A genealogical study of ‘the child’ as the subject of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia

by

Zsuzsa Millei

This thesis is presented for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy of

Murdoch University

Year of Submission: 2007
DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own account of my research and contains as its main content work which has not previously been submitted for a degree at any tertiary education institution.

............................

Zsuzsa Millei
ABSTRACT

The study produces a genealogy of ‘the child’ as the shifting subject constituted by the confluence of discourses that are utilized by, and surround, Western Australian pre-compulsory education. The analysis is approached as a genealogy of governmentality building on the work of Foucault and Rose, which enables the consideration of the research question that guides this study: *How has ‘the child’ come to be constituted as a subject of regimes of practices of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia?*

This study does not explore how the historical discourses changed in relation to ‘the child’ as a universal subject of early education, but it examines the multiple ways ‘the child’ was constituted by these discourses as the subject at which government is to be aimed, and whose characteristics government must harness and instrumentalize. Besides addressing the research question, the study also develops a set of intertwining arguments. In these the author contends that ‘the child’ is invented through historically contingent ideas about the individual and that the way in which ‘the child’ is constituted in pre-compulsory education shifts in concert with the changing problematizations about the government of the population and individuals. Further, the study demonstrates the necessity to understand the provision of pre-compulsory education as a political practice.

Looking at pre-compulsory education as a political practice de-stabilizes the taken-for-granted constitutions of ‘the child’ embedded in present theories, practices and research with children in the field of early childhood education. It also enables the de- and reconstruction of the notions of children’s ‘participation’, ‘empowerment’ and ‘citizenship’. The continuous de- and reconstruction of these notions and the de-
stabilization of the constitutions of ‘the child’ creates a framework in which improvement is possible, rather than “a utopian, wholesale and, thus revolutionary, transformation” in early education (Branson & Miller, 1991, p. 187). This study also contributes to the critiques of classroom discipline approaches by reconceptualizing them as technologies of government in order to reveal the power relations they silently wield.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration .............................................................................................................. ii

Abstract ............................................................................................................... iii

Table of contents.................................................................................................. v

Acknowledgement ................................................................................................. xi

Foreword .............................................................................................................. xii

## PART ONE

*Introduction - Chapter One* ................................................................. 1

1. Constitutions of ‘the child’ ................................................................. 1
2. Contemporary constitutions of ‘the child’ ...................................... 5
3. Research question ........................................................................... 9
4. Outline of chapters ....................................................................... 10

*Governmentality - Chapter Two* ...................................................... 15

1. Introduction ................................................................................... 15
2. Governmentality and the new ways of governing ................... 16
3. Government, power and the subject ........................................ 21
3.1. The subject ............................................................................. 28
4. Rationalities and technologies of government ......................... 30
5. Modes of governing individuals and the subject ..................... 32
5.1. ‘Early’ liberalism .................................................................. 34
5.2. ‘Social’ liberalism .................................................................. 36
5.3. ‘Neo-liberalism’ and ‘advanced’ liberalism ......................... 39
6. The Study of governmentality ..................................................... 50
6.1. Methodological considerations ............................................. 52
6.2. Methodology ........................................................................ 54
1. Introduction ............................................................................... 59
Regimes of practice: classroom discipline approaches and ‘the child’ - Chapter Five

1. Introduction ........................................................................................................ 117
2. Government through discipline approaches ..................................................... 119
3. The emergence of modern discipline approaches ............................................ 124
   3.1. Rationales of discipline ............................................................................ 128
4. Classroom management approaches and ways of governing individuals ............ 130
   4.1. Interventionist approaches ..................................................................... 131
   4.2. Interactive approaches .......................................................................... 134
   4.3. Non-interventionist approaches .............................................................. 138
5. Discipline approaches in early childhood and constitutions of ‘the child’ ............ 144
   5.1. ‘The child’ as a subject of government .................................................... 148
   5.2. Governing ‘the child’ through social competence ...................................... 150
   5.3. Governing ‘the child’ through ethics ....................................................... 152
   5.4. Governing the ‘active’ and ‘free’ child ..................................................... 154
6. Summary .......................................................................................................... 156

PART THREE

1. Introduction ........................................................................................................ 159

Genealogies of governmentality in Western Australian pre-compulsory education
(1870s – 1980s) and ‘the child’ - Chapter Six ...................................................... 165

1. 1870s until the end of WWII. ............................................................................. 165
   1.1. The birth of the nation and citizenry ......................................................... 166
   1.2. Technologies of nation building ............................................................... 171
      1.2.1. The creation of the education system in Australia .............................. 171
      1.2.2. Child minding and kindergartens to serve the national interest ......... 173
   1.2.3. Child welfare legislations ................................................................. 177
2. From the post-war period until the 1970s ......................................................... 180
   2.1. Governmental rationality and the discursive field ...................................... 181
      2.1.1. Equality of opportunity ............................................................... 184
2.1.2. Human Capital Theory ................................................................. 189
2.2. Discourses of education and care ...................................................... 192
2.3. Difference and educational policy ..................................................... 196
3. Conclusion ......................................................................................... 199

Constitutions of ‘the child’ from the 1870s – 1980s - Chapter Seven .............. 201
1. Introduction ....................................................................................... 201
2. Changing times – from 1870s until the late 1930s ..................................... 203
2.1. ‘The liberalized child’ .................................................................... 204
2.2. The ‘little citizen’ ........................................................................... 210
3. The end of 1930s and the 1940s ........................................................... 213
3.1. The ‘psychobiological child’ ............................................................ 215
3.2. The ‘normal child’ – the nature of the psychobiological child ............... 219
4. From the postwar period until the 1980s ................................................. 222
4.1. The discursive terrain .................................................................... 223
4.2. The policy framework – federal level ............................................... 227
4.3. Policy framework and structural changes – state level ......................... 229
5. The discursive field and ‘the child’ ....................................................... 234
5.1. The ‘young developer’ ................................................................... 235
5.2. The emergence of the ‘pre-school child’ .......................................... 238
5.3. The ‘competent child’ .................................................................... 240
6. Conclusion ......................................................................................... 243

Genealogies of governmentality in Western Australian pre-compulsory education
from the late 1980s to 2007 and ‘the child’ - Chapter Eight ......................... 247
1. Introduction ....................................................................................... 247
2. Sweeping changes ............................................................................ 248
2.1. Postmodernity ............................................................................. 248
2.2. Globalization .............................................................................. 252
3. The policy field from the late 1980s until the late 1990s ........................... 258
3.1. Federal policies .......................................................................... 259
3.2. Policies in Western Australia ........................................... 265
3.3. Restructuring pre-compulsory education in Western Australia ............ 272
4. The policy field from the end of 1990s to 2007 ..................................... 277
4.1. Federal level early years initiatives ........................................... 279
4.2. Western Australian early years initiatives .................................... 284
5. Conclusion ........................................................................... 291

Constituting ‘the child’ through the Guidelines - Chapter Nine ................. 295
1. Introduction ........................................................................ 295
2. The provision of pre-compulsory education ...................................... 297
3.1. The ‘entrepreneur child’ ..................................................... 301
3.2. Play ............................................................................. 306
3.3. The ‘lifelong learner’ ......................................................... 307
3.4. The ‘performative child’ ..................................................... 312
3.5. Parents as partners ............................................................ 314
4. Guideline 2006 .................................................................. 318
4.1. Participation ................................................................... 319
4.2. Career Development ......................................................... 323
5. Problematizing constitutions of ‘the child’ ........................................ 327
5.1. Participation ................................................................... 327
5.2. Questioning the choice of the child ....................................... 329
5.3. De-stabilizing lifelong learning ........................................... 331
5.4. Communities of learners as a political space ............................. 333
6. Conclusion ........................................................................... 337

PART FOUR

Conclusion - Chapter Ten ............................................................. 339
1. Introduction ........................................................................ 339
2. The historical constitutions of ‘the child’ as a subject of government ....... 340
3. Pre-compulsory education as a political practice ......................... 345
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Writing this thesis was only possible due to the support and encouragement of many others to whom I owe a special debt of gratitude. First, I would like to thank my supervisors Dr. Libby Lee and Dr. Nado Aveling at Murdoch University who gave me timely feedback, constructive criticism and support. Whenever I had a problem to discuss, an issue to clarify or a chapter ready to read they willingly gave their time to assist me. I am deeply indebted to my husband Rob who persuaded me to write this thesis and for his ongoing support, especially when I doubted my abilities and my perseverance was running short. I also thank my children, Bibi and Rézi, for tolerating my disappearances and frustrated moods. Thanks to Dr. Anthea Taylor and Dr. Felicity Haynes at the University of Western Australia for their early insights into this thesis and voluntary support. Thanks to Dr. Rebecca Raby for her invaluable comments on Chapter Five. I thank my family in Hungary who encouraged me and believed in me from the distance. I thank my mother-in-law Cathy for providing child-care while I was writing the thesis. I thank my friends, Margaret, Sally, Susan, Laura, Andrea, Juliet, Elena, Fiona and Tessa for assisting with the daily duties, understanding my mood swings and giving me advice. I thank Murdoch University for the scholarship that made our lives so much easier. I thank all those whom I did not name personally but supported me through this thesis in various ways, such as librarians, seminar presenters, conference audiences etc. Finally, I thank the University of Notre Dame Australia for providing me with a half-year study leave without pay and my immediate family to bear the consequences.
FOREWORD

This study materialized from my interest in the early years and my search for a kindergarten for my daughter. Since I am a migrant to Australia, my search was guided by my experience as a child together with the knowledge of the recent provision of pre-compulsory education in Hungary. Kindergartens in Hungary cater for children from three to six years old with the year prior to school being compulsory. Kindergartens are widely utilized. As the recent Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2006) *Starting Strong II* report shows, pre-compulsory education in Hungary takes up 16.6 per cent of educational enrolments, while in Australia this is only 2.9 per cent. The majority of kindergartens in Hungary are separate institutions from schools. Kindergarten programs are provided only in the morning, from eight until twelve, but can be extended on the request of parents with an afternoon program that is less focused on learning and basically only provides care for children. Children in the lower years of primary school also finish their school day around one o’clock in the afternoon.

In comparison, since 1999 in Western Australia, all four and five year old children are provided with a place in the state government’s voluntary pre-compulsory program. These programs are provided on government school sites and are administered by individual schools. Kindergartens cater for three and four year olds, and pre-primaries for four and five year olds. During the reformation of pre-compulsory education to the recent structure, the entry age to the kindergarten and pre-primary was also lowered by half a year. The program for pre-primary aged children was extended to spread over the whole week by providing full-time schooling, from nine in the morning.
until three in the afternoon five days a week. Kindergartens offer a two days per week program that can be spread over four half days.

Thinking about enrolling my daughter into a pre-compulsory program in Perth, Western Australia, made me think about the diverse provisions of pre-compulsory education in these two places. I thought about the cultural, political, economic and historical differences that might have contributed to these and also how children were thought about differently in line with the differing provisions. Considering these ideas led me to start this project.
PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1. Constitutions of ‘the child’

This thesis investigates shifting constitutions of ‘the child’ in pre-compulsory education in Western Australia to answer the question of how it became possible to think about children in ways that recent constitutions of ‘the child’ evoke. In particular, this thesis studies how ‘the child’ came to be the object and subject of recent pedagogies, early childhood practices, curriculum documents and educational policies and how these in turn constituted ‘the child’. Thus, it examines how historical, economic, political and social changes conditioned the emergence, maintenance and reinvention of certain constitutions of ‘the child’ that are prevalent in government pre-compulsory education today in Western Australia.

This study is not a general history of childhood that searches for the historical origins and truth in relation to ‘the child’ as a universal subject, such as the histories of Ariés (1962), Cleverley and Phillips (1987), Cunningham (1995) or deMause’s (1982) ‘psychogenic theory of history’. The history written in this study is a ‘history of the present’, or genealogy, as it was developed by Foucault (1980b). It examines the multiple ways various historical discourses referred to ‘the child’. This genealogical study’s aim is to demonstrate that the taken-for-granted ways of thinking about and educating children, and how these ways are questioned in the field of early childhood education, are not self-evident or necessary. It casts a shadow, therefore, over dominant
universal conceptions of ‘the child’ and demonstrates how constitutions of ‘the child’ are socially, culturally, historically and politically constructed. Moreover, the destabilization of the fixedness and inevitability of the present makes visible how fragile the present is, which opens up the possibility of different practices.

Childhood is an intensively governed sector of existence (Rose, 1999, p. 123), and therefore, constitutions of ‘the child’ need to be examined in their historico-political contexts and the power relations within which they are embedded. In his later work, Foucault extended his genealogical studies with the analysis of governmentality (Foucault, 1979a). Governmentality is a complex term. Briefly, it is about “how we think about governing others and ourselves in a wide variety of contexts” (Dean, 1999, p. 209). Genealogies of governmentality examine how different ways of thinking about the government of individuals invented various avenues for their regulation in the form of ritualized and routinized institutional practices, that is, regimes of practices. Educating young children is such a regime of practice. It presupposes understandings of the governed subject, be that a child or teacher. These constitutions assume certain capacities, attributes, orientations and statuses of children (and teachers). The provision of pre-compulsory education is considered in this study as a technical tool, or technology, for the regulation of children’s conduct in order to align it with changing aims of governing. In order to do this, pre-compulsory education utilizes certain knowledges and practices about educating young children that constitute ‘the child’ in particular ways as their subject while subjugating other constitutions. These knowledges include policies, pedagogies, educational programs and classroom practices.

The changing ways of thinking about the government of the population and individuals and the management of these concerns condition the characteristics of the
provision of certain services. Pre-compulsory education is one of these services, and therefore its provision shifted with the changing ways of thinking about government. Consequently, the ways ‘the child’ is constituted by discourses of pre-compulsory education are aligned with constitutions of the adult/citizens as subjects of government. Thus, this study contributes to the understanding of the child/childhood as a relational concept, constituted in relation to understandings of the adult/citizen/adulthood (Buckingham, 2000; Burman, 1994; Allison James & Adrian James, 2004; Mayall, 2002).

Following directly from the above discussion, and as one thread that runs through this study, I demonstrate that the provision of pre-compulsory education is a deeply political practice. This thesis, therefore, extends in a particular direction, those studies that consider early childhood education as a political practice, for example, Soto and Swadener (2002), Soto (2000), Hultqvist and Dahlberg (2001), Dahlberg and Moss (2005), Bloch, Holmlund, Moqvist and Popkewitz (2003) and Ailwood (2002a). Thus, I argue that early childhood theories, programs and pedagogies are produced in particular socio-political and economic historical contexts, and therefore, they are strongly political rather than neutral and isolated as it is often believed.

The second argument I develop in this study is intertwined with the first. I make a case that constitutions of ‘the child’ are invented through historically contingent ideas about the individual. Particular discourses, therefore, constitute ‘the child’ as their subject differently. Furthermore, as the third argument of this study, I demonstrate that thought is aligned with the thinking about how to govern the population and individuals the best way. Thus, the way in which ‘the adult/citizen’ is understood as a subject of
these discourses has a relevance to how ‘the child’ is constituted in pre-compulsory education.

The research findings along the second thread of this study, that ‘the child’ is the invention of historically specific ideas, contribute to earlier studies that examined notions of ‘the child’ and childhood from a sociological stance and argued that these notions are socially constructed. For example, Allison James’s work with other authors: Prout (1997), with Jenks and Prout (1998) and with Adrian James (2004), or the work of Jenks (1996), Corsaro (1997) and Wyness (2000, 2006). These studies, however, consider ‘the child’ as a ‘substance’ (Foucault, 1994b) that different discourses objectify in varying ways. I approach ‘the child’ rather as a ‘form’ that can vary according to what knowledge was created about it and which knowledge was accepted as true. Thus, ‘the child’ is not always identical to itself and its understanding is embedded in power relations (Foucault, 1994b). This project, therefore, uses the concept of governmentality for the analysis of ‘the child’ as constituted by discourses and practices of pre-compulsory education. Other studies, (such as Ailwood, 2002a; Baker, 1998, 2001a; Bloch & Popkewitz, 2000; Fendler, 2001; Hultqvist, 1997, 2001; Popkewitz & Bloch, 2001) used governmentality as a framework for analysis in the broad field of early childhood. I follow their examples.

It is important to note at the beginning of this study that there is a difficulty of terminology around the usage of kindergarten, pre-school, pre-primary and pre-compulsory education in Australia. Kindergartens initially were established by the Kindergarten Union around the turn of the 20th century and offered programs based on Froebelian principles for children aged between three and six (Brennan, 1982). Kindergartens, however, were also offered in primary schools, as the lowest level of
classes, without the employment of Froebel’s methods and headed by teachers that lacked appropriate training (Kerr, 1994). Immediately after the Second World War, parents’ groups and municipalities established centres that were called pre-school centres, but sometimes these were also considered as kindergartens. This study follows the historical terminology in Western Australia in order to impose some consistency, thus it will name early childhood services and institutions according to their title in the specific historical era. Wherever it is possible these services are labeled under the umbrella term of pre-compulsory education. Thus, pre-compulsory education is also used to name an assemblage of different services.

2. Contemporary constitutions of ‘the child’

In the global North, academic, political and social narratives have reserved a central place for childhood since the 1980s. These narratives are manifold in nature. Some observers argue that childhood is in ‘crisis’ both socially and politically, first because children are escaping control (Scraton, 1997; Wyness, 2000) and second, because they are ‘at risk’ from society. For example, Elkind (1981), Postman (1982) and Buckingham (2000) argue that statistics show that children are abused and neglected in greater numbers or that they are targeted with ‘inappropriate’ messages and therefore, grow up too fast. Children are also considered as social agents in research and education, who have active roles in shaping their own experiences. This understanding of children appeared with the new sociology of childhood (for example, Allison James et al., 1998; Allison James & Prout, 1997; Prout & Allison James, 1997) and is particularly influential in early childhood education. Concurrently, and facilitated by the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989), children’s participation
and rights gained increased emphasis in academic research, on government policy agendas and in schools around the globe. Children are also seen as holding the key for the future (Prout, 2000). Thus, they are looked at as a figure of salvation to secure the future for society (Popkewitz & Bloch, 2001).

With the advent of the new century, discourses of the knowledge economy and technology populated the early childhood field (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1996). Early education is thought about as having a strong stake in the maintenance of economic growth by producing a flexible, responsive, problem solving and lifelong learner future workforce to serve this particular economy. This shift in thinking from earlier approaches to early childhood education brought about greater investment made by governments into the wellbeing of children at a very early age, to maximize their potential. As a result, the pre-compulsory years of schooling were positioned within an integrative framework created for the early years and involve a wide variety of services, such as health, family and community services.

Early childhood education, as an investment, became intertwined with early intervention that was understood in economic terms. Through investment in the early years future government expenditure on welfare can be minimized. Nobel Laureate Professor Heckman’s (1999) equates monetary investments into the early years with monetary gains in the future. His work is often cited by policy makers and early childhood professionals in their advocacy work. This particular notion of early intervention directly links ‘poorer’ early childhood experiences to possible high future economic costs for governments in the form of welfare (Heckman, 1999). Early childhood education is, therefore, thought about in an integrated framework where efforts concentrate on all facets of the early years of life.
The State Government in Western Australia adopted this new integrative framework. Governmental discourses consider children as members of communities where their participation is welcomed in the form of partnerships. They are also thought about as the responsibility of communities and as responsible for the communities where they belong and through which their protection is ensured. The *Children First* strategy (2004) in Western Australia explicitly builds on the recent multifaceted narratives of childhood and considers childhood as ‘in crisis’, children as agentic, as citizens of communities and as a productive future workforce. *Children First* is devised according to the *United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child* (1989) and considers services for the early years in three streams: provision, protection and participation. This new strategy to the early years is still in formation. *Children First* defines pre-compulsory education and positions schools to play a central role in the integrative framework responsible for the wellbeing of children. The exact nature of this role is, however, not yet spelled out. The *Looking to the future: The early childhood phase of schooling within a 0 to 8 years context* document (Department of Education and Training, 2004) demonstrates that this role is not yet determined. The document’s main purpose is to conceptualize what the idea and practice of a “school in the community” means in relation to early childhood education (p. 14).

On the one hand, children are considered in the *Children First* strategy as agentic, empowered and participating members of the community. They are thought about as full of potential and waiting for the opportunities provided by their communities to maximize these. On the other hand, they are rarely involved in genuine decisions regarding their lives in schools. School policies, and school and classroom rules are mostly made without their participation (P. Alderson, 2000; Raby, 2005). In
the best scenario, children are included in decisions but their voices are silenced by power relations (Raby, 2005). Children in early education are thought about by many professionals and academics as lacking independence and in the process of becoming (developing, but not yet developed), and located in an unequal social position with adults (Cannella, 1999). They are also increasingly excluded from the adult social world by the tightening of generational boundaries through which adults regain their control they assumedly lost as a result of providing more freedom to children (P. Alderson, 2000; Mayall, 2002; Qvortrup et al., 1994; Raby, 2005; Zelizer, 1985). These conflicting narratives and practices raise a series of questions:

- How do these contesting discourses co-exist so comfortably?;
- How did those constitutions of ‘the child’ that the new initiatives presuppose and the ones produced by discourses of early childhood education become the ways in which children are referred to in recent discourses?;
- What capacities, attributes and orientations of children are assumed by these discourses?;
- How do these discourses and their constitutions of ‘the child’ silently govern children?;
- What status do they assign for children?;
- Are children empowered or freed by the discourses that consider them as members of communities? Or do these discourses and practices govern children to regulate themselves better?; and
- In what ways do these discourses fashion children to become certain kinds of individuals and adults/citizens?

These questions led me to formulate my research questions utilizing Foucault’s (1994h) problematization of the subject of knowledge: “How was the subject established, at different moments and in different institutional contexts, as a possible, desirable, or even indispensable object of knowledge?” (p. 87)
3. Research question

This study is guided by the following question:

*How has ‘the child’ come to be constituted as a subject of regimes of practices of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia? In other words, how has the education of the young child been problematized so that ‘the child’ came to be constituted in particular ways in Western Australian pre-compulsory education?*

I set out to answer this question in the second part of this study. I consider the knowledge base of pre-compulsory education, that is, the thought and practice of educating young children. I also examine how children were made objects and subjects of certain knowledges and how ‘the child’ was constituted as subject of these discourses. In the third part of the study, I outline the broader and shifting historical, political, social and economic contexts of pre-compulsory education and examine how they conditioned its provision in Western Australia. I also analyze how these changing contexts created the possibilities for the utilization of certain truths (knowledges) about children (outlined in the second part) and constituted ‘the child’ in particular ways.

The answers to this question create a critical field that allows the destabilization of the taken-for-granted constitutions of ‘the child’ that seem so natural and apolitical in pre-compulsory education in Western Australia. Thinking about children and practices of educating young children are performed with the best intentions and therefore, are resilient to questioning. The critical space created in this study enables one to question their self-evidence or necessity. The answers to the research question also demonstrate how children are governed through the knowledge base and practices instituted in early education that are deemed neutral and intend to provide children with greater freedom and autonomy. The destabilization of the recent discourses of pre-compulsory education creates cracks that open up ways for different practices to emerge. These might serve
better the intention to provide children with rights, more freedom, equitable relationships and citizenship in communities.

4. Outline of chapters

The study is divided into four main parts. The first part includes this Introduction and Chapter Two, which spells out the theoretical background and methodological framework of this thesis. The second part of the thesis focuses on the genealogy of ‘the child’ in early childhood theory and pedagogy and provides a backdrop for the analysis in the third part. The third part of the study shifts the analysis into a broader context created by wider social, political and economic discourses. It also intertwines the analysis performed in this and the second part to answer the research question. In the conclusion, as the last part of this thesis, the three threads of this study are picked up and tied around considerations of pre-compulsory education as a political practice.

Chapter Two outlines the theoretical and methodological framework of this thesis. It fundamentally builds on Foucault’s ideas on governmentality (Foucault, 1979a) and on the works of those who developed Foucault’s theoretical thinking further, such as Rose and Dean, or those who adapted it for research in education, such as Hunter and Ball, and particularly in early childhood education, such as Hultqvist, Fendler, Bloch and Popkewitz. The last section of Chapter Two discusses the methodological considerations and analytical practicalities this study performs.

Chapters Three, Four and Five comprise the second part of this thesis. Chapters Three and Four provide a genealogy of ‘the child’. They outline how it became possible to think about ‘the child’ in the ways that the recent knowledge base of early childhood
education prescribes. In other words, these chapters deliver a genealogy of the discourses of developmental psychology and pedagogy that constituted ‘the child’ as their subject in Western Australian government pre-compulsory education. I use the original work of many theorists whose work were or are utilized in educating young children in Western Australia. For example, the writings of Froebel, Montessori, De Lissa and Piaget are analyzed. Chapter Five carries out a study that adds another angle to the genealogy of ‘the child’. It looks at the ways scientific theories were invented and made practical for the regulation of young children’s behaviour through various classroom discipline approaches and how they constituted ‘the child’ as their subject.

These chapters do not aim to outline a continuous development or a general history of scientific ideas and theories about the universal child and the education of young children in a chronological order. Rather, as a genealogical analysis, they consider the possibilities of emergences, reinventions, and contingencies of certain knowledges or truth that lie beneath recent and generally taken-for-granted constitutions of ‘the child’. The second part of the thesis creates a critical distance from which constitutions of ‘the child’, fashioned by scientific disciplines and considered as true, natural and essential, can be questioned.

The third part of the thesis examines how the socio-political contexts conditioned the provision of educational services for young children, created the conditions of possibility for the use of particular theories of early childhood education while subjugated others, and constituted ‘the child’. I analyze policy documents, government reports, parliamentary discussions and so on and use the histories of the provision of Australian and Western Australian pre-compulsory education to outline socio-political discourses of certain periods. To identify the theories applied in
classrooms in different periods and constitutions of ‘the child’, and to be able to link the socio-political and policy contexts to the every day practice in classrooms, I looked for guidelines written by central agencies (state or other) that provided or provide practical recommendations for teaching in pre-compulsory education. I treated the texts of these guidelines as representative of the discourses of their time.

The third part of the thesis moves the investigation into a broader context. This part consists of four chapters that are in a tandem chapter structure. Chapters Six and Eight are linked thematically, and chapters Seven and Nine are linked thematically. By contrast, chapters Six and Seven discuss the same time periods and Chapters Eight and Nine study the same time periods. These chapters are structured around four particular time periods. These periods are identified by shifts in the provision of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia.

Chapter Six outlines two time-periods that relate to particular historical, social, economic and political narratives, discourses and events and conditioned the provision of pre-compulsory education. The first period, lasting from circa 1870s until the end of the Second World War, conditioned the emergence and slow expansion of the provision of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia. The second period, starting from the postwar era until the early 1980s, is connected to the emergence of a system of pre-compulsory education. This period also brought political debates about the reasons for the provision of pre-compulsory education and, as a result, vigorously outlined a division between early education and care. Chapter Seven ties Chapters Six and Three together by building on the discourses and rationalities of the two specific periods outlined in Chapter Six and constitutions of ‘the child’ fashioned by scientific disciplines discussed in Chapter Three. Chapter Seven examines how the broader socio-
political and economic context conditioned the provision of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia and constituted ‘the child’ and her education locally in these two time periods.

Chapter Eight continues to outline the broader context started in Chapter Six and discusses two further time periods that restructured the provision of pre-compulsory education. The two periods discussed here are the 1990s, which saw the emergence of a voluntary pre-compulsory system available for all and the 21st century that reinvented pre-compulsory education as a fundamental element of the knowledge economy.

Chapter Nine, in a similar fashion to Chapter Seven, ties in Chapters Eight and Four and outlines and questions the particular local constitutions of ‘the child’. This chapter also problematizes particular practices of pre-compulsory education that aim to provide children with greater freedom, equity and respect.

In these four chapters, a whole host of texts are analyzed, such as initiatives, plans, practices, documents and debates, that govern the social, economic and political field and thus, condition the provision of pre-compulsory education internationally, nationally and state-wide. These chapters examine how thought produced in the broader context filtered through or created possibilities directly for state initiatives and the provision of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia. They also align each of these four distinct periods with the dominance of a particular way of thinking about the adult/citizen and her government. These chapters, therefore, demonstrate how different ways of thinking about the government of individuals condition the provision of certain kinds of provisions for children and make practical and technical certain scientific knowledges about them to reach certain governmental aims. Further, they reveal that governing adults goes hand in hand with governing children. They also answer the
question of how these ways of thinking about the adult/citizen constituted ‘the child’ as a subject of pre-compulsory education that is so taken-for-granted in recent practices.

In the fourth part or last chapter, I return to the three threads of this study and tie these threads together to question recent constitutions of ‘the child’ dominating the field of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia. Although the different forms of pre-compulsory education were always provided with the best intentions to educate and more recently to empower the young child, a question is unavoidably posed and answered in the conclusion: Does the recent provision of pre-compulsory education reach its aim to educate and empower children, or does it remain an avenue for the government of young children? Chapter Ten also outlines the limitations of this study, the contributions it makes and possible further research projects that spring out from this thesis.
CHAPTER TWO

Governmentality

Childhood is the most intensively governed sector of personal existence. In different ways, at different times, and by many different routes varying from one section of society to another, the health, the welfare, and rearing of children have been linked in thought and practice to the destiny of the nation and the responsibilities of the state (Rose, 1989, p. 121).

1. Introduction

This chapter provides a theoretical framework for the thesis. It outlines the concept of governmentality based on Foucault’s original work (Foucault, 1979a, 1982, 1988a, 1988b, 1991, 1994a, 1994b, 1994d, 1994e, 1994f, 1994g, 1994h, 1994i) and also the many developments contributed to this concept by different authors. Most importantly it presents an overview of Rose’s extensive work in the area and the work he has done with others: Miller (Miller & Rose, 1990, 1997; Rose, 1996a, 1996b, 1996c, 1999, 2000; Rose & Miller, 1992), Burchell and Gordon (Burchell et al., 1991), and Barry and Osborne (Barry et al., 1996b). Other significant contributions to theory come from Dean (Dean, 1999), Hindess (Dean & Hindess, 1998; Hindess, 1996), Hunter (1988, 1993, 1994, 1996), Meredyth and Tyler (1993), Marshall (1995), Hardt and Negri (Hardt, 1995; Hardt & Negri, 2001) and Deleuze (1992). This field of work developed and extended Foucault’s ideas in many directions tailored to fit the studies of these authors. The discussion of the concept of governmentality in this chapter focuses on this broad area of work and delineates only those ideas that provide a theoretical and methodological framework for this study: for the analysis of the constitutions of ‘the
child’ in Western Australian pre-compulsory education. These are in order: the concept of governmentality; government, as a particular way of wielding power, and the subject; rationalities and technologies of government; modes of governing and the particular role of liberalism in that; governmentality research and this study’s approach to the study of governmentality and the subject.

I begin the following discussion with Foucault’s original work on governmentality and then extend it with other concepts related to the government of individuals in the framework of other authors’ contributions. While outlining this framework, I take the cue mainly from the work of Foucault (1979a, 1980a, 1988a, 1988b, 1991, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1994h, 1994i), Rose (1999) and Dean (1999) on governmentality. The ideas of Rose and Dean on governmentality are written in a ‘Foucaultian ethos’ (Rose, 1999).

2. Governmentality and the new ways of governing

Governmentality can be understood in three ways based on Foucault’s (1979a) original early work. First, with its special relations of power and through a collection of “institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, … calculation and tactics” through which it regulates the population and individuals (Foucault, 1979a, p. 20). Second, governmentality as a tendency resulted in the formation of specific state apparatuses and complex knowledges. Third, governmentality describes a process in which the State becomes governmentalised during the 16th century. These three aspects of governmentality can all work together or independently.

In its third meaning, governmentality “marks the emergence of a distinctively new form of thinking about the exercising of power in certain societies” from the 16th
century (Dean, 1999, p. 19). In his lecture on governmentality, Foucault (1979a) analysed writings on the ‘art of government’ during the past four hundred years. He counterposed and typified the varied types of government and outlined a long movement from sovereignty to the ‘governmentalized state’. Sovereignty is exercised on territory and its inhabitants with the use of a divine or natural knowledge and its aim is to retrain the principality of the sovereign (Foucault, 1979a). In contrast, government is concerned with the management of the population and individuals so it leads to the common good. The goals of this management can be broken down into specific finalities, that the population multiplies, its wealth increases, assurances are made for general health and wellbeing and thus, government is fundamentally different in its ends than sovereign power (Foucault, 1979a).

The ‘governmentalised state’, with the augmentation of individual capacities fosters its own power as well through the deployment of certain tactics and techniques according to the knowledge of political science of governing and the knowledge about the population’s processes in the form of political ‘economy’ (Foucault, 1979a, p.18). In the background of the formation of this new idea of the state the great administrative states formed. The form of ruling or ‘reason of state’ was constantly changed according to the questions of “how to be ruled, by whom, to what extent, with what methods, etc.” (Foucault, 1979a, p. 6.). The answers to these questions comprise the ‘art of government’ (Foucault, 1979a).

The governmentalisation of the State is born out of the ancient Hebraic conceptions of pastoral power modelled on the shepherd-flock relations during the 17th and 18th centuries (Foucault, 1988b). According to the pastoral theme as it is applied to the ‘art of government’, the shepherd/God wields power over a flock and gathers them
together, guides and leads them, thus they have a specific relation. The ‘pastoral technology’ in the management of ‘men’ (sic) has developed in line with its three aspects. First, the complex moral ties, where the shepherd is responsible not only for the individual’s lives, but for their actions as well. Second, there is a concern of the flock’s obedience to the shepherd. The sheep must permanently submit to the pastor because it is the sheep’s will. Third, the relationship implies a specific knowledge between the pastor and each sheep, which in its particularity individualizes each sheep – its needs, its actions and its soul – with the help of the instruments of self-examination and conscience. Thus, by this knowledge a link is created between responsibility, obedience, knowledge of oneself and confession to someone else (Foucault, 1988b).

This theme provides an image of the exercise of power that is present in recent forms of expertise used in education, such as the forms of knowledge about the individual and her inner existence that requires a form of “self-renunciation” (Dean, 1999, p. 76). For example, expert knowledge on appropriate behaviour constitutes ‘the child’ as guilty, a position which if taken up by the child, drives her to avoid certain behaviours because she feels guilty exhibiting them. As Foucault (1994e) argued, the metaphor of the shepherd is “accepted when it comes to characterizing the activity of the educator” (p. 67). Pastoral power, however, is different in expertise in that individuals are now normalised in relation to expert knowledge of the population (Dean, 1999). Bio-politics, a concept I will discuss later, intensified the use of pastoral power in the government of the population.

The governmentalised state’s power was formulated on two sets of doctrine during the last 150-200 years: the ‘reason of state’, and the theory of ‘police’. The police was neither an institution nor a mechanism of the state. The police, similar to
policy (Rose, 1999), was imbued with aspirations to shape conduct in the hope of producing certain ends, to make “individuals significantly useful for the world” (Foucault, 1988b, p. 154). Therefore, “[i]n short, life is the object of the police: … [t]hat people survive, live, and even do better than just that, is what ‘police’ has to ensure” (Foucault, 1988b, p. 157). It deals with the care of the soul and body and wealth, the benefits of living in a society. The ‘police’ was concerned with how all these things are connected and contributed to the wellbeing and strength of the state. Increasing the happiness of the individual through the techniques of police also meant the enhancing of state power.

The ‘reason of state’ is the ground on which the reality of the state is constituted (Foucault, 1979a), therefore it refers to the state’s “nature and to its own rationality” (Foucault, 1988b, p. 150). For example, the ‘reason of state’ since the end of the 19th century sought to strengthen the state, to make the state able to justify its growing governmentality and to regulate its development (Foucault, 1994a). Modern government, according to Foucault (1988b), broke with this form of the ‘reason of state’. The end of government shifted from the state itself to augment the individuals’ capacities and, as a result, to foster its own power as well. For example, compulsory schooling in the governmentalized state was not implemented as the hegemonic ‘will to govern’. It was invented to enhance individuals’ capacities to serve changing and localised aspirations of the state (Hunter, 1993, 1994; Rose, 1999).

As a background to the emergence of the modern or governmentalized state, governmental apparatuses and in relationship to that particular knowledges were developed, such as political economy, hygiene and so forth, to enable the regulation of the population and individuals in ways that serve particular governmental aims. This
development is represented in processes described by the combination of the first and second understanding of governmentality. For example, the introduction of compulsory schooling in Australia was based on particular knowledges such as the administrative knowledges in the form of school buildings, policies and procedures imported from England or pedagogical knowledges, such as Froebel or Montessori’s writings. They were channelled into the particular aim to moralize and civilize the untrained population in colonial Australia (Hunter, 1994) to enable their participation in a liberal society.

In turn, the introduction of compulsory schooling, along with the development of particular knowledges, resulted in an abundance of governmental apparatuses concerned with schooling. These apparatuses, however, did not necessarily belong to the state. Governmentality, therefore, can be at once internal or external to the state, because the government’s tactics make possible the “continual definition and redefinition of what is within the competence of the state and what is not, the public versus the private, and so on” (Foucault, 1979a, p. 21). For example, according to neo-liberal political rationalities, the government positions more and more of its apparatuses outside its central structure. However, even though they became private as for example, the case of privatised social services, they still belong to the state apparatus and are imbued with the political rationalities of the state.

During the governmentalisation of the state, the management of children became possible through the formation of a network of institutions, for example, schools, kindergartens, charitable organizations, clinics, health and welfare departments, legal institutions and so on. This network operates within systems of tactics, policies and procedures that utilize and in turn also produce knowledges about children. For example, child development knowledges, produced in scientific research that spells out
what children are able to comprehend and adhere to, are utilized by policies that devise rules for school conduct (Raby, 2005). In turn, set in the confines of ‘normal’ behaviour that these policies sanction, new knowledges are produced about children’s behaviour.

This way, the three aspects of government inscribed by Foucault (1979a, 1988b) are closely intertwined and at the same time work together and independently. They have major implications for the understanding of the education of children (Foucault, 1979a). Moreover, in a kind of circular fashion, institutions of formal education have a central role in the development of the forms of governmentality, because they inform most other disciplinary fields with the knowledges and subjectivities they produce (Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998).

The following sections delineate various conceptions relevant to the analysis performed in this study. These include the concept of government that is different from, for example, an elected government of a country. Rather, following Foucault (1979a), government is understood in this study as the regulation of individuals’ conduct through the amalgamation and circulation of diverse ideas or various discursive fields and technologies that also constitute ‘the child’ as its subject.

3. Government, power and the subject

‘Government’ is the ‘conduct of conduct’ (Foucault, 1982, p. 220-221). First, the verb means to lead or guide and might involve some calculated direction as to how this is to be done. Thus, ‘government’ refers to all endeavours that shape, direct or guide someone’s behaviour towards a specific end, “which is convenient for each of the things that are to be governed” (Foucault, 1979a, p. 13). On the other hand, government
also has a moral sense, meaning how to conduct ourselves appropriately to our situation, thus it also embraces the control of someone’s own behaviour, passion or instinct (Rose, 1999).

Self-government, this way, can be conceptualised as ethics “as the arena of the government of the self, as a form of action of the ‘self on self’” (Dean, 1999, p. 13). The government of the self is “an exercise of the self on the self by which one attempts to develop and transform oneself, and to attain to a certain mode of being” (Foucault, 1994b, p. 282). If self-government is linked to ethics in this way, then it entails the idea of freedom: ethics is “the conscious [réfléchie] practice of freedom” (Foucault, 1994b, p. 284). Government, by shaping one’s conduct, attempts to shape freedom as well, but is not constitutive of it. It entails, therefore, the possibility that the ‘governed’ might act or think differently. I later discuss that liberal modes of government are distinct in this sense, because they conceive freedom as a technical means of government (Rose, 1999).

Self-government is about how the governed regulate themselves, but also about how this regulation is achieved through providing principles for self-regulation. Hunter (1996) and Popkewitz (1998b), in their work on the emergence of the modern school, analyze how the subject was also morally and ethically directed in self-government. For example, Popkewitz (1998b) describes how the practices of self-disclosure provides principles for the production of “personal self-reflection and the inner, self-guided moral development of the individual” (p. 24). In addition, pastoral pedagogies deliver principles for individuals to do “ethical work” on themselves in the form of practices of “self-problematization … for taking an interest in [them]selves as the subject of [their] conduct” and to “‘work on the self of the self’ … disciplining and comporting themselves as the responsible agents of their own personhood” (Hunter, 1996, p. 158).
The idea of government implies that human conduct can be shaped, regulated and turned to specific ends. Dean (1999) succinctly summarizes the “perspective” (Rose, 1999, p. 21) of ‘government’ as follows:

Government is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through our desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences and outcomes (Dean, 1999, p. 11).

Government exercises special ‘relations of power’ to shape conduct (Foucault, 1994b). Wielding power in government, however, is different from domination (Rose, 1999). In domination, power is exercised to incapacitate the dominated. In contrast, to “govern humans is not to crush their capacity to act, but to acknowledge it and utilize it for one’s own objectives” (Rose, 1999, p. 4). Power relations are only possible if there is a certain freedom on both sides, thus relations of power are reversible (Foucault, 1994b). For example, the female teacher can control the behaviour of children who are talking about ‘inappropriate’ sexual topics in class. A male child, however, can reverse this relationship by making the teacher the object of sexual references in his speech towards the teacher. Relations of power are understood as always present, they are “mobile, reversible, and unstable” networks infusing the lives of humans and organizations within which they operate (Foucault, 1994b, p. 292). Foucault calls asymmetrical power relations as domination, such as in the case of marital relationships in the 18th century, where the women only had few options to resist the husband’s dominations (for example refuse sex or ‘pilfer’ money) and these never reversed the situation.
In sum, power is exercised in government to shape the action towards desired directions, which presupposes the freedom of the governed (Rose, 1999). Power, therefore, is not domination, but rather it shapes citizens to be able to bear a kind of regulated freedom and they play a part in power’s operations (Rose & Miller, 1992). Power operates through relationships where there is action upon others or oneself in an uneven field of regulated possibilities (Rose, 1999).

Government entails knowledge about the individuals or population. Self-government also requires knowing oneself together with “a number of rules of acceptable conduct or of principles” (Foucault, 1994b, p. 285). This knowledge about individuals and the population and principles of conduct is delivered by the human sciences that emerged during the governmentalization of the state. In *The Order of Things*, Foucault (1970) examines how and in what particular historical moment people became the object of knowledge. By the late 19th century the ‘human sciences’, such as psychology, philosophy or sociology, produced systems of classification that defined who could be a subject of these sciences. Moreover, they constituted discourses to talk about and deal with these subjects. Then, for example, the mad subject or ‘the child’ was inserted into this knowledge, and practices were produced by the same knowledge to deal with these (mad or child) subjects.

Studies of government mark out a field “upon which one might locate all investigations of the modern operations of power/knowledge” (Rose, 1999, p. 22). Discipline (scientific knowledge) is important and valorized in the government of conduct “in its depths and details” (Foucault, 1979a, p. 19), since it intends to shape or reshape the ways individuals conduct themselves. Knowledge compiled in disciplines, according to Foucault’s understanding (1972, 1977, 1980a), is always enmeshed in
relations of power because it was being applied to the regulation of social conduct and is implicated in the questions of whether and in what situations knowledge is to be applied or not. Power, discourse and truth go hand in hand. As Foucault (1980a) explains:

[there are] manifold relations of power which permeate, characterize and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse. There can be no possible exercise of power without certain economy of discourses of truth which operate through and on the basis of this association. We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth (p. 93).

Disciplinary knowledge turns individuals into its subjects, because individuals make sense of themselves by referring to various bodies of knowledge. Danaher, Schirato and Webb (2000) provide the following example:

[to be a student at a school or university we must enter into different academic disciplines, and gain certificates and degrees that provide credentials which will help to make us suitable for various jobs. But to be a student is also to make ourselves known to the school system, so it can monitor our progress, pass judgement upon us, and mould our attitudes and behaviours in various ways. In these ways, discipline and knowledge ‘make’ us certain kinds of people (p. 50).

Thus, objectivization (individuals made as objects of knowledge) and subjectivization form a “reciprocal bond” that Foucault calls “truth games”¹ (1994c, p. 315). In these ‘truth games’, knowledge is produced that “may be considered valid or invalid, winning or losing” (Foucault, 1994b, p. 295). Disciplines have a normalizing power that governs

¹ Foucault (1994b) understands game not as an amusement, but as “a set of rules by which truth is produced” (p. 295).
individuals to work to meet the criteria of being ‘normal’ through making themselves subjects of disciplinary knowledges (Foucault, 1977).

For example, in schools children are made to obey strict codes, rules, regulations and certain criteria of and ideas about being a ‘good student’ that are laid down in disciplinary knowledges and non-discursive practices, such as timetables and so on. During the first months of starting school children discipline their bodies and conducts to make them ‘docile’ for schooling (Kamler, 1994). By doing this they take up the subject position of ‘good student’ defined in a standard of norms. Children can choose to resist these practices, however they will be labeled as ‘unruly’, ‘exuberant’ or ‘underachiever’ and certain ‘normalizing’ practices will be aimed at them. Those children who conform to these regulations and shape up to the criteria are often called the ‘teacher’s pet’ and are often unpopular. This way, school works to produce ‘good’ subjects but it also produces ‘rebels’. As Foucault (1977) argues, disciplinary power is not only negative, it also produces “reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth” (p. 194).

‘Bio-power’ is also utilized in the government of individuals. ‘Bio-power’ centres on the species body. It contains the “biological processes: propagation, birth and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, with all the conditions that can cause these to vary” (Foucault, 1979b, p.139). ‘Bio-power’ is the form of power that is used in “bio-politics” to control the population. During the 18th century, the development of disciplinary power was embodied in the establishment of institutions such as schools and clinics. ‘Bio-power’ existed separately from disciplinary power at this time and it was manifested in health policies to maintain a healthy workforce or the proscription of homosexuality to keep population growth (Foucault, 1979b).
Foucault claims that these directions were later joined in the form of “concrete arrangements (agencements concrets) that would go to make up the great technology of power in the nineteenth century” (Foucault, 1979b, p. 140). One of the ‘concrete arrangements’ focused on the regulation of sexuality as discussed in The history of sexuality (Foucault, 1979b). Another ‘concrete arrangement’ was the regulation of motherhood from the late 19th century in Australia through knowledges and government policies of hygiene and nutrition in order to reduce child mortality rates and to produce a healthy population2.

In the problematics of government, that is, concerns about the best way of exercising power over the population and individuals (Rose, 1999), sovereignty, discipline and bio-power are “all relocated in the field of governmentality” (Rose, 1999, p. 23). They co-exist in a triangle: “sovereignty-discipline-government” (Foucault, 1979a, p. 19). With the changing answers to the problematics of government, however, they are constantly reinvented in different shapes (Rose, 1999).

This shift in disciplinary power is exemplified well in Deleuze’s (1992) idea of ‘societies of control’. He argues, that ‘disciplinary societies’ (Foucault, 1979a) are overtaken by ‘societies of control’ today. In ‘societies of control’, disciplinary power is recoded into a particular form of control. Deleuze defines it as a “modulation, like a self-deforming cast that will continuously change from one moment to the other … [therefore] in the societies of control one is never finished with anything” (p. 5). Control in societies of control is continuous, infinite and diffuse and is not confined into institutions as disciplinary power was. Thus, in ‘society of control’ the disciplining of subjects extended from ‘closed’ institutions into all areas of life (Deleuze, 1992; Hardt

2 This idea is further delineated in Chapter Six.
& Negri, 2001), and utilizes expertise and apparatuses external to the state (Foucault, 1979a).

3.1. The subject

Government has an object, however, there is no universal object (Rose, 1999; Veyne, 1997). Therefore, there is no universal governable subject such as ‘the child’. Children are objectified by government in changing ways within the discourses that govern them and ‘the child’ is subjectified by the diverse practices and technologies employed for her education. Therefore, “there is no such thing as ‘the governed’, only multiple objectifications of those over whom government is to be exercised, and whose characteristics government must harness and instrumentalize” (Rose, 1999, p. 40). In this way, practices of governing determine the nature of “the governed”, “their character, passions, motivations, wills and interests” (Rose, 1999, p. 40).

For example, and with great schematism, ‘the child’ in the early modern state was objectified as the subject of government who needed to be civilized and turned into a moral creature through teaching her self-control and habits of self-management. Later the objectification of ‘the child’ is subsequently mutated to that of the individuated subject or the subject of choice. These mutations in the constitution of the subject, however, are not a linear procession of human types, but variegated objectifications in discourses. The various objectifications might even co-exist by causing discrepancies or being set up against one another (Rose, 1999). The objectifications are changing in relation to how thought is organized into the changing aspirations of government.

Moreover, “the subject is not a substance. It is a form, and this form is not always identical to itself” (Foucault, 1994b). For example, a child playing with her
siblings at home does not have the same type of relationship to herself as a subject of a
game with children, as when this child learns in the classroom from the teacher and she
is a subject of teaching. Certainly “there are relationships and inferences between these
different forms of the subject; but we are not dealing with the same type of subject”
(Foucault, 1994b). Moreover, ‘the child’ as the subject of truth games was constituted
differently in history depending on how children were made the object and subject of
scientific knowledges and what truth became valid or accepted about children. This
study analyses the historical constitution of the various forms of the subject of pre-
compulsory education, ‘the child’ in relation to the truth that was produced about
children³.

Foucault’s interest in the subject is found throughout his writing from early
works, such as The Order of Things to his last series, the History of Sexuality.
Moreover, in his short essay written about himself under the pseudonym Maurice
Florence, titled Foucault, Michel, 1926- (Foucault, 1994c), he states that his lifework is
about analyzing the “relations between subject and truth” (p. 316). Foucault argues, by
closely paraphrasing him, that in the modes of the objectivization of the subject the
determining factors were the particular forms of governing individuals. The next section
outlines these forms, that are ‘classical’, ‘social’ and ‘advanced’ liberalism, following
the categorization of Rose (1996b, 1999) and Dean (1999). First, however, a section
delineates the terms necessary for this discussion, that is, rationalities and technologies
of government.

³ This is the topic of Chapters Three, Four and Five in the second part of the thesis.
4. Rationalities and technologies of government

Government entails ‘rationalities’ to government, which means clear, systematic and explicit thoughts about how things are and how they ought to be (Dean, 1999, p. 11). Rationalities are underpinned by coherent systems of thought according to a value of truth (Foucault, 1979a; Rose, 1999). Forms of thought or rationalities are employed in practices of governing that give rise to specific forms of truth and ‘regimes of practices’. ‘Regimes of practices’ are historically constituted assemblages through which certain things are done, such as the education or the care of children (Dean, 1999; Foucault, 1991). ‘Regimes of practices’ are routinized and ritualized institutional practices that are part of a wider disciplinary rationality, which “crystallize into institutions, they inform individual behaviour, they act as grids for the perception and evaluation of things” (Foucault, 1991, p. 81).

