illustration, let me briefly turn to Jean Baudrillard's notion of the simulacrum – the model of something that does not exist (1983, 1993b, 2004). Here, in the hyperreal, the representation of reality is severed from that reality to become its own reality. My concern with the hyperreality of widening participation is that the rhetoric has replaced the reason for it and taken on a life of its own so that as long as something is being seen to be done it does not matter what is actually done. Put another way, addressing the problems of access diverts attention away from the real scandal – which is that education policies in the United Kingdom are failing a significant proportion of the population. Seen thus, educationalisation – the framing of social problems as educational problems – can contribute to the perpetuation of the very problems it sets out to remedy and this can be illustrated by considering higher education policies in the United Kingdom.

In considering how this is dealt with by educational research and researchers, I begin by outlining those policies and go on to raise some of the questions that should be asked of them. Noting that such questions are rarely raised in the research literature of widening participation, I turn to the precession of simulacra to consider how this process of educationalisation has slipped into the hyperreal and conclude that widening participation is not happening.

10.2 Higher Education in the United Kingdom

Higher education has been touted as a panacea for all sorts of social problems: it can, apparently, lead to all sorts of benefits ranging from better health to greater civic participation (HEFCE, 2001a) as well as enhance employability and earnings potential (DfES, 2003). However, so the rhetoric of government policy goes, large

sections of society remain excluded from higher education and so their opportunities to enjoy these putative benefits are reduced. The social inequalities this generates can, it would seem, be resolved by widening participation in higher education. Yet this presents another problem: with widening participation posited as a means of addressing social problems, the focus shifts to questioning how participation rates can be increased rather than why they should. This second problem, though, is masked by the government's actions and the complicity of the public (or, at least, the publicly funded higher education institutions and their educational researchers) and if all is not perfect it is nonetheless reasonably well because everyone is trying to do something about resolving these social problems. And many, if not all, educational researchers are able to feel good about their contributions because they are tackling the difficult issue of what prevents people from some sections of society entering and enjoying the benefits of higher education.

In the United Kingdom, higher education is seen as "a great national asset. Its contribution to the economic and social well-being of the nation is of vital importance" (DfES, 2003, p. 10). However, it also contributes to social inequalities: higher education is primarily a middle-class activity that has historically bypassed large sections of the population who have, therefore, missed out on the benefits (both economic and non-economic) it is supposed to offer. The drive to widen participation is framed by economic and social justice arguments. The former is predicated on the belief that a knowledge-based economy requires greater numbers of graduates and the latter on the intent to "make certain that the opportunities that higher education brings are available to all those who have the potential to benefit from them, regardless of their background" (op. cit., p. 67). In answer to these arguments, the government intends that 50% of the country's 18–30 age cohort should be participating in some form of higher education by the year 2010.

However, educational opportunities in the United Kingdom remain fractured by class-based social inequalities that are replicated in higher education (Archer et al., 2003; Reay, David, & Ball, 2005) and whilst there has been a significant increase in the number of young people entering university in the last 20 years, participation rates of those from the lower socio-economic groups remain low. Moreover, widening participation students are overrepresented in the post-1992 universities and underrepresented in the pre-1992 universities. From a sociological perspective, and particularly one that makes use of Bourdieu's sociology of education, higher education is complicit in the reproduction of social inequalities as students with lower reserves of cultural capital progress through universities that typically provide them with less capital than the more prestigious institutions (Bourdieu, 1977, 1996; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; see also the chapters by Bridges and by Coessens & Van Bendegem, in this volume). Thus, although students from widening participation backgrounds may increase their levels of cultural capital by participating in higher education, they are likely to remain relatively disadvantaged and impoverished when compared with their more middle-class peers.

This is not to suggest that higher education and, here, widening participation in higher education cannot be of benefit. Instead, it is to pose the question: How can higher education redress problems that are, at least in part, of its own making? And

my concern is that it cannot do this in the way that government seems to suggest it can. Moreover, there is something unethical about promulgating benefits that cannot be realised (Watts, 2006a, 2006b) particularly if this leads to demands that the potential widening participation student shape her identity merely to meet the policy makers' vision (Archer et al., 2003) and even more so if the prospective student is coerced into believing that higher education is not only desirable in general but desirable for her even though she may not have the necessary resources to properly capitalise upon it.

This poses a further question: if the government's attempts to frame problems of social inequality as educational problems – at least inasmuch as it turns to widening participation in search of a solution – cannot necessarily redress these social problems, where does this leave educational research and educational researchers? All too often, it seems, research and researchers simply acquiesce in the government's arguments that widening participation *is* a means of achieving social justice. They may acknowledge the social justice dimensions of widening participation policies (and sometimes, even if only indirectly, they may also recognise the economic dimensions) but they typically deal with this particular manifestation of educationalisation by not dealing with it. That is, the government's arguments are habitually taken for granted rather than questioned.

Yet if the policy of widening participation is to be meaningful, particularly for those at whom it is targeted, it seems that we should be asking what evidence lies behind the policy. That policy can be restated propositionally: widening participation in higher education is desirable (and, indeed, ethical) if it leads to increased economic prosperity and greater social justice. However, this immediately raises a number of significant questions – not the least of which is, What do we mean by the terms 'widening participation', 'higher education', 'economic prosperity' and 'social justice'? It also requires us to consider whether we want a policy that enhances both the economy and social justice or whether we would settle instead for a policy that promotes one to the cost of the other. This is a moral question, but to address it we need to know – or, at least, to believe – that there is some justification for the belief that widening participation can enhance the economy and/or social justice.

10.3 The Economic Basis of Widening Participation Policies

As the policy of widening participation is instrumental (that is, it is advocated as a means of achieving economic prosperity and social justice) we should be looking beyond education when examining the knowledge claims that underpin it. I want to begin with some of the economic arguments. The belief that widening participation will be beneficial to the national economy will necessarily depend upon what is meant by national economic benefit but, as indicated by the policy, we can presume that this is framed by some form of distributive justice (that is, it is not simply looking to make the rich even richer). Moreover, given that the policy requires us to

consider greater participation (and indeed that it presumes that continuing growth depends upon greater participation) we can take the accumulation of individual graduate (economic) benefits to indicate economic growth.

However, we would need to be certain that it is the participation in higher education that generates the increase in individual income. This appears particularly pertinent in the context of a rapidly changing graduate market in which increasing numbers of graduates are seeing less and less return on their higher educational investments. After all, is what we term higher education the only way of imparting the skills and knowledge the economy supposedly requires to the up-and-coming workforce? Are there more cost-effective ways of doing this? Wolf (2002) describes the process whereby the increasing number of graduates is lowering the threshold of the graduate labour market (that is, jobs that may only have required A levels in the past now require degrees). How badly would the economy fare if this process were reversed? These, and the many other questions that could and should be asked, seem to indicate a consequential justification: the belief that the economy requires more graduates is dependent upon the consequences of having more graduates.

We would also need to consider the net benefits. If it costs, say, £50,000 to acquire a degree (taking into account both the direct costs of tuition and the indirect costs of lost income) we would presumably need to demonstrate that graduates will earn at least £50,000 more than if they had not gone to university. Given the massive public subsidies higher education receives, should we also factor in the costs carried by the taxpayer? What about the costs of non-participation? These would include not only the loss of considerable local income (HEIs tend to be large employers requiring a wide range of non-academic as well as academic staff) but potentially higher levels of unemployment amongst, for example, lecturers in the philosophy and history of education.

Thus there are already plenty of conditions that may be required to justify the belief that the country's economic well-being will depend upon a larger graduate workforce.

How big should that workforce be? As generations of graduates have discovered, not everyone leaves university and walks into the sort of job that significantly enhances either gross domestic product (teachers could be considered a case in point) or indeed their own earnings potential. Even if we wanted to, for example, we cannot all walk into City jobs paying six figure salaries (and sociologists in particular are likely to argue that many of those who are able to do this do not really need to go to university). So we could – and, if we are seeking to justify an economic argument, we should – ask if there is an optimal number of graduates required to enhance the national economy.

Put another way: Is it possible that the cost of producing x graduates is greater than the economic returns they generate? Robbins (1963) envisioned a 15% participation rate by 2025 and there followed massive public investment in higher education to achieve this. However, more than 30 years later, Dearing (1997) was reporting to a government seeking – as a matter of policy – to increase participation to 50% following a period of greatly reduced per-student funding. Some (e.g. Newby, 2004) have done backflips trying to justify this participation rate but others

(e.g. Keep & Mayhew, 2004) have demonstrated its fallacy. Not being an economist, though, I want (for the sake of this argument) to simply assume that Robbins' 15% participation led to an overall economic benefit to the country and to the individual graduates. This may demonstrate that participating in higher education *can* bring such returns but it cannot automatically follow – especially given the investment required – that increasing the number of graduates *will* increase economic benefits. If the argument that higher education does benefit the economy is to be sound, then it should be indefeasible – that is, that it cannot be logically defeated – and this is particularly important if such a belief is used to justify a target of 50% participation.

10.4 The Social Justice Basis for Widening Participation Policies

Of course, current widening participation policies are about more than economic growth. There is also the question of social justice: and – given that the economic argument for a 50% participation rate does not seem to be indefeasible – should we pay more attention to this? Again, this immediately begs the question, What is social justice? And, again, within this context of higher education, I take it to have some distributional concern – that is, that individuals are not unduly prevented from enjoying the benefits of a higher education (economic and non-economic) simply because of social factors (class, gender, ethnicity and – even though the participation rate is for the 18–30 age group – age). It is important to acknowledge the non-economic benefits of higher education which can include increased confidence, wider social networks, the greater likelihood of participating in democratic processes, health benefits and greater employability (which we need to distinguish from greater income so we cannot simply turn to the example of someone graduating and then going into voluntary under- or unemployment).

However, we need (again) to consider whether these cannot be obtained through other forms of learning, social participation and so on. This is especially significant given the increasing cost of higher education to the individual. Are these benefits worth the calculated-on-the-back-of-an-envelope cost of £50,000 for a degree? Although there is more to higher education than potential earnings, we should recall that this is one argument used to persuade non-traditional students to participate. Returning to Robbins, let us assume that all graduates benefited from their higher education when the participation rate was only 15% (that is, their financial rewards outweighed the cost to them). On this basis, the belief that higher education is of economic benefit to the individual can (let us continue to assume) be indefeasibly justified – that is, it is true, it is believed to be true and there is a justification that cannot be countered. However, it is a necessary condition of this belief that participation runs at 15% and, as this is a necessary condition, it cannot be extrapolated to 50%. That proposition has to be argued afresh – and it remains to be argued convincingly.

There is, though, more to social justice than making money. It may be that the only way to give a wider range of people the chance to obtain the potential benefits

supposedly accruing to a higher education is to ensure that it is not limited to one social group (e.g. the middle classes). So let me rephrase this part of the current policy: A 50% participation rate is required to enhance social justice.

To justify this, it would be necessary to demonstrate that the current levels of participation are unjust. This could be done, for example, by pointing to the low rates of participation amongst certain social groups (e.g. working and sub-working classes) but one condition must surely be that the concept of social justice should articulate with the beliefs, aspirations and so on of the non-traditional students the widening participation policies are trying to reach out to – and this is problematic (inter alia, Archer et al., 2003; Watts, 2006a, 2006b). Nonetheless, there is plenty of evidence to indicate the current unjustness of higher education, such as the distribution of social classes in the pre- and post-1992 universities. However, to highlight the difficulties of justifying the belief that higher education is unjust (and, therefore, to highlight the difficulties of justifying the policy drive, on social justice grounds, of raising the participation rate) I want to turn to the very public policy-driven statement Gordon Brown made about Laura Spence.

In 1999, Laura Spence, a state-educated student from the North East of England, failed to secure a place to read medicine at the University of Oxford. Her headmaster complained to the local newspaper, the story was picked up by *the Daily Mail* and Gordon Brown, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, launched an attack on Oxford's elitism and 'old boy network' whilst at a Trades Union Congress reception in May 2000. His intervention, and the University's subsequent riposte that he had got his facts wrong, generated a widespread debate on elitism in higher education. As several commentators have pointed out, the focus of his attack was somewhat misplaced. Nonetheless, it prompted central government direction (Wolf, 2002, p. 231) and a flurry of activity from HEFCE which produced reports on diversity in higher education (2000a) and allocated substantial increases in funding – an additional £29m a year on top of the extant £160m a year – to specifically address widening participation (2000b, 2001b). It is popularly believed that the 'Laura Spence Affair' was "arguably one of the major events that pushed 'widening participation' in Higher Education into the political spotlight in the United Kingdom" (Wikipedia, n.d.) and observers at the time noted that Brown's attack was part of a 'carefully coordinated Government exercise' (inter alia, Clare & Jones, 2000). Yet the House of Commons Select Committee on Education had announced its intention to undertake an inquiry into higher education in July 1999 and had already begun taking evidence for its report on access (ESC, 2001) in April 2000 – a month before Brown's speech to the TUC. That is, widening participation was already in the political spotlight.

The 'Laura Spence Affair' – and particularly the tit-for-tat exchange between Brown and the university authorities – prompts many questions. Turning first to Brown's denunciations, we can ask, Is Oxford elitist? Then, turning to the university's response, we can ask, Was her rejection an example of elitism? These questions necessarily prompt other questions of a philosophical nature – not the least of which is, What do we mean by elitism? However, the pertinent question here – especially (*pace* Wikipedia's commentary) given the widespread public coverage given to the affair – is, What authority can be conceded to the story of one

student? Qualitative researchers in general, and life historians in particular, may be aghast at the need to ask such a question. Yet it should be remembered that for many, including many of those affected by government policy, Laura Spence was the public face of the widening participation debate. Moreover, if we acknowledge that the wider public was probably unaware of the contemporaneous work of the Select Committee (and we therefore, at least for the moment, overlook it) Brown's attack carried several of the hallmarks of Bridges' inappropriate bases for policy – rumours about some flaw in the system, friends in the same club urging the policy direction and the need to grab headlines (2007, p. 6).

Using the story of this one individual to highlight policy concerns about access to elite universities demands the proposition that those universities are elite. However, the justification of such a proposition may go either way depending upon which necessary and sufficient conditions are deployed. Thus, Brown was able to justify his claim on the grounds that Laura Spence was rejected whereas the university authorities were able to justify their claims on the grounds that other students from non-traditional backgrounds were accepted. The problem for Brown was that he had seized upon a particularly poor example to make his point: put propositionally, we might get away with saying that Laura Spence was a necessary but not a sufficient condition of the belief that Oxford is elitist. And if it is difficult to justify the belief that Oxford is elitist, then we must be wary when examining the justification for other widening participation policies.

10.5 Simulations of Widening Participation in Higher Education

If widening participation in higher education is to be meaningful – particularly if it is to be meaningful to those who approach it carrying the least cultural capital – it seems that these are the sort of questions that educational researchers should be asking. If we are to be concerned with social justice in education, which implies the resolution of social problems, never mind the economy, these questions should not be far away. However, instead of asking 'Why should we address widening participation?' all too often the question is, 'How should we address it?' The point, although perhaps somewhat laboured, is that the original justification for widening participation in higher education – that it can enhance the economy and, of more significance here, redress social inequalities – has become detached from the policy rhetoric and its insistence on a 50% participation rate. The policy is seductive (Watts, 2006a) but, when it is examined more closely, it can be seen to be a political *trompe l'oeil* – that is, it is something that "precisely because it imitates the real so convincingly… *draws attention to the artistry and the artifice* involved" (MacLure, 2003, p. 151, original emphasis) because there is nothing behind the opaque mirror (Baudrillard, 1998b, p. 58).

A significant volume of research around widening participation founders on this opacity and accepts without question the arguments of the policies that frame it

as a means of redressing the problems of social and economic inequalities. That is, educational research and researchers typically deal with this particular manifestation of educationalisation by not dealing with it. They look at the smoke and mirrors of the policy rhetoric rather than peering behind the opaque mirror and they fail to ask: If higher education is the answer, what is the question? In considering why this should be, I do not want to look back through rose-tinted glasses at some supposed heyday of higher education because of the social inequalities entrenched within it. However, with higher education qualifications having less relative value now – as they only can as increasing numbers of graduates take them into the labour market (Wolf, 2002; Keep & Mayhew, 2004) – I don't want to look with equally unfounded optimism at what it is today. Instead, I want to look at widening participation policies as a simulacrum.

For Jean Baudrillard, the process of simulation produces a neo-reality which assumes the force of reality (1998a, p. 126) and generates a simulacrum – that is, the model of something that does not exist – that is historical, mythological and, above all, powerful. The simulation denies that reality can be grounded in terms of the authenticity of an object which is not necessarily related to its utilitarian function as simulated models of the real replace the real itself. For example, the tail fins on the American cars of the 1950s, based upon the shapes of aeroplanes, were a fantasy of aerodynamics intended to suggest speed: "It was the presence of these fins that in our imagination propelled the car, which, thanks to them, seemed to fly along of its own accord" (Baudrillard, 1996, p. 59). However, rather than generate speed, these tail fins slowed the cars down with their drag. Here, they also led society (typically, Western society) into the 'precession of simulacra' (Baudrillard, 1993b) and away from the era of the original to

- the first-order simulation, which is a counterfeit, an obvious representation of the real through to
- the second order of simulation in which the produced mechanical copies blur the boundaries between the real and the representation so that the representation has become as real as the real; and finally
- the third-order simulation, the hyperreal, in which the copy replaces the original as the link between the real and the representation is severed and the representation – the simulacra – becomes its own reality.

This process of simulation is not the same as dissimulation (Baudrillard gives the example of someone feigning illness by claiming to be unwell) because this leaves the distinction between truth and falsity intact. Nor, for all Baudrillard's concern with media, does it have the 'contrived depthlessness' of postmodern art that offers "no promise of a deeper intellectual experience" and is bereft of any ambition to reveal "the true nature of a unified… underlying reality" (Cooper, 1996, p. 466, cited in Cooper, 2006). No, the role of the simulation, which is both alibi and decoy, is "to camouflage the fact that the real is not real" (Steyn, 1999, p. 149) and from this third level simulation that is hyperreality "you can never really go back to the

source, you can never interrogate an event, a character, a discourse about its degree of original reality" (Baudrillard, 1993a, p. 146). It does not deny reality but it does obscure it and (attempt to) erase it.

These orders of simulation transpose – with, it could be argued, alarming ease – onto current widening participation policies. The transposition is not necessarily neat but it serves the purpose of leading up to the hyperreality of higher education now and it can even be (approximately) dated. Here, the original is higher education as it was prior to the Robbins Report of 1963: that is, the preserve of a social elite who were able to benefit from it. The first order of this higher education simulation, the counterfeit, is the obvious reproduction with Robbins recommendation of an increase in student numbers (he foresaw participation increasing to 15% by 2025!) to meet the economic demands of the day. The nature of higher education did not change but its social base did – albeit only slightly. The second order of simulation with its exact reproduction can be dated to 1992 with the Further and Higher Education Act that allowed the former polytechnics to become universities and that created the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE). Part of HEFCE's remit was to undertake teaching quality assessments which blurred the distinctions between 'vocational' and 'academic' courses as components of the latter were bolted onto the former (a process that is currently undermining the purpose of the Foundation Degrees introduced in 2001 with the intent of attracting students from a wide range of backgrounds – i.e. non-traditional entrants – to higher education).

The third order of simulation was generated by the 1997 Dearing Report which accepted the figure of a 50% participation rate. My argument is that this figure tips the widening participation policies over into the hyperreal because it has obscured the 'reality' of increasing student numbers which had been to stimulate the economy and address social inequalities. The policy has become its own reality and the 50% participation rate is to be achieved regardless of the reality of the economic and social justice arguments that originally framed it.

Some events Baudrillard identifies in the precession of simulacra (such as the production and marketing of cars in the 1950s or political events like Watergate and the first Gulf War) can be dated but the slip into the hyperreal does not always follow the clearly demarcated timelines indicated by this list of widening participation policies. It may, therefore, be useful to consider a concurrent example of the hyperreality of higher education: the simulacrum of certification.[1] The slippage here follows the timeline indicated by the passage of those policies but, being less clearly marked, it is more subtle and insidious. Again, not wishing to look back through rose-tinted glasses, one of the stated purposes of higher education was and remains the acquisition of higher level skills and knowledge that will prepare students for work (Robbins, 1963; Dearing, 1997; ESC, 2001; DfES, 2003). However, it increasingly seems that the purpose of higher education has become the acquisition of the higher education certificate – the degree on paper – that represents the acquisition of skills and knowledge rather than the skills and knowledge themselves and, moreover, that the acquisition of the certificate has gone on to replace the acquisition of the skills and knowledge.

It can, of course, be argued that students cannot acquire their certificates without having acquired at least some of the skills and knowledge demanded of higher education but this can be countered by the increasing functionality of study – that is, study for the purpose of acquiring the certificate rather than for acquiring the skills and knowledge it represents – and by the 'dumbing down' of higher education that makes the awarding of the certificate so much easier (Hayes, 2003; Furedi, 2004). Such arguments require at least some contextualisation: the more recent increases in student numbers have not been matched by increased investment and, together with the introduction of fees, students, particularly those from less wealthy families, are more likely to need to combine work and study to make ends meet (Leathwood & O'Connell, 2003; UUK, 2005; Adnett & Slack, 2007); students coming from non-traditional backgrounds may also find it more difficult to engage with and therefore benefit from the higher education they encounter (Gorard et al., 2007; Watts & Bridges, 2008); and having graduated, they may find the labour market less rewarding than they had been expecting (Wolf, 2002; DTI, 2003) – particularly with the notion of graduate-level employment redefined as any job done by a graduate (Harvey, 2000).

Under such circumstances, it is hardly surprising if higher education has become more of a means to an end rather than an end in itself and that, as a consequence, the purpose is to obtain not the higher education itself but the certificate that represents and that has gone on to replace it. However, despite such circumstances, policies, and widening participation policies in particular, seem suffused with nostalgia for what higher education was; but nostalgia is not what it used to be and a mass higher education cannot be what an elite higher education was (at least not without far greater investment than the government has so far been willing to make). This leaves us with a neo-reality that cannot be grounded in terms of the authenticity of what higher education used to be. Just as the tail fins on the American cars of the 1950s suggested the illusion of speed whilst creating more drag, current policies suggest the fantasy that the utilitarian acquisition of the higher education certificate can propel the widening participation student through the labour market and so overtake at least some social inequalities. Some students will succeed and lend a pseudo-authenticity to that fantasy but others will fail to drive through their higher education and out into the labour market as they had been led to believe was possible. In the meantime, educational researchers all too often tend to look at the problems of widening participation in higher education from a social justice perspective without paying much obvious heed as to why participation should be widened – which seems a strange form of social justice to me (Watts, 2006a, 2006b).

10.6 Widening Participation Is Not Happening

In asking "How should we address widening participation?" rather than "Why should we address it?" we sever the link between the real and its representation; and the representation, the simulacra, becomes its own reality. Baudrillard turns to Watergate to illustrate the scandalous deception of the simulacra (1983). However,

neither the break-in at the Watergate Hotel nor the attempted cover-up was, for Baudrillard, scandalous. Nor was it the revelation that the US government was deeply corrupt. The real scandal was the belief that Nixon's resignation signalled a return to good government when it did nothing of the sort. Such wholesale deceptions – the cover-up of a cover-up – enabled Baudrillard to later claim that the first Gulf War did not take place (2004). His argument is that this 'war' was conducted in and by the media and raised the question: If Saddam Hussein had lost a war with the West, why was he more powerful afterwards? One of the war's deceptions was that it was 'clean' and that, for example, the use of 'smart bombs' led to a very low (US and Western) death toll. However, what was projected via the heavily edited television reports, and what people believed, was "a masquerade of information: branded faces delivered over to the prostitution of the image" (op. cit., p. 40). The 'original' of the 'war' – particularly from the Iraqi perspective – was a very different and 'unintelligible distress' (ibid.).

Watergate and the Gulf War may seem out of context here as we consider how social problems get framed as educational problems and are dealt with in educational research. What is significant here, though, is that Baudrillard arrived at his conclusion that the war did not take place after talking to the soldiers who had been there on the ground about what happened rather than what should have happened. It seems to me that we should be doing the same when addressing the issue of widening participation. Instead, all too often, we buy into the deceit and forget to ask 'Why?' Why, for example, is higher education promulgated as a means of enhancing the individual widening participation student's social and economic well-being when there is no evidence to support these assertions? Why, if widening participation is not a cost-effective means of enhancing her well-being, is public money not being invested in more appropriate, more rewarding educational schemes?

