

The Learning Society, the Unfinished Cosmopolitan, and Governing Education, Public Health and Crime Prevention at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century

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Abstract

The 'learning society' expresses principles of a universal humanity and a promise of progress that seem to transcend the nation. The paper indicates how this society is governed in the name of a cosmopolitan ideal that despite its universal pretensions embodies particular inclusions and exclusions. These occur through inscribing distinctions and differentiations between the characteristics of those who embody a cosmopolitan reason that brings social progress and personal fulfilment and those who do not embody the cosmopolitan principles of civility and normalcy. Mapping the circulation of the notion of the 'learning society' in arenas of Swedish health and criminal justice, and Swedish and US school reforms is to examine the mode of life of the citizen of this society, the learner, as an 'unfinished cosmopolitanism' and also directs attention to its 'other(s)'—those that are outside.

Keywords: politics of knowledge, governmentality, social inclusion/exclusion, educational reform

Introduction

While there are probably earlier references to the learning society, but browsing educational journals from 1982 there appeared an article, entitled 'Japan: The learning society' (Schiller & Walberg, 1982). It was written at a time when the US feared that the Japanese society was moving economically ahead and that fear gave expression to the need to reform its educational systems. The American educators argued that schooling permeates the whole of Japanese society and that it was a prime instrument in the country's miracle of the 1970s and 1980s. The Learning Society that Japan typified was, according to the authors, related to 'post-industrial, global society in which information is more than ever the primary source of economic development and cultural influence'. And as a prophecy of the benefits of

the Learning Society and the need for American educational reforms, the authors forecast the future that Tokyo will become the world's central city.

As such prophecies go, Japan had its cultural and economic difficulties since then. But the idea of a learning society is a persistent cultural theme that is not merely instrumental in relation to economic growth and national exceptionalism. It embodies a cultural thesis about a cosmopolitan mode of life that mutates through modern schooling. An idea of a learning society is embedded in Dewey's pragmatism. Pragmatism embodies a mode of living through the use of reason as a continual process of problem solving in which the individual is linked to the collective good of the society (the community). That optimistic future is mutated in the new millennium talk about the learning society and other phrases such as the global society and the information society, used to mobilize school reforms in the making of a new world order. A European Union planner in a recent speech reiterated this optimism in a range of policies from the 1980s that emphasized the future of European spaces as occupied by lifelong learners and the learning society.¹

Our interest in cosmopolitanism is not one that traces a philosophical discourse from Diogenes or Kant to the present. Cosmopolitanism is an historical 'tool' to consider the transmogrifications of European Enlightenment images of a universal reason, rationality and progress as a mode of living inscribed in the Learning Society.² The learner of this new society is a cosmopolitan guided by compassion for continual change and innovation. It is a consuming project of life that regulates the present in the name of the future action. For some, the learning society is composed of a continual process of individual choice that promises the Philosopher's Stone. Maeroff (2003), for example, offers online learning as enabling a learning society where all children and adults are cosmopolitan in outlook through a continual process of learning made possible through the computer and Internet. The new technologies, he argues, provide a new era that relates the free-market Neoliberalism approaches and equity in schooling through online learning. It interjects 'more choice into the system, advocates reason, the richer the offerings and the greater the benefits to consumers (students and their families)' (Maeroff, 2003, p. 4). From a different ideological perspective, Hargreaves (2003) speaks against the overly stressed materialism and marketization of Neoliberal reforms. In its place is a knowledge society that 'is really a learning society ... [that] process(es) information and knowledge in ways that maximize learning, stimulate ingenuity and invention and develop the capacity to initiate and cope with change' (Hargreaves, 2003, p. xviii). Schooling, he continues, is an institution that prepares the child for the future. Also concerned with equity and justice, the child of the Learning Society has 'a cosmopolitan identity which shows tolerance of race and gender differences, genuine curiosity toward and willingness to learn from other cultures, and responsibility toward excluded groups within and beyond one's society' (Hargreaves, 2003, p. xix).

What can we make of these prophecies of the Learning Society as a moral life organized through continuous innovation with no finishing point? In the following, the prophecy of the Learning Society is treated as a technology that orders, interns and encloses the possibilities of one's life. Our framing of the problem, discussed in the first section, is through the notion of cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism is

a cultural thesis about modes of living. The Enlightenment's cosmopolitan was an urbane individual who possesses agency. That agency entails the use of reason and rationality to promote universal values of progress and humanity. Cosmopolitanism, we argue, is a continual theme of pedagogy inscribed in the Learning Society. That inscription entails principles about who 'we' are, should be, and who is not that 'we'—the anthropological 'Other' who stands outside reason and its civilizing manners of conduct.

Cosmopolitanism functions as an interpretive lens to explore the political objects of social administration of the child and family. We are interested in the rules and standards of conduct in producing the self-governing actors who are simultaneously responsible for the social progress and for the personal fulfilment of one's life. Today's cosmopolitan, as in the turn of the 20th century, is spoken about as the global citizen freed from provincialism and tradition, and ruled by universal principles of human rights rather than social or theological certainties. The contemporary form of this mode of living is expressed as the *topoi* of 'the knowledge' and 'communication society' and the child who is a lifelong learner who continually re-creates one's self through being a problem solver. Cosmopolitanism, then, provides a way to examine the systems of reason that regulates, differentiates and divides the acts and participation of the child in the name of universal human principles such as the Learning Society.

