

# Governing Through Pedagogy

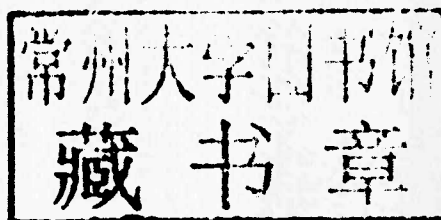
Re-educating Citizens

Edited by  
Jessica Pykett

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*Edited by*  
**Jessica Pykett**



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# Governing Through Pedagogy

This edited collection brings together researchers from education, human geography, sociology, social policy and political theory in order to consider the idea of the 'pedagogical state' as a means of understanding the strategies employed to re-educate citizens. The book aims to critically interrogate the cultural practices of governing citizens in contemporary liberal societies. Governing through pedagogy can be identified as an emerging tactic by which both state agencies and other non-state actors manage, administer, discipline, shape, care for and enable liberal citizens. Hence, discourses of 'active citizenship', 'participatory democracy', 'community empowerment', 'personalised responsibility', 'behaviour change' and 'community cohesion' are productively viewed through the conceptual lens of the pedagogical state. Chapters consider the spaces of schools, universities, the voluntary sector, civil society organisations, parenting initiatives, the media, government departments and state agencies as fruitful empirical sites through which pedagogy is worked and re-worked.

This book was originally published as a special issue of *Citizenship Studies*.

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## **Introduction: the pedagogical state: education, citizenship, governing**

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### **Introduction to special issue**

Understanding state–citizen relations involves a multitude of spaces and actors, formal and informal political practices and the intricacies of subjectivity and citizen-formation. One emerging tactic by which both ‘state’ agencies and other non-state actors manage, administer, discipline, shape, care for and enable liberal citizens is that of governing through pedagogy. Schools, universities, the voluntary sector, civil society organisations, churches, commercial education and training providers, the media, government departments and state agencies offer fruitful empirical spaces through which the pedagogies of governing are worked and reworked. This special issue therefore brings together researchers from education, human geography, sociology, social policy and political theory in order to consider the idea of the ‘pedagogical state’ as a means of understanding the pedagogic strategies employed to govern citizens, both within and outside the formal education sphere.

The language of pedagogy can be useful in elaborating the sites of formal and informal education, the practices of teaching and learning and the subjectivities of teachers and learners in relation to governing tactics, with implications far beyond the immediate reach of formal education. Because pedagogy cannot be reduced to teaching, learning or education, it provokes us to consider not simply the disciplining and directive facets of education, but also the way pedagogy is used in order to develop competences and capabilities and to empower subjects in their future self-directed knowledge, experience and activities. Pedagogy also denotes a sense of the ‘science’ or ‘arts of teaching’, which prompts us to contemplate indirect and apparently contradictory modes of governing. Rather than presuming that pedagogical power will be characterised by domination and resistance, critically investigating interventions in the governability of liberal citizens can help us to reconsider the reflexive and sceptical ways in which citizens act, re-act and co-construct the cultural practices of governing. Such an approach can be useful in trying to avoid potentially simplistic critiques of bureaucracy, the ‘nanny state’, ‘teacherly’ or authoritarian state behaviours, the ‘infantilisation’ of adult citizens and the ‘schooling’ of society in so-called neoliberal times.

'The pedagogical state' as a concept, a theme and a research agenda requires developing and deconstructing from a variety of disciplinary perspectives, and contributors to this volume have engaged with and problematised the idea in equal measure. In the first article, Jessica Pykett introduces research which has explicitly developed the idea of the pedagogical state. Using the introduction of compulsory citizenship education in secondary schools in England as a case study, she explores what is at stake politically in competing narratives of pedagogy within the shifting realm of educational governance.

