Chapter 12
Zombies, Monsters and Education: The Creation of the Young Citizen

Rosalyn Black, Emily M. Gray, and Deana Leahy

Scary Monsters (and Super Creeps)[1]

> *Something is rotten in Denmark…. and in the UK, America, and in Australia. The rot is spreading, enveloping us all with its cold, clammy touch. Get bitten and you too could turn into a slack-jawed, vacant eyed ravenous monster, blindly consuming everything and everyone in your path…Altogether now, brains….BRAINS….*

In contemporary times, education policy is awash with the tenets of neoliberalism. These tenets and their subsequent strategies position the individual citizen as the building block of a democratic society, purporting to enable even the most marginalised individuals to take control over their own lives, to contribute to the social and economic wellbeing of their communities and to reduce their dependence on government provision. This is what Rose has called the "capitalization of citizenship" (1999a, p. 481): the translation of the individual – including the young individual – into a unit of human and social capital that can be bound together with other units in a common entrepreneurial project designed to deliver economic productivity, social cohesiveness and individual benefit. This kind of citizenship for some commentators has the malodourous stench of zombies (Beck 2001).

[1] Bowie, D. (1980).

R. Black (✉)
School of Education, Faculty of Arts & Education, Deakin University,
Locked Bag 20000, Geelong, VIC 3220, Australia
e-mail: rosalyn.black@deakin.edu.au

E.M. Gray
School of Education, RMIT University, PO Box 71, Bundoora, VIC 3083, Australia
e-mail: emily.gray@rmit.edu.au

D. Leahy
Faculty of Education, Monash University, Victoria 3800, Australia
e-mail: deana.leahy@monash.edu

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V. Carrington et al. (eds.), *Generation Z*, Cultural Studies and Transdisciplinarity in Education, DOI 10.1007/978-981-287-934-9_12

Such citizens are in contrast with what Rose has described, mildly enough, as the "non-citizens, failed citizens, anti-citizens" (Rose 1999b, p. 259): that is, those young people who occupy what Kelly has called "the 'wild zones' in modernity's imagination" (2000, p. 303), who are seen to be undemocratic, ungoverned/ungovernable, uneducated/uneducable, unemployed/ unemployable, or unhealthy. We want to go further than this by suggesting that such 'non citizens' are also understood to be evil and alien (Giroux 1996) or even monstrous (Hoerl 2002). They are the citizens whom education policy, and policy more broadly, is vehemently trying to expunge, and if that fails, whom it demonises. This moral panic, and fear of monstrous citizens, we suggest is a key driving force in the formulation of educational policy, and the subsequent shaping of the purposes of schooling and its practices. Thus in attempting to grasp contemporary educational policy and its effects, we need to draw on a range of analytical devices to help us reveal the various zombies and monsters that haunt contemporary educational assemblages.

Zombies have become very fashionable recently, filling the programming schedule on our TVs and the bookshelves in our academic libraries. Zombie citizens, and the notion of preparing young people to enter a zombified workforce, provided the original starting place for this chapter. As a metaphor, it immediately appealed to us. We all agreed that our experiences in education, and more recently teacher education, at times feel like we were working in a morgue. We lecture in empty, cold and lifeless lecture theatres, to students who stare blankly between us and their iPhone/iPad/Mac Book screens and who seemingly only spring to life when assignments are due to search for knowledge, to pick at our brains and to leave us drained of life. We, ourselves too, feel like we are the walking dead in the hallways of higher education where ever increasing compliance measures suck the life from us, emptying us of ideas until competitive grants and publication outputs are the only things we think of. We shall return to discuss this in more depth later in the chapter. But for now we simply want to illustrate the multiple ways in which the zombie metaphor spoke to us, and to our experiences. We thus found that it was a generative analytical device to begin to rethink the tenets of neo-liberalism and its effects. However, as we spent more time discussing educational policy and considering its rationalities and techniques, we became aware that there are other monsters lurking within contemporary educational assemblages. This meant that we would need to draw on a broader range of metaphorical monsters to explore the tenets, hopes and effects of neo-liberalism in education.