Working through Foucault's (1991) notion of governmentality³ the first section explores cosmopolitanism as an intellectual tool. It considers the changing pedagogical practices to enact a change in the conditions of people as enacting changes in who those people are and should be. The second section focuses on the Learning Society, with Swedish and US schooling, and Swedish health promotion, and crime prevention as our sites of investigation. We discuss the learner of the Learning Society as fabricating⁴ the unfinished cosmopolitanism. That individuality is talked about as a lifelong learner. It is an individuality that plans one's biography as continuously solving problems, making choices and collaborating in 'communities of learners' in a process of continuous innovation. The only thing about the future that is not open to choice is choice itself. We talk about the unfinished cosmopolitan rather than use the contemporary phrase of lifelong learner to historicize the present and its cultural thesis about a mode of living. The third section concerns the problem of the notion of design in making the unfinished cosmopolitan: design is what one does with problem solving to order one's mode of living, and design is what research does to calculate and administer the future of who is to design one's life. These first two sections explore the cosmopolitanism in policy and research as the characteristics and capabilities of the unfinished cosmopolitanism cultural practices assembled and connected to form the principles governing who the child and citizen are and should be.

The fourth section links the universal claims of inclusion with exclusions. Embodied in the design of the unfinished cosmopolitan is a duality. The unfinished cosmopolitan inscribes fear of what is not cosmopolitan and 'civilized'—the disadvantaged and at-risk child, the sickly individual, and the criminal. Our analysis moves across different sites with broad strokes and we realize that nuances and differences are left unexamined, limitations we believe are warranted at this point in the diagnosis of the present.

Governmentality and Cosmopolitanism

If we examine the two above references about online learning and the knowledge society, cosmopolitanism is a theme within the Learning Society that moves along different ideological positions. It also travels in a range of literatures about transcendental values of a global citizen, reason, and action untangled from provincialism, tradition, and social or theological certainties (also see, e.g. Beck, 2000; Castells, 2000).⁵ But the narratives and images of the individuality that brings forth the future of progress are not merely there by the grace of contemporary wisdom. It is a mutation that moves in uneven flows and different configurations from the European Enlightenment and the Reformation to the present.⁶ The investigation of the learner of the Learning Society requires historicizing the mutations as narratives of cosmopolitanism and its production of the 'Others' travels to the present.

The images and narratives of the Enlightenment's cosmopolite are neither as straightforward nor as universal in values as they might seem. The ideal(s) of the cosmopolitan was not only an altruistic quality or about pure thought that was superimposed on the historical individual. The seeming universalism of cosmopolitanism embodies a particular historical scaffolding of rules and standards about who the citizen is or should be, and who does not embody that reason and 'reasonableness'. The values and norms of the Enlightenment's cosmopolitan have a mixed history. European cosmopolitan values have been used in battles against European colonialists. It has also been used in committing violence of colonialism in justifying the superiority of the West. The ironies, internments, and enclosures are evident as the northern European Reformation and the Enlightenment that were to rise above the nation in securing progress. Its universalism was in fact inscribed in the construction of the nation, for example, in the American and French Revolutions. Further and central to this study, cosmopolitanism was and is about exclusions, in its inclusions that disqualified some as not embodying the capabilities of the 'reason' of the cosmopolitan.

At this point, we can summarize briefly our use of cosmopolitanism as an intellectual tool to diagnose the mode of life embodied in the Learning Society in US schooling, and Swedish health and the social policing of crime.

First, the notion of Learning Society makes it possible 'to think' and act through a range of historical inscriptions that travel in the present about a cosmopolitan way of living. That is, cosmopolitanism is not one thing or a constant that moves untouched within the vagaries of history. Whether one approaches cosmopolitanism from the social or individual side of the Learning Society, there is an Enlightenment attitude toward 'reason' and rationality, to use Foucault's (1984) discussion. But cosmopolitanism is formed through an assemblage in which reason is related to notions of agency and progress, stability and consensus as governing principles of action and reflection. Today's cosmopolitan is the agential individual who is talked about as empowered, having a voice, and self-responsible in producing innovation in the processes of change. That notion of agency and the universality of reason in the processes of change is not one that merely appears in the present but is an historical construction of 'the self'.

Second, there is a sacredness that inscribes agency in cosmopolitanism in the theories of pedagogy and the social and educational sciences; yet it is rarely explored that this agency is a particular register that intersects with the formation of the modern state and the art of governing. Meyer (1986) argues, for example, that there was a progressive discovery of human personality in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; that each person carries a whole system of motives and perceptions that reflect different biological and social forces through which the individual self is integrated. Theories of the agential individual constituted persons as moral subjects of their own actions. Theories of action and actors/agency were central to the international spread of mass education in the construction of the modern nation in the late nineteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Meyer, Boli, Thomas & Ramirez, 1997).