The next two papers offer further theoretical insights into our understandings of the politics of pedagogy. Contributors identify a number of pedagogical modes through which citizens govern and are governed. John Clarke highlights the way in which so-called ordinary people are enrolled into the architectures of governing, through policies of participation, inclusion, empowerment, emancipation, and through the 'coming of voice'. He shows how such policies in the realm of immigration and policing involve the evocation and constitution of 'ordinary people' and the performing (or failure to perform) of learnt identities of ordinariness, at the expense of political contestation. In an extension of her work on how power is exercised through pedagogy, Clarissa Rile Hayward discusses the way in which 'bad stories' are narrated through both personal and collective identity-work. She examines in particular how racialised identities in the US are translated into material and institutional forms through processes of social reproduction and a 'narrative pedagogy' employed by the state.

We then turn to some of the diverse spaces in which the concept of the pedagogical state offers explanatory purchase, beginning with the formal education system. In a study of citizenship education in South African Schools, Lynn A. Staeheli and Daniel Hammett explore how post-conflict states narrate and address particular histories (whilst omitting others) in constructing a sense of the nation and a felt history of 'cosmopolitan nationalism' through education. Again, the theme of 'narrative pedagogy' helps us to understand the relationship between education, citizenship discourses and governing practices. Michael Bailey takes us beyond formal schooling to consider the production of liberal worker subjectivities in early twentieth-century Britain, through an apparatus of educational organisations ranging from the Workers' Education Association, the University Extension Movement and the BBC. He demonstrates how this liberal form of governmentality relied on ensuring a regime of 'educated citizenship' and 'civil prudence'. Building on this relationship between media, education and politics, Richenda Gambles examines the making up of a particular pedagogic mode associated with the sensibilities of parenting, through the popular entertainment programme, *Supernanny*. She develops a nuanced account of 'a pedagogical state' to encompass the dispositions and moods associated with parental subjectivities as these are imagined through both government policy and popular culture.

The next three articles examine welfare and the discourse of 'empowerment' employed therein, in both UK and US contexts. Janet Newman introduces the idea of a 'pedagogy of public participation', highlighting its role in complicating the politics of 'progressive' agendas, the work of equalities and social justice activists, and the 'social investment state'. She identifies the behaviour-changing practices of 'informing, tutoring, developing and nudging', the subjects of this targeted pedagogy, and the political work accomplished by pedagogy as a kind of 'coercive voluntarism'. Rhys Jones reports on the way in which these very pedagogies play out within Citizens Advice Bureaux (CAB), 'in the shadow of the state'. He shows how the CAB's experience of both learning about the state through their advice work, and learning by the state

through their social policy and campaigning work problematises easy distinctions between state/civil society; active/passive citizens and local/national polities. Finally, Sanford F. Schram, Joe Soss, Linda Houser and Richard C. Fording examine the (specifically anti-educational) pedagogical tactics of self-improvement, training and self-management, sanctions, compliance, punishment and forms of address in the realm of welfare policy in the US. The focus here on governing tactics reminds us of the significance of pedagogical modes of governing outside of formal educational institutions.

The final two papers further elaborate on the making up of pedagogical subjectivities in the context of higher education and in educational settings beyond the school. For Maki Kimura, contemporary narratives of key citizenship issues around multiculturalism, racism, religious extremism and global migration produced in academia are contrasted with existing policy and practice in UK Higher Education Institutions, and through consideration of the wider political, social and cultural imperatives of university-level education. Finally, Denise Meredyth explores 'Youthworx', a youth media/development project run by the Salvation Army in Australia. Her analysis of the ambiguous political rationalities of community and government agencies involved in the provision of youth services demands that we interrogate the professional and personal ethos, commitments and interests of specific actors in the making up of moral personalities and self-governing citizens, without reverting to critiques focussed on hidden norms and false freedoms.

The questions posed in this special issue help us to rethink the contemporary politics of governing in light of theoretical insights offered by the grammar of pedagogy. Governing through pedagogy plays out in a variety of empirical sites, employs a number of sometimes complementary and sometimes conflicting tactics, and narrates particular subject positions and social relations. Such governing also gives rise to unintended consequences. This special issue therefore aims to establish what kind of questions are worth asking within a research agenda focused on understanding governing through pedagogy. Two common missteps are perhaps worth guarding against in this venture. First, the ongoing question of the 'right' education for citizenship will necessarily remain unresolved. And second, the question of how governments 'get at' people through ever more dubious techniques and towards self-serving ends may serve only to obscure an important opportunity to ask where, when and what kinds of government interventions are legitimate and why.