In this chapter, we deploy the metaphors of the zombies and monsters as a means through which to unpack contemporary educational policy within the Australian context. In the first section of the chapter we introduce what we mean when we talk about zombies and monsters and how these metaphors can be used to discuss contemporary policy and the citizens they aim to (re)produce – the zombie citizen. We then bring this analysis to bear upon the policy itself as zombified. Finally, we argue that contemporary classrooms deploy the zombie and the monstrous in order to encourage young people to become ideal neo-liberal citizens.

They're Coming to Get You (Barbra)[2]

The zombie is a widely used metaphor within contemporary cultural outputs of both the popular and academic kind. Originally a Haitian voodoo legend of soulless beings enslaved to a zombie master, the figure of the zombie has been harnessed to represent Cold War politics and racism in America (George Romero's 1968 *Night of the Living Dead*), the terror of consumer culture (Romero's 1979 *Dawn of the Dead*), and post 9/11 fears of domestic terrorism (Francis Lawrence's movie adaptation of Richard Matheson's novel *I am Legend*). Within social and cultural theory the zombie has also been raised from the dead to represent increasing economic rationalism and the politics of death and punishment (Giroux 2010), 'living dead' categories that dominate our thinking (Beck 2001) and as an allegory for teacher education students in need of inspiration (Nelsen 2012).

Social science then uses the zombie as horror writers do – as an allegorical figure that represents something rotten and decaying yet still living, something that spreads its infection indiscriminately, causing human misery in epic proportions. For Giroux (2010), the rot is to be found in a type of 'voodoo economics' that drives a 'zombie politics' of resisting significant social change in favour of funding conflict. For Giroux, such zombification is equal to symbolic violence as

> An army of zombie economic advisors, lobbyists and legislators, all of whom revel in spreading the culture of the undead while feasting on the spread of war, human suffering, violence, and catastrophe across the United States and the larger globe (Giroux 2010, p. 2).

The zombie, for Giroux, has taken over the upper echelons of government and is spreading its agenda from the top down. Beck (2001), on the other hand, uses the zombie as an allegory for 'living dead' ways of thinking about the social world. For Beck, sociology needs to come up with new ways of thinking about the social world as traditional notions of social structures such as 'the household', no longer hold within our ever shifting contemporary times (ibid.).

The zombie is then deployed to mean different things across contexts, disciplines and cultural outputs. However what ties the differing allegorical uses of the zombie together is that it is always something monstrous and something that is resistant to change, a figure that protects a corrupted status quo from change (Horning 2014). As a monstrous figure the zombie provokes a particular response in our collective psyche, it is never taken at face value; it is never a simplistic monster. Rather the figure of the zombie, as with other monstrous figures, represents our fears both internal and external. This is the function that monsters serve within our collective cultures, as Botting argues

> Monsters […] are constructions indicating how cultures need to invent or imagine others in order to maintain limits. They are pushed in disgust to the other side of the imaginary force that keeps norm and deviance apart. It requires a repeated effort of constructing and casting out figures of fear and anxiety (Botting 2014, p. 6).

[2] Romero (1968).

The zombie never speaks, it cannot – therefore it is always spoken about or for (Nelsen 2012) and as such becomes a way to articulate our fears. In many ways, the zombie represents the 'others', those we look through and not at, those that 'must be kept at arm's length' (Canavan 2010). For us, the authors of this chapter, the zombified others are young people, and perhaps even ourselves at times. Legislated for and spoken about, young people represent our fears about the fate of our society. For us, those fears are multiple and encompass the loss of intellectual curiosity within students, the neo-liberalisation of education and the increasing pressures upon academics that come with the audit-driven academy within which we toil (Sparkes 2007). The massification of higher education has arguably led to increasing levels of standardisation and measures of compliance that has rendered the academic a lifeless slave to the audit culture (Sparkes 2007) and the educational institution of the university with an identity crisis (Collini 2012). Within contemporary educational spaces the notion of the undead, soulessness and the zombie become metaphors for educators, institutions and students. As zombie subjects we understand students as believing that the only knowledges worth having are those that will enable them to pass tests or succeed at assignments (Horning 2014; Sparkes 2007). During the week preceding assignment due dates, students become ravenous, frenziedly bombarding their teachers with questions, showing up to our offices wishing to suck our brains for the tips and tricks that they need to pass.