One answer is that higher education's slippage into the hyperreal creates a *trompe l'oeil* that draws in educational researchers focusing on the social and economic inequalities generated and perpetuated by education and that these researchers become distracted by the artistry and artifice of widening participation policies. The role of education, including higher education, in the perpetuation of such inequalities is scandalous. Yet, in this context of educationalisation, we need to look deeper and to look for the realities obscured and erased by the neo-reality of widening participation. Peering through Baudrillard's conception of the hyperreal with a more concentrated gaze enables us to perceive a reality behind the neo-reality: yes, the role of higher education in the perpetuation of social inequalities is scandalous; but no, widening participation in higher education has not redressed them. More students may be entering higher education but they are not necessarily coming out of it with the economic and social benefits that are still used to justify the current policies.

10.7 Conclusion

By way of conclusion, I want to reiterate my earlier point that this is not an argument against widening participation in higher education. However, there is a tendency to valorise widening participation strategies and to overlook the inconvenient scandal

that they may not be changing anything because the relational nature of educational impoverishment remains, by and large, unchanged. As with the tail fins that created the illusion of speed for cars in 1950s (Baudrillard, 1996) the deception of the widening participation rhetoric can be counterproductive. Dearing drew attention to the likelihood that students entering higher education will either progress "from privileged pasts to privileged futures or from less privileged pasts to less secure and lower status futures" (1997, p. 106) and there is little evidence to suggest that extending opportunities for participation in higher education will necessarily lead to greater opportunities in the labour market (Brennan & Shah, 2003; Lloyd & Payne, 2003; Watts & Bridges, 2006). As social problems are framed as educational problems, and as higher education is left to deal with them and to slip into the hyperreal, there is a risk, it seems, that educational researchers are seduced by widening participation policies and fail to notice that the strategies they generate so often perpetuate the very social injustices they are intended to overcome.

Note

1. I would like to thank Paul Standish for suggesting this example.

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Chapter 11
Education for the Knowledge Economy

James D. Marshall

11.1 Introduction

In the changes that have occurred in western education in the last two decades we have seen national education systems moving from what would have been called a liberal education, to what is, essentially, a technocratic and entrepreneurial education, preparing the young for work in the knowledge economy. As an exemplar, previously, in New Zealand technology education was done in science departments in the universities, in industry and in polytechnics and technical institutions, under day release or as part of an apprenticeship schemes. Now polytechnics have either become universities or offer university studies approved by the National Committee on Educational Achievements (the national degree awarding authority). Whereas, prior to the late 1980s, industry shared the cost of qualification, this has mainly been abandoned, and the cost of acquiring qualifications has been placed more fully upon educational institutions, including schools, and upon the learner.[1] As a result the problems of entering the knowledge economy – knowledge and professional skills – have also been pushed back upon secondary, and perhaps primary education. This is part of the educationalisation of national, economic and social difficulties, if not problems. In this chapter my concern is with the strategies employed to *initiate* these changes in education rather than specifically with the content of such changes.

As a premise the writings of Jean-Francois Lyotard (1984) characterized the type of knowledge that would be required in the emerging knowledge economies. It would be that of useful and saleable knowledge, and that the criteria for success across institutions would be that of performativity. These criteria will not be elaborated upon here but assumed in what follows.

Returning to New Zealand, initially the new subject of technology was introduced into the national educational curriculum (1993) and what were known as practical subjects like sewing and cooking become, in the new terminology, fabric technology and food technology. As my late wife, a domestic science teacher, commented on such curriculum changes, children may not be able in future to sew

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a garment but they may know how to *design* it. In other words what was seen as mainly a practical and technical training responsibility and a cost upon industry and manufacturing has now become an increased part of the budget for education (and upon the young who cannot sew or cook).

In some ways this may be seen as a return to vocational education. Of course schools should be involved in that, but they should also *educate* the young in the sense of a liberal education. It is not just a return to a vocational education in the old sense that we are witnessing.[2] Rather the knowledge economy demands a unification of several institutions – particularly government, administration, social welfare, industry, business, treasury and education. This *unification* of several governmental departments is also part of what I understand as educationalisation; this was quite easily done in New Zealand (see Section 11.3).

Writing as a historian of ideas I see the potential case of the unification of France as an excellent and early example of educationalisation. France, particularly in the time of the Fifth Republic and the presidency of Charles de Gaulle, generally failed to make these connections politically, but it is also possible to draw from the efforts in the 1960s a number of strategies which can be 'applied' to, and assists understanding, of what happened in New Zealand in the late 1980s.

In Section 11.2 I look at de Gaulle's efforts, as an exemplar of unifying policy in the Fifth Republic, to *unite* government. de Gaulle saw himself as uniting and unifying France, but it is also an early case of this modern thrust towards the knowledge economy through educationalisation. In Section 11.3, I will consider what happened in New Zealand. Finally I look at comparisons and contrasts between these two examples. The significance of these two examples is that France in the 1960s was unable to move fully into a knowledge economy because of democratic resistance to further education reforms, whereas New Zealand was quickly able to do so in the late 1980s because of a lack of democratic structures. Finally it should be clear that I regret the moves away from a liberal education.

11.2 de Gaulle and French Educational Reforms

France has been selected because after WWII it had to be rebuilt and it was de Gaulle who began the rebuilding from 1944 onwards. As a result of his military experiences he wished to unify the military, the bureaucracy, business and education so as to restore the economic power and grandeur of France. This version of educationalisation was continued and developed further in the Fifth Republic.

According to Jean-Raymond Tourneau (Crozier, 1973, p. 663) Charles de Gaulle was an exceptional man – "a holy monster" – and was to be placed in the company of Winston Churchill, Mao Tse-Tung, Adolf Hitler and Franciso Franco; de Gaulle also wrote extensively and his major work – *Le Fil de l'Epée*[3] – has been compared with Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince* (Crozier, 1973, p. 669).

On re-entering liberated Paris triumphantly in August 1944, after 4 years in Britain, his central political strategy was "to consolidate his heroic 'legitimacy' of

1940 and thus forge the unity of the nation" (Lacouture, 1991, p. 3). As de Gaulle said (1959, Vol. III, p. 316): "Here I am, as God made me! is what I tried to communicate to those around me." Thus the new government, in confirming the continuity of state, was not to be a new republic but instead one of 'national unanimity' (Lacouture, 1991, p. 5).

There can be little doubt that by 1959 at the outset of the Fifth Republic de Gaulle had a strong commitment to education. The educational aims were to shape the educational system to the demands of a rapidly expanding technological economy. They initially aimed at

> modernising teaching methods, improving methods of selection at the ages of eleven and thirteen, changing the conditions of the baccalauréat examination and eventually of raising the school leaving age to sixteen.
>
> (Pickles, 1973, p. 53)

It has been claimed that `in the area of educational reforms France had been more innovative and dynamic than most other Western European countries' (Safran, 1977, p. 28). However de Gaulle's commitment, like that of Napoleon, had been to an educational elite and was based upon the notion of stability and the grounding of teaching upon 'sound principles' (Halls, 1985, p. 186). By the end of his period in office he was disillusioned; first, in general, with teachers and, second, with the students. Although he desired a form of education that would develop powers of reasoning and reflection as well as a critical attitude, perhaps exemplified by his own earlier reflective and critical behaviour in the Army (de Gaulle, 1932), the reforms advocated by de Gaulle eluded him and France, at that time.

Others followed after de Gaulle. Georges Pompidou, who became premier in 1962 and President in 1969, was himself a prestigious ex-school teacher of classics. Pompidou, who had regarded politics at L'École Normale "with a superb indifference" (Alexandre, 1970, p. 23), entered politics as an assistant to de Gaulle's cabinet in 1944 and when de Gaulle was elected President in 1958 he became an advisor to him. When de Gaulle appointed him as premier in 1962 he was managing director of the Rothschild Bank. Yet Pompidou never held office in either the National Assembly or the Senate. In spite of his literary background, it seems that his experience in banking was essentially over-riding for he never questioned the importance of the need for industrial expansion and growth, and of a scientific and technocratic education that would meet such needs.

For Christian Fouchet, who became Minister of Education in 1962, the views of both de Gaulle and Pompidou must have had important influences upon the reforms that he was to introduce later in the decade. As de Gaulle wrote in his memoirs he set about fixing the policy for education through a series of special cabinet meetings which were of course attended by both Pompidou and Fouchet. Actually de Gaulle had already addressed educational matters in his earlier post-war administration. Appalled by France's inability to prepare for the war he had applied himself to the reform and reconstruction of the civil service, founding the National Foundation of Political Science and the School of National Administration. Crawley comments here that it was de Gaulle who promoted the close co-operation

between the civil service, the universities, industry and the trade unions that was at the heart of France's economic recovery, and that "if he were remembered only for founding the National School of Administration, he would hold an honoured place among French reformers" (1969, p. 277). This reform set the tone for the future development of education as a whole (Crawley, 1969, p. 435), because de Gaulle's Napoleonic views of elitist leadership were to lead to a technocratic meritocracy. Under him France became a technocracy and Paris the centre of the meritocrat and not the artist (Crawley, 1969, p. 404).

Fouchet held office for 4 years and 4 months, which was the longest tenure by a Minister of Education for a century. It is with the reforms of upper secondary and university education that his name will be associated. But these 'reforms' had been driven by de Gaulle. He did not tolerate dissent and in 1968 was to dismiss Pompidou, his advisor and collaborator for many years, for disagreements on policy, including education. Pompidou had stood up to de Gaulle on the educational policy of participation, which Edgar Faure, who replaced Fouchet as Minister of Education, was to declare as the way to democratisation after the events of May 1968.

In a speech to the National Assembly of France on 19 May 1965, former classicist, Georges Pompidou now Premier, said this of education:

> It still lives for the most part on postulates bequeathed to it by the Jesuits of the 17th century . . .Of course we have become aware of increased importance assumed by the sciences and also the accretion of new knowledge. But we have contented our selves with adding to the syllabus. . .which is becoming more and more worthless.
>
> (Quoted in Capelle, 1967, p. 15)

A crisis was 'identified' by Pompidou, and of such a magnitude, that sustained and radical reforms were needed, as education had to contribute more fully to the scientific and technocratic factors underlying the standard of living (Capelle, 1967, p. 16).

Nevertheless in their 1971 *Review of National Policies for Education – France*, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) said of European education that, in general, it had been literary in conception, and that

> the teaching of mathematics and science has also been literary in conception: the goal has been appreciation, enjoyment, insight and the development of skill in the handling of words and symbols: it has not been the application of general ideas to the specific problems outside the school.
>
> (OECD, 1971, p. 20)

And of French education in particular

> In its emphasis on literary values, in its taste for abstract ideas, and in its aristocratic bourgeois orientation, traditional French education has been simply a strongly accented version of European education. (1971, p. 22)

The OECD also noted the changed context in which, since World War II, French education had taken place. The OECD noted considerable demographic changes, particularly in the increased school rolls – up by a factor of 1.87 between 1950 and 1967; but also it noted large changes in work patterns reflected particularly

in population drifts from rural to urban areas. Second, the report said that there had been changes in social attitudes with an increased demand for secondary and higher education; that there was a new image of, and attitude towards, women; and that there was an increasing recognition of the 'demands' of the young. Third, they identified scientific and technical needs, and how these had imposed new demands and requirements upon education at all levels, especially curricula and pedagogy, where a spirit of *innovation* was required they claimed, rather than the protection and transmission of received ideas. (Those with a jaundiced view of the role of OECD would not doubt 'collusion' here with successive Ministers of Education in the Fifth Republic). Finally there had been changes in the authority structures away from 'natural' or patriarchal authority towards autonomy, and the self-imposed authority of liberalism.

As an educationalist de Gaulle was traditionalist, paternalistic and elitist. He was certainly "not known for his interest in radical educational change" (Lewis, 1985, p. 35). de Gaulle, a conservative historian, and classicist Georges Pompidou shared an unspoken admiration for the success of American education in producing skilled leaders of industry and, within the Fifth Republic administration, there were also a number of zestful technicist reformers. Even so there were other reformers in the 5th Republic who echoed the students' protests (Moody, 1978, p. 177). de Gaulle tried but did not take his colleagues into his confidence, and proposals were lost, as he was too timid, preferring orthodox planning, especially in the economy, as opposed to following radical proposals (Moody, 1978, pp. 158–159).

If we consider the comments in 1971 of the OECD it would appear that de Gaulle had failed to complete the changes in education that he had pursued since 1944. The unity which he had desired fully – essentially the educationalisation of several French institutions – was not fully achieved.

11.3 The New Zealand Experiment

Educationalisation depends on a number of contingent factors and manifests itself differently according to times and places. New Zealand was selected because it was not a major European country, because it was smaller, a former British colony, and because educationalisation occurred some two decades later. Also it had very different democratic structures. Finally, New Zealand in the 1980s faced a number of serious economic problems which required urgent attention if it was not to become another Patagonia of the southern world.

The title of this section reflects the historical truths of a number of changes, if not social reforms, that have occurred in New Zealand. We can start with the votes for women in the late 19th century – the first (national) state to do so – and the major provisions in the 1930s to move to a welfare state. From those political changes and an incredible leadership given by Dr. Clarence Beeby (a Dewey scholar) as Director General of Education, there emerged a very good system of liberal education. But this was to be dramatically changed in 1988/1989. Public education was deemed to be in crisis and 'needed' to be reformed.

From the preceding section on France and de Gaulle, we can identify a number of strategies for achieving a 'reform' of education, the *how*, for the knowledge economy:

(1) The need for an exceptional person (de Gaulle was an exceptional leader, in many respects like Churchill during WWII);
(2) the importance of certain beliefs. de Gaulle held a number of beliefs – often polemically, for example, the unity or uniformativity of France;
(3) the importance of the former grandeur and greatness of France;
(4) the importance of beliefs acquired from literature, philosophy and the church;
(5) the importance of the show or the performance – e.g. de Gaulle's performance on the 'coronation' day of 26 August 1944, and his speech on radio, on 29 May that marked the beginning of the end of the students' and workers' revolt in 1968;
(6) a need to 'show' that the national system of education was in crisis.

For this section on New Zealand we need a different context – that of a small, former British colony in the South Pacific, and some two decades later than the French example, at the start of the 1980s. By then there was a population of about 3.75 million,[4] still essentially dependent upon primary production, and by then an education system that was under threat from business, industry, economists and, as always, politicians (with their 'outrageous' promises).[5] But, also, communications in New Zealand were always difficult. Roads and railways were developed, in the late 19th century, but the main form of communication for a long time was by sea. This was not helped by the fact that many rivers were not navigable from the sea and, if they were, only by shallow draught vessels. In the late 1890s, and in a British colony, there were 35,000 vessels officially registered, of which 25,000 were registered for international sailing.

Free and compulsory primary education was introduced in 1877 and secondary education was opened to all in 1937. The Thomas Report of 1944, on secondary education, and heavily influenced by Beeby laid the grounds for what was to be a successful liberal education. But this changed quite dramatically in the late 1980s. We will look further at that below, when we consider the notion of an educational crisis.

According to the most recent national curriculum document – *The New Zealand Curriculum: Draft for consultation 2006* – and the expressed *Vision* of the Ministry of Education

> Education has a vital role to play in helping our young people to reach their individual potential and develop the competencies they will need for further study, work and lifelong learning. It is by developing these competencies that they are equipped to participate fully in New Zealand society and contribute to the growth of its economy. Education is the key to sustaining our nation's development and to its successful transformation into a knowledge-based society.
>
> (Ministry of Education, 2006, p. 8)

Next it is said that our young people will be "motivated and reliable, entrepreneurial, enterprising, resilient, . . . active seekers, users and creators of knowledge. . .effective users of communication tools. . . and contributors to the well being of New Zealand –

social, economic and environmental." It is also said that they will be "positive in their own identity."

Unfortunately it is far from clear that they will have their *own* identity from this vision for the education system. Surely, 'positive' means in accord with the latest versions of managerial theory including performativity? What if they want to live on a surfboard? How did New Zealand get to this incredible state of affairs? What happened in the 1980s to what had been a good example of a national liberal education system? It is significant that the principles and strategies identified above from the situation in France can help explain these changes in the education system. We will consider their application to New Zealand in the order given above.

11.3.1 An Exceptional Person

The reforms, initiated by the Labour (left wing) government administration in the mid-1980s, were 'overseen,' by a neo-liberal politician, Roger Douglas (later Sir Roger Douglas) who was the Minister of Treasury. It is somewhat ironical that such a person was in the Labour political party, as he was heavily steeped in neo-liberal economic policy, as were senior officers in The Treasury.[6] Douglas was intelligent, articulate and a self-made man. There is little doubt that he was the dominating influence in the Cabinet, but because of an ideological clash with the extent of Douglas' neo-liberal proposals, Prime Minister David Lange was forced to take command of the Education portfolio. He articulated the reform principles, less harsh than those of Douglas, that structured the major changes in the education system of New Zealand in 1989–1990.

If Douglas was well versed in neo-liberal economics, which de Gaulle had rejected, he was not obviously as widely educated as de Gaulle. He came not from a semi-aristocratic background but from a working or lower middle class background. His early life had involved 'making his way' on practical and pragmatic grounds and he became a very successful business man. 'Making good' appeals to the New Zealand ideology of educational opportunity and he would have been 'attractive' to the Labour party (though he was not the only person like that in the party at the time). That he was also perhaps a monster was recognized by Prime Minister Lange. Nevertheless Douglas, without the mana[7] and institutional power of de Gaulle, changed and influenced the whole view of economics and social theory in New Zealand for nearly 20 years.

11.3.2 Beliefs

The basic tenets of neo-liberal economic thought, as it manifested itself in Chicago economics is important for the New Zealand context given the advanced education given to Treasury officials in the USA. It involves, according to Mark Olssen:

> Public Choice Theory, Human Capital Theory, Agency Theory, Transaction-Cost Economics, as well as the various forms of managerialism that developed in the 1940s to 1960s and became ascendant as forms of state reason from the 1970s. (2000, p. 14)

There is not the space to pursue these aspects of neo-liberalism here, but the value of choice was a central concept in the review of Secondary Education (the Picot Report of 1988). The notion of human beings as being resources and the lack of an ethics in managerialism have been critiqued by myself in the following sources (Marshall, 1996; 1997; 2008).

It is also the case that today there has been quite a marked withdrawal from privatization, and the free market, and from managerial style discourses in New Zealand. After 1987/1989 large state-owned enterprises were sold off and there was a problem about who 'owned' New Zealand for some time. However, also, there has been a need for government to re-enter the economic sector. The railways have in part been repurchased by government (the permanent way[8]) and the government holds a controlling 'vote' in the national airline. More recently the Reserve Bank has had to stabilize the New Zealand Dollar so as to placate both importers and exporters. Finally, as an example of conceptualizing the world, attendees at the public hospitals are no longer called clients and have become patients again.

11.3.3 The Grandeur That was France

As a former colony this idea of grandeur may not be an appropriate notion for New Zealand though historically, Maori, the indigenous people would have something to say about significance of their language and culture. New Zealanders claim to be practical thinkers working from their experience rather than intellectual ideas. Be that as it may, something can be said, however, about New Zealand's contributions to major wars from the 19th to the 21st centuries, its contributions to the United Nations and to international sport. More importantly, however, may be the recorded fall in our standard of living since WWII. Our almost guaranteed market for primary produce in the UK disappeared as the Common Market appeared in Europe, our sheep population was almost halved, and we have begun to diversify into small technology – earlier there were water pumps and now there are GPS systems, for example. We are a long way from anywhere and the failures of industry and business established in WWII, because of Asian products, required a major rethinking. Indeed there is a steady drain of New Zealand born people to Australia. Thus the knowledge economy has come to be seen as critically important for New Zealand's future, if not one of 'grandeur.'

11.3.4 The Importance of Beliefs Acquired from Literature, Philosophy and the Church

In my own schooling, apart from the early years, I was not aware of a New Zealand literature, apart from poetry and short stories, though I was aware of New Zealand art. In the succeeding years we have developed a fuller and important

literature which no longer suffers from a colonial 'cringe,' which is influenced in the thought of New Zealand people by Maori, and is a quite unique approach to art 'triggered' by the extraordinary light that exists in New Zealand. If these changes have been in the general culture it is not obvious that it has influenced our politicians' thought and policy as to the problems associated with the knowledge economy.

For philosophy there may be little that can be said. There is no such thing as an indigenous philosophy in New Zealand, as argued by some philosophers, though Maori clearly have a metaphysics, at least. In general, it has been said:

> For philosophical programmes to develop and flourish here we must nurture a sense of ourselves as a philosophical community in the South Pacific – able to draw freely upon our European heritage, but also, without the weight and authority of European history bearing down on us, able freely to criticize that heritage, draw on other sources closer to home, and think things afresh.
>
> (Oddie & Perrett, 1992, p. x)

This has not obviously occurred (but see Moana Jackson [1992]).

As for the Church there may seem to be even less that can be said. In the 1877 Education Act education was to be compulsory but secular. In that legislation the Church was excluded from formal state education because of fears of proselytizing by unqualified teachers with religious convictions. Roman Catholicism developed their own schools, but these have now been fully integrated into the national system (with certain protections for the teaching of religion). Many schools have bypassed the secular clause in the 1877 legislation by setting aside an extra period in the school week, extra to the hours that the school should be 'open,' during which there was (non-compulsory) religious instruction. Religious influence on education would appear to have been spectacularly unsuccessful although Prime Minister Lange had a strong religious background.

In the attacks upon schools another aspect of the neo-liberal attacks upon public schooling surfaced. Known as the New Right this was a group essentially committed to neo-liberal economic positions but which were also committed to foundational religious positions on morality, and to the general purposes or aims of education. They are aligned with the conservative right in New Zealand but do not exert the power that they have in North America. Quite clearly this differs from France after WWII.

11.3.5 The Performance or Show

de Gaulle, like Winston Churchill, was capable of giving a great performance or show. As an orator, and a polemical rhetorician, he 'saved' France on several occasions and, especially in 1968. No one in New Zealand, on either side of the political spectrum, had such abilities in the late 1980s.

11.4 The Manufacture of a Crisis

I have left strategy 6 for a major discussion, because a 'crisis' in education arose and developed in New Zealand nearly 15 years before the major neo-liberal reforms in the late 1980s. There had always been an open and explicit conflict in New Zealand (since the early 1840s, when discussions commenced on public education) between those who supported a liberal education and those who supported a vocational aim for publicly funded education.

David Berliner and Bruce Biddle in their *The Manufactured Crisis* (1995) have identified a number of claims which promote or manufacture a crisis in education. Given the situatedness of this text in North American education I will note only those relevant to a New Zealand discussion:

(1) all levels of US education have declined;
(2) the intellectual and problem-solving abilities and abstract problem-solving skills of America's young people have declined;
(3) America's schools do not compare well in international 'Olympics' which shows that "procedures are deficient and that our educators are feckless." (1995, pp. 5–6).

Their position is that "*none* of those charges can be supported" (1995, p. 6). They then introduce other myths invented by the critics that tarnish the image of America's public schools, namely

(a) America spends more on its schools than other nations do and that is a poor investment in terms of success;
(b) recent investments in education have gone into unneeded raises for teachers and administrators;
(c) America has a poor level of productivity;
(d) America does not produce enough scientists, mathematicians and engineers;
(e) schools lack qualified teachers, the textbooks produce immorality, and most Americans are dissatisfied with their local schools;
(f) Private schools are inherently better than public schools (Berliner & Bruce, 1995, p. 6).

They comment "*none* of these myths can be supported" (1995, p. 6). In relation to New Zealand we will consider (1)–(3), (b)–(d) and (f) only.

In the 1970s New Zealand figured in prominent positions in the research which established rankings in selected areas of the curriculum for OECD countries. But in the 1980s we seemed to be in some decline. Yet that decline was at best relative to the ordering of other nations, and did not show that there was any *absolute* decline. Nevertheless critics of education attacked the procedures and teaching methods, especially in mathematics and reading. In addition there were continuous attacks, at least since 1973, upon schools not preparing the young well enough for the world of work. The curriculum, it was said, was directed at those who might go on to tertiary education and not at the majority who would enter the world of work. Nor were the

basics being taught properly, it was often claimed. Here the very influential Business Round Table (1988) was vociferous and financed an external 'expert' to produce a report on the alleged failings of New Zealand education (The Sexton Report). It repeated the calls for education to be more vocational and back to the basics, and claimed that there was no need for special considerations for Maori education. Initially, the official 'response' was to domesticate these criticisms by directing them away from the State and its Department of Education to the discussion of resources, curriculum offerings and teacher education (Marshall, 1987, p. 33). However, the Director General of Education, William Renwick, somewhat in despair, referred to these criticisms and incidents as scapegoating (Renwick, 1978). Finally, in New Zealand, there are not many private schools, certainly not as many as in Australia, and they are not obviously superior to the major public schools. Universities are all publicly, i.e. state, funded though there are loan schemes to cover the gaps left by public funding. Students should invest in themselves, it has been said.