### **Acknowledgements**

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## **Citizenship Education and narratives of pedagogy**

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This paper argues that the concept of the 'pedagogical state' (Hunter 1994, Kaplan 2007) can be employed to better understand the cultural practices of governing through pedagogical means, and the evolving pedagogical relationship between state and citizen. The introduction of statutory Citizenship Education lessons in secondary schools in England in 2002 is used as a case study through which to develop the idea of the pedagogical state. It is argued that Citizenship Education makes manifest practices of citizen-formation, opens up a space in which teachers and pupils actively negotiate the tensions between freedom and government, and evokes a response which is often characterised by public scepticism. In this sense, it is inadequate to identify educational reforms and resultant citizen subjectivities as straightforwardly neoliberal without paying attention to the deeper and wider characteristics of pedagogical power.

It is often remarked that the UK's education sector is characterised by perpetual reform and restructuring, and that everyone is seen as an expert in educational matters. But scholars and commentators outside of the field of educational studies have remained rather quiet about drawing out the political, social, cultural and economic significance of contemporary educational practices. Where analysis of current educational reforms in the UK and elsewhere exists, such reforms are most often described as signifying a neoliberal political rationality in an increasingly economistic education sector. It is said that this rationality is aimed at 'responsibilizing' active, entrepreneurial and individualistic citizens whilst the state is 'rolling back' its own responsibilities towards the welfare of citizens. These accounts can neglect the distinctive nature of pedagogical power – both within and outside of the formal education sector – which is ambiguous in practice (its consequences are uncertain), which develops citizens' capacities to self-govern and which invites critique and public scepticism.

Citizenship Education provides an important case study through which to examine the changing facets of educational spaces, governance, practices and subjects. Secondary school pupils are taught 'key concepts' of 'democracy and justice', 'rights and responsibilities' and 'identities and diversity: living in the UK'. They learn a range of topics concerning rights, justice, law-making, government, democratic forms, freedom of speech, the media, voluntary sector, sustainable development, the economy, employers and employees, diversity, and the global community through 'key processes' of 'critical thinking and enquiry', 'advocacy and representation' and 'taking informed and responsible

action'. Finally, they are offered 'curriculum opportunities' to debate, develop citizenship skills and participate in school and community decision-making, and individual and collective action (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) 2007). The subject was introduced as part of New Labour's agenda for civil renewal (Blunkett 2003), the 'respect and responsibility' agenda, a response to perceived voter apathy, and as a rejoinder to alleged threats to 'British values' from an increasingly multicultural society. In this sense, it was presented by its main proponents, Sir Bernard Crick and David Blunkett, as a way to 'improve the health and future of British democracy' (QCA 1998, pp. 7–8) and to revitalise the public sphere, in a move which makes a presumption, as Newman and Mahony (2007, p. 53) have pointed out, that 'more democracy' is an unproblematic good.

### The pedagogical state

What is school for? Some current educational reforms in the UK beg this question. The Government is busy extending its academies programme (DCSF 2008), which radically overhauls the way in which schools are funded and governed. This is aimed at regenerating inner city areas and 'raising aspirations in some of the most disadvantaged communities'. Available from: [http://www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/academies/what\\_are\\_academies/whyacademies/?version=1](http://www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/academies/what_are_academies/whyacademies/?version=1) [Accessed 10 July 2008]. The expansion of state-maintained faith schools is being actively promoted (DCSF 2007a), indicating the expansion or return of schools into the spiritual realm. Schools have also been given new statutory duties to promote 'community cohesion' (DCSF 2007b), in response to unease concerning multiculturalism, perceived security threats from British citizens and the revisiting of debates surrounding national identity. The education sector, like the health sector, is also carrying through the policy agenda of personalisation or 'personalised learning', which seeks to tailor education around the needs and aptitudes of diverse and individual learners. In this sense, schools are responsible for a major shift in the governance of the public services, and must face up to the apparent decline of the universal public ideal. In this context, the importance of schooling in society in general and the political significance of the introduction of Citizenship Education (QCA 1998) in particular should not be underestimated; this new national curriculum subject is concerned with the reformulation of state–citizen relations. Analysis of its content, implementation and pedagogy can inform our understandings of the political implications of educational reforms, contemporary practices of governing and formulations of citizenship.