Third, cosmopolitan reason is the cornerstone of agency, but also the limit and object of government.⁷ From Kant through Dewey and into current notions of emancipation and empowerment, the calculation of cosmopolitan reason and the 'reasonable person' is a *sine qua non* of the joining of individual enablement and public capabilities. Cosmopolitanism recovered Stoic ideas in French intellectual circles of the Enlightenment to join the natural (nature) and human realms of reason (Toulmin, 1990, pp. 68–69). The reason of the Enlightenment was to correct visual perceptions and the errors of the senses. Kant's (1784/1970) 'What is the Enlightenment?' offers the enlightened leader as a guardian, who teaches the duty of all citizens to think for themselves. But the guardian in Kant's text embodies the dual attempt to order the world through reason and to administer through reason. Augustus Comte's positivism epitomized the double time of reason as bringing order and harmony as well as change, captured in his famous phrase about the new secular religion of positivism, 'Order and Progress'. The cosmopolitanism of Comte embodied science as 'the Religion of Humanity, and all true Positivists sought to unite science and religion' (Nisbet, 1979, pp. 172–173). Reason, then, is not something that is merely there to recuperate in decision making or problem solving; rather reason comprises historically produced systems of rules and standards that order reflection and participation. The notion of cosmopolitan reason is something calculated and administrable, for governing reflection and action in the name of social progress and personal fulfilment.

Fourth, while the Enlightenment philosophers talked about reason and rationality (science) as values that enable the individual to transcend the local and the provincial, the rules and standards of cosmopolitan reason assume a particular type of expertise in ordering daily life. Science becomes experimental and empirical and thus no longer merely the provenance of philosophers. And science is not merely a professional activity to gain knowledge and control of the external physical world. The human sciences emerge as particular technologies that give attention to the internal qualities of the mind and social interaction. The expertise of human sciences were to constitute cosmopolitan freedom and liberty. John Dewey, an American philosopher and progressive educator, is one icon in bringing notions of a cosmopolitan individual into a populist form related to everyday activities. Dewey thought of the scientific method as the most potent force shaping the modern world in images related to Enlightenment ideals of cosmopolitanism. He wanted to humanize the creative power of science in the name of universal values and 'thereby to gain control

of the future' (Rockefeller, 1991, p. 3). The cosmopolitanism of the new sciences of pedagogy and childhood organized life through values that were thought of as universal, and which promised progress through individual and community actions.

This brief discussion about the scaffolding of different cultural practices that give focus to cosmopolitanism, is a strategy to think historically about the Learning Society and its learners. Current reforms about the lifelong learner and the Learning Society make 'sense' in this historical context of narratives and images of cosmopolitanism. They function as technologies of administering the principles of self-reflection, action, and participation. Agency, progress, and reason are part of this grid, as is the taming of change in the name of progress and self-fulfilment. The inscriptions of the Learning Society, as Wagner (1994) writes more generally about modernity, 'cannot simply be written in terms of increasing autonomy and democracy, but rather in terms of changing notions of the substantive foundations of a self-realization and of shifting emphasis between individualized enablements and public/collective capabilities' (Wagner, 1994, p. xiv).

'The Learning Society as the Future Here and Now—What Are We Waiting For!'⁸

This and the next section focus on three overlapping cultural practices in policy and research that connect in the cosmopolitanism of the Learning Society—the inscription of the future as a regulating principle of the present, design as a practice of planning biography, and community as a space to link collective norms and values to individuality. Whereas one can think of the child and adult of the late 19th century as a subject who embodied the collective social narratives of the nation, today's individuality is a 'lifelong learner' who is flexible, continuously active, and works collaboratively for the future in a decentralized world.

The future functions as a governing practice. This future is not something decreed by Fate and out of sight of our own activities. Nor is this a future of strange, unexpected spaces that must be defended against. It is a future mobilized to design people in the present. As one Swedish politician recently said, 'We have to mobilize people to be citizens of the new Society'.⁹ This future of a new society is of the here and now. The US educational policy reform document *No Child Left Behind* (Bush, 2001),¹⁰ as well, makes the future in the governing of the present. The goal is a future inclusive society through school reform that is 'to build the mind and character of every child, from every background' (Bush, 2001).

In different contexts and with different logics, the same story seems to be told. The story is that we are now, more or less, obliged to live with constant change in society. Modern schooling, for example, continually links the individual to narratives of social or economic progress and the revitalization of democracy that will bring personal betterment. In a statement resonating across American school subject reforms, the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (2000) model for curriculum reform argues that the student needs to be prepared for a future where change is 'a ubiquitous feature of contemporary life, so learning with understanding is essential to enable students to use what they learn to solve the new

kinds of problems they will inevitably face in the future' (pp. 20–21). The 'ubiquitous' uncertainty of the future that mathematics education tames has less to do with learning the norms of inquiry in mathematics than with the inscription of particular norms for planning one's future of continuous innovation and choice through, as we argue in the next section, a self-improvement process of problem solving.¹¹

In a similar way, the Swedish Public Health policy is not simply about health. First and foremost the narrative about health is about Society, the Citizen, and the Future. The Swedish Governmental Commission, *Health on Equivalent Conditions—National Targets for Health* (SOU, 2000: 91) proposes national targets for public health in Sweden that seems to carry the same language. State health reforms are concerned with present changes in society in order to secure the future. According to the Commission, the Swedish model of the welfare state and public health development is 'exposed to huge outer and inner tensions' and 'different kinds of threats' (p. 55). Increasing differences in health and social conditions threatens the basic trust in society and the possibility of founding a society on solidarity between different population groups.