However we acknowledge that we are all trapped within this system – the university, the academic, the teacher and the student – and that we as educators are becoming increasingly enslaved to the pervasive audit culture that dominates our workplaces. The figure of the zombie and the notion of zombification provide us with a way to articulate our experiences; that we teach students who appear half dead with slack jaws and glazed eyes. At the same time, though, we know that those same students are fully alive and present in other aspects of their lives (Nelsen 2012). Is it education that is eating away at their brains (Horning 2014) as they simultaneously eat away at ours? Also, how do we account for the chinks of light, the moments when together we are all fully alive? We will answer these questions, but first we ask how the zombie citizen came to be.

We're Sitting Here…Like Sitting Ducks[3]: The Zombie Citizen in Policy

The past two decades has seen a global resurgence of what is, in fact, a very old policy concern about young people: a concern about the nature of the citizens that young people will 'become'. This concern reflects the notion that young people are legislated on behalf of; that they are zombies without the capacity for speech – they are 'sitting ducks' for policymakers. We draw attention here to the long-standing

[3] Lyon (2012).

construction of schooling as a site for young people's socialisation for citizenship that continues to have a strong hold within social policy: in one analysis of politicians' maiden speeches to the Australian House of Representatives, for example, the second most frequent reference to education was in association with democracy (the most common reference linked education and the economy) (Pitman 2012).

Increasingly, this construction centres around the expectation that young people should be educated to be, and to act as, rational and responsible neo-liberal citizens with the reflexive capacity to purposively choose their own actions, direct their own lives and 'make a difference' within the society in which they live. It also centres around the use of schooling as a strategy to govern and direct young people's conduct "from a 'social' point of view" (Rose 2000b, p. 323), creating zombie citizens who are bound into "shared moral norms and values" and whose actions are motivated by the "self-steering forces of honour and shame, of propriety, obligation, trust, fidelity, and commitment to others" (Rose 2000b, p. 324).

Such citizens are expected, and constructed, to demonstrate a specific, prescribed set of behaviours. They are expected to be the "active, competent, self-reflective, self-expressing, self-sufficient, communicative, social, constructive, independent, self-reliant, actively participating, problem-solving, planning experts of their own lives" (Masschelein and Quaghebeur 2005, p. 61), citizens who are "intelligent, wise, happy, virtuous, healthy, productive, docile, enterprising, fulfilled, self-esteeming, (and) empowered" (Rose 1998, p. 12). They are also expected to demonstrate the behaviours of the good social being: "civility, social solidarity, and social responsibility" (Rose 2000a, p. 1399).

This expectation dominates the education policy of most advanced democracies. The idea of active citizenship is alive and well within United Kingdom education policy (Birdwell et al. 2013), for example, where key policy statements such as the Crick Report construct schooling as a means of ensuring young people's "community participation; political literacy; and social and moral responsibility" (Jerome 2012, p. 61). It informs Swedish education policy, which is characterised by what one group of researchers has termed the "neo-liberal colouring of active citizenship" (Aldenmyr et al. 2012, p. 256). It has also been promoted as an educational strategy, although with differing definitions, policies, practices and outcomes across France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Korea, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the USA and Canada (Nelson and Kerr 2006). There is a shared expectation amongst policymakers across European nations that education help young people to "acquire the skills required for active participation in the public arena as responsible and critical citizens as well as organised citizens" (Birzea et al. 2004, p. 22).

The policy discussion about the nature and purposes of active citizenship, and how it can most effectively be fostered through schooling, has also been led by international bodies such as the European Commission, the OECD and UNESCO (Birzea et al. 2005). The Council of Europe's current Strategic Framework for European Cooperation in Education and Training, for example, identifies the promotion of active citizenship through school education as one of its main objectives (Eurydice 2005).