Governmental rationalities have three forms (Dean, 1999; Rose, 1999; Rose & Miller, 1992). The first form is called political rationalities and they deliver a ‘moral’ form to government by giving details about the power and duties of authorities and the distribution of tasks between authorities. It also considers the ideologies to which government should be directed, such as freedom, responsibility, growth or development. Thus, the ‘moral’ form of political rationality is also “purposive according to which ends and not only means are determined rationally” (J. Simons, 1995, p.38). For example, neo-liberalism, as one of the recent political ideologies, produces the political rationality of government in Australia, limits government to encourage free competition and also minimizes social welfare to increase the self-reliance of citizens.

Second, governmental rationalities have an ‘epistemological’ form, which describes the nature of objects to be governed, including some accounts of the persons
over whom government is to be exercised. For example, children are constituted as individuals with specific skills and potential with the use of a whole host of disciplinary knowledges delivered by regimes of child development and learning. In this form, governmental rationalities utilize the disciplinary knowledges about individuals.

Third, governmental rationalities are articulated in “idioms” by the utilization of the “translation mechanism” of language (Miller & Rose, 1990, p. 6), which renders reality thinkable and subject to political deliberations. It is through these translations that objects, such as children, teaching and learning, are rendered into a particular conceptual format and made amenable to intervention and regulation (Miller and Rose, 1990). As Rose (1999) explains: through “translation, alignments are forged between the objectives of authorities wishing to govern and the personal projects of those organizations, groups and individuals who are the subjects of government” (p. 48).

For instance, by borrowing Rose’s (1999) example, in the early 20th century national efficiency was defined as the “problematics of rule” (p. 50). Through the translation of efficiency into the area of physical and mental health, school children’s ‘physical efficiency’ was improved through hygiene and the ‘mental efficiency’ of the race was addressed with attention to the feeble-minded (Rose, 1999, p. 251). By using Rose and Miller’s (1992) short review of the three forms of political rationality it can be said that they are “morally coloured, grounded upon knowledge, and made thinkable through language” (p.179).

The rationalization of the government is made practicable through technologies. Through technologies, thought becomes governmental (Rose, 1999). ‘Human technology’ is an array of practical knowledge to shape human conduct to produce certain desired ends and to avert undesired ones. ‘Human technology’ understands and
acts upon human capacities by technological means (Rose, 1999). As an example, the
notions of ‘childhood’ can be conceptualized as a technology of government that
assumes certain capacities or competencies of children and governs those to fulfil
specific governmental ends (Hultqvist, 2001).

Thought organized through the technology of childhood invents possibilities,
imposes limits, and is imbued with aspirations for the shaping of children’s conduct
(Rose, 1999). It marks out what it is possible to do to certain humans subjected as
children. The technology of childhood is assembled from forms of practical knowledge,
which define how to see children, how to describe them, how and who can act on their
conduct and on what ground, what relations they have, what places, equipments and
techniques need to be created for them (classroom, playground, timetable, supervision
and so forth to produce certain types of visibility,) what capacities they have and so
forth, which are all inscribed by aspirations for the formation of their conduct (Rose,
1999, p. 52). The technology of childhood traverses and draws on various forms of
practical knowledge. It is not the realization of a simple ‘will to govern’ (Rose, 1999).

5. Modes of governing individuals and the subject

Foucault’s work on genealogy or the ‘history of the present’ stands in opposition
to other works, where the present “is considered in history as the break, the climax, the
fulfilment, the return of youth, etc.” (Foucault, 1989, p. 251). Foucault considers the
present as an ‘ethos’, a collection of questions through which the present is
‘destabilized’ (Barry et al., 1996a). ‘Destabilization’ enables the questioning of the
taken-for-granted views, motivations and experiences of the present. According to
Foucault, the present is ‘perspectival’, because it brings “into view the historically
sedimented underpinnings of particular “problematizations” that have a salience for our contemporary experience”, therefore, it uncouples the experience from its conditions (Barry et al., 1996a, p. 5). This is the reason why Foucault considers genealogy as the ‘history of present’. Conversely, to question the ways children are governed and how they are made subjects of certain truths and ‘regimes of practices’ one has to outline the historical residues of this experience.

In Foucault’s concern about the present there is a place for liberalism in shaping the contours of the present. His work from the late 1970s focused on the ‘arts of government’. Liberalism is discussed in these works as a rational way of doing things and not as a theory or ideology of individual freedom (Barry et al., 1996a; Burchell, 1996; Dean, 1999; Foucault, 1994a; Rose, 1996b, 1999). Liberalism, according to this idea, “is described as a particular way in which the activity of government has been made both thinkable and practicable as an art” (Burchell, 1996, p. 21). Foucault’s investigations on the ‘art of government’ do not only focus on politics, but also on how particular rationalities are made intelligible through their “practical, technical and epistemic conditions of existence” (Dean, 1999, p.47).

Liberalism according to a genealogical approach is neither a “coherent set of ideas nor a definite institutional structure” (Dean, 1999, p. 49). It is rather a critique or a continual dissatisfaction with government (Foucault, 1994a; Rose, 1996b). This critique is “turned against the previous forms of government it tries to distinguish itself from the actual form it seeks to reform, rationalize and exhaustively review, and the potential forms it opposes and whose abuses it wishes to limit” (Dean, 1999, p.49). This way, liberalism is not an absence of government or a lessening focus on the government of individuals’ conduct. The histories of the present concern liberalism as a collection of
the intellectual and practical techniques and particular problematizations of government. Liberal thought starts from “society, which is in a complex relation of exteriority and interiority with respect to the state” (Foucault, 1994a, p. 75). The idea of society enabled the development of the principle of ‘too much’ government on which liberal rationality of government is based and the questioning of the necessity or usefulness of government (Foucault, 1994a).

The various forms of liberalisms do not follow each other in succession, they are becoming more complex by wielding and mixing with new forms of power, truths and techniques (Dean, 1999; Foucault, 1994a; Rose, 1996b, 1999). Through the various relationships between government, the economy and the social, that political rationalities constituted, liberalism manifested itself in particular forms called ‘classical’ or ‘early’ liberalism, ‘welfare’ or ‘social’ liberalism and ‘neo-‘ or ‘advanced’ liberalism (Dean, 1999; Rose, 1996b, 1999).

5.1. ‘Early’ liberalism

19th century liberalism was concerned with problems about the governability of individuals, families, markets and populations (Rose, 1996b). In ‘early’ liberalism, government was linked with the individual’s interests and the freedom of economic and industrial life (Rose, 1996b). Thus, there was a need to govern in order to ensure morality and order, but also to restrict government to guarantee liberty and the free economy. Moreover, government could not override individuals’ free conduct, because in that case it would have destroyed its own rationality, namely to enable the free conduct of governed individuals (Burchell et al., 1991). Expertise – social sciences, psychiatry, economics, statistics and so on – came to provide solutions for these
controversial aims by producing truths about persons, society and the economy (Foucault, 1988b). Expertise created the conditions for the capacitation (through disciplinary technology) and ethical formation and self-formation of persons (through pastoral technology and the technologies of the self). Through expert authority and the scientific and technical knowledges they produced, ruling over time and space became possible (Barry, 1996; Rose, 1996b). Thus, expertise produced the conditions of possibility to govern individuals at a distance, while at the same time it created the possibility of maintaining the freedom of individuals.

Expertise also supported and supplanted philanthropists in their missions to morally reform the population. Based on reformers and philanthropists’ work, a number of “frictions and disturbances”, such as marital breakdown, pauperism, insanity and so forth were turned into ‘social’ problems (Rose, 1996b, p. 46). These problems were linked to the wellbeing of the nation and consequently these problems required remedial state attention, such as the moralization of labouring class children through hygiene and mental hygiene (Rose, 1996b).

Disciplines and bio-politics of the population found their ways within liberal mentalities of rule (Rose, 1996b). The individual was subject to certain norms of civilization created by the emerging disciplines. Governmental devices, such as schools, family, asylums and so on, produced subjects who could govern themselves and be responsible for themselves; who could be free, moral and ‘civilized’ citizens. Moreover, it was hoped that self-government would somehow become aligned with national objectives (Rose, 1996b). Bio-political strategies – such as census, statistics, programs for reproduction, minimalization of illness and promotion of health – were also utilized,
together with the knowledges they created, to make government possible and better, and to enhance the wellbeing of individual citizens and the population as a whole.

For example, the first kindergartens in Western Australia established before the turn of the 20th century were funded by the philanthropic activities of women. Kindergartens increasingly utilized expert knowledges and practices of childrearing and pedagogy, such as Foebel’s or Montessori’s educational theories, or the practices of the hygienist movement. An explicit aim of these pedagogies was to lift adult domination of children so they regain their ‘natural’ freedom. Children, through these pedagogies, were subjected as individuals who are increasingly responsible for themselves and are able to govern themselves.

5.2. ‘Social’ liberalism

Over the late nineteenth and early 20th century, ideas about a new formula for ruling emerged in the form of critiques and reforms of ‘early’ liberalism. It was increasingly argued that social problems were unsuccessfully dealt with, working conditions worsened while unemployment rose. Consequently, it was suggested that the moralization of the population had failed. These critiques created the conditions for the emergence of a new form of thinking about government: ‘social’ liberalism. Economists introduced the new idea of ‘welfare’ into the field of government. This idea translated (recoded) the political field and the management of economical and social affairs (Rose, 1999). The new rationality for political authority aimed to ensure the freedom of the

---

4 This idea and how it was re-invented repeatedly with the problematizations of liberal modes of governments are further discussed in consecutive chapters.
individual and the freedom of the capitalist enterprise in the name of collective security (Rose, 1996b, p. 48).

In the new way of thinking about government, expertise took a novel role and became inextricably linked to the formal political apparatus of rule. The union of the new rationality and forms of expertise transformed the “State into a centre that could programme – shape, guide, channel, direct, control – events and persons distant from it” (Rose, 1999, p. 40). Professionals were invested with authority to act upon individuals according to the truth they created and to set norms for individual conduct. Individuals were governed through society according to ‘social norms’ and their experiences and evaluations were constituted in a ‘social form’ (Rose, 1996b, p. 40). The State was occupied with the welfare of its citizens. The new subject of government, as Rose (1996b) argues, was “a subject of needs, attitudes and relationships, a subject who was to be embraced within, and governed through a nexus of collective solidarities and dependencies” (p. 40).

The State, coupled with expertise, established a whole host of technologies to ‘social-ize’ individual citizenship and economic life (Rose, 1996b, p. 48). The individual was managed in an ever-extending network of social security, such as state departments or government offices, to reduce the risks of economy, wage labour, sickness, injury and so forth. Expertise broke down the everyday activities of individuals into more and more minute details and on that basis, established norms and deviations that were judged in terms of social costs and were made amenable to amelioration through education and reformation (Rose, 1996b). As a result of this incursion of the ‘social’ state into the ‘privacy’ of the private spheres of the family and
factory and the introduction of regulatory devices through schemes and legislations, the autonomy of these spaces was weakened (Rose, 1996b).

At the same time, new forms of responsibility and obligations took shape (Rose, 1996b). Citizenship was reconceptualized in a way that political subjects had “rights to social protection and social education in return for duties of social obligation and social responsibility” (Rose, 1996b, p. 49). Expertise played an important role in aligning the self-government of subjects with the objectives of political authority through education and persuasion (Rose, 1996b).

The problematics of government in relation to the ‘social’ was prominent in Australia during the early 1970s under the Whitlam Labor government⁵. The issue of early care and education gained an important position on the government’s agenda. This issue was translated, in line with the reasoning of the state and the help of expertise, into two dominant sets of problems. (It is important to add, however, that a great number of intermingling discourses influenced the way these problems were constructed.) First, the provision of care was translated into the problem of providing care for children in order to enable mothers’ participation in the workforce and to ensure the economic enterprise. While second, early education was translated into a solution for the reformation of those children who came from families that deviated in some ways from the social norms. These children were typically the children of migrants, the labouring classes and so on. The rationale for the provision of early education was to pre-empt social costs brought on the state by deviance.

The same issue returned to the government’s agenda more recently. It was translated, however, into two different sets of problematizations. First, the provision of

---

⁵ This is discussed in further detail in Chapter Six.
quality child-care is an important issue today, because it provides parents with choices not only between centres but between work and staying home. Second, early education gained a crucial strategic significance, because neglecting early education and ‘proper’ care might result in future high economic costs to governments and communities in the form of investment into welfare services (Commonwealth Task Force on Child Development, 2003).

The ‘social’ state gave way to the ‘enabling’ state (Lingard, 2000a), which was no longer required to look after all the needs of its citizens. The state shifted some of its responsibilities to ‘partners’, such as communities, firms, organizations, individuals, school, localities and so forth (Rose, 1999).

5.3. ‘Neo-liberalism’ and ‘advanced’ liberalism

The transformation from the ‘social’ state to the ‘enabling’ state was brought about by various critiques. Critiques addressed the state’s spending on welfare and its excessive intervention into the economy. Another related stream of critique addressed the ‘social’ government’s intrusion into individual freedom and this incursion’s harmful effects on individual rights and public morals (Rose, 1996b, 1999). These accounts are expressed in Friedrich von Hayek’s (1973-9) writings. The increased utilization of expertise to a wide range of social objectives, and the possibility to intervene through a variety of devices into people’s lives (such as social agencies) without direct government intervention, conditioned the emergence of a new way of government around the globe. In addition, expertise has already successfully implanted into citizens

---

6 Lingard (2000a) characterizes the role of the State in neo-liberalism as to ‘enable’ its citizens to look after themselves, that is the reason why he termed it ‘enabling state’.
the care for their own wellbeing and advancement, thus individuals became more self-governing (Rose, 1996b, 1999). It took three decades for these critiques and reforms to assemble into a new way of thinking about government that is termed, following Rose (1996b, 1999), ‘advanced liberal’.

Initially new regimes of governments, such as the Burke Labor government (1983-1988) in Western Australia, began their reforms by cutting the welfare budget without having an elaborated political rationality. These activities, however, soon formalized into a rationality called ‘neo-liberalism’. ‘Neo-liberalism’ reinvented the thinking of ‘classical’ liberalism. As an economic doctrine it gives supremacy to free markets and as a political ideology it limits the role of the state to “secure private property rights and contracts” (Albo, 2002, p. 46). ‘Neo-liberalism’ is widely understood to have its genesis in the 1970s and early 1980s when Thatcher and Reagan came to power in the United Kingdom (UK) and United States (US) respectively, instituting ways of thinking based on the ideas of von Hayek’s critique of the interventionist state (Dean, 1999; Rose, 1999).

The underlying moral base for both ‘classical’ and ‘neo-liberalism’ is freedom. In both cases freedom is not a Utopian dream, but a technical condition of rational government (Burchell, 1996) that utilizes the self-government of its subjects. In the ideology of ‘classical’ liberalism, self-government aligns with ‘natural liberty’. Smith ([1776] 1982) equated ‘natural liberty’ with the ‘natural’ interests of individuals in that they pursue these interests in the ‘free market’. This pursuit was to be accomplished by employing rational choice and in opposition to prevailing other social structures. The moral equivalency of all individuals who had the capacity for reason – thus rational choice – was highlighted by Smith. This capacity for rational choice was expressed
through liberty in an unfettered marketplace. In ‘neo-liberalism’ the notions of ‘freedom’, ‘interest’ and ‘choice’, as the diagram of the ‘free subject’, underwent successive displacements. ‘Freedom’ is an artificial (von Hayek, 1973-9), or as Foucault called it, a ‘constructivist’ notion. ‘Freedom’, ‘interest’ and ‘choice’ all “require particular institutional, cultural and economic conditions”, and therefore, the environment has to be manipulated to allow them to flourish (Dean, 1999, p. 158).

In ‘neo-liberal’ rationality, as Dean (1999) explains, subjects are assisted to practise their freedom, but only in ways that the state has defined previously. For example, by using Dean’s (1999, p. 160-161) explanation, individuals without work are constituted as consumers of ‘employment placement enterprises’, labeled as workers choosing a job, rather than unemployed welfare recipients. In these displacements the subject of government was reshaped and the subject’s freedom “is seen as autonomy, the capacity to realize one’s desires in one’s secular life, to fulfil one’s potential through one’s own endeavours, to determine the course of one’s own existence through acts of choice” (Rose, 1999, p. 84). A similar idea was developed by Marshall (1995) with regards to education. He describes the formation of a particular type of subject, for example, the ‘responsible parent’ who is constructed in a way that she is compelled to choose in a general way. Through these transformations individuals are “not merely ‘free to choose’, but obliged to be free, to understand and enact their lives in terms of choice (Rose, 1999, p. 87).

7 Dean (1999, p. 56) explains Foucault’s analysis of the German Ordoliberalen of the late 1920s. As Dean (1999) summarizes: “the ordoliberals recommend the implementation of the competitive market as ‘an artificial game of competitive freedom’, but under particular institutional conditions” (p. 56).
8 For a succinct and detailed explanation see Dean (1999, p. 155-159).
In contemporary liberalism, there is a rejection of the notion of ‘social’: first, in the form of social obligation, and second, as distancing social issues from government. The implications of these for governmental practices are documented by various authors in the form of a shift from the ‘welfare state’ to the ‘market’ or ‘contract state’ (Dean, 1999; Gewirtz & Ball, 2000; Marginson, 1993, 1997a, 1997b; Rose, 1996a, 1996b, 1999; Yeatman, 1993). This mentality resulted in the dismantling of public service bureaucracies and their reconstruction either as state owned or contractual enterprises according to the logic of competition, market, consumer demand and private management (Rose, 1999).

One should remain, however, cautious talking about the ‘death of the social’ as Rose (1996a) suggested. The “social is not dead” (p. 193), as Dean (1999) argues, because the social is not what contemporary liberalism transformed, but its ‘welfarist’ form:

The social [is] … not inscribed within a centralized and coordinated state; it [is] … reconfigured as a set of constructed markets in service provision and expertise, made operable through heterogeneous technologies of agency, and rendered calculable by technologies of performance that govern at a distance (Dean, 1999, p.193).

Given this argument, the ‘social is not dead’, only the service provisions and expertise were spread out from under the State and were rendered efficient, accountable and transparent to the government with various forms of auditing and financial accounting, as explained later.

‘Neo-liberalism’ entails shifting political rationalities that make up most of the governments worldwide since the fall of Soviet Communism, however, ‘neo-liberalism’ as a political rationality is heterogeneous in nature in the various countries (Dean,
All forms of ‘neo-liberalism’ essentialize the market, which they claim has an inner essence or principle, however, the various forms differently realize this essence (Dean, 1999; Hindess, 1987). Parties from either end of the political spectrum adopted rationalities of ‘neo-liberalism’, for example the Keating Labor government in the early 1990s in Australia and the Third Way administration of Tony Blair in the UK more recently. ‘Neo-liberalism’ also sits in a contested political field alongside neo-conservative, populist or other anti-governmental political rationalities (Dean, 1999). For example, the Howard coalition government (1996-2007) in Australia follows a neo-liberal ideology that is mixed with a morally conservative view of the family, and in addition, is often bolstered by an appeal to nationalism (Hill, 2006; Manne, 2004; Meagher & Wilson, 2006).

There is a difference between ‘neo-liberalism’ and ‘advanced liberalism’ as Rose (1996b, 1999) and Dean (1999) define them. ‘Advanced liberalism’ is the rethinking of the relationship between society, the economy and expertise. ‘Advanced liberalism’ embraces a broader compilation of “rationalities, technologies and agencies that constitute the characteristic ways of governing in contemporary liberal democracies” (Dean, 1999, p. 149-50). Rose (1996b) describes the shift to the ‘advanced’ ways of government according to three characteristics.

First, expert authority was detached from “apparatuses of political rule, relocating experts within a market governed by the rationalities of competition, accountability and consumer demand” (Rose, 1996b, p. 41). As a result, the power wielded by the knowledge of human conduct transferred from the authority of the experts to calculative regimes, such as accounting or financial management. With the utilization of these devices, expert authority was made responsible to and overseen by
the State through reporting and was quasi-marketized (Dean, 1999). This enabled new visibilities to be created “for the conduct of organizations and those who inhabit them” (Rose, 1999, p. 55) and new ways of wielding power emerged (Rose, 1996b). A good example of this is the child-care accreditation criteria (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005), such as the ones in Australia regarding the accreditation of family day cares (National Childcare Accreditation Council Inc., 2006a) and long day care centres (National Childcare Accreditation Council Inc., 2006b).

Marketization created a competition between rival expert knowledges. In this context, citizens and welfare agencies were reconstructed as ‘purchasers’ who could freely choose between them. Regimes of accounting and financial management were applied to the assessment of all problems of society from school management to health provision. Consequently, with the utilization of audit, organizations and individuals’ conduct became easily measurable according to the flexible criteria of effectiveness, appropriateness and efficiency (Power, 1997).

Second, the ‘advanced liberal’ mode of government detached various technologies assembled under the ‘social’ state, such as the provision of social services including education, public utilities, prisons, civil service or police. These started to work as quasi-autonomous, non-governmental organizations and assumed objectivity and political neutrality (Rose, 1996b, 2000). While they were dressed up with autonomy and responsibility for their actions, they were also regulated through “contracts, indicators, performance measures, monitoring and evaluation” (Rose, 1996b, p. 57).

For example, devolution has been the feature of Australian government reform since the late 1970s. Autonomy and authority were delegated to the individual states. Since the 1980s, the states initiated decentralizing reforms as well (Whitty et al., 1998).
In Western Australia, the publication of the *Better Schools Report* (Ministry of Education, 1987) report resulted in the devolution of many administrative responsibilities and authority to schools, however, the central monitoring and evaluation remained prevalent. The *Better Schools Report* (Ministry of Education, 1987) introduced “mechanisms for monitoring performance” (Whitty et al., 1998, p. 23). Thus, while powers were devolved to school levels, the curriculum remains centralized under the State. Periodic central testing of students is required and a centrally prescribed management form and legislation exists for the operation and management of school matters.

Shifts were documented by various academic observers in Australia and overseas to conceptualize education in performative relations between schools and the government (Ball, 1998, 2000, 2004; Blackmore, 1999; Blackmore & Sachs, 2004; Lingard, 2000a; Lingard & Blackmore, 1997; Ozga, 2000). The culture of performativity “employs judgements, comparisons and displays as a means of control, attrition and change” (Ball, 2004, p. 143). This culture, as Ball (2004) elaborates further, through testing and assessment makes comparison possible even on international levels, such as the comparison of early childhood education and care policy commissioned by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (Press & Hayes, 2000). Comparisons with their rationality of simplification, quantification and performativity avoid epistemological concerns and help commodify knowledge. As a result the educational project is “left empty” (p. 149). Schooling becomes a ‘fabrication’ and impression management that affects teachers’ identities and work.
Performativity and audit translates complex processes into information. This translation mechanism enables the citizen to act as a rational consumer exercising choice based on the calculations delivered by accreditation systems, inspection reports and performance indicators. Simplifying the complex issues of education into numbers also constitutes ideal subjects of schooling. Individuals can find it hard to live up to these measures. This point leads into the third set of characteristics of ‘advanced liberalism’.

‘Advanced liberalism’ specifies the subject of government in new ways. The change from ‘welfare liberalism’ to ‘advanced liberalism’ was accompanied by the constitution of a contemporary human being expressed in a new ideal: the ‘actively responsible self’ (Rose, 1996c). This individual interprets its “reality and destiny as a matter of individual responsibility, it is to find meaning in existence by shaping its life through acts of choice” (Rose, 1996c, p. 151). Social insurance as a principle of social solidarity undergoes a mutation and, consequently, individuals become responsible for their own risks of unemployment, poverty and so on. These individuals fulfil their obligation “not through their relations of dependency and obligation to one another [as was the case in the ‘social’ state], but through seeking to fulfil themselves within a variety of micro-domains”, such as schools or communities (Rose, 1996b, p. 57).

‘Advanced liberalism’ seeks to govern through the regulated choices of individuals as subjects of self-actualization and self-fulfillment (Rose, 1996b, 1996c). The individual makes an ‘enterprise’ of her life, to better herself through active self-crafting of her existence or a certain ‘art of living’ (Rose, 1996c). ‘Enterprise culture’ establishes a connection between the recent political scene of ‘advanced liberalism’, the ethics of the self and contemporary institutions (Rose, 1996c). The ethics of the self or
self-government has two forms. First, morality, that is understood as self-government according to set external moral codes embedded in ideas of human nature. The second is ethics, that is the self-crafting of one’s existence (Foucault, 1994b; Rose, 1999, 2000). While self-government according to a certain morality was more significant in ‘social’ liberalism and is still present, in ‘advanced liberalism’ there was a shift to the dominance of the second one. The new politics of behaviour in ‘advanced liberalism’ governs through the ethics of the self, thus termed ‘ethopolitics’ by Rose (1999, 2000).

‘Ethopolitics’ wields a qualitatively different form of power from disciplinary or bio-power. It aims at the “values, beliefs, [and] sentiments thought to underpin the techniques of responsible self-government, and the management of one’s obligations to others” (Rose, 2000, p. 1399). Government through ethics has two general forms following Foucault’s (1994b) thinking. First, the alignment of self-government with a set of moral codes external to the person, the way as government through ethics was dominant in ‘social’ liberalism. Second, as an aesthetics of the self, the art of living or the self-crafting of individual existence according to certain kinds of lifestyles, the way it is more significant in ‘enterprise culture’ or ‘advanced’ liberalism.

There is an increasing role of “culture and consumption mechanisms in … the generation, regulation, and evaluation of techniques of self-conduct in ‘advanced liberalism’ (Rose, 2000, p. 1399). Culture and consumption take a significant part in the civilization of individuals (Rose, 1999, 2000). Through active choice between the plentiful identities and lifestyles offered by the media and consumption, the self actively chooses to build her autonomous identity (Rose, 1999). These choices connect the individual to micro-cultures of communities and their values and meanings.
Discipline in ‘advanced liberalism’ also undergoes a transformation and has implications for the formation of the subject. This idea is expressed in ‘societies of control’ (Deleuze, 1992). In ‘societies of control’, as Hardt and Negri (2001) explain, “the immanent exercise of discipline – that is the self-disciplining of subjects, the incessant whispering of disciplinary logics within subjectivities themselves – is extended even more generally” (Hardt & Negri, 2001, p.330). This extension is represented through the breaking down of the social institutions’ walls. Without these walls the logics of subjectification spreads out across the social field (Hardt & Negri, 2001). Discipline, as an inner compulsion indistinguishable from our will, is less bounded spatially (released from institutions). “Carcereal discipline, school discipline, factory discipline, and so forth interweave in a hybrid production of subjectivity” (Hardt & Negri, 2001, p.330-331). ‘Hybrid subjectivity’ is produced simultaneously by numerous institutions and their logics. Thus, the subject will be the student outside the school or mother at university and will have a mixed constitution intensively ruled by the institutions’ disciplinary logics.

These transformations in the government of individuals and society, as discussed above, reconstructed the provision of pre-compulsory education in Australia in major ways. The quasi-privatization of government services, combined with the shift from social security to the private, legitimized the private care of children⁹. In recent years there was a sharp increase in the provision of those child-care and early education facilities owned by multi-national corporations, such as ABC Learning (Press, 2006; Press & Woodrow, 2005; Woodrow & Brennan, 1999; Woodrow & Press, 2007). Small

---

⁹ Child-care institutions also provide an educational program for children. That is why I consider them as related to pre-compulsory education.
government or community operated centres are slowly being pushed out from the market because they lack resources for promotion and performance management. There are several consequences of these changes in relation to the provision and the curriculum, pedagogy and quality of care of children (Press & Woodrow, 2005; Woodrow & Brennan, 1999).

The political rationality of ‘neo-liberalism’ commodifies pre-compulsory education and translates it as a good traded on the market. This way, parents\(^\text{10}\) became the consumers (C. Luke, 1994) and carers or teachers the producers of these services (Popkewitz & Bloch, 2001). This has implications for the production of new forms of visibilities and power relations in these services. The epistemological meanings of care and education are decoded into accreditation criteria, standards, quality measures, performance indicators and profits through the process of commodification (Dahlberg \textit{et al.}, 1999).

Practices and routines in early childhood services acquire certain monetary value through auditing. The transformation of goals into auditable practices shifts ethical problems into the era of market and performance management. As a result, “[t]he instrumental language, assumptions and ideology of management predominates, and business values (competitiveness, entrepreneurship, individualization) increasingly permeate every aspect of pedagogical work” (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005, p.45).

At last, the shift in the mode of government conditioned the replacement of schooling by lifelong learning (Fendler, 2001), where the first stage is the pre-school (pre-compulsory education) (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005). The disciplinary instrument of

\(^{10}\) It is not always clear who is considered as the consumer of this product, the parent or the child, according to this discourse.
examination is exchanged with continuous assessment. The individual is required “to engage in a ceaseless work of training and retraining, skilling and reskilling, enhancement of credentials and preparation for a life of incessant job seeking: life is to become a continuous economic capitalization of the self” (Rose, 1999, p.161).

Hence, in ‘advanced’ liberalism, subjects are governed not only through the centralized State, but also, for example, through the work of philanthropists, dispersed service provisions and expert organizations detached from the apparatuses of political rule. The changing constitutions of ‘the child’ emanate, therefore, from the State, and also from a decentralized network of institutions and organizations related to the welfare and wellbeing of children. In this way, governmentalities link ‘the child’, the State and this network through a variety of measures, ranging from the school system, forms of curricula and evaluation together with paradigms of knowledge and pedagogy, “to all those minor technical inventions and tools that are used” (Hultqvist, 2001, p. 148).

6. The Study of governmentality

[To study governmentality is] to interrogate problems and problematizations through which ‘being’ has been shaped in a thinkable and manageable form, the sites and locales where these problems formed and the authorities responsible for enunciating upon them, the techniques and devices invented, the modes of authority and subjectification engendered, and the telos of these ambitions and strategies (Rose, 1999, p. 22).

The final part of this chapter makes some methodological points regarding the genealogical approach to governmentality analysis. There is no step-by-step
methodology or a standard guideline on how to execute the study of governmentality as Dean (1999) and Rose (1999) argue. These authors state that having an exact approach is not necessary. They refer to a number of varied works that were carried out in the broad framework of governmentality without legitimating any of study as the most desired ones. Here, I provide an outline of how the analysis in this thesis is performed, which takes cues from previous works using the theoretical tool of governmentality for analysis in early education, such as Tyler (1993), Baker (1998), Hultqvist (2001), Fendler (2001), Ailwood (2002a, 2004) and Popkewitz (2003).

The inquiry in this study follows, in a broad and metaphorical sense, genealogy as developed by Foucault (1980b) as a ‘history of the present’, and it is without seeking to provide an exhaustive account of history. It examines, following Foucault’s (1994c) method for the history of thought, “the conditions under which certain relations between subject and object formed or modified, to the extent that these relations are constitutive of a possible knowledge” (p. 314). Thus, this study interrogates how relations between the provision of pre-compulsory education and children emerged and changed, and constituted knowledges and practices for the disciplining and governing of children. One of the aims of this project is to determine the various modes in which children were “subjectivized” (Foucault, 1994c) through these knowledges and practices. In relation to that, it is also important to examine how children were made objects of these knowledges that produced particular ‘truths’ about them. The interplaying and “reciprocal bond” of subjectivization and objectivization is what Foucault calls “truth games” (Foucault, 1994c, p. 315). Hence, this thesis attempts to produce a “history of the emergence of truth games” (Foucault, 1994c) of children in pre-compulsory education in order to outline how these truths constituted ‘the child’ as their subjects.
It is important to lay down that governing in modern societies is based on the mentality toward the subject (Foucault, 1979a), and thus it is not the actual child at whom the ruling is aimed. The exercise of power is aimed at those constitutions that were historically produced by the changing discursive fields produced by political thought. Another aim of this study is to delineate these shifting constitutions of ‘the child’ that were and are aligned with shifting rationalities for the government of individuals. Thus, the history of ‘the child’ as the subject of pre-compulsory education “is not about a pre-existing object, but about the ever-changing rationalities for government” (Hultqvist, 1998, p.96).

**6.1. Methodological considerations**

There are three particular methodological considerations necessary in order to carry out this analysis, as Foucault (1994c) suggests. First, a systematic scepticism of universals needs to be maintained, which involves problematizations and interrogations of the universals “in their historical constitution” (Foucault, 1994c, p. 317). Or as Dean (1999) argues, seeking “to grasp regimes of practices by means of their own terms” (p. 44, original emphasis). On the one hand, this genealogy makes the past and present strange, it destabilizes and denaturalizes the present (Rose, 1999). For example, genealogy makes ‘regimes of practices’ unfamiliar that invoke the ‘nature’ of ‘the child’, since what we understand as ‘natural’ also shifted in the past. Genealogy outlines the various discursive fields surrounding the very ‘nature’ of ‘the child’ and demonstrates how they carry varied understandings in regards to that. Froebel thought about the ‘nature’ of ‘the child’ in relation to a divine order and considered it as predestined. In recent pedagogical discourses, the ‘nature’ of ‘the child’ is about
becoming, to be a motivated learner and to become an entrepreneur of herself (Hultqvist & Dahlberg, 2001). In this understanding genealogy destabilizes the ‘nature’ of ‘the child’ in historical discourses.

On the other hand, genealogy makes the past not so different from today in certain respects (Dean, 1999). It demonstrates how particular discourses were reconceptualized from earlier use. Consequently, genealogies are able to reveal continuities with the past and demonstrate how certain ‘regimes of practices’ are reinvented according to changing rationalities of government. For instance, Ailwood’s (2002a, 2004) studies on play demonstrated how play in pre-compulsory education served as a technology that enabled children to experience the ‘Divine unity’ in Froebel’s (1912) pedagogy. More recently, play is used to develop children’s competencies and skills.

The second methodological consideration is that it is necessary “to study the concrete practices by which the subject is constituted in the immanence of a domain of knowledge” (Foucault, 1994c). In other words, to study how various discursive fields and ‘regimes of thought’ produce the conditions of possibility in which particular subjects are made up. This way, as Foucault (1980a) argues elsewhere, the genealogy of the subject “get[s] rid of the subject itself … to arrive at an analysis which can account for the constitution of the subject within a historical framework” without the necessity to examine an “empty subject” of ‘the child’ as “it runs throughout the course of history” (p. 117).

The third methodological suggestion made by Foucault (1994c) is to approach the analysis “from the angle of what ‘was done’” (p. 318). By studying the ways things were done, one can reveal the particular ways of thought or rationalities along which the objects and subjects were constituted and made governable.
After delineating these methodological considerations, Foucault links them with the analytics of power and explains how power exercised in different forms of governing “determined factors in the various modes of the subject’s objectivization” (p. 319). He argues, therefore, it is necessary to interrogate power through “the devices and techniques that are used in different institutional contexts to act on the behaviour of individuals taken separately or in groups; to shape, direct, and modify their behaviour” (Foucault, 1994c, p. 318). By linking these methodological considerations with the analytics of government, Foucault lays down the core of a methodological framework for the study of governmentality that will be followed in this study.

### 6.2. Methodology

As a result of projecting the above considerations onto my thesis, I divided the analysis into two parts. The first part ‘de-centers’ (Foucault, 1972; Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998) or ‘gets rid of the subject’ and focuses on the forms of power/knowledge or ‘regimes of truth’ and technologies assembled for the education of the young child, in which subjects are constituted (Foucault, 1988a). I analyze the knowledge base of pre-compulsory education, such as developmental and educational psychology, curriculum, forms of pedagogies and particular ideas derived from the sociology of childhood, fashioned by shifting governmental rationalities. I perform this analysis in relation to ‘the child’ as the object and subject of these discourses and non-discursive practices and who is being governed by these truths. This examination takes place in Chapters Three and Four by using documentary evidence to map the discursive fields for the articulation of ‘the child’ as a subject of these discourses.
Chapter Five, the last chapter belonging to the first part of the analysis, is concerned “with how the thought operates within our organized ways of doing things, our regimes of practices, … within programmes for the direction and reform of conduct (Dean, 1999, p. 18). Chapter Five analyses classroom discipline theories and the practices they institute developed for the explicit regulation of children’s conduct. These ‘regimes of practices’ are examined as inventions to produce, utilize and govern particular subjects aligned with governmental rationalities. The aim of this chapter is to identify what subjects are constituted through these practices.

In the course of the study, I look for significant discursive themes that constituted ‘the child’ particular ways. Tracing the shifts, the mutations and reinventions of these themes is a central concern of this genealogy of the subject of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia. These themes emerged from a range of psychological, pedagogical, and in a smaller volume, sociological theories and practices that are utilized in pre-compulsory education to create understanding and practice of learning, teaching and regulation in the classroom. I identify by the examination of these themes how ‘the child’ is differently constituted as a subject of these discursive fields.

The second part of the analysis focuses on ‘what was done’ in relation to the provision of pre-compulsory education and in relation to forms of care and welfare\(^\text{11}\) for young children in Western Australia. It examines, therefore, the practices of the governing authorities, agencies or organizations together with the practices of

\(^\text{11}\) From the late nineteenth century kindergartens were established in Western Australia with the specific aim to teach young children. However, other forms of institutions for the care and welfare of young children came to see light as well. The objectives of these can be related to the education of young children, because they delivered certain mandates for the reformation and civilization of young people. Moreover, more recently early education is understood in an integrated framework with other services that ensure the wellbeing of children.
philanthropists or voluntary and expert organizations that created the possibilities for the provision of different systems for pre-compulsory education and related to that the care and welfare of children. Federal and state level policies, documents and statements, and documents of various organizations are analyzed\(^{12}\) to disclose political rationalities that produced the conditions for the emergence of different forms of pre-compulsory services in Western Australia and constituted ‘the child’ as their subject. In order to characterize the political rationalities of government, I view the activity of government, specifically “what relations are established between political and other authorities; what funds, forces, persons, knowledge or legitimacy are utilized; and … what devices and techniques are these techniques made operable” (Rose & Miller, 1992, p.177).

In Chapters Six and Eight I analyze the discursive fields related to the education of young children produced by the shifting political rationalities, such as national efficiency or citizenship. I also examine how these rationalities produced technologies for the government of young children and created the possibilities for the establishment of institutions responsible for the education and welfare of children. In Chapters Seven and Nine I delineate these discursive fields and identify how the shifting political rationalities and discourses constitute the changing subjects of pre-compulsory education from the 19th century.

The analysis outlined in these chapters follows my aim to link politics, early childhood education and ‘the child’. Creating a context generated by a genealogical analysis of governmentalities enables the researcher to discern the ways they produce thoughts for understanding children as objects and ‘the child’ as the shifting subject of educational discourses. Without this context, the understanding of the subject is almost

\(^{12}\) Please see a detailed list of documents in the Appendix.
taken-for-granted, because “mentalities are collective, … the way we think about … [the subject] draws upon the theories, ideas, philosophies and forms of knowledge that are part of our social and cultural products (Dean, 1999, p.16). This context enables to rethink the taken-for-granted ways of understanding ‘the child’, her education and regulation (for example through classroom management practices) and the techniques employed in the early childhood classroom as knowledges and practices produced for the government of ‘the child’. The critical distance created also opens up possible ways to rethink ‘the child’ and to expose those practices that are exercised with our best intentions to critique.

The second part of the thesis, Chapters Three, Four and Five, undertakes the task of identifying how children are objectified and subjected within early childhood discourses and practices and how these discourses and practices produce forms of injunctions to the self-government of children and what possibilities they offer in relation to forms of relations to themselves.
PART TWO

1. Introduction

The Second Part of this thesis analyses dominant psychological and pedagogical discourses of early childhood education, as a genealogy of ‘the child’ in Chapter Three: *The emergence of individualized pedagogy*, and Chapter Four: *Child-centred and interactive pedagogy*. Classroom discipline theories and approaches, as regimes of practice, used in early childhood classrooms are also discussed in this second part in Chapter Five: *Classroom discipline approaches and ‘the child’*. The analysis performed in this second part of the thesis provides a genealogy of ‘the child’ as the subject of early childhood education. This genealogy examines the changing theories and practices used for the education of young children that shift in concert with the ways they constituted ‘the child’. In other words, the second part of this study delineates how ‘the child’ was constituted in various ways in regards to the ideas about young children’s education. This analysis also serves as a backdrop for the examination of the constitutions of ‘the child’ in pre-compulsory education in Western Australia in Part Three. In the third part, the way the broader socio-political context of pre-compulsory education shapes the provision of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia will be explored, and the constitutions outlined in the second part will be tied into the analysis performed there.

Pre-compulsory education is used as an overarching term in this study to resolve the problem that originates in the lack of standardized terminology for the different forms in which early education in Western Australia took shape. For example, the earliest kindergartens towards the end of the 19th century enrolled children of diverse ages and were particularly targeted to the moralization of working classes or poor
people. Today, kindergarten is a term used for those programs that are educational in
nature and enroll four-year old children either in schools or independently as in
community kindergartens.

Part of my strategy in the Second Part of this study is to historicize current
constitutions of ‘the child’ and to contrast them with how earlier constitutions used
certain characteristics of ‘the child’ differently. In other words, to examine how
constitutions of ‘the child’ as the subject of early education shifted, were reinvented or
reshaped during the short history of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia.
While traditional historical analysis places ‘the child’ in a geographical and temporal
context, Foucauldian historical studies (such as Baker, 2001a; Hultqvist, 1998; Tyler,
1993) discuss ‘the child’ as bound in a discursive field and uneven time dimension and
understand it by referencing it to discursive practices. Discourses constitute how one
thinks about ‘the child’, which opens up what counts as ‘truth’ or ‘real’ about young
human beings. For example, ‘the child’ in schooling only appears after theories are
created to talk about it. These theories then normalize the ways we see children as
‘learners’ or having ‘developmental progress’.

Chapter Four continues from Chapter Three and they analyze, in a historical
sequence, significant discourses in the field of developmental psychology and pedagogy
and how they constitute ‘the child’ as their subject. Thus, Chapters Three and Four
question certain truths about what ‘the child’ is by placing discourses into historico-
political frameworks. The inquiry follows, in a broad and metaphorical sense,
genealogy as developed by Foucault (1980b) as a ‘history of present’. To restate, it does
not provide an exhaustive account of history of any of these discourses or the historical
ideas about ‘the child’. Moreover, this genealogy of ‘the child’ disregards historical
chronological order and organizes the historical pedagogical events around changing governmental rationalities.

Centering the historical analysis on the recent understanding of ‘the child’ consequently and necessarily results in the utilization of certain categories that did not exist in the time-scope these chapters examine; for example such categories as ‘competency’ or ‘development’. These categories flow into the readings of historical documents and characters in the same way as Foucault (1979b) used the categories of ‘males’ and ‘females’ in their recent understandings to consider the history of sexuality (Baker, 2001a).

Accordingly, the investigation in the second part of this thesis is about the historico-political shifts that shaped discourses and constituted differently ‘the child’ as their subject while at the same time produced a variety of vocabulary, discourses and techniques through which children are governed in early childhood education today.

2. Methodological and structural considerations

Recent understandings of ‘the child’ were shaped in a system of ideas created by a vast range of scientific and institutional discourses and practices, such as pedagogy, developmental psychology, educational psychology or the family and the school and that is the subject of the second part of the thesis. To make this project tenable, I analyze three technologies for the education of children aligned with particular modes of governing individuals, that are individualistic (in Chapter Three), child-centred and interactive pedagogy (in Chapter Four). The specific epistemological, curricular and pedagogical ideas embedded in these pedagogies constitute ‘the child’ in particular ways.
The fundamental principles of child-centred pedagogy is closely interconnected with individual pedagogy, hence some researchers make no distinctions between the two (Mellor, 1990; Walkerdine, 1984). Here, I follow Burman (1994), Fleer (1995a) and Cannella’s (1997) understandings of child-centred pedagogy. Burman (1994) claims that child-centred pedagogy has emancipatory tendencies in addition to the normalizing tendencies of individual pedagogy. As Burman (1994) explains, “child-centred pedagogy subscribes to a naturalised and individualized model of childhood which confirms social privileges and pathologizes those who are already disadvantaged” (p. 163). Fleer (1995b) explains that there was a shift in the 1960s when early education moved away “from traditional, teacher-focused education to a more liberal, progressive style of teaching and learning” (p. 2). Fleer identifies this period when the shift from the teacher to the child was accompanied with a shift from teaching to learning. This shift, from individualized to child-centred pedagogy, was framed in reference to the transformation of the ‘early’ liberal mode to a ‘social’ liberal mode of government (Rose, 1996b).

Being child-centred is still the preferred pedagogical approach in early childhood education (for example, Fleer, 2003; Fleer et al., 2006; MacNaughton, 2003), however, I claim that it is used in confluence with interactive pedagogy (Fendler, 2001) or what MacNaughton (2003) terms “progressive child centred education” (p. 165). Interactive pedagogy is a solution suggested for problems with ‘teacher-centred’ (too authoritative) or ‘child-centred’ (not practical in big classrooms and disregards power relations between groups) pedagogies. Interactive pedagogy builds on the responsiveness of the teacher toward the child during teaching (Fendler, 2001). In this way, for example, conversations and dialogues are encouraged instead of lectures. Fendler (2001) argues that interactive pedagogy is isomorphic with a contemporary mode of government, the
societies of control (Deleuze, 1992). Consequently, I make the distinction between child-centred pedagogy and interactive pedagogy on the ground that they correspond with different ways of governing individuals.

Early educators relied on a range of academic disciplines to rationalize their practices and to project new ones. During the 20th century psychology and developmental psychology became the “primary ‘supply’ discipline” (Silin, 1987, p. 17). Theoretical considerations, training programs for new teachers and evaluations of teachers’ practice, ‘programmatic innovations’ all have been based or evaluated in terms of psychology (Silin, 1987). In spite of the claim that early childhood education rests on psychological and philosophical thought, the dominance falls on the former (Silin, 1987). Chapters Three and Four, therefore, mainly focus on psychology and pedagogy and limits their attention to philosophical thought. Moreover, psychology and pedagogy are understood in this thesis as a ‘technology of the social’ (Fendler, 2001) rather than assuming them as governed by the simple rules and propositions internal to scientific discovery.

Chapter Three discusses the increased regulation of ‘the child with the emergence of different forms of institutions, then delineates the emergence of individual pedagogy and introduces the ideas of influential pedagogues in Australia to execute the analysis of the subject of pre-compulsory education. Chapter Four analyzes the child-centred and interactive pedagogical approaches and how they constituted ‘the child’ differently as their subject.

Chapter Five discusses classroom discipline as ‘regimes of practices’ in early childhood education from two perspectives. First, I outline the thought or truths of classroom discipline aligned with different ways of governing individuals and I analyze the discourses and practices they institute to delineate how the ‘the child’ is constituted
differently as their subject. Second, I study particular discipline approaches developed for early childhood and used in Australian classrooms and investigate the forms of regulation and practices they institute and various understandings of ‘the child’ they constitute.
CHAPTER THREE

A genealogy of ‘the child’: the emergence of individualized pedagogy

[Far from being ... discarded, ... the known child is active, mobilizing notice-
abilities and shifting as a point of reference in the midst of what becomes knowable.
Thus, there is a ghost in the contested subject, child, which floats into the reading of
documents. The ghost is that which is familiar, already recognized, unable to be
discarded (Baker, 2001a, p.28).

1. Introduction

This chapter and Chapter Four align particular understandings of ‘the child’
since the late 19th century with governmental and political rationalities to unsettle and
destabilize the self-evidence of the conceptual bedrock on which recent constitutions of
‘the child’ are built. ‘The child’ in western societies is positioned as an individual who
lacks certain attributes for a period of time, and by progressing through a path of
development she becomes a rational, autonomous, self-regulating, flexible, responsive
and self-motivated individual/citizen who seeks to maximize and evaluate the quality of
her life through choices, thus making an enterprise of her life (Rose, 1996b; Tyler,
1993). Moreover, ‘the child’ is invested with versatile and response-ready (Fendler,
2001) capacities to be able to solve problems in a fast changing and unpredictable
environment. This contemporary constitution of ‘the child’ is bound within discursive
fields of early childhood education and developmental psychology\textsuperscript{13} that comprise the subject matter of this analysis.

This chapter starts with a short outline about the institutionalization of childhood during the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century and how the changing ways of thinking about the individual and its government transformed the mode of schooling and created the conditions for the emergence of individualized pedagogy.

2. The institutionalisation and regulation of ‘the child’

Chapter Two provided a short outline of the conditions that permitted the establishment and efficient functioning of a range of social, political and economic institutions for the regulation and management of childhood through the governmentalization of the State. Here, I discuss how these interrelated discursive fields produced in the structural formation of the State made children as the subject of these institutions and constituted knowledges about children by inscribing them with scientific discourses, such as pedagogy or developmental psychology. Thus, I demonstrate how State formation and the ‘art of governing’ are related to constitutions of ‘the child’. As Burman (1994) explains:

\begin{quote}
[c]hanging images of the child can be related to broader social tensions within emerging modern industrializing states. … [D]ebates about the nature of the child have been central to the ways the State has interacted with, and regulated, its citizens (p.52).
\end{quote}

Modernity involved the establishment of highly developed political apparatuses: bureaucratic organization allowed the State to play a greater role in the lives of ordinary

\textsuperscript{13} And other fields as well, such as governmental policies, economics, the media and so on. In this chapter these two: early childhood education and developmental psychology, serve as the basis for the analysis.
A genealogy of ‘the child’ I.

people. This was accompanied by the development of modern political ideas such as nationalism, citizenship, democracy, liberalism, socialism and conservatism. The development of new philosophies of government was part of a larger change in the intellectual and cultural landscape. During the 18th century, the Enlightenment brought new ways of understanding the natural and social worlds, religious institutions declined in influence and science, and the search for truth and progress took their place.

The family, together with the school, became the ‘surfaces of emergence’ of the modern idea of childhood and also were the primary institutions for the regulation of children. Through the demographic, monetary and agricultural expansion of the 18th century and with the help of statistics, a shift appeared in the government of the population. The role of the family as an institution was to discipline children while the family also took on another role to govern children 14 (Donzelot, 1979; Rose, 1989).

Mass schooling appeared during the 19th century in the complex matrix of the emergence of the modern welfare state. Alongside, scientific disciplines produced “systems of ideas … about the “educativeness” of the person: ideas of childhood, classrooms, and school administration aligned social/political rationalities to the personal progress of the child” (Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998, p.15).

At the end of the 19th century the school was thought to perform an important function for democratic type institutions, such as ‘mechanics institutes’ and the ‘consumer cooperatives’ (K. Jones & Williamson, 1979, p.99). The school enabled citizens to participate in these institutions by teaching them the basic skills necessary for active participation. This way, the school became a condition of existence of certain institutions, that is to say, it was necessary for representative democracy.