A pedagogical paradigm of a Learning Society is inscribed as a public health strategy and the public health paradigm. According to the Commission, it is 'important for a society that the citizens look upon learning and personal development as a life-long process' (SOU, 2000: 91, p. 423). Being a lifelong learner is significant for the health of the population and the future conduct of the individual subjects not only within formal educational settings, but also in people's everyday life and in society as a whole. Schooling is seen 'as a fundamental and gigantic public health investment' and a key element to bring about changes needed to make health a possibility for all (p. 385). The State Committee strives to make visible, problematize and reorganize the activities in schools with this view of pedagogy as an organizing principle for the future health of the public.

Present Swedish crime prevention, as well, is ordered as a pedagogical problem of the future of a Learning Society rather than being about the punishment of wrongdoing. Crime prevention is about learning to be law-abiding, problem solving, communicative and responsible than about punishment for wrongdoing. The offender must be instructed and educated to gain a better insight into the consequences of crime. And the victim is invited to listen, to understand, and to learn the whole story of the offender's crime activity. The Public Health Committee emphasizes that the mentalities and the knowledge of health issues needed are something that the subject has to capture over and over again; it's a life-long project (SOU, 2000: 91).

The narratives of the unfinished cosmopolitan in the Learning Society embody new relations between individuality (the lifelong learner) and the social. The fabrication of the child as a problem solver no longer bases responsibility in the range of social practices directed toward a single public sphere. The new individuality traverses diverse and plural communities to constitute the common good. The struggle is now in the autonomous learners who are continuously involved in self-improvement and ready for the uncertainties through working actively in communities of learning (see, e.g. *The National Council for Teachers of Mathematics*, 2000). Reason is no longer for the perfection of the nation as the collective embodiment of the social

good. Change, contingency and uncertainty in daily life are tamed through the rules and standards that place the problem-solving child in diverse communities where the common good is formed.

Education is once again a project for national mobilization, but with a hugely different meaning than in earlier times. Education as once before, forms the ethical substance of the individual in all social activities. But the pedagogical principles of learning are spread now to the entire social body. 'Working with education' is not limited to learning and training of pupils in the classroom or to a specific place or time; rather school and education have to be expanded and connected to all aspects of society in an everlasting way. The subject must be prepared to learn during the whole life and be connected to learning in a wider sense (see Dalin, 1994, p. 11).

The notions of life-long learning and a Learning Society operate in different political and institutional areas are no longer enclosed in the previously conceived spaces of the educational.

The life-long learning destroys the boundaries between political sectors. Education policy, employment policy, the policy of industry and commerce, regional development policy and social policy have a common responsibility for life-long and life-wide learning (The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2000, p. 10f).

The governmental reason of the 21st century takes the pedagogical task of learning as a boundary-crossing route to unite the increasing and unforeseeable multiplicity, fragmentation and diversity within subject-oriented democratic education. The pedagogical reason is expected to both widen and strengthen the solidarity of society (see Petersson, Olsson, Hultqvist & Popkewitz, 2004). The governmentality orders and controls the future in the present by qualifying and preparing the individual citizen with dispositions for new cosmopolitan commitments. This is evident in the writing of a prominent Scandinavian educator in an authoritative professional journal. The Learning Society is viewed as a sign of the future and part of a visionary world.

We are entering a knowledge society since the speed of the changing process is increasing and since the new society demands new, increasing and greater qualifications of each of us. Education will no longer be something linked to a certain range but will be a necessity and a self-evident part of everyday life to all ranges, social classes and occupational groups. We are already there. We know that 'life-long education' has become a reality. (Dalin, 1994, p. 143)

The citizens' work toward a never-ending future as an educational subject. It does not seem farfetched to argue that society has turned into a school (see Hultqvist & Petersson, 2000). Thus, Dewey's notion of 'School as Society' has been reshaped into 'Society as School'.

The Unfinished Cosmopolitan: Designing the Problem Solving Lifelong Learner and Community

One might say that most of the above is only policy about The Learning Society of the future, so let's get to what is happening on the ground. The divisions of text/context

and the ideal/real create binaries that misrecognize how knowledge fabricates, that is, both construes and constructs, and thus functions 'materially.' The unfinished cosmopolitan inhabitants of the Learning Society are an assemblage of practices that order a cultural thesis about a mode of life. The taming of change is one part of the assemblage. In this section, we discuss (a) the notion of designed spaces and the designed individuality, (b) the making of the characteristics of the problem solver in search of a life of choice and innovation, and (c) 'community' as a place of belonging and home in the problem solving of the future. We call these 'cultural practices' as they overlap in ordering a mode of living of the unfinished cosmopolitan as an unfinished lifelong learner.

The Learning Society as a Design Problem

Today's pedagogical reforms and research talk about children and teachers designing their own learning, and research as a particular design problem to produce the agency of the individual who lives a life of continual innovation. The notion of design embodies a turn in 21st century narratives of democracy, empowerment and human agency for teachers, children and researchers.