The details of the neo-liberal reforms of education which occurred between 1988 and 1991 can be tracked through Treasury (1987 – *Brief to the Incoming Government*[9]), Business Round Table (1988 – the Sexton Report), Ministry of Education (1988 – the Picot Report) and Ministry of Education (1989 – David Lange's 'solution' to Roger Douglas' hard nosed views).

There was certainly a crisis, but it was manufactured.

11.5 Conclusion

In conclusion de Gaulle could not push his technological reforms through because of strong democratic opposition, but perhaps Nicholas Sarkozy the present President of France will, with his emphasis on*work.* He seems to have replaced Descartes' notion of "I think, therefore I am", with "I work, therefore I am" (without realizing that this was Engels' maxim). In New Zealand – with only one house of parliament – there were no higher checks on the party in power.[10] Hence the reforms in educationalisation were unchallenged. The content of the reforms was different, as were the processes invoked to implement them. But whereas de Gaulle could not change France because of the democratic structures, in New Zealand they were pushed through, unopposed legally, by Acts of Parliament in a space of 2 years.

The aim of this chapter was to look at *how* the knowledge economy was introduced in terms of educationalisation into two widely differing nations. The key notions in both New Zealand and France were the use of power by exceptional people, aided by allegedly democratic structures, but tied to an ideology, and the 'underlying' manufacturing of alleged crises in education and the area of the social. Finally the vision for education given in the 2006 New Zealand document (quoted above) involves a considerable intensification of the knowledge economy fervour from that of the 1993 curriculum document. It also involves a considerable advance in educationalisation. Whether the emphases on the criteria for success in the knowledge economy – performativity and entrepreneurship – will involve advances in *education* is, however, another matter.

What of educational research? As far as I am aware there is little research into *how* such changes are effected. The politics of such changes in France is well documented in de Gaulle's biographies and in his own writings. As far as I am aware there is almost nothing on these matters in New Zealand literature, though there is a considerable literature on the *content* of those changes and on neo-liberalism (see Olssen, 2000 for an excellent critique). Where research should go in New Zealand would be into the roles of Government, Treasury and the various Ministries in past and ongoing educationalisation.

Notes

1. There are some signs of a renewal of apprenticeships in New Zealand.
2. See Marshall, James D. (1997) 'Dewey and the 'New Vocationalism,' in S. Laird (Ed.), *Philosophy of Education 1997.*
3. Based on lectures at L'École Normale Supérieure and the Sorbonne in 1927 and published initially in 1932. Translated as 'The Sword's Edge' – Ledwidge, 1982, p. 33.
4. At the time of my birth it was well below 2 million and is probably now about 4.25 million. Now, Maori the indigenous people would be approaching 15%, South Pacific nations 8–10% and recent Asian immigrants about 6%. There has been, and continues to be, considerable intermarriage and a recorded change in national skin pigmentation since WWII.
5. I note at the time of writing that over one thousand public schools in California are not meeting the criteria of the Bush policy of 'No Child Left Behind' (*New York Times*, 16 October, 2007, p. A.1). What can anyone do to that number of public schools?
6. Treasury had become the major 'Control' department in Government. A significant number of senior officers in Treasury had attended advanced courses at the Harvard Business School and the University of Chicago in the early to mid-1980s.
7. A New Zealand term which captures respect, prestige and authority (if not power).
8. The rail tracks.
9. Rumour has it that this document was delivered to the Labour Party on the night of the 1987 election and before voting had been counted.
10. This has changed as there is now proportional representation.

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Chapter 12
The Social, Psychological, and Education Sciences: From Educationalization to Pedagogicalization of the Family and the Child

Thomas S. Popkewitz

This chapter considers the thesis of pedagogicalization through focusing the social and education sciences. Pedagogicalization is spoken about as the expertise of science in ordering what is (im)possible to know and do, creating borders by which experiences are acted upon and the self is located as an actor. The expertise is explored historically through changes in the cultural theses about the modes of life of the child and family: turn of the 20th century *educationalization* in which the lives of the family and child are rationalized to relate individuality to norms linked to collective, social belonging; and turn of the 21st century *pedagogicalization* in which the expertise of science focuses on individuality as a seemingly isolated site of continuous innovation and processes of self-evaluation and monitoring bound to networks with no social center.[1] In both the past and the present, the cultural theses generated about the family and child, I argue, embody double gestures about the hope of the future and fears about those dangerous to that future and abjected, cast out into unlivable spaces.

The first section directs attention to turn of the 20th century social and education sciences and is divided into three four parts. (1) The initial discussion focuses on the American Progressive reforms as turning the private sphere of the family into an object of scrutiny and public administration in making society. (2) The sciences of progressive reforms, argued in the next, generated cultural theses about the family as embodying cosmopolitan values that linked individuality with narratives of the nation and its collective progress. (3) Pedagogy was 'converting ordinances' and the soul as the object in the ordering of conduct. (4) Following this discussion, cosmopolitan hope is examined as engendering double gestures. With the hope of progressive reforms were fears of those populations deemed as threatening the future of the republic. The sciences of G. Stanley Hall, John Dewey, and Edward L. Thorndike, icons in American Progressive education, are explored as embodying double gestures to The Social Question, the concern for intervention programs to perceived moral disorders to the city and poor and immigrant populations.

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The second section examines turn of 21st century processes of pedagogicalization. The Social Question is rearticulated and reassembled, I argue, through a comparative style of reasoning about the notion of the lifelong learner and the urban or disadvantaged child in need of rescue. (1) The initial focus is on the cultural thesis of the family as a continuous process of learning and innovation guided through pedagogical theories and concepts about 'learning'. Individuality is an unfinished cosmopolitanism, life as the never-ending choices that has no seeming end point. (2) Discourses of 'children's rights' are explored as double gestures that are different from those who have rights from those without, the former the embodiment of the lifelong learner. (3) Finally, processes of abjection are discussed through examining the constantly reiterated phrase of 'all' children should learn. The 'all' assumes a unity of the whole from which difference is inscribed. The new expertise that moves across the different reforms entails the inscription of an expertise to shepherd how life ordered, differentiated, and divided to cast out those feared as dangerous to the future.

The expertise embodied in the social sciences and its education sciences in the processes of pedagogicalization entails two different but overlapping qualities of science in modern life. Science is the calculated knowledge about the administration of social and personal relations, such as in research about learning; and Science is taken as general processes to rationally order and plan the personal knowledge of daily life, such as thinking of one's experiences and actions as 'learning'. The latter notion of science has little to do with the actual working of science itself but generalizes processes of ordering and administering daily life in planning for the future. The overlapping of these two notions of science function as shepherds in the planning of individuality appeared in the long 19th century and mutates into the present.[2]

The approach is a history *of the Present* to consider how objects of present become knowable components of reality and are shaped, are fashioned, and change over from diverse conditions of possibilities. Further in the partitioning of the sensible is the political. The political is spoken about as the partitioning of the sensible through the principles generated about the objects of reflection and action. Further, the politics ordering conduct entails processes of casting out, excluding what does not fit into the normalized spaces.

12.1 Educationalization: The Expertise of the Family and Processes of Abjections in the Turn of the 20th Century

Comparatively and epistemologically, we can think of the long 19th century as introducing particular cultural theses about the family and the child. While there is debate about whether there was a childhood prior to the 18th century, particular cultural theses about the family and the child become visible during and after the European Enlightenments. Briefly, one can think of the child in Medieval Europe as a small adult, not in need of the special administration as there was no notion of

child-rearing or development.[3] Children lived in households that had no architecture that spatially separated them from adults, no idea of obligations and responsibility for parents to prepare the child for the future through calculated methods of child-rearing. Parents could conduct themselves spontaneously. They were influenced more by what they felt themselves than by thoughts on what they and their actions meant to children.

The family as a rational mode of life becomes apparent in the long 19th century.[4] This is explored through, first, examining the private sphere of the family as the public site of governing. Second, the new human sciences and its pedagogical trajectories are considered historically integral to the governing of conduct. The final discussion focuses on American Progressive reforms as double gestures that embody the hope of professional interventions for greater inclusion and fears of the dangers and dangerous populations of the city. American sciences addressed The Social Question about urban life. That question leached into education to change society by changing the modes of living in the families of immigrants, racial groups, and the poor.

12.1.1 The Social Concerns That Made Private Sphere Public

Through multiple institutional and epistemological changes often associated with the modernity and/or the various Enlightenments of Europe and North America, the family ceased to be simply an institution for the transmission of a name and an estate (Ferguson, 1997; Wood, 1991). The family embodied the redemptive metaphor that linked the familiar home to salvation narratives of the nation. The family constituted the organization that shaped moral agency and demanded care to enable proper development. Puritans called the family the 'little commonwealth'. It was the fundamental source of community and continuity, the place where most work was done, and the primary institution for teaching the young, disciplining the wayward, and caring for the poor and insane. The family was visualized as the cradle of civilization where a child learns to be civilized and of civilization.

The family, however, was not alone! The private sphere was made an object of public intervention in the shaping of society.

First, a new expertise emerged to advise parents on child-rearing in the 18th century that crossed the Atlantic (Wood, 1991, pp. 148–149). Parents, under the guidance of new manuals of child-rearing, were to develop altruistic instincts of obligation and responsibility in their children. Parents were criticized in the literature for placing family pride and wealth ahead of the desires and integrity of their children. Wood (1991) argues, for example, that history, literature, and pedagogy in America dwelled on issues of familial responsibility. Parents were "warned against the evils of parental tyranny and harsh and arbitrary modes of child-rearing of an older, more savage age" (p. 148). Educators and moralists in the years around the American Revolution stressed the need for play, for love and understanding, and for the gradual, gentle unfolding of child's nature. The child was regarded as a person with distinctive attributes – impressionability, vulnerability, innocence – which

required a warm, protected, and prolonged period of nurture (Steedman, 1995; also see Ariès, 1962). The parental relation was to win respect and esteem of their children through reason, benevolence, and understanding. Drawing on a reading of Locke, American cultural projects from the mid-18th century viewed coercion in the family as sometimes necessary but not good for effective long-lasting parental authority. Liberty was to come with the increase of years, and the child had to be gradually trusted with his own conduct. The teaching of reason and rationality was to provide this self-responsibility necessary for the conduct of the state.

Second, earlier Puritan salvation themes were transmogrified into narratives of national exceptionalism and its 'Chosen People'. Puritans inscribed on the American physical and intellectual landscape a symbolic narrative that assembled, as well as constrained, the possible ways of perceiving and embodying the American identity and the sense of sacred/secular historical mission attached to that identity (McKnight, 2003, p. ix). They took Calvin's edict about each individual entering in and participating in the world to fulfill the greater corporate mission of America becoming a "city upon a hill" (McKnight, 2003, p. 2). Education and the family were merged with the mission of the church. Rational thought combined with that of the Reformation's faith and conversion experience (McKnight, 2003, p. 25). Family discipline was to produce the consciousness of the child whose inner voice served as external authority. The child's self-discipline or 'freedom' in the family was indivisible from community.

A controlling impulse in the American Revolution and the early Republic was the merging of the Puritan salvation themes with that of the state. The state was evidence of 'divine sanction' that inscribed in Puritan images of the commonwealth (Bercovitch, 1978). Sanction was given to a particular individuality that included a self-realization through pragmatic, scientific solutions to social problems.[5] The action-oriented and problem-oriented individual was an embodiment of the national exceptionalism of society.

Narratives of the family and the child were central to the making of the nation. The nation was expressed as an American Exceptionalism, a saga of the natural and progressive evolution of humanity in the American 'race'. That narrative of the nation as redemption process separated the advanced cosmopolitan 'reason' and rationality of the people of the nation from those less civilized and those savages who did not possess 'reason' (Wald, 1995). The phrase '*republican motherhood*' emerged, for example, to stress the responsibility of bearing and rearing citizens for the new nation (Grant, 1998). Good mothering was the paradigm for the maintenance of society in general. The administration of the child and family in the school was to manage conduct and 'mold' character for social ends in which human agency and progress embodied narratives of divine sanction – notions of the nation and its citizens as the chosen people, the nation as 'The New World' in contrast to the traditions through which 'Old' Europe was constituted, and the idea of the territorial expansion of the United States, as 'manifest destiny' that drew in religious salvation narratives into the construction of the nation.

The inscription of responsibility in child-rearing embodied registers of social administration joined the home and school as sites for guaranteeing the future of

the nation through the making of the child. The relation of schooling, family, and childhood in processes of governing was not always the case. The Catholic Church into the 18th century maintained a long-held view of the child as not capable of sin before the age of 7 (Pollock, 2001, p. 199). Priests were intermediaries between God and believers, so the family was less important in the development of the child's spirituality, and not as a microcosm of the Church to the same extent as Protestants. Catholics saw educating the young as a key to promoting their faith (e.g., Jesuits and Ursulines). But while Protestant schools tended to work in tandem with the family to educate the young, the boarding schools of the Jesuits and other Catholic schools appeared more as a substitute for or a rival to the family (Watt, 2001, pp. 146–147).

12.1.2 Science, Philosophy/Psychology, and Governing the Child and the Family

The human science theories of the family and child were linked to cross Atlantic Protestant reforms to plan the modern welfare state to the care of its population (Rodgers, 1998).[6] Cross Atlantic Protestant reform movements of The Fabian Society, German Evangelical Social Congress, the Musée *Social*, the American Social Gospel Movement and Progressive reforms, and the Settlement House Movements brought into view questions about the moral/disorder in the urban conditions and its populations – the poor, immigrants, and racialized groups in the United States. The sciences were to change society by changing people. 'New forms of intervention by the state into the family, through compulsory schooling, legislation on the protection of minors, and divorce were justified by the pursuit of a healthy and well-integrated society' (Donzelot, 1979, p. 172).

The reforms of the city were expressed under the general term of 'The Social Question'. American Progressive reforms turned earlier 19th-century populism of Jacksonian democracy, an agrarian revolt that rallied against big business, professional knowledge, and government, into an urban populism guided by professional reforms and science. American Progressivism as a social and political movement provides a point to locate pedagogicalization in the formation of the welfare state. Measures were invented to provide for the security of populations against old age and sickness, poor relief, public ownership and development of urban transportation, planning of city streets and zoning, wage labor protection, the social reconstruction of countryside, and the development of modern housing, among others.

But the welfare state was also a way of joining registers of social administration and registers of freedom. The care of the individual was 'put', historically speaking, in the care of the new theories and expertise of governing secular life. Progressivism in the United States embodied this notion of care. If we think about The Social Question, for example, as expressing progressive reforms about the conditions of society, it was also about changing the family and child through generating principles about how life should be conducted. The cultural theses generated about thought and action in the human sciences make life itself a pedagogical problem.

The sciences were calculating and governing practices at two overlapping social activities. Science entailed methods to calculate order and classify family life. The sociologies and psychologies, for example, expressed cultural theses about how to plan child-rearing and the cultural relations in and out of the home. The theories and concepts of the human sciences were to generate principles about rationalizing the home in terms of, for example, planning for the future through organizing the domestic economy (budgets, debt), nutrition (planning diets and for the future health), and the moral development of the child (to develop personalities, attributes, and capabilities seen in one's children). At a different layer, the theories and concepts for organizing and classifying how one should act entered into the home as modes of conduct. For example, parents and children were to act rationally in organizing their future through processes of problem solving and decision making to order what can be thought, done, and hoped for.

The theories and practices of sociology and the domestic sciences generated principles to order who families and children were and should be. The new human sciences, for example, entailed the rise of particular corpuses of knowledge to order the conduct of conduct. The sciences were moral projects of salvation and redemption related to secularization of life. The rationality that Weber (1904–1905/1958) put forward about social science brought to bear particular Calvinist notions of salvation into a secular world. Weber theorized a psychology that underlay a Protestant theological epistemology about the inner qualities of the individual that would bring about a life of good works. Weber's theology-driven rationalization of the world was directed by the individual who would exert active self-control over the state of nature. The cultural thesis of individual self-control was envisioned in the idea of the republic and its citizens (Tröhler, 2005).

Design was an element of the shepherding of pedagogicalization. Design of the interior of the individual was spoken of as the great panacea for equality. The appeal of design was the combining notions of individual agency and freedom with the expertise about perfecting a better future. The new empirically oriented sciences, for example, were directed to making the conditions of life amenable for the development of individual responsibility in effecting change. The new psychologies of the child envisioned the empirical building blocks of selfhood as the tasks of deliberate design rather than as something related to a static, metaphysical soul (Sklansky, 2002, pp. 148–149). That design was to govern conduct through ordering dispositions and developing individual cognition and 'affect'.

12.1.3 Pedagogy as 'Converting Ordinances' and the Soul as the Object

Pedagogy was a 'converting ordinance', to borrow from Puritan practices which were to save the soul. The soul of republicanism in the sciences was not of original sin but of the inner qualities, dispositions, and sensitivities that order individual acts and reflection. That soul was directed to becoming through action that

anticipated the future. Different national traditions of the human sciences gave focus to 'the soul' but with different cultural theses about the action and reflection. For example, while there was an overlap in the interest in eugenics and heredity in intelligence testing in German and American pedagogical psychology in the early decades of the 20th century, in the United States it formed as an applied science whereas the interest in Germany was less practical and more philosophical (Depaepe, 1997).

The theories of the human sciences took up the Social Question to connect the child, family, and community in social policy, health, and schooling. The pedagogical 'soul' was to order the conduct of family life that would move the adult away from public vices and impose a duty of responsibility to the home, the child, and the desire for bettering one's own condition. The family of the city was placed with narratives of the metaphorical 'American family' of the nation (Wald, 1995). One of the founders of American sociology involved in the problem of education, Lester Frank Ward, argued that government and the social administration of individuality were necessary to harness liberty through directing the individual 'to act as desired' (Ward, 1883, p. 233). Ward was concerned with the conditions of the city in his argument about the role of science. Science, Ward continues, provides the relation between discipline and freedom – laws and indeterminacy. Ward sociology was to bring order and regularity to the conditions of a democracy.

The affection, sympathy, and cognition of the family were deployed as an explicit problem of the social sciences that overlapped with the sciences of schooling. The work of Charles Horton Cooley, one of the leaders of the Chicago School of Sociology, for example, saw the family and the neighborhood as providing the proper socialization through which the child could lose the innate greed, lust, and pride of power that was innate to the infant, and thus become fit for civilization. The communication systems of the family would, according to Cooley, establish the family on Christian principles that stressed a moral imperative to life and self-sacrifice for the good of the group.

The family was a central theme of urban reform sciences. Albion Small (1896), a former Baptist minister hired to start a Department of Sociology at the new Rockefeller-sponsored University of Chicago, gave attention to the family in urban reforms. For Small and later for his colleague, John Dewey, the social significance of the sciences of the family and school curriculum was the promise of social progress. Social psychology, for example, was "the science of assisting youth to organize their contacts with reality. . .for both thought and action" (Small, 1896, p. 178).

The narratives of the family were gendered. The study of urban conditions was to correct the causes of alcoholism, delinquency, prostitution – practices positioned as violating the presumed norms of civility. The solutions lied with the mother. The reformers warned against the evils of parental tyranny through harsh and arbitrary modes of child-rearing of an older, more 'savage' age. The Maternal Association (1864 to 1882), connected with Chicago's Protestant Congregational Church, was to improve spiritual welfare of families by eliminating drunkenness, delinquency, and violence in the homes of the poor. Working-class and immigrant women, some

Catholic mothers, were recruited to visit the homes to offer prayer and provide practical assistance with the objective of obtaining their salvation (Grant, 1998, p. 27). The fears were that if the immigrant, working-class, and African-American mothers did not have the proper child-rearing strategies to reinforce maternal authority in the home, it would not allow for the assimilation progresses of families (Grant, 1998, p. 10).

The domestic sciences sought to provide more humane conditions for the urban poor and immigrants by remaking the family. The focus of science and policy shifted from problem child to the problem parent (Grant, 1998, p. 149). The concern was with the modes of life enacted in the home. Mothers were to rely on behavioral sciences for their child-rearing strategies rather than on natural instincts (Grant, 1998, p. 129). Mothers became "household engineers, evoking a popular icon of the early decades of the 20th century to signify the inscription of efficiency, inventiveness and expertise in the home" (Grant, 1998, p. 125). Daily life was rationalized to guide individual choices and thus counter the uncertainties and moral dangers of modern life. This included learning to rationalize the home through planning diets and sanitary practices, such as the washing of foods and hands before eating. It also entailed learning about the economy of the home, such as planning how to spend salaries, budgeting, and organizing shopping lists – innovations that brought into the home a particular modernization of the self about planning for the future and delayed gratification associated with Protestant notions of self-responsibility and discipline.

12.1.4 Double Gestures of Inclusion and Exclusion: Hall, Dewey, and Thorndike

The Social Question embodied a double gesture of inclusion and exclusion. The hope of the human sciences was the recognition of excluded groups for inclusion, yet that recognition radically differentiated and circumscribed something else that is both repulsive and fundamentally undifferentiated from the whole (Popkewitz, 2008). The recognition of urban populations exemplifies this double gesture. It differentiated the urban 'immigrant' as particular groups and individuals who were not 'citizens', yet could be included through interventions that changed their modes of living. The programs of inclusion entailed cultural theses about the home organized around principles that ordered and planned actions directed to the future, what I have been referring to as pedagogicalization. The saving and rescuing of the immigrant placed its members in in-between spaces, recognized for inclusion through special programs and that recognition established difference by virtue of their qualities of life. The difference in recognition *abjected, casting the difference as outside and excluded.*

Pedagogicalization of the family and child as process of abjection is expressed in three icons of the sciences of education: the child study of G. Stanley Hall, the pragmatism of John Dewey, and Edward L. Thorndike's Connectionism or stimulus response theory. While American historians differentiate the three pedagogical

psychologies with the conclusion that the behaviorist theories of Thorndike won in the modern school, my interest is not in winning or losing. The three in fact overlap in the system of reason that gave intelligibility and plausibility to the different sciences of pedagogy (Popkewitz, 2005, 2008). Each enunciated particular solutions and plans for pedagogicalization of society through planning who the child and family are and should be. Each embodies Enlightenments' notions of cosmopolitan 'reason' and rationality in guiding action. These notions, however, overlapped with narratives of national exceptionalism, the Social Question, and its Protestant reformism.

Hall's child study was to change the family and child as a method of reconciling faith and reason, Christian belief, and 'Enlightenment empiricism' narrated as American exceptionalism. The child's 'soul' was to be nurtured through repeating universal stages of human development that enabled the American race to assume its advanced civilized qualities. Education was a safeguard that worked against the fears of moral decay that threatened the future of that civilization embodied in the nation:

> Along with the sense of the immense importance of further coordinating childhood and youth with the development of race, has grown the conviction that only here can we hope to find true norms against the tendencies of precocity in home, school, church, and civilization generally, and also to establish criteria by which to both diagnose and measure arrest and retardation in the individual and the race. While individuals differ widely in not only the age but the sequence of stages of repetition of racial history, knowledge of nascent stages and aggregate interests of different ages of life is the best safeguard against very many of the prevalent errors of education and of life.
>
> (Hall, 1924, p. viii)

Adolescence was a strategy that entailed double gestures of hope and fear. The title *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relation to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education (1924)* speaks of these hopes and fears of the urban. The sciences of pedagogy, Hall continued, were to undo the conditions of the city that would, if unchecked, bring the 'degeneration' of 'the American race'. Hall spoke of the 'urban hothouse' whose 'modern conditions have kidnapped and transported' the child through its moral and social diseases and temptations (p. xi).[7] The sciences of the child were to bring the higher unity of the soul and its Christian ethics. It did this by recouping the race's history in pedagogical practices that revealed the nature of the child as passed from pre-savagery to civilization. Education provided the opportunity to live through each of the stages of the normal growth of the mind that becomes the precondition for the emergence of the next stage.