14 Rose in the Governing of the Soul (1989) outlines how the private sphere of the family was linked with the objectives of the government of childhood.
Moreover, as Jones and Williamson (1979) indicate, the demand for state schooling was shaped by a group of institutions that combined the statistical diagnosis of social problems with an evangelical pastoral concern. Hunter (1993) claims that the monitorial school and Sunday school integrated experientially the technologies of self-surveillance, as the characteristic of pastoral pedagogies, and control, as the large-scale technology of social discipline. The modern classroom stabilized these experiments with its purpose-built architecture and pedagogy. The combination of pastoral concern and surveillance formed the teacher-student couplet. Particularly in educating young children, the pastoral concern exhibited itself in ‘platonic love’ towards children (Walkerdine, 1984). The school around the end of the 19th century was successful in softening ‘mechanical’ discipline (learn-and-drill) by internalising it “as individual self-determination, through the pastoral supervision of the new ‘sympathetic’ teacher” and the constitution of the ‘self-determined conscientious’ students (Hunter, 1993, p.264). Shortly, the school transformed “external into internal regulation” (Pongratz, 2007, p. 62). The teacher-student relationship was built on bureaucratic politics and personalist ethics and manifested in institutional organization, discourses and practices.

Thus, childhood and its management became the problem of government, and it was regulated primarily through the family and the school with the help of a whole host of institutions, such as welfare, law, church, and the state. In these institutions, new forms of discourses, technologies and practices emerged, transformed and mutated to govern children and formed specific views of what children should be like and how they should behave, and the particular ways childhood could be intelligibly talked about.

These historical conditions – the discursive transformations and the transformations of practices and apparatuses of State administration – created the
possibilities for the emergence and transformations of one form of pedagogy to the other: the emergence of individualized pedagogy.

Psychology and developmental psychology had and still have enormous impact on the formation of how children were thought about in early childhood education (Cannella, 1997). As Caldwell stated about the closeness of the two disciplines: “[o]ur field [early childhood education] represents the applied side of the basic science of child development” (quoted in Silin, 1987, p. 21). There is a reciprocal relationship between developmental psychology and early education. Pedagogical practices and sets of assumptions about learning and teaching are based on, validated by and authorized by child development, which is in turn “deployed as rationalistic, a priori truth” (Fendler, 2001, p.125; Walkerdine, 1984). Walkerdine (1984) claims that child development is an object of schooling, but at the same time schooling produces knowledges about practices and apparatuses (record cards, teacher training and so forth), which enable the monitoring and facilitation of the development of children and which constitutes pedagogy. Thus, developmental psychology and pedagogy of the early years forms a couplet and provides techniques of social regulation in the early years. ‘Regimes of truth’ created about child development in psychology, therefore, “are internally related to shifts and transformations in pedagogic practice” (Walkerdine, 1984, p.163).

This study uses Fendler’s (2001) understanding of developmental psychology, as a “discourse that constructs human growth and change in scientific terms” (p. 125). The growth and nature of children defined by psychology cannot, however, be taken for granted, since developmental psychology is “premised on a set of claims to truth which are historically specific, and which are not the only or necessary way to understand children” (Walkerdine, 1984, p.154). The following sections outline some of the shifts
and changes that made children the subject of psychology and pedagogy and constituted ‘the child’ as their subject since the period of Enlightenment.

3.1. The emergence of individualized pedagogy – envisioning ‘the child’

Modernity brought a new form of State administration that was coupled with the establishment of new institutions. In this transformation, early education became an apparatus of government. As Hunter (1993) explains, “the organizational expertise and objectives of the school system derive … from historically-invented political and intellectual technologies associated with state-building” (p.248). Hunter (1993) and Pongratz (2007) argue that public schools, and I add kindergartens, served simultaneously as instruments for the disciplining of the population and the pastoral supervision or moralization of the individual soul. Early education spread across the world in the second half of the 19th century and it incorporated the young child “into a systematic network of persons, institutions, and activities aiming to maximize the utility of the body and mind” (Rose, 1989, p. 183).

The transformation of the school to a ‘machinery of moral training’ meant a change in functions of schooling, from teaching children to write and read to training them morally (K. Jones & Williamson, 1979, p. 87). This transformation involved changes in the design of the school. It also redefined the teacher’s roles, skills and characteristics as central to teaching, and the aims and attributes of the school practice. As Jones and Williamson (1979) explain in their example regarding the English school system during the 19th century:

[T]he training system advocated by Stow, Kay-Shuttleworth, Symons and Carpenter, had as their main aims the formation or reformation of a set of dispositions within children, and a development of their moral, intellectual and practical understanding, useful dispositions being, for example, a love of
one’s brother man (*sic*), a love of knowledge, a love of cleanliness, a love of labour, and a love of order. And it was precisely through the relationship to the teacher that these aims were to be achieved (p. 88).

The ‘New Education’ (K. Jones & Williamson, 1979), or the ‘reform pedagogy movement’ as Pongratz (2007) termed it, relied on the moral influence of the teacher. The shift to moralization was assisted with the arrangement of the school. The monitorial arrangements of the enormous classroom size and wide age-range classes were exchanged with relatively small classroom size and age-range. The structural change was combined with the change from punishment and reward systems (‘mechanistic’ discipline) to self-discipline. A need also emerged for the explanation and understanding of the principles of discipline. The ‘new’ efficient moral education was based on the regulation of the individual according to its particular nature. It was further supported with an affectionate bond between the pupils and their teacher. The shift from the monitorial school’s drill pedagogy to the ‘new’ reform pedagogy, and the new relationship between pupil and teacher are described by Kost (quoted in Pongratz, 2007) in relation to pupils’ trouser pockets:

> If the ‘old’ pedagogy controls of the trouser pockets to establish that they contain clean handkerchiefs, the ‘new’ pedagogy does exactly the opposite, turning their contents out onto the table, in order to gain an insight into the student’s inner life and to make this pedagogically useful (p. 62).

Constant surveillance (overt regulation) and ceaseless activity were transposed to a covert regulation through the “steering of school life” (Pongratz, 2007). The discourses of the ‘new pedagogy’ were shaped by scientific rationalism and practices of population management. Therefore, the ‘new’ scientifically grounded pedagogy produced a form of “regulation according to the nature of the individual [which] was
covert, liberal, forward looking and sought greater effectivity\textsuperscript{15} through the promotion not of habits, but of understanding” (Walkerdine, 1984, p.166). Dewey (1938) compared the ‘new’ education’s principles, common in many progressive schools of the first quarter of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, as opposed to ‘traditional’ education the following way:

\begin{quote}
To imposition from above is opposed expression and cultivation of individuality; to external discipline is opposed free activity; to learning from texts and teachers, learning through experience; to acquisition of isolated skills and techniques by drill, is opposed acquisition of them as means of attaining ends which make direct vital appeal (p. 19).
\end{quote}

With the increased utilization of expertise in the management of the population, psychology also entered into the pedagogic field. The growing child became the scientific subject of developmental psychology and the knowledges created about children by psychology were utilized in individualized pedagogy.

\textbf{3.1.1. The question of growth and the ‘nature’ of ‘the child’}

Psychology placed ‘the child’ within the confines of the Enlightenment: reason, individuality and progress (Cannella, 1997). Darwin was the first to describe the differences between humans (and human children) and animals, by focusing on creativity and ingenuity as exhibited in language (Rose, 1985; Walkerdine, 1984). Darwin’s theory of evolution naturalized reason and its development – similarly to physical growth – as central to the evolution of human species (Venn, 1984). He produced the first observational study of children, which is considered as a prototype of the later established developmental inquiry into children’s growth delivered by the Child Study movement (Burman, 1994).

\textsuperscript{15} Greater ‘effectivity’ was sought in line with progressive efficiency that conditioned the provision of education from the end of the nineteenth century.
Discourses of the Enlightenment translated the external growth of the body into progressive development. Baker (2001a) explains how power, as the force that makes machines work, was invested into children and was used to explain the motion that takes place inside ‘the child’ that results in her growth. Since power caused the movement (or growth) in the child, various strategies had to be invented to tie together and to control that power. Education was one of these strategies. Curriculum was designed to unfold certain capabilities and attributes of children that can tame power. Child Study set out to assess children so that a curriculum could be constructed in relation to their ‘nature’ and growth.

The traits to be studied, however, were decided according to Social Darwinism. According to this theory, childhood was equated with an ‘uncivilized savage’ state of existence (Baker, 1998; Burman, 1994; Walkerdine, 1984) and was considered the starting point of child development. Teachers monitored the child’s ‘nature’ (for example, physical growth such as head circumference and limb length; obedience, disobedience or the recognition of objects in the environment) so that the curriculum could be designed to facilitate the evolution to the next stage of development (Baker, 1998). Baker (2001b) adds that ‘the child’ needed formal and moral education since her inner capabilities were considered as weak and vulnerable (in a ‘savage’ like state) to control her powers fuelling her growth. Thus, this need conditioned the emergence of public schooling (Baker, 2001b) and, I would add, kindergartens or nurseries, in order to moralize children, particularly those from a poor or working class background, as early as possible.

The other theory that underlined the emerging field of developmental psychology and constituted ‘the child’ as its subject in a particular way, was Lamarckism, a theory still influential today (Rose, 1985). In Lamarck’s theory of progressive transformation,
all living beings were linked into a single history. In this theory, earlier meant simpler or less perfect. On this continuum of beings from less to more perfect stood prehistoric men (sic) who were less advanced than modern men (sic). Any variation was represented as regressions down this continuum (Rose, 1985). Consequently, the comparison of ‘the child’ to ‘savages’ or prehistoric man (sic) placed ‘the child’ at a less perfect, less organised and less complex level. Thus, psychology inscribed ‘the child’ as less developed, less ‘civilized’ or even ‘savage’, less complex, imperfect.

In the context of progressive efficiency, the anxiety about the declining quality of the population triggered a demand to measure and classify the population (McCallum, 1990)\textsuperscript{16}. Population management and “efficiency orientation of progressive thinking” produced the increasing individualization of the problem of differences in interests and abilities (McCallum, 1990, p.126).

3.1.2. Setting up the framework for child growth

Psychometrics was the first technology of psychology, which enabled the quantification, measurement and classification of child growth and made possible the establishment of norms in relation to that (Rose, 1989). The notion of development joined psychometry in the mission to capture the ‘nature’ and growth of ‘the child’ in scientific terms. The clinic, the school, kindergartens and nurseries enabled the observation of large numbers of children to build and standardize a ‘normal’ continuous development dimension. Thus, particular forms of schooling and pedagogies were applications of the new way of thinking about children and were also “centrally and strategically implicated in the possibility of development psychology itself”\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{16} Chapters Six and Seven examine how the context of nation building and the pursuit of progressive efficiency conditioned the provision of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia during the late nineteenth century.
A genealogy of ‘the child’ I.

(Walkerdine, 1984, p.154). Children were measured to these same norms to evaluate their development. The characterization of the ‘nature’ of children and the understanding of growth as development produced new ways to think about and educate children. These new ways of thinking spread to all professionals working with children.

Child Study, together with the founding of elementary compulsory schooling, met the demands to address social anxieties about pauperism and ‘feeble-mindedness’ during the late 19th century (Hendrick, 2000; K. Jones & Williamson, 1979; Rose, 1989; Walkerdine, 1984). The normalization of development made abnormality possible (Burman, 1994). The invention of mental testing set up a reciprocal dependence of ‘normality’ and ‘abnormality’, because the extensive initial examination of the abnormal set up standards for normality (Rose, 1985), and in turn the measurement of mental abilities according to the criteria of normality determined the abnormal. Mental age – underlining intelligence tests – was treated as akin to chronological age and, therefore, it was similarly distributed in equal intervals on a scale. With that, the idea of mental development was naturalized in the discipline of psychology. Thus, development on this specific scale became as natural as growing up or ageing and this ‘natural’ development then required close monitoring and the application of certain strategies – hence the importance of pedagogy again – to prevent it from falling into the pathological. Development, especially mental development, was further legitimated by the incorporation of the mental within the medical field (Burman, 1994) and mental health in the understanding of health. Mental hygiene was established on this ground to enable professionals and the family to oversee the mental development of ‘the child’ and measure it according to ‘natural’ mental development (Burman, 1994; Rose, 1989).

Through the field of Child Study, children were scrutinized as a category of people in the plural sense, with the utilization of statistics. This enabled the normative
use of child development, and at the same time, as Baker (1998) argues, it produced “multiple spaces of otherness” (p.130), such as ‘black’ (sic) children, ‘physically or mentally impaired’ children. By the 1940s, social groups were addressed with the discourses and categories of psychology and “the problems which earlier had belonged explicitly to subordinate social groups to be posed as problems relating to individuals” (McCallum, 1990, p.126-7) that demanded individual educational attention\textsuperscript{17}.

\textbf{3.1.3. The ‘envisioned citizen’ encompassing progress}

Psychological and pedagogical discourses constituted ‘the child’ in a particular way that produced her to be the subject of the new liberal mode of government. As Bloch and Popkewitz (2000) argue, by building on the ideas of Foucault (1979a) and Rose (1989) that “[d]evelopment as a system of reasoning (governmentalities) that ordered how difference was to be understood, classified the normal and that outside of normalcy, what care for children came to mean, and principles of ‘childhood’ that shaped and fashioned the ‘education’ and ‘care’ to take place” (p.10). Thus, power and knowledge constructed about ‘the child’ were linked and children, families and teachers and became part of a complex system of governance (Bloch & Popkewitz, 2000).

The naturalization of development in psychology inscribed certain ways of thinking about children, which were tied to new political rationalities with self-governing principles that ordered individuality and the social administration of children (Bloch & Popkewitz, 2000). The new liberal mode of government produced “self-responsible, and ‘reasonable’” (Bloch & Popkewitz, 2000, p. 12) individuals (child, family, citizen and worker) “who could act progressively to control their own circumstances and environment” (p.12). Psychology set out to generate the principles to

\textsuperscript{17}This topic is further explored in Chapters Six and Seven.
reach that aim. Classificatory systems were established to describe and inscribe the
development of children on their way to become the ‘envisioned citizens’, to bring
progress by aligning herself with political rationalities of nation building and national
efficiency. Thus, as Bloch and Popkewitz (2000) explain, progress was not attributed to
the changes of social institutions but to the changes within individuals.

Pedagogy, by utilizing and contributing to the norms set up by psychology
produced a complex idea of the ‘envisioned citizen’ towards which progress proceeds. It
also produced technologies to fashion these citizens and, with that, it linked the
categories of the ‘average’ and the ‘envisioned’ into a seamless line (Bloch &
Popkewitz, 2000). By utilizing pedagogical ideas and scientific rational knowledge, the
goal was to organize “liberty and progress through the construction of a child who could
contribute productively to the transformations (development) of their ‘being’ through
their own self-discipline” (Bloch & Popkewitz, 2000, p. 17). Consequently, through the
interconnected discourses and practices of psychology and pedagogy, ‘the child’ as an
autonomous, self-regulating individual was constituted as one, who proceeds through a
line of sequential development to become the ‘envisioned citizen’, who is able to
contribute efficiently to the liberal society and to bring about progress.

‘The child’ as the new carrier of the future served the progress of humanity with
its own uninterrupted and optimum progress. If ‘the child’ deviated from the ‘normal’
development sequence, therefore, it had to be ‘rescued’. This particular form of
salvation involved the determination of the nature and extent of deviance and the
management of this established difference as a moral obligation (Baker, 2001a). The
sciences and social administration set out to ‘rescue’ the child. Medical, educational and
social programs, such as nursery schools and kindergartens, were created to ‘rescue’
children from their immoral environment\textsuperscript{18}. This was thought to ensure the future of the nation and to increase national efficiency. Psychology with the production of a growing range of normalcy assessment joined this ‘rescue’. To fine tune this mission, however, the development of children needed to be laid down in minute details.

3.1.4. Mapping the ‘natural’ child’s development

The 19\textsuperscript{th} century brought a demand for scientific legitimation and with that, the religious and philosophical knowledge base shifted to a secular and psychological one (Silin, 1987). Hultqvist (1998) argues that the innovation of individual pedagogy, such as Froebel’s theory, made possible the scientific development of a knowledge base about children in the following way. The ‘new’ pedagogy liberated children from the confines of ‘traditional’ pedagogy and parenting that drilled habits into and ‘mechanically’ controlled children. As a result, the ‘true nature’ of children could be revealed. Consequently, this shift enabled a gaining of knowledge about their ‘natural’ development and their ‘true nature’. With the scientific observation of children, “the child’s nature [was] … created, first as a mental construction and subsequently as a reality” (Hultqvist & Dahlberg, 2001, p.161). The classroom became a ‘laboratory’ for the study of child development. Consequently, Child Study and individualized pedagogy were each other’s condition of possibility and they both placed ‘the child’ at the centre of their dealings.

There was an immense growth of scientific knowledge about child development. One of the key theories describing development was the ‘maturation’ theory with its key thinker considered to be Gesell (1880-1961). This theory’s roots go back to the Romantics and Rousseau. According to maturationist theory, development was seen as a

\textsuperscript{18}This idea is further discussed in Chapters Six and Seven.
movement (maturation) towards an increasingly complete and complex state of being (Thelen & Adolph, 1992) where the inner patterns of development unfold ‘naturally’.

The Romantics regarded ‘the child’ as closer to freedom than the adult, because she is free from culture’s corrupting effects. Thus, keeping ‘the child’ close to nature ensures that her natural dispositions will unfold. Correspondingly, pedagogy’s aim was to keep children close to nature and to assess the level of growth and maximize young children’s learning by facilitating ‘natural’ growth with the creation of an environment where optimum growth could (directed by nature) take place without unnecessary intervention. For example, Montessori, whose ideas were deeply influenced by the ideas of the Romantics, stressed the importance and function of the ‘prepared’ environment this way:

the environment is a place where the children are to be increasingly active, the teacher increasingly passive. It is a place where the child more and more directs his (sic) own life; and in doing so, becomes conscious of his own powers. … living … freely in a prepared environment, the child enters into vital communication with this environment … [which will] assist the child to reach perfection through his own efforts (Standing, 1962, p. 267, original emphasis).

Thus, the ‘prepared’ environment left ‘the child’ to unfold according to an ‘innate’ and ‘spontaneous’ development prescribed by nature and without dependence on the adult (teacher) or her conscious activities.

Developmental psychology defined the ages and stages of development (for example Gesell) by using universality\textsuperscript{19} as the norm (Hultqvist, 2001). As a result, a general discourse of childhood emerged that constructed categories of normal (natural), abnormal and the gifted based on the ‘normal’ development of children. The criteria of

\textsuperscript{19} In comparison today’s norm is decentralization, which makes psychologists rethink previous universal conceptions in their plural form, hence multiculturalism and so on (Hultqvist, 2001).
normality, however, were based on statistics of groups of white middle-class children\textsuperscript{20}, since they comprised the subject groups of Child Study and psychology by attending kindergartens and nurseries\textsuperscript{21}.

In sum, ‘the child’ was constituted as having a development by the newly emerged discourses of developmental psychology and norms were set up on her ‘progress’ or ‘maturation’ to adulthood. Behaviourism supplied objectives for the development of ‘the child’ and shifted the focus from teaching to training. Pedagogy still remained teacher-focused.

3.1.5. The nature of ‘the child’

From the 1920s until about the 1960s behaviourist ideas shifted the attention to child training and conditioned the emergence of child-centred education. This brought a shift from the ‘natural’ unfolding development of ‘the child’ to the importance of physical and social environment on her development. Thus, pedagogy’s aim shifted from ensuring a ‘proper’ environment in which ‘the child’ could develop according to a ‘natural’ tendency, to the aim to create an environment that interacts with the child’s ‘natural’ development. Discourses of behaviourism constituted ‘the child’ as a ‘black box’ or a ‘machine’ waiting to be filled up with responses to its environment. According to these ideas exemplified by the writings of Pavlov (1849-1936), Watson (1878-1958) and Skinner (1904-1990), ‘the child’ was a passive recipient of experience and needed

\textsuperscript{20} Given the belief that heredity in a eugenic context determined many of the important aspects of development, normality (abnormality) constructed new understandings of ‘the parent’ as well. These parents belonged to certain communities characterised by class and racial divisions, which added to understandings of the ‘normal/abnormal child’ (Baker, 1998; Bloch & Popkewitz, 2000). Thus, as Bloch and Popkewitz (2000) asserts “[c]ommunity in education became a term to construct the otherness of individuals’ identities” (p.21). In addition to these, new theories of Hall, Freud and Erickson assigned principles of actions corresponding to stages of childhood (for example, early childhood or adolescence) together with how to think about ‘childhood’. Consequently, groups (communities) were reinscribed as categories that related to ‘inner’ skills, cognitions and feelings of the child (Baker, 1998; Bloch & Popkewitz, 2000).

\textsuperscript{21} This issue will be explored in detail in Chapters Six and Seven.
to be placed in an optimum environment that could develop her proper moral character and ensured her development. As Watson (1924) explained with his frequently quoted statement:

Give me a dozen healthy infants, well-formed, and my own specified world to bring them up in and I’ll guarantee to take any one at random and train him to become any type of specialist I might select … regardless of his talents, penchants, tendencies, abilities, vocations and race of his (sic) ancestors (p.104).

This model stretches back to Locke’s idea of the mind as passive and ‘tabula rasa’. Locke, in his general work on childhood entitled *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* written in 1693, defined children as intellectually blank tablets (following Aristotle) and as non-moral creatures (until their actions are deliberate). ‘The child’ was understood as conforming to the environment (culture) and the environment became responsible for the child’s educational success or failure. The purpose of the child’s behaviour was searched for in her environment and then she was taught (trained) skills to reach goals and exhibit desired behaviours defined by adults (teacher). Fendler (2001) argues that behaviourism brought a shift to objective-driven syllabi (from the previous procedure-driven one) in educational discourse and laid down the foundations for developmentally appropriate practice used in conjunction with child-centred pedagogy. In this process, the ‘end limit’ of development was constructed into objectives.

In sum, discourses of developmental psychology constituted ‘the child’ as having a ‘real’ nature that is describable, measurable and assessable through

22 Developmentally appropriate practice and child-centred pedagogy will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four.
psychological observation and measurement. Through the research of the child’s ‘real’ nature, her development was naturalized and normalized and categories were constructed that gathered those children who did not fit these norms. Thus, ‘the child’ was constituted as a developing individual who is yet to reach maturity and is ‘deficient’ in nature. Drawing on this knowledge base, pedagogy’s aim became to create the opportunities to reach the goal of development set up in particular criteria of adult rationality and morality.

3.2. Individualized pedagogy – the great pedagogues

Individualized pedagogy aimed to remove the overt control of children by creating an environment in which children could enjoy their freedom and develop ‘naturally’. ‘Mechanistic’ discipline was exchanged with self-discipline that required the understanding of principles. The curriculum shifted parallel with these from teaching facts to teaching natural phenomena. The understanding of natural phenomena was looked upon as a ‘naturally unfolding’ process in children and was divided into stage-like phases. The unfolding of understanding was monitored rather than taught as was the understanding of facts.

During the first third of the 20th century in Western Australia a few theories of early education dominated the field (Kerr, 1994; Mellor, 1990). These theories were imbued with the ideas of individual pedagogy as I demonstrate below. They were initially practiced in small schools, kindergartens and nurseries. Foremost Froebel, and to a lesser extent Montessori, Issacs and McMillan, were the dominant educationists who profoundly influenced Western Australian early education of the era (Kerr, 1994; Mellor, 1990). These theories produced certain ways of reasoning about children that are still prevalent in Western Australian early education, despite that these theories and
understandings of ‘the child’ they constituted were transformed through multiple interpretations and applications, subjugations and reinventions in line with changing political rationalities.

The following sections introduce some of the major ideas of Froebel, Montessori, Isaacs and McMillan to further delineate the discourses of individualized pedagogy and how they constituted ‘the child’ as their subject. Some of these ideas also conditioned the emergence of child-centred pedagogy, which is the next major pedagogical technology discussed below (Hultqvist, 1998).

### 3.2.1. Froebel’s pedagogy

Froebel’s success was due to the emergent governmentality at the turn of the 20th century, which was concerned with more liberal forms of training. His ideas became a “vital resource for the kindergartners as regulatory ideals, that is, concerning how to govern ‘the child’ from a “natural” point of view” (Hultqvist, 2001, p.101).

Froebel’s educational theory can be considered as a link between the ‘old’ and ‘new’ education. Despite that his pedagogy is based on religious conviction and intuited forms of knowledge, it instituted a new type of education, pedagogy and regulation. Froebel (1912) in *The education of man* defines the practice of education the following way:

> The system of directions, derived form the knowledge and study of that law [the inner law of Divine Unity], to guide thinking, intelligent beings in the apprehension of their life-work and the accomplishment of their destiny, is the *theory of education*.

> The self-active application of this knowledge in the direct development and cultivation of rational beings toward the attainment of their destiny, is the *practice of education* (p. 4, emphasis original).

According to Froebel’s definition, the centre of educational practice is the individual, a ‘rational being’, who is ‘self-active’ in her own development, who by
creating an image of God in herself develops her abilities (Hultqvist, 2001). Froebel introduced the concept of continuity to the discourse of development and ‘naturalized’ development. Froebel’s ideas, however, were strikingly different from those understandings that built on biological principles of development, such as that used by psychology. Development, as Froebel understood it, is naturally unfolding following the ‘laws of nature’. As he expressed it: “not so much in accordance with the nature of man (sic) as in accordance with the fixed, definite, clear laws that lie in the nature of things, and more particularly the laws to which man (sic) and things are equally subject” (Froebel, 1912, p. 94-5). Froebel thinks about the child’s development as repeating the order of the “development of the race” (p. 41). More accurately, as feelings and thoughts developed in humanity through “moral and human emancipation” until “the dawn of reason” (p.41). Froebel saw ‘man’ (sic) as developing “steadily and progressively”, ascending from one stage to the other which can be aligned with culture’s development in human history (p. 17). This idea of Froebel’s can be likened to Social Darwinism. Development happens through the “self-active23 application of … knowledge”, where education “should necessarily be passive, following (only guarding and protecting), not prescriptive, categorical, interfering” (p. 7, original emphasis). He also saw every human being as individual, where development was “realized and expressed in a wholly particular, peculiar, personal, unique manner” (p. 18). In spite of this, the uniqueness of each individual is not the result of a unique development or the individual’s unique contribution to her development. The result is unique, because by making their ‘essence’ active – the ‘divine effluence’ in each person – they reach their destiny and life-work. The new approach of the teacher in individualized pedagogy is

23 Self-active for Froebel means on the one hand that the learner achieves it all by herself and benefits from what she does, and on the other hand it means an activity, where the whole self is active, thus the activity should enlist the whole self (Froebel, 1912).
particularly explicit in this idea. Instead of using rote-learning drills, the teacher guides ‘the child’ in her learning and development. Instead of constant surveillance, Froebel promoted ‘motherly’ (platonic) love toward children as an elementary characteristic of the teacher, however, teaching was not a simple substitution of the mother’s role, but something that complemented it (Ailwood, 2002a).

For Froebel (1912), ‘the child’ has a “pure and good heart” and “thoughtful and gentle sympathies”, which constitute in themselves a unity (p.97). During early childhood ‘the child’ is longing for this unity in the environment (externalities), which is separate from her. This unity is in herself and she finds it in play and family-life. In this period of life and through play, “man (sic) is placed in the center of all things, and all things are seen only in relation to himself, to his life” (p. 97). Play for Froebel, therefore, enabled freedom and ‘unity’ to be experienced by the child. It represented both spontaneity and self-determination for him, however, by contrast Ailwood (2002a, 2002b) argues that he used play in his pedagogy as completely structured and regulated.

The ideas expressed above are particularly complex ideas of Froebel that incorporate various thoughts about ‘the child’ and her education. Some of these ideas served as or maintain similarities with the basic principles of developmental psychology, individual and child-centred pedagogy (Hultqvist, 1998; Walkerdine, 1984). First, ‘the child’ is constituted as inherently good and has good dispositions that should be maintained24. Also, a basic tenet of developmental psychology and pedagogy is the child’s inborn good nature that the environment (parents, teachers and so forth) has to maintain by keeping the ‘evil’ at bay for the child’s ‘normal’ or optimal development (Walkerdine, 1984). Second, during the early childhood years, the family is the best place for ‘the child’ wherein she can gratify her longing for unity. This idea

24 This idea stands against the older notion of pedagogy, where the ‘evil’ had to be beaten out of children.
is echoed widely in social sciences and population management discourses, and is particularly evident in Bowlby’s (1951) psychological research on early attachment.

Third, the appropriate activity for ‘the child’ in early childhood is play, which is still a dominant discourse in early childhood education. On the one hand, the recent notion of play provides ‘the child’ with freedom to choose and act, such as in the fundamental idea of ‘free play’. On the other hand, play is used as a technology, such as in ‘educational play’ (Ailwood, 2002a, 2002b). Both notions of play – ‘free’ or ‘educational’ – constitute play as a strongly regulated activity still, that is similar to Froebel, since it is controlled and observed by the teacher or parents (Ailwood, 2002a, 2002b).

Fourth, in early childhood, ‘the child’ is positioned at the centre of education, because the Divine Unity still lives in herself. Consequently, education should ‘centre on the child’ and the teacher should ‘follow’ ‘the child’ ‘passively’. Chung and Walsh (2000) claim that the term ‘child-centred’ appeared first in Froebel’s writing, however, it is understood differently from later meanings. According to Chung and Walsh (2000), Froebel’s understanding of ‘the child’ ‘at the centre’ is distinct from others described in progressive education: “the children should direct their activities” (p. 229); or the developmentalist notion: “the child is the centre of schooling” (p. 229). According to developmentalists, the “child stood at the centre not of his (sic) world but of the curriculum, determined by children’s learning characteristics (Chung & Walsh, 2000, p. 220). Froebel’s understanding centers education on ‘the child’ and her world and in this understanding it is the earliest expression of child-centred education (Walkerdine, 1984). Walkerdine (1984) points out that developmental psychology was, and still is, being based on similar ideas to Froebel: the child’s sequential development of a life path and education, and her inherent goodness. These central ideas of Froebel form a
A genealogy of ‘the child’ I.

central rationality of modern modes of government and were immanent in kindergarten pedagogy and still shape discourses and practices of early childhood education and constitutions of ‘the child’ (Hultqvist, 1998). This rationality has two tenets: (1) education should support an inherent tendency of child development and (2) what is natural is good (Hultqvist, 1998).

3.2.2. Montessori’s pedagogy

Montessori’s ideas are also representative of individual and child-centred pedagogy. The first ‘scientific’ educational experiments – such as Montessori’s – focused on crime and poverty with the psychologization of these particular social problems (Walkerdine, 1984). The basic principles of these experiments were: coercive education versus self-government and the stress on a natural state of the individual imbued with freedom. Montessori’s scientific pedagogy focused first on ‘idiots’ and then on poor children. She effected a transformation in the field of pedagogy (drawing on the transformation in the field of psychology brought by Séguin and Itard), where, in the space of pathology (feeble-mindedness), the possibility of the knowledge of the ‘normal child’ emerged (Rose, 1985).

Montessori claimed, similarly to Froebel, that ‘the child’ before birth possesses within them a “spiritual embryo” (Montessori, 1967), which is a kind of pre-determined plan of its development. For this development to reveal itself, ‘the child’ needs an integral relationship with her environment (people and things) and freedom, otherwise her development will be stunted. According to Montessori, ‘the child’ grows toward her own self-construction, full development, which is her unique goal in life to service ‘mankind’ (sic) together with individual happiness (Montessori, 1967). Differently from Froebel’s thinking, within Montessori’s philosophy ‘the child’ has a vital urge toward
full development. ‘The child’ has to develop her own powers for reacting to life with the help of ‘creative sensitivities’, which enable her to choose from the environment the things that are necessary for her growth. These sensitivities appear in particular periods (Sensitive Periods) in the form of spiritual or intellectual desire, when she is absorbed with one characteristic of her environment (gaining knowledge), through a special quality and process of the mind – the ‘absorbent’ mind. Montessori (1967) argued that one principal or natural law that governs the child’s growth is the ‘law of independence’. She suggested that natural “development takes the form of a drive towards an ever greater independence” (Montessori, 1967, p. 83). The continuously growing ‘conquest of independence’ “springs up from the growing personality” (p. 90), hence it is in the nature of the child. Through only the continuous conquest of independence is it possible to reach freedom and full development (Montessori, 1967).

According to Montessori, as Standing (1962) argues, ‘the child’ is a free, self-governing individual, whose soul strives for perfection. Within the child, if she is left with liberty, “a new form of goodness” (p. 50) develops and she begins to exhibit spontaneous self-discipline and respect for others. ‘The child’ also develops greater independence from adults and finally reaches a state where she is separated from everyone. According to Montessori, education’s aim is to aid this development to take place, hence, for example, the child-size environment she invented. Thus, on the one hand, Montessori’s ideas about education are inscribed by the idea of the ‘early’ liberal citizen who is a self-governing and self-disciplining individual. On the other hand, her understanding of the individual foreshadows the subject of child-centred education whose behaviour feeds back to her own development and has an inherent motivation.

Montessori’s reasoning about ‘the child’, that she develops spontaneous self-discipline and respect for others if left alone, was reinvigorated through the 1970s.
liberation pedagogies, such as in the educational theories of Freire (1975) or Illich (1973), and is still prevalent in early childhood education in Western Australia, as evident in the *Guidelines for best practice in early childhood education within a 0-8 years context* (Rice et al., 2006). Moreover, Montessori’s later ideas about the active, self-motivated individual conditioned the emergence of a new type of educational subject, the ‘flexible child’. This child is very similar in nature to the subject of the ‘advanced’ liberal mode of government prevalent after the 1980s in Western Australia.

### 3.2.3. The ideas of McMillan and Isaacs

McMillan founded the first Open-Air Nursery in London. Her ideas also reflect the ideas of individualized pedagogy and the acceptance of development as growth. She placed special emphasis on the self-realizing child in regards to her growth. She equally stressed the importance of emotional and physical wellbeing underpinning the child’s growth (MacNaughton, 2003).

In the era around the Second World War the claim of freedom in play became increasingly vocal opposing the hate, fear and regimentation of people created by fascist Germany. Regulation brought back the shadow of the earlier discourse of education (for example blind obedience) and individualism became the oppositional stand to it (Walkerdine, 1984). The theory of play was central to the psychologization of political conditions, such as war and poverty. Play in open-air nurseries set up by McMillan created an environment in contrast to the regimentation and overcrowded slums and provided healthy education for those children who were stricken by poverty.

It is not surprising that individual pedagogy created the conditions for the emergence of play as a pedagogic device. Individualized pedagogies emphasized interest, activity, joy, learning and play. Isaacs, influential in Australia as well,
popularized child psychoanalysis in educational practice and emphasized the value of play as a form of education (Isaacs, 1932). Her work built on the scientific observation and analysis of certain basic problems and patterns of development, such as her work regarding the intellectual growth (Isaacs, 1930) and the social development in young children (Isaacs, 1933). Her scientific writings legitimated the science-pedagogy couplet (Rose, 1985; Walkerdine, 1984). Isaacs, influenced by Klein, was one of the ‘pedagogues’ who established play as a pedagogic device for the observation and normalization of children (Isaacs, 1932). Similar to Froebel and Montessori, Isaacs’ theory maintained that ‘the child’ created her own scientific rationality in a naturally unfolding process, and the disturbance of that process impacted on the child’s later life as well. As Walkerdine (1984) explains:

the child’s spontaneous creation of scientific rationality grew out of play-like (because spontaneous) exploration of objects. … All that is required then is for the child to be provided with the conditions for spontaneous activity. It is observation, monitoring and above all normalizing of the sequence and effects of development which become the central pedagogic device. In these practices, early childhood was a crucial site for prevention of problems associated with adolescence and adulthood. These involved making sure that the individual developed away from passion, emotionality and aggression, towards love (caritas), rationality and sanity (Walkerdine, 1984, p.180).

In summary, Froebel, Montessori, McMillan and Isaacs arrived at some common conclusions about ‘the child’ and in relation to that what education should achieve and what it should look like. ‘The child’ was constituted as a self-governing individual in the meaning that she was left to grow freely and spontaneously into a rational adult without adult interference. Adult intervention was thought to either hinder the child’s development or to make her “morbid” or cause “unnatural deformity” (Froebel, 1912, p. 9). ‘The child’ was surrounded by an environment particularly created for her and was
A genealogy of ‘the child’ I.

left free to explore. Play became a central pedagogy in enabling young children’s freedom and learning. The information, gained through the observation of the child, produced norms of development and guided teaching. ‘The child’ grew up to be a self-governing individual who is the ‘envisioned citizen’ and subject of the ‘early’ liberal mode to government. The best place for the young child was determined to be the home and early education provided an informal education complementing the care ‘the child’ received at home by the mother. These ideas serve as the basic principles of individualized education and still provide ways to think about children, however in a reconstituted format. In addition, as MacNaughton (2003) argues, they also link directly with the basic principles of developmentally appropriate early education (Bredekamp & Copple, 1997).

3.3. Individual pedagogy – teacher training

From the turn of the 20th century scientific training was introduced for the teachers of young children with the opening of the first Kindergarten Teachers Colleges Australia wide, to ensure the ‘correct’ love (caritas) and respect of young children, and the ‘correct’ knowledge of child development. Thus, the production of pedagogy – in forms of teacher training – with its apparatuses and practices (teacher training, in-service education, monitoring and normalization of teachers, educational research, textbooks and so forth) became a large-scale project (Rose, 1989). With the appearance of teacher training and the spelling out of its imperatives, individualized pedagogy was legitimized. The teacher, who is trained in the study of the child, observed and monitored the children’s development, became “all-knowing, all seeing” (Walkerdine, 1984, p.187) who knew and loved her students as individuals. Teacher training also popularized the characteristics of the ‘good teacher’ as loving (platonic) and produced
discourses of teaching that constituted ‘the teacher’ as their subject in particular ways that are still influential today (Ryan et al., 2001).

Although the basic groundwork for individualized pedagogy was laid by the early 20th century that constituted ‘the child’ as self-governing and self-disciplining with an inherent natural development, some important shifts in this constitution took place after the Second World War. For example, the 1960s and 1970s brought a transformation in terms of ‘liberatory’ politics, when pedagogy gained an emancipatory and progressivist framework. Roughly the period after the Second World War also saw the shift from concerns about teaching to concerns about learning, which repositioned ‘the child’ at the centre of education. This shift in pedagogy was conditioned by a change in the broader socio-political contexts and psychological theories. This shift was coupled with the increasing domination of psychological expertise in pedagogy. All these changes were framed in reference to the transformation of the ‘early’ liberal mode of government to a ‘social’ liberal mode (Rose, 1996b). Another major shift appeared during the 1990s, when interactive pedagogy emerged conditioned by the ‘advanced’ liberal mode of government as the oppositional stand to both teacher-centred and child-centred approaches to pedagogy. Chapter Four continues with the discussion of child-centred and interactive pedagogies foreshadowed here.
CHAPTER FOUR

A genealogy of ‘the child’: Child-centred and interactive pedagogy

“[C]oncepts are more important for what they do than for what they mean”

(Rose, 1999, p.9).

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I continue the genealogy of ‘the child’ in educational and psychological discourses begun in Chapter Three. Towards the end of the 19th century a ‘new’, individualized pedagogy was introduced in schools and kindergartens around Australia. Individualized pedagogy exchanged the earlier routines of ‘mechanistic discipline to self-discipline to moralize pupils in classrooms. It also provided children with greater freedom from adult interference and created an environment in which children’s innate development could ‘naturally’ unfold. Teaching became following rather then drilling and was imbued with platonic love towards children. ‘The child’ was positioned at the centre of education. Children’s nature was mapped out by the emerging science of developmental psychology and universal developmental standards were drawn up and utilized more and more in pedagogy. Early education’s aims were to rescue and moralize particular groups of children and to nurture self-governing and self-disciplined individuals as future citizens of a liberal democracy. This chapter continues the genealogy of ‘the child’ as the subject of educational and psychological discourses and discusses child-centred pedagogy and interactive pedagogy and aligns those with the particular modes of governing individuals (Rose, 1996b).
2.1. Child-centred pedagogy – the conceptual framework

In general, child-centred pedagogy argues that “education should be oriented towards children’s interests, needs and developmental growth and informed by an understanding of child development” (Burman, 1994, p. 164). Thus, the role of the intuitive and religious knowledge base of education was overtaken gradually by a psychological, rational and scientific knowledge base. As Vick (1996) argues, psychology became the “centre of educational knowledge … which formed the theoretical base from which pedagogy began to draw” (p. 117). Moreover, he adds that this shift brought another change: “psychology put the subject of pedagogy, ‘the learner’, rather than the pedagogue at the centre” (p. 117).

Child-centred pedagogy was prominent in Australia starting from the 1960s (Fleer, 1995a). In this period the ideals of democracy were promoted as oppositional stands to the regimentation and authoritarianism of the Second World War. Since the regime of Nazi Germany was subversive of the freedom, democracy and liberty it sought to enhance (Rose, 1996b), child-centred pedagogy placed a great emphasis on promoting these and had strong tendencies of emancipation (Burman, 1994). Consequently, discourses of child-centred pedagogy constitute ‘the child’ as autonomous and self-governing albeit in a changed notion. In addition, new constitutions of ‘the child’ also emerged, such as the ‘social’ individual outlined later.

During the 1980s much criticism of child-centred pedagogy emerged from within academic circles due to its failure to challenge social inequalities (Delpit, 1988; Freire & Macedo, 1987). Others critiqued it, because it drew on a universal knowledge base without considering the social context of children that condition differences (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Although Piaget is claimed to be the key theorist of child-centred education, some of the conceptual roots of this pedagogy were grounded in the
ideas of Enlightenment thinkers together with educational theorists, such as Froebel or Montessori, and psychologists and among those, particularly behaviourists (Chung & Walsh, 2000).

Piaget (1896-1980) and his theories, as Silin (1987) asserts, “are now a pervasive influence in early childhood education” (p. 22), greater than any of the theories explained earlier. Piaget promoted a form of teaching opposed to a teacher focused one, which is based on the child’s interests and needs, and on the understanding of child development25 (Burman, 1994). Children were not viewed as empty vessels any longer, but as individuals born with a pre-existing mental structure (organizational properties of intelligence – schemata) waiting to be activated and developed by ‘the child’ through well-defined stages of development ending in adult rationality. The following sections examine the discourses of the dominant psychological theories that produced the scientific base of child-centred pedagogy and constituted ‘the child’ as their subject in particular ways.

2.1.1. ‘The child’ as a rational developer of its scientific competencies

The lack of importance of the child’s own activities on her development as it was expressed, for example, in the pedagogy of Froebel or the principles of behaviourism, was exchanged with a novel constitution of ‘the child’ who was from birth an “active, learning and information-organizing individual” (Stone et al., 1973 p. 4 cited in Burman, 1994). The knowledge base of pedagogy shifted from behaviourism to constructivism.

In his early work and in the context of the First World War, Piaget used arguments from psychoanalysis and claimed that children’s development should be

25 And with that laid down the basic tenets of child-centred education.
directed away from the dominance of emotions towards rationality (Walkerdine, 1984).

Piaget promoted reason and platonic love (caritas) counterpozed to passion and destruction that lead to war and hinder progress. Thus, the nature of progress was defined on a continuum from emotions to reason. Silin (1987) summarizes how Piaget’s theory of human development fitted in with political rationalities of his time:

> It’s not surprising therefore, that Piaget’s theory, with its concern for the development of rational modes of thought, has arisen in a world dominated by technological accomplishments and scientific approaches to the management of human problems. … To accept the Piagetian epistemology as the basis for educational programming is to accept a particular conception of what is essential to human development and to success in adult life. This conception is most consistent with a highly rationalized, scientifically oriented culture (p. 24).

Consequently, discourses of early education, heavily conditioned by Piaget’s theory of development, constituted a ‘highly rationalized child’, whose education should centre on scientific knowledge and the promotion of intelligent behaviour (Silin, 1987). The shift to a scientific knowledge base prepared the scene for the introduction of basic numeracy and literacy knowledge in the early years and disqualified Froebelian ideas of keeping children away from rational thoughts in the first seven years of their lives. The promotion of intelligent behaviour subjugated previously dominant – however, I would add, rapidly fading – intuitive, mythical or religious forms of knowledge and existence (Popkewitz, 1998a; Silin, 1987).

Piaget’s two key ideas about the mental development of ‘the child’ also represented the change that took place regarding the ways ‘the child’ was thought about. Piaget argued that the principal part played in the mental growth of children is their own action through which (as the second idea) children build up inwardly or extend their pre-given mental structure in correspondence to the world outside (Piaget, 1977).
Following from this argumentation “education was conceptualized as the external realization of an inner potential” (Burman, 1994, p. 164). Conditioned by these ideas the relationship between ‘the child’ and her environment was redefined. ‘The child’ was constituted as active in building her own competencies in relationship with the environment. This building activity, however, was construed as a biological adaptation to the environment, hence, spontaneously appearing, and this adaptation was believed to be the driving force of cognitive development. ‘The child’s own activities, therefore, although fed into her development, did not construct it.

Piaget’s epistemic subject for his theory was the problem-solving scientist (Burman, 1994). He viewed knowledge “as arising outside social structures and relations”, thus unbiased or apolitical in nature, and learning as a separate, isolated activity from the social context of the individual (Burman, 1994, p. 175). Piaget had a personal role in “naturalizing mathematical and scientific knowledges as individual capacities, developing in a quasi-spontaneous fashion given the correct environment” (Walkerdine, 1984, p. 178). Accordingly, a process of knowledge – ways to organize intelligence – became development (Walkerdine, 1984) by taking away the context of knowledge and locating it in the individual. This idea conditioned a shift in pedagogy from monitoring the spontaneous development of abilities to overseeing the learning of concepts (Walkerdine, 1984).

Piaget believed that inner cognitive structures control learning, which exhibit themselves in a form of readiness on the child’s side. As Asubel suggested “[r]eadiness is a function of both general cognitive maturity and of particularized learning experience” (Asubel, 1963, quoted in Cannella, 1997, p. 119). This idea of Piaget’s enabled the emergence of developmentally appropriate practice (DAP). In DAP, mental age (the actual cognitive developmental level of the particular child) is aligned with a
maturity of cognitive structures and correspondingly, an environment is created to facilitate the development of a particular concept. Piaget argued further that cognitive maturity means that successive structures incorporate previous structures in an integrative and hierarchical fashion (Piaget, 1977). Thus, Piaget’s ideas about development assumes a “progressive, predetermined, linear change” similar to the progression of a product on the Fordist assembly line. Using Fendler’s way of theorizing (2001), Piagetian child development is isomorphous with the rationality of the Fordist economy’s procedure-driven governance. On the Fordist assembly line, production was explained as a series of steps or procedures towards the greater readiness of the end product. Similarly, cognitive development by Piaget was laid down as a procedure-driven pattern of knowledge organization carried out spontaneously by the child.

In sum, ‘the child’ was constituted by the discourses of Piagetian child-centred pedagogy as an ‘active’ individual whose interaction with the environment feeds back to her spontaneous development that terminates in adult rationality. The course of development was reconstituted in a way that it progresses through the sequences of the ever more complex processing of knowledge toward conceptual maturity (the adult scientist). Thus, knowledge was lifted out of its social context. It neutralized and ‘technicalized’ through the constructivist psychology of Piaget (Rose, 1996b).

2.1.2. ‘The child’ and the social

Democracy is a key term in child-centred pedagogy (Burman, 1994) because in its essence this pedagogy is a reaction to the regimentation and authoritarianism so prevalent during the Second World War. Accordingly, to serve the ideals of freedom against coercion, obedience in child-centred pedagogy is covertly reached through the
child’s self-control and self-direction, thus obedience appears as the child’s voluntary cooperation. Thus, it can be argued that child-centred pedagogy brings a more subtle and covert way of regulation (Burman, 1994).

Discourses of child-centred pedagogy constitute ‘the child’ as a subject of ‘social’ liberal mode of government. Thus, ‘the child’ is constituted as a “rational, freely choosing, isolated and equal individual” (Sullivan, 1977 in Burman, 1994). ‘The child’ is seen as detached from her social context and is considered as “the unit of the social” that masks differences based on class, gender or culture (Burman, 1994, p. 167) allowing early education to be further depoliticized. Together with the ‘technicalization’ of knowledge, constituting ‘the child’ this way covertly “overrule[s] existing logics of contestation between opposing interests” (Rose, 1996b, p.50).

According to Piaget (1977), nature defines what ‘the child’ begins with, that is, the cognitive structure ready to be spontaneously developed by ‘the child’ in an invariant sequence. The course of cognitive development, marked by the development of mental structures, is thought to be the same for all children, however the age at which they attain particular structures may vary with intelligence and the social environment (Inhelder & Piaget, 1964). In consequence, the lack of ‘sufficient’ progression lies in the child: she or her immediate environment (family) is to be blamed (Cannella, 1997).

McCallum (1990) defined this understanding of ‘intelligence’ as a ‘natural’ ability or ‘educability’ that the ‘pre-social’ individual – the individual as she was born – possesses. Thus, educational attainment was legitimated on the grounds of ‘nature’ and science set out to delineate the ‘pre-social’ individual, for example in Piaget’s case, in cognitive ability. The measurement of this ‘natural’ ability took place in institutions set out to ‘develop’ the same ability, such as preschools or kindergartens, and was observed and assessed ‘in progress’. Consequently, it could not measure or describe the
‘natural ability’ itself. Despite this paradox, the existence of this ‘natural ability’ was legitimated. Moreover, different levels of ‘natural ability’ were assigned to various social groups, because the practices and curriculum upon which it was appraised “reflected the social power and political influence” of the white middle-class sector of population (McCallum, 1990, p.139). In sum, the existence and difference in ‘natural ability’ served to underpin meritocratic ideals of education. As Lubeck (1996) explains further, Piaget’s theory “is a cultural construction that reifies dominant cultural practices, including a stratified social order” (p. 156) permitting social inequalities to be turned into individual shortcomings by child-centredness. Thus, ‘educability’ produced a ‘natural’ hierarchy among children that legitimated state control of education and individualized social differences. Through the ideas of the popular Australian educationist, Mackie, for example, this idea paved the way to organize schooling according to the child’s ability (McCallum, 1990) and to limit education for those who measured lower in ‘educability’. Paradoxically, it also served the basic principle of equality of educational opportunity (McCallum, 1990) and secured opportunities for ‘the child’ to reach the maximum of what her ‘educability’ rendered her capable.

To frame this idea in the Australian education context and to demonstrate how scientific ideas and governmental policies are based on the same way of rationalizing, I outline equality of opportunity in more detail. The ideal of equality of opportunity was shaped by social democratic views that provided some of the theoretical underpinnings of the welfare state. In an educational understanding, equality of opportunity means the equality of total material resources per students (public and private), where more was spent publicly on particular students who lacked private resources (Marginson, 1997b). This rationality legitimated extra spending on the basis of compensating for particular
students’ ‘improper environment’ to develop and maximize their ‘educability’ in order to turn them in to ‘valuable assets’ for the country. Pre-compulsory education took a special part in the remediation of disadvantaged children internationally due to its scientifically proved and accepted role in preparing the child’s for educational success. In Australia, however, discourses of equality of opportunity and social compensation were reconceptualized (Taylor et al., 1997). They took rather the form of creating equal starting ground for disadvantaged students by providing additional social services prior to school to cater for their needs rather than to compensate for their ‘lacks’. Consequently, the compensatory education movement was less influential (Taylor et al., 1997) as in the US (Head Start and Perry Preschool) and in Great Britain (Nursery School) (Swadener, 1990; Williams, 1999).