The design for the future is a word that previously spoke in terms of what God gave to human affairs. The social and pedagogical interventions of 19th century America and Sweden were to complete the latent design of God within each child, the family and the citizen in their ways of living.¹² The Swedish educator Rudenschöld placed the notion of design in the Ståndscirkulation, the outer technological side of an evolutionary process that would inaugurate Christian values and life forms on earth (Hultqvist, 2004). The evolutionary process embodied Sweden as an exception from other nations through its heritage of the virtues of modesty or freedom from vanity and the Lutheran ethic of individualism and self-improvement.

The idea of design in making the citizen was also a part of an American Exceptionalism. The Exceptionalism was an epic of the nation told as a unique human experiment of a society that provides an exemplar of the highest ideals of human values and progress. The early founders of American sociology sought to guarantee the future of the republic's exceptionalism through deliberately designing the social order and the individual. The notion of design embodied elements of a social gospel that contained secularized elements of Puritan notions of salvation. Urban design and the design of the inner characteristics and capabilities of the child were to produce the 'reason' and 'reasonable' citizen of the future. The new psychologies, for example, envisioned the empirical building blocks of selfhood as of deliberate design rather than of something related to a static, metaphysical soul (Sklansky, 2002, pp. 148–9). William James' notion of a pragmatic psychology placed a premium on habit formation as the main means of acting in accord with one's designs (p. 146). Design's reach into the interior of the individual was spoken of as bringing the great panacea of equality.

Today design is to fabricate the individuality of life in the Learning Society. At one level, it is spoken about as part of democracy and its cosmopolitanism. Design in the online learning spoken about earlier is to make an individual whose life is

of infinite choices. Design is also a research project of the learning sciences directed at the continuous intervention in the classroom. Design Research treats the classroom as a continuous open system for continuously inventing feedback loops. Feedback loops are to bring together reform goals, the ongoing development of the system, dispositions of participants, and professional expertise. Biography is the project of design. That biography is of an unfinished cosmopolitan in which deliberate, intentional acts lead an individual from one sphere of life to another as if life were a planning workshop that had a value in and of itself. Action is a continual flow toward a future that occurs through designing not only what will be done but also planning who that person will be.

The learning, problem-solving design of pedagogies is morphologically related to new principles of restorative criminal justice. The tools of this reasoning are communication and interaction between parties involved in crime and it focuses on what should be done (the future), not on what has been done.

Restorative justice places both victim and offender in active problem-solving roles that focus upon the restoration of material and psychological losses to individuals and the community following the damage that results from criminal behaviour. Whenever possible, dialogue and negotiation serve as central elements of restorative justice. (This is true primarily of property crimes, although also of a growing number of more violent offences.) Problem solving for the future is seen as more important than establishing blame for past behaviour. Public safety is a primary concern, yet severe punishment of the offender is less important than providing opportunities to: empower victims in their search for closure and healing; impress upon the offender the human impact of their behaviour; and promote restitution of the victim. (Umbreit, 1994, p. 2)

The unfinished cosmopolitan in these different social spheres is oriented to the future through unfinished processes that are viewed as expressing universal human attributes of reason, science and progress. The unfinished cosmopolitan problem-solves to chase desire and works in a global world in which there is no finishing line. The child, for example, is someone who can choose to refuse allegiance to any one of the infinite choices on display, except the choice of choosing. The ordering, designing, and taming of the undefined future is a technology that connects the scope and aspirations of public powers with the personal and subjective capacities of individuals through mediating the 'interactions between intervention and setting' (The Design-Based Research Collective, 2003, p. 5).

Community as 'the Home' of the Unfinished Cosmopolitan

The autonomy of the problem solver is given a home and sense of belonging by connecting learning psychologies with communication and interactional practices embodied in the notion of 'community'. The problem solver learns by participating in a classroom community, 'a community of discourse', 'a community of learners', and 'a community of mathematicians'. Earlier 20th century notions of the classroom

spoke of it as a place for socialization in which the child was to internalize universal, collective norms of identity that are pre-established. Today's reforms involve the continual forming of identity mediated through the communication systems of the classroom community (see, e.g. Cobb, 1994). The classroom community is thought of as a 'participation structure' in which communication theories are concerned with the ongoing processes that create fluid identities. Community inscribes cultural spaces in which problem solving and the Learning Society function as a performative quality of 'community'.

The evocation of community is intended to revive the ideals of a democracy by producing greater representation of those directly involved in schooling, public health and victim-offender mediation. Community evokes a concept of restorative justice and the reformation of democracy through the governing patterns of community. Community embodies a salvation theme about involvement and empowerment, in which problem solving produces responsible citizenship. The communication networks are a way of providing harmony; that is, we make peace by speaking to each other and we become reconciled with each other by telling the 'truth' about ourselves. This new way of doing justice is very much about interaction, at the same moment as it is an ambition to personalize and humanize the judicial process in order to facilitate 'the empowerment of both parties to resolve the conflict at a community level' (Umbreit, 1994, p. 17).