These considerations have long been the concern of educational sociologists and critical educational theorists (Willis 1977, Ball 1987, McLaren 1989). They have argued that there is much to be gained from a sustained interrogation of the micro-politics of the school experience, curriculum, classroom practice, school architecture and routines, and the school in its social and spatial context. Recent accounts have focused on the neoliberalisation of education policy (Apple 2001, Fitzsimons 2002, Bonal 2003, Olssen 2004a, Davies and Bansel 2007) in the UK, US, Australia and New Zealand in particular. Mobilising Foucault's writings on governmentality, authors such as Olssen (2004a), Peters *et al.* (2000) and Davies and Bansel (2007, p. 254) aim to uncover the insidious way in which neoliberalism governs our actions, our conduct and our mentalities whilst promoting an illusion of freedom:

We are interested in how the market works on students to shape them up as the consuming individuals it desires. How does the work of teachers transform students into less democratic, more neoliberal subjects who are at once more governable and yet believe themselves to be both autonomous and free? How do heightened competition, individualism and individual

responsibilization work along with the reduction in social responsibility to produce the entrepreneurial subjects best fitted for the neoliberal workplace? How does the calculated invisibility of neoliberalism work against our capacity to make a critique of it? These are some of the questions urgently in need of answers for those of us who work in the sphere of education.

A small but significant interest in the geographies of education has also recently developed (e.g. Butler and Hamnett 2007, Gulson and Symes 2007), alongside research into the geographies of children and young people (Valentine 2000, Weller 2003, 2007), which works towards gaining a better understanding of the role of space, place and scale in constituting school practices, politics and subjectivities. Such work (e.g. Weller 2007, p. 162) is often concerned with pointing out the apparent hypocrisies of schooling and education for citizenship where children are denied full citizenship rights and recognition:

The rhetoric of citizenship education is concerned with developing responsible citizens in the future, whilst examples of teenagers' engagement within the informal school and in the wider community reveal alternative and often unrecognized acts of citizenship taking place in the here-and-now.

Further work in the geographies of education again highlights the neoliberal nature of educational reform regimes and the constitution of neoliberal subjectivities through schooling (Lewis 2003, Basu 2004). Mitchell (2006, p. 392), for instance, aims to show how EU educational philosophies, policies and experiences throughout the 1990s have shifted from democratic multiculturalism towards an individualised, responsibilized, flexibilized regime: 'in terms of the encouragement of individualized and self-regulating entrepreneurial behavior this shift dovetails well with the discourse and practices of neoliberal governmentality in general'. Mitchell (*ibid.*, p. 390) identifies children and young people in particular as malleable and vulnerable to the pervasive forces of neoliberalism: 'students (that is, children) are particularly impressionable "subjects" whose formation in schools and families has historically been of great interest to hegemonic powers worldwide'. This shows how a conception of education as an invisible ideological force or 'power over' people who hold an illusion of freedom, informs much of the literature on schooling as a form of governmentality.

Without restating debates concerning the dominance of neoliberalism as an analytical category within the discipline of geography (see Peck and Tickell 2002, Lerner 2003, Barnett 2005, Castree 2005), it is important to note that accounts of schooling and education policy reform are heavily reliant on the idea of neoliberalism – particularly presented through a Foucauldian frame – as an explanatory cause, context and/or consequence in terms of the governing of our conduct and mentalities through schooling. The distinctive nature of pedagogical power, the pedagogical relationship between state and citizen, and the particularities of schooling as a space, which both opens up critical debate and promotes the explicit governability of reflexive citizens, have all been somewhat neglected. In an interdisciplinary approach to the study of citizenship, I draw on anthropologists', cultural studies' and political theorists' analyses of schooling in order to further develop the concept of the pedagogical state as a means of discerning the pedagogic strategies employed by the state and 'non-state' agencies – both within and outside of the formal educational sphere – to govern citizens. I argue that an exploration of schooling should contribute more broadly to how we think about cultural practices of governing and the constitution of citizen subjectivities, and should throw into question some of the straightforward critiques of neoliberalism offered hitherto.