Edward L. Thorndike's Connectionism was to identify the nature of the individual from which pedagogy could develop to bring greater happiness. Education was to change the individual so that the individual could effect change in the world in what Thorndike thought of as part of the democratic processes of the republic, the pursuit of individual 'happiness' (see, e.g., Thorndike, 1906/1962, pp. 56–57). Making a more precise and accurate knowledge about individual behaviors was to improve the nation's human resources by enabling the fittest to profit the most

from schooling. Thorndike's references to the range of abilities among children and to equal practice opportunities gave scientific sanction to the liberal theories about individual freedom and self-actualization through the teacher's discovering of "where the child stands and lead him from there" (Joncich, 1962, p. 21). At the same time, it embodied a belief in eugenics that articulated fears of the dangers posed in immigration and Catholics to the rural pastoral images of the reform, urbane Protestantism.

Dewey (1902), the third protagonist in this saga of making society by making the family and child, decried the too rapid 'de-nationalization' of immigrant families and children. Dewey sought to find ways of respecting the habits and cultures of immigrants in finding strategies that merged their 'healthy' aspects with those of American culture. Respect of the immigrant cultures would produce a healthy American who pragmatically worked toward the future.

Pragmatism provided a practice that took elite views of science as a rational way of organizing the world into a practical way of organizing daily life. The notions of intelligent action, scientific method, problem solving, for example, were pedagogical in the sense of providing the means through which scientific modes of living could be achieved in defining and ordering experience and action.

But it was not only science as a system to order experience that was embodied in pedagogical knowledge. The rationalizing of life embodied salvation themes. Dewey's pragmatism, for example, joined democratic processes and Christian reform notions of salvation in everyday living. It embodied a Protestant notion of hard work, a commitment to science as a problem-solving approach for a democracy, and an Emersonian notion of citizen 'volunteerism' (action) in social affairs.[8] Dewey saw no difference between a universalized notion of Christian ethics and the good works of the individual associated with democracy. Science was a mode of living that achieved the unity of the spiritual/moral in daily life through the construction of desire and the will of self. In particular, Dewey's pragmatism affirmed the notion of progress in an American Exceptionalism that placed pedagogy as generating principles that were "literally instruments of adjustment and the test of consequences" that re-inscribed the life of the pioneer (Nisbet, 1979, p. 182). Dewey's individual was a 'pioneer American' who opened the universe "in which uncertainty, choice, hypotheses, novelties and possibilities are naturalized [and] that come from experience of a pioneer America" (Childs, 1956, p. 11).

The different psychologies that ordered pedagogy were double gestures of inclusion and exclusion. Redemptive and salvation themes in the progressive urban reforms were to produce the self-motivated and responsible cosmopolitan individual who would actively intervene in his or her own development and thus guarantee the progress of the nation. Yet the very principles of recognition for inclusion of groups of people differentiated the civilized from the deviant. The narratives of a continuum of civilizations and the 'civilized' were woven into the theories of the child and family. The cultural theses of the family and child entailed cultural theses that ordered who the child is, should be, and, at the same time, who did not 'fit' and thus were abjected.

12.2 The Pedagogicalization of Life: The Family and Child as Lifelong Learners and Processes of Abjections at the Turn of the 21st Century

We can think of the present in two overlapping ways: the extension of the processes of pedagogicalization through the increased categorization and distinction through which life is partitioned; and the assemblies, connections, and disconnections in the politics of governing that are not merely the evolution of the past but different cultural theses about modes of life. Whereas the turn of the past century rationalized the home and generated sensibilities and dispositions that related individuality to the social through the interactions of family and schooling, today's cultural theses are about life itself as a constant feedback loops by which the individual continuously is able to locate one's self. The designing of child and family is to become lifelong learners, individualities who live flexibly through continuous problem solving and innovation and whose actions are given legitimation as 'natural' rights. The cultural thesis of the lifelong learner embodies an unfinished cosmopolitanism, one where choice is a continuous element of life where the only thing not of choice is choice itself. The processes of making life as an unfinished cosmopolitan seem to have no social center but the center is there and embodied in expertise of the practices of pedagogicalization.

This section explores the shift in the pedagogical organization by first considering the universalizing of learning as an all-consuming condition of life. I then proceed to examine the discourse of rights as a universalizing and particular ordering of who the child is and should be. The third section focuses on the inscription of the expertise of science as process of abjection, the fears, and casting out of who does not fit into the spaces of 'all children' who learn.

12.2.1 Rationalizing the Home in the Name of Learning

The home is recalibrated as a pedagogical space of continuous feedback loops in which to locate, monitor, and readjust life as one of flexible and continuous innovation. Whereas the turn of the 20th century sciences of the child and family brought rationalized systems of ordering life to enable work in other institutions, today's rationalizing of the home has a different object. Parenting is not to provide the processes through which children are made 'ready' for schooling but is itself the space to accomplish achievement as a lifelong process. There are no differentiations in what constitutes pedagogy. The child is the lifelong learner who never leaves the pedagogical gaze as learning is the constant self-monitoring to assess and direct what is done and should be done.

The family is a social site that not only develops and cultivates learning. The private life is a site where the just and equitable society is produced. Research moves into the interactions and communications. The interactions and inner qualities of the parent and child are made into practices that are to be illuminated and ordered for

the achievements of life. Research is constituted as a problem of design. Research about the family and child, for example, is the constant conceptualizing and monitoring to design feedback loops which locate individuality in comparative norms of development, growth, and success.

The feedback systems are simultaneously institutional, collective, and personal. International assessment technologies are to provide constant comparative methods to locate the child position in learning in relation to others, such as those of TIMMS and PISA. At the same time, the family is the site that produces better readers, more positive attitudes about school, improved attendance, and better homework habits (see, e.g., Eldridge, 2001; US Department of Education, 2001). The concerns are whether the child is ready for school by knowing how to count, knowing the alphabet, and having the proper level of attention and self-motivation to 'learn' (Simms & Erickson, 2002, p. A5).

The achievement of the child and family is not only about test scores. It constitutes and differentiates the rules and standards of thought and acts. The unspoken cultural thesis of family and child is associated with that of lifelong learning. *Unequal Childhoods* (Lareau, 2003), for example, reports the study of the cultural patterns of 12 families of middle class, working-class, and poor to explore how social class produces differentiated life experiences. The middle class family, it is argued, places intense demands on parents' time while working-class and poor families entail greater informal peer group interactions and children's self-managing of time. Middle-class rearing, it continues, has advantages for standardized achievement tests and success in the workplace. Parent interactions and communication treat children as equal, encouraging them to ask questions, to negotiate rules, and to challenge assumptions. Parents also plan and schedule activities to provide children with the cultural resources that are seen cultivating tastes and distinctions viewed as important for development – piano lessons, soccer games, trips to the museum. The working-class and poor families have different child-rearing patterns. They provide children with greater freedom through less supervision and parental influence – playing outside with cousins, inventing games, riding bikes with friends. The cultural patterns demand of children to defer to adults and treat them with respect and thus, without learning communication skills, to question authority, negotiate rules and consequences.

The recognition of the child who is different is carried in the psychologies and social psychologies of family and schooling as comparative methods that recognize and establish difference through its modes of analysis. The comparisons are to illustrate what the successful child needs for schooling and life. The criteria of success differentiate and divide. Research distinguishes between social groups, for example, in the acquisition of vocabulary, interactions, and communications patterns. The purpose is to find ways to equalize all children. Yet the very strategies assume a unity of the whole from which difference is assigned. For example, research details differences in vocabularies used among social groups. The differences are placed in relation to each other so as to assign a textual if not statistical or logical causality about who the child who fails is. The 4 year old of 'well-educated parents', for example, is found to have 'an expressive vocabulary of 6,000 words', 'can describe

his or her daily routines', 'follow unfamiliar three-step directions', 'can predict what's next, and can recap a field trip' (and parents having an average of 487 'utterances' to children each hour). That child hears about 500,000 encouragements and 80,000 discouragements. The children of the poor by age 3 have a reversed situation where they hear, on average, about 75,000 encouragements and 200,000 discouragements, or 178 utterances per hour (Simms & Erickson, 2002, p. A5; also Tough, 2006).

The differences become 'an achievement gap' that takes norms of differences as a comparative marker from which to differentiate reading proficiency. Even in recognizing class distinctions in cost and benefits of different home settings, the comparativeness and instantiation of difference is inscribed. Tough (2006), for example, reviews the differences through the given categories to ask, first, whether child-rearing practices in poor neighborhoods can be changed and then questions whether it is appropriate to educate the poor through standards of the middle class.

While the ethics and politics are debated, the questioning and 'ethics' entail a particular framing of what is known, done, and hoped for in the practices of the home. The differentiations and distinctions are not merely about choices but calculations that require a particular cultural thesis about modes of living. The balance of 'costs' and benefits is comparative and a process of abjection. School reforms increasingly entail programs that link the child's motivation in school to child-rearing styles. The argument draws from research and doctors that 'inconsistent, overly permissive or uncertain child-rearing styles might worsen children's problems'; family-based programs are being run by psychologists, as a summer camp that takes principles from the school for discipline and then in the fall regularly visits the teachers of every child who keeps daily behavior report cards for "full coverage for a child's every waking hour" (Tough, 2006).

12.2.2 The Discourse of Rights

Today's cultural thesis of the child is placed in a discourse about what is natural to all children as their 'educational birthright', scaled with the constitutional rights of the citizen. The National Commission on Teaching and America's Future (2003), *No Dream Denied: A Pledge to America's Children*, for example, expresses the dream of the nation in the natural birthright of the child. The birthright, when examined, embodied the characteristics bound to *being* a lifelong learner in 'a culture of continuous learning'. Teacher education is to generate collective values in learning communities whose mode of living 'respects others', 'takes risks', and works with 'diverse people' by making an individual who makes choices in which there is no choice not 'to continue to learn throughout life'. The cultural thesis of the child is similar to that expressed earlier in *Unequal Childhoods* (Lareau, 2003).

The Right arguments embodies a broader cultural set of distinctions that liken children's rights to human rights as a general natural law of development and protection. The UNICEF Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 is brought into

discussion of child-rearing. It makes childhood as a 'natural' right parallel to the 1945 Universal Declaration of Human rights of the United Nations (Bornstein, 1998, p. 4) and The rights of the child are the obligations of the parent: Parents are responsible "*to secure . . .the conditions of living necessary for the child's development*" (e.g., Article 27; Article 18 among others). Universal Human Rights are translated into questions about the ecology of moral development and the ecology of development. Parental care giving is to provide 'core' moral values. One right is that of nurturing the health of the child. Health is not only physical but a question of acting morally. The pedagogical processes are for the "social engaging children emotionally and managing their interpersonal exchanges, such as rocking, kissing, smiling, tactile comforting, positive feedback, negotiation that make child feel valued and accepted and approved of that exist within typologies of social parenting styles – authoritative and didactic care giving that are then given a quality of respecting difference of different aged children or in different ethnic groups . . ." (Bornstein, 1998, p. 4).

The family is spoken as an ecology. Parenting is to provide a corrective for child-rearing. 'Often parents knowledge is incorrect' and inappropriate as parent 'inattentiveness and non-responsiveness' can inhibit optimal child 'growth' and can foster 'temperamental difficulties' (Bornstein, 1998, p. 3). Differences are expressed as the unity of the whole spoken about as competence in that transforms immigrants "into self-confident citizens, conscious of both rights and responsibilities in schools" (Bornstein, 1998, p. 4).

The (re)visioning of the family is not only in the United States. Sweden, for example, entails discussions of the 'parents' right of decision' and the need for collaboration (Kristoffersson, n.d.). School boards focus on parents who feel they have not made full use of their rights and responsibilities. As in the United States, there is talk about freedom of choice, involvement through local school boards, and the emergence of independent school sector that posed a threat to the state schools. Policy spoke about schools taking initiative for establishing contact with parents that was written into the curriculum as a priority, particularly to inform parents about the students' progress, explaining educational goals, and the 'the rights and responsibilities of pupils and their legal guardians' (p. 3).

Why pay attention to Rights as a condition of the pedagogicalization of the present? The French philosopher Jacque Rancière (2004) raised the question of who is the subject of the Rights of Man. He argues that it is an abstraction that appears as universal and binding, the source of those who bear those rights seemingly attached to nothing. The distinctions of rights, however, perform in actual national communities to assign rights to those without rights. This installs an inequality built upon its pedagogical practices. The rights entail a polarity of those with the expertise to define those rights and to constitute the pedagogical practices in which those rights are enacted to constituting life as the historico-ontological destiny that the abjected child and family need to get out. Rights, Rancière argues, reconfigures the political field in a process of ousting surplus subjects who are not sorted out by negotiated adjustments of interests and expertise that order the consensus.

12.2.3 Processes of Abjection: The Family and Child Outside the Space of 'All Children'

If we take Rancière's notion of ousting surplus subjects, we can reintroduce the turn of the 20th century Social Question about the moral disorders of the city as it relates to the family and child. The urban still occupies narratives of reforms as there is an optimism of the new American exceptionalism to rescue and redemption of targeted populations of inequalities. That is a way to read the teacher education reform title and report: *No Dream Denied: A Pledge to America's Children.* Yet that optimism is also one that inscribes difference understood through populational reasoning about modes of living and processes of abjection.

The signification of rescue, redemption, and division is signified in the phrase '*all*' children. The homage to 'all children' starts with a universal statement of recognition of the dangers and dangerous populations excluded: The goal of inclusion is met with the realities that some students fail in school because their parents participate too little in their learning. The inclusive language about *all* children is an iteration of cultural communism. Its fears are not providing the correct strategies to include, and the fears of the dangers and dangerous qualities of those different. The discourses of reform simultaneously inscribe distinctions and differentiations about children and families that are not in the space occupied by the qualities assigned to 'all children' (see, e.g., Hidalgo, Siu, Bright, Swap, & Epstein, 1995; US Department of Education, 2001). It is the children who are not in *the all* that are the targeted populations for social policy to rescue from failure.

Textual divisions assign qualities and characteristics of those who do not qualify as belonging to the spaces reserved for unity implied in the phrase *all* children. Research about the family reverts to what is defined as necessary for teachers to raise their standards for teaching low-income and minority pupils (Rothstein, 2002, p. 47). The home is a place for the pedagogicalization of low-income and immigrant (Hispanic) parents to 'see' the importance of ordering home as working as does the school. There is a need, Rothstein continues, for parents to 'spur children's to achieve, see that homework is done and stretch children's reasoning skills in conversation at home'. Rothstein continues that unlike middle-class parents who accept responsibility to model the school at home to improve low grade, teachers will fail if immigrant parents 'see education as only the teacher's job, not their own'.

The characteristics of the family recognized for inclusion, yet different, are classified through research as the 'fragile family, and the 'vulnerable families' (Hildago et al., 1995; p. 500). The parents have a lower level of education and socioeconomic status, are immigrants (the length of time living in country), live in poor areas of residence, and are ethnically defined (living or not living in ethnic enclaves), among others (Hildago et al., 1995, p. 501). The social and economic classifications of the child and family are linked to structural relations within the gender relations and communications' patterns that relate to gender, such as whether the mother is a single or teen parent (Hildago et al., 1995, p. 501, David and Lucille Packard Foundation, 2002).

The pedagogicalization of the home, however, does not begin without the overlapping practices of science and community organizations. Finer distinctions are made to build profiles of the failing child and family that lie outside the values that classify the *all children* (this is discussed in Popkewitz, 2008). The categories of the child who does not 'fit' are one 'who lives in poverty, students who are not native speakers of English, students with disabilities, females, and many nonwhite students [who] have traditionally been far more likely than their counterparts in other demographic groups to be the victims of low expectations . . . [This child needs further assistance, for example,] to meet high mathematics expectations, such as non-native speakers of English and students of disabilities who need more time to complete assignments' (National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, 2000, p. 13).

A digest of personal facts fashions territories of membership and nonmembers in the *all* children. The categories of the different populations who do not 'fit' the norms of success become a particular human kind. The various categories of the child and family are a determinate classification of deviance that has succinct chronological, cultural, physiological, and psychological characteristics. The aggregate of the 'fragile' and 'vulnerable' family acquires the abstraction of the sciences or impersonal management to reason about the group and personal capabilities and capacities of people.

The aggregate of the 'fragile' and 'vulnerable' family acquires the abstraction of the sciences for the seemingly impersonal management of the reason that defines personal capabilities and the capacities of people. The pedagogical home is where differences are undone so the families of the poor and immigrant learn to bond, follow directions, and show confidence so that they can enter the space that constitutes *all children.* For example, programs are instituted for schools to pay community organizers, called Parent Support Specialists, to walk around the neighborhood to teach parents how to tutor children in taking tests. The particular research and programs focus on low-income immigrant Hispanic communities. Priests join with the new community expertise of parent 'support' specialists to enable parents to learn pedagogical skills of, for example, "how to use a list of common words to help children make sentences, learn grammar, and sharpen their reading skills; they also learned how to use a 'number line' manipulative to help children practice adding and subtracting." (US Department of Education, 2001, p. 11).

The commitment to diversity and sensitivity that seems all inclusive is a process of abjection that simultaneously disqualifies and qualifies individuals for participation. The cultural territory of the family and child left are spaces of hopes and fears inscribed in the processes of pedagogicalization of the home: fears that the search for useful knowledge and the right procedures of reform will provide for redemption and total inclusion; and a territory that threatens the civilization and its 'civilized' people through the modes of living of the populations of the child and family who are disadvantaged, at risk, and urban. The problem of failure is placed in the psychological and communicative interactions of the child and parent of children who are minority or poor. The parents do not have 'high expectations' for their children. The parents lack the norms and expectations needed for school success. The patterns of conduct and interaction seem to appear as if taken straight out of a teaching manual.

Parents receive training in one program in helping their children develop critical thinking skills, evaluating their children's educational progress, and helping with homework and project assignments.

12.3 Some Concluding Thoughts

The strategy of this chapter is to explore the 'commonsense' through which the reason of the family and child(hood) is shaped, fashioned, and changes through different practices of the past and present. My argument about pedagogicalization has been about a particular form of expertise that functions to shepherd who 'we' are, who we should be, who is not included in these spaces and thus abjected. The cultural theses generated about the family and child cross multiple institutions of school, welfare systems, among others, to influence new ways of acting upon and influencing the action of individuals.

Central to the expertise are the social and psychological sciences as they overlap in the forming of the systems of reason in pedagogical practices. The sciences function as cultural theses about how life is lived and to be lived. Its particular expertise functions as the shepherding of conduct, serving as principles through which 'the soul' seeks perfection in the search for the future. That future at the turn of the 20th century and today's future are not the same, nor are its cultural theses. Educationalization and pedagogicalization gave focus to the particular historical changes in the cultural theses in the United States. Educationalization spoke to cultural theses of family and child who were to embody social and collective norms of the nation; and *pedagogicalization* at the turn of the 21st century as embodying different cultural theses about the lifelong learners, life as the continuous 'learning' that revisioned collective belonging and nation although on the surface had no center organized.

The 'social' has not disappeared. There is no individuality without social matrixes in which rules and standards of reflection and action are generated. The regulation of the intimate relations, interests, and aspirations, I argued, joins two registers: those of the administration of life through the theories, concepts, and methods of science; and the ordering of life itself in which freedom and agency are enacted and experience constituted. Overlapping the two practices is an element of the historical present in which life is a project of pedagogicalization. The new expertise, however, makes the social more difficult to discern when the ordering of conduct is a life of 'choice' that seemingly has no center.

Pedagogicalization, then, forms the political. That political is in the partitioning of the sensible in ordering conduct. The ordering and differentiating through the cultural theses of the family and child, I argued, differentiate and exclude in its impulses for inclusion. The comparative instantiations of what are taken as natural and commonsense re-inscribes divisions in the expertise that orders daily life. The critical engagement of the limits of the present is a strategy to open up the possibility of other strategies than those that currently exist.

Notes

1. These distinctions are considered instead of other categories as shifts from a disciplinary society to one of control, from the social to community in the governing, from input to an output, performative society. I am not convinced by some of the arguments in these distinctions so use educationalization and pedagogicalization recognizing their limitations. The distinctions, however, between educationalization and pedagogicalization are not full proof as the categories have points of leakage into each other. I use them tentatively to point to historical differences in the past and present. The broader arguments, theoretical and conceptual arguments, are discussed in Popkewitz (1991, 2003, 2008).
2. I use the long 19th century to focus on overlapping, uneven, and different historical practices from the 18th through the turn of the 20th century, but which are visible in schooling in the formation of modern scientifically oriented pedagogy.
3. There are debates about how to read the history of childhood, with Ariès (1960/1962) as often at the center of the discussions. My reading of these debates is that they enter at different theoretical points that are passed over in marking difference in interpretation. I think that the notion of pedagogicalization as about systems of reason comes closer to that of Ariès as a point of historical interpretation.
4. I use this phrase to emphasize the overlapping of uneven historical patterns that are visible from the late 18th century through the first decades of the 20th century, some of these patterns discussed in this chapter.
5. For a general discussion of the notion of freedom in the American context, see, e.g., Foner (1998).
6. My premise here is that all nations since the turn of the 20th century are welfare states in the theoretical sense of the state's responsibility to care for the security and risks of its population, although this care is differently administered and never universal even in post-World War II Nordic nations. This historical recognition is important for considering the problem of governing and the social and educational sciences as I will explore. Further, the policy-oriented social science can be found in the 18th and early 19th centuries as *Polizeiwissenschaften*, a term about the understanding and improving of the administrative rules and regulatory policies of the state (Wagner, Wittrock, & Whitley, 1991). My discussion, however, focuses on the reform-minded sciences related to pedagogy.
7. While not a concept of adolescence prior to 19th century, there were notions of youth in the early modern Europe that corresponds to adolescence in that it recognized stage in the life circle, being understood as a period of transition in which young people were groomed for adult roles (Pollock, 2001, p. 198).
8. I discuss this in Popkewitz (2005).

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Chapter 13
'It Makes Us Believe That It Is About Our Freedom': Notes on the Irony of the Learning Apparatus

Maarten Simons and Jan Masschelein

13.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to reconsider the concepts 'educationalization' and 'the grammar of schooling' (see also Depaepe, 2005) in the light of the overwhelming importance that is ascribed to 'learning' today. Indeed, the word 'learning' has come to be indispensable for speaking about ourselves, others and society. A whole range of human activities, from childrearing, having sex, eating or communication to travelling and using free time, being a citizen and an employee, are regarded as competence based. It is therefore felt that they require a prior learning process. Facing this current emphasis on learning we doubt whether the 'school/education-oriented' concepts of 'educationalization' and 'grammar of schooling', alongside the related historical-analytical perspectives, are still useful when it comes to understanding the present situation. Additionally, we want to indicate that concepts such as 'disciplinary power' and 'panopticism' are no longer adequate to understand what is at stake in so-called 'learning societies' and 'learning environments.' The concept 'learning apparatus' is suggested as an alternative concept to address these issues and maybe as a point of departure for (future) analysis that focuses on the 'grammar of *learning*.'

The point of departure for our analysis is the critical attitude that Foucault called an 'ontology of the present' (Foucault, 1984a). The main question could be formulated straightforwardly as follows: who are we, as people for whom learning is of major importance and who refer to learning as a way to constantly position and reposition ourselves? In short, learning is conceived as a kind of a 'singular, historical experience' emerging within a particular historical context (Foucault, 1984b, p. 13). Furthermore, it is our aim to analyse how self-understanding and subjectivity emerge within present practices and discourses. For this analysis, we again draw on Foucault and, in particular, his analysis of governmentality and the so-called studies of governmentality developed during the past decades. The aim of these studies is to analyse how a regime of government and self-government works (Foucault, 2004a,

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2004b; Rose, 1999; Dean, 1999). The formula 'governmentalization of learning' points precisely at what is at stake today and what we would like to describe here: that learning has become a matter of both government and self-government (Delanty, 2003; cf. Edwards, 2002; Edwards & Nicoll, 2004; Fejes, 2005).

In order to describe the governmentalization of learning and the assemblage of a contemporary 'learning apparatus', Section 13.2 is a historical excursion that explains how the concept of learning, being disconnected from education and teaching, has been used to refer to a kind of *capital*, to something for which the learner herself is *responsible*, to something that can and should be *managed* (and is an object of expertise) and to something that has to be *employable*.[1] Section 13.3 indicates how these discourses are combined in today's climate and play a crucial role in advanced liberalism that seeks to promote entrepreneurship. We will explain that entrepreneurship implies an *adaptation ethics* based on self-mobilization through learning, and that advanced liberalism draws upon a kind of *learning apparatus* to secure adaptation for each and all. In the conclusion, we will focus on the mode of power within the learning apparatus and (this is critical) question whether learning does indeed result in the freedom and collective well being that is being promised by advanced liberalism.