Reflecting this international trend, recent Australian education policy charges schools with fostering active – or even activist – citizens who have the will and capacity to improve the democratic fabric and drive needed social change in new and creative ways. This prescription is a central theme within the Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians, which represents the current blueprint for Australian schooling, and which declares the commitment of all current Australian government jurisdictions to foster citizens who are "committed to national values of democracy, equity and justice, and participate in Australia's civic life" and who "work for the common good, in particular sustaining and improving natural and social environments" (MCEETYA 2008, p. 9). It is extended and amplified by the new Australian Curriculum, which describes the role of schools in enabling young people to be "active and empowered citizens" who "apply democratic principles, practise behaviours and […] actively engage in practical citizenship activities within schools, in the community and online" (ACARA 2012, p. 5).

It also describes the expectation that young people enact their citizenship at other levels: the "state, national, regional and increasingly the global level" (ACARA 2012, p. 5) and it is echoed in the policy texts of the authorities responsible for administering the Australian Curriculum at the state level. The Victorian Government's guidelines for the implementation of the new Civics and Citizenship curriculum make it clear young people's citizenship is something that must be enacted. School students are expected, through the curriculum, to demonstrate "responsibility, decision making, planning, problem solving, cooperation with others, social skills and leadership" for such purposes as "community service, environmental programs in the local community, enterprise learning and involvement in local responses to national and international issues" (VCAA 2013).

Young people are, then, expected to become not only citizens but particular *types* of citizens (Black 2011b). Ideally, education should assist in the creation of such citizens. Why is it, then, that if young people are to be ushered into a citizenship that is independent yet cooperative; engaged with local, national and global contexts; and active as well as empowered, that we experience our classrooms to be such ghostly places? More importantly, though, is the question of what happens to those young people who cannot or will not participate in active citizenship and how the metaphor of the zombie can help us to examine the policy context for young people across the globe.

Educating the Zombie Citizen: Scene One

Such policy prescriptions place a strong emphasis on the enactment or performance of young people's citizenship, but it is in their translation into practice that these newer discourses and constructions of youth citizenship encounter the older discourses of education, the zombie discourses that are dead but still walking (Beck and Willms 2004). At the same time that it promotes an active citizenship, citizenship education as a project also perpetuates more normatively justified education

goals and practices that subject young people to very familiar forms of governance and intervention. As Black (2011a) has previously pointed out, these goals are embedded in an individualised education discourse that distinguishes not only between desirable and undesirable – or monstrous – youth behaviours but between desirable and undesirable youth identities.

The persistence of such undead discourses emerges from a recent study of two Australian schools, both located in low socioeconomic, rural or urban-fringe communities and both struggling to meet systemic measures and benchmarks of educational achievement, especially amongst their middle years students. Both schools have introduced programs of active citizenship for that cohort of students. Both programs derive their inspiration from the *ruMAD?* (are you Making A Difference?) framework developed by Australian academic David Zyngier (2009) and are imbued with its critical pedagogical values, positioning middle years students as powerful actors capable of exerting influence for social change through what are frequently ambitious youth-led projects. These range from initiatives that seek to redress significant social and environmental injustices such as homelessness, poverty and deforestation at the national or even global level to initiatives designed to achieve change within the local community.

The circumstances and life chances of young people in such communities have been widely documented. They are the “flawed consumers and unwanted workers” of whom Giroux writes, who are “exiled into various dead zones in which they become … invisible” (2010, p. 1), who are “confronted with either vastly diminishing opportunities or are fed into an ever-expanding system of disciplinary control that dehumanises, medicalises, and criminalises their behaviour in multiple sites, extending from the home and school to the criminal justice system” (pp. 2–3). They are also the “collateral casualties of inequality” whom Bauman has described, young people living on the edges – literally and metaphorically – of the social and economic centres where opportunity is created and distributed (Bauman 2011).

Giroux argues that one of the “cruellest of ironies” of what he terms “zombie politics and culture” is that they “invoke life as they promote death and human suffering” (2010, p. 3). While such dramatic claims may be too much of a stretch while discussing the policy and practice of young people’s education for active citizenship, the ironies and ambiguities that attend the zombie, who is “neither fully alive nor dead” (Nelsen 2012, p. 236), have some resonance here.