Community is a discursive site to connect the intimate relations and inner capabilities of the child and family with cosmopolitan images and narratives of collective belonging and 'home'. The 'Community Sociology', developed at the University of Chicago during the early decades of the 20th century, sought to reshape the urban culture of immigrant families through social psychologies of the child and family, of, for example, Charles Horton Cooley, George Herbert Mead and John Dewey. Cooley saw the family and the neighbourhood 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 in life and self-sacrifice for the good of the group. These Christian principles were viewed as the embodiment of a cosmopolitan citizen in a democratic society. Theories of the family and social interactions were a social education in which school and local communities related to a cosmopolitan image in which the individual submitted to a 'wider outlook, a higher and clearer idealism, and so be prepared to create that free, righteous and joyful system of life to which they aspire' (Cooley cited in Reuben, 1996, p. 156).

Contemporary crime prevention, misconduct and wrong behaviour re-inscribe notions of community as governing practices but in a different assembly of practices than at the turn of the 20th century. Crime is corrected and prevented informally at the local level (The National Council for Crime Prevention, 1999: 12, p. 11). In this context 'The State' is no longer imagined as the victim, rather 'restorative justice theory postulates that criminal behaviour is first a conflict between individuals' (Umbreit, 1994, p. 2). One of the aims of the restorative mediation is to have the

offender confess shame and ask the victim's forgiveness. The victim is invited to listen, and to understand, the whole story of the offender's crime activity, and the story has to be told in front of the mediator/confessor. But crime prevention as a project of restorative justice is also part of the curriculum of the Swedish high school. State curriculum projects function to link the student with the broader purpose 'to provide a basis for pupils to continue in community involvement both as citizens and professionals (...) to nurture pupils in democratic participation' and 'to provide knowledge and therewith the power to realize positive changes both on the individual and social level' (p. 4). This course in crime prevention is a course to improve the feeling of agency or empowerment, a course that is well suited to The High School's 'obligation to nurture civic awareness' (The National Council, 2002, p. 1).

There is a paradox involved here. On the one hand, it seems that educational thought is spreading and tends to take charge of even more spaces in the name of the future and the enlightened cosmopolitan. The prevention of criminality, the bodily and mental health of a person, and the citizen of the future are all in the hands of pedagogy. But the learning society of this unfinished cosmopolitan has enclosures and internments. 'The theory of restorative justice contributes to the will of empowering the local community and the local influence of the individual by moving the legal system to a lower level—one is of the opinion that misconduct and wrong behaviour should be corrected in a more informal way by social control on the local level' (The National Council for Crime Prevention, 1999: 12, p. 11).

Paradox involved in the Learning Society moves between broader tendencies of a society as a school and the tendencies to narrow the same to a question of individual commission (often expressed, for example, in terms as life-long and life-wide learning, self-regulation, and empowerment) seems to be the governmental condition in the early 21st century. The governing of the society, the nation and the future seems to make this detour through the individual (educable) subject.

But there is more to the paradox. The future citizens are both more and less active participants. Problem solving and collaboration give flexibility in learning how to appreciate the majesty of that already-given reality. Science curricula across different nations followed a similar pattern (McEneaney, 2003). The curriculum provides students with greater opportunities for participation. But this participation occurs with more and more of the world represented by the iconic images of the expertise of science. Thus, while there is greater participation of the student in the curriculum, that participation occurs in narrower areas as the expertise of science is given increasing authority.

Turn of the 20th and 21st century reforms no longer seem guided by externally validated social morals and obligations as earlier. The freedom of the empowered who lives in multiple communities is to secure change, contingency and uncertainty in daily life. The contingency is tamed through the rules and standards of 'reason' that place the problem-solving child and participation in spaces increasingly classified through the iconic expertise of science and its consecrated knowledge of the world.

The Lifelong Learners and Those Who Are Not Learning

The redemptive hopes and desires of the unfinished cosmopolitan are a double narrative that expresses the fears of the individual who will prevent and destroy that future and its notions of the civilized. The affirmations are simultaneously narratives of moral disintegration and apprehension about those who will bring down the walls of civilization. The dangers are, for example, of the child not adequately prepared to live in the global world while still maintaining a collective national identity. The fears, however, do not appear as such. They are often expressed in terms of inclusion and questions of equity, to reach out to those at risk of falling behind or not catching up—immigrants, ethnic, and racial groups who have not succeeded and who are marginalized. Fears about the psychological decay and social psychological conditions that produced the decay are part of the policy and research about the ‘sanctity’ of the traditional family and its norms of the home and childhood. These fears are rarely talked explicitly through categories of race, gender or class but are established through categories of difference in policy and research such as the single parent, and the teenage mother, or the at-risk child.

In the Swedish context, the fear of the crime prevention is the prisoner who does not become a member of the Learning Society. The redemption of the criminal is to embrace the cosmopolitan mode of living as ‘a lifelong learner’. The fear of the criminal seems less in what crime was committed, than in reclaiming one’s self through the redemptive treks of lifelong learning. This requires a correctional system that deals with the intimate social and psychological relations of the criminal being reclaimed. Programs are composed of ‘offering the prisoners possibilities to life-long learning as close as possible to their own settings and with the possibilities of online learning support wherever it is possible’ (Sjöberg & Roitto, 2001, p. 10).