13.2 Learning as a Problem/Solution

In order to be able to describe how learning comes to play a major role in the current governmental regime, it is necessary to first draw attention to older forms of problematization in which learning appeared as an important issue for reflection and thought; i.e. the "historically conditioned emergence of new fields of experience" related to learning (Burchell, 1996, p. 31). Hence, we will focus on the emergence of those fields of experience that involve the rationalization of problems as learning problems and regard the enhancement of learning as a solution (Foucault, 1984a, p. 577). It is possible to distinguish four related fields of problem that were shaped in the previous century.

13.2.1 The Capitalization of Learning

At the end of the 1960s there was considerable interest in the development of a so-called knowledge society and knowledge economy. In this economy, knowledge functions as "central capital", "the crucial means of production" and the "energy of a modern society" (Drucker, 1969, p. xi). It is argued that 'knowledge workers' are of major importance in an economy in which many activities imply a 'knowledge base'. Furthermore, it is argued that these developments require us to look at education in a new way: education (especially universities and research institutions) should be regarded as a 'knowledge industry', the main supplier for the new demand for a sufficient 'knowledge base' and useful 'knowledge workers' (Ibid., p. 313).

Moreover, the logic of the knowledge economy – the logic of the development and technological application of knowledge – becomes the horizon for addressing the importance of 'continuing education' for 'knowledge workers': "In a knowledge society, school and life can no longer be separate. They have to be linked in an organic process in which the one feeds back on the other. And this continuing education attempts to do" (Drucker, 1969, p. 24). Continuing education is thus regarded as a solution to the need for a useful knowledge base, and economic problems are framed within an educational framework. Furthermore, and this is related to the two other forms of problematization (see below), learning becomes disconnected from its traditional institutional context (school education, training) and conditions (teaching). While schooling and education have, for a long time, been regarded as an economic force, against the background of the knowledge society learning itself is now regarded as a force to produce added value.

More specifically, against this horizon it is possible to address learning as that which links the employee to the process of production. Not just financial, physical and mental stimuli are required to establish this link, but also learning. At this point learning – as the ability to renew one's knowledge base or human capital – is regarded as a condition for economic development and productivity. In more recent discourses it is argued that for a knowledge worker, "work (. . .) is to a large extent learning" and that "while learning, value is added to the existing human capital" (Tjepkema, 1996, p. 83; Bomers, 1991, p. 5). What is at stake, then, is the 'capitalization of learning'. In other words, what emerges is a field of experience in which learning appears as a force to produce added value.

13.2.2 Being Responsible Towards Learning

For a second form of problematization we should consider the ideas of lifelong learning ('*éducation permanente*') closely related to the concern for self-actualization and self-realization. The basic idea is that learning should not be limited to the school or other traditional educational institutions but should take place at a convenient time in a person's life. What is needed is an integrated (educational) system or infrastructure that offers opportunities for lifelong learning and prepares "mankind to adapt to change, the predominant characteristic of our time" (Faure et al., 1972, pp. 104, 209). Regarded as self-realization and self-actualization, autonomy here means being able to meet our own needs, and since these needs are changing constantly, lifelong learning is required. Consequently, it is argued that "the central mission of the school will be to teach the pupils to learn, to train them to assimilate new knowledge on their own" (Husén, 1974, p. 23). Apart from this re-conceptualization of the mission of schools, a field of experience emerges in which problems concerning individual well-being can be framed as educational and/or learning problems.

Part of this problematization of learning pertains to the way in which adult education is reflected upon. During the 1920s, Lindeman stressed the importance of

learning for adults and its implication for education: against the background of "education is life" and "the whole of life is learning" it is argued that the situation of the learner should be the point of departure (Lindeman, 1926, pp. 4–5). Later on (and drawing upon humanistic psychology) the idea is that adult learning requires an attitude of self-direction towards learning. Knowles, for example, describes self-directed learning as a process in which the learner takes the initiative (with the help of others if needed) to make a diagnosis of the learning needs, formulate learning goals, identify human and material resources for learning, choose and implement adequate learning strategies and evaluate learning results (Knowles, 1970). Again, in view of the changing society and the need to be able to cope with changes, the importance of self-regulation towards one's learning is stressed. This could be regarded as 'responsabilization' towards learning.

13.2.3 Learning as Object of (Self) Management and (Self) Expertise

Although related to the previous forms of problematization, the new educational and psychological expertise concerning learning processes offers a third form. First, learning is regarded as a kind of cognitive process, that is, a kind of process that is internal to someone who learns and that occurs either incidentally or is planned. Change is a central theme here. Change, it is argued, can be the result of learning processes. This means that to understand these processes and to get a grip on them enables one to influence change (Gagné, 1970). In short, learning as such becomes a domain of expertise. Expertise based on cognitive psychology reflects upon learning in terms of various processes of cognition, which transform information into knowledge (Mayer, 1983). Knowledge, here, is the output of mental processes and as such the result of a 'construction' (von Glasersfeld, 1995). The learner is addressed as someone who occupies an environment and social context in which knowledge is constructed on the basis of input (experiences, information, problems, etc.) and where the existing knowledge base is reconstructed in order to bring about a new equilibrium.

Within this field of problematization, where learning is objectified as a process of construction within an environment, it is possible to focus on the abilities of the learner to get a grip on these processes: meta-cognition or knowledge about one's own cognition and active regulation of one's own learning processes (Flavell, 1976). The learner is thus someone who can and should become aware of the learning processes and who should relate in an active, regulating way to these processes. Learners should become the 'managers' of their own learning, by, for example, developing their own learning strategies, monitoring the process and evaluating the results (Westhoff, 1996, p. 21). In short, the expertise concerning learning presupposes that learners themselves can and should become the real experts (Shuell, 1988). The result of this form of problematization is that learning is reflected upon as a fundamental process for coping with our environment and that the very 'management'

or 'regulation' of this fundamental process can and should be learned. Thus what is at stake is the emergence of a kind of 'managerial' attitude towards learning; i.e. learning appears as a process of construction that could and should be managed, in the first place, by learners themselves.

13.2.4 Employability of Learning Results

In the early 1990s and against the horizon of the description of the economy as a knowledge economy and of society as a dynamic, permanently changing environment, the problem of employability takes shape. There is a growing concern in relation not only to the actual performance of employees but also (and this level of concern is intensifying) to their 'potential' (as regards their contributions for the future). This potential, which is connected to their 'talents', their learning capacity and their motivation for permanent change, is going to define whether these employees are employable and whether or not they will remain employable. Hence, employability becomes a central issue in the development of active labour policies (Pochet & Paternotre, 1998). In this context the notions of competences and competence management appear. The main idea is that the management of private and public enterprises should no longer concentrate on the management of functions, but of competences as regards the whole of knowledge, capacities and attitudes that are employable. It is argued that raising and maintaining employability, will allow for flexible adaptation to changing conditions and that competence management makes it possible for an enterprise or organization to be dynamic and future oriented. Parallel to these developments, the goal and method of education and training is being recoded in terms of competencies. From a managerial and educational/instructional viewpoint, professional labour, but also life as such, is regarded as a competence-based performance. Hence, with a view towards permanent employability, competence-based and competence-oriented teaching and learning is a major concern.

In this form of problematization the employability of learning is at stake. Competencies refer in fact to the crossing point between learning and the requirement of employability, that is, they represent employable learning results. Employability of learning is not only an issue for the labour market, but also for the learner herself. The lifelong learner today has to ask herself permanently whether she possesses the necessary competencies or 'employable learning results'.

13.3 The Governmentalization of the Learning and the Learning Apparatus

The aim of this section is to demonstrate how the initial forms of problematization identified in the previous section are being combined today and have become part of our present governmental regime that seeks to promote entrepreneurship. In order

to describe some main features of the new governmental regime, we will start with some examples of the way in which people are addressed today as learners. The Belgian/Flemish and European context will offer these examples.

13.3.1 The Strategic Importance of Learning Today: Examples

In the profiles for experienced and beginning teachers in Flanders, teaching is regarded as an activity based upon competencies (Ministry of Flemish Community 1999). However, it is stressed that in order to remain a professional, it is important for a teacher to take care of their ongoing professional development. So as to deal with professional development or lifelong learning, teachers should have "capacities for self-direction" (Ibid., p. 1). Teachers should regard their learning and the competencies generated during self-directed learning processes as a kind of capital for, or added value to their professional identities, the productivity of the school and the educational system in general.

Furthermore, companies and private and public organizations are seen as having a learning capacity that they should develop and manage. An organization is regarded as having a "collective brain function" and could and should develop this function in "mobilizing the mental and creative capacities" of the employees (Bomers, 1991, p. 4). Organizations are asked to focus not only on "survival learning" or "adaptive learning", but foremost on "generative learning". "Learning that enhances the capacity to create" (Senge, 1990, p. 14). Good managers should therefore understand that their role is to a large extent an educative role; i.e. to offer learning opportunities or a learning network that combines the empowerment of individuals and the company and allows for the employability of these individuals.

Another example is the way in which policy and policy makers view society itself. Politicians in Flanders and the Netherlands claim that stimulating lifelong learning and offering facilities for learning become governmental aims for "lifetime employability" (and a flexible labour market) as well as for individual self-realization – "to become what you want" (Vandenbroucke, 2004, p. 112). What is recommended is to stimulate an attitude where the meaning of learning is intrinsically mobilized at a fundamental level to contribute to the evolution of a learning society (European Commission, 1995). Furthermore, it is argued that we should be aware that this "will to learn" not only is a condition for our individual and collective well-being inside a state or inside the European Union, but is also required to remain competitive within an international environment. In this context competence-oriented education has become a central issue in actual policy making (Vandenbroucke, 2007).

For a final example that articulates the fundamental importance of learning in the way we come to think and speak about ourselves, we could look at how problems in society are now dealt with as learning problems. An unemployed person, for example, is not just someone who is in need of an income, but could be regarded as someone in need of additional learning. In this context Giddens claims, "The

guideline is that, when possible, investment in human capital should have priority over offering immediate economic support" (Giddens, 2000, p. 130). Poverty and many other forms of exclusion are now thought of in terms of lack as regards the acquisition of adequate human capital, irresponsibility towards one's learning capacity or not being able to manage one's learning. In all these cases it is assumed that investment in human capital is required.

What these examples clarify is interpellation at different places and levels in order to see ourselves as having a learning capacity and as being responsible to use and manage this capacity. What accompanies this interpellation is the idea that the "individual's place in relation to fellow citizens will increasingly be determined by the capacity to learn" and that this "relative position, which could be called the 'learning relationship', will become an increasingly dominant feature in the structure of our societies" (European Commission, 1995, p. 2). These examples enable us to describe more generally the new governmental regime that we belong to.

13.3.2 From the Welfare State to Advanced Liberalism

In our opinion, *we*, addressed as learners, are no longer part of the social regime of government in the welfare state. While 'the social', 'social norms' and 'socialization' previously played a strategic role in governments' social regimes, nowadays 'inclusion', 'capital' and 'learning' seem to be the main strategic components. Being part of society is no longer about being socialized and developing a social, normalized relation to the self. Instead it is an ongoing task of managing one's learning process in order to produce human capital and to be able to use social capital (or relations of trust) in order to be included (Edwards, 2002, pp. 353–365).

While the 'social citizen' refers to the form of self-government in the social regime, the figure of the 'entrepreneurial citizen' or 'entrepreneur of the self' refers to the form of self-government promoted and stimulated today.[2] Entrepreneurship here is about using resources to produce a commodity that meets needs and offers an income. But entrepreneurship, as economists have pointed out, is not just a mechanical process of allocation and production. It also involves an 'element of alertness'; i.e. a speculative, creative or innovative attitude to see opportunities in a competitive environment (Kirzner, 1973, p. 33). Entrepreneurship is a risky business. However, risk is not, as it is in the social regime, to be prevented, but instead is the condition for profit – a kind of "stimulating principle" (Giddens, 2000, pp. 73, 129). Identifying actual self-government as entrepreneurship means that people are required to look at themselves both as operating within an environment and as having certain needs that they can satisfy through creatively producing goods.

Entrepreneurship thus refers to the governable form of freedom in the present regime of government. Hence, government is not opposed to freedom, but operates through (a particular kind of) freedom. We will describe the kind of freedom at stake in more detail by focusing on both the ethics (of self-government) that is at stake and the central role of learning.

13.3.3 Learning and the Business Ethics of Self-Mobilization

Typical for the entrepreneurial self is the self-mobilization of knowledge and skills (Edwards, 2002, p. 359). Mobilization can be understood as bringing something (a potentiality) into a condition whereby it becomes employable (Sloterdijk, 1991, pp. 42–43). To live an entrepreneurial life is not about having a position in a normal, socialized structure but is about moving around in different environments and remaining employed in the "continuous business of living" (Gordon, 1991, p. 44). Thus self-mobilization refers not only to the responsibility of the entrepreneurial self to mobilize its human capital but also to the responsibility to capitalize one's life in such a way that it has economic value (Rose, 1999, p. 162). For the entrepreneurial self, economic value is not only expressed in financial terms (and what is valued in the environment of the labour market) but applies to everything that enables the production of satisfaction of whatever needs in whatever environment.

Furthermore, self-mobilization and the ongoing capitalization of life require the fundamental disposition to renew one's human capital; in other words, a *willingness and preparedness to learn*. For the entrepreneurial self, this decision to learn is similar to an act of investment – to be precise, an investment in human capital that is expected to offer an income or return. Learning as a well thought-out investment and as a responsible capitalization and mobilization of life is the main prerequisite for the ongoing business of life. In short, this business ethics is a kind of *adaptation* ethics based upon the following maxim: do what you want but take care that your human capital is adapted.

The adaptation ethics of entrepreneurial self-government can be described by identifying four components (cf. Foucault, 1984a, p. 33). The material or (moral) 'substance' of this form of self-government is human (and social) capital, and more particularly, knowledge or competencies. The 'mode of subjection' of the entrepreneurial practice of freedom is the permanent economic tribunal: people should develop a managerial attitude of calculation towards this material or substance and should, for example, find out which competencies are required or could be(come) functional, which competencies they want to/should invest in, etc. This substance and mode of subjection, thus, brings us to the 'work upon the self' that is needed: one is asked to *invest* in human capital, to *learn* or to *add* value to the self and to *find ways* of productive inclusion. Finally, this work upon the self has a particular teleology: the aim is the production of satisfaction of one's own needs or the needs of others.

13.3.4 Governing Through Learning and the Learning Apparatus

It is important to stress at this point that this business ethic (the responsibility towards a capitalization of the self, towards self-mobilization and learning as investment) is actually being shaped in specific procedures and instruments. An illustration of this is the portfolio. A portfolio is a kind of 'wallet' including all knowledge, skills and attitudes that can be employed or mobilized (Birembaum & Dochy, 1996). To use a portfolio implies that one is reflecting upon the self in terms of economic

value; i.e. identifying and classifying one's stock of human capital that could offer access to different environments. More generally speaking, this wallet with its stock of human capital descriptors can function as a kind of passport to obtain access to the business of life itself. Exemplary instances of this are the 'Europass-program' of the European Union and the proposal to develop a single framework for the transparency of qualifications and competencies (Vandenbroucke, 2004, p. 11). This instrument (an electronic portfolio) requires that people engage in an ongoing documentation and marketization of the self and a formalization of its learning. At the same time, these kinds of instruments offer strategic data allowing (educational) policy to govern learning processes and to assess the learning force of the population.

These illustrations help to explain how the learning, entrepreneurial self (and its ethics of adaptation) is at the same time a governable subject of strategic importance for advanced liberal government. For this kind of government, citizens who experience learning as a fundamental force of adaptation have a strategic role because they guarantee that human capital will be adapted. Within this governmental rationality, the policy of change and adaptation is delegated to each entrepreneurial individual (or community, or organization) separately. In addition, the role of the state is to offer the infrastructure for self-mobilization and the opportunities for investment in human capital. Thus, it is the entrepreneurial self who should herself have a 'policy of change and adaptation' and who is able to do manage his or her learning capacity in a responsible, calculating, proactive way. Hence, within the advanced liberal regime of government, the strategic role of learning is to secure adaptation.

At this point, we can introduce the concept of the 'learning apparatus'.[3] With this concept, we do not refer to an apparatus that is created, implemented or imposed by the state in order to organize learning. What we notice however is that these different and dispersed components become interconnected and are assembled in a kind of strategic complex. As a strategic complex, the learning apparatus embodies a kind of intention for it seeks to secure adaptation. The state has not invented this apparatus in order to secure adaptation. Instead, the 'power of the state' is an outcome of dispersed practices and discourses that seek to promote entrepreneurship and the capitalization of life through learning. What we see, therefore, is not the 'étatization' or domination of society and the learning potential of citizens by the state but a kind of 'governmentalization of the state' in the name of learning. Drawing upon a multitude of locales and practices that stimulate entrepreneurship, the state can 'translate' all types of policy challenges (e.g. unemployment, democratic participation, health care) into learning problems and seek to utilize components of the learning apparatus to offer solutions (e.g. training, citizenship education, programmes of risk prevention) (cf. Rose, 1996, p. 43).

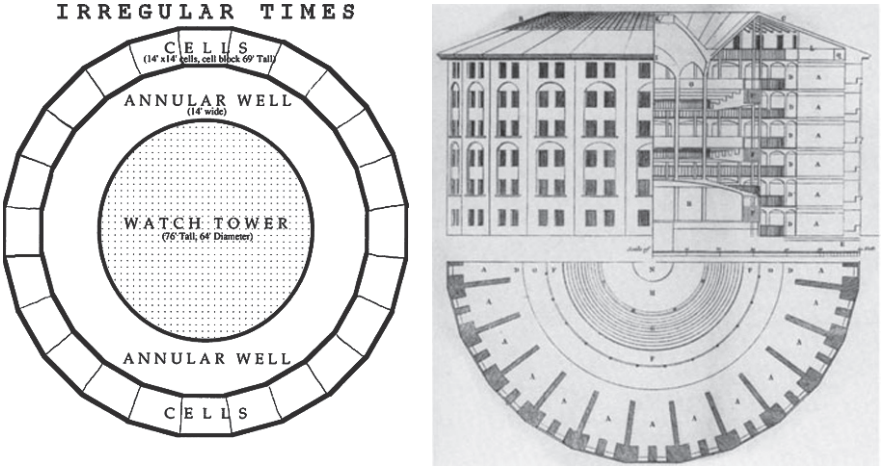
Similarly, this apparatus for securing adaptation through learning should not be regarded as the logical outcome of an original 'will to learn'. Instead, this 'will' is both part of this apparatus and its strategy. More precisely, this willingness to learn is both an effect and an instrument of the present governmental regime and its strategy to secure adaptation. It is an effect since the regime asks that entrepreneurial selves be prepared and able to learn, but at the same time an instrument because this 'will' is used to secure adaptation within society as a whole.

13.4 Conclusion

One aim of this chapter was to answer the question: for whom i.e. for which kind of subject does learning appear as a fundamental force to position and reposition oneself in society? What we have tried to show is that it is the entrepreneurial self (i.e. *we*, as entrepreneurial selves) who experiences learning as such and that the historical condition for this experience of learning (as capital, as what should be managed and as what is our responsibility) to emerge is a particular space of thought and a particular governmental configuration. In view of this analysis, we recommend reconsideration of the concepts 'educationalization' and 'grammar of schooling' so as to understand what is at stake today. We will clarify this by exploring what we regard as an important shift at the level of power elations: from *panoptical* power in modern society (and schools) to *synoptical* power in the current society (and learning environments) (cf. Simons, 2007).

Modern panoptical power seeks to discipline human beings through an internalized gaze of the other (i.e. the normalizing gaze of experts). Like inmates in a prison, pupils in a school, labourers in a factory and patients in a clinic come to understand themselves in terms of normality under the gaze of experts (teachers, managers, doctors). Our thesis is that the exercise of power today, which is related to the governmentalization of learning, cannot be explained with reference to the classic panopticon model. Instead, the exercise of power can be explained in terms of a self-imposed, reversed panopticon or *synopticon*. We will briefly elaborate on this thesis.

The panopticon refers to a form of power that works through the observation and surveillance of the many by the few, and where the few (those in power) are often not visible.



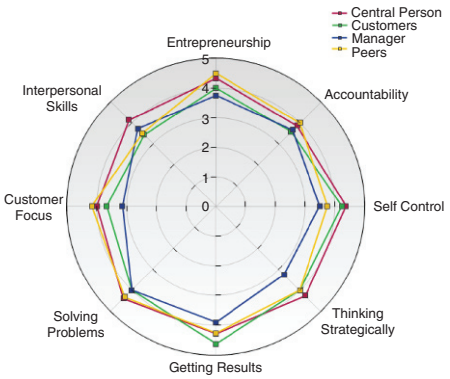
Source: http://www.irregulartimes.com/panopt.html (23-01-2008);
http://www.deltaconsultants.com/images/leader_development.jpg (23-01-2008)

According to Foucault (1972/1989, p. 298) this modern form of power is quite different from the classic form of power embodied in the "spectacle". In both the spectacle of public punishment and, indeed, the theatre, the many observe the few and this observation is meant to control the masses.

Source: http://www.360-feedback.nl/ (23-01-2008)

Mathiessen (1997, p. 219) refers to this as the 'synopticon' and argues that our present 'viewer society' combines both 'panoptical and synoptical' mechanisms.[4] Our thesis is that the 'entrepreneurial self' or 'learner' is indeed part of the 'viewer society' and that this self does indeed combine (in a subtle way) the elements of both individual surveillance and mass spectacle in a kind of synopticon.

For the entrepreneurial self, in view of her adaptation ethics, continuous assessment and feedback are indispensable. The learner is no longer in need of surveillance and normalizing instruction by experts (panopticism) but is in need of permanent monitoring, coaching and feedback in order to know oneself. Entrepreneurial self-knowledge is about the endless accumulation of learning outcomes in one's personalized learning trajectory and about the in-between 'trade balance' of learning investments. Hence, what emerges is the permanent need for feedback: "How was my performance? Where am I standing? Please, evaluate me? (see also McKenzie, 2001) Feedback is the kind of information that is indispensable to orient one's learning and therefore to 'capitalize one's life'. In other words, feedback functions as a kind of permanent 'global positioning' – permanent feedback information for permanent orientation. Hence, the panopticon or the evaluative gaze of others remains important for the entrepreneurial self, yet this gaze is the result of a deliberate choice. The entrepreneurial self wants to be observed and evaluated. What is at stake is a kind of voluntary submission to the self-chosen evaluative gaze of others, a voluntary form of social control or a self-created panoptical environment. The technique of '360-degree feedback' can be regarded as paradigmatic for the new mode of power and control in today's society.



Source: http://www.vanderbilt.edu/AnS/Classics/roman_provinces/tunisia/image41.htm (23-01-2008); http://architectures.danlockton.co.uk/?page_id=4 (23-01-2008)

This short exploration is not only meant to indicate that concepts such as 'disciplinary power' and 'panoptism' (often related to the concept 'educationalization') are no longer adequate to describe power in today's society, but also to reveal some dimensions of the current mode of power in the learning apparatus. We want to stress again that the present experience of learning cannot be disconnected from a governmentalization of learning and synoptical power; learning is both a force of adaptation for entrepreneurial self-government and an instrument to secure the adaptation or added value of capital within society. Therefore, looking at learning and the liberation of our learning (from the state, from institutions, from the dominance of the teacher, from the impact of the economy, etc.) as a condition for our freedom and autonomy implies that we forget that this learning and the way in which we conceive it are from the very beginning both effect and instrument of the current governmental regime.

In conclusion, therefore, we find it necessary to point out the irony that accompanies the learning apparatus within this governmental regime: this regime makes us believe that learning is about our freedom (cf. Foucault, 1976). Accordingly, we do not think that what is needed today is a liberation of learning (from the state, from the economy, from ideology, etc.), nor yet another distinction between learning with an emancipatory potential and learning with a disciplinary potential (cf. Delanty, 2003, see also Biesta, 2006). What we find necessary is that we free ourselves from learning, that is, from the experience of learning as a fundamental force that is necessary for our freedom and collective well-being.