The interconnected discourses of ‘educability’ and equality of opportunity strengthened the intellectual focus of pedagogy by reconceptualizing the social context of ‘the child’ into inborn educational ability. It individualized, therefore, social differences. These discourses constituted ‘the child’ as having a certain ability to be educated and as an isolated individual, that is a ‘unit of the social’.

2.2. Child-centred pedagogy - practice

Developmentally appropriate practice (DAP) (Bredekamp, 1987) is “conceptualised within a Piagetian-based theory … [and] now underpins early childhood practice across Australia” (Fleer, 1995a, p. 2). DAP is premised on the same modernist assumption of universality or universal applicability on which Piaget’s theory rests (Lubeck, 1996). Based on Piaget’s theory and the experiences of practitioners, DAP determines ‘universal’ child rearing practices deemed to be ‘appropriate’. Discourses of DAP constitute ‘the child’ as “a unique person with an individual pattern
and timing of growth, as well as individual personality, learning style, and family background” (Bredekamp, 1987, p. 2). Moreover, ‘the child’ is constituted as an “isolated being” (Lubeck, 1996, p.151).

DAP draws on the ‘normalcy’ that is established by developmental psychology. The idea of ‘normalcy’, however, “is theoretically limited and circumscribed as those characteristics that are average or common”, moreover, what is considered normal is historically changing (Fendler, 2001). DAP applies historically specific understandings of the factors of development (Fendler, 2001, p. 127). For example, by using Fendler’s illustration, the Eugenics movement used phrenology to produce normality by describing the abnormal, while Piaget’s theory of development produced the idea of increasing cognitive maturation in relation to the environment and measured normality against this. Consequently, ‘normal’ used in DAP relates to a specific set of qualities connected to the dominant culture (more precisely to Piaget’s culture itself since he studied his own children and universalized his findings as ‘normal development’) and inscribe the ‘normal child’ according to that (Fendler, 2001; Fleer, 1995a).

Developmentally appropriate curriculum is constructed by the intertwining discourses of developmental psychology, progressive efficiency and a behaviourist approach to reach educational goals. It can be considered as a technology of normalization and regulation, what Fendler calls ‘developmentality’ (Fendler, 2001). ‘Developmentality’, this way, produces certain ways to think about and govern ‘the child’ and assigns principles for the self-government of individuals (both teachers and students).
DAP’s educational goals represent a shift from procedure driven mechanisms\(^{26}\) of regulation to objective driven, which gives the impression that regulation is lifted (Fendler, 2001, p. 134). The discourses of DAP, however, even if they are in a format that provides greater freedom for teachers to plan their educational programs, governs teachers by obliging them to choose the ways to pre-determined ends. Thus, teachers are governed through their freedom or, as Rose (1996b, 1999) put it, through the ‘advanced’ liberal way. Although DAP’s roots are grounded in the child-centred theories of Piaget’s, following Fendler (2001) I maintain that DAP governs through a particular way that is isomorphic with recent ways of governing individuals.

The Western Australian version of DAP, the *Guidelines for the identification of best practice in early childhood education for four to eight year olds* (Rice et al., 2001), constitutes ‘the child’ in particular ways and regulates them and teachers according to practices in which the rationalities of the ‘advanced liberal’ mode of governing were inscribed\(^{27}\).

In summary, as Burman (1994) argues, “child-centred pedagogy plays out the conflicts and internal contradictions of both emancipatory and normative tendencies” (p. 163). In a similar fashion, while the 1960s and 1970s allowed the freest and most natural development of the child, to be true to her nature, however, as I argued, she was more monitored, managed and regulated than at any previous moment (Rose, 1985; Walkerdine, 1993). ‘The child’ was constituted by developmental discourses as ‘active’ individual in interaction with her environment. Discourses of Piagetian development

---

\(^{26}\) Educational texts instructing teachers about ‘proper’ practices were placed in a procedure driven form until the appearance of DAP (Fendler, 2001), such as “first write the new vocabulary on the board, then pronounce each word” (p. 126). Since the 1960s a syllabus starts with objectives (see more in Fendler, 2001).

\(^{27}\) The Guideline is analysed in Chapter Ten in detail.
constituted ‘the child’ as ‘isolated’ from the social and, therefore, ‘equal’. Accordingly, social problems were individualized as her fault. ‘The child’ was inscribed with development understood in the spontaneous maturation of cognitive processes that were calibrated by teaching so it is normal. Abnormal development originating in her ‘educability’ and immediate social environment has to be classified and compensated for. Discourses of DAP, the practical application of child-centred education, mapped out development in objectives and teaching was matched to create an environment that enabled ‘the child’ to unfold optimally as a rational adult. DAP, more particularly ‘Developmentality’, produced ways to govern ‘the child’ according to ‘advanced’ liberal mode of governing, while ensuring her greatest freedom previously unknown. This novel way of governing individuals also produced a new way of thinking about and practicing the education of children: interactive pedagogy.

3.1. Interactive pedagogy

In Chapter Three and earlier in this chapter, I outlined how ‘the child’ was made an object of psychological and regulatory apparatuses. The scientific knowledges that were produced about children constituted ‘the child’ in particular ways targeting her various faculties. For example, individualized pedagogy around the turn of the 20th century constituted ‘the child’ as lack of adult morality and aimed to instill into children a certain morality by teaching children hygienic routines. Thus, individualized pedagogies targeted the child’s behaviour. Child-centred pedagogy mapped out the ‘whole’ child in particular areas. In this process, the child’s physical, social, emotional and attitudinal28 changes were constructed into a universal sequence of development

28 Attitude in this quote is understood as aimed at the environment and not as inner motivation, for example, as it was used in Kohlberg’s (1984) work on moral reasoning.
mirroring Piaget’s stages of cognitive development. With the naturalization of these developmental models children became normalized. This regulation targeted their thinking, feelings and attitudes. The subject of interactive pedagogy “is constituted by fears, wishes, attitudes, inclinations, and pleasures” (Fendler, 2001, p.122).

Consequently, recent educational goals require the student to regulate herself to be ‘internally motivated’ and to have a ‘positive attitude’ towards learning. With a shift to the ‘advanced’ liberal mode of governing, as Rose (1989, 1996b) argues, the child’s ‘soul’ has been constructed as the object of regulation.

As another example, motivation is explained only recently in terms of feelings, attitudes towards the self and inclinations. As Fendler (2001) argues, the notion of motivation underwent changes that can be aligned with how the individual and her government were thought about. While behaviourists understood motivation as reinforcement, such as an external force on behaviour, Piaget rejected this idea and drew on motivation as internal to the organisms and connected with cognitive processes. He understood motivation as arising from a spontaneous ‘urge’ during the functioning of the cognitive structures, more precisely as arising from the activity of ‘assimilation’ (Piaget, 1952).

The extending of government to the ‘soul’ of ‘the child’ constructed the ‘whole child’29 as the new subject of education, the “undivided/whole subject of cognition, feeling, will and aesthetics” (p.144), a humanistic subject (Hultqvist, 2001). Hultqvist (2001) explains it further “[i]n the prevalent constructivist pedagogy, this humanistic subject actively both constructs and organizes his inner and outer worlds (p. 144). This way, the discourse of the ‘whole child’ (with its epistemological assumptions) – ‘the

29 This ‘whole child’ is different from the idea of whole child used earlier, by for example Froebel, because the new construction involves psychologically defined attributes opposed to Froebel whose ‘whole child’ notions were built on a unity with the Divine.
active learner’, the ‘constructive learner’, or the ‘autonomous learner’ – constructs a “particular target or substance to be educated” (p.120), which has an ‘internal motivation’ to learn (Fendler, 2001). Moreover, the child’s ‘soul’ is not regulated through one institution, such as the school or the family. In ‘control societies’ ‘the child’ belongs to a network of institutions and communities (Deleuze, 1992). Therefore, the discursive field produced by the mixing of institutional discourses constitutes ‘the child’ in a hybrid way (Hardt & Negri, 2001).

From the 1970s, infant research centred on how the environmental factors contextually change developmental pattern, such as Vygotsky’s theory of social learning, where ‘the child’ is able to exceed its development or learn different ways of thinking with the help of an adult. According to these ideas, social interaction constitutes the basis for the creation of an individual’s knowledge (a ‘socially constructed’ knowledge) and knowledge about the self by ‘the child’ (Fendler, 2001). Conditioned by these ideas, cognitive development was reconstructed in the terms of the social and reflected from this time the ‘socially constructed’ nature of knowledge. Consequently, learning had to be understood in social terms (Fendler, 2001). This turn enabled the testing and critique of the universalist Piagetian theory and the appearance of culturally sensitive pedagogies and curriculum. For example, in the light of the great number of critiques that emerged (Lubeck, 1994, 1996; Polakow, 1989; Walkerdine, 1993), DAP was rewritten (Bredekamp & Copple, 1997). This context, together with the changed ways of governing individuals, conditioned the emergence of a reinvented

---

30 In this meaning ‘socially constructed’ refers to the knowledge, which is created in social interaction, while this understanding does not question the socially constructed nature of development for example, what social constructionists (such as Burman, 1994) do.
form of child-centred pedagogy, what I call, following Fendler (2001), interactive pedagogy\textsuperscript{31}.

\subsection*{3.1.1. The flexible, response-ready, enterprising child}

Interactive pedagogy addressed the dissatisfaction with earlier teacher- and child-centred pedagogies. The teacher’s role, according to this idea, is to stand in a constant interaction with ‘the child’ and to adapt the material to the children’s momentary interests and the pace and style of teaching to their needs. Thus, the teacher is flexibly responding to ‘the child’ (Fendler, 2001). This way of thinking about education – being flexible, fluid, dynamic, situation responsive\textsuperscript{32} – is prevalent also in the theory of interactive development underpinning this form of pedagogy\textsuperscript{33}.

Interactive pedagogy, with its continuous monitoring of children’s needs and interests, constitutes ‘the child’ (and ‘the teacher’) as a ‘response-ready’ and ‘response-able’ subject, who creates continuously changing responses and fashions her self in relation to that (Fendler, 2001). Consequently, the self becomes socially constituted (Fendler, 2001). The constitution of ‘the child’ as ‘response-ready’ and ‘flexible’ transformed ‘the child’ into the locus of change (Hultqvist, 2001). ‘Change’, however, is not power free, because “changes are effected by the discursive regimes that constitute what counts as change and what can be recognized as a response” (Fendler, 2001, p.138). The conflation of these educational discourses and practices may seem to empower children, and they “may appear as exercises of freedom but, on closer examination, [they] turn out to be repetitions and reiterations of the status quo” (Fendler, 2001, p.121). These ideas are further elaborated by Fendler (2001):

\begin{itemize}
  \item [31] MacNaughton (2003) terms it progressive child centred education.
  \item [32] Fundamentally postmodernist ideas.
  \item [33] See more details about interactive pedagogy and development in Weinert (1996).
\end{itemize}
In one aspect, the definition of ‘flexible’ has come to mean response-ready and response-able; and the definition of ‘freedom’ has come to mean the capacity and responsibility of self-discipline. Obviously, response-ready cannot be an autonomous state; there must be a stimulus to prompt the response. In current discourses, however, the stimuli are also flexible, meaning various and changing. There is no fixed or specified source or pattern of stimuli; if there were, the corresponding subject would not have to be response-ready; just obedient to some designated authority. Response-ready is a mutable and dynamic subject position, but it is a very specific subject position, one that is affected by current historical power relations and normalized in educational discourse (Fendler, 2001, p.137-8).

The confluence of these discourses constitutes ‘the child’ as ready, moreover, obliged and active to choose in order to further her interests (Rose, 1999). Teaching is directed to empower children, the ‘entrepreneurial subjects’, to enable their quest for self-realization by constructing choices for them. In other words, since children’s interests feeds back to their learning, through their choice they directly influence their own course of life or, as in the best case-scenario, maximize their ‘human capital’ through their choices (C. Gordon, 1991). These discourses, therefore, constitute the child’s ‘soul’ as an “enterprising self … [which is] both an active self and a calculating self, a self calculates about itself and that acts upon itself in order to better itself” (Rose, 1996c, p.154). The conditions for the emergence of those discourses that constitute ‘the child’ as an ‘enterprising self’ are immanent in early childhood education theory, pedagogy, policy and practice. The ethics of the enterprise is translated to the technologies and practices of early childhood education in the form of “competitiveness, strength, vigor, boldness, outwardness, and the urge to succeed” (Rose, 1996c).

‘The child’ in early childhood education is constituted to strive for a better and happier life through shaping and governing its own capacities and competencies through
its own will and choice, thus, it is constituted as an ‘autonomous’ subject. The notion of ‘autonomous’ in this context has a different meaning to earlier usage, such as in the case of Froebel. For Froebel, ‘being autonomous’ meant that ‘the child’ should be ‘left alone’ or free from adult influence ‘for the sake of society’, so she can spontaneously grow into what her destiny directed by the inner law of ‘Divine Unity’ assigned her to be. In interactive pedagogy autonomy means that ‘the child’ is able to make ‘free’ choices in order to turn her life into an enterprise (C. Gordon, 1991; Rose, 1999). This shift serves as a good example of how notions were reinvented or changed with shifting rationalities of government.

Children are also assigned by a variety of rules for the conduct of their everyday existence to be ambitious and also to take personal responsibility. In the matrix of ‘enterprise culture’, educational professionals regulate the educational setting to make children autonomous (to enable their pre-determined choices) and responsible through the authority of expert knowledges and techniques. For example, recent discourses in early childhood encourage children’s participation in decisions regarding their lives, particularly what to teach and how to teach it in the classroom. These discourses promote the withdrawal of the sovereign power of teachers and with that the creation of a pedagogy where children are seen as ‘independent, autonomous and responsible’ learners. Hultqvist (2001) summarizes the shift that took place in the later half of the 20th century by drawing the above ideas together:

The natural journey of the self in today’s governmentalities seems no longer to be about the discovery of the child’s fixed nature or obligations toward a predefined conception of society. This journey, or becoming, seems more to be about being a motivated learner that is able to explore and deal with today’s comparably more flexible landscape of learning and knowledge. The child has become an entrepreneur of him- or herself (p. 163).
Thus, ‘the child’ became active in constructing her learning and in constructing her self (Hultqvist, 1997).

3.1.2. The self-constructing and active child

Child-centred education was placed in opposition to vocationalism in educational debates from the 1970s. This tension was a result of conceptualizing learning and knowledge by child-centred education as an isolated activity that arises outside social structures and relations (Burman, 1994). Children were placed in a socio-political vacuum and their ‘job’ was defined as play. Burman (1994) claims that the construction of learning and knowledge as separate from the socio-political context “set up the continuities with the current instrumentalist orientations of pedagogy (p. 175). Going through this transformation, pedagogy became concerned with the training of specific task-oriented skills in relation to the socio-economic context. Thus, the socio-political context was considered again in choices of pedagogy, however this happened in a changed format and served different aims. This shift was coupled with a conceptual change from “knowledge as a process to knowledge as the exercise of techniques” (Burman, 1994, p. 175). With this change, “[p]edagogy itself is atomized into a diverse range of strategies with no apparent overarching philosophy to guide practice” (Watkins, 2005, p.179).

These conceptual shifts and changes in pedagogy can be related to a changed mode of government, in which “rationalities and techniques … seek to govern without governing society, to govern through regulated choices made by discreet and autonomous actors in the context of their particular commitments to families and communities” (Rose, 1996a, p. 328).
As a result, the notion of ‘autonomy’ was reconstituted to “being autonomous and constructive with regard to a particular community" (Hultqvist, 1997, p. 409) instead of ‘for the sake of society’. As a consequence, individuals engage in constant constitutions and reconstitutions of their selves in relation to their particular location and project, rather than “through their group affiliations” or previously established identity” (Jenks, 1996, p. 102). ‘The child’ in this context is free “to act on his/her own, … [is] autonomous and self-reliant” (Hultqvist, 1997, p. 409). Consequently, ‘the child’ who is constituted as free to choose has to be addressed with a particular pedagogy that enables her to choose in order to assist her growth or self-actualization. Since discourses constitute the child’s environment as in a constant flux (Popkewitz, 1996), ‘the child’ is also constituted as needing the capacity of response-readiness and flexibility in order to be able to keep up with the changes. It is thought that these capacities are not in her nature, thus, she needs to be equipped with these capacities “to accomplish something that is not there in advance” (Hultqvist, 2001, p. 144).

Current pedagogical discourses and practices reinvented the idea of the ‘humanistic child’ that entered the kindergarten through Froebelian education (Hultqvist, 2001). According to Froebel, ‘the child’ develops an image of God in her through developing her abilities. Thus, ‘the child’ accomplishes something which was previously not present in her. In other words, she carries out what is called a Bildung (Hultqvist, 2001). Similarly, through a reinvented process of Bildung, technologies of recent pedagogies constitute ‘the child’ in a particular way described above. ‘The child’

34 The individual, however, can belong to multiple communities in the same time and her ‘membership’ can change rapidly as well.
35 Such as gender, class or profession.
36 Bildung is a European continental conception that influenced Froebel. As Hultqvist (2001) explains it “Bildung is not about education, as in the Anglo-American context, but about the cultivation of one’s mind and soul” (p. 9).
produced in this way, however, has no “reference point in the pupil’s so-called natural leaning” (Hultqvist, 2001, p.148). Consequently, as Hultqvist (2001) argues, the responsivity, flexibility, motivation and capability to accomplish an “extended and self-regulated journey of knowledge” (p.159) is not present in any form in the child, but is stimulated into existence through different ways and many routes. One of the ways is to address ‘the child’ (and the teacher) at the level of her self:

the use of specific techniques and tools, like diaries, individual planning, and self-evaluation procedures (often including parents), provide … means that shape the free and self-conducting form of individuality (Hultqvist, 2001, p.149).

Other ways are, for instance, providing guidance instead lecturing. Through guidance ‘the child’ is continuously expected to reflect on her desires, wants and wills. Another way to facilitate the process is the reorganization of knowledge in patterns of knowledge to suit better the individual child’s “personal aspirations and competencies” (for example the mixing of learning areas (subjects) with developmental areas and breaking it up into specific learning outcomes as in the *Curriculum Framework for Kindergarten to Year 12 Education in Western Australia* (Curriculum Council, 1998).

The third technique to incite ‘the child’ to produce her self as responsive and reflexive is hidden in the teacher’s role itself, in which she “link[s] and regulate[s]” the child’s ‘free’ knowledge seeking (Hultqvist, 2001, p.149).

Thus the aim of recent pedagogy is to develop the child’s capacities. Capacities are different from competencies, which underpin child-centred pedagogy developed by Piaget. Competency, following Bernstein’s conceptualization (Bernstein in Hultqvist, 1997) is a generalized ability inherent in ‘the child’ and the role of pedagogy in regard to them is to facilitate the growth of these abilities. Capacity, however, “is more specific and task oriented” and in relation to this pedagogy is concerned with “trainability and
the training of skills targeted at specific tasks” (Hultqvist, 1997, p. 408). Since skills are linked to instrumentalities of the market that is in a constant flux, pedagogy’s objective is to facilitate the formation of flexible (or hybrid) identities by its subjects through the process of skilling.

Thinking about children as ‘capable’ opened up new ways to constitute ‘the child’. They are thought about as able to do many more things than before. For example, children today can go to school, write and read earlier, they can have greater responsibilities in regards to their learning, and can participate more in issues related to their lives. The constitution of ‘the child’ as ‘capable’ is most promoted by the New Sociology of Childhood (for example, Allison James & Adrian James, 2004; Allison James & Prout, 1997; Jenks, 1996; Mayall, 1994; Mayall et al., 1996; Prout & Allison James, 1997; Qvortrup et al., 1994; Wyness, 2006). Since children’s abilities are ‘discovered’ and trained, they “are increasingly able to respond flexibly to the demands of an unstable and changing world (Hultqvist, 1998, p. 108, original emphasis).

In sum, interactive pedagogy constitutes ‘the child’ as a whole child (including the ‘soul’), that is, as a humanistic subject or a subject of Bildung. Interactive pedagogy targets the constructive capacities and dispositions of the active child. These discourses constitute ‘the child’ as having a duty to establish her self in an active form, to become response-ready, flexible, self-motivated and regulate her self on the road of lifelong knowledge-seeking to realize her self by making an enterprise of her life (Hultqvist, 2001, p. 149).
4. Summary

Discourses of pedagogy and developmental psychology produced historically specific matrices that constituted ‘the child’ in various ways. They enabled the inscription of Enlightenment ideas of progress, individuality and rationality on ‘the child’. Through these scientific disciplines a complex knowledge as truth about the nature of ‘the child’ came into being; her development was naturalized, her normality was standardized and universalized and her abnormality was managed. ‘The child’ became the subject of the practices of the State through the technology of pedagogy and developmental psychology to govern ‘the child’ according to changing governmental rationalities. Normativity, produced by developmental psychology, enabled subjects to govern themselves according to these sets of norms.

Educational institutions more recently – including pre-compulsory education – create entrepreneurial subjectivities to fit the ideal citizen of ‘advanced liberalism’ (Popkewitz & Bloch, 2001) and societies of control (Deleuze, 1992). In this context, ‘the child’ is constituted as the ‘empowered’ child, who seeks to govern her ‘soul’ by creating a particular subjectivity. ‘The child’ is an active, flexible ‘actor’, ready to respond to new eventualities (Popkewitz & Bloch, 2001) according to different situations (Fendler, 2001).

In this summary, I draw attention to the shifting concepts of ‘development’, how they operate within different governmental frames of reference. The ‘early’ liberal mode of governing constructed the child’s growth in terms of freedom and natural interest by inscribing its rationality on pedagogical theories. I exemplify this idea by drawing on Froebel’s ideas. According to Froebel (1912), in everybody there is a ‘divine effluence’ and ‘all controlling eternal law’, which is based on an Eternal Unity
or God). Through acquiring abilities, the ‘divine effluence’ in ‘the child’ becomes active, which drives spontaneous growth. In this way, Froebel understood growth as spontaneously unfolding if ‘the child’ is left free of outside influences such as the disfiguring effects of coercive parenting. He argued that “it is the destiny and life-work of all things to unfold their essence” (Froebel, 1912, p. 2). For Froebel, development unfolds in sequences (parallel with humanity’s cultural evolution). Thus, the end stage of development is the ‘liberal man or women’, and through making the ‘divine essence’ conscious in her life, “man (sic) himself raised into free, conscious obedience to the divine principle that lives in him, and to a free representation of this principle in his life”. In other words, the individual will become a self-disciplining and self-governing (autonomous) individual. Education’s role was to prepare the individual through overseeing and enabling the development of her abilities (as they were developed in cultural history), to live in a liberal society and to produce her subjectivity according to this rationality through self-regulation.

With the increasing reliance on expertise in the form of developmental psychology and pedagogy, they became ever more influential. The increased role of expertise in the government of individuals is a characteristic of ‘social’ liberal mode of government (Rose, 1996b, 1999). For Piaget, whose ideas laid down the groundwork for child-centred pedagogy, development was understood as a road from emotions to scientific rationality. The seed of rationality – schemata – was considered immanent in the child. This given mental structure is a pre-social ability or ‘educability’ that develops in contact with the environment. ‘The child’s rationality, therefore, develops to a higher stage, because ‘the child’ reorganizes spontaneously her intelligence in relationship with the environment into a more efficient format. Thus, the child’s competencies – general ways to organize intelligence or to think about problems – are
developed. Through the technicalization of knowledge and the reconstitution of development as the maturation of mental structure, ‘the child’ was ripped out from her social environment and through the same technology, her environment was written on her in the form of individualizing social problems as lack of individual ability or family background. The disadvantaged child was engaged in a framework of collective responsibility or solidarity and was compensated to be able to reach the limits that her ‘educability’ allowed.

‘The child’ from the 1980s was increasingly constituted through arguments of “constructivism” (Bloch & Popkewitz, 2000). ‘The child’s development, as a linear progression to a pre-determined end, was replaced with skilling and reskilling, a lifelong project of self-construction through the help of invested capacities. This shift conditioned the increased questioning of the notion of development, because the end point became blurred. ‘The child’ invested capacities, such as flexibility and responsiveness, were stimulated through technologies of government to develop these abilities, such as reflexivity. These technologies are isomorphic with technologies of the ‘societies of control’ (Deleuze, 1992) and technologies of ‘advanced’ liberalism (Rose, 1996b, 1999). ‘The child’, in this way, was placed back into the social and she is actively constructing and reconstructing her own (hybrid) subjectivity according to particular communities to which she belongs (Rose, 1999).

Chapter Five examines how particular classroom discipline approaches, as a ‘regime of practice’, were aligned with the different modes of governing individuals. It also studies particular approaches utilized presently in pre-compulsory education Australia-wide to outline constitutions of ‘the child’ and adds to the analysis performed in this chapter and Chapter Three.
CHAPTER FIVE

Regimes of practice: classroom discipline approaches and ‘the child’

1. Introduction

Chapters Three and Four examined how the regimes of thought of early childhood education constituted ‘the child’. This chapter examines how these thoughts have been made practical and material in early childhood education through calling on and enacting certain discourses and practices in regards to classroom discipline. This chapter focuses on discourses of classroom discipline produced dominantly by educational psychology for the regulation of children’s conduct. It studies how prevailing discourses of ‘discipline’ are utilized to explain and deal with young human being’s ‘disruptive’ conducts in classrooms, the ways they govern ‘the child’ and how these discourses and practices constitute ‘the child’.

Although there has been a shift in conceptualising the notion of ‘discipline’ since the 1990s, the dominant understanding of ‘discipline’, that it is a synonym and verb for control, remained quite pronounced (R. Slee, 1995). In practice, discipline utilizes punishment, reward and regulation and promotes submission and subversion (R. Slee, 1995). The aim of ‘discipline’ is to produce “‘docile bodies’ for the purpose of institutional equilibrium” (Raby, 2005; R. Slee, 1995, p.73). It is conceptualised as management or control of classroom conduct. Recent guidance approaches to classroom discipline claim that they work on a different concept of ‘discipline’. Moreover, they advocate for the erasure of the term ‘discipline’ from their vocabulary. Proponents of guidance approaches argue that the concept of ‘discipline’ is strongly attached to the concept of ‘control’, thus its use brings unwanted connotations. Instead of working
towards students’ submission to classroom rules and the teacher’s control, the advocates of guidance approaches aim to collaborate with students to reach certain behavioural goals that they agree on. Although guidance approaches strive to utilize different discourses and strategies that are not attached to control, they are based on the same rationality as other approaches, that is, the necessity to manage (control) students’ behaviour. Thus, I classify guidance approaches as classroom discipline approaches.

An approach to classroom discipline is a collection of theoretical ideas and teaching strategies and techniques utilized for the maintenance of classroom (school) order or “institutional equilibrium” (Raby, 2005; R. Slee, 1995, p. 73). Various approaches to classroom discipline constitute the notion of ‘discipline’ and ‘the child’ (and ‘teacher’) differently and invent diverse strategies for their management. This chapter studies various approaches to classroom discipline that are utilized in early childhood classrooms in Western Australia without the aim to review all or to critique their ideas and strategies. It is worth mentioning, however, that there are only a few critiques of the approaches of classroom discipline that emerged from outside the field. I list some of them here. School discipline is explored from a curriculum perspective in Slee’s (1988) collection of texts. Branson and Miller (1991) critique the three different approaches to classroom discipline from a poststructuralist standpoint. Using the same paradigm, Laws and Davies (2000) deconstruct school discipline, demonstrate its constitutive force and offer an alternative reading of discipline. Raby (2005) examines school codes of conduct as sites of knowledge production that fashion particular gendered citizens with the use of the concept of governmentality (Foucault, 1979a). Meadmore and Symes (1996) study the idea and use of school uniform since they are underpinned by notions of discipline. There are also assessments of classroom
discipline policies (Izard & Evans, 1996; R. Slee, 1997). Critiques of particular theories are great in number however, these use the framework of other classroom discipline theories for evaluation (Gartrell, 1998; A. Gordon & Browne, 1996; F. Jones, 1987a; T. Knight, 1991; Kohn, 1996; Lovegrove & Lewis, 1991; L. Porter, 2003b; Rodd, 1996).

The objective of this chapter is to outline the constitutions of ‘the child’ that different discipline approaches produce through instituting practices in the early childhood classroom.

2. Government through discipline approaches

‘Regimes of practices’ are customary institutional practices (Foucault, 1980c), such as ways to be and behave ‘appropriately’ in the classroom or ways to deal with disruption. ‘Regimes of practices’ are inscribed by governmental rationalities for the regulation of individuals’ conduct. They produce discourses and practices in the classroom that set up a normative framework for students’ behaviour. Those children who do not conform to these are regulated through classroom discipline approaches that set up norms for behaviour. Hence these approaches’ normalizing effect. Classroom discipline approaches constitute ‘the child’ in particular ways, set out standards for ‘appropriate’ behaviour and strategies to ‘modify’ those children and their behaviour who do not conform. Thus, it is possible to outline how these discourses and practices constitute ‘the child’ by analyzing discipline approaches used in classrooms.

Classroom discipline approaches are expert technologies for achieving certain classroom, social and political goals. For example, they are sites of socialization and prepare students for citizenship (L. Porter, 1996). These approaches embody what Foucault (1979a) termed the “sovereignty-discipline-government” (p. 19) triangle.
Classroom discipline approaches utilize ‘regimes of truth’ or disciplinary\(^{37}\) knowledges produced by experts of behaviour to visualize\(^{38}\) and normalize certain behaviours while pathologizing others through the dividing practices they institute. Discipline (scientific knowledge) is, therefore, valorized in the management of students “in its depths and details” (Foucault, 1979a, p. 19).

Classroom discipline approaches also utilize sovereign power in two forms. First, in an absolute form centralized in the will of the teacher. Second, sovereignty is exercised in the production of subjectivity. In this case, however, sovereignty “has become virtual\(^{39}\)” (Hardt & Negri, 2001, p. 330). Through discipline approaches, sovereign power is invested in certain techniques or strategies for the individuals to discipline themselves. Thus, sovereign power is exercised through discipline in two forms: dominance and self-government.

Students gained increasing release from the domination of the teacher after the Second World War in at least three interconnected ways. First, physical coercion was made illegal (R. Slee, 1995) and as a result new forms of discipline approaches were developed as replacements. Second, new forms of individualized pedagogies were gradually instituted, such as student-centred, cooperative or interactive pedagogies, to avoid the adverse affects presumably produced by teacher-centred autocratic teaching. The gross human rights violations of totalitarian regimes of Nazism or Stalinism also

---

37 Discipline here is used in the Foucauldian understanding as certain knowledges imbued with power.
38 Visualisation happens through the construction, measurement and evaluation of certain characteristics of children, such as intelligence or age ‘appropriate’ behaviour.
39 A good example of how sovereignty works in combination with discipline and governmentality is the idea of teaching children “cognitive and social-emotional regulating” techniques or skills, such as outlined by Leong and Bodrova (2003, p. 17). Their idea is to raise the consciousness of the child about acts when she regulates others and to teach her to turn this regulation towards herself in order to improve her wellbeing and the wellbeing of the class.
conditioned the shift to new ways of thinking about discipline. Third, progressive pedagogies of the 1920-30s, such as the pedagogy of Holmes (1911, 1913), created greater freedom for students in the classroom. Students were able to demonstrate their capacity for greater self-discipline in that environment. In a circular fashion, teachers allowed greater self-determination that resulted in improved discipline.

Students’ greater freedom in the classroom, however, was coupled with the invention of a whole host of strategies to shape and manage students’ conduct in desirable ways. The changing modes of government enabled the emergence of new forms of regulation that involved different capacities of students, such as self-determination, and also enabled the prescription of principles for their self-regulation. Initially those approaches to discipline developed that targeted their subjects’ behaviour and self-government. Thus, as Rose (1999) argues, greater freedom was linked with a norm of civility and an increased self-government of individuals’ conduct. Recently developed discipline approaches, based on guidance principles, are aimed at their subjects’ values, self-understanding, self-formation and ways of existence (Rose, 1999).

It can be argued that while students in monitorial schools were regulated through the sovereign power of the teacher who taught right ‘habitus’ to them (K. Jones & Williamson, 1979), recent classroom discipline works in a presumably more human way through power wielded by the “sovereignty-discipline-governmentality” triangle (Foucault, 1979a). ‘Freedom’, in this way, was linked to an increasingly deeper level of regulation and self-government (Rose, 1999).

Extending this idea further, the understanding of ‘self-discipline’ was also transformed with the changing mode of government. For example, Skinner’s (1968) behaviour-conditioning strategies teach the students to self-regulate their conduct in the
classroom. In this understanding, ‘discipline’ is mechanistic, its target is the conduct of the individual. More recently, popular guidance approaches inscribed ‘self-discipline’ in discourses of temperament, relationship, belonging and ethics. Guidance approaches dress up students with capacities (such as self reflection or flexibility) and teach skills through which students can understand (for example perspective-taking or verbalization of feelings), express and self-regulate their feelings, dispositions, attitudes and relations.

Guidance approaches work through a particular politics of behaviour, what Rose (1999, 2000) termed ‘ethopolitics’. Through ‘ethopolitics’, ‘self-discipline’ was reconceptualized. The notion of ‘self-discipline’, employed by guidance approaches, entails that individuals are governed “to craft their existence according to a certain art of living” concerning friendships in schools or working together and to solve conflicts to fulfil external moral standards (Rose, 1999, 2000, p. 1400).

Following Fendler’s (2001) logic used in describing the construction of ‘educated subject’, I argue that there is a confluence of three discourses in regards to regulating young children’s conduct in classrooms that constitute ‘the child’ in particular ways. First, discourses of discipline in early childhood education are inscribed with the idea of development, thus a particular disciplinary (in the meaning of knowledge) discourse is produced: *developmentally appropriate discipline* 40. This discourse correlates discipline strategies with a sequence of capabilities. The vast area of psychological knowledge produced about reasonable conducts, proper feelings and morals of different aged children are strongly utilized in discipline approaches devised for the early years (Fields & Boesser, 1994; Gartrell, 1998; A. Gordon & Browne, 1996; 40 This is similar to the idea of ‘developmentality’ used by Fendler (2001) who applied it to mentality of developmentally appropriate curricula and practices.
L. Porter, 2003b; Rodd, 1996; J. Slee, 2003). The dominant developmental sequences these approaches appeal to are rule following (Piaget, 1965); emotional (Erickson, 1963), morals (Kohlberg, 1984), interpersonal (Adler, 1954) and relationship (Selman, 1980) development. The interweaving of these discursive threads becomes a technology for the normalization of behaviour.

Second, the discourse of discipline approaches for early childhood constructs new aspects of ‘the child’ other than cognition (reasoning or intelligence). ‘The child’ who is constituted by the discourse of cognitive psychology “learns and knows” and her cognition is the target of education (Fendler, 2001, p. 120). The new aspects invented and targeted by discipline approaches are emotions, dispositions, morals, temperament, relationships and social skills. The constitution of the ‘disciplined child’ through disciplinary practices is one of the areas under examination in this chapter. Third, the pedagogic regimen accompanying discipline approaches have also undergone changes. Interventionist approaches (for example behavioural modification) are underpinned with a teacher-centred autocratic teaching style. Guidance approaches utilize negotiation or dialogue between the student and the teacher for flexible conflict resolution. The teaching style or relationship used by guidance approaches, therefore, is considered more democratic. In other words, it is thought about as a practice that provides children with more freedom or self-determination (Fields & Boesser, 1994; L. Porter, 1996, 2003b)

The confluence of these discourses – the linking of freedom with self-discipline, the inscription of development on discipline approaches, the constitution of the ‘disciplined child’ and pedagogies accompanying discipline approaches - produces a range of disciplinary practices and understandings of ‘the child’ in early childhood
classrooms. The next section outlines how different approaches to classroom discipline emerged historically in the Western Australian context.

3. The emergence of modern discipline approaches

In Western Australia following the Second World War, an interest appeared that concerned the maintenance of effective student discipline in classrooms, however, initially only in secondary schools (Hyde, 1992; R. Slee, 1995). The concept of ‘discipline’ from this period in policy documents was understood as not only correction, but “in terms of the degree of order and organization necessary for schools to work towards their required purpose” (Hyde, 1992, p. 62). Thus, discipline was placed into an educational framework. In considering student behaviour, curriculum, pedagogy and aspects of school management and organization were accounted for. Moreover, pastoral care and moral training were introduced in Western Australian schools during the 1970s as the outcome of the Dettman\(^{41}\) (1972) report. It is questionable whether the aim was to support disciplinary methods in schools (Hyde, 1992). The aim of pastoral care\(^{42}\) and, in relation to that, moral education, was to substitute parents’ direction that they were no longer able to exercise due to social changes, such as women’s increased participation in the workforce. Their aim was also to inculcate moral values in children. Pastoral care and moral education were the responsibility of individual schools and were delivered in a whole school framework (Hyde, 1992).

\(^{41}\) The Dettman report is one of the most comprehensive reports on physical punishment in schools in Australia commissioned by the Western Australian government in order to see how effective physical punishment is. The report found that it is an ineffective mode of discipline and should be replaced with other strategies, such as moral education or pastoral care.

\(^{42}\) Pastoral care aims fundamentally to inculcate the capacity of self-reflection in students (Hunter, 1994), however, it remained undefined in meaning and practices until the 1980s in Western Australian schools (Hyde, 1992).
The Dettman (1972) report was strongly influenced by the ideas and findings of similar overseas reports, such as the Plowden (1967) report in Britain. The Dettman (1972) report suggested that the school climate must be changed from corporeal punishment to that of the warm, friendly and co-operative environment that provides students with some choice over their education and fosters self-responsibility in children. It also raised the issue of legislating against the use of corporeal punishments in schools. This report reflected changes in the government of individuals and encouraged the search for different avenues to discipline children in classrooms. In sum, discipline from the postwar era was scrutinized at a whole school level and in relationship with pedagogy and curriculum. Pastoral and moral education linked the school and social factors influencing students’ behaviour (R. Slee, 1995).

The 1980s brought a renewed interest in school discipline in Western Australia. The consideration of social and school based factors of disruption remained strong in research and policy. As a result, corporeal punishment and out of school suspension were slowly phased out (by 1987) and at the same time extra resources and programs were added to promote discipline in schools (Hyde, 1992). Such programs included the introduction of behaviour-management training for teachers and subsequently the increased utilization of these strategies in classrooms. Several recommendations produced by various reports and researchers advocated for linking discipline to pastoral care to increase student wellbeing and to keep it at whole school level as it was practised previously (Education Department of Western Australia, 1989). The new policy: Guideline for School Discipline (Ministry of Education Western Australia, 1988) outlined a framework for those sections of school discipline policies that were obligatory for schools to apply.
This guideline and the subsequent guidelines for discipline in schools in Western Australia (released in 1998 and 2001) employed a ‘humanistic’ framework to discipline that can be characterised by shifts in the application of discipline approaches to keep control in the classroom. Through these shifts, the idea of discipline as outward control was transformed into the task of teaching self-control to students in schools (Hyde, 1992). Thus, the corporeal punishment utilized earlier to reach ‘institutional equilibrium’ in schools was gradually exchanged with other, ‘more human’ forms of control with the help of science (R. Slee, 1995).

This change was sponsored by the ‘scientization’ of student behaviour through the development of educational psychology (R. Slee, 1995). Punishment became more ‘humane’ through its transformation into more sophisticated forms of regulation (Foucault, 1977), such as ‘time out’, either in the classroom or outside of it, or the application of a wide range of classroom discipline strategies43.

Accompanying this transformation, a widening range of psychological theories and technologies were applied in classrooms for the management of behaviour. This resulted in the scientific identification of an ever widening range of behaviour as ‘pathologies’ and in need of remediation (Rose, 1989; R. Slee, 1995), such as the diagnosis and treatment of the growing number of children with the different forms of conduct disorder, Attention Deficit Disorder, autism or learning difficulties (Billington, 1996). Based on individual dysfunctionality and difference, Special Education was instituted through the use of ‘dividing practices’ (Foucault, 1977, p.183). Special Education followed the medical model of diagnosis, prescription and ‘clinical’

43 For a good overview see Porter (1996; L. Porter, 2000)
intervention and was aimed at ‘normalisation’ or ‘renormalisation’ of the selected children (Henriques et al., 1984; McCallum, 1990; Rose, 1989).

The ‘more humane’ educational discourses and practices of classroom discipline regulate through their disciplinary knowledge and the ‘disciplinary gaze’ of educational psychology (Foucault, 1977). Thus, the problem of ‘disruptive’ student behaviour was linked to deficient pathologies caused by the dysfunctional family and cultural background, or was linked to the young person’s ‘abnormality’ and increasingly attracted the ‘psychological gaze’ (Rose, 1989).

Educational psychology, by applying a humanist discourse, contributed enormously to the project of replacing outward punishment with a more “sympathetic demeanour” of control and with that, expanded and deepened the technology of regulation (Rose, 1989; R. Slee, 1995). The new arsenal of control made available by psychologists applies the “behavioural paradigm” with its narrow focus on “modification and shaping of behaviour through operant conditioning or humanistic counselling techniques” (p. 62) to act upon the ‘deviant’ or ‘disruptive child’ (R. Slee, 1995). Disruptive student behaviour was mapped through school records, teachers’ journals and psychologists’ notes, which played a crucial role in the development and refinement of student control mechanisms (Billington, 1996; R. Slee, 1995).

44 The earliest studies go back to the first quarter of the twentieth century, such as the study of Abbott and Breckinridge (Abbott & Breckinridge, 1917, discussed in Slee, 1995), which linked truancy, delinquency and school disruption to single working mother-headed families (R. Slee, 1995).
3.1. Rationales of discipline

Classroom discipline approaches and the diagnosis and treatment of ‘deviant’ children have two main rationales that are strongly intertwined with each other. These rationales are: scientific positivism and efficiency. There is a powerful legacy of Skinner to the paradigmatic foundations of classroom discipline and its technologies: classroom discipline theories and practices (R. Slee, 1995).

Skinner (1972) was one of the proponents calling for the configuration of a ‘science or technology of behaviour’ similar to the reconfiguration of knowledge in the areas of physical sciences (p. 3-25). The process of behaviour modification invented by Skinner focused on the environment shaped by the teacher. Skinner observed ‘inappropriate’ behaviours of individual students and strived to develop teacher responses that provided lack of stimulus for these behaviours or shaped alternative (desired) behaviours. With this manoeuvre, Skinner translated the discourse of control into the scientific and systematized discourse of behaviour modification with the use of a positivistic ‘neutral’ language (R. Slee, 1995). Consequently, punishment was replaced by responses and ‘logical’ consequences, with the inference that what is logical is ‘natural’ rather than cultural (R. Slee, 1995). Hence, the linguistic manipulation (or the application of the ‘intellectual technology’ of language (Miller & Rose, 1990)) silenced earlier debates about the appropriateness of punishment, maintained control as the dominant understanding of discipline and privileged a deeper level of regulation (Rose, 1989; R. Slee, 1995).

With the adoption of the ‘science of behaviour’ (Skinner, 1972) to deal with ‘institutional disequilibrium’, the dilemma of disruption was scientifically reduced to
the problem of control in the classroom. This discourse failed to attend “to the complex perturbations of contextualized life in schools” (R. Slee, 1995, p. 63), such as the interconnection of disciplining with school governance, curriculum and pedagogy or the broader socio-political context of the school and children (T. Knight, 1991). The reduction enabled the introduction of considerably simple technologies for the management of ‘disruptive’ behaviour.

Discipline theories and practices “have undergone incremental through to more radical cosmetic surgery”, because of the obvious failure to create classroom equilibrium (R. Slee, 1995, p. 85). The cosmeticians have generated debate among themselves about “the form that the cosmetic surgery should take” (R. Slee, 1995, p. 85), however they left the underlining rationality of discipline as regulation untouched (Branson & Miller, 1991; Foucault, 1977; Millei, 2005; Rose, 1989; R. Slee, 1995, 1997).

Discipline is linked closely to efficiency on two levels. First, the purpose of discipline, as stated by most academics working in the area (T. Knight, 1991, W. Rogers, 1991; Kohn, 1996, 1999; L. Porter, 2003b; Rodd, 1996), is to create an environment where optimum teaching or learning can take place, and therefore, the classroom can effectively perform its mission to educate children. On the second level, discipline approaches aim to identify strategies that required the least input with the longest lasting effects (Dobson, 1970; Kohn, 1996, 1999; W. Rogers, 1991).

The rationalities outlined above are inscribed on the different classroom discipline approaches outlined in the next section.
4. Classroom management approaches and ways of governing individuals

Most classroom management theories are in agreement that the aim of classroom discipline is to teach self-discipline. Some academic observers group classroom management techniques into three distinct groups: interventionists, non-interventionists and interactionists (Charles, 1981; Edwards, 1993; Lovegrove & Lewis, 1991; Wolfgang & Glickman, 1986). Others align grouping to teaching styles: authoritarians (called democratic as well, as the middle of the continuum between ‘laissez faire’ and autocratic) or permissive (Fields & Boesser, 1994; L. Porter, 1996, 2003b) or group it according to its orientation: such as student, teacher or group oriented styles (R. Lewis, 1991). There is a particular way of thinking in each classroom discipline approach and a dominance of a particular form of power that aligns each with different modes of governing individuals. The first grouping is therefore utilized in this study, because it groups different approaches to classroom disciplines according to different ways of wielding power and regulating individuals.

In this section, instead of attempting an exhaustive survey of classroom management approaches, I provide a brief discussion about the different ways of thinking about regulation that undergird the various approaches, and demonstrate how these were inscribed by rationalities for governing individuals and principles for individuals’ self-government. Moreover, I demonstrate how the inscription of changing ways of government on these approaches in the name of ‘teaching self-discipline’ produced a deepening level of regulation and constituted ‘the child’ as its subject.
4.1. Interventionist approaches

Interventionist theories prescribe children’s close monitoring and, as their most important aspect, involve planning ahead of time to manage conduct in the classroom. If disruption takes place, it is immediately tackled through particular scheduled and rehearsed verbal or non-verbal responses of the teacher. Teachers’ responses, understood as consequences, will either reinforce or punish the behaviour. Children’s responses to these consequences are observed, recorded and categorized, and corresponding to behavioural objectives, are further manipulated through repeated teachers’ responses. This way, disruption in the classroom is managed, target behaviours of children are reached and, if necessary, new behaviours are formed through an effective, simple and scientific mechanism. These strategies are necessarily teacher-centred approaches (R. Lewis, 1991). Practices informed by interventionist theories spread to the pre-school years during the 1980s (Gartrell, 1998) and included:

- making rules and establishing consequences and rewards with children;
- recording names, often publicly, of children who break rules;
- issuing “disciplinary referral slips” to repeat offenders – which commonly include trips to the principal, telephone calls home, and “in-school suspension …” (p.15).

It was argued earlier, that through scientific translation (Miller & Rose, 1990), punishment (coercion) for the maintenance of classroom equilibrium was transformed into ‘stimulus’, ‘response’ and ‘logical consequences’ by the application of Skinner (1968) and other interventionists’ theories. In this way, punishment or coercive regulation was tamed and children were provided with more ‘freedom’. The following
excerpt from Gordon and Browne (1996) demonstrates this way of thinking: “[a] consequence moves into the realm of punishment when it is not logically connected to the offense and a punitive aspect\(^{46}\) is added” (p. 19). This statement implies that if consequences are logical, particularly if they are underpinned with scientific theorization and rationalization, they are legitimate responses without coercive or constraining effects on the child’s freedom and dignity.

The same rationality of direct behaviour modification through the rules of operant conditioning was applied and extended by various other interventionist theories, such as Dobson (1970), Canter and Canter (1976, 1992), F. Jones (1987a, 1987b) or Rogers (1991). They aim at the behaviours and self-regulation of the student and subject those to training. Through interventionist strategies, a conditioned response is learnt without the development of knowledge (no understanding or insight by ‘the child’ takes place) (Gartrell, 1998; T. Gordon, 1974; R. Slee, 1995). Self-discipline, as the aim of classroom discipline in this understanding is a coerced, dominantly behavioural accommodation to external rules.

This approach maintains the behaviourist constitution of ‘the child’ as the subject of training and the importance of the physical and social environments on her development. The teacher, therefore, has an active role in teaching and modeling appropriate behaviour and forming children’s conduct to reach the desired maturity of self-discipline or certain competencies. For example, in the early childhood context, J. Slee (2003) warns teachers by summarizing children’s multiple levels of social incompetence this way:

\(^{46}\) Punitive is a highly controversial term. For example, while Rogers (1991) uses ‘time-out’ as a non-punitive consequence, Gordon and Browne (1996) categorize it as punitive.
• You should never assume that children know what socially appropriate behaviour is;
• You should never assume that children know how to use socially acceptable behaviour even if they say they know what it is.

And if children know what they should be doing and how to do it, don’t assume that they know where and when they should do it (p. 9).

The child, therefore, is subjected to multiple levels of training (through giving pre-determined responses) to inculcate social competence and responsibility for her behaviour. The child, as a ‘black box’, is assumed to appropriate certain ‘proper’ behaviours, and therefore ‘the child’ is constituted as a passive creature. According to this logic, misconduct is understood as a lack of learning ‘proper’ ways of conduct pre-defined by the norms of the dominant culture. Alternatively, disruption is seen as the learning of misconducts, where the ‘wrong behaviours’ originate from children’s diverse cultural or low socio-economic backgrounds (Bell et al., 2004; Najman et al., 2000; J. Slee, 2003). The socio-political context, in this way, was invested into ‘the child’ as individual differences in behaviour, and consequently, was made the subject of intervention.

There are several practices this approach institutes in early childhood education, for example, giving out praise and rewards, the acknowledgement of good deeds, administering punishment in the form of ‘time-out’, trips to the principal, shadowing a teacher or keeping ‘the child’ in the classroom during free time and so on.

Interventionist approaches turn the classroom area into a space that is easy to overview

---

to enable constant surveillance (Millei, 2005). Even the height of the doors in the toilets invites supervising adult eyes. The teacher and assistants carefully monitor all areas. They even scrutinize sounds and feelings and provide optimum pre-determined responses to generate ‘appropriate’ conducts from children in correspondence with classroom rules (Millei, 2005). ‘The child’ is constituted by these practices as in no need of privacy and lacking a certain level of self-government. Their external regulation is, therefore, legitimated to enable teaching to take place in the classroom together with the learning of fellow students.