Most crime prevention investments do not target the criminal but young prospective offenders. The logic is clear: the child and the youth have to be rescued before they enter the gateways to the prison, since the prison does not provide the rescuing ‘skills’ in the same effective way as it provides skills for a further criminal career. The potential criminal limits the possibility of learning to become a proper citizen. The potential criminal, the criminals, and the recidivists share common psychological and social family backgrounds in terms of low education, drug abuse, unemployment and so forth. The same characteristics appear when it comes to the question of identifying those who are able to learn or not in the context of restorative justice. The offender and the at-risk offenders are offered a chance to be rescued and included and integrated into the community, and to be educated into a civic manner, but if he/she does not accept the offer, the other side of the coin is obvious: that is exclusion.

The anxiety of Public Health is about citizens only grasping a partial understanding of what life-long learning is and refusing to learn that health is not only about health. The anxiety is not directed to the sick but towards where the autonomous subject egotistically does not take responsibility for his community by quitting smoking or drinking. Each are seen as unhealthy moral dispositions that overlap

with a physical degeneration that has an impact on others as well as one's self. The healthy citizen feels and acts with responsibility for their immediate and broader community as a personal obligation for the future and the society as a whole.

On a more general level we can say that the anxieties of both crime prevention and the health field are twofold. On the one hand, to paraphrase Rose (1993), it is about the fear of governing too much, which is not, in the name of liberal way of ruling, the proper way of designing, empowering and ordering the autonomous cosmopolitan modes of living. On the other hand it is also about the fear of governing too little, which is the fear of not making a success of preparing and ordering all individuals and groups (not yet included) into the society in the name of learning, agency and community-participating. These double-edged styles of governing do not always operate in opposition to each other, but rather in a cross-fertilizing manner.

The fears of social disintegration, the loss of civilization, and moral degeneration are not only about the probability of rescue and redemption. The individual who is not the unfinished cosmopolitan is distinct human kinds that demand programs to govern the processes of exclusion in the move to create an inclusive society. This is one way to read educational research and reform proposals that speak of redressing the inequities of education as the need for *all* children to learn, for all children to be lifelong learners with No Child (is) Left Behind, the title of US legislation in 2001. The phrases 'that all children learn' and 'that no child is left behind' express concerns and general commitments for redressing situations of poverty and discrimination. But the general hope and commitments also embody the fears of the society. Special theories and programs are constructed to make the excluded into unfinished cosmopolitans (see Popkewitz, 1998). The social practices about exclusion embody recognition of cultural and social distinctions about deviance and difference. The clarion call for reform is not only a call to meet future economic progress but is also a call about the threats of moral and cultural disorganization.

A continuum of values is evoked through phrases about programs to ensure that all children learn. The phrase 'all children' provides determinate categories and distinctions about a particular 'child' who does not fit into the maps of 'all children'. It is the child, but also the future adult, who does not choose, chases desire, and becomes a lifelong learner. The children who are included in the distinctions given to the category of 'all children' have particular characteristics. The characteristics of children who are not included in the distinctions given to the category of the child is one 'who live[s] 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 victims of low expectations' (National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, 2000, p. 13).

This Other child is to be rescued through finer and finer distinctions that order and classify the wayward child; the child is one who has not yet the 'problem-solving skills' and is not a flexible learner. The child who does not 'fit' in the map of the 'all children' is the child who lacks self-esteem, who has a poor self-concept, and

scarcity of skills, and does not embrace 'problem solving', collaboration, and a life of continuous innovation and choice that mark the autonomous, unfinished cosmopolitan.

The fears of moral disintegration and social instability projected into psychological qualities of learning, problem solving and self-esteem overlapped with social narratives about the moral disintegration of the community, family and environment. The latter are single parents and teenage mothers, and 'recidivists'. The determinate categories of this human kind relate to other distinctions that function as both symbols of deviance and targets of rescue, such as low income, lack of books in the home, unemployment, drug abuse (see, e.g. Popkewitz, 1998; Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2004).

The inscriptions come together as an assemblage of characteristics to produce a determinate classification that performs in criminal prevention, schooling, and health education, with some variation on a theme of the categories in the two countries about who is left behind. This latter human kind, in comparison to the lifelong learner, has qualities and characteristics of the child who needs remediation. Difference is discursively made into characteristics of deviance! While programs are to rescue that particular human kind through better management and self-management, the human kind is one that is in perpetual preparation but never achieves the norms of 'the average'.

The Art of Governance in the Name of Cosmopolitan Learning Society

Knowledge, we have argued, is not epiphenomenal but is itself part of the productive qualities of the world. This concern with the making of 'reason' and 'the reasonable person' in the Learning Society today stands as an embodiment of the cosmopolitan who is civilized and progressive. We have sought to diagnose cosmopolitanism as a cultural thesis in generating principles governing who the individual is and should be in the Learning Society. Our focus on cosmopolitanism is to historicize its present as a phenomenon transmogrified into the present from the northern European Enlightenment. Its narratives are about individuals whose lives are ordered through principles of rationality, progress and of a universal reason.