On the one hand, the experience of these young people runs counter to the experience that Horning evokes when she refers to the creation of “a nation of student zombies, who have been led to believe that the knowledge most worth having is how to choose the correct answers on standardized texts” (p. 19). Within the context of these two active citizenship programs, students are constructed as important social actors, a construction that has been readily adopted by the students themselves. Echoing the programmatic discourse, the students at each school refer freely and confidently to their ability to “make a difference”, to “change the world”, to redress “all the diversity and the poverty in this world, and the homelessness” and to “make everyone be treated equally”. While the premise that any group of young people possesses such influence would seem immediately vulnerable to critical or even

common sense challenge, the students as a collective appear to have accepted it with little question: references to choice, desire, purpose, intention and will pepper their statements. They also frequently describe the deep sense of satisfaction and achievement that has attended their efforts for social change:

> It just makes you feel more nicer because you know that you've done something. You know that you've made one less thing, like a bird or something die, one less this, one less person who's homeless, another person who's educated. It feels good to know that one more thing has changed because of us.

At the same time, the promise that their active citizenship will enable them to effect such change is accompanied by an even more seductive promise: that it will enable them to change themselves. Within each program, the discourse of *making a difference* is constantly interwoven with the reflexive discourse of *becoming someone different*. It is this discourse that most encapsulates the zombie nature of education policy and practice and their employment, not only to animate young people, but to animate them in very specific ways and for very specific purposes.

Both programs are educational interventions designed to foster the values of active citizenship amongst young people who are otherwise seen to lack such values. The consensus of the educators at both schools is that such interventions are needed because, in the words of one teacher, "there's a lot of apathy and teenagers can be very blasé about things that aren't about themselves". The motivation behind the introduction of each program goes deeper than this, however. In the words of a second teacher, "(the program) can engage students, it can put more colourful students – put them in a place where they can use their powers for good instead of evil".

Such statements reflect the moral panic to which such young people are habitually subject (Cohen 2002) and which constructs them not only as potential "'feral yobs' who require regulation and control" (Williamson 2007, p. 25) but as "deviant, barbaric and unclean" (Malone 2000, p. 136). This monstrous status is attributed only in part to their youth, however. It is also viewed as a product of their family background and socioeconomic status, as this statement from one school leader suggests:

> One of the main things that we're trying to do here is actually get them to be able to interact nicely with each other, and not do stupid things before they think, and in the end become well informed citizens who've got a job that they're happy with. [...] So long as they're not out on the streets doing some of things that some of their parents might have done, which you don't want to know. [...] I'm always thinking about where the kids will end up. Like all schools we'll have kids that fall through the gaps, and schools are full of kids that end up in jail. There's always a kid in every school that's going to end up in jail somewhere, but we want to minimise that. We want to minimise kids that do harm to themselves or each other.

To this degree, each program can be understood as an attempt to inoculate young people against what are seen as monstrous youth attitudes and behaviours. At the risk of mixing our medical metaphors, each is also designed to serve as a kind of educational virus that promotes not only a desirable citizenship but a desirable, socially and economically productive youth identity as well. In so doing, each renders these young people subjects of a governmental educational intervention that is

designed to minimise the risks associated both with their youth and with their socio-economic circumstances.

The following section uses health education as a lens through which to examine what happens to those young people who cannot or will not participate in desirable practices of citizenship or social and economic productivity. We argue, like Giroux and others, that 'these' young people are positioned as unclean, undesirable and monstrous. And it is these monsters that circulate powerfully through contemporary governmental health education assemblages, looming large as real possibilities.

Educating the Zombie Citizen: Scene Two

School based health education has long been a site that is heavily invested in governing and (re)producing healthy citizens. In order to achieve this goal, health education, from policy, curriculum and the subsequent classroom spaces deploy a range of techniques designed to alert young people to the risks of inactive citizenship and improper consumption (see for example Leahy and Harrison 2004). In many health education classrooms, the message is clear: If you do not minimise risks to your health through eating well, exercising, not smoking or taking illegal drugs, and not drinking too much, you are putting yourself at risk and failing to perform what Greco (1993) refers to your 'duty to be well'. The duty to be well is a moral imperative that is inextricably tied to contemporary forms of neo-liberal governmentality discussed in the sections above. Failing in one's moral duty to be well is positioned as an act that relegates one to the status of the failed citizen (Rose 1999b).