In line with this, we hope our critical re-reading of 'what is being said and written' (about learning) today brings about a kind of de-familiarization that is at the same time a kind of de-subjectification: pulling oneself free of oneself. Perhaps this act of 'liberation', that is, a transformation of the relation of the self to the self, points at another idea and practice of education (beyond learning or learning to learn).

Notes

1. The first and second sections of this paper are partly based on Simons & Masschelein, 2008.
2. Foucault focused on this figure of 'entrepreneurship' and the 'entrepreneurial self' in his analysis of neo-liberalism at the level of governmentality (Foucault 2004a, cf. Gordon, 1991, p. 44).
3. For the notion of apparatus or 'dispositif' cf. Foucault, 1979, p. 125. For the idea of assemblage or putting components together 'fabricated' in different (temporal, spatial) contexts: Rose, 1999, p. 53, Dean 1999: 29, Burchell 1996, p. 26.
4. Mathiessen (1997, p. 219) clarifies his use of the term 'synopticon' as follows: 'The concept is composed of the Greek word *syn* which stands for 'together' or 'at the same time', and *opticon*, which, again, has to do with the visual. It may be used to represent the situation where large number focuses on something in common which is condensed'.

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Chapter 14
The *Pädagogisierung* of Philosophy

Richard Smith

> *Quite otherwise than the scientist, and far more than the historian, the philosopher must go to school with the poets in order to learn the use of language. . .*
> (R.G. Collingwood, *Philosophical Method*, pp. 213–214)

14.1 Introduction

We are familiar with the way that a range of social problems – of citizenship, multiculturalism, militant fundamentalism, equity and access, drug-taking and obesity – are typically met with the response that the answer lies with education or that 'the schools must do more'. Sometimes this is conceived as a matter of spreading 'free' education itself more widely, in contrast with, for instance, the fundamental indoctrination and extremism of Islamist *madrasahs*; sometimes it is conceived in terms of adding new content or emphases to conventional (Western) schooling. And it is familiar too that in either case a number of difficulties arise. First, the problems become politically neutered: when they are thought of as essentially educational problems it becomes easier to ignore the fact that broad questions of justice, social inclusion and resources – which can only be addressed on the wider political stage – are involved. Second, the problems become de-radicalised: schools (and the wider educational world in which they are set) are not characteristically places of bold and innovative thinking (indeed in many countries efforts have been made over the last quarter of a century to ensure that they are not). Third, the problems become routinised as part of the curriculum: they become cast as part of knowledge to be acquired, not as action to be undertaken, justice to be fought for, meaning to be contested (this can be demonstrated in detail with regard to multiculturalism and citizenship, in particular, in the United Kingdom). All this ground has been extensively covered by the writers of the 'radical pedagogy' movement of the 1960s and 1970s, and particularly by Ivan Illich in his *Deschooling Society* (1970).

What is less obvious is that philosophy itself has been subjected to a kind of *Pädagogisierung.* It has, metaphorically speaking and in the words from R.G. Collingwood that prefix this paper, been sent to school and become one

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more activity of our world to be schooled, disciplined, rendered orderly. Hence I prefer the word *Pädagogisierung* in my title to its English near-equivalents (such as 'educationalisation'). *Pädagogisierung* has to my ear much more a sense of being infantilised by being sent back to school and subjected to the regimes of a pedagogue, which in its etymology is a 'leader of children'. In this sense *Pädagogisierung* is typical of the modernity which is often characterised as the search for method (Cahoone, 1996). From Francis Bacon onwards, and notably in the work of Descartes, we see the unending search for method: Descartes' famous *Discourse* is in its full title a discourse on *method*, the *Discourse on the Method of Rightly Conducting One's Reason and of Seeking Truth in the Sciences.* The search for method continued throughout the Enlightenment and can be traced without difficulty through writers such as David Hume and John Stuart Mill. Principally it was the method of natural philosophy, or science as we now call it, that was the object of the search, but particularly in view of the tendency, following Locke, to conceive philosophy as under-labourer to the scientists it was inevitable that philosophy itself would be required to articulate its method and behave methodically (the title of Collingwood's book that I shall be discussing below, *An Essay on Philosophical Method*, is of course significant). Philosophy would be sent to school, in Collingwood's phrase, to learn how to conduct itself, modestly and without metaphor and figurative language, like a child sent to school to learn not to put on airs or show off.

I argue in what follows that the 'school' that Collingwood (and, by implication and example, later Anglophone analytical philosophers in general) proposed and sometimes still propose is not innocent. This *pädagogisierung*, like the more familiar forms of *pädagogisierung* that I referred to in the first paragraph above, has its costs. It has its own tropes and metaphors, its own way of swaggering about the corridors and the playground, and sometimes there are dark rumours of bullying. Its jealous insistence on its own school rituals (lower school boys are not allowed to walk around with their hands in their pockets; only prefects may walk on that stretch of grass) threatens to leave philosophy cowed and under-nourished. This is especially the case, I shall argue, when it shows the ambition to cut philosophy off from the literature, the rich resources of language, that have the power to free it from the academic island on which it risks becoming marooned.

14.2 What is Philosophy?

What is philosophy, in contrast to the kinds of writing that come close to it or overlap with it? I know of no satisfactory answer to this question. Nor do I have a ready answer to the question what philosophy of education is, among the various ways of writing about education. If we cannot – though perhaps others can – come up with answers to these questions then it is hard to see how we can confidently distinguish good philosophy of education from bad. All these difficulties bear on many of the current concerns of philosophers of education: regimes of academic research assessment implications (of course), the future of our discipline, or sub-

discipline, or whatever philosophy of education is, and its relation to, and standing vis-à-vis, philosophy in general, or philosophy as practised in university departments of philosophy[1] – if indeed these distinctions make much sense at all.

What follows consists – naturally – of *argument*, since whatever philosophy does or is the construction of clear and rigorous argument is presumably at the heart of it, though as we shall see the notions of 'clarity' and 'rigour' are not wholly straightforward. Nevertheless, I intend to resist the temptation to summarise the argument in advance, since the skeleton of an argument is one thing but its full force or effect – which will emerge, or not, in the course of the paper – quite another; and if that immediately appears to blur the divide between philosophy and rhetoric, some indication of my direction can be seen by noticing that the dividing line has already been crossed in talking of the 'heart' of philosophy, and perhaps by characterising argument as 'clear' and as 'rigorous'. The question is how we are to understand the relationship between philosophy on the one hand and rhetoric and poetry on other, or – to put it less sharply – how these modes of thinking and writing are related to each other.

This question has, according to R.G. Collingwood, a peculiar status in philosophy since reflection on philosophy is "part of itself" (p. 1) in a way that is not true of, say, poetry or science. "The theory of philosophy is itself a problem for philosophy; and not only a possible problem, but an inevitable problem, one which sooner or later it is bound to raise" (p. 2). The philosopher explores this problem, always "probing into the darkest parts" (p. 210) and exploring the difficulties he or she finds rather than concealing them. Hence there is no great difference between the position of the writer of philosophy and that of its reader:

> The philosophers who have had the deepest instinct for style have repeatedly shrunk from adopting the form of a lecture or instructive address, and chosen instead that of a dialogue in which the work of self-criticism is parcelled out among the dramatis personae, or a meditation in which the mind communes with itself, or a dialectical process where the initial position is modified again and again as difficulties in it come to light. (*ibid*.)

What is common to all these literary forms, Collingwood writes, is that philosophy must be a kind of confession, "a search by the mind for its own failings and an attempt to remedy them by recognising them" (*ibid*.). The only good reason for writing is "to make a clean breast, first to themselves and then to their readers, if they have any. Their style must be the plain and modest style proper to confession" (p. 211).

At this point the reader senses a tension emerging. Philosophers with 'the deepest instinct for style' adopt forms such as the dialogue or the meditation. One immediately thinks of the Platonic dialogues or the meditations of Marcus Aurelius or Descartes. All of these are stylistically sophisticated and they are works of literature as much as of philosophy. (Collingwood notes "the classical elegance of Descartes, the lapidary phrases of Spinoza, the tortured metaphor-ridden periods of Hegel", p. 213). Yet the style of the philosopher must be "plain and modest". How can philosophy be literary and stylistically sophisticated, yet at the same time "plain and modest" in style? Collingwood's answer goes as follows. Philosophy resembles poetry, because the poet too "confesses himself to the reader, and admits him to

the extremist intimacy" (p. 212). But a philosophical work is a poem specifically of the *intellect.* It expresses what "a thinking mind experiences in its search for knowledge" (*ibid*.). This makes it plain, apparently, "that philosophical literature is in fact prose; it is poetry only in the sense in which all prose is poetry – poetry modified by the presence of a content, something which the writer is trying to say" (pp. 212–213). If there seems to be a confusion here, what explains it is that "philosophy represents the point at which prose comes nearest to being poetry" (p. 213).

We are now in a position, Collingwood thinks, to understand what is involved in trying to *write* philosophy as opposed to learning to *think* it (end of p. 213): a way of putting the matter that I shall return to. There follows the sentence whose opening half prefixes this paper: its second half notes that the philosopher must learn to use language in the way the poet uses it – "as a means of exploring one's own mind" (p. 214). And this "implies skill in metaphor and simile. . .and briefly a disposition to improvise and create" (*ibid*.). Philosophy does indeed seem to have come very close to being poetry again. There then follows a paragraph which is worth quoting in full, not least for the fine – even poetic – quality of the writing, evident here as throughout Collingwood's writings:

> The principles on which the philosopher uses language are those of poetry; but what he writes is not poetry but prose. From the point of view of literary form, this means that whereas the poet yields himself to every suggestion that his language makes, and so produces word-patterns whose beauty is a sufficient reason for their existence, the philosopher's word-patterns are constructed only to reveal the thought which they express, and are valuable not in themselves but as a means to that end. The prose-writer's art is an art that must conceal itself, and produce not a jewel that is looked at for its own beauty but a crystal in whose depths the thought can be seen without distortion or confusion; and the philosophical writer in especial follows the trade not of a jeweller but of a lens-grinder. He must never use metaphors or imagery in such a way that they attract to themselves the attention due to his thought; if he does that he is writing not prose, but, whether well or ill, poetry; but he must avoid this not by rejecting all use of metaphors and imagery, but by using them, poetic things themselves, in the domestication of prose: using them just so far as to reveal thought, and no further. (pp. 214–215)

Collingwood's faithfulness to his own principle of meeting the problem of writing philosophy full-on and without evasion is admirable. He is not embarrassed to write of the philosopher as jeweller or lens-grinder, who "*must never use metaphors or imagery in such a way that they attract to themselves the attention due to his thought*" (my italics). Doing our best not to pay attention to these vivid metaphors, we cannot of course know whether or how far Collingwood himself was enjoying the irony of distinguishing philosophy from poetry in language that most makes the distinction difficult to maintain, nor indeed whether he was alert to what we would now call the distinctively modernist implications of his title and his project.

What seems to lie at the root of the irony or tension that runs through Collingwood's account is the aspiration to separate language from thought: setting the writing of philosophy in opposition to thinking it (above, quoted from the end of p. 213), imagining the search for language that reveals rather than distorts thought, as if thought could be known independently. Norris (1983, p. 3) observes that "philosophers like Locke and his latter-day positivist descendants devote a great deal of

their thought to establishing a discourse of dependably logical and referential meaning, such that philosophy can carry on its work undisturbed by the beguilements of rhetoric". This aspiration brings in its train, to many who give way to its siren call, the idea, first, that the language of philosophy should be *clear*, as if language were a medium, like water, through which if the language is uncontaminated there can be seen the realities that lie beneath (there is, in other words, a metaphor here that often escapes notice); and, second, that the model of such a clear and transparent language is supplied by science and mathematics, as if the atmosphere of the laboratory or the world of symbols were guarantees of purity and the absence of the figurative.

Philosophers have often written as if this were so. Russell for example wanted his paper on "Matter" to be "a model of cold passionate analysis, setting forth the most painful conclusions with utter disregard of human feelings" (letter to Ottoline Morrell, quoted in Monk, 1991, p. 47). He writes that "Philosophy is a reluctant mistress – one can only reach her heart with the cold steel in the hand of passion" (*ibid.*), as if the good philosopher were a kind of surgeon in the grip of an overwhelming and exalted sense of duty. Wittgenstein's austerity of style in his early work, together with the austerity of his life, has no doubt also been influential on later philosophers' style – for example the insistence that "clarity, perspicuity are valuable *in themselves*" (my emphasis: an early draft of the foreword to *Culture and Value*, quoted by Monk (1991, p. 300), or the famous injunction (6.53) of the mathematically tabulated *Tractatus*:

> The right method of philosophy would be this: To say nothing except what can be said, *i.e.* the propositions of natural science, *i.e.* something that has nothing to do with philosophy: and then always, when someone else wished to say something metaphysical, to demonstrate to him that he had given no meaning to certain signs in his propositions. This method would be unsatisfying to the other – he would not have the feeling that we were teaching him philosophy – but it would be the only strictly correct method.

To be over-impressed by the place of logic and mathematics in the *Tractatus*, or by its verificationist leanings towards scientific propositions as the paradigm of truth, is to miss the connections between the early philosophy and Wittgenstein's views on ethics, and his mysticism. Nevertheless, there are here the elements of – in Wittgenstein's own way of putting it – a picture that have held others captive. One of the familiar tropes of philosophy of education in what some consider its heyday (that is, the 1960s and 1970s) was the use of a kind of pseudo-algebra. A typical instance, chosen at random: "One way of justifying X as Y is to show that X leads to ends, or satisfies criteria, which are conceptually built into Y" (Wilson, 1972). As a second example, here is Richard Peters (1972) sanitising a paper on "The education of the emotions" by the use of algebraic tropes: "Fear and envy felt for X are likely to warp and distort the moral judgments which Y may make of his actions. But they might also lead Y to notice aspects of X's behaviour which escape the notice of less biased observers". A third example starts with the idea that "a man hears a moving performance of Beethoven's Violin Concerto and is determined to play it like that some day" (Sockett, 1973). There follows an analysis of 'learning', where we seem to have two different cases:

(i) *x* (mastering the concept of a rule) as a logically necessary means to *y* (being a moral agent), and
(ii) *p* (learning) as a means to *x* (being able to play the violin) which is a logically necessary condition of *y* (playing the violin concerto).

But if we do consider it a contingent fact that a person learns *X* rather than that *X-ing* comes to him in a flash of lightning, (i) must be unpacked to resemble (ii) in form thus. . .

– and more in the same style. Again it is striking that it is the proximity of something emotionally powerful – here the moving performance of a piece of music
– that seems to send the writer reaching for the relief of algebra and mathematics. It should be noted that all three examples come from major anthologies of the philosophy of education of the time.

Let me be clear (*sic*) what I am saying here. There is everything to be said for clarity, if the opposite of clarity is muddle and confusion. But the demand for clarity turns all too easily into acquiescence with a particular kind of style of writing. That style equates clarity with the elimination of metaphor and sees clarity as lying in an apparently tough-minded use of argumentation that is reminiscent of mathematics and algebra. Of course there are traces here of the project, associated particularly with Frege and Russell, of developing an ideal notation that would free thought from the tyranny of ordinary language and its confusions. But, outside of that project and after what is now generally seen as its failure, mathematics and algebra do little more than to operate as metaphors. We might put it thus: Plato has expelled the poets, and the mathematicians and logicians, and those impressed by them, have taken up their harps and lyres. For any goddess *g,* let her express the wrath *w* of an individual *A*, the son of Peleus, and the myriad woes this brought down upon the Greeks, *G*.

The idea of tough-mindedness then risks becoming a trap in itself. The philosopher who falls in love with the idea of himself (it might of course be herself) as tough-minded risks forgetting that this is a kind of philosophical lifestyle *choice* at best, and at worst it risks descending into being a species of bullying, as I noted in the Introduction above – the bullying of those who do not flourish on a diet of mathematics or who prefer the Art Department to the playing-fields and the school gymnasium. Here is Randall Curren writing in the Preface to his *Anthology of the Philosophy of Education* (Blackwell, 2006). Learning from the readings in the Anthology is to be construed by analogy with "getting the most out of a fitness centre or gym" (p. 3). The reader's mind, clearly, can benefit from those mental wall-bars and vaulting-horses which were once conjured to justify compulsory Latin (and of course mathematics). The conception of philosophy strongly resembles that parodied in Stoppard's play *Jumpers*, where it is represented by "a mixture of the more philosophical members of the university gymnastics team and the more gymnastic members of the Philosophy School". For Curren what the

acrobatic exercises of the gym endow the trainee philosopher with is powers of analysis:

> Learning how to think and write philosophically about education is very much a matter of learning how to analyse things effectively for yourself... To make progress with this you need good models of analysis to *critique, emulate,* and *improve upon*, and you need to ground your responses to these models in *careful*, *analytical reading* (ibid.).

The italics here are in the original, suggestive of the no-nonsense physical education teacher explaining the aims of the lesson with an emphasis that allows for no misunderstanding. We might note, however, some of the ambiguities of 'analysis', here (as so often by enthusiasts for analysis) left unanalysed. There is the implication that understanding is typically or essentially arrived at by breaking things down into their smallest elements – the literal meaning of 'analysis'. Then of course there is the danger of moving between the idea that philosophy should be analytical, in the sense of examining claims and statements, and perhaps of saving us from the unexamined life, and the idea that philosophy is best conducted in the manner of the (twentieth century, Anglophone) analytical school. The readings in the Anthology, which barely acknowledge the European tradition and consign postmodernism to near-oblivion, suggest that Curren regards this move as unproblematic.

To summarise: the repudiation of metaphor in philosophy, and the attempt to draw a sharp distinction between literature and philosophy, seems to flow from the reasonable thought that philosophy, of all genres of writing, ought to be *clear*. But the notion of clarity is itself far from clear and tends to take us in the direction of very distinctive metaphors – derived from algebra and mathematics – which carry their own peculiar freight, suggesting rigour, strenuousness and mental hygiene. It is then a short step to the assumption that these are most characteristically to be found in the philosophical laboratory of the analytical school, where we find practitioners who are "adepts of the most aseptic, neutral way of thinking, imperturbable in their analytical detachment, inaccessible to any form of disturbance" (Corradi Fiumara, 1990, p. 48).

14.3 Interlude

This section is best thought of as an interlude, after the maths and PE lessons, something less elevated. It is an oddity less often noticed than it might be that the truth about education, and similarly in many other disciplines, generally falls out neatly into 6000-word chunks, this being the standard length of an academic journal article. The academic disciplines have been well schooled. How tidy they are too, these articles, their language sober and orderly, generally clear and hygienic, avoiding on the whole the use of the first person pronoun and obscenities, eschewing explicit metaphor, extended similes, Arapaho nouns, flights of fancy, words not used since the eighteenth century, rhyme, deliberate asyndeton, most kinds of word-play at all in fact, and rococo lists such as this. They reflect a tidy and prosaic – it is necessary

to dwell a while on that term before moving on – world, and it is possible that in turn they help bring such a world into being.

And what a tidy world, in formal education, it is! The children walk to lessons in an orderly fashion, keeping to the left as they proceed down the corridors and up the stairs. Perhaps, if this is the United Kingdom, they are dressed in school uniform; the predominant colour may well be grey, insisting on *gleichshaltung*, equalising or flattening-out, enforcement of uniformity. They will be told to avoid the use of the first person in their essays, on the whole, and not to use swear-words. If they reply to their teachers in iambic pentameters ("I haven't done my homework, Miss – the dog was sick, I had to take it to the vet") it will probably be construed as insolence. For those who make it to university things become tidier still as each module lists its aims and outcomes and manages, remarkably, to take up precisely the same number of SLAT (Standard Learning and Teaching) hours. The students learn to write yet more tidily too, mastering American Psychological Association referencing style and obediently turning into anonymous code numbers for their summative work from their wretchedly distinctive identities as Winston, Joanna and Tom.

(Meanwhile, beneath the shirts and blouses, etc., of the school uniform, and beneath whatever passes as standard college student wear at any particular time, the young people are busy customising, unflattening, themselves: tattoo'ed butterflies alight on shoulders, Chinese ideograms on upper arms, snakes curl around waists and disappear between buttocks, and tongues, eye-brows and ears are only the more visible parts that acquire piercings. We wonder why young people do that. This paragraph, like the practices it names, may perhaps make the sedate, academic reader uncomfortable. At least it is sanitised between parentheses. Young people remind us that they are not so easily contained. This, of course, is in part why they do it.)

Perhaps educational research, tidy, clear and analytical – and rigorous and robust too, since whatever these adjectives mean they are likely to be shibboleths for any academic Research Assessment Exercise – bears some responsibility for constructing the world of formal education as unnaturally tidy. As if the meaning of education lay in those orderly and mathematically precise league-tables for schools. As if the virtual world of university subject review (base rooms, module boxes, aims and outcomes for every teaching session) had replaced the messy day-to-day business of lectures and tutorials and chance meetings and conversations in corridors and the street. As if the Student Experience, the subject of strategy and policy documents, online evaluations and national surveys, had replaced the student experience.

14.4 Clarity, Rigour, Literature

There are two directions in which the argument might go from here. The first is to think of clarity, and of rigour, along the lines of the Wittgensteinian approach, particularly in the *Philosophical Investigations* (*PI*), of showing things in a perspicuous way so that the connections can be seen (*PI* 122) and confusions simply fade away.

Here the later Wittgenstein rejects the philosophical strategy of his earlier *Tractatus* (see above). The later Wittgenstein regards philosophy as therapy, as a matter of showing the fly the way out of the fly-bottle (*PI* 309). Though Wittgenstein still insists on clarity, clarity is taken to consist simply in the disappearance of confusion and difficulties:

> For the clarity that we are aiming at is indeed *complete* clarity. But this simply means that the philosophical problems should *completely* disappear. . . Problems are solved (difficulties eliminated). (*PI* 133)

There is some similarity with *Tractatus* 6.53, quoted above, where Wittgenstein declares that "the right method of philosophy" would consist in saying only "what can be said" and demonstrating where people have uttered nonsense. One difference, however, is that now he rejects the notion of "the right method of philosophy" in favour of the view that "There is not *a* philosophical method, thought there are indeed methods, like different therapies" (the last sentence of *PI* 133). Clarity, then, is not found by the employment of any one approach but is achieved when we reach understanding (cf. *PI* 125). "What can be said" is no longer thought to consist exclusively in "the propositions of natural science". Indeed the later Wittgenstein positively relishes the re-engagement of his new conception of philosophy with the messy, untidy "ordinary world":

> What is the use of studying philosophy if all that it does for you is enable you to talk with some plausibility about some abstruse questions of logic, etc., & if it does not improve your thinking about the important questions of everyday life. . . I know that it's difficult to think well about "certainty", "probability", "perception", etc. But it is, if possible, still more difficult to think, or try to think, really honestly about your life and other people's lives. And the trouble is that thinking about these things is not thrilling, but often downright nasty. And when it's nasty then it's most important.
>
> (Letter to Norman Malcolm, quoted in Monk, 1991, p. 475)

This later Wittgenstein reminds us that "all sorts of problems attach to the words 'to know' or 'to be clear' " (*PI* 30). The crucial point is that the crystalline purity of the logical a priori order of the world, the "incomparable essence of language", which the author of the *Tractatus* had sought now appears chimerical, and the search for it part of the problem rather than part of the answer. Something happens to the idea of rigour too once the idea of crystalline purity is removed (*PI* 108). The "preconceived idea" – the fantasy – of rigour, seen in these crystalline terms, disappears. To follow the later Wittgenstein here is to think of 'rigour' as the quality of whatever proves powerfully effective in clearing up our confusions. Sometimes this might be an inflexible system of formal logic, just as a stiff ruler rather than one made of rubber helps us to draw a straight line. But sometimes – perhaps often – what is effective is careful, sensitive attention to how language is being used.

The second direction, which is not exclusive of the first but complementary to it, is to think of the "alleged division between philosophy and literature, not their conjunction" as what is in need of explanation and justification (Lang, 1990, p. 8). A good deal of work has been devoted over the last 20 years or so to problematising this division. Once the irreducible metaphoricity of language has been

demonstrated, it appears to some writers that there really is little difference between philosophy and literature, or even no difference at all. Thus the philosophical classics have been subjected to "the kind of close literary attention which was formerly reserved for verse, demonstrating how they teem with metaphors, images and ambiguities – all the tricks of the poet's trade" (Rée, 1987, p. 3). Derrida and his followers have of course been prominent in this project, deconstructing such hierarchies as the priority of reason over madness or thought over text. The Derridean critique of logocentrism rejects the idea that we require the *logos*, the Word, truth or reason, in order to guarantee meaning. Instead of the Word, there are words. Text and texts are open-ended, and the engagement of the reader with the text produces readings which, while not arbitrary (since the text has formal properties: it is, for example, a sonnet or a *Bildungsroman* or a haiku or a shopping-list) are themselves subject to further readings in turn.