What is 'new' in the present is the particular amalgamation of cultural practices that fabricate 'the social' and individuality. Our relating 'society' and 'learner' in the Learning Society focuses on the cultural practices that generate principles about who 'we' are, should be, and who is not that 'we'. This context of governing we spoke about in the designing of the unfinished cosmopolitanism as embodying an individuality of never-ending changes where choice and lifelong learning are the only things that are certain. This autonomous cosmopolitan subject has a double responsibility. There is responsibility for one's own life-style and for creating an environment, supportive for learning and for the security and health of everybody, including one's self. But those images and narratives of the social and the individual are also divisions that place some as outside its cultural mapping: uncivilized, barbaric and outside the pale of humanness.

The qualities of the unfinished cosmopolitan circulating in Sweden and the US produce a pedagogical world where the governing principles of the child are morphologically related to multiple arenas of social life. Dispositions for a personal commitment to the unfinished cosmopolitan in family life and participation in volunteer organizations are significant parts of the new ordering of hope and fear in Public Health policy, new pedagogies of the school, and crime prevention. While Swedish reformations of Criminal Justice and Public Health and US schooling are bearers of their own specific traditions and terms of opportunity, they have morphological relations in the ordering of the objects of reflection and action.

One might say, as do many of the authors of the texts examined here who embrace the idea of a Learning Society, that this new individuality brings to fruition the realization of the goals of the Enlightenment. Our discussion should put this normative and utopian claim about this unfinished cosmopolitanism to rest. It is not only about empowerment and the future. There are internments and enclosures that continually need diagnoses that historicize the 'commonsense.' The Learning Society is a governing practice and an effect of power. Its pedagogical individuality circulates to order, differentiate and divide who is and who is not the 'reasonable' cosmopolitan.

Our focusing on the Learning Society and the lifelong learner within a broader historical context of cosmopolitanism is to focus on the changing enablements, enclosures, and internments of the present. This historicity in contemporary analyses of policy and the problem of changes provides an alternative to policy studies that view the changes in individuality as part of a global example of neo-liberalism. The difficulty of such Neoliberal arguments is that they take a contemporaneous framework of national and international policy about privatization and marketization as the categories of analysis, thus reinserting and conserving the existing framework of reasoning as its foundation of critiques. It is as though the lifelong learning or the unfinished cosmopolitan miraculously appears with the Chicago economists in the 1950s, and brought into the political projects of Reagan, Thatcher and world agencies such as the World Bank. By focusing on the broader concept of the unfinished cosmopolitan, our intent is to historically explore how it is possible that the Learning Society, the individual as a lifelong learner, and more broadly the policy sciences 'think' about change and choice, and human interests. The notion of governmentality provides a strategy to historicize this present.

Notes

1. These different policies are interesting in themselves, as education is an official prerogative of the nation and not of the European Union, but concerns about European identity are placed within labour policy. See the discussion in Nóvoa and Lawn, 2002.
2. Recent scholarship has pointed to the different notions of the Enlightenment, differentiating it in the fields of cultural and political practices in Britain, France, and the United States, for example. It is this historical differentiation that Foucault (1984) made indirectly when he talks about the *attitude* of the Enlightenment versus the doctrine of modernity.

3. Foucault and political reason is discussed in, for example, Barry, Osborne & Rose, 1996; Hultqvist & Dahlberg, 2001; Popkewitz, 1991, 1998; Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998; and Popkewitz, Franklin & Pereyra, 2001.
4. We use 'fabricate' to focus on a double quality of 'thought' that construes and constructs.
5. The power of the normative images of the cosmopolitan can be seen in the Soviets' incorporation of the slogans of the French Revolution of equality, liberty, and fraternity as a step towards the fulfilment of a communist society.
6. It is embodied in the work of Adam Smith, Karl Marx, the Fabians, Durkheim, among others. This is not to say that an image of the individual as a cosmopolitan miraculously appears in the Enlightenment or that there were not multiple cosmopolitanisms (see, e.g. Breckenridge *et al.*, 2002). Rather, the long 19th century is a point of entrance. The national projects, the secularization, individualization, and imposition of science in the ordering of reason make this a convenient starting point in our discussion.
7. Our argument about agency here and later is its inscription in social and educational practices as a governing mechanism. Our discussion is historical and not normative about its goodness or badness.
8. The title is borrowed from Lena Fejan Ljunghill's article in *Pedagogiska Magasinet* (The Journal of Education), published by the Union of Teachers, no. 1, 1996, p. 6.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
10. The same trend is evident in the reforms of Swedish teacher education.
11. Mathematics education as a governing practice is more fully discussed in Popkewitz, 2004.
12. There are differences in this notion of design in the Counter-Reformation, Counter-Enlightenment, although one can also point to a particular globalization occurring in relation to discourses of Learning Societies and the lifelong learner. We can only point here to some general diagnostics while recognizing there are different patterns and assemblies as well as counter discourses. In a different context, we have talked about this through exploring the multiple modernities constructed in the 20th century (Popkewitz, 2005). Also see Simola, Johannesson & Lindblad, 2002; Nóvoa & Lawn, 2002 and Tuschling & Engemann (in this issue) for discussions of lifelong learning in Europe. Thus, while our documentation is related to Sweden and the US, we do not think that we are examining only local phenomenon.

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