An emphasis on pedagogy and its enabling and inciting facets can illuminate some of the apparent paradoxes of governing. The pedagogical strategies employed both within

and outside of the educational sphere are aimed *both* at the constraining practices of training, civilizing, governing, *and* at the enabling practices of developing skills, provoking knowledge and understanding and inculcating a sense of public doubt – through the nurturing of critical capabilities. The term ‘pedagogy’ is perhaps the current obsession of teacher-training courses and textbooks (Rogers 2002, Cowley 2003, Dixie 2003), interpreted as the need to understand tactics to control classroom behaviour and general principles to promote better learning. Others have noted that the ‘science of teaching’ has been notably absent from the English education system, which instead has favoured child development theories, intelligence testing and neuro-psychological approaches to teaching (Simon 1994). Whilst teaching is aimed at both controlling behaviour, and inviting critique, pedagogy is concerned with *thinking about* education and developing *understandings of* teaching. In this sense, pedagogy can be understood as a form of power which aims to unpack and rearticulate the best ways in which to develop competences, accrue knowledge and incite people to self-govern, rather than a simple case of teaching. Teaching on its own may indeed involve telling students ‘how it is’ and compelling students to act in particular ways through coercive means. However, we can learn something from the fact that the *paidagogos* of Greco-Roman education was not a controlling, state-sanctioned teacher, but a slave who watched over the children of the elite whilst they weren’t at school (Atherton 1998, p. 230) – hardly a self-determining figure empowered to govern others through force or ‘power over’.

The notion of the ‘pedagogical state’ tries to capture these enabling and inciting facets of pedagogy as a mode of *thinking about education*, and as a means by which state organisation, institutions, discourse, culture and affective modalities are being reformulated in the UK and elsewhere. Sociology (Turner 1993, Brenner 1999, Jessop 2001), political theory (Rhodes 1997, Stoker 2006), social policy (Clarke and Newman 1997, Clarke 2005, Newman 2005), political geography (Allen 2003, Painter 2005, Elden 2007) and citizenship studies (Isin 2004) have been fertile ground for important debates concerning the changing role of the state and citizen in an increasingly globalised world, the increasing role of non-state agencies in governing, and our evolving understandings of relations of power. However, missing from these accounts is direct analysis of the educational sector as a key site through which the state operates, through which citizen subjectivities are constituted and through which power is exercised. Exploring the pedagogical state is useful for examining the ‘schooling’ of citizen subjectivities, both within and outside of schools, and new forms of active citizenship which have consequences for the ‘health’ of democracy. It can also help us to investigate the extension of ‘teacherly’ or pedagogic practices into social life and the wider public sphere and to theorise the politics and geographies of pedagogical forms of power, pedagogical culture, ‘psychagogy’ or a ‘totally pedagogised society’. The impact of current social, democratic, public service and educational reforms on the governing of citizens’ conduct is important for understanding emerging forms of citizenship (active, neurotic, overactive, subversive, compliant, good) as well as the role and value of pedagogy and education in contemporary societies.

Research explicitly using the concept of the pedagogical state has thus far been rare and isolated – with little discernable cross-reference or common scholarship between key contributions. There are at least two conflicting notions of the pedagogical state. It could be argued that the first, provided by Kaplan (2007) and Bernstein (1996, cited in Bonal and Rambla 2003), overemphasises the efficacy of neoliberal forms of governing to determine citizens’ subject positions and fails to address the question of how pedagogy both invites critique and develops citizens’ capacities to act in the future. The second, named by Hunter