The good reader, rather than expecting the text to be clear, is alert to what Derrida calls its 'disseminating' play: its constant repudiation of unity of meaning or privileged order of truth. In words that have been often quoted, he writes (1981, p. 26) that "There are only, everywhere, differences and traces of differences". Meaning is a function of the endless and shifting web of language itself, rather than of the relationship between language and anything else such as 'reality' – a crude notion of which has been one more candidate for the role of guarantor of meaning and stability. Derrida regards any attempt to secure stability of meaning with suspicion, seeing in it the operations of power attempting to secure its own base. Corradi Fiumara (1990, p. 20) writes of the "secret arrogance' of logocentrism and the colonising ambitions of its constituent *–logies* (p. 25): not excluding *epistemology*, of course. These attempts are fit objects for Derrida's deconstructive readings: readings which show how what the text represses or marginalises returns to betray itself.

The conclusion of this way of thinking – the second direction – is that figurative language cannot be excluded from philosophy. The distinction between literature and philosophy is difficult to sustain, and may be unsustainable. Paul de Man has put it as follows:

> Critical deconstruction leads to the discovery of the literary, rhetorical nature of the philosophical claim to truth… literature turns out to be the main topic of philosophy and the model for the kind of truth to which it aspires… Philosophy turns out to be an endless reflection on its own destruction at the hands of literature… What seems to be most difficult to admit is that this allegory of errors is the very model of philosophical rigour. (1979, pp. 115, 118)

Literature may be true, as when we say a particular novel or poem contains or expresses important truths. Why should we think of science or mathematics as offering the paradigm of truth claims, rather than literature? To grasp this, and to see through philosophy's claim to a monopoly on reason and to perceive its ineliminable rhetoricity, requires philosophical rigour as robust as it was ever conceived in the analytical tradition. Except of course that the notion of distinctively *philosophical* rigour has just been shown to be untenable. "Thus the relation between literature and philosophy involves the repetitive setup and collapse of their difference"[2]

(Johnson, 1985, p. 76). Philosophy has to acknowledge its own impossibility but go on trying to do its work anyway. And it has to resist attempts to send it to school, even if its classmates, not yet expelled by authoritarian tendencies in thought, are the poets.[3]

Notes

1. In the United Kingdom? In Anglophone countries? Or elsewhere? Much would turn on the answer to that question.
2. Johnson continues: "philosophy's self-definition relies on a claim to rigour that is subverted by the literariness of its rhetoric of truth, but it is precisely that literariness that turns out to be the very model for philosophical rigor. Philosophy is defined by its refusal to recognise itself as literature; literature is defined as the rhetorical self-transgression of philosophy".
3. An earlier version of this chapter appeared in *Paedagogica Historica 44* (6), 2008.

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Chapter 15
The Education Concept

Paul Standish

Early in his period of office as Prime Minister, Tony Blair stated that there were three priorities in his agenda for government: education, education and education. About a year later, when asked if his priorities had changed, he added a fourth – education. 'Education, education, education' has perhaps given way more recently to the new piety towards 'learning': New Labour, a new year in office, a new concept. But what's in a concept? What *is* a concept? Concepts seem to have a double life: first, with their referential function; second, with their rhetorical force, their obligatory presence in a politician's speech.

Marc Depaepe's adoption of the idea of 'educationalisation' offers us a new word and a new concept. How do we analyse concepts? What is it to create a concept?

'Educationalisation' (from the German *Pädagogisierung*) is taken up by Depaepe as a way of "enhancing the theory content of the traditionally theory-poor history of education" (p. 22) and as offering a feasible alternative to the Foucauldian "normalisation paradigm" (p. 19). For all that the latter stands accused of "jumping too rapidly to conclusions" (p. 21), Depaepe acknowledges the history of education to be an "area of application *par excellence*" for Foucault's "patient construction of discourse over discourse" (p. 17), which will extend even to the "patient reconstruction of the history of the history of education". This will rightly involve the examination of the "stories, discourse, and/or paradigms that have dominated the history of education over the last few decades" (p. 18).

The Sisyphean nature of the historian's task contrasts starkly with what the philosopher claims to do. For rather than tumbling down the slippery slopes of discourse, overcome by the weight of historical interpretation, the philosopher ascends, we are told, to the unchanging mountain peaks of clear and distinct ideas, concepts clarified through logical analysis. Let us, for a while, suspend disbelief here, and let John Wilson be our guide as to how this is done. This will involve considering the concept of the concept.

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15.1 Analysing Concepts

In "The Concept of Education Revisited", Wilson draws attention to two senses of 'concept'. People quite commonly speak of 'the Victorian concept of *X*', say, or 'his idea of an attractive woman', or 'divergent concepts of education', but these are empirical and historical matters ('entities' is Wilson's term (Wilson, 2003, p. 103)), relating to a view that someone or other happens to hold at a particular time. This first sense of the term contrasts, however, with another, more fundamental sense, which Wilson explains as follows:

> How are we to know that something is a concept or conception *of education*, rather than of something else, unless we already know what "education" means and can identify or distinguish education from other things? It will not do to say that, if the individual describes his concept as a concept of *X*, then it is *eo ipso* a concept of *X*; for he may misdescribe it, and so may other individuals. If my knowledge of English is very weak, so that I think that "education" means what competent English-speakers mean by "explanation", I may produce a book called *A Theory of Education*, but that would not make it a book about education rather than a book about explanation. Historians of ideas thus have the preliminary task of determining what is meant by "*X*" ("education", "democracy", "religion", etc.) before they can speak clearly about various individuals' ideas or conceptions or concepts of *X*; a task not always adequately performed. (pp. 103–104)

Historians may need the help of philosophers here, and Wilson's numerous writings can be construed, inter alia, as putative answers to that need. In broaching such matters, he acknowledges that there are "many different kinds of values beside educational ones – moral values, political values, aesthetic values, perhaps religious values and other kinds of values besides", and he ponders the fact that it is

> not at all clear just what kind or genre of values are [*sic*] especially relevant to education, and how far they connect with other kinds of genres. . .Are there educational values in their own right, perhaps enshrined in the concept of education itself? Or are educational values just a mishmash of moral and political and other values, as these happen to crop up in the practice of education itself.
>
> (Wilson, 2003, p. 284)

If there is nothing peculiar to value-judgements in this area, then philosophy of education will be reduced, Wilson claims, to the philosophy of value-judgements in general. To home in on what it is that is distinctive about education, Wilson poses a string of questions: "What exactly does education exclude and include? What is the use or value of education? What kinds of goods does it produce, and how are we to weight these goods in comparison with goods produced by other enterprises? What is it to learn something, and what sorts of things are really worth learning?" (p. 292). And so he ventures the following definition: education is "a process of serious and sustained learning for the benefit of people as such, above the level of what they might naturally pick up for themselves" (p. 290). While Wilson does not attempt to argue for this view here, it is one that he elaborates in *Preface to the Philosophy of Education*: education is "a serious and sustained programme of learning, for the benefit of people *qua* people rather than only *qua* role-fillers or functionaries, above the level of what people might pick up for themselves in their daily lives" (Wilson, 1979,

quoted in Wilson, 2003, p. 105). What he does do, however, is to press the claim that education is – at least – centrally concerned with learning (Wilson, 2003, p. 291). As an example, the specifically educational question of whether a system of schooling promotes pupils' learning effectively stands in contrast to the political questions of whether it promotes democracy or equality. Just as medicine is centrally concerned with health, and economics with making money (uncontroversially, it seems, from Wilson's point of view), so education is concerned with learning.

Wilson makes the valid point that it is an open question whether what goes on in educational institutions such as schools is in fact educational and that therefore there must be some sense of 'education' that is independent of such practices and such uses of the term. This independence is realised, as we have seen, not by envisaging the best possible practice, on the evidence of practice, but rather through attention to that concept itself, in a process of logical analysis. Wilson concedes that any definition of 'education' will draw attention to the concept via an inspection of that term in the natural language and that it is a further question whether that concept is also marked by terms in other languages – for example, *l'éducation* in French, *Bildung* in German or *paideia* in Greek. But, in a sense, the fact that it is clearly marked by a particular English word is merely accidental: "the philosopher is interested in the concept in its own right" (p. 105).

15.2 Conceptual Analysis and the Linguistic Turn

Wilson is characteristically clear, but let *us* be clear about what is happening here, for this is a disastrous conception of philosophy – in ways that I shall attempt to show. There is every reason to take issue with these views,[1] and we might entertain a number of lines of criticism, which, for present purposes, I shall list schematically

i. The independence of concepts from the contingencies of language and the assumption that meaning is to be discovered through processes of analysis imply a logical atomism. This is defeated by arguments of the later Wittgenstein to the effect that meaning is located in the social practice of the language-game.
ii. To foreground the concept over the occurrence of the term in the natural language is to fail to recognize thought's necessary dependence on language – not primarily for language's communicative function but for the systems of difference through which meaning is generated.
iii. To emphasise the concept is to contain thought, as this Latinate word implies; or, as Heidegger attempts to show, it is to submit it to the grasp (*Begriff*).
iv. To assume that concepts (in Wilson's second, more fundamental sense) are independent of practice and usage is to take them out of history and to immunize them against the event.

The list is not definitive. The linguistic turn in twentieth century philosophy, which realized lines of thought with much older origins, was experienced by some as a

threat to philosophy's self-understanding, and indeed amongst its proponents there were those who in one way or another were suspicious of philosophy, at least in its institutionalized forms (Heidegger, Wittgenstein, poststructuralism more generally). But uncomfortable though this may be for some, such lines of thought promise a sophistication in these matters that releases us from the hold of a certain conception of conceptual analysis. It enables us to think about meaning in ways that release us from the peculiarly philosophical grip of the concept.

This sophistication enables us to see that the way that the very idea of the concept is appropriated from its home at the heart of philosophy. It is thematised in conceptual art. And it is adopted and exploited in marketing. We have kitchen concepts, bathroom concepts, life-style concepts – makeovers in multiple forms. Last year's New Labour's concept was education; this year it is learning. In history, we have grown used to the normalization concept; now, it seems, there is educationalisation. So in philosophy we have had the concept concept, but now we have the sophistication to identify and diagnose the grip it held us in, its metaphysical rise and fall.

But does such sophistication come too easily? Are we too knowing, too cynical about marketing's power? It is not exactly that such an analysis is wrong. It is rather that it may prevent us from seeing what Pierre Bourdieu has called "the principle behind *the performative magic of all acts of institution*", which Erik Santner elaborates in *The Psychotheology of Everyday Life* (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 122, quoted, with emphasis added, in Santner, 2001, p. 48).[2] It is to the possibility of something like a performative magic in the creation of concepts that we now need to turn.

15.3 Symbolic Investiture and the Concept

In words that allude to Levinas' distinction between totality and infinity, Santner contrasts the "part-whole logic of socio-symbolic *relations*" with the "part-part logic of ethical encounter" (Santner, 2001, p. 90). The part-whole logic is evident where things are understood atomistically, as components in a composite totality, or where they are construed holistically but again in terms of a realisable (totalised) whole. What needs to be recognized is that the attribution of a predicate necessarily occurs within the logic of what Santner calls symbolic investiture. By this expression he means "those symbolic acts, often involving a ritualised transferral of a title and mandate, whereby an individual is endowed with a new social status and role within a shared symbolic universe" (p. 47). This applies, however, not only to the acquisition of formal titles such as husband, professor, judge, and so on: the point is generalisable at the level of the everyday attribution of predicates and also with regard to the operationalisation of concepts in history or philosophy. There is in the symbolic investiture of the concept a libidinal component that takes the term beyond its referential function, its stable identity, into the realm of rhetorical force. As Santner puts this

> The fundamental restlessness or unsettledness of the human mind that was of primary concern to Freud . . . is, in large measure, one pertaining to the constitutive uncertainties that

> plague identity in a universe of symbolic values; due to just such uncertainties these values are filled with a surplus charge that can never be fully diffused or discharged.
>
> (Santner, 2001, p. 51)

On the present account, and if this connection is sound, this surplus charge is manifested in the energy that a term gathers in such discourses as those of history or philosophy. We have seen the missionary zeal in the mobilization of 'education', 'learning', 'concept' itself. To speak of *rhetoric* here is to suggest something of the manner in which these ways of speaking go beyond whatever truth claims they assert – to celebrate those claims, to invoke them, or maybe simply to replicate their seeming authority regardless of their meaningful applicability. In Santner's account such words demonstrate the problem of an excess of validity over meaning, in Gershom Scholem's phrase.

Now the next point is crucial: that there is a surplus is not to be regretted, nor is its energy to be repressed. It is necessary instead to attend to the dangers of such repression, analytically fixated as this may be. If its presence in these practices becomes perverted, we must ask in what its healthy expression might consist. Let us pursue this question by turning again to the place that the concept has in philosophy. This is the crux of the question posed in the title of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's *What is Philosophy?*

15.4 Creating Concepts

At the heart of Deleuze and Guattari's book is the claim that

> Philosophers have not been sufficiently concerned with the nature of the concept as philosophical reality. They have preferred to think of it as a given knowledge or representation that can be explained by the faculties able to form it (abstraction or generalization) or employ it (judgment). But the concept is not given, it is created; it is to be created.
>
> (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994, p. 11)

As examples of concepts that philosophy has created, take the friend in Aristotle or Descartes' *cogito*. We might add: the Cave, the state of nature, the veil of ignorance, the *acte gratuit*, then also perhaps normalization, governmentality, the rhizome – even, ironically, in Wilson's conceptual analysis, the concept itself. Unlike the proposition, Deleuze and Guattari explain, the concept does not function *extensively*, in lines of argument, but *intensively*, as a gathering of thought, a gathering on which argument depends. Concepts are not to be thought of as occurring in propositions, which are independent of the accidents of language, but in sentences,[3] which are inevitably in natural language, in which they acquire the character of personae (*personages conceptuels*). Confusing concept and proposition, and subsuming the former under the latter, leads to an immunization of thought against the accidents that natural language inevitably brings: in propositions there are no puns. Philosophy understood in terms of propositions deprives concepts of their *sense*, and it denies our sensuous reception of that sense. Concepts are rather

> centers of vibrations, each in itself and every one in relation to all the others. This is why they all resonate rather than cohere or correspond with each other. There is no reason why concepts should cohere. As fragmentary totalities, concepts are not even the pieces of a puzzle, for their irregular contours do not correspond to each other. They do form a wall but it is a dry-stone wall, and everything holds together only along diverging lines. Even bridges from one concept to another are still junctions, or detours, which do not define any discursive whole. They are movable bridges. From this point of view, philosophy can be seen as being in a perpetual state of digression or digressiveness. (p. 23)

The power and importance of a philosophy is to be measured by the nature of the events to which its concepts summon us or that it enables us to release in concepts (p. 34). The history of philosophy means that we evaluate not only the historical novelty of the concepts created by a philosopher but also the power of their becoming when they pass into one another (p. 32).

What is striking in this book, as elsewhere in Deleuze's thought, is the proximity of these ideas to possibilities of teaching and learning. In terms that hover between history and fable, Deleuze and Guattari identify the three ages of the concept

> The post-Kantians concentrated on a universal *encyclopaedia* of the concept that attributed concept creation to a pure subjectivity rather than taking on the more modest task of a *pedagogy* of the concept, which would analyze the conditions of creation as factors of always singular moments. If the three ages of the concept are the encyclopaedia, pedagogy, and commercial professional training, only the second can safeguard us from falling from the heights of the first into the disaster of the third – an absolute disaster for thought whatever its benefits might be, of course, from the viewpoint of universal capitalism. (p. 12)

For present purposes, let us take Wilson's concept of education as a representative of the encyclopaedic, and let us imagine the practice of education that it endorses as an initiation into bodies of knowledge and a critical apparatus of relatively static kinds. Let us take Blair's nihilistic exploitation of the concept of education as representative of commercial professional training, and let us think of this against the backdrop of social marketing (found in lifestyle concepts and makeovers). How then are we to imagine the 'safeguard of the second', the only age that earns the endorsement of a specifically educational name? What is the pedagogy of the concept? What movement is there, released from the sclerosis of encyclopaedic forms of thought, but protected from the nihilism of instrumentalisation?

Let us turn to Bill Readings' widely celebrated *The University in Ruins* to see how far this answers to questions such as these.

15.5 The Empty Name of Thought

The University in Ruins is in part a Lyotardian lament at the rise of what Readings calls the "University of Excellence", in which early incarnations of the university –the Kantian University of Reason and the University of Culture inspired by Von Humboldt – are overwhelmed by regimes of quality control coupled with an ultimately nihilistic, because empty, notion of excellence. Readings' belief is that resistance to this must come through a restoring of the name of Thought.[4] He wants

to avoid the suggestions of mystical transcendence that connotations of this might have. He argues for "a pedagogy that refuses to justify the University in terms of a metanarrative of emancipation, that recognises that thought is necessarily an addiction from which we never get free" (p. 128). He speaks of the name of Thought (and capitalises the word) precisely to avoid any presumption that the term has a precise signification, that there is a clear referent. What is required of Thought is not all of a piece, and even in a specific context it is open to question. The modern university has lived with the apparently substantial though in fact vacuous referent of Excellence: Excellence masquerades as an idea. It is necessary to replace this not with a new referent but with the overtly empty *name* of Thought. It is the name, he emphasises, that must come to be used again, it being always open to question, to thought itself, quite what Thought amounts to.[5] Undermining presumptions of autonomy, Thought is neither a recipe for an empowerment of learners (in the manner of Freire or Knowles) nor a restatement of the centrality of subjects or of the authority of the teacher. Readings acknowledges that he writes as a university teacher but that he does not know in any absolute sense what the signification for the name of teacher is: indeed, if there were a clear signification, if the role and duties of a teacher, the nature of the job, were cut and dried, this would imperil precisely that bracing uncertainty and challenge that should be at the heart of education. And one might say as much for many of the other contestable terms that characterise education: "Thought is one of many names that operate in the pedagogic scene, and the attribution of any signification to it is an act that must understand itself as such, as having a certain rhetorical and ethical weight" (p. 160). The alternative to this heightened sensitivity to the demands of Thought is to provide an anachronistic or misleading, debilitating referent: Culture is outmoded by globalisation; Excellence etiolates and immobilises the substance of learning by sealing it with a thick veneer of commensurability.

While Excellence brackets the question of value, Thought in contrast invites its exploration, at the same time recognising that there is no homogeneous standard of value – hence no single scale of evaluation. While Excellence conceals its emptiness, seeming to underwrite the university with something substantial, Thought acknowledges and affirms: "The name of Thought, since it has no content, cannot be invoked as an *alibi* that might excuse us from the necessity of thinking about what we are saying, when and from where we are saying it" (p. 160). It neither redeems us from the ruins nor provides formulaic ready responses for the inevitable occasions for judgement with which we are confronted. Thought functions as a question and enjoins a conception of pedagogy and of study that is agonistic, where a difference is opened concerning the nature of discourse and where this is not to be resolved through any systematic methodology:

> In the classroom, Thought intervenes as a third term alongside speaker and addressee that undoes the presumption to autonomy, be it the autonomy of professors, of students, or of a body of knowledge (a tradition or a science). Thought names a differend; it is a name over which arguments take place, arguments that occur in heterogeneous idioms. Most important, this third term does not resolve arguments; it does not provide a metalanguage that can translate all other idioms into its own so that their dispute can be settled, their claims

> arranged and evaluated on a homogeneous scale. As a name, Thought does not *circulate*; it waits upon our response. What is drawn out in education is not the hidden meaning of our Thought, not the true identity of students, not the true identity of the professor (replicated in the students). Rather what is drawn out is the aporetic nature of this differend as to what the name of Thought might mean: the necessity and impossibility that it should be discussed, despite the absence of a univocal or common language in which that discussion can occur. Thought is, in this sense, an empty transcendence, not one that can be worshiped and believed in, but one that throws those who participate in pedagogy back into a reflection upon the ungroundedness of their situation: their obligation to each other and to a name that hails them as addressees before they can think about it. (p. 161)

Its absolute requirement is an attention to the Other, where what is other is not represented as the opposite pole in a binary coding, where, in fact, it is not to be *represented* at all: in this it explores an open network of obligations that never wraps up or forecloses the question of meaning. It responds to an incompatibility in ways of speaking that is not dissolvable by any philosophy, system or practice. Thought, then, names a differend. Different phrase regimens, different language-games[6] meet, and there is no system for adjudicating between them. They are heterogeneous such that neither way of speaking and no 'higher' analysis can accommodate their difference.

How far then can this account be aligned with the idea of the creation of concepts?

15.6 Names and Concepts

There is a sense that something important is being said here, though as yet this remains suggestive rather than clear, and there is something frustrating, even disappointing, about the idea of Thought with which we are left. For all its will to affirmation, moreover, this thinking is burdened by what we might regard as a negative poststructuralism,[7] an acknowledgement of incommensurability that dwells in a longing for resolution that is never to come. This is at odds with the affirmative poststructuralism of Deleuze and Guattari, one signifier for which is 'the pedagogy of the concept' – for the double genitive of this phrase speaks not only of the sense in which we are to mobilize the concept, to teach through it, to create it in our history or philosophy of education. It suggests also the way that our thought, and especially our thought in philosophy, does not precede philosophy's conceptual personae. Unlike the overtly empty name of thought, unlike even the symbolic investiture arising through the attribution of predicates, the concept is already there with its irregular contours, in its thick, uneven presence. The concept teaches us. And the intensity with which philosophical concepts hold 'together only along diverging lines' is a source of energy that bridges always towards further possibility, the creation of new concepts. Can a practice of teaching and learning, in schools, universities, elsewhere, be shaped by these thoughts?

What is going on in the creation of the concept of educationalisation? Depaepe introduces the term as a counter to 'normalization', a concept whose persona has commanded much attention in the field. Educationalisation might turn out to be

something like the total pedagogisation that Basil Bernstein diagnosed. And again it might also, as a concept, resonate with a rather different thought – a lifelong learning worthy of the name. But is it not here, in this collection of essays, the centre of vibration around which other concepts resonate, against which normalization is juxtaposed, in digression from which new possibilities of thought emerge? We may imagine a liberal education, involving a pedagogy of the concept, that might be realized in these terms. Do we not see the possibility of a research practice that does just this?

Notes

1. For a more developed critique, see Standish (2006).
2. For an elaboration of these thoughts, see Smeyers, Smith, & Standish (2006, especially chapter 5).
3. "The table is red" and "la table est rouge" express the same proposition, but they are different sentences.
4. For a full discussion, see Standish (1999).
5. Readings follows Lyotard in drawing attention to the kind of thinking that is called for when the frameworks of our understanding cannot contain the events that confront us, when we have neither received ideas nor formulae, nor rules to guide us. It is in this sense that Thought, the thinking that we most need, is empty. When we are confronted by such events, the temptation is to adapt them to our existing frameworks. The imperative on us not to give into this temptation is especially acute in the university in view of the fact that the university is the place where the languages we have for understanding the world are to be pushed to their limits.
6. As is well known, Lyotard borrows Wittgenstein's term, but then uses it in a rather different and contentious way. Concerning Lyotard's usage of the terms "language games" and "phrase regimens" James Williams explains: "In *The Differend* the somewhat vague concept of incommensurable language games is replaced by the concepts of incommensurable or heterogeneous (Lyotard has an unfortunate tendency to use both terms in similar circumstances) phrase regimens and genres. Phrase regimens are the syntactic types phrases can belong to" (Williams, 1998, p. 79). In *The Differend* Lyotard writes: "Incommensurability, in the sense of the heterogeneity of phrase regimens and of the impossibility of subjecting them to a single law (except by neutralizing them), also marks the relation between either cognitives or prescriptives and interrogatives, performatives, exclamatives . . .. For each of these regimens, there corresponds a mode of presenting a universe, and one mode is not translatable into another" (Lyotard, 1988, p. 128).
7. For accounts of how negative poststructuralisms might differ, see Standish (2004).