Moreover, the ways of thinking about the regulation of ‘the child’ that interventionist approaches represent are isomorphous with the government of individuals in ‘early’ liberalism. The aim of government in ‘early’ liberalism is to remove domination to liberate students, and at the same time, to maintain government to ensure morality (Rose, 1996b). Thus, liberation is coupled with the increasing ‘responsibilization’ of the individual and the constitution of the subject of government as a self-governing and self-determining individual (Rose, 1999). As a result of the translation of ‘regulation’ by disciplinary knowledges, outward domination was transformed into a covert way of domination through the application of disciplinary power (Hardt & Negri, 2001). Through this transformation the domination of the teacher was turned into a deeper level of regulation that utilizes the self-regulation of individuals to self-discipline their own behaviour.

4.2. Interactive approaches

Interactive approaches carry an outwardly democratic style to discipline. Two major discipline approaches belong under this category: Neo-Adlerian Theory, which
relies on “Adlerian/Dreikursian interactionalist strategy” (Balson, 1991, p. 23); and Control Theory, which presents a whole school approach to discipline devised by Glasser (1985, 1986).

There are two basic principles of individual psychology immanent in the Neo-Adlerian classroom discipline theory. First, there is a desire (fundamental need) in all humans to belong to a social group where the group is built on reciprocal relationships (interaction) to accommodate to each other. Second, this theory upholds that every action of the individual is rational, purposeful and “consistent with a chosen manner of belonging … attention, power, revenge, or withdrawal” (Balson, 1991, p. 28).

Rationality enables the individual to make decisions about her needs without at the same time interfering with others or others’ needs, adds Glasser (1985, 1986, 1992).

The intention (motivation) behind the behaviour is the concern of the Neo-Adlerian discipline approach. ‘Discipline’, according to the theorists, should focus on changing the ways to fulfil the intention, in order to make better decisions and exhibit ‘appropriate’ behaviours in line with social values and norms (Balson, 1991). Control theory looks at disruption caused by a lack of sufficient relationship between the student and teacher. This relationship, according to Glasser (1986), is based on rapport that teaches the student to take responsibility for this relationship. Second, disruption arises if schools leave students’ emotional needs unfulfilled or if they leave students unmotivated. The emotional needs are love, power (need to control what happens to her), freedom (need of independence from others’ control) and fun (Glasser, 1986).

The teacher acts as a leader (her superiority is based on expertise rather than power (T. Gordon, 1974) instead of a boss and the classroom order is kept through ‘reasonable’ but few rules (Glasser, 1992). The teacher passes onto students ‘mental
tools’ to be able to solve problems rationally and effectively by themselves in consideration of the others.

The Neo-Adlerian approach teaches students to accept responsibility for their own behaviour (Adler, 1954) through encouragement, contracts or the imposition of natural consequences (Balson, 1991; L. Porter, 1996). Encouragement is different from praise, because it teaches the student to evaluate her own efforts; is not judgemental; focuses on the process instead of the outcome; avoids comparison and competition; and is private (L. Porter, 1996). Through establishing a contract, the teacher and students negotiate a particular outcome to be earned by exhibiting ‘appropriate’ behaviour. Natural consequence is the ‘natural’ outcome of an individual’s behaviour. The example, L. Porter (1996) uses is that falling is natural after tripping over shoelaces.

Interactive approaches relate the problem of classroom discipline to the societal values of democracy (Balson, 1991; Glasser, 1992). These values draw out the rules of belonging to a social group and fashion ‘appropriate’ behaviours: mutual respect, student participation in decision-making, promotion of student self-discipline, freedom and responsibility (Balson, 1991; Dreikurs & Cassel, 1990; Glasser, 1992). The supporters of this approach argue that power resides within the group, and therefore, conflicts are discussed and rules and consequences are decided by classroom meetings, with the leadership of the teacher (Lovegrove & Lewis, 1991). The teacher is then responsible for the implementation of these.

The mode of thinking of interactive approaches to classroom discipline runs parallel with that of ‘social’ liberalism. Responsibility in ‘social’ liberalism is reconceptualized and is understood as social responsibility and obligation is reshaped as social solidarity. Individuals are governed through society according to ‘social norms’
and their experiences and evaluations are constituted in a ‘social form’ (Rose, 1996b, p. 40). The subject of government in ‘social’ liberalism is, as Rose (1996b) asserts, “a subject of needs, attitudes and relationships, a subject who was to be embraced within, and governed through, a nexus of collective solidarities and dependencies” (p. 40).

Interactive approaches, therefore, invent new needs and capacities of the child, such as purposefulness or intention, belonging, motivation and social emotional needs (love, power, freedom, fun). Through these approaches government is aimed at these capacities to form self-disciplined subjects. Children fashion their conduct according to social norms and values in consideration of the needs of others. They are made responsible for the wellbeing of the whole class or school and they serve common interests through their self-discipline. The government of the student through classroom discipline approaches, therefore, shifted from the self-regulation of behaviour to the self-regulation of “needs, attitudes and relationships” (Rose, 1996b, p. 40).

Interactive approaches constitute ‘the child’ as an active participant in a social group and pro-active in reaching her goals, thus one who has an interactive relationship with her environment including the teacher. ‘The child’ is constituted as a self-determining individual who is free to choose, is able to solve problems rationally, is responsible for her actions and is a socially competent actor. ‘The child’ is also constituted as having certain needs. Disruption is understood as the ‘choice’ of ‘inappropriate’ avenues influenced by certain values, which does not correspond to the democratic values described by these approaches. ‘The child’ whose choice is not consistent with these values is constituted by this approach as ‘socially incompetent’ or ‘anti-social’. The values her behaviour is guided by, therefore, are considered as in need of maturation or intervention in order to fulfil the principles of the ‘right’ ways of being.
together in a group. Classroom discipline in this way was inscribed with notions of development. The morals of ‘the child’ through this inscription were made amenable to regulation. Government in interactive approaches to discipline is aimed at the child’s morals by making her a subject of certain developmental maturation and skilling or remedying. ‘Appropriate’ values in the group are inscribed and normalized by dominant ideals. Certain values of minority groups therefore are marginalized and individual children holding on to these values are treated as morally immature or as in need of intervention.

4.3. Non-interventionist approaches

Non-interventionist approaches use a person-centred (Neville, 1991) or student-oriented model (R. Lewis, 1991) to classroom management. The earlier forms of these approaches are based purely on the ideas of Rogers (1969) and T. Gordon (1974) and use strategies employed in psychotherapy and counselling. Guidance48 approaches also utilize these ideas, but build on a mix of other ideas too such as the constructivist ideas of Kamii (1982, 1984, 1991) and DeVries and Kohlberg (1987, 1994) or theories and techniques of conflict resolution (Gartrell, 1998).

Non-interventionist approaches (for example, Fields & Boesser, 1994) strive to understand each student’s point of view. The teacher is a facilitator or guide rather than a director, whose role is to negotiate ‘win win’ scenarios for all involved parties. This way, the teacher provides opportunities for the students to own and resolve their problems/conflicts as they arise (Neville, 1991; Gartrell, 1998; A. Gordon & Browne,

48 The notion ‘guide’ has a greater sense of freedom than the notion of ‘discipline’ according to the guidance approach’s proponents. Moreover, they argue that the notion of ‘discipline’ is understood as physical punishment by some (Gartrell, 1998).
Regimes of practice


Non-interventionist approaches, as argued by their supporters, transformed the aim of discipline approaches from getting students to comply\(^49\) to produce “morally sophisticated people, who think for themselves and care about others” (Kohn, 1996, p. 62). In guidance approaches, the focus from classroom rules shifts to the process of handling disruption, to the conversation or dialogue (negotiation) over disruption or conflict. Through the promotion of negotiation, guidance approaches invite students to “become active participants in their own social and ethical development” (Kohn, 1996, p. 77) by solving conflicts and disruption issues themselves.

The fundamental aims of guidance approaches therefore are to teach children to realize their interpersonal competencies and to teach negotiation skills to solve problems, such as self-control (L. Porter, 2003b) or the practice of “perspective taking” (Kohn, 1996, p. 113). The process of negotiation and problem-solving enables students to engineer their own ethics and moral development that happens in a social environment, what guidance approaches call a community\(^50\). In this community, as the advocates argue, students belong together in a kind of unity; they care, are responsible

---

\(^{49}\) Recent academic writings on classroom discipline argue that discipline has negative connotations, and is equated with “compliance, obedience, conformity, suppression, control, coercion, and correction of behaviour” (Crittenden, 1991; Gartrell, 1998; Kohn, 1996, 1999; L. Porter, 2003b; Rodd, 1996, p. 7). That is the reason why some classroom discipline approaches have recently been called guidance approaches.

\(^{50}\) Guidance approaches use a re-constructed social context, where instead of the student belonging to social groups (racial, class, gender, religious or ethnic groups) and places, she belongs to multiple and ever-changing communities.
for and trust in each other, they can fulfil their need to be competent, connected and autonomous, and they can feel empathy and understand each other (Kohn, 1996)51. The discourses of these approaches constitute ‘the child’ as autonomous, that is, they are the origin of their decisions or the choices they make, competent, the learning and practicing of skills provides them with pleasure and feeling related, thus, they need belonging, love and affirmation (Kohn, 1996). Guidance approaches stress that the student should understand the problem and negotiate actively (Gartrell, 1998; Kohn, 1996; R. Lewis, 1991; Neville, 1991), and thus the ‘the child’ is constituted as an active participant in and responsible for her own disciplining. In comparison, no understanding or active involvement is required from the student according to the interventionist approach. In the latter approach the student, through the administration of rewards and punishments, accepts52 and enacts certain ways of conducts prescribed by the teacher or school.

Proponents of non-interventionist approaches link responsibility and freedom (such as Gartrell, 1998; A. Gordon & Browne, 1996; Kohn, 1996; R. Lewis, 1991; Neville, 1991; L. Porter, 2003b). According to their reasoning, the greater responsibility children demonstrate for their own conduct they are provided with greater freedom. Thus, discourses of non-interventionist approaches constitute ‘the child’ as ‘responsible’ and if responsible then ‘free’ who cannot be imposed or instructed by external codes of conduct. They seek to “allay the problems, anxieties and uncertainties engendered” (p. 87) in the complex conditions of the conflict and to assist children to

51 Later in this chapter, through the examination of early childhood disciplinary practices, I demonstrate how the ideal of community expressed here was made practical in the classroom and with that gained a different meaning.
52 Or internalizes required behaviour as Kohn (1996) argues.
understand themselves (Rose, 1999). Consequently, by guiding individuals to understand themselves, they enable them to exercise their ‘freedom’ (called autonomy by proponents) or choice and to develop their own morality and a certain art of living. Through reflecting on their choices, they learn their personal attributes and make it as a project of self-improvement. In this way, through the language, values and techniques made available to them by the guiding process, social norms are translated into personal desires and competencies formed to enable ethical decisions. Thus, by guidance approaches, students are governed “through their ‘responsibilized’ and ‘educated’ anxieties and aspirations”. In sum, they are governed through ‘ethopolitics’ (Rose, 1999, p.88).

There is a claim that non-interventionist approaches are more democratic (T. Gordon, 1974; R. Lewis, 1991; Neville, 1991; C. Rogers, 1969; R. Slee, 1995) than interactive or interventionist approaches. The teacher is a facilitator or guide, which provides her with an authoritative rather than an autocratic position. Children’s ways of understanding problems are respected and negotiation strives for an outcome to which both parties agree and are responsible. As, however R. Slee (1995) warns, the way the teacher interprets the problem to the student or the alternatives suggested by the teacher to solve disruption issues may not be child-centred although they are expressed as such. Moreover, a caring position of the facilitator teacher is not a guarantee that power is not divested in that position.

The process of negotiation also reflects democratic ideals. Negotiation first gained a strong foothold in the family (Beck, 1997; Cunningham, 1995; Vanderbroeck & Bouverne-De Bie, 2006). Particularly from the 1990s, negotiation (some use dialogue) gained a normative aspect in schools with the strong advocacy for interactive
teaching (Fendler, 2001) and non-interventionist approaches to discipline (Vanderbroeck & Bouverne-De Bie, 2006). Vanderbroeck and Bouverne-De Bie (2006) argue however that “negotiation, self-expression and verbalization of the self are a white, western, middle-class norm” (p. 137) and that they work to privilege already privileged children (Tobin, 1995). Negotiation, as a technique of non-interventionist approaches, is posited by proponents as the superior and most worthy technique for solving problems. Legitimizing this technique as the ‘best’ disregards individuals’ social, cultural, economic or other contexts in which there are other modes of problem-solving that are preferred. Supporting the above argument, a number of studies demonstrated that the process of negotiation to solve problems or disruption is an educational norm that is socially constructed and disadvantages certain groups of students (for example, Göncü & Cannella, 1996; Tobin, 1995).

Guidance approaches through the counseling techniques they institute enable the individual to acquire knowledge about herself and to verbalize her thoughts. Gathering knowledge about the self and self-expression form part of what Foucault (1988a) calls ‘technologies of the self’. ‘Technologies of the self’ are increasingly mobilized for the government of individuals in ‘advanced liberalism’ (Rose, 1999). As Tobin (1995) argues, self-expression is a “postmodern malaise” (p. 249) a typical discourse of late capitalism. Moreover, following Tobin’s (1995) line of reasoning, the dominance of this discourse has led to an era of post-individualism where, through making self-expression the norm, words superseded feelings and diminished affect and interconnectedness. The “irony of self-expression” (Tobin, 1995, p. 233) is that it is used as a vehicle for negotiation with the aim to reach agreement in light of the ‘common good’. Self-expression itself, however, disguises ‘real feelings’ and provides a self-centred view of
the conflict and as a result, promotes individualism instead of interconnectedness or the ‘common good’ as basic principles of community expressed by these approaches, such as Kohn (1996).

Negotiation requires a certain level of competence, for example, if it involves the discussion of feelings, a certain level of verbal competency and experience is required. The introduction of negotiation into classroom discipline had two consequences. First, it facilitated the inscription of an increasing number of development areas on classroom discipline discourses. Practices of discipline became intertwined with a wider range of discourses of child development, such as language and moral development based on constructivist ideas on the development of thinking (DeVries & Kohlberg, 1987; DeVries & Zan, 1994; Kamii, 1982, 1984, 1991; Kohlberg, 1984; Piaget, 1965), emotional development (Erickson, 1963) and social development, particularly relationships (Corsaro, 1985; Selman, 1980).

Second, classroom discipline approaches invest and develop skills in children related to negotiation, however, that children have these particular abilities and desires is highly contested in the literature (for example, Fendler, 2001; Hultqvist, 2001). Studies of Fendler (2001) and Hultqvist (2001) together with this thesis demonstrate, for example, that constitutions of ‘the child’ are aligned with changing ways of constituting individuals as subjects of government. What ‘the child’ is, what she is capable of and what form her education should take is therefore not something that is locked in her nature but shaped historically. ‘The child’ is constituted by the discourses of guidance approaches as autonomous and has “a basic need to be self-determining” (L. Porter, 2003b, p. 36). Thus, children are assumed to be able to make their own decisions and solve problems. ‘The child’ is also constituted as self-reflective, as able to think about
her actions and feelings; as having a desire to participate, as feeling empathy and 
respect and as having a need to belong, and a need for love and affirmation. The task of 
guidance approaches is then, to develop these skills through their expertise to enable 

In summary of this section, the different forms of classroom discipline 
approaches, in spite of their overtly argued claim that they freed the students from 
coercion, continued the regulation of students, however, on a more covert and deeper 
level (R. Slee, 1995). The level of external control and general moral rules proclaimed 
earlier in classrooms were relaxed and became more open to and dependent on decision-
making. Through discourses of guidance approaches, ‘the child’ is constituted as 
autonomous, however, in a reconstructed meaning. While in interventionist approaches 
autonomy was gained by ‘the child’ through internalizing rules and exhibiting self-
discipline, the ‘autonomous child’ in guidance approaches underwent a transformation. 
Discourses of guidance approaches constitute ‘the child’ as a competent social actor 
invested with particular capacities and as ready to be trained in social skills and 
negotiation techniques, free to make choices, responsible for her actions and as related 
to a community of learners with whom she needs to cooperate.

5. Discipline approaches in early childhood and constitutions of ‘the child’

The earlier sections outlined the discourses of different classroom discipline 
approaches and what practices they institute and examined the changing ways these 
practices constitute ‘the child’ as their subject. This section focuses more closely on 
classroom discipline approaches used in early childhood classrooms in Australia. It
examines how the confluence of developmental and classroom discipline discourses constitute ‘the child’.

Within early childhood education, classroom discipline sits in an integrated framework of what are regarded by many as ‘best practices’. The “prevention of inconsiderate behaviour” (L. Porter, 2003b, p. 26) fundamentally builds on the creation of a child-centred environment, the fulfillment of children’s physical, psychological, social, intellectual and academic needs and the provision of individually appropriate programs (L. Porter, 2003b). It is argued, if children are engaged in meaningful and interesting activities, they are less likely to “find alternatives, less productive things to do, resulting in disruptions to others” (L. Porter, 2003b, p. 29)53. According to L. Porter (2003b), certain sections of the curricula therefore can be linked directly to the prevention of disruption, such as the inculcation of enthusiasm for learning, self-management skills, higher order thinking and problem-solving skills, particularly moral decision-making, social skills, and the development of healthy self-esteem (p. 29).

If “individual children are acting thoughtlessly” (p. 32) the teacher first has to manage the program and build “caring relationships with troublesome children to make them more willing to cooperate” (L. Porter, 2003b, p. 32, my emphasis). If these preventative measures are still ineffective, the teacher has to intervene with classroom discipline practices. Classroom discipline approaches used in early childhood contexts combine a mixture of approaches supposedly appropriate for young children. They draw on particular notions of children in the promotion of discipline practices. For example, L. Porter (2003a, 2003b) argues, borrowing from Dahlberg and Moss (2005), that

53 In an earlier paper I argued the same way (Millei, 2005), however, I critique that line of reasoning in this thesis.
children are enriched and vibrant human beings and have a need to “generate identities” (p. 8) and understand the world, that they are motivated and able to make constructive choices and behave thoughtfully (L. Porter, 2003b). L. Porter’s (2003b) work supports the understanding of guidance approaches of children by arguing that children behave well if they are “treated well and poorly when disrespected” (Kohn, 1996; L. Porter, 2003a, p. 17; C. Rogers, 1969).

This section examines three classroom discipline approaches for early childhood classrooms endorsed by Early Childhood Australia Inc. (ECA) (www.earlychildhoodaustralia.org.au). ECA is “the peak early childhood advocacy organization acting in the interests of young children, their families and those in the early childhood field” (www.earlychildhoodaustralia.org.au/about_us.html). ECA provides a resource guide for professionals on different topics to facilitate their professional development. Its Supporting Best Practice homepage recommends resources for dealing with certain issues, such as Promoting positive behaviour (www.earlychildhoodaustralia.org.au/feelings_and_behaviours/promoting_positive_behaviour.html). I chose to study in depth three books recommended by ECA, because they represent ‘the best’ practices ECA promote as the peak organization body for early childhood. The three books are:

- L. Porter (2003b) *Young children’s behaviour: Practical approaches for caregivers and teachers*,
The first two books are written by Australians, while the third is by US authors.

L. Porter (2003b) predominantly uses a guidance approach to classroom discipline developed by Gartrell (1998) and Kohn (1996, 1999) and utilizes counselling techniques developed by Rogers (1969) and Gordon (1996, 1974). L. Porter’s approach to classroom discipline can be categorized as non-interventionist. J. Slee (2003) defines classroom discipline in relation to social competence and social relationships. She asserts that the key to the prevention and solution of disruption is to teach social skills to children. Intervention, argues J. Slee (2003) by drawing on the Neo-Adlerian (Dreikurs & Cassel, 1990) theory of discipline, should start with the identification of the behaviour’s purpose and then the teacher should direct the child’s behaviour to alternative avenues so she reaches the same aims. J. Slee’s strategy can be categorized under the interactive approaches to discipline. The Bell et al. (2004) book on challenging behaviour combines a strong psychiatric discourse with the discourse of developmentally appropriate practice (Bredekamp & Copple, 1997) in discussing the management of disruption. The book draws on mainly interventionist techniques of behaviour modification with the utilization of a thinly-veiled discourse that appeals to guidance principles (Bell et al., 2004, p. 98-99). Although the book covers some fundamental approaches to the prevention of disruption and offers general strategies for intervention, its discourse institutes dividing practices (Foucault, 1977) and pathologizes disruptive students.

The following sections focus on the discourses and practices of the three approaches recommended for use in early childhood classrooms and examine some of the ways through which children are governed and how these discourses constitute ‘the child’.
5.1. ‘The child’ as a subject of government

Following Fendler’s (2001) thinking in regards to developmentally appropriate curricula, I argue that classroom discipline approaches for young children interweave three discursive threads through which they produce practices, govern students and ascribe principles for students’ self-government. Moreover, the confluence of these discourses constitute ‘the child’ in line with how the individual is constituted as a subject of the ‘advanced’ liberal mode of government (Rose, 1996b).

The three discursive threads are the following: first, all three early childhood discipline approaches under examination use the behaviourist approach to discipline to an extent, since they all rely on a mixture of classroom discipline approaches including the interventionist one. As expressed earlier, classroom discipline approaches draw on the logic of operant conditioning (R. Slee, 1995). They give pre-determined responses to children’s behaviour (R. Slee, 1995), for example, giving praise, positive reinforcements, encouragement (L. Porter, 2003b) or administering “logical consequences” (Bell et al., 2004, p. 123). With the utilization of the same logic, classroom discipline approaches also skill students according to pre-designed plans of responses, such as “individualized behaviour plan” (Bell et al., 2004, p. 142) or the provision of “formal coaching” (L. Porter, 2003b, p.62).

The second discursive thread is the assumption of ‘progressive efficiency’ (Fendler, 2001, p. 120), such as the progressive development of necessary skills with time or training or that ‘the child’ becomes progressively more efficient in self-discipline. The authors of the selected books claim that better developed skills increase efficiency in interactions or relationships and reduce the number of disruptive instances. Third, they appeal to developmental psychology for a scientific base or for the
Validation and authorization of their techniques. For example, J. Slee (2003) states: “[s]ociety is intolerant of age-inappropriate behaviour. Early childhood professionals need to recognize developmental stages in young children as a standard against which to compare atypical behaviour” (p. 5). L. Porter (2003b) encourages teachers to look at disruption as a result of “behavioural mistakes” comparable to “developmental errors” caused by “normal exuberance, normal exploration [or] lack of skills” (p. 18). In this statement, Bell et al. and L. Porter appeal to the rationalistic knowledge-base of developmental psychology as an a priori truth about the ‘normal’ behaviour of children. The confluence of these discourses constitutes ‘the child’ as invested with certain abilities, dispositions and desires (Fendler, 2001; Rose, 1996b, 1996c, 1999). Through this investment, children are made amenable to government.

Interventionist approaches to classroom discipline, as discussed previously, constructed discipline as something to be internalized (Kohn, 1996; L. Porter, 2003b). They used pre-defined behaviour standards that students had to acquire and teachers had a clear idea of what behaviours to reinforce either with praise or punishment. Compliance to these standards was understood as the acquisition of self-discipline. From the 1990s, different systems of reasoning emerged and the approaches used by the three books under discussion are inscribed with these. One of the reasonings requires ‘the child’ and the teacher to have “a capacity for flexibility and positive, willing attitude” (Fendler, 2001, p. 127). Disruption is constructed as a problem to be solved through flexible solutions and negotiation in order to develop children’s skills and to utilize their willing attitude to cooperate in their own disciplining. Classroom discipline approaches of the 1990s also shifted their target assumed to be located in the subject and through which her government is possible. The target of discipline shifted from the
Regimes of practice

conduct of children to that of their abilities, dispositions and desires (Fendler, 2001; Rose, 1996b, 1996c, 1999). Consequently, recent classroom discipline approaches, the three under analysis included, constitute ‘the child’ as invested with the abilities of social competence and negotiation; dispositions, such as being active in her own self-disciplining; and the desire to belong or to acquire or develop certain skills. Through these abilities, as Bell et al. (2004) argue, ‘the child’ is able to “adjust to school limits and expectations and … to negotiate social interactions with other children and adults” (p. 192) and is, consequently, less likely to perform ‘inconsiderate’ acts (L. Porter, 2003b).

5.2. Governing ‘the child’ through social competence

Social skills or competency, and in relation to that potency, are the most important issues discussed in relation to discipline by the approaches under analysis. All three books use a strong instrumentalist discourse that promotes the training of particular social skills to students in order to pre-empt or to deal with disruption. For example, according to J. Slee (2003) and Bell et al. (2004), disruption is caused by a lack of social skills, or under-developed or side-tracked development of social competency as a result of physical or mental pathology, poverty, unemployed parents and so forth. The third author, L. Porter (2003b), also suggests that the teacher ought to build up children’s problem-solving skills and language skills so they are able to negotiate with others and as a result to learn self-discipline. The acquisition of these skills is placed into a developmental framework by these approaches and it is laid out in linguistic, moral or social development. These approaches, therefore, translate the knowledge about the workings of social relations and belonging into sets of skills and
place them into a developmental framework inscribed by progressive efficiency. It is assumed that the more developed ‘the child’ is in these areas, the more efficient she is in negotiating and solving problems, and therefore, the less disruption she causes.

Moreover, these three approaches standardize and normalize a particular form of social competence that stretches over certain qualities, dispositions and abilities. These are called “universal social skills” by L. Porter (2003b, p.60) and are described by drawing on Mize’s 1995 research (in L.Porter, 2003b): “being positive and agreeable; being able to use contextual and social cues to guide one’s own behaviour; and being sensitive and responsive to the interests and behaviour of playmates” (p. 60). J. Slee (2003) calls these “essential social skills” (p. 3) and they include “self-control, interacting positively with others, and expressing feelings” (p. 3). Children who lack these skills are defined as having a “social skill deficit” (L. Porter, 2003b, p. 62) and assumed to be abnormal and in need of intervention.

Consequently, these approaches wield power in two ways. First, it wields power by constructing the affect and emotions of ‘the child’ amenable for training so ‘the child’ can develop “mastery” in these (L. Porter, 2003b, p. 69). Thus, governing is concerned here with the child’s own constructive capacities (Hultqvist & Dahlberg, 2001). Moreover, the child’s subjective experience as to how she has to perceive the world and feel about it, is normalized, evaluated and improved if necessary (Fendler, 2001). The expression of feelings and teaching self-expression are mechanisms for this normalization (Tobin, 1995), as it was argued earlier. In sum, while discipline approaches earlier targeted the child’s behaviour to be normal, today their objects are the child’s relations, emotions, her inner experience of the world and her own constructive capacities.
Second, students with “social skill deficits” (L. Porter, 2003b) or “antisocial behaviour” (Bell et al., 2004) are identified by these approaches to discipline as belonging to certain social groups who exhibit ‘inappropriate’ behaviour or have alternative morals. Such groups of people include those who live in “poverty and unemployment, [have] drug and alcohol problems, and are inconsistently lax and harsh” (Bell et al., 2004, p. 5) in their parenting. L. Porter (2003b) also identifies separated or teen parents as likely to have children lacking social skills. While the intention is to counteract the assumedly negative influences that the children of these parents have encountered, labeling their social skills as ‘inappropriate’ engraves “historically specific power relations” (Fendler, 2001, p. 131). Thus, power works through inscribing social problems onto individual incompetence in social skills by these approaches.

5.3. Governing ‘the child’ through ethics

L. Porter (2003b) claims that there are only a small number of regulations regarding teachers’ possible responses to disruption. She appeals to the Code of Ethics of early childhood teachers developed by ECA and its US version developed by the National Association for the Education of Young Children (1989) to underpin disciplinary practices in early childhood classrooms.

Embedding the practice of classroom discipline into an ethical framework should be welcomed because it counterposes attempts to build practice on rational, scientific or uncontestable pre-established guidelines that close off ethical debates by “appealing to the authority of a true discourse and, hence, inescapably, to the authority of those who are experts in this truth” (Rose, 1999, p. 192). Consequently, it can be argued that grounding practice into ethical considerations creates open practices and
flexibility, ambivalence and debates around disciplinary practices that might disadvantage or marginalize certain groups of children.

Ethics, however, can be a disguise for more subtle ways of control (Hardt, 1995). Laying down universal and rationally persuasive ethical codes makes practice easier by offering “norms against which to judge right or wrong, good or bad, normal or not normal” (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005, p. 68). Ethics, therefore, serves here as rules to which early childhood teachers are compelled to conform and provides universal principles to which everyone adheres (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005). There is only a thin dividing line between how far appealing to universalistic ethics exchanges the moral dilemma that is attached to acting on certain conducts of children. It is also problematic in regards to the kinds of disciplinary response that should be given and how far certain responses are applicable for every child. Universalistic ethics also diminishes ambivalence about the applicability of certain techniques in regards to the socio-historical contexts and circumstances of the children. Universalistic norms of practices constitute ‘the child’ as an ‘atomistic individual’ (Fendler, 2001; Friedman, 1989; Sevenhuijsen, 1998) “through an individuated equality” that is stripped from relationships and circumstances (Branson & Miller, 1991, p. 179). As Branson and Miller (1991) assert, “[t]he ‘objective reality’ of structured inequalities based on class, gender, race, ethnicity and able-bodiedness, is subjectively dismissed as epiphenomenal” (p. 179).
5.4. Governing the ‘active’ and ‘free’ child

The three approaches discussed above constitute ‘the child’ as socially active. This idea presumably dresses up ‘the child’ with agency to act on her social environment. This environment is constituted as a community (L. Porter, 2003b) or a cooperative learning environment (Bell et al., 2004; J. Slee, 2003) in which children are interconnected or have common interests. ‘The child’ is required to participate actively in this environment. The practices produced by these same approaches constitute, however, independent (meaning not interconnected) individuals responsible only for themselves. Moreover, they govern children (and their teachers) rather than emancipating them. They also produce particular discourses that constitute ‘the child’ as an ‘agentic’ and ‘interconnected’ individual.

All three approaches constitute ‘the child’ as she stands in a dynamic relationship with her environment and who actively constructs her knowledge through this interaction. This idea of ‘the child’ draws on the Vygotskian discourse of socially constructed knowledge (Wertsch & Tulviste, 1994) and constitutes ‘the child’ as actively taking part in her development. For example, the child, argues J. Slee (2003), with the utilization of the knowledge she has gained by interacting with her environment, aligns “all behaviour” (p. 10, emphasis original) to reach certain goals, such as “power, attention, revenge and inadequacy” (p. 10). The same view is upheld by L. Porter (2003b), who claims that “children construct their own unique perspectives of the world shaped by both their [biological] makeup and their social settings” (p.6). The Vygotskian discourse inscribed on development plays an important role in the exercise of power through discipline approaches. It serves as an instrument of authorization and
validation for the intervention into the process of knowledge construction by the child. For example, the child’s social competence is developed in a goal-oriented context where, through interaction and instruction, she actively constructs change.

Constituting ‘the child’ as an active agent emancipates ‘the child’ ideologically. It produces children as individuals who are agents of change, “who can make a difference for themselves and their world, can control their own actions and feelings, and can act on their values” (L. Porter, 2003b, p. 14) without adult dominance. Providing children with agency, however, serves another purpose as well. It constitutes ‘the child’ as free from control and turns ‘the child’ into a subject of ‘advanced’ liberal mode of government. In ‘advanced’ liberalism, individuals are governed through their freedom (Rose, 1996b, 1999). Their freedom to act is utilized in their own self-government to which government is aimed. Thus, by constituting ‘the child’ as ‘agentic’ or ‘free’, discipline approaches emancipate ‘the child’ and at the same time provide her with self-governing principles. While ‘the child’, therefore, is provided with agency and as a result emancipated through discipline approaches, she is governed to self-discipline herself. Constituting ‘the child’ as ‘agentic’ turns her into a subject of government in the ‘advanced’ liberal way.

To weave this idea further, the goal of guidance approaches according to L. Porter (2003b) is “considerateness”, which consists of four factors: “autonomous ethics, regulation of emotions, cooperation with others, potency” (p. 18). “Autonomous ethics” (Kohn, 1996; L. Porter, 2003b) constitutes ‘the child’ as active, as an independent individual who invents and reinvents her morality according to her developmental level (DeVries & Zan, 1994; Kohn, 1996) and in relation to her community. The second factor means that children regulate their emotions “so that their outbursts do not disturb
those around them” (p.14). Cooperation is important in being considerate because children need to cooperate to fulfill their individual needs (Kohn, 1996; L. Porter, 2003b). Lastly, ‘the child’ needs to have potency, that is, a capacity for development or change to act on the previous factors. Thus, the amalgamation of these factors constitutes ‘the child’ as a member of a community and her ‘appropriate’ behaviour is ensured not through control but through membership of a community (Rose, 1999). ‘The child’ is ‘governed through community’ by encouraging and harnessing “her active practices of self-management and identity construction, of personal ethics and collective allegiances” (Rose, 1999, p. 196).

In sum, these three approaches to classroom discipline constitute ‘the child’ as a subject of ‘advanced’ liberal mode of government by ‘setting’ her ‘free’ and embedding her into a community to which she is responsible and at the same time is governed by.

6. Summary

This chapter examined classroom discipline approaches as ‘regimes of practices’ in order to outline how these constitute ‘the child’ in pre-compulsory education. The chapter started with a discussion about how government is possible through these approaches and then it outlined these approaches as classified under three groups: interventionist, interactive and non-interventionist approaches. The description of these approaches was coupled with an analysis that revealed how these groups of approaches could be aligned with shifting modes of governing individuals. Moreover, it demonstrated how the different modes of government constituted ‘the child’ as their subject.
The second part of the chapter examined how particular classroom discipline approaches, endorsed by Early Childhood Australia, constitute ‘the child’ in pre-compulsory classrooms. These approaches, although undergoing changes to become more ‘humane’, still maintained their rationality to control individuals. Moreover, through these changes aligned with shifting modes of government, they changed their targets from governing the behaviour of children to governing through emotions, dispositions and desires. With the deepening level of government, ‘the child’ was constituted as a subject of government differently. Constitutions shifted from ‘the child’, who behaved according to internalized rules of behaviour, to ‘the child’ as a socially active agent, who actively constructs her social competencies, ‘free’ and self-disciplines herself according to her developing ‘autonomous ethics’ and belonging to a community.

The following part of the thesis examines how the changing modes of government fashioned the provision of early childhood education in Western Australia in the past almost hundred fifty years. It discusses Commonwealth and State government policies and guidelines in the context of changing governmental rationalities to outline constitutions of ‘the child’ in pre-compulsory education.
PART THREE

1. Introduction

Pre-compulsory education is set within specific political agendas and discourses that are deeply entrenched in rationalities of government, the discourses of economy and politics in a historical context (Ailwood, 2004). The third part of this thesis aims to present a critical analysis of how certain political, social and historical changes conditioned the provision of pre-compulsory education together with the discourses that were utilized in regards to young children’s education and care. It also examines how socio-political and historical discourses and expert discourses utilized in pre-compulsory education constituted ‘the child’. The third part aligns this analysis with the shifting modes of governing individuals. In order to outline the political discourses and policy frameworks in Australia and Western Australia a short explanation of the Australian political system is necessary.

According to Jaensch (1997), Hughes (1998) and Maddox (2000), Australia is a federal system of liberal democracy. It is a combination of the British Westminster system and the United States’s version of federalism and has often been referred to as the ‘Washminster’ system (referring to Washington DC in the United States and Westminster Abbey, the Parliament, in the United Kingdom). The Australian constitution, more of a procedural document than a document outlining rights of individuals, outlines the division of powers between the state level of government and the federal, or commonwealth level of government. Here it is made explicit that education falls under the responsibility of the individual Australian states. This is made more complex by the problem of ‘fiscal federalism’, which refers to the trend in the post-World War Two period towards the
greater revenue-raising powers of the federal government rather than the state governments. Further, since the federal government does not have a number of the responsibilities of the states for particular kinds of infrastructure, the commonwealth enjoys a surplus of monies raised through taxes. At the same time, the states’ revenue-raising capacity is smaller than the federal government’s and the states are responsible for high cost infrastructures, such as education and health. Linked with this, there are a number of agencies at the various levels of government that will overlap. For example, if communications policy is a federal, or commonwealth jurisdiction, then policy about Internet usage will be set by the federal government. Schools around the country will need to adapt to this set of rules and circumstances. Education policy, set by states, still relies on both funding and legislation set by the federal level of government. While the constitution makes a number of distinctions clear, including the fact that education policy is a state responsibility, many of the day-to-day practices associated with a functioning education policy need to be linked to federal departments as well.

Chapters Six and Eight present a critical approach to analyzing historico-political discourses that have a genealogical orientation in the Foucauldian sense. These chapters consider discourses of politics, society and institutions as they form ‘discursive matrices’ (Miller & Rose, 1990) that regulate young children and their teachers and constitute ‘the child’ as their subject. These discursive matrices that surround pre-compulsory education and ‘the child’, as Ailwood (2004) explicated:

constitute, and are constituted through, the multitude of institutional and organisational methods for managing and producing childhood …. Such methods of management also operate in ways that define possible childhoods, while simultaneously creating and encouraging desire for such childhoods within individual children, parents and teachers (p.22).
Through the past century and a half, there have been numerous changes and debates regarding the provision of pre-compulsory education. These developments can be aligned with shifts in the rationality of government that inscribed economic and political ideas. These ideas conditioned education policies at state and federal levels and ways of thinking about and understanding pre-compulsory education. Chapters Six and Eight discuss the rationalities of government that can be identified from ‘discursive matrices’ within which government is articulated. Such a discussion enables the production of a picture that reveals the contingencies, accidents and coincidences that have contributed to the provision of pre-primary education and constitutions of ‘the child’ in Western Australia.

Chapters Six and Eight follow four main periods that relate to historical, social, economical and political events that have dominated Australia for nearly the past century and a half in four historical periods. Under each historical period, the historical-political-economic scene is captured to reveal rationalities of government that “specify appropriate bases for the organization and mobilization of social life” (Miller & Rose, 1990, p. 6). Historical evidence is used to argue for rationalities without the desire of providing a complete historical review. During the analysis, I demonstrate the ways in which the historical emergence, expansion, and shifts in the provision of pre-compulsory education are aligned to these periods.

The period from circa 1870 until about the end of the Second World War marks the beginning of a consciousness about the wellbeing of children and, consequently, the introduction of different institutions for their early care and education. In the second period from the post-war era to the 1980s, in line with changed economic priorities and political agendas, there were numerous debates about the provision of care or education for young
children. There was a lack of financial commitment to pre-compulsory education however
until the 1970s at the federal level (Marginson, 1997a). Pre-compulsory education was
funded by the state government and parents during this period that saw a rapid expansion in
the provision of educational services for young children. The issue of the education of
young children found its place again on the federal agenda from the late 1960s in regards to
compensatory education and to ensure child-care for working women. These issues
conditioned the provision until the 1980s. From the 1990s the matter of early education
returned reinvigorated into political agendas to align the provision of pre-compulsory
education with the needs of the international market economy (Ailwood, 2002a). That is the
third period under discussion. The fourth period considers how the provision shifted with
the strengthening discourses of the knowledge economy and information society up until
2007. The first two periods are discussed in Chapter Six and Eight continues the discussion
with the third and fourth periods.

This discussion prepares the scene for the analysis in Chapters Seven and Eight. These chapters examine how the socio-political contexts created the conditions of
possibility for the use of particular theories and pedagogies of early childhood education
and constituted ‘the child’. To identify the theories applied in classrooms in different
periods and to be able to link the socio-political and policy contexts to the every day
practice in classrooms, I studied guidelines written by central agencies (state or other) that
provided practical recommendations for teaching in pre-compulsory education. I treated the
texts of these guidelines as representative of the discourses used in pre-compulsory
education in the respective periods and outline how they constituted ‘the child’. The
Part Three – Introduction

analysis performed in Chapters Seven and Nine combines the discussion about regimes of truth and practices in pre-compulsory education developed in the Second Part of the thesis.

After delineating how recent discourses constitute ‘the child’, I problematize these constitutions through the concept of governmentality. I examine how certain technologies of pre-compulsory education invests ‘the child’ with certain capacities and develop these aligned with governmental aims to produce individuals as subjects of ‘advanced’ liberal mode of government. In the course of this series of problematization, I aim to de-stabilize current ways of thinking about ‘the child’ and practices for her education that are performed with the best of intentions. Alternative avenues are also suggested.
CHAPTER SIX

Genealogies of governmentality in Western Australian pre-compulsory education (1870s – 1980s) and ‘the child’

1. 1870s until the end of WWII.

The first half of this chapter outlines the political rationality of government during the late part of the 18th century until the end of the Second World War in Australia and provides examples from the Western Australian context. During this period, one of the dominant political rationalities of governments was an early form of liberalism that conditioned the emergence of the nation-states worldwide. The other rationality – national efficiency – produced different programs and conditioned the establishment of various institutions and produced a variety of discourses that were utilized in these institutions (Rose, 1999). The introduction of the first kindergartens and preschools were part of those specific programs that addressed national efficiency. The discursive fields produced by liberalism, national efficiency and pedagogical discourses conditioned the provision of these institutions and constituted ‘the child’ in particular ways as a subject of government.

This first part of this chapter discusses first the ‘birth’ of the nation and the creation of Australian citizenry and discourses of nation building and national efficiency, to prepare the scene for the introduction of specific programs produced to address national efficiency. The emergence and provision of pre-compulsory education and care are outlined as part of these programs as technologies of government that served specific ends of government and constituted ‘the child’ as its subject.
1.1. The birth of the nation and citizenry

Six colonies of Australia joined to form the new nation-state of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901. The responsibilities of the new government were laid down in the Constitution of Australia and focused mainly on issues relating to national interests, such as defence or immigration. Various problems were prevalent during the late 19th century such as financial crisis, widespread unemployment, acute social distress and the questioning of some families whether they were able to provide the moral background and discipline for their children necessary for a liberal society. There was a commitment from the government to moralize and ameliorate the lives of ordinary people within a larger commitment to ‘nation building’. This program was visible in the provision of free schooling and kindergartens (provided by the individual states at that time) and the creation of an organizational structure for public health.

The turn of the 20th century saw the early foundation of the welfare state or what some call the ‘social investment state’, which involved a specific notion of citizenship derived from the political ideology of social liberalism. For social liberalist thinkers, such as John Stuart Mill, T.H. Green, J.A. Hobson and Richard Tawney, “society was a common bond, a common commitment to the pursuit of the common wealth. … The good society … was one where the state sought to eliminate obstacles to the development of individuals” (Beilharz et al., 1992, p.15). The idea of the welfare state centered on human and social development in order to improve the common good (or national efficiency), and education and health had crucial importance in the attainment of that goal. Individuals became citizens (or future citizens as in the case of children), because society enabled them to develop their talents. The criteria of citizenship, however, were produced by white, Anglo, wealthy men, often with colonial ties to
Genealogies of governmentality I.

Britain (White, 1987). Consequently, certain groups such as Australian Indigenous people, or certain other groups of children such as children of the poor, were excluded (Ailwood, 2002a; Kociumbas, 1997).

The government of the population and individuals was problematized on two axes according to the thinking of ‘early’ liberalism. The first axis sought to limit government to enable the freedom of the individuals, while the second axis sought to govern in order to keep morality and order and the freedom of economic and industrial life (Rose, 1996b). The solution for this paradox was found in the disciplines of the body and bio-politics of the population that made intelligible and practicable the government of a polity of free citizens (Foucault, 1977, 1979b). The disciplinary logic sought to produce self-regulated, self-controlled individuals who mastered themselves. It worked through various mechanisms such as schools or prisons, and the deployment of expert knowledges (economy, social sciences and so on). Disciplinary mechanisms enabled the government of free citizens. Bio-politics promoted health and the minimalization of illness through expertise. As a result, it enhanced the wellbeing of the population and consequently fulfilled the aims of liberal mode of government (Foucault, 1980b). Both disciplinary mechanisms and bio-political strategies utilized the knowledge that expertise produced on the subjects of rule – children, family, economy and so forth – in their government.

Expert knowledges, on the one hand, capacitated the individuals to be self-governing and to master themselves to ensure their freedom from the regulation of others. On the other hand, expertise provided the conditions for the ethical formation and self-formation of individuals to guarantee morality. Individuals, therefore, became
the subject of certain norms of civilization through the emerging disciplinary
technologies and expert knowledges, such as pedagogy.

National efficiency produced a version of justice that had the effect of
marginalizing particular groups of children and generated policies to ameliorate the
difficulties experienced by them. As McCallum (1990) argues “liberal reformers and
scientists … defined the problem of social differences by drawing attention to the
supposed inefficiency of certain groups and classes, … in everyday behaviour” (p. 134).
Thus, in this eugenic context, groups of the population were defined as working
women’s children, poor, migrant children, Aboriginal children and so on, and were
targeted with particular programs for their ‘improvement’. Compulsory schooling and
public health were such programs, which sought to bring the solution in the fight against
‘inefficiencies’. It enabled students to overcome their ‘inefficiencies’ and develop their
talents. As Kociumbas (1997) explains further:

Supporters of compulsory education also believed that such a
system helped to eradicate inherited privilege, freeing every
child to rise to the level of his or her ability. Social distinctions
and ‘class feelings' would be removed, and a healthy 'national
life' cultivated (Kociumbas, 1997, p. 119).

The late 19th century saw an increased concern regarding children worldwide
(Hendrick, 1997). This heightened anxiety can also be associated with the formation of
the nation-states and the scientific focus on ‘inefficiencies’. By the early 20th century,
various social problems such as poverty, were redefined as medical issues (Rose, 1989).
Through the emerging social sciences, such as sociology, the nation was conceptualized
as a living organism “whose physical and mental health was linked to that of the
children, who themselves in a state of flux, were its most crucial components"
(Kociumbas, 1997, p. 131).

The extension of the suffrage to all males first and then to females (however still excluding the Indigenous population), the universal applicability of law and the creation of a citizenry – which is able to bear political responsibilities – and the formation of the nation-state, required a population prepared for rights and responsibilities. The founding of the secular government school system had major relevance in this environment in the formation of future citizenry (Hunter, 1994). Rose (1989) explicated this idea further:

> the educational apparatus would be the means of inculcating the aspirations of citizenship in children – the will, as well as the means, to organise their lives within a project of self-betterment through diligence, application and commitment to work, family and society (p. 187-188).

These discourses constituted ‘the child’ as a future citizen, a key to national efficiency, which resulted in an increased focus on children’s education, welfare and health during these decades.

Nation building in Australia proceeded in a context where Australia kept close ties with the British Empire after Federation. For example, the education system and its bureaucratic organization were imported from Britain and even the chief officials themselves were positioned to Australia from the British ‘motherland’ (Hunter, 1996). Well in the 1940s and 1950s, in spite of growing American influences, the British imperialist view of the world remained quite pronounced in Australia. As Kociumbas (1997) argues, Australia was "the only modern nation whose ruling class still considered themselves immigrants whose primary allegiance lay elsewhere" (Kociumbas, 1997, p.214). In spite of the strong British influence, together with the
assemblages of the nation-state, a distinct Australian nationality emerged from the late 19th century (Inglis, 1979), which was explicated in education texts as well. Books written in Australia reflected Australian themes and ideals (Mellor, 1990) and replaced imported British textbooks. The Australian-born child became a symbol of the new and strengthening national feelings. Inglis (1979) elaborates this idea:

The colonial child seen as Happy Young Australia by an artist of the *Australian Sketcher* in 1875 is fat, contented, lucky, soft, untried; he has had it too easy. Young Australia, the idea depicted there, is a familiar term in the late 19th century, with a spectrum of meanings. It is used generally of children born in the colonies, perceived as antitheses to the colonist, people born and nurtured here as against their immigrant parents. Young Australia means not merely a new generation but a new nationality. Australia itself is perceived as young, in a way not appropriate to Europe (Inglis, 1979, p.19).

In this way, discourses of the young Australian nation were strongly intertwined with discourses of children. Children were understood as the key to Australia’s national efficiency and future prosperity. At the same time, discourses of the Empire remained exceptionally strong (Ailwood, 2002a) in relation to the care of children. Caring for a child’s life meant to care for the interests of the nation-state and the Commonwealth ‘Empire’. A contemporary magazine evokes this discourse:

It was the East Perth centre where we made our first acquaintance with the Perth Kindergarten Union. The radiant faces of the babies, the smiling kindliness of the students, the whole air of contented obedience made one deeply realise the inestimable work that is being done for the Empire (Anonymous, 1924).

In summary, nation building and liberal reforms turned the population into citizens, and in order to bear political responsibilities and to reduce the ‘inefficiencies’
of particular groups of population, the school system and newly established kindergartens and preschools provided an environment to form future citizens. In the emerging institutional framework and discursive fields, ‘the child’ was constituted as a citizen in the making who was obliged to develop its talents to ‘better’ its nation’s efficiency and prosperity in the international politico-economical field.

1.2. Technologies of nation building

‘Early’ liberalism (Dean, 1999; Rose, 1999) “establish[ed] the proper role of government and the kinds of problems it could and should address … articulate[d in] a range of different programmes” that were given effect through technologies of government (Miller & Rose, 1990, p. 6). Technologies of government, such as schooling, are utilized to produce certain desired ends with the deployment of ‘human technologies’ (Rose, 1999) or expert knowledges to shape human conduct. In the following sections, I outline three dominant technologies of government: compulsory schooling; child minding services and kindergartens; and welfare legislations. In the discussion, I demonstrate how they produced a reality and means to act upon children and how this constituted ‘the child’.

1.2.1. The creation of the education system in Australia

Victoria led the Australian Colony-States in the establishment of free, compulsory and secular education. The school system developed in Victoria was taken directly from the British State (Hunter, 1996). This is significant, because Australia implemented a ready-made schooling system, thus, the administrative system, architecture, pedagogy, and methods of teacher training were in great detail similar to
that of the Brit (Hunter, 1996). Some of its leading persons were “imported” as well (Hunter, 1996, p. 150). Consequently, Victoria (and with that colonial Australia) inherited a particular way of thinking about education, and that is, that education is a “cultural transformation of the population carried out in the interest of the State” (Hunter, 1996, p.151). This thinking produced other technologies in similar fields, such as the establishment of the first kindergartens and preschools.

Education addressed the need of the untutored colonial population and was a technology to enhance “its corporate wealth and prosperity, and thereby the wellbeing of its citizens” (Hunter, 1996, p.151). In order to serve that purpose, education delivered a “pedagogic milieu” to produce “socially disciplined persons” and the ethic of “self-realization”\textsuperscript{54} was taken up as its central “disciplinary goal” (Hunter, 1996, p.155). Consequently, education became the laboratory for the engineering of regulated and self-governing individuals in order to improve the nation’s efficiency.