However, we want to suggest that there is more at play than simply understanding wellness as a successful or failed citizenship venture. Popular media representations of the obese, the junkie and the mad person are not simply interpreted and understood intellectually by consumers of texts as failed citizens. Such representations within popular media are linked to Rose's notion of the anti-citizen, a figure often portrayed as having monstrous desires, appetites, bodies and behaviours that are excessive, frightening, uncivilised and distasteful. It is here that the zombie metaphor becomes more complex because although the zombie is a monstrous figure with an appetite to match, anti-citizens are not a homogenous group like zombies, the dangers posed by anti-citizens is in their unpredictability. In contrast, and borrowing from our earlier discussion of neo-liberal politics and the zombification of citizens in contemporary times, it might be that the idealized healthy citizen is in fact the zombie citizen with an insatiable appetite for health and wellness. Take for example the daily rituals of eating five vegetables and two pieces of fruit on an appropriately sized plate, exercising for an hour and/or completing the specified amount of steps for the day, sticking to recommended alcohol consumption standards, ensuring that one never ingests more than the recommended daily intake of salt, sugar, meat, fat and zinc. Might this not be potentially re-read as a healthy dose of zombification?

Because of the complexity inherent to the notion of the anti-citizen, we suggest that it is important to be on the look out for other monstrous citizens that accompany zombies in various education assemblages. In the field of health education several authors have written about the 'horrific' images that get used in health education resources to teach students about the perils of various choices (see for example Burrows and Wright 2007; Leahy 2014). What is interesting to note in the various resources and pedagogical strategies is the use of contemporary popular culture and media. For example in previous work, Leahy and Gray (2014) highlighted that health educators (and educators more broadly) draw on popular culture in order to illustrate the various risks that threaten students' health. For example, Morgan Spurlock's 2004 film *Supersize Me* in which Spurlock eats nothing but McDonald's for a month, provide ample fodder for the health educator wanting to highlight the evils of fast food consumption (Leahy and Pike 2015). Popular culture is powerful for a number of reasons including the potential it offers for teachers to engage their students and more importantly, following Ellsworth (2004) it enables pedagogy to 'get right in' to produce a visceral effect in young people in classrooms. Watching Spurlock consume saturated and trans-fats in supersized portions demonstrates the effects of monstrous appetites in vivid colour, his body becoming upsized and ill as his journey through the McDonald's menu progresses. Health teachers see the pedagogical potential of popular culture and are quick to put it to work in the name of health in their classrooms. Given this, it is imperative that we consider what kinds of representations of health and citizenship might be available to teachers as they assemble their lesson plans in the hope of (re) forming healthy citizens.

There are of course too many examples to discuss in any depth in this chapter. For our purposes though we have elected to discuss a short piece of animation from the *Jamie's School Dinners* website that highlights the risks to young people of consuming unhealthy food through science and animation. In many ways it exemplifies the case we are making.

In 2005, the British celebrity chef Jamie Oliver started a campaign to improve school meals in the UK. Starting with a four-part TV series, *Jamie's School Dinners* continued in various guises, including a website. One of the features of the website is a short piece of animation entitled *Food Most Fowl*. The animation tells the story of a mad professor of the Dr. Frankenstein, Jekyll and Hyde variety. He lives in a Dracula-esque castle and creates cheap, unethical and unhealthy food designed to maximise profit and minimise health benefit and as a subject he is following the path of good, neo-liberal citizenship inasmuch as he is entrepreneurial, market driven, consumerist. The animation shows the professor grinding up chickens and enhancing various food items by injecting them with fat to make them bigger. At the end of the video the professor himself becomes addicted to the junk food he has created and transforms from a thin, elderly male into something more terrible…THE MONSTER ANTI-CITIZEN. An overweight, acne ridden, Burberry cap wearing chav whose pallor is tinged with green, a zombie slave to fast food (see *Food Most Fowl*, http://vimeo.com/68365675 – accessed 04/06/2014).