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Chapter 16
Afterword

Paul Smeyers

In 1999, the *Research Community* '*Philosophy and history of the discipline of education: Evaluation and evolution of the criteria for educational research*' was established by the Research Foundation Flanders, Belgium (Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek – Vlaanderen).[1] From the beginning, the aim of the network has been to combine research concerning the history and nature of the discipline with the science of education. The scope of this work also takes into account clarification, evaluation and the justification of the different modes and paradigms of educational research. Since 2000, the research community has discussed various topics such as the use of particular research methodologies, methods or techniques within the educational context (and their pros and cons), the methodological aspects of qualitative research relevant to education; the implications of ICT for educational research, the justification of particular positions within philosophy and history of education vis-à-vis other (for instance, 'empirical') research in this field, the relation of philosophy and history of education to 'pure' philosophy, 'pure' history, literature, aesthetics and other relevant areas such as economics, sociology and psychology, the justification of educational research within society at large and finally, the curricular history of educational science as an academic discipline. The academics involved in this network share the belief that there is a place within the discipline of education for so-called foundationalist approaches. This is not, however, to answer a need for a (new) foundation but to systematically study a particular area from a discipline-oriented stance.

The *Research Community* met in Leuven nearly every year. Papers were circulated both beforehand and at the conference. In the early years responses were collected afterwards and distributed in a separate booklet the following year. Gradually the format moved to sessions where papers were not read – as they were studied beforehand – but only briefly introduced, leaving generous time for discussion. At the social level too, the scholars became more acquainted with each other, which facilitated and enhanced the discussions. Since 2004 each conference addressed only one theme, and colleagues committed themselves to present 'new research'

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for every meeting. After almost a decade, it may be interesting to try to answer the question: Where are we now? This is evidently only one possible reconstruction of what the results of this stimulating intellectual endeavour are. It tells a lot about its author, as others almost certainly would come up with something different. After more than 10 books and even more special issues resulting from this collaboration, what follows is a synthesis offered by a 'privileged witness'. After a lot of study, research and discussion, what emerges concerning educational research and the discipline of education and how is this to be conceived from the angle of philosophy and history of education? This leads to question pertaining to where the focus of the *Research Community* started from and thus to what was initially considered to be its raison d'être.

16.1 Educational Research: Troubled Water

The issues that are discussed nowadays in the discipline of education, and the particular ways in which they are dealt with, need to be understood as part of the history of the subject. Moreover, changes have taken place in terms of the kind of research that is pursued under the title 'educational sciences', or, to put this more broadly, in educational theory. From the 1960s onwards the so-called realistic turn in academic pedagogy tends to have led in the direction of the empiricists. In 'postmodern times', however, philosophers and historians of education have questioned this empiricist emphasis, with an eye for the deconstruction of its founding claims and myths. Historians and sociologists of educational science have shown that since the nineteenth century, the 'science' of education functioned as a discourse – as a technology of power – that regulated processes of social inclusion and exclusion, contributing to the normalizing and disciplining of the masses. But the scene of education had itself changed. There was a time when education and schooling were not readily seen as 'essentially contested concepts', when, following Kant, education was understood as the 'means' to become human – and that is to say, rational. This was itself a reaction to an earlier period, characterized by the inculcation of values, the uncritical learning of facts or bodies of information, and where discipline was understood as obedience to authority. With the enlightenment, rationality becomes the proper end of what a human being is. This is not to say that this results in means-end reasoning: in becoming free from one's inclinations and passions, one realizes one's true nature – that is one puts oneself under the guidance of reason. Thus, liberal education, along these lines, is concerned with the initiation of the learner into forms of thought and understanding that are part of the cultural heritage. In their strongest formulation these norms were thought to be stable and valid for all cultures. In the German tradition, where, at least initially, this academic endeavour flourished, the concept of education also encompassed child rearing as well as more formal schooling. It was against such an overall understanding of becoming human that child-centred theory was directed. For its protagonists, child rearing could not properly be characterized by activities pursued by adults in order to bring children to adulthood. From this

position the educator (the parent or the teacher) is, first of all, the adviser to the child, and the facilitator of what she/he really wants. It is argued that the child is from the very beginning responsible for the learning process. This has never been regarded as unproblematic. For instance, it is doubtful whether it is possible for an individual to discover within herself/himself what she/he really wants. Furthermore, it is not clear how parents could possibly avoid initiating their children into the values that they live by. But beyond this 'internal debate', the change in the content of education as an academic study (i.e. child rearing and schooling) is due to a radical pluralism that has swept over the world. This is in itself part of a wider crisis of rationality. The question whether reason, and reason alone, can decide what should be done, and if, moreover, rational thinking is even possible at all are at the heart of the matter. This is reflected in philosophy of education itself.

Analytic philosophers of education have tended to claim that they were attempting to clarify the criteria used in the application of concepts by clarifying the rules or conditions under which concepts were used or applied. Borrowing the notion of language as rule-governed activity from the work of the later Wittgenstein – though improperly adapting this because ultimately they were searching for foundations, and for necessary and sufficient conditions – they pursued a research program of analysis and clarification. This first came under attack from sociologists of education and then from the general vocational thrust of education in Margaret Thatcher's Britain. In North America, while not abandoning the gains made by the analytic approach, attempts were made to broaden the field. Philosophers of education sought legitimacy in the ideas of philosophers such as Rawls, Marx, the phenomenologists, the Frankfurt school, Illich and Freire. Though not all of this contested ground has been relinquished, clearly the general interest nowadays has shifted to thinkers such as Rorty, Derrida, Lyotard, Foucault and Arendt. A strong and sustained critique of foundationalism has emerged.

What is labelled postmodern educational theory focuses on a particular aspect of the present *Zeitgeist.* A profound objection to modernity has always been that the modern technical genius for finding effective means to ends has diverted attention too much from serious consideration of our chosen or implicit ends themselves, whether ethical, economic or educational. Under the 'postmodern condition', as Lyotard has described it, the obsession with efficiency and effectiveness has finally parted company altogether from controversial, political questions of what we should be trying to achieve. All kinds of business and activity are measured and ranked against each other, with an ever-increasing lack of concern for the rationale behind this process. Thus, performativity obscures differences, requiring everything to be commensurable with everything else, so that things can be ranked on the same scale and everyone can be 'accountable' in regard to the acknowledged standard. This in turn entails the devaluing, and perhaps the eradication, of what cannot be ranked. Despite this drive to 'optimize the system's performance' under centralized control, there has also been a countervailing tendency towards dispersal and differentiation. Such variety would, supposedly, empower consumers by giving them a wider range of choice in the marketplace. In itself this apparent contradiction is related to certain historic trends in modernity: to secularization and bureaucratization in the sphere of

culture, and rationalization and liberalization in the sphere of society. What are new are the terms in which these processes have come to be understood and celebrated.

Mainstream educational research, on the other hand, dominated by the paradigm of 'real research', has also undergone an interesting evolution, as exemplified by renewed discussion about research methods, particularly about the respective merits of quantitative and qualitative approaches. A number of historians and sociologists of educational sciences have demonstrated that the preference in the social and behavioural sciences for what was seen as a superior quantitative approach rested not just on developments within these disciplines but also and equally on external changes associated with the social context in general and with the dominance, in particular, of meritocratic values with the rise of the neo-liberal society. To a greater and greater extent, the idea of an applied science in which educational intervention is a simple consequence of understanding is being abandoned in favour of a theory that it is realized in the intervention itself. And although qualitative methods are now regarded with more respect than ever before, this does not mean that the debate has terminated. There is still the general suspicion that in one way or another what is offered by social science research, including qualitative research, cannot adequately satisfy the need for knowledge. What looms behind this may be captured by the following false assumption: not understanding everything is equated with not understanding anything. What is longed for is something similar to the law-like explanation and 'prediction' of the natural sciences, or so some would have it. This desire parallels that of philosophers for whom philosophy has to amount to valid reasoning warranted by methods of conceptual analysis (necessary and sufficient conditions) and logical rules of induction and deduction, or for whom it must offer an overarching metaphysical system.

This understanding of philosophy had already been vigorously attacked by, among others, Ludwig Wittgenstein. For Wittgenstein the *Geisteswissenschaften*, the human 'sciences', must try to understand human conduct, and the understanding that is offered has to be of the same kind as the understanding involved in 'practice' in question. This understanding requires adherence to descriptions of everyday language. He also advises *to refrain from formulating theories*, because they are not capable of bringing forward the heterogeneity of cases and always presuppose more homogeneity than in fact can be found. Furthermore, it is important to recognize that not everything is explainable or understandable and thus he draws our attention to questions such as 'What is important for a human being?' and 'What is there that may be relevant without necessarily being useful for something else?' It goes without saying that educational researchers who have come to accept the legitimacy of both quantitative and qualitative research designs will find his way of thinking to be generally problematic. If one adds to this the consequence of the distinction made by Polkinghorne between 'analysis of narratives' and 'narrative analysis', and thus points to the relevance of the way the researcher arranges events and actions (by showing how they contribute to the evolution of a plot), we are in even more troubled water. The results of research do not so much represent an account of the actual happening of events from an *objective* point of view as the product of a series of constructions.

If the aim of the *Research Community* is to enhance discussion about the criteria for educational research, many important issues must be dealt with, not least the all-encompassing question of why we should bother to spell out criteria, why, in other words, it is important for those working in this business to set down 'quality' specifications. It must be plain to the reader that these words are carefully chosen – I think that they capture the flavour of what educational discourse is about nowadays. Why do we think we need a justification, to whom do we find the need to offer one, and last but not least why do we – does anyone – want to engage in *this* kind of research? What is ultimately the point of it? Even if this already seems to overburden us with questions, let us add some more: In general, what is science for? What kind of science is helpful then? What is education for? What kind of education is helpful? Is this meta-discourse meaningful? And moreover, and in connection with all of these, how do we know – the question *par excellence* – about the presuppositions, the general philosophical intuitions that form the basis of each and every answer? Concerning history and philosophy of education this leads to questions such as Do we need a justification *for ourselves*, as it were – for the particular kind of position we take vis-à-vis that of others working in history of education or philosophy of education? Do philosophy and history of education need a justification within the context of educational research? In other words, are they just history and philosophy 'of' education (like history and philosophy 'of' other human activities), or do they have a special 'educational' function on their own? And finally, does educational research need to be justified to educational practitioners and policy-makers as well as within society at large? A positive answer to these questions will, furthermore, require some kind of specification as to what such a justification might look like, i.e. what criteria will need to be met. And let us acknowledge that, of course, this way of conceptualizing the matter puts it at a meta level. Clearly we are interested in the contours of particular answers to substantive questions, as we think that most of us have given up on the idea that it is fruitful or even possible to distinguish radically between method (or form) and content, or between external and internal criteria for that matter. But there may still be some value in distinguishing these questions from each other in view of our ponderings on criteria for research.

16.2 Some Results

16.2.1 Beyond Empirical Educational Research: The Context of Social Discourse and Practices

The colleagues of the *Research Community* attempt to say something about where we are now concerning the matters mentioned above and where we think we should be going. They bear witness to the belief that educational theory must go beyond empirical educational research if it is to provide a real understanding of the human practice that education is. In its most general terms this surely is the conclusion of many, many discussions on scholarly work during the past decade. But in such a

general form it may only 'convince' those who already had adopted such a position. By taking into account the various arguments that were developed at the consecutive meetings, something more particular can be said.

The contexts of social discourses and practices that accompany, and frequently drive, changes in the methods and aims of educational research were examined. Attention is, for instance, paid to the composition of research groups as a factor in shaping attitudes and approaches towards interdisciplinary collaboration and to the ways in which new information and communication technologies can support and foster new forms of collaborative enquiry. This is particularly relevant when we consider the shifting character of national educational research policies. The assemblage of ideas, institutions and cultural connections instigates the formation of the criteria and evaluative measures of educational research. National systems of pedagogical research are therefore not merely expressions of human purpose, which are intent on improving the world of schooling, but are directed by historically formed principles that order, differentiate and divide the objects of reflection and action. Thus a particular trend has been witnessed: the increase in the discourses of scientism, efficiency and usefulness in the shaping of criteria for government-funded research, which has been labelled as a culture of performativity. It became clear how central to the discussion of educational research the notion of truth still is (given certain postmodernist positions which study the 'construction' of truth in different historical periods and areas) and thus conversely of scepticism. Moreover, it became apparent how crucial the relationship between causality and practical reasoning is and how important experiencing, as a general and fundamental mode of human existence and in particular to knowing as one of its basic instantiations is; furthermore, that ethical considerations, as they pertain to educational research, have to be taken into account. It is argued that certain understandings of identity politics foreclose ethical relations by constructing totalizing, and therefore limited, possibilities for recognition and that the rhetoric of community can serve as sheep's clothing for the wolves of exclusion, normalization and antagonism.

By focusing on *'What works',* the *Research Community* addressed a theme that was not just generally 'in the air' but that was, due to recent developments, particularly pressing, i.e. the so-called new 'gold standard' for scientific research in education in the context of the report of the National Research Council (of the USA) (*Scientific Research in Education*, 2002). According to a host of critics, this report embraces a too limited view of causation and causal explanation and thus advances a position on educational research methodology that differs little from the view that seeks to reinstate experimental-quantitative methods. The 'picture' that holds one captive is one of output and quality indicators. This is, to some extent, useful, but it obliterates other dimensions, which were and are seen by many as belonging at the heart of education. The current 'picture' is often a source of bewilderment to those who work in education. This is related to the idea that education without risk is possible and desirable. Due to the fact that, in many fields, it has proved possible to minimize risks, risk culture spills over into other cultural areas, as if everything could be organized along the lines of air traffic control. It is important to realize that it is the general climate of performativity that is problematic here; it is not about

particular things one does in this context, one could have different ways of doing things, but that would not change the all-pervasive background. In addressing the question 'Why what works worked?' attention was given, for instance, to 'good practices' of Jozef Emiel Verheyen, and more generally to the relationship between educational science and practical pedagogy as that relationship adheres to principles from the so-called new education. It is observed that in order to be able to be of service to modernity, aphoristic language was stripped from the underlying conceptual frameworks so that it became useful for everyone's purposes and could be integrated within its own structure. And focusing on Decroly, the analysis makes clear that as a result of the canonization of the hero, the reception and implementation of the Decroly method was characterized by a current curve between eclecticism and orthodoxy, between depersonalization and personalization. By historicizing generalizability, we can see how current research standards are products of culturally specific historical circumstances, i.e. 'generalizability' is a local phenomenon, and not generalizable to other times and places. Such conclusions can also be reached on the basis of a study of class size and more particularly of the reduction of teacher–student ratio. Thus attention is drawn to the fact that it is strange to find on the one hand pleas for well-designed (mainly experimental) research, while on the other hand these empirical researchers are aware of the multiple elements that have to be taken into account and the problems that need to be overcome. What works nowadays and how it does so in the context of the assessment of academic output shows how a discourse replete with phrases such as 'international', 'internationally refereed', 'internationally benchmarked' and 'world class' mingles intimately with and sometimes apparently substitutes for the discourse of 'quality' in a way which is confused and unsatisfactory. The same discourses marginalize forms of social science research, which arguably provide the best chance of informing practice in a manner that is both contextually sensitive and convincing to practitioners. What is thought to work can further be characterized as what is often normalized, that is, taken for granted and moreover difficult to change. It is important to highlight the notion that it is part of the job of the philosopher to raise difficulties with the tradition of technical reason, of which the current emphasis on 'what works' is a recognizable by-product.

16.2.2 Networks, Technologies, and the Educationalization *of Social Problems*

In 2006 the focus was on changing aspects of educational research, the idea of networks and the development of particular technologies, which have left their mark on contemporary education. This is not to say that there were no technologies in place in the past, neither is it claimed that education is the only sphere in which technologies have an overall impact. But it is argued by many authors that ICT and networks make an important impact on how we understand contemporary education. Such authors show how technological developments determine (to some extent) the content

of educational research and how such developments shape collaborative processes in this area. Attention is given to the extent to which the World Wide Web contributes to and provides the conditions under which knowledge and understanding may be effectively developed. But though the web appears to render concrete the conditions that Habermas was looking for in his 'ideal speech community', it also exhibits other features. The characteristics of online networks can be explored not as a *medium* but as *spaces* and *places* that are changing research practices and relations. People tend to think of the online networked environment as a *medium* – a path of point-to-point communication. However, to the extent that it is a medium or pathway, the online networked environment is not *neutral* – it affects the forms of information and communication that occur within it. This area benefits from further investigation by asking how *new* recent ICT developments really are. The changes seem to be first and foremost instrumental in nature – they do not seem to bring much that is new. However, at some point quantitative differences can become qualitative ones. Looking at the 'Standards for reporting on Empirical Social Science Research in AERA Publications' it is once more clear that guidelines for reporting on other forms of scholarship (such as reviews of research, theoretical, conceptual or methodological essays, critiques of research traditions and practices and scholarship more grounded in the humanities – history, philosophy, literary analysis, arts-based inquiry) are not included. Ignoring non-empirical forms of research, or glibly paying lip-service to the relevance of such research, carries the overtones of familiar juxtapositions such as those of fact and value, objective and subjective, research and philosophy, theory and practice, and moreover seems to rely on a particular concept of how language operates, i.e. a particular relationship between language and reality, that is highly dubious. This is extremely relevant to the contexts in which educational research is practiced, it cannot be ignored that training in research methods is becoming a requisite for those embarking on doctoral study. The breadth and contested nature of the field of educational research – with its internal demarcation disputes and its various contributing, often disarticulated disciplines, in tandem with anxieties recurrently occasioned by this lack of unity – have tended to issue in a striking self-consciousness about methodological propriety, the adoption of somewhat dogmatic stances and more than a little confusion.

An interesting example is provided by the doctoral programmes in the network society. The European Union has committed itself to become both a knowledge-based society and the most competitive economy in the world by 2010. As a network infrastructure, it is a space that mobilizes doctoral students and asks that they display an ongoing preparedness to 'forget' the past and to constantly reposition themselves. Other examples of particular kinds of technologies relevant to education are discussed, such as parenting and abstinence education in the form of the American True Love Waits or virginity movement. The latter can be understood as a technological *invention* in the context of a particular set of socio-cultural beliefs, values and practices and also as a significant technological *intervention* into the most intimate self. A final example dealt with is punishment, and in particular the use of corporal punishment, within the educational process. On the basis of interviews, questionnaires, results from earlier research and data from various written

sources (e.g. school histories) from a few key periods (1900, 1930, 1960, 1990) an attempt is made to break into educational practice in boys schools in the (West) Flanders region (Belgium). The results refute, relativize, qualify and contextualize a number of the prevailing punishment stereotypes. Society has changed to such an extent that knowledge is turning into an economic commodity, identities are being destabilized and socialization is becoming a more complex and uncertain dynamic. Though modernity has offered (and still offers) various ways in which the capacity for reflexivity and self-reflexive awareness can be put to work, it may now require that educational researchers merge 'engineery' dreams' with the 'bricolage' of society nowadays, creating discursive networks and re-imagining education under conditions of globalization, flexibility and technoculture.

But whether one likes it or not, *educationalization* is a process that has been underway for a long time. Insofar as such a form of 'adapted socialization' constituted the core of a changing vision of education – the perception that social problems could and would be solved by education – it can be regarded as paradigmatic for modernity. It may be characterized over time by a peculiar interweaving of knowledge and social reform. In this volume a historical and critical analysis of changes in features of educationalization is offered. Bourdieu's analysis of dominant forces in society, linking economic capital (objective, material goods and means) with cultural capital (subjective experiences, habits and taste) is used, which revealed hidden factors that are relevant to the education of youngsters. Further it is claimed that what it means to be a parent today is framed technologically: educational research and those in the field writing about and working with parents cannot but see the meaning of being a parent in technological terms. Other examples include, for instance, citizenship education in England and elsewhere, often seen as a response to contemporary social problems, for example, as a lack of democratic participation, anti-social behaviour, immigration and globalization. There are also policies intended to widen participation in higher education in the UK that require some form of interrogation. This is particularly pressing, given the apparent reluctance of educational researchers to think critically about these matters. It is argued that the drive to widen participation has taken on a life of its own and that educational researchers typically fail to ask whether those policies can tackle the economic and social problems that underpin and justify them. This further illustrates how the changes that have occurred in Western education in the last two decades have moved national education systems from what may have been called a liberal education to a technocratic and entrepreneurial education. Something similar may be observed in the area of the family and child. Pedagogicalization is differentiated, in the turn of twentieth century as the *educationalization* of the family that rationalized the home to socialize the child for collective social belonging; and in the turn of the twenty-first century, as the *pedagogicalization* of the family as lifelong learners, a mode of living as continuous innovation, self-evaluation and monitoring one's life without any seeming social centre. Given the overwhelming importance of 'learning' today, it is further argued that the embracing entrepreneurship implies an *adaptation ethics* based on self-mobilization through learning. Thus neo-liberalism draws upon a kind of *learning apparatus* to secure adaptation for each and all. All of this applies,

unfortunately to philosophy itself. It has been subjected to many attempts to school it and render it orderly – to establish a definitive method for the practice of philosophy. Yet, metaphoricity and even rhetoricity are ineliminable from philosophy as from other uses of language, and the boundary between philosophy and literature is not a secure one. To acknowledge this is to admit a richer range of language to thinking about questions of education, and thus to conceive education itself more richly and with greater sensitivity to its diversity, nuances and differences.

16.3 'Clearly', a Follow-Up

All of this bears witness to the lesson that could be learned from philosophy of science – that to concern oneself with specific problems in particular areas is extremely fruitful. General discussions about 'paradigms', about method (probably a residue from a positivist stance), about understanding and explanation do not take us very far. But it also follows from the teaching of the discipline of history that the human construction of the historical reality of the past is always characterized by a particular perspective and is therefore, necessarily, a kind of reduction: either dated linguistic concepts are used or the present-day wording is applied which does not really fit the earlier context. In this area, we also arrive at the conclusion that by taking the particular into account, we may discover interesting insights. The observation that the concepts and frameworks we use, mark and limit our interpretations – but evidently, there is nothing else we can do – may be added to the general affirmation that insights from educational theory cannot simply be applied in educational contexts: theory is limited. A theoretician can defy and provoke by offering another reading, another interpretation. However, she/he cannot impose a compelling argument for either educational practice or theory. Some will therefore argue that it might be better to embrace the position that in the end one cannot but offer *a particular stance*, a particular judgement, a commitment to this or that in life. Instead of being neutral and by looking for presuppositions and by trying to solve puzzles, one indeed shows how things 'have to be'. Thus the belief is held that in our work as historians and philosophers of educational research, relevance and progress can only come about if we unravel what is involved in particular cases of educational practice and research. In this way, we would present ourselves as true participants within educational research and practice. And so there is more to follow along these lines, an exercise which already began with the 2008 conference which addresses *Proofs, arguments, and other reasonings: The language of education.* The *Research Community* decided to focus in the next years on *Faces and spaces of educational research*. This includes topics such as 'the ethics and aesthetics of statistics', 'the attraction of psychology', 'institutional space' and 'designs, material culture, and representations of educational research'. The present state of educational research compels us to refrain from giving up. The hope and belief is still shared that a richer range of language may guide thinking about questions of education, and thus education itself may be conceived in richer terms that allow for greater sensitivity

to its diversity, nuances and differences. By definition, 'progress' represents a form of advance, but sometimes it is an advance towards disaster. We hope that what we will try to do will represent more than just a cry in the wilderness. History will tell.

Note

1. Among others the following colleagues from 13 centres worldwide and 3 Belgium units have participated: W. van Haaften (Nijmegen, The Netherlands); J. Dekker (Groningen, The Netherlands); J. Marshall (Auckland, New Zealand); N. Burbules (Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, USA); D. Labaree (Stanford, California, USA); P. Standish (Institute of Education, London, UK); R. Smith (Durham, UK); D. Bridges and M. Watts (Von Hügel Institute, St Edmund's College, Cambridge and University of East Anglia, UK); M. Peters (Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, USA and Glasgow, UK); T.S. Popkewitz (Madison, Wisconsin, USA); L. Fendler (Michigan State, USA); L. Stone (North Carolina, Chapel Hill, USA); E. Keiner (Ruhr-Universität, Bochum, Germany), D. Tröhler (Zürich, Switzerland); S. Cuypers, M. Depaepe, J. Masschelein, S. Ramaekers, M. Simons, P. Smeyers and A. Van Gorp (Leuven, Belgium); F. Simon, P. Smeyers, B. Vanobbergen and N. Vansieleghem (Ghent, Belgium); J.P. Van Bendegem and K. Coessens (VUB, Brussels, Belgium).

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