The Victorian example modeled the founding of the school system in all states and passed on this mode of thinking about education. By 1870 free, secular and compulsory education was established in all colonies. After federation in 1901, education was left as the responsibility of the states. The states and territories still retain the dominant (around 89 per cent) funding and policy input into government schools and pre-compulsory education today (Ailwood, 2002a).

\textsuperscript{54} ‘Self-realization’ in this period was understood as a process through which the individual accomplished what previously was not present in her. Some term this process Bildung (Hultqvist, 2001; Masschelein, 2001; M. Simons, 2007).
1.2.2. Child minding and kindergartens to serve the national interest

The increasing industrialization of the 19th century created declining conditions in the working class suburbs in Australia (Kerr, 1994). The economic depression during the 1890s in Australia pushed many people into unemployment and into even harder living conditions. Industrialization brought vast economic and social changes. The gap between the poor and elite grew enormous. Large families were unable to survive, and ‘baby farming’, where unwanted babies were given away, became prevalent. Among the middle and upper classes of society, there was a sense of need to ameliorate these conditions and ills, and to save the nation’s most precious resource: the children. The socio-economic background produced the conditions for the emergence of the welfare state55 (Beilharz et al., 1992) and with that, the first state-provided institutions for children together with the independent kindergartens mostly run by private schools, churches or charitable organizations (Kerr, 1994).

To improve children’s welfare in order to ensure the wellbeing of the nation-state, there was a widespread reinforcement of female domesticity (middle class women and family roles) through the media at the beginning of the 20th century (Kerr, 1994). The attitudes toward women and their responsibilities were clearly outlined in the social reforms. As Kerr (1994) argues, “[w]omen were responsible for the care of children within the context of male bread-winning” (Kerr, 1994, p.6). It is important to note, that there was a sharp contrast between these ideals and the reality of working class or Indigenous women. Great number of working class and Indigenous women participated

55 As Beilharz et al. (1992) argue at this time it was a minimal welfare state “with the logic that the market would look after men and their families if capitalists were kept to their side of the bargain” (p. 21).
in the workforce to supplement the family income or even to solely earn it. These women were presumed to influence negatively their children’s growth or even endanger them. This idea culminated in the founding of first child-care services (Brennan, 1982, 1994).

Child minding was first established to care for the children of women, “who were ‘obliged’ to support themselves and their children” (Brennan, 1994, p. 7). The Sydney Day Nursery Association is one example of these institutions. This association was established by philanthropic women on the realization that their cleaners left their small children at home to fend for themselves while they had to go out working for the philanthropist women to support themselves and their children (Burns et al., 1985).

The first Western Australian day nursery opened in 1902, which was followed by others founded by charitable church organizations (Mellor, 1990). The first kindergartens in Western Australia were established at the end of the 19th century and catered for pre-compulsory aged children. The Kindergarten Association of Western Australia was established in 1911 and two years later the Perth Kindergarten Teachers College opened. The kindergartens’ main concern was the personal development of children to counteract the presumed lack of care at home, and, more precisely, the development of their talents with the utilization of educational theories. Thus, kindergartens deemed to provide education for the ‘needy’ children with the application of great educationists’ ideas. Froebel, Montessori, Pestalozzi, Isaacs, the English philanthropic workers56 and the Child Study work in the US (Connell, 1993) were and are still prevalent influences in educational theory and practice in Australia. State education departments also provided similar programs, while they also partially funded

56 For example the McMillan sisters.
approved non-governmental programs. Thus, kindergartens were provided by charitable organizations and voluntary agencies together with the state government in Western Australia.

Education meant more than just learning. It meant the healthy development of the body, mind and character. It became education’s aim to instill morality into people. Worries over morality were translated into concerns about physical education, nutrition and healthy spaces for children. These areas of care were assimilated in the provision of these institutions and were illustrated in the development of pre-compulsory age facilities and the advocacy and training of parents for proper ‘child management’ (McCallum, 1990). With the emergence of parent training, a superior professional expertise available only for teachers was accepted. This expertise created the conditions for the achievement of fundamental social objectives by forming or reforming the population, such as the avoidance of ‘anti-social’, ‘self-destructive’ and ‘selfish habits’ (McCallum, 1990). Thus, education became the technology of government in the task of the moralization of the population.

The provision of kindergartens was conditioned by the intermingling of discourses of motherhood and nation building (Ailwood, 2002a, 2004). Kindergartens utilized the middle class ideals of motherhood, as morally superior, and their education programs were aimed at counteracting working mothers’ malicious effect on their children. ‘The child’ in this context was constituted as a “malleable channel for social amelioration” (Kerr, 1994, p. 6). Kindergartens and child minding services were established to serve ‘deprived’ youngsters of pre-compulsory school age by employing particular professional knowledges (Mossenson, 1972) in order to enable nation building, to increase national efficiency and to moralize the population.
Philanthropic women played an important role in the establishment, reforming, regulation and provision of child minding and kindergarten institutions in a strong eugenic context. Philanthropic activity since the 19th century was organised in a calculated distance between the developing welfare state and functions of the liberal state, such as the preservation of the privacy of the family (Donzelot, 1979). Philanthropy as a ‘deliberately depoliticized’ strategy, as Donzelot (1979) argues, served well the purpose of instituting public services at sensitive points between private initiative and the State. Thus, philanthropic activity, by the constitution and utilization of technologies of kindergartens and child minding services, delivered ideas of nation building and national efficiency into the homes of working class families to first and foremost serve the State. The needs for child-care of working women were sidelined in these discourses.

The Lady Gowrie centres, although funded by the Commonwealth government during the late 1930s, represented a continuation of the philanthropic approach to kindergarten services and the children’s centres of the Second World War (Brennan, 1994). Both these services were fulfilled with the same rationality about the welfare of the nation-state and the Empire, and women’s interests as such were disregarded. Even the interests of working mothers who were contributing to the war were marginalized with limited increases in existing child-care institutions and only for the duration of the war.

In sum, discourses regarding the education and care of children, and motherhood were intertwined strongly with the wellbeing of the nation-state and created a discursive field that conditioned the emergence of the provisions for young children. Although kindergartens were established to deliver mainly educational programs for children
based on pedagogic methods, here they were discussed together with day nurseries that were founded to care for working women’s children. In this section I made a case that in their provision, kindergartens and day nurseries served the same ends of governments. That is, to improve national efficiency through ameliorating working class children, to develop children’s talents to increase their wellbeing and with that the wellbeing of the nation state, and to moralize the population through the education of children and parents. In the contexts of the liberal and slowly developing welfare state in Australia “young children’s services came to be considered both as a right and as in the national interest” (Mellor, 1990, p. 85).

1.2.3. Child welfare legislations

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, concerns for children focused primarily on their spiritual welfare. Hard and strenuous physical work did not present any problems, but susceptibility to adult immorality and corruption did. With the changed way of thinking about government, that is the increased governmentalization of the state, and the growing importance of the medical profession during the 19th century, children’s moral and physical wellbeing became the centre of attention. The wellbeing of the individual and the population became equal with the wellbeing of the State. Ill physical and mental health and disability were common among working class and working children and children's health related directly to the State's future prosperity. Working class children’s moral state also caused concerns. The reforms of the beginning of the 20th century, therefore, focused to a large extent on children's wellbeing. School meals, medical inspection and the juvenile justice system were introduced following British models (Mellor, 1990).
Infant mortality during the last decades of the 19th century was at a peak, thus, legislations were fuelled with a concern for infant health and welfare in the light of the need for population growth to ensure the new nation’s efficiency. Having infant lives wasted meant a threat to a newly expanding nation, thus children came to be known as important ‘resources’ of the country. Any attempt to reduce family size either by abortion or contraception was regarded as disloyal to the colony and the Empire. Infant suffering and neglect started to become strongly scrutinized in Australia (Brennan, 1994; Mellor, 1990).

There are numerous examples of policies introduced in this era, however, I only mention two at a state and two at a Commonwealth level that reflect the same rationality. First, the legislation of the Western Australian Health Act 1898, which compelled ‘foster mothers’\textsuperscript{57} to keep records of the children under their care and second, The State Children Act 1907 in Western Australia. This Act incorporated provisions for the setting up of courts to decide about adoptions; a boarding-out system, and prohibited lump sum payments to baby-farmers. It instigated, with the establishment and administration of State Children and Public Charities Department (1908), a regular payment system for baby-farmers (Mellor, 1990). From 1901, the Commonwealth government became increasingly involved in social welfare, hence the introduction of maternity allowance (1912), which provided five pounds (a week’s salary) for each live birth. Several states attempted to introduce some form of financial assistance for families, which were later followed by the Commonwealth’s Child Endowment Allowance in 1941 (Mellor, 1990).

\textsuperscript{57} Earlier they were called ‘baby-farmers’, who cared for unwanted children in return for a lump sum of money. These children reportedly died on numerous occasions in their care, for example the famous Mitchell case in Perth (Kerr, 1994).
There was an elevated concern for children internationally as well. During the first two decades of the 20th century, several international children’s welfare groups were founded (Mellor, 1990). At the same time, the newly established institutions of school and family58, that reflected the ideal of domesticity, created separate spaces for children from adult society and enabled their amelioration and regulation through the emerging sciences of pedagogy, Child Study, welfare and so on. Thus, childhood became universalized and standardized (normalized) for every child (Hendrick, 1997).

By 1914, the agenda of the public health and welfare authorities in Australia was dominated strongly by the problem of national efficiency, in a eugenic context, as were child-minding and kindergarten. This focus was concentrated in "questions of race degeneration and national identity, fitness and above all, readiness to be an economically productive Australian" (Kirk & Spiller, 1994, p. 92).

The idea of the economically productive Australian derived from the German manufacturing productivity, national efficiency and the themes of economic success and national prosperity. These sources served as the foundation of an emerging understanding of the ‘young Aussie’ (Inglis, 1979).

In summary, the period stretching from about the 1870s until the end of Second World War can be characterized with the ‘early’ liberal mode of government and the developing nations-state that created a context in which services for young children in Australia emerged. The growing national feelings and Federation of Australia, together with liberal ideals and the developing welfare state, transformed the population into

58 The family itself was not a new institution, but from this time it was inscribed with the middle-class ideal.
citizens, who in spite of their new status as Australians, kept their loyalty to the British Empire. Concerns about the moralization of the population, in ways that did not intervene into the freedom of the new citizens and the markets, brought children’s education, care and welfare to the fore during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. A free secular and compulsory education system was established following the British model, to regulate and produce a disciplined and moralized Australian citizenry with the use of expert knowledges in order to maximize the common good. Philanthropic women and charity organizations established child minding facilities and kindergartens to ensure the physical and mental health of children, and moreover, to develop their talents. The health and the propagation of children, the national resources of Australia, were promoted widely to secure the future survival and prosperity of the nation. These developments formed discourses and constituted ‘the child’ as a future citizen; the ‘young Aussie’, a white, fit and economically productive individual, who is especially vulnerable to working mothers’ malicious effect and is an impressionable creation to be ameliorated in schools based on middle class morality.

2. From the post-war period until the 1970s

The following sections provide an overview of the rationalities of government and the discursive field they produced between the 1940s and 1970s. This part also demonstrates the links between these rationalities and the various regimes of truth and knowledges of early education that altered the understanding and provision of pre-compulsory education and constituted ‘the child’.

In the last part of this chapter, I outline discourses of care and education. During the post-war era, a debate intensified about the appropriate services for children and
with that a split between the role of ‘care’ and ‘education’ has widened. Discourses of ‘education’ and ‘care’ were closely intertwined with the mentality of the new governmental strategies and economic management, the competitiveness of the nation-state, the political ideology of social democratism, and traditional conceptions of the family.

2.1. Governmental rationality and the discursive field

The period of the Second World War saw the introduction of a war economy in Australia coupled with the grounding of the welfare state (Beilharz et al., 1992). This period’s roots go back to the Great Depression during the 1930s that generated worldwide economic, political and social chaos. Faith in markets, as the source of rising living standards and as central to social investment, faded. Australian politics were greatly polarized between those who still believed in a free market economy and those who were advocating economic planning. By the 1930s, liberal economist John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946) outlined a new economics and practical strategies to manage a national economy. Keynes argued for full employment and the equitable distribution of wealth and income in society through a strategy that involved a large extension of the traditional (or minimal) functions of government (Marginson, 1997b).

During the Second World War, governments’ young reformist economists built the beginnings of the economic management machinery of the modern state. The war proved for policy-makers and politicians what ‘good’ central government could achieve, and with the White Paper on Full Employment in May 1945, the idea became the goal of what can be called ‘the economic state’ in Australia. The effect of this declaration
was long term and lasted at least 30 years. Well into the 1970s, Australian governments worked within a broadly defined Keynesian economic policy framework.

The 1940s was a very significant period in Australia’s policy history. Between 1941-47, a strong foundation of a national ‘welfare state’ was laid down, which included the legislation of numerous welfare policies including several on education. During this period, as a dissatisfaction with government, new ways of thinking about governing emerged in the form of ‘social’ liberalism. These problematizations of ‘early liberal’ modes of government were “bound up with the emergence of a problem in which the governability of democracy” was posed (Rose, 1996b, p. 47). In addition, economic affairs had consequences that were assumed to decrease the general wellbeing and increase the ‘risks’ that the population and individuals had to face.

The idea of ‘welfare’ and ‘social insurance’ emerged to recode the relationship between the political field and the management of social and economic affairs. ‘Insurance’ weakened the boundaries between these fields and wove them into a complex field of rights and responsibilities (Rose, 1999). In other words, individuals gained a right to social services while they were made responsible for obtaining employment and providing for themselves and their family. In this new way of thinking about government, expertise acquired a fresh role to ensure both the freedom of the economic enterprise and individuals. Expertise educated individuals to responsibly assume their freedom (Rose & Miller, 1992). Through the use of expertise in ‘social’ government, the boundaries of the political (public) sphere were extended and consequently the autonomy of the private sphere was weakened. An increased government of the private sphere became possible at a distance without direct state intervention.
In ‘social’ liberalism, citizenship was reconceptualized in new ways and as a result new forms of responsibility and obligations took shape (Rose, 1996b). Education was reconceptualized in the context of citizenship and gained an increased popularity and an assumedly growing demand (Taylor et al., 1997). Citizens had a social right to education “in return for duties of social obligation and social responsibility” (Rose, 1996b, p. 49). Education, considering political power, played an important role in aligning the self-government of subjects with the objectives of political authority (Rose, 1996b). The expansion of education in Australia during the 1960s and 1970s, as Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard and Henry (1997) assert, was “predicated upon a generalized human capital theory which argued that education contributed to those elements of economic growth which could not be accounted for” (p. 94-5). The increased funding and provision of education was justified on the basis of equality of opportunity for all (Taylor et al., 1997).

It is important to note here\(^5\), however, that following the economic recession of the mid-1970s, human capital theory lost its discursive power but returned repeatedly in reinvigorated formats: during the 1980s in a new market format (Marginson, 1993) and the 21\(^{st}\) century in a knowledge-based economy format\(^6\). In the next sections, first I outline the political rationality of equality of opportunity and then human capital theory to demonstrate the discursive field they produced for the provision of pre-compulsory education and how ‘the child’ as the subject of this discursive field was constituted.

\(^5\) It is discussed in detail in Chapter Eight.
\(^6\) These formats are discussed in detail in Chapter Eight.
2.1.1. Equality of opportunity

Equality of opportunity was defined in three, often contradictory, meanings. First, it is characterized as equality of government expenditure for each student. The second meaning considers it as equality of total material resources per student that is defined according to their socio-economic background. Extra government spending on particular students was justified by this strategy to even out their unequal financial background. The third meaning is based on educational institutions’ comparative positioning and identifies equality of opportunity in overall educational conditions, that is, that all institutions are equivalent (Marginson, 1997a, p.41). Political debates utilized the first and second notions of equality of opportunity. Labor parties drew on the second meaning, while Liberals brought the first one into debates.

The 1972 speech of the Labor party’s Prime Minister candidate, Gough Whitlam, is an exemplar of the political utilization of this discourse that drew on the second meaning of equality of opportunity. Whitlam stated that education should promote equality, and parental income and attitudes should place no restrictions upon the educational opportunities of any child (Whitlam, 1985). One of the aims behind the rationality of equality of opportunity was to economically and educationally ‘enfranchise’ marginalized groups to turn them into “productive economic resources” (A. Luke, 1997, p. 6). Social compensation formed a part of this strategy with the aim to ameliorate children with disadvantaged cultural backgrounds, such as Aboriginal and migrant children.

The strategy of social compensation was dominant around the globe by this time. For example, it was utilized in US President Johnson’s ‘War on Poverty’
campaign in 1964 (Rose, 1989). Similarly, in the UK large longitudinal studies of young children emerged (Rose, 1989) that followed the effects of cultural deprivation on children’s lives. Compensatory education’s underlying philosophy was supplied by the ‘culture of poverty’ theory, developed by Lewis (1961). This theory stated that poor people accepted their situation that their concern was for the present and for immediate gratification. Compensatory education was aimed at breaking the ‘cycle of poverty’ by changing attitudes to learning and education and to implant values for success. The aspiration of the discourses of cultural deprivation and social compensation assimilated cultural diversity on economic grounds and turned difference into economic resources (A. Luke, 1997). On a different level, diversity was reconceptualized on individual grounds and difference was reflected by the psychological (cognitive, social, emotional and so on) development of ‘the child’. Conditioned by these discourses, disadvantaged children were regulated through discourses of cultural deprivation and techniques of social compensation. As Rose (1989) explicates further:

> to minimize maladjustment, delinquency, neurosis, psychosis, and all the other disorders of conduct, affect and will that were now construed as ‘psychosocial’. …[T]his was a profoundly humanistic and egalitarian project, one that searched for the causes of failure of citizenship and sought to provide the knowledge that was to ensure the extension of the benefits of society to all its members (Rose, 1989, p. 190).

There were three themes dominant among the discourses of compensation in the context of early education: intellectual development (Bloom et al., 1965), language development and home and neighborhood environment (Bruner, 1970). Similar in principle to the federally funded American Head Start program (Zigler & Berman, 1970),

---

61 Compensatory education’s practical application was explained earlier and how it conditioned the provision of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia is outlined in Chapter Seven.
1983; Zigler & Valentine, 1979) or Nursery School in the UK (Chazan, 1973; Woodhead, 1976), the compensatory programs in the Australian preschool, such as the Disadvantaged School Program (DPS) (de Lacey, 1979; Nurcombe et al., 1999; Teasdale & Whitelaw, 1981) aimed to address all three themes of compensatory education (Ailwood, 2004). These programs, however, were far less influential in Australia. One of the reasons is that compensatory education was reconceptualized on the grounds of needs rather than disadvantages (Taylor et al., 1997). Consequently, economically deprived children’s needs were addressed through other avenues before they entered the school system62.

The practices of equality of educational opportunity had their roots in Keynesian economics (Taylor et al., 1997) and they were intended to facilitate upward mobility (A. Luke, 1997). The other root of equality of opportunity was found in psychology in order to establish the criteria on which it was practised. A growing scientific research on educational participation and performance produced the notion of ‘educability’ (McCallum, 1990). By measuring ‘educability’, persons could be identified as capable of educational success or as prone to failure. ‘Educability’ became a special characteristic of an individual that defined her potential, and discourses of ‘educability’ constituted ‘the child’ as having a ‘natural ability’ that could be enhanced with education63. Intelligence testing, streaming or tracking in the classroom (Connell, 1993) provided instruments to achieve a meritocratic system. This system was based on the notion of ‘educability’ (talent) and the ideal of hard work in order to succeed. For example, these practices and ideals are expressed in the work of Cunningham in

62 This idea is outlined in more details in Chapter Eight.
63 This idea is discussed in Chapter Four.
Australia around the 1930s that instituted compulsory intelligence testing in schools\textsuperscript{64}. No matter how highly influential Cunningham’s work was at that time, the hereditary basis of intelligence had already been highly criticized (McCallum, 1990).

Educational merit ensured further education and better positions in the labour market (Marginson, 1997a). Tests were developed to rank students and discover talents that were posed in individual terms. This way, the problem of individual differences took priority theoretically over social and class differences (McCallum, 1990). As a consequence, the theory of individual differences determined discussions of equality of opportunity, and “observers of class differences in educational provision and performance drew unwittingly on the theory to argue that individuals, as members of an ability group, were constrained by various environmental influences from realizing their true potential” (McCallum, 1990, p. 74).

At the same time, there was a remarkable growth in federal activity as a consequence of the functioning of the welfare state in Australia. The welfare state, imbued with the rationality of equality of opportunity, was considered to be able to remove class impediments to social selection in schooling. Various groups opposed this ideal and policy. Intellectuals, headmasters and university professors promoted a ‘traditional culture’ to secure the grounds against socialist or social democratic opinions. Technocrats\textsuperscript{65} and liberal intellectuals of the professional ‘middle class’ fortified these notions. Thus, social stratification was accepted as exhibiting a ‘high culture’, and consequently educational selection expressed ‘natural’ ability (McCallum, 1990). Those who possessed this ‘high culture’ were selected for higher studies and

\textsuperscript{64} See further discussion in McCallum, 1990.

\textsuperscript{65} Organic intellectuals of a newly consolidated Australian industrial class.
The utilization of equal opportunity principles, argue McCallum (1990) and Marginson (1997a), did not counteract, but instead ingrained this status quo. It also produced a particular understanding of the individual, the ‘pre-social’ individual “whose relations in the world could be represented as legitimate, and indeed inevitable, since they merely confirmed the fiat of nature” (McCallum, 1990, p.130).

A centrally and bureaucratically administered school system created the pre-condition for the strengthening discourses and administration of equality of opportunity (second meaning) in education. As Hunter (1993) explicates, “it was not until education had been rendered socially uniform and politically calculable, as a result of the emergence of a powerful bureaucratic school system, that the objective of equality of opportunity became politically intelligible and ethically desirable” (p.274).

Consequently, to ensure that pre-compulsory education was founded in line with the objective of equal opportunity it had to be administered centrally and the most convenient solution seemed to be to administer it through the already existing and bureaucratized school system. Discourses of equal opportunity, therefore, produced the conditions of possibility for the emergence of debates around a Commonwealth government administered and funded pre-compulsory system.

These discourses were vocal in party politics of the era. In July 1969, the Labor Party, then in opposition under Whitlam’s leadership, made its party policy the establishment of the Australian Schools Commission and Pre-School Commission by the Commonwealth. They planned to grant federal assistance to the states for the provision of universal pre-school tuition for children of appropriate age, in spite of education mainly belonging to the states. They argued, that "[p]re-school education
enhances the value of all later education, in particular for those children who are economically disadvantaged or culturally deprived" (Whitlam, 1985, p. 308). Thus, scientific discourses about disadvantaged and culturally deprived children provided a discursive framework for the party’s universal pre-school education initiative. The provision of pre-compulsory education was turned to serve partly the aims of government as a technology to serve the needs of disadvantaged and deprived children, besides the rights of working mothers for equality of opportunity in the form of affordable child-care.

2.1.2. Human Capital Theory

During the post-war period, arguments strengthened about the role of education in increasing economic productivity that were also fuelled by the spread of human capital theory globally (Marginson, 1993). Human capital theorists assumed a direct causal relationship between investment in education and the productivity of labour, and between labour productivity and individual earnings. It was assumed that investing in education brought economic benefits and growth. Human capital theory appeared parallel in Australian educational discourses with an “explicit shift from a focus on education as moral training and cultural conservation to a focus on the production of expertise – skilled human capital – for scientific, geopolitical and economic competitiveness” (A. Luke, 1997, p. 5).

Human capital arguments were endorsed at the highest level in Australia in the Martin Report of 1964 (Marginson, 1997b). Although human capital theory was based on counterfeit empirical research and functioned more as a blanket justification for the extra funding and for other non-economic purposes (Marginson, 1997b), as a ‘regime of
truth’ it produced a political rationality. Governmental strategies inscribed with this rationality resulted in increased federal level welfare activity in education, particularly between 1963 and 1975 (D. Smart, 1982). Whitlam (1985) argued that education was the dominant political issue of that time, greater than the war in Vietnam.

To maximize the education of the population, to address industry demands for a highly-skilled workforce, and to take in hand the “educational and social needs of Aboriginal, migrant and women’s groups, and the urban and rural poor” (p. 6), the federal government increased its involvement in this sector (A. Luke, 1997). Until 1963, the federal government was only involved in higher education and the states were responsible for all other levels and type of education. By 1975, the Federal Department of Education was created and gained responsibility for “determining national priorities and levels of funding in the pre-school, school, college and technical and further education sectors” (D. Smart, 1982, p.15).

In his analysis on narratives of the adaptation of human capital theory in Australia, A. Luke (1997) claims that the policy narrative of the 1970s in Australia can be named as “human capital with a heart” (p. 12). Luke argues that the lack of economic productivity and the economic marginalization of certain groups always appeared together in discussions about problems with the economy. Possible solutions were sought through education policy and the deployment of compensatory intervention strategies. Through the application of human capital theory in the management of problems with economic productivity, businesses and marginalized groups and classes received pay-offs (A. Luke, 1997). Businesses received a skilled workforce, while marginalized groups and classes gained extra funding to lift their job skills and, as a result, their chance for economic disenfranchisement and mobility. This is how the
confluence of discourses of human capital theory, equality of opportunity (in its second meaning, that is, the equality of total financial resources for each student compensating for their economic marginalization) and social compensation created the conditions of possibility for federal considerations of the provision of preschool education.

Discourses of human capital theory also constituted a particular individual, a “generic, infinitely perfectable, industrial-era machine, with an infinitely adjustable and expandable repertoire of quantifiable skills and competencies” (A. Luke, 1997, p. 5). As a consequence, the school and, I add, pre-compulsory education are conceptualised as a machinery that through the application of certain technologies of curriculum, pedagogy and assessment can produce quantifiable changes in behaviour and competencies (A. Luke, 1997).

Keynesian economic management reconstructed Australia as an ‘economic state’ and strengthened economic discourses and the welfare state in Australia during the post-war period. The ideal of equal opportunity was applied to discourses of education together with discourses of social compensation and human capital theory. These intertwined discourses represented a particular discursive matrix of government, which strengthened and refashioned the discourses regarding pre-compulsory education and, as a part of that, conditioned the possibility of the provision of pre-compulsory schooling at all levels of government. These discourses also constituted ‘the child’ in particular ways as I further outline in Chapter Eight.
2.2. Discourses of education and care

This section draws up the discursive matrix related to the questions around the care and education of children in which the provision of kindergartens and preschools and child-minding and child-care services were embedded. Motherhood, during and after the Second World War, was in a constant flux. While mothers during the war period worked in the war economy, in the 1950s they had to return to their homes as housewives. After WWII, the government reinvented the ideas of nation building and ascertained that the best means of defence was people. Thus, the federal government adopted a population policy on the premise that Australia must ‘populate or perish’. In this framework the government introduced full employment for men, child endowment and families were provided with better quality housing. These policies further reinforced middle class ideals of the family, which positioned women in the home as responsible for children.

As another consequence of the war, women wanted more political freedom and economic independence due to their involvement in the armed forces and war economy. With the appearance of the second wave of feminism during the late 1960s, notions about working mothers, and mother and baby relationships were challenged. Women campaigned for political and economic equality and the Australian Council of Trade Unions began to support their cause (Bolton, 1974). Feminists formed community lobby groups and called for the public provision of a wide range of child-care services, to enable married women participation in the workforce, funded by the Commonwealth and controlled by parents. They sought especially this form of administration to open up services in collaboration with and not solely controlled by professionals. Thus, they
“should work in partnership rather than in hierarchical arrangements where teachers were ‘experts’ and ‘professionals’ and parents were seen as ‘clients’” (Brennan, 1994, p. 9). Community kindergartens today are still operating based on the assertions laid down in this period.

This historical context created a framework for the debate by the federal and state governments regarding the primary provision of education for young children or child-care to enable women to work. In this thesis, I use the analysis of these discourses to demonstrate the rationality of government of the post-war period and do not detail the arguments themselves.

The Australian Pre-school Association advocated that a woman’s place was at home and, as a result, supported the early years care services’ importance as an educational outlet, rather than their importance as child minding facilities. For example, the Australian Pre-school Association’s journal: *Pre-school Quarterly*, published a themed edition in 1966 on ‘baby and mother attachment’ where Bowlby’s (1966) and the Tavistock Clinic’s article appeared to reinforce the importance of early care provided by the mother to ensure a baby’s mental health. The Association claimed to be the unchallenged authority of children’s needs (Brennan, 1994) and from this standpoint, combated child-care services that would enable women to work.

Educational services were promoted by the Australian Pre-school Association as desired because they supported child development and compensated for particular groups’ cultural and economic disadvantage, while child-care was degraded to the level of child minding, which served only the needs of the mothers (Brennan, 1994). Through
the state branches of the Australian Pre-school Association, the Kindergarten Union\textsuperscript{66} also lobbied for the regulation of child-care services to inhibit the establishment of new centres. This mentality was coupled with a lack of empathy towards working mothers’ needs, which went as far as lobbying for a special mother’s wage to discourage women with children from working (Brennan, 1994).

The intermingling discourses of the educational value of pre-schools and kindergartens and social compensation dressed pre-compulsory education with an increased importance. Pre-compulsory education gained a new value by providing young children with learning experiences that might compensate for their home environment and enable their success in school. From the beginning of the 1970s, an organized move, delineated earlier, fired by the Australian Pre-school Association, the Women’s Electoral Lobby and state Education Departments, made pre-compulsory education and child-care a political agenda. The Federal Education Department stressed the need for one-year pre-school education, and its advantages, while the Department of Social Security advanced working women’s demand for child-care facilities. In 1972, the \textit{Child Care Act} was passed by the Liberal-National Country Coalition government, which marked the beginning of the increased role of the federal government in early childhood services. The \textit{Act} had a provision to increase child-care places by twenty per cent, a subsidy for qualified staff to ensure quality of care, and a recurrent grant to offer lower income families reduced fees. Twenty-three million dollars over three years was also allocated for non-profit organizations engaged in the operation of child-care centres (Brennan, 1994).

\textsuperscript{66} As a provider of educational services.
Gough Whitlam, Prime Minister of the subsequent Labor government between 1972 and 1975, supported the idea of having women’s access to child-care in order to secure the female workforce for the demanding economy. He also supported the idea of compensatory education. Both provisions were thought to create equal opportunity for all. To gain an understanding of the issue of child-care and pre-compulsory education, the government set up a committee under the leadership of Joan Fry who was the former Principal of the Sydney Nursery School Training College (Brennan, 1994). The Fry Committee had to determine what measures should be taken to ensure that, by the end of the 1970s, first, all Australian children had the opportunity for pre-school education and second, that a sufficient number of child-care centres were established to meet the needs of children of working parents and disadvantaged families. Fry strongly believed in the prime importance of the family’s role in children’s education. The report was imbued with this bias and presented little attention to the issue of child-care and women’s work. Whitlam (1985) also saw this report as partial towards pre-compulsory education and stated that the report was uninformative for the government’s deliberations. He commissioned a second report from the Social Welfare Commission to rectify this imbalance. This report satisfied Whitlam with its recommendations of diverse styles of provisions and with its emphasis on the educational needs of marginalized groups (Ailwood, 2002a; Brennan, 1994; Whitlam, 1985). This was the culmination of competing discourses of care and education, which drew up an integrated solution for the care and education of pre-compulsory aged children.

The discursive field produced by the discourses of equality of opportunity, human capital theory and compensatory education, the complex intermingling of discourses regarding motherhood, women’s participation in the workforce and nation
building together with the provision of care versus education, produced the possibilities for the emergence of the pre-compulsory education agenda in federal level discourses. It is difficult to define which agenda was more important at that time: education or care. What is clear from the above argument, however, is that these discourses fashioned particular discourses and practices in the services for the early years. The confluence of these discourses constituted ‘the child’, whose care and education these provisions aimed to serve, in particular ways that are outlined in the next chapter.

2.3. Difference and educational policy

This section touches briefly upon discourses of difference and how they conditioned the educational field in Australia during the 1960s until the 1980s. Discourses of poverty, gender, ethnicity, race and disability are discussed here.

Since its introduction, mass schooling was thought to provide opportunity for social improvement for everyone, “and for access to power and privilege which only a few in society had hitherto enjoyed” (Taylor et al., 1997, p. 126). With the rise of social movements such as the civil rights and feminist movements worldwide, this standpoint was challenged from the 1960s. It was argued that students outside the richer, male and dominant culture were disadvantaged in schools. The consolidating welfare state provided a platform for social policies and programs to address this issue and to do more for equality than just to provide access to mass schooling.

Disadvantage, related to difference in racial, ethnic and socio-economic background, gained a significant place on educational policy agendas from the 1960s (Taylor et al., 1997). The social problems related to these were addressed on a cultural level, such as compensatory education based on the theory of ‘culture of poverty’, or the
different cultures and languages of the Aboriginal population, and by the definition of extra needs these groups had. Hence, addressing these issues was based on needs rather than disadvantage and this idea was different to that of international practices (Taylor et al., 1997).

The idea of multiculturalism emerged in Australia in the mid-1970s as a construction of the state in response to the growing crisis in ethnic relations triggered by assimilation policies (Taylor et al., 1997). Multiculturalism, as an educational policy, challenged those ideas and practices that thought about people from ethnically diverse backgrounds as having linguistic and cultural deficits. Instead, it focused on home language and culture as something to be drawn upon and valued in classrooms. Multiculturalism ensured that minority students could maintain their cultural heritage. By celebrating different cultures, it aimed to overcome cultural exclusion, bias and discrimination. Some observers argue, however, that multiculturalism was instituted in Australian schools (I include pre-schools67) in a pluralist format that allowed only lifestyle aspects of the culture to be exhibited. This format obscures issues of disadvantage and structural inequalities and maintains minority groups’ lack of access to power (Jakubowicz, 1981; Jayasuriya, 1987). Another pitfall of multiculturalism adopted in classrooms is that it also assumes that the emphasis on the maintenance of cultural traditions is sufficient for the elimination of racism and ethnic bias (Taylor et al., 1997).

Gender issues related to the education of girls were also addressed at a national level with all states participating from the 1970s. Individual states also developed policy frameworks to deal with gender inequality. Gilbert (1996) asserts that there had been

---

67 I bring evidence for my claim in the next chapter.
three broad phases in educational reform regarding gender: “an initial struggle to achieve equity and access; … a concerted effort to value women’s knowledge and experiences, and to integrate them into the curriculum; … and a recognition of the construction of “gender” (p. 11). Policies addressing the first phase were made on the findings of 1960s research that documented gender differences in participation and achievement in education. The Schools Commissions defined girls as educationally disadvantaged and, therefore, having extra needs. As the first phase of educational reform, these policies were underpinned by sex role theory, liberal feminism and an equality of opportunity approach. Policies aimed to increase girls’ participation and retention and to improve outcomes for them (Taylor et al., 1997). Attention was given to subject choices, to raise girls’ aspirations and to encourage girls to study in non-traditional career areas. It could be summarized, therefore, that this phase focused on challenging traditional sex roles and creating equality of opportunity between genders.

The policy of integration of disabled students into schools also emerged during the 1970s. Prior to that disabled persons tended to be incarcerated in health institutions. With the rise of social movements the ethics of this practice was questioned strongly. The 1960s saw the emergence of special education in the US that framed the way of thinking about disabled students in positivistic terms of diagnosis, cause, assessment and treatment (Rose, 1989). By the 1970s the ‘treatment’ of disabled persons in education institutions became possible. In Australia, the Karmel report (Interim Committee of the Australian School Commission, 1973) enabled the provision of a ‘normal life’ for disabled students in mainstream schools. This idea developed during the 1980s into the policy of ‘integration’.
3. Conclusion

The origin of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia is interwoven with the emergence of the Australian nation-state. Discourses of nation building and efficiency, loyalty to the British Empire, and at the same time the formation of a new Australian identity, conditioned the emergence of the first kindergartens and day nurseries. The government of the individuals and the population was thought about in a way that ensured the privacy of the individuals, yet still enabled the moralization of certain groups through the increasing utilization of expertise, such as medicine and pedagogy. Schools and kindergartens played an important part in the creation of a citizenry and the amelioration and moralization of certain groups of children. Discourses of motherhood and philanthropy constituted middle class domesticity as the norm for the whole population. In the quest for nation building, the creation of a citizenry and the universalisation of domesticity, women’s demands for child minding were sidelined. The first kindergartens served as a technology of government to produce future citizens as the resources of the nation, to enable the development of children’s talents to be economically productive citizens of a liberal state.

After the Second World War, the previous mode to govern the population was questioned due to its inability to address a wide range of social problems. A new way of thinking about government emerged in the shape of ‘social’ liberalism that introduced notions of social rights and collective allegiances into political discourses and also provided the foundation for the development of the welfare state. It also introduced a new framework of rights and obligations. As a result of the discursive matrix produced by human capital theory and equality of educational opportunity during the 1960s and 1970s, and education’s presumed capability to strengthen the economy, education in
general and the provision of pre-compulsory education expanded. Education was also thought about as a social right of individuals. Civil rights and women’s movements shook long-standing notions of assimilation, the domestic ideal and mother-child bonding, and recognized certain groups of the population as disadvantaged. Consequently, these groups’ particular needs became recognised. Education was considered to facilitate upward social mobility and in that framework, pre-compulsory education offered equality for disadvantaged individuals. Child-care ensured equality of opportunity for women to participate in the workforce. This discursive field produced the conditions of emergence for the demand of a universal and integrated pre-compulsory education and care system in Australia at both federal and state levels and practices that were culturally and gender sensitive.

The next chapter outlines how the discursive field, from the post-war period until recently, conditioned the provision of pre-compulsory education in Australia and in particular in Western Australia and constituted understandings of ‘the child’. Chapter Seven draws on documentary evidence of the early kindergarten movement in Western Australia and documents of 1970s and 1980s written in relation to pre-compulsory education to demonstrate how these discursive fields produced practices, pedagogies and constituted ‘the child’ and her education.
CHAPTER SEVEN
Constitutions of ‘the child’ from the 1870s – 1980s

1. Introduction

The governmentalization of the state that intensified during the last quarter of the 19th century\textsuperscript{68} enabled a new way of thinking about the social world and the individual. This new mode of thinking, termed ‘early’ liberalism by Rose (1996b, 1999), produced the conditions of possibility for the transformation of the education system and the emergence of complex knowledges about the education and care of children. Kindergartens and day nurseries were established as technologies of government to reach particular ends of moralization and amelioration of the population through the application of ‘human technologies’, such as pedagogy or psychology. ‘Early’ liberalism and discourses of nation building and national efficiency, domesticity and philanthropy produced discursive matrices and programmatic frameworks for early education and constituted ‘the child’ in particular ways that still influence our thinking about children.

This chapter begins with the discussion of how the changed rationality of government, by reconstituting the social world and the inner world of individuals, conditioned the provision of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia and the strengthening of the pedagogical discourses developed by Froebel and Montessori in early education. The discussion draws on the analysis performed earlier on the ways discourses of pedagogy constitute ‘the child’\textsuperscript{69}. It also analyses how these pedagogies,

\textsuperscript{68} As it was outlined in Chapters Two and Six in detail.
\textsuperscript{69} Refers to the genealogy of ‘the child’ outlined in Chapter Three.
interplaying with discourses of motherhood, family and nation building, and political rationalities of the time constituted ‘the child’ in pre-compulsory education during the later part of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. I examine the 1924 to 1938 issues of *Kindergarten Graduates Magazine* (Magazine) and the archive of the Kindergarten Association of Western Australia (1911-1982) that is filled with documentations about the practices of early kindergartens. The Magazine was edited by the Perth Kindergarten Teachers College for the alumni of the College. I studied its issues and particular archival documents because they cover pedagogical advice for teachers, describe shifts in the scientific ideas informing the teaching of young children, and outline the changes in the provision of kindergartens in Perth during the period under investigation.

The second part of the chapter then moves on to focus on the late 1930s and 1940s. This period brought about the conditions of possibilities for the emergence of new understandings of ‘the child’ with the advancement of scientific discourses, mostly developmental psychology, and their increased utilization in pre-school education. ‘The child’ was constituted through psychobiological discourses. The growth of ‘the child’ was described in inborn sequences of development, which was governed by the ‘laws of nature’. ‘The child’ and its development, however, needed to be placed under scientific scrutiny and this period created the conditions by making the kindergarten and the family as places to carry out research70. The research constituted the ‘normal child’ and its ‘normal development’, and a discourse that produced the possibility for the government of the population at a distance. The ‘psychobiological child’ is still with us today, however it has been repeatedly reconstituted since that time. The second part of

70 There is a detailed discussion of the Child Study movement in Chapter Three.
the chapter outlines how understandings of the ‘psychobiological child’ intermingled or reconstituted earlier understandings of ‘the child’ in concert with changing political rationalities until the 1980s.

The aim of this chapter is to discuss constitutions of ‘the child’ from the 1870s until the 1980s conditioned by changing ways of thinking about the government of individuals and the population. The aim, therefore, is not a complete historical review of this period in regard to the provision of pre-compulsory education and constitutions of ‘the child’. The chapter focuses on those conditions that created the possibilities for the emergence of particular constitutions of ‘the child’, and leaves others unexplored. For example, only those understandings of motherhood are touched upon that were necessary to delineate constitutions of the ‘child’.

2. Changing times – from 1870s until the late 1930s

The long process of forming the Commonwealth of Australia (Federation 1901) started at the end of the 1880s and was completed by the turn of the 20th century. This period was characterized by strikes, lockouts and deep economic depression. The Federation of the states transferred some functions to the new federal government, however education remained with the states. The intense modernization and industrialization brought new socio-economic arrangements that conditioned the emergence of the new societal attitudes and in that a new role of education. In addition, the 1890s saw the collapse of industry in Australia, which brought on a financial crisis, widespread unemployment and acute social distress. It was widely felt that the family was under threat from vice, indulgence, selfishness and lack of discipline. The feminist movement won suffrage and campaigned with a maternalist notion of citizenship,
seeking to protect and strengthen the family as the basis of nationhood (Hirst, 2000). Moral reformers sought to curb amoral behaviour, such as alcohol and tobacco use, prevent gambling, prescribe bathing costumes and regulate beach behaviour, restrain sexuality and fight contraception. There was an intense sentiment of national duty and destiny and within that context, ‘the child’ was thought about in particular ways.

\[2.1. \textbf{‘The liberalized child’}\]

During the second part of the 19th century in Western Australia, a large number of children aged between four and six attended regular schools where regimentation and strict discipline were the norms. Teachers and administrators saw the difficulties of this system and attempted to change it by separating small children into Infant Schools. To deal with this issue, state management personnel introduced reforms based on the ideas of ‘New Education’. These managers were imported from Britain during the 1890s and were influenced by the ‘New Education’ movement that was making changes in Europe and the United States. They changed the curricula over a short period of time and introduced Froebelian kindergarten principles and methods in government schools (Mellor, 1990).

The emergence of the ‘New Education’ movement was conditioned by the change brought by the ‘early’ liberal mode of governing individuals and the new ways of wielding power (Dean, 1999). Regulation shifted from regimentation and strict discipline to self-regulation of autonomous individuals. In this new mode of government, the community of autonomous individuals – as population – was the
subject of government. Autonomy\textsuperscript{71} was a matter of personal freedom and rationality and it “appear[ed] as a natural feature of the human condition” (Hindess, 1996, p. 73). Froebel’s understanding of ‘the child’ resonated well with this conception of the individual. According to Froebel, the individual is intelligent and rational and accomplishes his ‘life-work’ with self-determination and freedom (Froebel, 1912). The shift to a liberal mode of government, therefore conditioned the surfacing of particular pedagogical discourses, such as those by Froebel\textsuperscript{72}, with understandings of the individual as an autonomous person. The aim of pedagogy changed to enabling the ‘natural’ freedom of ‘the child’ by releasing her from under overt regulation in order for her to become autonomous (as her natural human condition) and to be able to realize her ‘life-path’ (Froebel, 1912).

Froebelian methods and principles were the foundation stones of the first kindergartens and influenced the state infant schools as well (Kerr, 1994). Contributing to these ideas, Montessori methods and theories were also adopted in the developing early childhood pedagogy in Western Australia (Kerr, 1994, p. 13). In September 1911, the Kindergarten Union of Western Australia formed after a series of demonstrations and talks about the kindergarten work. These talks were delivered by prominent educationists, such as Lillian de Lissa\textsuperscript{73}. Shortly thereafter, the first free kindergarten was opened on Pier Street in Perth in May 1912, which adopted predominantly

\textsuperscript{71} Autonomy has two understandings in relation to the community of autonomous persons and this community’s government, according to Hindess (1996). The first understanding is the one discussed here, and I will come back to the subsequent understanding later in this chapter and Chapter Nine.

\textsuperscript{72} It is interesting that Foebel’s writings were not popular in his time. His contemporaries saw him as a strange man interested in children. His pedagogy only gained wide acceptance at the end of the nineteenth century.

\textsuperscript{73} Miss De Lissa was the principal of the Adelaide Kindergarten Training College and graduate of the New South Wales Kindergarten Training College. She was an extremely influential person in early education in that era in Australia.
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1870s until 1980s

Froebelian and Montessori methods. The aim of this kindergarten was to provide “an oasis of progressive, happy activity in the area where poverty and bad housing were rife and children plentiful” (Stewart, 1963, p. 6). By 1929 there were seven Free Kindergartens in and around Perth, where 443 children were enrolled. These kindergartens were funded jointly by the City Council, the State government, the Lotteries Commission and parents. The Kindergarten Union’s role became increasingly important in the provision of education services for young children (Kerr, 1994). The Kindergarten Union of New South Wales (KUNSW) maintained its leading role in teacher training and the facilitation and circulation of new ideas to each state. KUNSW strongly supported British and American interpretations of Froebel’s kindergarten ideals from the 1890s and later Montessori’s principles, however it maintained the Froebel’s kindergarten method as the basic format of the kindergarten program (Kerr, 1994).

Against the drilling and habit teaching methods of compulsory schooling, the Froebelian kindergarten emphasized freedom. Murdoch (1929), in her report about the Rachel McMillan Nursery School, which used Froebel and Montessori methods of teaching, described the freedom given to children the following way: “[t]he children are allowed great freedom, but no more than is compatible with a wise and kindly discipline of both body and mind. Freedom they are given, but they are taught how to use it” (p.8). This controlled nature of freedom was also prevalent in Froebel’s writings. Thus, kindergarten, as a technology of government, governed through the regulated freedoms of the subjects (Hultqvist, 1998). This new method, in line with the modern mentality of government, reflected a new way of wielding power that replaced dominance. Hultqvist

---

74 For example, play was described by Froebel (1912) as naturally free, however he imposed certain regulation on it.
(1998) explains the new pedagogical practice and the particular freedom applied in these institutions eloquently:

Authority climbs down from its pedestal and stands beside the pupil. Indeed, the relationship becomes quite comradely. This stepping down is also the condition for power’s so-called positivity, that is, for the ability to do positive things like making the pupil feel sympathetic toward the school’s order and toward comrades as authorities. … The pupil should not be forced into the classroom. On the contrary, free will is stressed … The thinking behind this … is … that the pupil should be encouraged to govern him/herself in accordance with the norms and values of the school (p. 99).

Thus, the individual’s self-regulating capacities and willingness to conform were brought into play instead of regimentation and strict discipline.

During these changing times, which brought social and moral anxieties, women and Kindergartens played important roles in social reform. De Lissa’s address at the opening of the Kindergarten Union in Western Australia articulates the service women give to the nation and also demonstrates the maternalist notion of citizenship:

… dare not let the slum child grow up without care and help. The contagion of disease was not limited to the physical plane, and whenever there was disease, either mental or moral, there must be contagious germs in the community. There was no other way to help but for women to try to clean up the world, as they had for ages to clean their homes. And there was no surer way than to get the children and let them learn right habits and right attitudes. Those ladies present as a national council stood for nationhood. They must not forget that the wealth of the nation was the little children (1911).
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1870s until 1980s

Consequently, the kindergarten, on the one hand, was one program able to cure the disorder in the social world (community\textsuperscript{75}) (Hultqvist, 1998). On the other hand, Hultqvist (1998) claims that the kindergarten remedied the inner world of the subjects as well, by “reorganising the souls (psyches) of children to the demands of the new age” (p.97) to learn the ‘right habits’ and ‘right attitudes’. Kindergartens (particularly those based on Froebel’s ideas) were to save the child’s soul from the moral uncertainties of their time (Hultqvist, 1998), to protect ‘the child’ from the ‘germs of moral disease’. As Hultqvist (1998) argues, the new discourses and practices of government reconstituted the social world\textsuperscript{76} and the inner world of the subject, since neither of these two entities “pre-exist[ed] the discourses or programs from which they emanate” (p.97). The analysis of Froebel’s and Montessori’s ideas outline further this line of thought\textsuperscript{77}.

The writings of Froebel are exemplary of how the community and the subject were created in education thought and practices during the first two decades of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. Froebel’s pedagogy constituted ‘the child’ as ‘naturally free’ and ‘self-governing’ if left without adult interference. In addition, two other central ideas of Froebel related to the constitution of ‘the child’. First, ‘the child’ should follow her own life path, however, the educational path leading to it can be planned ahead of time. Thus, there can be an exact purpose of the education of ‘the child’ and pedagogy can be tailored to deliver it. The definition of the path considers “what knowledge will be necessary, how the children can be influenced, and what relationships must be built between ‘the child’ and the adult (Hultqvist, 2001, p.160). This path is inscribed by

\textsuperscript{75} The notion of ‘community’ since the late nineteenth century has undergone shifts. In this understanding ‘community’ was a group of individuals with a “set of moral norms … fragmented by the division of labour and capitalist production” (Rose, 1999, p. 172)

\textsuperscript{76} In the forms of communities.

\textsuperscript{77} These ideas were also discussed in Chapter Three.
governmental rationalities and political discourses, such as national efficiency and progress of that era that made ‘the child’ a subject of those. Hultqvist (2001) asserts that this way of thinking is strikingly different from earlier thinking of the role of education. The education path of a person (or her learning) was considered as an ‘act of God’\textsuperscript{78} and was unthought about it (or its way and objectives planned) in advance. Another important tenet connected to the previous idea that Froebel thought that growth was laid out in sequences (Hultqvist, 1998). It was assumed that ‘the child’ goes through her life path in sequences of natural growth and the educational path should be accustomed to these.

The second central idea of Froebel was that ‘the child’ has an inherent goodness. Fundamentally, she is God under earthly conditions, and ‘evil’ only happens to ‘the child’ from outside, such as unhealthy environment, poverty, bad upbringing and so on. Thus, kindergarten education should lay the foundation for the victory of good instead of limiting the spread of the ‘evil’ (Hultqvist, 1998). Consequently, kindergarten education should ensure the victory of good and create a ‘secure’ place from the ‘evil’ of an unhealthy crowded amoral environment, instead of beating out the evil from children as the monitory schools attempted to do earlier. Murdoch’s (1929) article appeared in the \textit{Kindergarten Graduates Magazine} provides an example. She writes about the time spent in kindergarten in contrast to the home this way: … “peace, love and health make up the children’s day. … the night for so many of these little children is a period of dark horror, of ugly sights and sounds and hideous over crowding” (p.10).