We chose to discuss *Food Most Fowl* for several reasons. Firstly, it brings together the horror genre with contemporary social and governmental interventions into the

health and wellbeing of citizens. The mad professor literally becomes the monstrous other – a zombified young, overweight and working class male. The earring he sports along with the Burberry cap gives his 'chav' status away. The chav, a 'grotesque and comic figure' (Tyler 2008) is very much like the figure of the zombie, deviant, barbaric and unclean, unable to think or make decisions beyond a primal need to consume. *Food Most Fowl* shows us that if we don't buy the risk discourse we are doomed to become a slack jawed, vacant eyed chav zombie citizen – a horror of horrors.

The video then exemplifies the revolting monstrous and reveals the undesirable young person as a malodorous zombie anti-citizen, the kind of citizen Giroux, Rose and others speak of. Horror and disgust serve here as a pedagogical pivot point to 'get right in' and actually show young people the horrors of over consumption (Ellsworth 2004; Leahy 2014), the hope being that young people will be enticed to make the healthy choice and fulfil their duty to be well.

Conclusion

This chapter has suggested that active citizenship in education policy and practice serves to perpetuate, or to animate, undead zombie discourses of youth agency and social change that belie the structural forces at work in many young people's lives as well as the more governmental discourses that so often accompany their experience of schooling. They purport to enable, and do at times enable, young people to see themselves as powerful actors, yet they also reinforce education policy purposes that seek to change or govern their behaviours and identities, particularly in relation to the health of young people, where other monsters are called in to play in the construction of the anti-citizen.

There are various programs that purport to redress widespread social injustices through young people's actions or improve young people's health. Yet those young people's lives remain subject to chronic inequalities which they themselves are charged with overcoming through the medium of their participation and choosing. Such programs purport to extend young people's influence across wide geographic spheres, even while the young people in question remain "tied to the ground" in localities of entrenched deprivation (Bauman 2001, p. 40). We have illustrated how the metaphorical figure of the zombie is deployed in a range of ways within contemporary popular culture, social science and classrooms. The zombie can be brought to bear upon undead policy, contemporary modes of governance and upon young people themselves who are often positioned as either neo-liberal zombies or a deviant, barbaric and unclean monster. Zombies and monsters continue to pervade our collective psyches because they represent that which is wrong, undesirable and problematic within our societies. From Haitian legend to animation, the zombie continues to haunt us.

Harris however has argued that "[e]ven well-intentioned efforts to enhance and defend young people's entitlement to legitimately inhabit the category of citizen

ought to be interrogated as part of the circuitry of citizenship technology" (2012, pp. 143–144). This means that we must not capitulate to zombification and monstrous possibilities: we must not give up hope. By using the zombies and monsters as analytical tools through which to challenge the social, political and economic landscapes that young people will inherit, we are able to create a dialogic space within which to contribute to the critique of contemporary governance.

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Rosalyn Black is a Senior Lecturer in Education at Deakin University, Melbourne, Australia. Her research interests meet at the intersection of the sociologies of education and youth. They include an interest in young people's democratic participation and citizenship and the role of education policy and practice in relation to diverse social inequalities.

Emily M. Gray is from Walsall, UK and is currently a lecturer in Education Studies at RMIT University in Melbourne, Australia. Her interests within both research and teaching are interdisciplinary and include sociology, cultural studies and education. She is interested in questions of gender and sexuality and with how these identity categories are taken up and lived within social institutions. Her key research interests therefore lie with questions related to gender, sexuality and wider social justice issues within educational discourse and practice. She is also researches within the field of popular culture and audience studies, particularly with online 'fandom' and with media and popular culture as pedagogical tools.

Deana Leahy is a Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Education at Monash University, Melbourne, Australia. Her research interests are primarily concerned with the politics of health education; curriculum and pedagogy. Drawing on governmentality studies her recent work has sought to critique the effects of neoliberal logics on the subject(s) of school based health education.