\textsuperscript{78} Hultqvist (2001) compares Froebel’s and Linné’s ideas about the role of education. He claims that Linné, who lived before Froebel and wrote about his own education by using comparisons from nature as Froebel did, constructed his educational path afterwards when writing about it for another reason. Linné’s education path to his pre-determined future was not thought ahead, more so, it was considered by him as an act of God.
Accordingly, the kindergarten was created as a site to ameliorate the social world, to enable ‘the child’ to realize her inherent goodness by growing through sequences of ‘natural’ growth by ensuring her ‘natural’ freedom. Walkerdine (1984) argues that this is still the underlining idea of ‘the child’ in developmental psychology and pedagogy and the purpose of pedagogy. The pedagogy of the first kindergartens produced or rather ‘drew on’ the child’s autonomy as a ‘natural’ human condition. Constituting ‘the child’ as an autonomous individual, as having self-regulating capacities and a willingness to conform, enabled her to be provided with a regulated freedom. Thus, the ‘liberalized child’ was constituted as the subject of pre-compulsory education and, through that technology, government.

2.2. The ‘little citizen’

Constitutions of ‘the child’ were intertwined with discourses of motherhood, the family and the nation-state (Ailwood, 2002a). With the changing forms of government during the second half of the 19th century79, the family became a key site for social government (Donzelot, 1979; Rose, 1999). The ‘aristocratic’ family’s socio-political role, as Foucault (1979b) argued, in ‘early’ liberalism shifted to the reproduction of physically, intellectually and morally healthy offspring in a eugenic context, to ensure the fitness of the ‘race’. Parallel to that, the mother’s responsibilities also shifted to new marital and domestic tasks such as health, hygiene, sexuality and reproduction. The working-class family “came to be recoded as a living unity … and hence subjected to medico-hygienic scrutiny focused upon the contribution which it could make to the fitness of the population” (Rose, 1999, 128). The family was also subjected

79 As explained in detail in Chapter Two.
to the moralization\textsuperscript{80} of adults and children. Further, the working-class mother was also subjected to new forms of pedagogy delivered by educationalists and doctors for her to be able to maintain the family’s ‘normal’ functioning and to fulfill its obligations to the nation. Thus, the working-class family came under the government of the state through devices of juridical and medical control and regimes of pedagogy in order to produce “healthy, responsible and socially adjusted citizens” (Rose, 1999, p. 128). Both the working class and ‘aristocratic’ family were produced as an ‘organic component’ of the population that were subjected to social government.

In sum, an altered ethic of womanhood had been constituted, as Rose (1999) argues, to enable the new mode of social government of the family at a distance. One form of this womanhood was the ‘respectable and educated woman’ who was imbued with new powers to relay government into the households. Examples of this woman were the philanthropist women, who established medical and child-minding facilities with a strong aim to educate the families utilizing these facilities, or the daughters of the wealthier families, who volunteered or taught in kindergarten centres and infant schools. The other form of womanhood that emerged was the ‘decent and educable woman’ who was “to enact government within the domestic space” (Rose, 1999, p.129). The third form was produced from the ‘feckless and irresponsible woman’ who was ‘deaf’ to education.

Pendred, in her article in the \textit{Kindergarten Graduates Magazine} (1931), wrote about parents as lacking ‘adequate’ child rearing knowledge and who intervene unnecessarily into children’s lives. She, as the principal of the Kindergarten Training

\textsuperscript{80} Foucault (1979b, p.121-122) discusses the deployment of sexuality in working-classes and with that the moralisation of the poor.
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1870s until 1980s

College in Perth, argued that kindergartens have to take responsibility for small children because they have the knowledge to turn toddlers to “physically fit [adults], who are honest, hard-working, who have knowledge how to spend their leisure time, and who understand something of the responsibility of citizenship” (p.3). In sum, as Pendred (1931) states, kindergarten can turn small children into the future adults that Australia needs. Thus, kindergartens functioned both to help the educable women and the feckless women and to benefit their children, however the ways in which it governed the lives of these families were different. For wealthier families (educable women), kindergarten became a technology of government because it delivered education, while in the case of poorer families (feckless women), kindergarten was a technology to exert control and moralization (Popkewitz, 2003; Rose, 1999).

Through these discourses ‘the family’ was constituted as in need of intervention and ‘the parent’ (mother) was constituted as in need of education to save the child’s body and mind. Through the constitution and regulation of ‘the woman’ (mother) and ‘the family’, ‘the child’ was constituted as a physically and morally vulnerable citizen in the making or ‘little citizen’81. The kindergarten, as a technology of government, relayed government into the household through the education and moralisation of parents and thus addressed programs of nation building and efficiency.

During the first decade of the 20th century, societal attitudes towards education were changing and kindergartens also took up the role of educating the ‘little citizen’. This sentiment is reflected in the Western Australian Chief Inspector of schools, J.P. Walton’s speech in 1911:

81 ‘Little citizens’ was the name of one of the first free kindergartens in Western Australia.
A few years ago many educated people thought and said, “The working classes are getting too much education. Their training is quite unfitting them for the station the Providence intends them to occupy”. Today all are agreed that too much thought cannot be given to the education of our children and the majority of people believe that no sacrifice of money and devotion is too great, provided the little ones are truly educated and thus prepared to take their part in the work and life of the State (West Australian, 1 September 1911, quoted in Kerr, 1994)

Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century ‘the child’ was constituted by a moralizing discourse. ‘The liberalized child’ was inscribed with moral standards that regulated the life of the community (Hindess, 1996). The moral standards exchanged the earlier guidance provided by religion and social order, and the secular liberal citizen was inscribed with obligations, responsibilities and personal discipline (Popkewitz, 1998a). The moral objective of saving the child’s soul in changing times “made ‘the child’ a healthy and ambitious … citizen capable of contributing in an industrialized society” (Hultqvist, 2001, p.163).

3. The end of 1930s and the 1940s

The construction of the modern state, modernization and industrialization created the need for a vital population of energetic and healthy individuals. There were efforts made to mobilize the population and the advancements in the social sciences created the condition of possibility for that. The social sciences were utilized to problematize, diagnose and remedy problems, the practice of which produced terminologies for the restructuring of social and cultural life and created the social infrastructure to hasten industrialization (Hultqvist, 1998). Social sciences, as ‘bio-politics’ (Foucault, 1979b) of the time – which enhance and control the forces of life –
exchanged the ‘bio-politics’ of morality dominant in the earlier period. The individual was understood, on the one hand, as tied to her personal existence, such as her family; and on the other hand, the individual was constituted as a member of a nation who could participate in the social and cultural community. Thus, the individual was depicted as a citizen and at the same time as a private being. In this context a new link emerged between the welfare of the individual and the population as a whole and, consequently, individuality had to be organized into a social form backed by the state. Through a range of institutions of social security, such as the school or pre-school, a kind of person was created who could carry the nation into a new era (Hultqvist, 1998).

The social sciences became permeated with this new mentality and, in turn, through their expert knowledge, they improved the technical capacity of government (Hultqvist, 1998; Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998). For example, psychology laid down a set of norms for child development to be able to distinguish the ones who would succeed and become worthy members of the nation or the ones who would fall behind and need remedying. The introduction of scientific language across the social fields during the late 1930s and 1940s opened up a new social space for the rational government of individuals, families and the population and helped to produce the kind of individual of which they spoke (Hultqvist, 1998).

The Commonwealth government wanted to capitalize on the advancement of social sciences to develop its own social security system. For this reason, and in spite of economic difficulties caused by war, the government provided funds for the establishment of the Lady Gowrie Child Centres, which enabled the medical study of children (Cumpston & Heining, 1944; The Australian Pre-School Association, 1955).
There were also increasing pressures on the Commonwealth and State governments to provide child-care for children of women contributing to the war efforts. The Commonwealth government, after approving some funds for an ‘experimental’ program, left the issue to the States. The money was spent on existing services through the Kindergarten Unions and other associations (Brennan, 1994). The Kindergarten Union of Western Australia continued its operation during the war as a result of this funding, which was matched by the State government and grants from the Lotteries Commission (Kerr, 1994). Even though these monies were granted to the kindergartens to provide care for working mothers’ children, kindergartens maintained their role to ameliorate needy children who experienced a “heavy emotional load … in the absence of their parents” (p.73-74) or for children who suffered malnutrition (Kerr, 1994). By acting against funding principles to provide child-care for working mothers, kindergartens rejected their positioning as child-minding services.

3.1. The ‘psychobiological child’

The late 1930s saw a demand for the modernization of pre-compulsory education discourses (Hultqvist, 1998) and scientific discourses increasingly permeated earlier discourses of pedagogy and governmental discourses. State administration increasingly utilized scientific discourses to formulate problems, diagnoses and solutions in the form of governmental programs and used kindergartens as a technology of government to execute these. In turn, pre-school advocates employed scientific discourses more and more to underpin their claims about the importance of early education and care. For example, de Lissa (1939), in the introduction of her famous book *Life in the Nursery School* – which was also used in the training of kindergarten
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1870s until 1980s

teachers in Western Australia – argues that the early part of a life is very important and that this was known for centuries. She regarded it as crucial, however that science proved this point and she drew on Gesell to state: “To-day, as Gesell puts it, it has passed from belief to knowledge, and ‘modern science has confirmed the judgement of common sense’” (p. xii). Armed with scientific backing she further elaborates on the importance of this period of life in mind and body development and calls for state intervention to ensure that:

The demand for more nursery schools is in effect an insistence on the right of every child to conditions of life that ensure opportunity for a full development of mind and body. To provide such opportunities should surely constitute a basic responsibility of the civilized state (de Lissa, 1939, p.xiii).

Froebelian discourses were also modernized in certain ways. They were either supplemented or substituted by scientific discourses or were used to underpin psychological reasoning. For example, psychological discourses of maturation and inborn sequences of development (for example, Gesell, 1928, 1938) were explained on the grounds of the ‘laws of nature’, an idea that was frequently used in Froebel’s writings. De Lissa (1939) writes about the ‘pattern of growth’ this way:

The impulse towards growth and development is inherent in all living things which follow a definite and unvarying sequence peculiar to the species to which they belong. Just as in plant life flowering must precede and prepare for fruiting, so too in human life each phase is a preparation for the next (p. 2).

The intermingling of scientific, governmental and pedagogical discourses also bred new scientific initiatives and governmental administrative bodies working with

Gesell was an influential and prominent scientist of the time.
pre-school education. Conditioned by these changes, The Lady Gowrie Child Centres opened their doors in each State, including Western Australia, during the years of 1939 and 1940 as a result of governmental discussions about infant health (Cumpston & Heining, 1944; The Australian Pre-School Association, 1955).

After the extensive study of infant health and the delivery of intensive hygienic programs worldwide, a new understanding of health emerged. The new concept involved physical and mental aspects (meaning in this context emotional, social and moral facets) (The Australian Pre-School Association, 1955). The Minister for Health, in his inaugural address at The National Health and Medical Research Council, summarized the new concept this way:

And now let me say a few words about the task that lies ahead of the Council. Its first objective is to raise the standard of health of the community. By health, I do not mean a negative condition, mere freedom from active disease; but that state of abounding energy and vitality that makes one rejoice and glad to be alive. … In many directions we know what should be done, but yet do not do it. Surely we can with great profit, devote much more detailed attention to the care of the infant and the growing child of pre-school age: in Kindergartens or its own home … In this way, ill health amongst adults and in early middle age would be very considerably reduced (quoted in Cumpston & Heining, 1944, p.1)

As stated in the Minister’s speech, this new conceptualization of health placed pre-school education on the governmental agenda and constituted ‘the child’ in certain ways. First, it marked out kindergartens as possible places for further scientific studies and the Lady Gowrie Child Centres were established particularly for this reason (Cumpston & Heining, 1944). Second, scientific evidence was provided and further commissioned on the ways kindergartens lifted the hygienic status of individual children, and as a result their future health as adults. With the new understanding of
health, pre-school development became a concern for the Federal Department of Health. The scientific discourse also conditioned the emergence of new administrative governmental bodies and with that enabled the rational government of individuals. A federal body was established under the Department of Health and named Australian Association for Pre-School Child Development. This body included the Kindergarten Associations of all States and came to life to oversee the Lady Gowrie Child Centres’ creation and operation (Cumpston & Heining, 1944). Expert knowledge, thus, was produced and utilized in a circular fashion to control and regulate individuals through expert governmental technologies, such as the kindergartens or Lady Gowrie Child Centres.

In addition, these new understandings of health and the advancement of social sciences constituted ‘the child’ in novel ways. ‘The child’ was a “moral actor of God’s natural order” (Hultqvist, 1998, p.107) for Froebel, and his interpretations used in kindergarten programs:

> It is the destiny and life-work of man, as an intelligent and rational being, to become fully, vividly, and clearly conscious of his essence, of the divine effluence in him, and, therefore, of God; to become fully, vividly and clearly conscious of his destiny and life-work; and to accomplish this, to render it (his essence) active, to reveal it in his own life with self-determination and freedom (Froebel, 1912, p.2).

‘The child’ of the late 1930s and 1940s, quite distinctively from the earlier one exemplified above, was reconstituted on the basis of science, more specifically biology and psychology. For example, de Lissa (1939) constitutes ‘the child’ as “pre-determined by the nature of inheritance” (p.7), through genes and not in a ‘Divine Unity’, where inheritance marks out the child’s growth and the environment and “something
essentially individual in every child – a self, a spirit, an ego” (p.7) cause variations in the rate of growth. De Lissa’s text exemplifies the dominant psychobiological discourse of the late 1930s, which is about maturation and inborn sequences of development described by developmental theory\(^83\). Importantly in this discourse utilized by pedagogy, the actions of ‘the child’ had no significant effect on her development (Hultqvist, 1998).

Thus, these new scientific discourses reconstructed earlier pedagogical discourses and constituted the ‘psychobiological child’ as a passive individual inscribed with pre-determined stages of psychobiological development. The constitution of ‘the child’ as a psychobiological being has remained in pedagogical discourses\(^84\), however, it shifted in its understandings in concert with changing governmental rationalities.

3.2. The ‘normal child’ – the nature of the psychobiological child

The psychobiological discourse exchanged the earlier Froebelian discourse, however Hultqvist (1998) argues that Montessori’s idea about the child’s freedom can be considered as a link between the two. The “moral language of the pioneers” (Hultqvist, 1998, p. 102), that is for example Froebel, constituted ‘the child’ as ‘God under earthly conditions’, while the late 1930s technical language of psychology, constituted ‘the child’ as a psychobiological being. Montessori maintained that the study of children must look at ‘free children’. ‘Free’ in this context means the “spontaneous manifestation of the child’s nature” (Montessori, 1912, p. 69). Thus, Montessori asserted that knowledge about ‘the child’ is only possible, if we study the

---

\(^83\) This is outlined in detail in Chapter Three.
\(^84\) As it is discussed later in this chapter, such as in Piaget’s theories.
‘free child’. With this idea Montessori linked the two discourses and also sketched out the foundation of child study and modern pedagogy by utilizing the basic tenets of earlier ideas, such as those expressed by Froebel (Hultqvist, 1998). Consequently, it “is the liberal form of government, in Froebel’s forms or others’, that renders possible a scientific development of knowledge about the child” (Hultqvist, 2001, p. 161).

Freedom also brings about the ‘natural’ child as the basic premise of political reform programs (Hultqvist, 1998). ‘The child’ is assumed to be untouched by adults’ deforming effects and, therefore, is able to renew the race and society (Montessori, 1912, p. 69). Montessori’s idea about the ‘free child’ invokes an understanding of ‘the child’ who is not liberated from an “obstinate adult dominance (for example patriarchal order)” (Hultqvist, 1998, p.103), and therefore is not ‘natural’ in tendencies, but dominated to act in certain ways. Thus, by discourses of Montessori, de Lissa85 and others, the ‘natural child’ was reconstituted as the ‘normal child’.

Necessarily, the aim of providing good or right development through education by removing the ‘evil’ from the child’s life (filth, incorrect parental disciplining and so forth), as expressed in Froebel’s ideas, was replaced with the notion of the normalization of ‘the child’ and its development (Hultqvist, 1998). In the Life in the Nursery School, de Lissa (1939) expresses these ideas the following way:

When children are provided with an outlet for the type of physical or psychological activity that synchronizes with the phase through which they are passing, there results a harmonious flowing of vitality and growth proceeds normally. If however, the child is denied the right outlet … growth is handicapped. … Maturation and learning must always be related and the value to the teacher of the study of normal growth in normal children is that it enables her to plan both environment

---

85 De Lissa was strongly influenced by Montessori’s ideas.
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1870s until 1980s

and education in a way that has a direct relationship to the developmental needs of her little ones (p. 4).

Similar to these ideas, as Hultqvist (1998) argues, the “Froebel child is set into a moral order in which the goal of human development is perfection, in fact, to reach God under earthly conditions” (p.104). The nature of the psychobiological child is not so divine, but characterized by a limited description of normality set up through scientific observation and research methods (Hultqvist, 1998).

Thus, the ‘good’ nature of ‘the child’ was changed to the ‘normal’ nature, which was increasingly understood in psychobiological terms from the late 1930s and the 1940s and was extensively and intensively researched. The Lady Gowrie Child Centres were set up explicitly (The Australian Pre-School Association, 1955) to study the young child’s “growth, nutrition and bodily development” (Cumpston & Heining, 1944, p. 5), to study “normal growth of normal children” (p. 7).

These studies created a technical language of expertise based on calculation (Miller & Rose, 1990) by laying down characteristics and measurements of normality. The creation of the language of normality and its measurement enabled the transportation of knowledge about children from the ‘source’ to and through administrative centres. This expert technical language also created the conditions of possibility for the detailed regulation of children and their teachers at a distance, which is a pre-requisite for modern forms of governing (Miller & Rose, 1997; Rose & Miller, 1992). Thus, the scientific knowledge, churned out by research institutions worldwide, produced expert discourses of child development, programs to ensure ‘proper development’, and set up “links, relays and pathways … to connect political aspirations,
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1870s until 1980s

calculations and decisions” (Rose, 1999, p.131) through technologies of government, such as kindergartens or the Lady Gowrie Child Centres.

Governing was more concerned with the social conditions or context of teaching and knowledge from the late 19th century, such as it was expressed in the notion of children as future resources of society, in references to changing society or in kindergarten teachers’ work that served the needs of the Empire. After the Second World War, the social context was decreasingly prevalent in pedagogical and policy texts and by the 1970s, ‘the child’ was constituted in terms of a purely psychobiological base without connection to history or society (Hultqvist, 1998).

4. From the postwar period until the 1980s

As the war drew to a close the advantages of kindergarten training seemed to become apparent to a greater number of people and many new committees were formed to explore the possibilities of establishing kindergartens in their own districts. In 1947 the Kindergarten Union of Western Australia had seven Kindergartenss, sixteen other committees affiliated with the union, another fourteen worked toward establishing their own centres, and twelve others were seeking guidance from the Union (Stewart, 1963). In 1947, the constitution of the Kindergarten Union was altered and the Union became responsible for the operation and programs offered at all affiliated centres. Two years later, it was responsible for teacher salaries. State government grants were also paid directly to the Union. By 1963, there were 68 affiliated kindergartens with approximately 3,000 children enrolled (Dellar, 1973; Stewart, 1963).

This increase in the numbers of pre-compulsory institutions was conditioned by a shift in their nature. The kindergarten became associated with education rather than
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1870s until 1980s

charity (Brennan, 1982, 1994; Early Childhood Advisory Committee, 1983). Pre-
schools and kindergartens gained their funding predominantly through parents’
fundraising activities (Early Childhood Advisory Committee, 1983). State subsidies
only provided a small portion of the funds needed for the centres’ operation and that
dominantly covered teachers’ salaries. The structure of their program was organized in
half days, and the centres often required the presence of the mother. Brennan (1994)
maintains that the shift in understanding, combined with funding and structural
arrangements, led to greater enrolments of middle class families in these centres. While
these institutions earlier provided care and ensured the growth and moralization of the
most destitute and needy children, from this time on, they educated a growing section of
the middle-class population.

Kindergartens and pre-schools also increasingly distanced themselves from
‘child-minding’ facilities on two grounds86. First, kindergartens provided educational
programs and reinforced gender divisions by requiring mothers’ participation in these
programs, thus assuming women to be home. Second, child-minding centres were
thought to provide care (minding) for those children, whose mothers were unable to
look after them because they were single mothers, incapacitated or
employed87 (Brennan, 1994; Early Childhood Advisory Committee, 1983).

4.1. The discursive terrain

The socio-political scene after the Second World War was transformed by
experts with the use of scientific discourses of management, accounting, social sciences

---

86 For a detailed discussion see Brennan, 1994.
87 The Sydney Nursery School was established particularly for this reason, to look after working mothers’
children while they were at work.
and psychology (Rose, 1999, p. 132) and functioned as unquestioned truth in educational practices. As a result, complex socio-politico-economic problems were translated into calculable and administrable theories and ideals, such as human capital theory or compensatory education, and conditioned the discursive terrain. This discursive terrain intertwined with discourses of Keynesian economics, and international competitiveness produced an increasing interest in and provision of education. Education was seen as a path to economic success (Marginson, 1997b).

The extensive modernization and professionalization that started in the late 1930s in facilities, staffing\textsuperscript{88} and discourses of education, continued. To exemplify that, the Australian Pre-school Association’s role was to coordinate teacher training, develop standards, arrange conferences, keep overseas contact, publish the only journal concerned with pre-school (\textit{The Australian Pre-school Quarterly}), and provide representation in government (Australian Pre-schools Committee, 1974). The new organisational structure and the changes caused by modernization and the increased utilization of expertise brought transformations at all levels. It also changed fundamentally the ways individuals and the population were governed through the ‘social’ liberal mode. This new mode of government was tied up with the problem of governing in a democratic way in which the idea of ‘welfare’ and ‘social insurance’ emerged (Rose, 1996b) and individuals were woven into a complex field of rights and responsibilities (Rose, 1999). The role of expertise in ‘social’ government was extended

\textsuperscript{88} By the 1960s, the Kindergartens were staffed by a Teacher-in-charge (formerly known as director), an assistant teacher (trained assistant) and a kindergarten aide (untrained assistant) instead of the pioneer era of the 1910s, when an untrained teacher or teacher under training were responsible for about 40 or more children with the help of untrained volunteers or mothers.
and, consequently, the autonomy of the private sphere was weakened (Rose, 1996b, 1999).

The foundations of the welfare states were laid during the Great Depression and war periods. The idea of the welfare state, developed on Keynes’s political ideas, encapsulated more than access to society’s institutions. It involved a commitment to “the equalising of opportunities for all, to the creation of the conditions that enabled everyone to exercise autonomy. Equality was thus regarded as a fundamental condition for freedom” (Taylor et al., 1997, p. 134). The welfare state combated the inequalities of the market system and also introduced redistributive policies to bring about equitable outcomes for everyone. During the economic boom and arguably full employment (of the male population) of the 1950s and 1960s, welfare states around the world were consolidating. In contrast, the further expansion of the welfare state was minimized after 1949 in Australia and policies became more market-conforming during the 23 years while coalition and conservative parties were in power. Robert Menzies, Liberal Prime Minister from 1949, presented himself as a champion of individualism and the middle classes whose ideals were embodied in the government’s approach to social policy. During this era, those sectors of the population who had the capacity to help themselves gained the most, especially the middle-class families. The utilization of pre-schools and kindergartens by mainly middle-class families reflected these ideals.

The welfare state was thought to be in its strongest position under the Whitlam Labor government (1972-1975). Whitlam’s desire was to introduce a new philosophy and spirit into social policy and education. Several new ideals were incorporated into this. The Labor government sought to institute fundamental changes between the individual and the government with a more open, democratic and responsive way of
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1870s until 1980s

governing. The citizen was no longer a passive recipient of social services, but a participant who identified local needs and developed strategies to meet them. Non-professionals were provided with opportunities to participate in ‘managing’ their own communities. Equality of opportunity meant that every individual had the opportunity to develop her potential, where support was provided for those who needed assistance. Policies were more universalist, in accordance with the social democratic ideology of the government. All these ideals were integral to the government’s approach to pre-school and child-care provision (Brennan, 1994).

Equality of educational opportunity, up until the 1960s, was thought to be provided by equality of access to educational institutions (Taylor et al., 1997). How far students were able to climb the ladder of education (opportunity) was perceived to reflect only their abilities and motivation. By the mid-1960s, the myth of meritocracy was questioned in academic circles. Researchers claimed that equality is also about the ways schools relate to different students based on their class, gender and ethnic background (McCallum, 1990; Taylor et al., 1997). Poverty was also rediscovered as a political issue and compensatory programs were launched to counteract the culture of poverty or the ‘inadequate’ home background of poor children. Thus, the aims of compensatory programs were to change the children and their families to “fit better into the school culture” instead of changing the provision of education (Taylor et al., 1997). Moreover, compensatory education individualized socio-political and economic disadvantages and blamed the victims of poverty for their situation (Cruikshank, 1994). Compensatory education triggered a vast field of research internationally and also colonized the thinking of politicians about early years’ care and education (Brennan, 1994).
4.2. The policy framework – federal level

Learning from international compensatory programs for the early years, the Karmel Report (Interim Committee of the Australian School Commission, 1973) recommended a proposal that incorporated insights gained from earlier adaptations. The Disadvantaged School Program (DPS), established in 1974, used a language of need rather than deficiency. It provided extra resources to selected schools and promoted parent and teacher cooperation to design and implement programs. DPS triggered programs that redefined social and cultural boundaries and empowered teachers and schools to initiate egalitarian reforms (Taylor et al., 1997).

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s the workforce participation rate of women, particularly married women, continued to grow. While in 1947 only 8.6 per cent of married women worked, in 1971 the proportion increased to 32.7 per cent (Brennan, 1994). As argued in Chapter Six, this caused little concern at governmental levels until the 1970s. After its election win in 1972, the Whitlam Labor government placed the child-care issue on its agenda to fulfill the economy’s need for an extended workforce. Moreover, feminist demands for the provision of affordable child-care for working women was also a factor. At the same time, child-care centres were increasingly criticized during the postwar era as enabling women to work and as a result, damaging the mental health of children. This argument was based largely on Bowlby’s (1951) research on early attachment.

The reinvigorated feminist lobby argued against the narrow understanding of services for children as either educational or as workplace facility (Brennan, 1994). They asserted that stressing the importance of the mother-child relationship oppressed
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1870s until 1980s

women and children and that children could be looked after outside the home. Moreover, they claimed that children could be cared for by men in or outside the home. In spite of the strong feminist lobby, the complexity of this issue and the agendas involved, the parliamentary debates, reports commissioned by the federal and state governments and their recommendations, remained on a rather simple understanding. They thought that the primary purpose of child-care institutions was to enable mothers to work, while pre-schools were considered as educational institutions. Being educational in nature, pre-schools maintained that a mother’s role is to stay home and look after the children and to attend pre-school with them if necessary.

The Whitlam Labor government also had an ambitious social policy agenda. This agenda was built on a new orientation that represented a shift from the wage earners’ welfare state to universalism and the systematization of the role of the federal government in schooling and pre-schooling (Lingard, 2000a). The systematization “marked the high point of the social democratic Keynesian settlement of the postwar economic boom years” (Lingard, 2000a,p. 26). One of the prominent programs of the Whitlam Labor Government was the transformation of education (Whitlam, 1985). It was linked to the Commonwealth Government’s responsibility to ensure the successful operation of the national economy to compete on the international market. By utilizing the principles of human capital theory, pouring funding into education was one strategy to guarantee that (D. Smart & Alderson, 1980). Within the education agenda, the integration (centralization) and universal provision of pre-compulsory education has gained specific importance at the federal level. Centralization of the provision of early

89 A detailed discussion of this can be found in Brennan’s (1994) book The Politics of Australian Child Care pages 70-94.
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1870s until 1980s

education had already started at the federal level in 1939, when the state Kindergarten Unions became members of the newly established Australian Association for Pre-School Child Development (later Pre-school Association) under the federal Health Ministry. With these advancements, pre-school education increasingly came under central control and regulation.

Pre-compulsory education was seen as a particularly important sector of education, first, because of its effect on later years’ educational success and second, because of its compensatory effects for overcoming social, economic and language inequalities (Australian Pre-schools Committee, 1974; Education Department of Western Australia, 1972). The importance of and rising need for other child services was overshadowed by the assessment about the advantages of early education. For politicians, as Brennan (1994) summarized: “Labor’s policies on services for young children were an extension of its educational philosophy” (p. 77). Thus, distinctions between pre-schools and child-care became blurred. In this context, the Fry Committee was set up by the incoming Whitlam Labor government to determine what measures should be taken to enable all Australian children to have the opportunity of pre-school education by the end of the 1970s. The Australian Pre-School Committee, under the Department of Education, was also established hastily to implement policy changes for pre-compulsory aged care and education.

4.3. Policy framework and structural changes – state level

In the post World War II context of industrialization, Keynesian economic management, the strengthening of the welfare state, and developments in education theory about the connection between early childhood and later educational achievement,
pre-schools received increased attention at state level. The 1950s brought a change with
the states sponsoring industrial development. Technical and pre-school education
gained more importance. In 1952, The Royal Commission in Western Australia
extended the supervision of the Education Department to pre-school education
(Mossenson, 1972), but still many pre-schools and kindergartens remained independent.
As a sign of good will to acknowledge independent kindergartens and their staff
equivalent to those under the government, the Education Department accepted full
kindergarten training plus satisfactory experience of kindergarten directors as equivalent
with the Teachers’ Certificate in the Education Department in 1954 (Stewart, 1963).
Soon after a superintendent for Infant Schools and Kindergartens was appointed in the
Education Department. These shifts demonstrate that there was an increased concern
about pre-compulsory education at state level and that its status as an educational
institution was augmented. Thus, the state government made its first moves to centralize
its coordination of pre-compulsory education.

By the 1970s, the centralization of pre-compulsory education services was well
on its way. As a result of the recommendations of the Nott Report (Education
Department of Western Australia, 1972), the state government established the Pre-
School Board, which took over the running of state pre-schools and kindergartens that
belonged to the Kindergarten Union. The Kindergarten Union ceased to exist.
Following this move, independent kindergartens and pre-schools joined the Pre-School
Board in growing numbers.

The attempts at the systematization of pre-school education at Federal level was
followed at State level with the establishment of the Pre-School Board in 1973. The
Board formed from the pre-existing Kindergarten Association and those sections of the
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1870s until 1980s

The Pre-School Board in Western Australia was responsible for pre-school education and all programs which were offered to pre-school age children that were considered educational. Other services were administered by the offices of Health and Community Welfare. This set-up represented a clear division between the two areas of early care and education. The Pre-School Education Board was responsible for the proposed introduction of pre-primary centres in 1975, with an aim to provide a universal, voluntary one-year pre-school education for five-year-olds either in the new state pre-school centres or in community centres.

The idea of universal, voluntary pre-school education remained on the state government agenda from this time until the late 1990s, when it was finally realized. Following the *ad hoc* interventions in pre-schooling up to the beginnings of the 1970s both at federal and state levels, and in spite of the fact that organizational structure of pre-school education at federal and state levels was still evolving, pre-school education was thought about systematically at government levels from the 1970s.

From the 1970s the popularity of pre-schools grew further and the provision of pre-compulsory education was further centralized step by step under the state’s Education Department. In 1974, the school starting age was lowered to accommodate pre-schools on schools sites, since 50 per cent of pre-school age children were already
attending pre-schools through the voluntary system. In 1975, the first six pilot centres were opened under school administration, and 1976 saw the commencement of the transfer of pre-school centres affiliated with the Pre-School Board to the Education Department (Education Department of Western Australia, 1979).

In 1978, the Pre-School Education (and by that time) and Child Care Board was disbanded and the Early Childhood Education Branch of the Education Department was established from the Board and the pre-primary sections of the Education Department. All pre-school centres, except the community ones that chose to remain independent, fell under the administration of the Education Department by the early 1980s (Early Childhood Advisory Committee, 1983). The government promised to pay teachers’ salaries disregarding whether they chose to be independent or to transfer to the Department. By the beginning of the 1980s, 85 per cent of children in Western Australia received some form of pre-school education before the start of their formal education years (Brennan, 1982).

As I outlined earlier, federal level government policy-making was informed by discourses of compensatory education. For example, the Fry Report’s recommendations included a “range of special services for isolated children and for children suffering from handicaps, whether physical, psychological or social” (Australian Pre-schools Committee, 1974, p. 219-20). The Fry Report conceptualized disadvantage similarly to the School Commission’s Karmel Report (Interim Committee of the Australian School Commission, 1973) on the basis of need rather than deficiency. The Fry Report recommended priority admission in pre-schools for “children in special need” (Interim Committee of the Australian School Commission, 1973, p. 220). It proposed the earliest possible services for “children suffering from handicaps” (p. 221), and made
recommendations for the provision of specialist care in each unit (centre). It also supported migrant and Aboriginal communities to establish their own centres “in which the program is partially orientated to their cultural and linguistic heritage” (p. 221). Grants for provisions were based on the principle of “priority of needs” (p. 232). Similarly to the Fry Report, its counterpart in Western Australia, the Nott Report (Education Department of Western Australia, 1972), includes special provisions for “the many under-privileged, mentally and physically retarded children and children whose need for pre-school education is so pressing but who are for a variety of reasons not in a position to avail themselves of it” (p. 2). Thus, I argue that the Fry Report and Nott Report incorporated elements of compensatory education but in a reconceptualized format based on special needs rather than deficiency.

At state level, there was a complete silence around the issue of the disadvantage of certain groups of students until the early 1970s (Morton, 1972). This new way of thinking about pre-compulsory education appeared first in the practical considerations of the Nott report. It took a few more years, however, to result in any changes of practice. Close-Thomas, the Acting Superintendent of Education, in her report on Developing Early Childhood Programme in Western Australia (Education Department of Western Australia, 1979), did not include any extra or special provision for children from particular social backgrounds. Close-Thomas discusses the rapidly changing environment of children caused by industrialization, urbanization and migration, and their cultural and class differences. She considers these differences as economic and environmental ‘variables’ that causes difficulties in delineating the ages and stages of development (Education Department of Western Australia, 1979). Although at both federal and state policy levels the reconceptualized compensatory educational ideals
were incorporated in the recommendations for the provision of pre-compulsory education, however these ideals filtered through slowly into Western Australian practice.

The issue of gender inequality appeared in a similar fashion. While federal debates and policies questioned gender inequality in relation to gender roles and girls’ disadvantages in education starting from the middle of the 1970s, Western Australia was slow to follow. For example, one of the child’s developmental tasks was identified as: “Learning to identify with male and female roles, developing sex modesty” (p. 20) in a basic guideline to develop early childhood programs authored by Close-Thomas (Education Department of Western Australia, 1979).

By the 1980s, the question of social context was reevaluated as something more than a ‘variable’ influencing universal levels of development. In the 1980s issues of the official journal of The Pre-School Teachers and Associates Union of Western Australia, the themes of culture and ethnicity appeared repeatedly. The issues highlighted basic inequalities in the utilization of early services by disadvantaged groups, such as migrants and Aboriginal communities. There were recurring calls to preserve ethnic identity and cultural heritage and to provide multicultural services working together with the communities and embedding the program in their cultures (such as Anonymous, 1983; Vajda, 1981). Most issues of the 1980s reported on pre-schools in Aboriginal communities written in Aboriginal languages.

5. The discursive field and ‘the child’

By the 1980s, Western Australian pre-school education was systematized and centralized partly through drawing the majority of pre-schools under the Education
Department and partly through the funding arrangement in regard to those pre-schools that remained independent. Education was seen as a key to ensure Australia’s competitiveness in the international marketplace, and the idea of the universal provision of pre-school education emerged both at federal and state levels. The underlining rationale for pre-school education and child-care became vividly outlined and separated. The discursive field outlined above produced new understandings of early education and constituted ‘the child’ as the ‘young developer’, ‘pre-school child’ and ‘competent’ individual.

5.1. The ‘young developer’

By the 1970s, new discourses about ‘the child’ gained a strong foothold in pre-compulsory education in Western Australia. These discourses constituted ‘the child’ whose own activities feed into her development (Education Department of Western Australia, 1979; The Australian Pre-School Association, 1972). This new way of thinking about ‘the child’ subjugated previous constitutions according to which what children did or did not do had no significant effect on the maturation and inborn sequences of development (Hultqvist, 1998). This change conditioned shifts in emphasis in three areas of pedagogy by the 1970s as outlined by Morton (1972). First, child learning was emphasized instead of teacher teaching. Second, the focus on the accumulation of facts was shifted to the development of understanding. Third, there was a shift in emphasis from the subject-centred to the child-centred school (Morton, 1972,
Children’s activities, according to Piaget (1952), were important because they fed back to the developmental sequence. Thus, ‘the child’ was thought about in a way that her activities interplayed with her development. ‘The child’, however did not construct her development only enabled or facilitated it. ‘The adult’ was positioned likewise as an active agent who could influence the learning and development of children by creating an environment which “has a stimulating atmosphere and … encourage[s] a spirit of enquiry and discovery” (Morton, 1972, p. 40). ‘The child’ was thought about as a competent actor whose competencies were the subjects of a wide range of research projects in developmental psychology. Children were mapped in competencies: emotional, intellectual, social or physical. These competencies comprised the ‘whole child’ and her education was fashioned for the development of these. While the kindergartens were based mainly on Froebelian ideas that defined the aims of early education to aid personal growth on emotional and social grounds in the first six years of the child’s life, the pre-compulsory institutions of the 1970s focused on the ‘whole child’ and introduced an intellectual focus besides the existing emphasis on social and personal aspects of growth. This shift made early educators “afraid of [stimulating] intellectual development as … children are not ‘ready’” (p. 25) in the early education context (Education Department of Western Australia, 1979).

The ‘young developer’ was considered in a socio-political vacuum and the diversity of social backgrounds of children was reconceptualized and individualized as

---

90 Piaget’s theory was outlined in detail in Chapter Three. Here only follows a brief summary.
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1870s until 1980s

children’s different developmental levels. The child’s ability to develop was measured in her inherited ‘educability’ (inborn mental structure or organizational properties of intelligence to live with Piaget’s idea) that was claimed to be independent from any social influence (McCallum, 1990). Individual developmental differences of children were given “real recognition” in Western Australia by the 1970s and were coped with through the creation of ability groups. Special remedial teachers for reading and language were trained and employed and “extra material [was developed] to aid the slower developer” (Morton, 1972, p. 40). ‘Educability’ allowed the recipient of schooling to be identified (or to identify herself) as the cause or origin of her educational success or failure. Consequently, the ‘pre-social child’ was constituted by these discourses, whose ‘educability’ was measured, and if needed, compensated through education.

Cultural considerations appeared in the provision of pre-compulsory education. This cultural sensitivity appeared in thoughtfulness about the child’s “home language” (p. 24) and the child’s “demographic, sociological and environmental placement” (p. 26) that was related to the opportunity for early experiences rather than marked belonging to a certain social group and its culture (Education Department of Western Australia, 1979). Thus, “the family and lifestyle … [were] recognised and used skilfully in the total programme” (Education Department of Western Australia, 1979, p. 27) to

---

91 This idea was outlined in detail in Chapter Six.
92 Discussed in Chapter Four.
93 In spite of that McCallum (1990) examined the psychological study of individual differences in the context of secondary education, his arguments have relevance to the study of individual differences in relation to the young child.
94 Close-Thomas brings an example: “A child discussing lambs from a glossy picture book with a Teacher or Aide will need entirely different presentation to such a simple series of observations if he lives in North Perth [urban] or Wagin [rural area]” (Education Department of Western Australia, 1979, p. 26).
create an environment for children in order to facilitate their development in the four areas of mental, emotional, physical and social growth.

5.2. The emergence of the ‘pre-school child’

From the 1870s, the child’s education was strongly intertwined with her “welfare and proper [moral] development” (Stewart, 1963, p. 18) in Western Australia. By the 1970s, however a distinctive understanding of ‘the child’ emerged in which discourses of early education were more dominant. The first kindergartens were primarily responsible for children’s health and moralization. Teaching and maintaining personal hygiene and good nutrition and providing a healthy environment, such as fresh air and a ‘stress-free’⁹⁵ atmosphere, ensured children’s moralization together with facilitating their healthy growth. Thus, these institutions were responsible for the personal wellbeing, or welfare, and the growth and moralization of children. In contrast, the pre-schools and kindergartens were distinguished from other services providing child-care from the period following the Second World War. To make a distinction between education and care of the young child, I draw on Grieve’s definition used in his Key Note address to the First State Conference of the Early Childhood Teachers’ Association of Western Australia (Grieve, 1983). Although learning takes place in both education and care, Grieve (1983) argues that the provision of physical and emotional wellbeing “where there is no explicit or systematic attempt to impart particular bodies of knowledge to the child” can be considered care (p. 1). On the contrary, if there is an attempt to impart knowledge to the child, that is considered education (Grieve, 1983).

⁹⁵ Free from worries over the wars, from parents’ unnecessary interference, stress caused by overcrowding and poverty and so on as it is explained in the Kindergarten Graduate Magazine 1931 editions.
Kindergartens during the first third of the 20th century in Western Australia claimed sole responsibility for the expert knowledge on child hygiene, ‘proper’ parenting and growth. The 1931 Western Australian Kindergarten Graduates Magazine stated that parents lack the necessary knowledge about child development. Thus, it is the kindergartens’ responsibility to perform ‘health work’, encourage the social, mental and aesthetic (moral) development of the child, who was ‘made over’ by her parents. Kindergartens’ role was also to instruct parents on the same issues. During the 1930s and 1940s, the Lady Gowrie Child Centres were also set up to serve similar purposes and to build up a medical knowledge-base on the first five year’s physical health and development (The Australian Pre-School Association, 1955, p. 2). At the same time the Lady Gowrie centres also functioned as demonstration sites for early years of education.

There were several changes in the following period, which produced more education-focused discourses of pre-compulsory institutions and constituted ‘the child’ as the ‘pre-school child’. The first change was the broadening of the body of research to ‘mental’ development that created a closer link between schooling and the early years. Second, the systematization of the welfare state by the 1970s, which meant the separation of welfare schemes from education. Third, the responsibility to ensure the welfare of children (personal health and hygiene) shifted to the home, while the provision of early education remained in the expert hands of teachers. Parents were educated to know about early educational opportunities for children (playgroups, kindergartens and so on) through which the future educational success of ‘the child’ could be laid (Education Department of Western Australia, 1978). Teachers also armed parents with expert advice about the importance of early education through parent education (Education Department of Western Australia, 1978).
Pre-schools and kindergartens were differentiated from day care services on the ground that they provided educational programs by trained teachers to children (A. Alderson, 1976; Early Childhood Advisory Committee, 1983; Education Department of Western Australia, 1979). There were also recommendations to integrate the years of pre-schooling and early primary, such as appeared in the Minister of Education’s press release on the 3rd of May, 1973 (Education Department of Western Australia, 1979). From the 1970s, therefore the ‘pre-school child’ was constituted more purely in educational terms in Western Australia; the provision of the welfare of children shifted into the home arena, while it left some legacies behind and retained its influence in early childhood education.

5.3. The ‘competent child’

The Whitlam government systematized schooling and attempted to systematize early care and education at Commonwealth level. This happened in a way that at the same time formulated new modes of control without the exercise of ‘bureaucratic command systems’ (White, 1987). Devolution of responsibility over the operation of schools made this possible. The devolution, as Rizvi (1994) argues, was guided by strong social democratic ideals where “responsibility was devolved as far as possible upon the people involved in the actual task of schooling” (Interim Committee of the Australian School Commission, 1973, p.10). Thus, this conception of devolution is fundamentally different from the rearticulated devolution that emerged in the late 1970s in the post-Keynesian context by its reworking according to various managerialist and market discourses (Rizvi, 1994).
During the Whitlam years, devolution of responsibility was a governmental practice through which autonomy was produced. Another practice that produced autonomy was the new governmental programs underpinned with equality of opportunity principles in relation to forms of difference. These programs were aimed at creating the conditions that enable every individual to exercise autonomy. Autonomy, however in this understanding was different from the earlier one. The understanding of autonomy was a ‘natural human condition’ of the individual in ‘early’ liberalism and was enabled by the removal of outward control (Hindess, 1996). In ‘social’ liberalism, the conditions for autonomy had to be provided by the provision of duties that individuals could perform with responsibility. Thus, the autonomy of individuals had to be facilitated in these ways. Autonomy was regarded as a fundamental condition for freedom (Taylor et al., 1997).

While a greater part of pre-compulsory education institutions in Western Australia were drawn under the coordination of the State government with the establishment of the Pre-School Board under the Education Department, only the early 1980s saw most of these institutions under a regulated central system with most of the centres joining. The operation of some of these centres was ensured by the schools to which they belonged and where parent bodies had a strong influence in operational matters. In the case of community pre-schools, operation remained in the hand of parents (Early Childhood Advisory Committee, 1983). Parents and the community were involved increasingly in the provision of early education particularly in the case of ethnic or migrant children (Early Childhood Advisory Committee, 1983). This tendency is prevalent in some of the journal articles of the Pre-school Teacher and Associates Union of Western Australia (for example, Anonymous, 1983; Vajda, 1981)
Running parallel with these structural shifts, there was also a shift in approach to policies written for the education and care of young children (Early Childhood Advisory Committee, 1983) and the study of young children since the 1970s:

Much of the research carried out in the first half of this century appears to have been curiously preoccupied with young children’s incapacities. Again and again results were reported which appeared to indicate that young children were surprisingly limited in what they could understand and the ways in which they could reason. In recent years, matters have noticeably changed, and a much more positive attitude tends now to prevail. Researchers are now apt to look actively for things which young children can do; and not infrequently, when they look they find them (Donaldson, M., Grieve, R. & Pratt, C. Early Childhood Development and Education. Oxford: Blackwell, 1983 quoted in (Grieve, 1983, p. 5)).

A concerted effort in developmental psychology focused on mapping children’s competencies in the four developmental domains (intellectual, emotional, social and physical). This research revealed that children were more autonomous in many skills and had more or higher competencies than researchers previously might have supposed (Early Childhood Advisory Committee, 1983; Grieve, 1983). This effort was coupled with integrating this knowledge into the pre-compulsory programs and to value children for these competencies that are: to nurture their own worth, self-respect and their subsequent progress (Early Childhood Advisory Committee, 1983; Grieve, 1983).

Nevertheless, one can argue that this notion of the ‘autonomous individual’ is an adult and this concept tells more about the adult who is the subject of government. This understanding is narrow in focus and disregards how constitutions of ‘the child’ and ‘the adult’ go hand in hand through discourses and practices. To further support this argument, Hultqvist (1998) explains that “there is a close affinity between ideas of community and the competent individual on the one hand, and the corresponding ideas
within the psychology of development on the other” (p. 109). Following the line of Hultqvist’s thinking I claim that from the 1980s, the understanding of ‘the child’ as active in her learning was paired with another understanding, ‘the child’ as ‘autonomous’ or ‘competent’. ‘The child’ constituted this way was thought about as able to perform certain tasks or be independent if placed in an environment appropriate for her. Montessori expressed similar ideas in her later writings when she advocated for the creation of special environments for children in which they could progress through increasing independence into adulthood. As Montessori (1973) states: “[m]y vision of the future is … individuals passing from one stage of independence to a higher [one], by means of their own activity through their own effort of will” (p. 65).

Emerging governmental rationalities of ‘social’ liberalism conditioned the constitutions of ‘the child’ as competent, which inscribed autonomy on ‘the child’. Thus, the discursive terrain constituted by theory and research about ‘the child’ as competent reorganized the pedagogical space of pre-compulsory institutions, and governmental rationalities, such as decentrism and equality of opportunity, relayed concepts like autonomy, ability and respect, and constituted ‘the child’ as a competent young individual.

6. Conclusion

Western Australian pre-compulsory education until the 1930s was strongly intertwined with the socio-political context. Political concerns about “economic productivity, innovation, industrial unrest, social stability, law and order” (Rose, 1999, p. 132), combined with discourses of nation building and national efficiency, inscribed the early years discourses prevalent in educational texts. These discourses, in
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1870s until 1980s

Confluence with the ‘early’ liberal mode of thinking about the government of individuals and the population, produced a particular discursive field that constituted ‘the child’ as liberalized and as a little citizen. ‘The child’ was provided with natural freedom with the removal of apparent control of adults. ‘The child’ was thought about as an ‘autonomous’ and ‘self-regulated’ individual who exhibited, if well educated, the right habits and attitudes. Thus she was a moral creature. ‘The child’ was also constituted by these discourses as a physically and, therefore, morally vulnerable young individual and as an economically productive citizen in the making. The provision of pre-compulsory education was primarily aimed at moralizing certain groups of children to become productive future citizens of a liberal nation-state.

From the late 1930s, early education and care, and government rhetoric increasingly utilised scientific knowledges about ‘the child’. The use of these discourses in pedagogy created the possibilities for the constitution of the ‘psychobiological child’. The liberation of children from adult dominance through pedagogy enabled both for children’s nature to come through and the measurement of the ‘natural’ child. Research focused on children to map their development and to establish universal criteria of normality. ‘The child’ was defined by her biological inheritance. This understanding subjugated the Frobelian essence of ‘the child’: Divine Unity. ‘The child’ constituted by scientific discourses was considered as a passive creature with pre-determined stages of development. The direct socio-political context slowly disintegrated from educational texts.

After the end of the Second World War, the provision of pre-compulsory education had shifted gradually to come under the state education system. Differences in children’s behaviours, attitudes, learning and success, that was related to their socio-
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1870s until 1980s

political and economic background, were redefined as delays according to ‘normal’
development caused by their inborn lower ability and negative attitudes towards
achievement. In this way, disadvantage was individualized and ‘the child’ became the
source of her educational attainment. The constitution of ‘the child’ as pre-social proved
to be extremely resilient towards particular changes prevalent in federal and state policy
discourses. Towards the end of the 1970s, the ‘pre-social’ child was still dominant in
Western Australian educational discourses analysed in this chapter.

The constitution of ‘the child’ as a psychobiological individual has shifted.
Psychological theories, such as Piaget’s theory, inscribed with the thinking of ‘social’
liberalism constituted ‘the child’ as active in her development. Teachers provided the
‘young developer’ with a facilitating environment and her interaction with the
environment fed back to her development. The competencies of ‘the child’ were
mapped onto intellectual, social, physical and emotional development and pre-
compulsory education aimed to maximize the development of the ‘whole child’. The
socio-political context of ‘the child’ was only accounted for as opportunities for
experiences that had an effect on the child’s learning. This shift in the rationale of pre-
compulsory education conditioned the emergence of another constitution of ‘the child’,
the ‘pre-school child’. The ‘pre-school child’ was educated through pre-compulsory
education with a particular emphasis to impart intellectual knowledge on the child.

By the early 1980s, the socio-political context resurfaced in educational texts in
Western Australia. It reemerged, however in a changed format, one that was aligned
with the rationalities of ‘social’ liberalism. The socio-political context was translated by
experts into the vocabulary of “management, accounting, medicine, social sciences and
psychology” (Rose, 1999, p.132) – such as investment in human capital or
compensatory education – and governed educational practices with their taken for
granted truth of expertise. Discourses of multiculturalism and disability and
compensatory education based on social democratic principles filtered down to Western
Australian early education and shaped more culturally sensitive practices. Social
democratic practices of equality of opportunity provided a form of autonomy or
competency to individuals. This particular terrain of discourses combined with
discourses of developmental psychology and constituted a distinctive notion of ‘the
child’ as competent.

Chapter Eight carries on the discussion started in Chapter Six outlining the
governmental and political rationalities, and examines periods: the 1990s and the 21st
century up until the first part of 2007. Chapter Nine continues to delineate the discursive
terrain of pre-compulsory education of these two periods and the ways they constituted
‘the child’ started in this chapter.
CHAPTER EIGHT

Genealogies of governmentality in Western Australian pre-compulsory education from the late 1980s to 2007 and ‘the child’

1. Introduction

This chapter continues the analysis of the macro-power context of mentalities of government96 and answers the questions of how pre-compulsory education, and with that constitutions of ‘the child’, shifted in concert with governmental rationalities for regulating adults (Ailwood, 2004). In this chapter, I follow a similar pattern to Chapter Six. First, I outline the broader Western social and political discourses in which both Federal and Western Australian governments functioned within this period. Second, I examine how governmental rationalities conditioned particular educational discourses to emerge, which imbued federal and state level policies during the 1990s. Third, I move on explore how the provision of pre-primary education and these discourses constituted ‘the child’ as aligned with governmental rationalities. Fourth, I review recent (from the late 1990s to 2007) governmental initiatives, at federal and state levels, to create a framework that maintained earlier discourses and produced conditions for new discourses to emerge. This new discursive framework conditioned the provision of pre-compulsory education as part of broader initiatives considering the early years in an integrated framework, and allowed new understandings of ‘the child’ as member of communities to emerge.

96 Begun in Chapter Six.
2. Sweeping changes

The discourses and political rationalities discussed in this chapter are rooted in narratives of the 1960s (Davies, 2005; Marginson, 1997a). Although some of the discourses were discussed in Chapters Six and Seven, this chapter limits its focus to the period between the late 1980s and 2007 because of the intense changes this period brought across Australia in general and in the field of early childhood education in particular.

There are two dominant rationalities of the 1990s that reconstituted the socio-political and economic discursive fields internationally: postmodernity and globalization. These rationalities are important to touch upon to provide a background for the changing federal and state political rationalities and technologies for governance in pre-compulsory education. Both rationalities – postmodernity and globalization – brought sweeping changes (Bauman, 1998; Best, 1991; Butler, 1993; Lyotard, 1984; Yeatman, 1993) in the social world, institutional discourses, the nature of knowledge and the ways individuals are constituted and constitute themselves. Both themes are discussed in a vast field of academic literature. Here, I provide a brief outline to identify some of the key points in order to contextualize the arguments of my thesis.

2.1. Postmodernity

Postmodernity brought “a dramatic rupture or break in Western history” (Best, 1991, p.30) as many postmodern theorists employ the term. ‘Post’ signifies a rupture from modernity, the appearance of something new. Best (1991) explicates this idea further:
The discourses of the postmodern therefore presuppose a sense of an ending, the advent of something new, and the demand that we must develop new categories, theories and methods to conceptualize this novum, this novel social and cultural situation (p.30.)

It is difficult to define postmodernity because it is a ‘highly loaded term’ (B. Smart, 1993). Broadly speaking, it refers to an unstable and sceptical world in which anything goes, where traditional modernist boundaries, even of time and space, and its images and society become fragmented (Jameson, 1991). The postmodern age is a global, post-industrial age, where there are complex patterns of communication, the emergence of new information technology and consumer culture, deep-seated scepticism about epistemological certainty, the universal worshipping of flexibility in all practices, and the rise of new social movements (Taylor et al., 1997).

Postmodernism adopts an anti-universalist and anti-essentialist view of knowledge. As Lyotard (1984) argues, postmodernism is sceptical about metanarratives. Postmodern epistemology regards all knowledge as bound to its time and place and to the particular person who constructs it. Every truth is therefore contingent upon its context. No understanding transcends its specific personal, cultural and historical setting. Postmodernists celebrate diversity and difference, instead of grand narratives that, as they argue, lead directly to authoritarianism.

The rejection of metanarratives or truth claims is an important site at which early childhood researchers and educators engaged with postmodernism (for example, Ailwood, 2002a, 2004; Alloway, 1997; Baker, 1998; Dahlberg & Moss, 2005; Dahlberg et al., 1999; Grieshaber & Cannella, 2001b; Jipson & Johnson, 2000, 2001; MacNaughton, 2003; Soto, 2000; Tobin, 1997b; Woodrow & Brennan, 2000). Within this field of research, there is an emphasis on how ‘subjects’, knowledges and practices
are constituted by the power of historico-political discourses predominant in society and how these discourses generate various notions of ‘the child’ and the education of children. With the deconstruction of these discourses, the numerous deeply embedded constructions of ‘the child’ become visible and opened up for questioning (as done by for example, Baker, 2001a; Cannella, 1997, 1998, 1999; Corsaro, 1997; Dahlberg & Moss, 2005; Grieshaber & Cannella, 2001b; Hendrick, 1997, 2000; Allison James & Adrian James, 2004; Allison James et al., 1998; Allison James & Prout, 1997; Jenks, 1996; Kamler, 1994; Kitzinger, 1997; Mayall, 2002; Morrow, 1996; Qvortrup et al., 1994; Tobin, 1997b).

The rejection of metanarratives led to multiple readings of any situation or set of events and the relativism of the interpretation and judgement of human behaviour (Alloway, 1997). The denial of absolutism and authoritative voice also promotes a politics of difference and the emergence of a plurality of voices, “particularly through the use of language such as fluid, shifting, marginalized or fractured when discussing identities” (Ailwood, 2004, p. 183).

The contemporary growth of postmodernist epistemologies is connected to globalization. Global relations intensified intercultural contacts and heightened the general awareness of cultural diversity. This has led to the acceptance that knowledge is socially and historically relative, and triggered a vast array of research in the field of early childhood education (for example, Ailwood, 2004; Grieshaber & Cannella, 2001a; Göncü & Cannella, 1996; Tobin, 1995, 1997a, 1997b), developmental psychology (for example, Walkerdine, 1984; Burman, 1994) and the sociology of childhood (for example, Allison James & Prout, 1997; Jenks, 1996; Prout & Allison James, 1997). This field of research also challenged dominant notions of the ‘child’, whether they
were constructed on the modernist notion of progress, developmental psychology or as objects knowable through scientific knowledges.

Postmodern discourses penetrated global mass culture, which brought multiplying images of childhood. The diversity of these images resulted in uncertainty about the notion of childhood with adults viewing this change with great anxiety. One of the dominant manifestations of this is the public concern about the ‘disappearance of childhood’ (Postman, 1982) or the ‘hurried’ childhood (Elkind, 1981).

With a post-Fordist global economy and global networks of communication, individuals are recognizable through their immediate location and project rather than their collective life, social class or work and so on (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005; Hardt & Negri, 2001). The unitary, coherent and integrated individual is transformed in to a collection of sub-individuals, where the relationship between these sub-individuals is unstable and never-finalized (Hardt & Negri, 2001; Ransom, 1997). Consequently, through post-modern identity formation, the modern, continuous self becomes more of a reflexive project, a constant, reflexive representation of self (Jenks, 1996).

This has two major implications for the study of the constitutions of ‘the child’. First, postmodern technologies of self-formation enable the constitution of ‘the child’, for example, as an ‘entrepreneur’ who is a reflexive individual\(^{97}\). They also allow for competing constitutions of ‘the child’ to coexist comfortably. These constitutions then determine how adults (teachers, parents, policy makers and so forth) understand and relate to ‘the child’ (Jenks, 1996), which might be controversial in certain situations.

The second implication is that in late-modern society constructions of childhood have become the “site or the relocation of discourses concerning stability, integration

\(^{97}\) The concept of the ‘entrepreneur child’ will be outlined in more detail later in this chapter.
and the social bond” (Jenks, 1996, p.106). This ‘nostalgic’ view of the child, therefore as Jenks (1996) argues, is a preservation of the metanarrative of society – stability, integrity and social bonds. Hence, since there is more ambivalence and less coherence and sustained meaning in late-modern society and in the experience of our subjectivity, we often draw on certain sets of constitutions of ‘the child’ to create stability and order in our lives. It may be, as Jenks (1996) claims, that this is the reason why questioning some taken-for-granted understandings of childhood encounters so much reluctance from teachers and parents alike.

2.2. Globalization

The idea of globalization conveys numerous definitions and “has certainly been the most widely used – and misused – keyword” (Beck, 2000, p.19). It has dimensions, as Beck (2000) suggests, such as communications technology, ecology, economics, work organization, culture and civil society. It is also a highly debated issue as to when globalization began. There is one constant feature of globalization that overturned the characteristic of modernity “that we live and act in the self-enclosed spaces of national states and their respective national societies” (Beck, 2000, p. 20, original emphasis). Globalized relations brought a far-reaching change in the nature of social space (Scholte, 2000). As Scholte (2000) asserts, since space is one of the primary dimensions of social relations and associated with culture, ecology, economy, politics and psychology, the spatial contours of society strongly influence the nature of production, governance, identity and community in that society and vice versa.

Many observers argue that with its homogenizing forces globalization has undermined some ways of being, however, trans-border relations have also promoted
alternative cultures and diverse existences (Bauman, 1998; Lingard, 2000b; Rizvi, 2000; Scholte, 2000). Local cultures influence or mix in with global cultures, thus, local cultures can prevail over global ideologies because they are kept distinct on the local level (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1991). I would suggest therefore, following numerous scholars, that what seems to be emerging is a new local-global nexus (Bauman, 1998; Beck, 2000; Lingard, 2000b; Robertson, 1992; Scholte, 2000). Consequently, the overall impact of globalization is more than homogenization.

Globalization brought positive and negative, destabilizing and contingent effects to the lives of people around the world. Moreover, it instigated the acceptance of diverse ways of living and questioned dominant Western, white, middle-class and masculine notions of ‘the child’ (for example, Viruru, 2001; Woodhead, 1990). As Wyness (2006) suggests despite the enormous effort poured into researching and theorizing globalization and considering the effects of it, theorists had modest contributions about the changed social space of children and childhood and their significance within a global context.

Another significant facet of globalization is that the states’ capacity was reduced to consider their economic policy (Roche, 1992; Taylor et al., 1997). They increasingly focus on, however sustaining the nation’s viability in a global economy and more recently concentrate on creating knowledge economies in the global competition. An important incentive to maintain the knowledge economy and to bring capital to the nation is the provision of a competitive workforce that is flexible, responsive, highly skilled and engaged in lifelong learning (Lingard, 1993; Marginson, 1993). In this condition, the nation-states focus on the improved delivery of technologies, such as education and training that provide this outcome. Pre-compulsory education is one such
technology that enables parents to work in the economy and also supplies tomorrow’s workforce through investment in ‘human capital’ (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005). Reconceptualizing pre-compulsory education as a technology of government in producing a labour force for the future pinpoints to ‘the child’ that is constituted by these discourses, such as ‘the child as a lifelong learner’98.

Neo-liberalism has generally prevailed as the reigning political rationality in contemporary globalization. In the late 20th century, neo-liberal ideas gained widespread unquestioned acceptance as ‘commonsense’ (Scholte, 2000) and pushed educational policy in a more market-oriented direction (Marginson, 1993; Taylor et al., 1997; Yeatman, 1993). Enjoying the strongest backing in official, business and academic circles, neo-liberal measures have usually been the easiest to implement. Comparative educational studies acknowledge that educational reforms across countries bear remarkable similarities (Taylor et al., 1997). These reform discourses constitute ‘the child’ in neo-liberal terms internationally. Thus, ‘the child’ is constituted as an ‘enterprising individual’ who seeks to maximize the quality of its life through choices (Rose, 1996c).

Australian governance has been shaped continually by global influences, forces and organizations, such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), or the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). It is necessary, therefore to examine the issues related to educational policy in a global context. Social and economic issues encountered in any one country now arise from global conditions and in turn have global consequences (Jamrozik, 2001). In the context of competing nation-states, performance became a

98 This construct will be fleshed out later in this chapter.
central tenet to meet the needs of global capital. Pursuing and measuring performance was filtered through Australia’s federal and state level policy-making (Whitty et al., 1998) into the early childhood classroom (Ailwood, 2004). It materialized into practices, such as portfolio making (children and teachers are pressured to demonstrate performance to parents, principals and the education system), photographs, observation recording and reporting, assessment and self-assessment of teachers according to ‘best teaching’ practices developed in these areas99.

In cross-national comparisons, such as the 2001 OECD review on early childhood education and care comparing 12 countries (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2001), performance is assessed against universal criteria, which creates opportunities for the exchange of information on technologies that enhance performance (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005). These conditions enable the creation of a global dominant discourse of early childhood education: a white, middle class, child-centred and masculinist discourse, which constitutes ‘the child’ in uniform ways. Dahlberg and Moss (2005) summarize these forces and the expanding use of this particular discourse this way:

The combination of a global and highly competitive neoliberal capitalism, the expanding interests of international organizations and the hopes invested by nation states in preschools adds up to a formidable force for normalisation and the spread of what we have called the Anglo-American dominant discourse (p. 49).

The ‘Anglo-American dominant discourse’ constitutes ‘the child’ in a homogenized and normalized way (Woodrow, 1999), such as the one who is the centre 99 The two editions of the Guideline for the identification of best practice in early childhood education for four to eight year olds (Rice et al., 2001, 2006) (Guideline) outline ‘best’ practices for the early years and institutes performance management as its core purpose. These Guidelines will be analyzed in detail in the next chapter.
of the learning process, who discovers answers to problems and who constructs its own knowledge (Bredekamp & Copple, 1997). One challenge to the dominant discourse and constitution of ‘the child’ has been carried out by Delpit (1988). She questions that the dominant discourse would be the ‘best’ for black and poor students who might benefit from more explicit pedagogies\textsuperscript{100} where rules and codes for the participation in mainstream life are spelled out. With this claim, Delpit (1988) calls for the destabilization of the dominant pedagogy and assumptions about ‘the child’ and claims that the ‘best’ practices set out in education are culture and class free. Other critiques to the dominant constitution of ‘the child’, as it is upheld by Developmentally Appropriate Practice (Bredekamp, 1987; Bredekamp & Copple, 1997), were delivered, for example, by Lubeck (1994, 1996), Cannella (1997) and Fleer (1995b).

The concept of globalization, however, involves processes of great complexity (Taylor \textit{et al.}, 1997). Critiques of the ways globalization processes are affecting the cultural field within which education operates are also important to consider while looking at national and state level policy frameworks of education (Taylor \textit{et al.}, 1997). As an example, the global discourse on extending formal structures of education to earlier and earlier periods in children’s lives influenced strongly the cultural field in Western Australia. In consequence, voluntary full-time pre-primary education was introduced with the launch of the \textit{Good Start} program in 1995 (Department of Education Western Australia, 1994). The establishment of this early form of formal education happened well before the other states in Australia. The introduction of the \textit{Good Start} program was conditioned by global discourses on the “quality and accountability of education system”, “enabling of intervention programs in a young

\textsuperscript{100} By explaining to students how to get by in a white world.
age” and “best practice in education” (Department of Education Western Australia, 1994, p. 3).

The Good Start program also created the conditions for the introduction of a centrally coordinated curriculum framework for the pre-compulsory years in Western Australia in 1998, as a part of the Curriculum Framework for Kindergarten to Year 12 Education in Western Australia / Curriculum Council (Curriculum Council, 1998) (referred to as Curriculum Framework thereafter). Consequently, a compulsory curriculum framework in non-compulsory years was instituted, which was unique at that time in Australia. Queensland followed this pattern by instituting curriculum in non-compulsory schooling (Grieshaber, 2000b).

Thus, discourses of postmodernity constituted ‘the child’ in two major ways. First, it enabled and produced diverse constitutions of ‘the child’ and as a result, created possibilities for the contestation of dominant constitutions. Second, because it questions metanarratives and produces a kind of fluid identity, ‘the child’ is looked upon as a source of security. Thus, certain understandings that produced a feeling of safety have strengthened, such as the ‘nostalgic’ notion of childhood (Jenks, 1996). Any endangerment of ‘the child’ when understood in this way fuels various anxieties about children today, such as the moral panic about child abuse (Jenks, 1996).

The economic facet of globalization turned countries into competitive states that need to raise certain types of individuals, and as such, education was restructured and invigorated to serve this purpose. Cultural diversity under globalization endures homogenizing forces that reinforce dominant Anglo-American constitutions of childhood, while at the same time, it enables the experience of the plurality of ‘the
child’. Globalization also opens up spaces for questioning and constituting ‘the child’ in new ways in the global-local nexus (Woodrow, 1999). Nevertheless, the centralized fashion of global economic management structures and neo-liberal ideas of governance homogenised the cultural field of policy and reinforced and disseminated uniform constitutions of ‘the child’ globally (Hendrick, 1997). The next section outlines how these global and postmodern discourses filtered through federal and state level governmental discourses and constituted ‘the child’ as their subject.

3. The policy field from the late 1980s until the late 1990s

The late 1980s and 1990s saw a shift from a dominant focus on domestic issues and welfare in Australia to a marketized and international ‘competition state’ (Marginson, 1997a; Yeatman, 1993). Within such discourses, “the public sector is not about the delivery of public values, but about the management of scarce resources” (Yeatman, 1993, p.3). This shift in discourses fashioned a new way of thinking about government and with that, new tactics and programmes to govern the new type of citizens it produced (Popkewitz, 1996).

Globalization had a major impact upon domestic policy and the acceptance of neo-liberalism as the dominant political rationality (Taylor et al., 1997). The emerging new public sector management structures were linked to a more open international economy that demanded increased competitiveness and a more intimate relationship between the private and public sector (Taylor et al., 1997). Neo-liberalism brought in new ways of thinking, and the new rationality placed tremendous pressure on nation-states (Taylor et al., 1997). These conditions have resulted in the appropriation of corporate managerialism in all sectors of government (Lingard, 1993; Marginson,
Corporate managerialism revolves around efficiency, effectiveness, outcomes and accountability and requires the hollowing out of the state. This means that the state narrows its focus and goals while devolving responsibility for the achievement of these goals to localized sites, such as the school, the family or community (Taylor et al., 1997).

The Australian political system of federalism involves a complex relationship between states and territories where the provision of education is traditionally taken up by the states (Lingard, 2000a). As I stated earlier, global policy trends filtered through the Australian political system of government in complex ways. Here I outline these on federal and state levels in order to delineate how this new way of thinking restructured the concern about and provision of pre-compulsory education on these levels and constituted ‘the child’.

3.1. Federal policies

The two decades, starting from 1970s, saw the most extensive changes in the administration and organization of public schooling in Australia since the establishment of compulsory schooling in the late 20th century (J. Knight et al., 1993). These reforms were triggered by economic circumstances and changing politics at both federal and state levels. As a result of these reforms, the central administration system of education was substantially cut back to resemble a “leaner, flatter, more managerial mode” (J. Knight et al., 1993, p. 3). This process took shape in a complex framework of two contradictory forces: decentralization and devolution, on the one hand, and centralization and recentralization on the other (J. Knight et al., 1993; D. Meredyth, 1998). Devolution provided schools with more self-determination and local curriculum
development (in a national framework) and teachers, parents, students and the local community gained more opportunity to participate in school governance. Reforms, however were initiated from the central administrative system and the centre remained in control and set policy objectives.

There was also a renewed interest in the national coordination of schooling. Under the Whitlam Labor government (1972-1975), the effort to centrally coordinate education was achieved through the systematization (recentralization) of government schooling. In the period under discussion, the centralizing efforts were guided by reinvented objectives and in a new federal structural framework called corporate federalism (Lingard, 1991, 1993, 2000a). Corporate federalism represents a shift from the postwar Keynesian welfare state (Lingard, 1991) in order to attempt to create a national economic infrastructure (Lingard, 1993). As Lingard (1993) suggests, corporate federalism is underpinned by a number of discourses, “including neo-corporatism, economic rationalism, corporate managerialism and a reconstituted human capital theory” (p. 29). The following sections explain each discourse and how they affected the federal education policy field.

The federal government under Labor Prime Minister Bob Hawke (1983-1991) sought to develop a national education policy. The government established the Australian Education Council (AEC) (council of state and federal education ministers) and the Premier’s Conferences (PC) (meeting of State Premiers with the Prime Minister and other federal ministers) to address this task. As Lingard (1993) argues this practice follows neo-corporatist practice where a system of interest representation was set up in the form of AEC or PC, the same way as a corporate Chief Executive Officer and key personnel represent the interests of the shareholders or owners in a corporation. These
organizations (EAC and PC) were established to produce a national policy to address “matters of concern to the nation as a whole in which a comprehensive approach to policy development and implementation is adopted by school and system authorities across the nation” (School Commission, 1987, p. 11). It is important to note here that as a result, a significant distinction emerged between national and federal policy. National policy, as outlined above, focused on national matters and aimed to homogenize and coordinate state policies and provisions, while federal policies related to the objectives of the federal government that are kept distinct from the states (Lingard, 1993).

The discourse of economic rationalism articulates the efficient and effective functioning of the state system (Pusey, 1991). In relation to education policy-making, this discourse created the conditions for the emergence of corporate federalist policy-making, because it argued that central policy-making can reduce duplication and makes operation more efficient and effective (Lingard, 1993). Economic rationalist discourses also restructured public sector bureaucracies “to achieve greater outputs for given inputs” (Lingard, 1993, p. 30). This way, corporate federalism enabled the articulation of broad goals regarding education at national level and the implementation of these objectives was devolved to state level.

Human capital theory argues that the investment in human capital (education and training) brings greater economic productivity (Marginson, 1993). Its ineffectiveness to raise economic productivity was proved during the 1970s economic recession. After a break in its utilization during the late 1970s, human capital theory retuned to policy discourses in a reinvented format by the 1980s (A. Luke, 1997). In the vastly new economic and political context of the 1980s, human capital theory was reinvented in a micro-economic version (Marginson, 1993). The major elements,
according to Marginson (1993), were workplace restructuring to increase economic productivity and to produce better-trained workers (multi-skilled and flexible) to execute such reform of the workplace. This reconstituted version of the human capital theory and the workforce, where the individual was constituted as highly skilled, productive and adaptive, was also promoted by the OECD in the international politico-economic context (Marginson, 1993; Taylor et al., 1997).

The two objectives, the mobilization of marginalized groups and human capital theory, were coupled in the deployment of equality of educational opportunity principles during the early 1970s (A. Luke, 1997). As outlined in the previous chapter, disadvantaged groups were thought about as lacking certain “educationally-acquired skill, competence and knowledge” (A. Luke, 1997, p. 11). For this reason, they were compensated through education to gain these. As a result of this compensation, disadvantaged groups were assumed to gain mobility in the social structure. At the end of the 1980s, through the reinvented human capital theory, the main objective for federal policy-making in education shifted to incorporate education within micro-economic reform goals and social justice issues were sidelined (Lingard, 1993, 2000a; A. Luke, 1997).

A number of authors maintain (for example Dudley & Vidovich, 1995; Lingard, 1993) that the shift to corporate federalism is represented in education policy by the *Strengthening Australia’s Schools* document (Dawkins, 1988). The document emphasized the reinvigorated role of education in the economy. It argued that by strengthening the capacity of schools through a national effort to produce a skilled and reliable workforce, the economy could be reformed. The national coordination of schooling from this time on was focused openly on economic priorities.
A succession of national report documents surrounding *Strengthening Australia’s Schools* (Dawkins, 1988) represents discursive changes in government policy from 1985 until 1991 (Marginson, 1997a). The use of terms and discourses such as ‘nation at risk’, ‘investing in our children’, ‘competitiveness’, ‘technological change’, ‘world markets’, ‘corporate reform’, ‘entrepreneurial leadership’ and ‘performance management’ strongly structured these policies (Marginson, 1997a). These new discourses also constituted a novel type of school leaver, “an economic citizen that was better attuned to the requirements of an enterprise culture” (Marginson, 1997a, p.154). This citizen was self-managing in finding her own work and path. Thus, education, training and employment were drawn closer together.

The total federal funding of pre-compulsory education fell dramatically in this period (Brennan, 1994). The decreased funding, as it is explained by Ailwood (2004), was caused by a shift in focus that allocated resources to the top end of compulsory schooling to produce immediately a reliable and flexible workforce for the competing national economy.

As Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard and Henry suggest, the marketization of education took two forms: education institutions started to market their educational programs in the commercial market, and education institutions were restructured to resemble businesses (Taylor *et al.*, 1997). The marketization of education was also part of the global restructuring processes. Teachers became ‘producers’ and parents and students turned into ‘consumers’ of education (Popkewitz, 1996). Education operated similarly to the world market as an ‘input-output system’, where the aim was to optimize the relationship between these two (Marginson, 1993).
Within shifts to a marketized and nationally coordinated education system, social justice discourses became increasingly marginalized or erased, while liberal equity discourses were utilized to distribute funds to schools on both levels – government or non-government (private). Lingard (2000a) claims that this shift represents a ‘reconstituted’ social justice agenda where the emphasis falls upon individual choice rather than an interventionist social justice program. The rationality of ‘equality of opportunity’ thus turned to ‘equity of access and participation’ for all (Marginson, 1993).

The restructuring of the Australian state ran parallel with restructuring in other nations, which took particular forms according to “specific political strategies, structures, cultures and histories in particular nations” (Taylor et al., 1997, p. 80). Australia’s restructuring happened under Labor governments from 1983 until 1996. According to Yeatman (1990), economic policies were granted ‘meta-policy’ status and framed other policy initiatives such as education. Economic outcomes became the central aspect of education policy-making (Taylor et al., 1997). This shift also opened up and legitimated new discourses of education, such as ‘targets’, ‘benchmarks’, ‘reporting’ and ‘outcomes’ on international and national levels. In this context, a number of national educational policies emerged affecting schooling, an area that remained the states’ responsibility in Australia despite funding being received from both federal and state levels.

State departments were also affected by the corporate managerialist restructuring. They put in place new relationships with schools and pre-compulsory education with the rhetoric of devolution (Taylor et al., 1997), and the search for
accountability and efficiency measures and the shift to equity discourses mixed with those of more interventionist ones.

3.2. Policies in Western Australia

The initiatives to restructure education in Western Australia appeared as part of the total State policies that addressed the economic downturn. The economic context of Western Australia of the 1980s was characterized by a population growth due to migration; strong economic growth derived from resource industries (such as agriculture and mining) that were highly volatile in shifting world trade patterns; a rise in unemployment and at the same time a growth in employment of young people; and a diversification of the economy, such as the strengthening of the finance, property, and business sectors (P. Porter et al., 1993). The economic context was coupled with decreasing share of federal taxes that motivated the state governments to improve public sector efficiency, increase state taxes and facilitate the economy.

As a result of the complex structure of Australian federalism, particularly in relation to educational policy, global policy trends filtered through to state levels in at least three ways: either though the federal agendas and policies, through other states’ initiatives and policies, or directly affecting policy. In Western Australia, the Burke Labor government (1983-1988) was the first to significantly change the state government’s structure by adopting corporate managerialism. In order to deal with difficulties that arose from too many civil servants and too many organizations, the Burke government called for the establishment of the Functional Review Committee. Following the Functional Review Committee’s work, terms such as: ‘corporate planning’, ‘financial management improvement’, ‘flatter management structures’,
‘client focus’, ‘improved management communication’, ‘commercialization’ and ‘micro-economic reform’ became part of the discourses utilized in policy formations by not only the Burke government, but also its successors (McCullagh, 1991).

Corporate managerialism, adapted to education policy in Western Australia, focused on at least two tactics that appeared in a series of key reports: first, devolution, prominent in Better Schools Report (Ministry of Education, 1987); and second, curriculum management, addressed in, for example, the Beazley report (1984). The Beazley report followed a comprehensive review of schools in the 1980s and introduced the concept of unit curriculum. Unit curriculum was aimed at addressing difference among students’ abilities and was guided by discourses of equality of opportunity (P. Porter et al., 1993). Following the Beazley report, there was a gradual shift in subsequent reports and reviews of state education from equality of opportunity discourses (the one utilized by Labor parties) to that of equity expressed in participatory democracy and then to discourses of equity. Equity discourses were built on the idea that equality among students is achieved prior to schooling through welfare objectives101 (P. Porter et al., 1993).

It is widely claimed that the shift to corporate managerial policy in Western Australian education was signalled by the Better Schools Report (Ministry of Education, 1987) (Browning, 2002; Connell, 1993; Marginson, 1997a; McCullagh, 1991; Whitty et al., 1998). This document proposed a new structure for the division of the school system “to follow up on the review of the education system by the Western Australian Government Functional Review Committee” (1987, p. 2). It sought to streamline the

101 Hence the re-constructed nature of compensatory education that considered disadvantage as need rather than shortcomings.
administration of the central office using corporate managerial strategies that focused on economy, efficiency and the devolution of decision making to schools. The report aimed to ‘flatten’ the hierarchical structure, to set up an accountability chain and to monitor ‘school performance’ through School Development Plans set against centrally developed policy goals and standards. P. Porter et al. (1993) argue that coupled with the emphasis on economic micro-reforms addressed in this document, social inequality was still addressed but in the form of equity that was related to provision to those in need rather than equality of opportunity for the disadvantaged. They add, moreover, that privatization of education was not discussed in this or other reports as an option. These characteristics make restructuring in Western Australia different in its aspects from, for example, Thatcherite schooling policies in the United Kingdom (P. Porter et al., 1993) that were based on neo-liberal political rationalities.

In sum, the Better Schools Report (Ministry of Education, 1987), in the context of micro-economic reform, brought corporate managerialism into the educational sphere and transformed education into a micro-economic tool of the Western Australian economy to maintain its international competitiveness. According to Browning (2002) education was regarded as an ‘industry’ from this time on and policies were designed to improve productivity and performance and to ensure quality. While strong economic discourses gained prominence through policies related to education, equity discourses that emphasized equality of access to educational services, including pre-compulsory education were also strengthened.

The other tactics through which the government executed corporate managerial agendas were curriculum reviews. Curriculum reviews enabled the central coordination of schooling. As outlined above, the Beazley Report (1984) was the first document that
introduced the concept ‘unit curriculum’ into the Western Australian educational scene. The idea of ‘unit curriculum’ was constructed “within the framework of the politics of consumption thus reflecting its view of education as servicing a pluralistic community” (P. Porter et al., 1993, p. 238). This idea ensured equality of opportunity (Labor tradition) by creating greater flexibility to accommodate the curriculum to individual students’ needs and presumably resulted in fairer outcomes (P. Porter et al., 1993).

International pressures to describe student learning in terms of outcomes conditioned the release of the *Strengthening Australia’s Schools* (Dawkins, 1988) report at federal level. This paper provided the drive to develop a national curriculum that focused on learning outcomes. The states also shifted their focus in this direction. In Western Australia, the Hoffman Report, *Devolution of decision-making Authority in the Government School System of Western Australia* (Hoffman Report) (Education Department of Western Australia, 1994a) was one of the papers which represented this shift.

The Hoffman Report recommended that teachers implement programs according to centrally defined learning outcomes. In addition, the *Review of School Curriculum Procedures and Processes In Western Australia* (Temby Review) (Education Department of Western Australia, 1994b) enabled learning to be described in terms of desirable outcomes within a curriculum. Consequently, the ideal and practice of equal opportunity still present in the concept of unit curriculum of the Beazley Report (1984) shifted to the ideal of equality of outcomes. One of the arguments put forward for a curriculum defined in outcomes was, that:

there is a considerable social justice potential in the clear articulation of ‘what’s important’ and the commitment to ensuring that all groups of students, regardless of their class,
gender, race, ethnicity, physical ‘ability’, and so on, are expected to achieve at high levels on a common curriculum (Willis & Kissane, 1995, p. 3).

At a state level, the Hoffman Report and the Review produced the conditions for the development of the *Curriculum Framework* in 1998 (Curriculum Council, 1998). As a result of the introduction of the *Curriculum Framework*, curriculum development was devolved to schools, but was centrally framed and overviewed by the state. Another urge to introduce outcome-based education (Spady, 1994) in the Western Australian school system (upon which theory the Curriculum Framework is based) was the increased influence generated by discourses of accountability and efficiency. Outcome-based education presented an easy solution. It offered accountability in terms of measuring that ‘outcomes’ were reached by individual students, rather than in terms of what is provided by ways of curriculum, hours of instruction, staff-student ratios, school buildings and so on, in one word by ‘inputs’ (Willis & Kissane, 1995).

According to Grieshaber (2000a), the introduction of outcomes based education into pre-compulsory education fulfils neo-classical political and economic agendas and is applied together with economic rationalism to education. Outcome-based education reconceptualizes education goals and the curriculum by defining basic educational outcomes that serve employers, administrators and policy makers, rather than the child, parent and community. Grieshaber continues that with outcomes, education becomes easily fitted into an administrative system that measures accountability, efficiency, effectiveness and quality, where these same measures can easily define the allocation of resources.

According to another critique delivered by Dahlberg and Moss (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005), outcomes enable the quantified comparisons of performance (students,
teachers, pre-compulsory education systems) locally, nationally and globally. The *Starting Strong* document achieves this in the field of early childhood education and care (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2001). Measurement is thought to facilitate the ‘better’ government of early childhood practices and it makes possible that a more ‘informed choice’ is available for parents as consumers. Thus, as Dahlberg and Moss (2005) argue, outcomes provide avenues for performance and are turned into a normalizing technology for the increased government of pre-compulsory practices.

Another important upshot of the release of the *Better Schools Report* (Ministry of Education, 1987) was the closure of the Early Childhood Branch of the Education Department in 1989. Early childhood education was subsumed under the government primary school system with the majority of pre-primaries and kindergartens being managed through individual schools102. This restructuring resulted in a shift towards a continuous curriculum framework and pedagogy from kindergarten through to Year 12, which had to be overseen by school principals who lacked training in this area.

Following these changes, it was necessary to review the School Education Act of 1928 to support the devolved decision making structure. As an immediate consequence of the *Curriculum Framework* – which outlines the educational outcomes from kindergarten to Year 12 – and other initiatives to draw pre-compulsory education under the individual schools’ management103, the new *School Education Act (1999)* (Act)

---

102 In addition, as Kerr (1994) claims, pre-compulsory teachers lost their centralized support structure, which resulted in the fragmentation of leadership and networks in the field. This loss also exemplifies the shift from a welfarist managerial regime to new managerialism, where there is an emphasis on individual relations through the marginalization of any form of unionism with a corresponding loss of centralized support system (Whitty *et al.*, 1998).

103 I explain the new make-up of pre-school education later in this chapter under 2.3. *The new institutional organization of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia.*
incorporated the outline of the new school structure including the kindergarten and pre-
primary years in Western Australia. This structure placed kindergartens (for four years 
olds) and pre-primaries (for five years olds) under the government school system and, 
as a result, pre-compulsory education became a part of the compulsory system, 
however, with voluntary participation.

Corporate managerialism, with its tactics of devolution and curriculum reviews 
introduced an economic discourse and instituted accountability and efficiency measures 
into pre-compulsory education in Western Australia from the 1990s. This shift brought 
changes in the educational administration, educational leadership and role, teachers’ 
work, classroom and the curriculum (Whitty et al., 1998). The self-managing school 
appeared with weak state control, education was drawn under market mechanisms, 
education practice was evaluated according to market forces and professional self-
regulation was introduced through peer reviews (Whitty et al., 1998).

The centrally framed and overseen curriculum enabled the standardization of 
A continuous compulsory Curriculum Framework (Curriculum Council, 1998) from 
Kindergarten to Year 12 was created in Western Australia, resulting in pre-compulsory 
education being fitted into the devolved, efficient and flat, corporately managed 
education system and public administration.

Federal and state level policy discourses and initiatives together with the 
changed cultural policy field shifted the provision of pre-compulsory education in 
Western Australia towards a corporate managerialist model. The following section 
delineates the recent structure and discourses of pre-compulsory education that created 
the possibilities for the emergence of new constitutions of ‘the child’. 

271
3.3. Restructuring pre-compulsory education in Western Australia

With growing recognition and support from the 1960s, the pre-primary education agenda in Western Australia moved along similar lines to other states and territories up until the 1990s. Additional resources were made available nationwide to address the issue of pre-compulsory education by the states. In Western Australia party speeches, talks, recommendations and promises had urged the introduction of a full-time voluntary pre-primary year since the early 1970s. While 85 per cent of the pre-compulsory aged population participated in some form of early education in Western Australia by the mid-1980s (Brennan, 1994), this form of schooling only included four half-day sessions at the most.

In May 1992, the Western Australian Government announced that a voluntary full-time pre-primary program was planned to be introduced in Government schools over a three-year period, commencing in February 1993 under the government’s *Social Advantage* (Kroneman, 2001). This policy aimed to make full-time pre-primary available for all children by 1995. This initiative claimed that the introduction of a full-time pre-primary program in Western Australian government schools would expand pre-primary provision to offer the same opportunity that existed in all other states except Queensland (Ministerial Task Force on Full-time Pre-primary Education and Related Matters, 1993). The other rationale behind this proposal was the recognition of the importance of the early years in order to create the best foundations for later learning for every child and particularly for children from disadvantaged backgrounds (Ministerial Task Force on Full-time Pre-primary Education and Related Matters, 1993). Early intervention, therefore was reconceptualized in universal terms and was
also linked to the early delivery of intervention programs for particular groups of children. The plan was to build this new program on the existing part-time pre-primary and kindergarten provision in government schools. Full funding, such as administration and staffing, was to be provided by the Ministry of Education. Teachers were “responsible to the Ministry of Education for the educational program they provide and for ensuring that this program adheres to Ministry policies and guidelines” (Ministry of Education, 1992, p. 11).

Following a change of government in February 1993, the incoming government put a hold on this program until budgetary matters were cleared and a taskforce was established to review the policy and the implementation plan. The report, produced by the Ministerial Task Force on Full-time Pre-primary Education in Western Australia (chaired by Barbara Scott), based its recommendation on the assumption that the government was still committed to full-time, pre-primary programs and that the pre-primary entry age would be raised (Ministerial Task Force on Full-time Pre-primary Education and Related Matters, 1993).

The report shifted the emphasis from the relevance of pre-compulsory education in compensatory education to the significance in early intervention. Discourses of early intervention appeared in this document in combination with discourses of economic return for investment in the early years. ‘Early intervention’ was understood as the delivery of a pyramid of services that matched the needs of children and families, thereby addressing problems when they first arose and were less costly to resolve (Office of Education Policy and Coordination, 2000). It positioned pre-compulsory education at the base of a pyramid together with health-care, child-care, and compulsory education, following a structure proposed by the 1992 report of Children’s Defence
Fund (1992). The Taskforce maintained, similarly to the Defence Fund report, that the provision of pre-compulsory education in the form of basic social infrastructure had the potential to preempt later costs. Thus, the notion of ‘early intervention’, as understood in this report, combined discourses of educational intervention and future financial costs to governments.

The report promoted the central coordination, provision and policy development of programs for pre-primary aged children under the proposed government Office of Early Childhood. This Office was planned to replace the two arms of the system under the Ministry of Education and Community Services, while it supported the strong existing local management and administration of pre-compulsory education. This arrangement of provision, the Taskforce argued, would ensure quality assurance built on best practice on minimum standards and a developmentally appropriate and child-centred program for pre-compulsory aged children (Ministerial Task Force on Full-time Pre-primary Education and Related Matters, 1993). The Taskforce’s recommendations outlined an integrated system for pre-compulsory aged children including the lower years of primary, pre-primary and kindergarten. It sketched out the possibility of a voluntary full-time pre-primary education system that could accommodate all approximately five-year-old children in Western Australia. Consequently, the notion of ‘school readiness’ shifted from the realms of the six-year-olds to five-year-olds in Western Australia.

In sum, the analysis of the report, produced by the Ministerial Task Force on Full-time Pre-primary Education in Western Australia, indicates that discourses regarding the provision of pre-compulsory education were strongly intertwined with

---

104 The report here draws on that 105 centres were operated by the community.
strengthening economic arguments regarding the long-term economic benefits of early education, and with discourses of early intervention. The report also includes recommendations for the centralization and recentralization of early education services prevalent in federal educational discourses and, within that, the importance to guarantee the quality of services and best practices that central coordination could ensure.

In 1995, the State Minister of Education, following up on the report, announced the Good Start: Investment in our children’s future (Education Department of Western Australia, 1995) program. The Good Start program brought structural changes in early childhood services. It transferred early education programs (kindergartens) from the Department of Family and Children’s Services to the Education Department. In addition, it aimed to offer a program for all 105 5 years olds by the end of 1998 and proposed to lift the entry age to kindergarten from the year 2000. Overall, its aim was “to provide a continuous quality education system from age 4 through a K-12 curriculum” (Department of Education Western Australia, 1994, p. 2). The main rationale behind the central coordination of early years’ services was first, to ensure quality with the introduction of effective procedures and developmental programs; and second, to increase accountability. The strengthening discourses of efficiency, accountability and quality and the central regulation and control in a devolved education system further reinforced equity discourses and enabled the emergence of a ubiquitous pedagogy laid out in ‘best practices’ that also constituted ‘the child’ as its subject in particular ways.

105 The Education Department of Western Australia only provided full-time pre-primary education for 40 per cent of five-year-old children prior to 1998 (Education Department of Western Australia, 1995).
As Dahlberg, Moss and Pence (2005, 1999) claim, the notion of ‘quality’ in this understanding is an “empty concept supposed to keep the reader or observer well disposed towards a product” (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005, p. 9), in this case towards pre-compulsory services. Dahlberg and Moss go further and argue that quality in early childhood became a technology to measure early childhood practices and curriculum against a set of scientifically determined, assumedly value-free and stable standards, which replaced the individual’s subjective or value-laden evaluation. Measuring quality thus enables the regulation of practices in pre-primaries, however it inhibits “complexity, values, diversity, subjectivity, indeterminacy and multiple perspectives” (Dahlberg et al., 1999, p.108).

The central coordination and funding of the full-time, voluntary pre-compulsory program and the discursive field outlined above, created the possibility for the identification of ‘best practices’ in pre-compulsory education. As a result, in 1998 the Education Department of Western Australia published the *What is Good Early Childhood Education?* (Statement) (Early Childhood Education Directorate, 1998) statement for schools and communities to outline the criteria for the delivery of quality programs. This document produced technologies for the government of children and teachers in early childhood education and a variety of discourses that constituted ‘the child’ as their subject. These are present in the *Guidelines for the identification of best practice in early childhood education for four to eight year olds* (Guideline)\(^\text{106}\) (Rice et al., 2001).

\(^{106}\) This Guideline is the practical embodiment of the Statement created by a group of educators and is analyzed in the next chapter.
The restructuring of the provision of pre-compulsory education under schools resulted in a more formalized curriculum framework and pedagogy for two reasons. First, it meant a necessary accommodation to the more formal structures and practices of the school, given that pre-compulsory education was under school administration, policies and regulations from this time. Second, since pre-compulsory education was considered as a part of schooling, the development of the Curriculum Framework (Curriculum Council, 1998) in Western Australia, based on the principles of outcome-based education, unavoidably incorporated this stage of education and formalized curriculum outcomes. Early childhood educators drew on their own professional knowledge to design a responsive curriculum and enjoyed autonomous planning before the introduction of outcome-based education in the early years nationwide (Grieshaber, 2000a). With the organizational changes and the introduction of the Curriculum Framework, curriculum outcomes and ‘best practices’ were prescribed for the pre-compulsory years. These documents produced new understandings of early childhood education, pedagogy and ‘the child’. Chapter Nine outlines these constructions by drawing on the Guideline (Rice et al., 2001, 2006).

4. The policy field from the end of 1990s to 2007

The discourses, such as marketization, corporatization, efficiency, accountability and quality discussed previously were ongoing into the new century, both in the international and national policy context. Some of these discourses strengthened and some were reinvigorated or reconstituted and new discourses emerged. One discourse that emerged in a reinvigorated format was the concept of the information or knowledge economy. The OECD landmark document on the knowledge economy asserts that in
“the long run, knowledge, especially technological knowledge, is the main source of economic growth and improvements in quality of life” (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1996, p. 13). In discourses of the knowledge economy, innovation is focused upon as a way of promoting economic growth. Individuals are reshaped in this discursive field as partners in the innovative, knowledge-driven, entrepreneurial, flexible economy (Jessop, 2003). In the new discursive field conditioned by discourses of the knowledge economy, early childhood gradually gained new importance. These discourses constituted ‘the child’ as reflexive, entrepreneurial, empowered (partner) and lifelong learner.

Views based on the Knowledge-based Economy document (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1996) are evident in the Backing Australia’s Ability federal policy on innovation and science that was subsequently extended (Commonwealth of Australia, 2001, 2004). In the discourses of Backing Australia’s Ability policy the rationality of human capital theory reappears in a reconstituted format. As the policy argues to achieve “a road of high growth based on the value of our intellectual capital, we need to stimulate, nurture and reward creativity and entrepreneurship” (Commonwealth of Australia, 2001, p. 2). Economic productivity is linked with human capital in terms of creativity (as a basis for innovation) and entrepreneurship. As a result, educational intervention is reconstituted to supply individuals for the knowledge economy who are engaged in lifelong learning and continuously better their lives and themselves (Rose, 1996b). Conditioned by these discourses, the aim of education was rethought to provide opportunities and to build certain capacities to enable people to become who they want to be and to provide opportunities for individuals to maximize their lives.
4.1. Federal level early years initiatives

The early years gained special importance internationally from the late 1990s (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005). Service provision for young children moved up on policy agendas in most of the countries belonging to the OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2001). This interest in the early years was coupled with an increased investment in this sector. In Australia, global discourses mixed with local initiatives created the possibilities for the birth of various programs and agendas for the early years. Collaborative initiatives between various governmental and non-governmental sectors saw light at both federal and state levels, such as the National Investment for the Early Years (NIFTeY) (National Investment for the Early Years, 1999) established in 1999. NIFTeY is a coordinated effort among federal, state and territory governments to work together, across sectors and in consultation with parents and communities “to promote development, implementation and evaluation of strategies in the early years of life” (National Investment for the Early Years, 1999). NIFTeY has state groups that are linked to state initiatives on the early years.

The global agenda of the knowledge nation and lifelong learning emerged during the 1990s among the OECD countries (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1996). The Australian public policy area was slow to follow this agenda and only in 2000 did the federal government publish the Learning for the knowledge society: an education and training action plan for the information economy paper (Australian National Training Authority, 2000). In this document, the surfacing of lifelong learning, including the importance of the early years and the techno-citizen is
apparent, however, this new agenda was still not enough for the federal government to initiate any involvement in pre-compulsory education (Ailwood, 2002a).

In 2003 in its third term of government the Howard coalition government identified early childhood as a national priority area (Commonwealth Task Force on Child Development, 2003). A Taskforce was set up to produce a *National Agenda for Early Childhood* (Agenda) (Commonwealth of Australia, 2007) that guides decisions and future directions regarding Australian Government early childhood policy and program development. The Agenda was endorsed by the Australian Government in December 2005 and is continuously reviewed and updated to remain relevant and current.

The *National Agenda for Early Childhood* (Commonwealth of Australia, 2007) is a national collaborative approach among state governments, departments, the non-government sector and the community that creates a vision and framework for the early years. The Agenda lays down priorities for “evidence-based and coordinated action which will result in improved health, learning, and emotional and social wellbeing of children, both during the early years and over the course of their lives” (Commonwealth of Australia, 2007, p.16). The Agenda spreads over action areas on “healthy families with young children; early learning and care; supporting families and parenting; and child-friendly communities” (p. 3). The creation of a national framework for early childhood contributes to a strong economic agenda. It increases efficiency and reduces spending by overseeing and coordinating the various sectors engaged in ‘child work’. An integrative effort in the early years reduces duplication and “increases synergies and return on investment” (NSW Commission for Children and Young People & Commission for Children and Young People Queensland, 2004, p. 1). It also pre-empts
the future over-spending on welfare and produces a skilled workforce. It further
devolves decision-making and responsibility to parents, teachers, child experts and the
local community. As Lingard (2000a) has claimed, it promotes a process that “hollows
out” government (p. 29).

Early childhood recently gained primary importance in Australia for several
reasons. According to the Commonwealth Task Force on Child Development, Health
and Wellbeing, this issue has been brought to the fore by many contributing factors.
Among these factors are the ageing population and the associated increased cost to
governments, and debates about the competence, quality and life skills of the next
generation (such as literacy, numeracy and so on), and hence the capacity of the
population to be competitive internationally. Thus, the aim of the government’s early
childhood strategy is to provide a “good start” in life for all Australian children – which
at the moment “is not possible for some” (Commonwealth Task Force on Child
Development, 2003, p. 3) – in order to ensure the international competitiveness of the
next generation and that the future citizens will be able to look after themselves and
their families instead of relying on the state (Millei & Lee, 2007).

Federal involvement in pre-compulsory education remained in a limited scale
with the appearance of new discourses of the knowledge economy and lifelong learning.
Within this discursive field, however childhood and the integrated provisions for young
children, in which the family is the most significant, gained a great significance (Millei
& Lee, 2007). Since 1996, with the election of the Howard coalition government in
Australia, the family became a “political touchstone” (Hill, 2006). The issue of family
values is most important on the Commonwealth government’s neo-liberal conservative
agenda (Meagher & Wilson, 2006). The program of early childhood fits in well with the
promotion of family values that uphold, for example, the traditional roles of male breadwinner and female homemaker (Hill, 2006; Kelly et al., 2005; Meagher & Wilson, 2006). Federal funding for pre-compulsory education, therefore continued at the same level as before in this new discursive context for three reasons. First, early childhood education in most states is subsumed under schooling and the state governments are responsible for schooling. Second, the Howard coalition government places greater emphasis on the early childhood agenda through the family and communities. Third, pre-compulsory education is increasingly funded in an integrated framework with other social service provisions, thus, it is funded in a different and a more complex funding arrangement.

The early years became a key aspect in the production of a flexible and lifelong learner future workforce that will maintain the competitiveness of the Australian economy both internationally and nationally through guaranteeing “the social and economic functioning of society into the future” (Commonwealth of Australia, 2007, p. 4). The discourses of NIFTeY and the Agenda address the early years’ importance in strong financial terms, as actual investments and returns in specific dollar amounts. For example, the Agenda draws on US longitudinal studies that found that every dollar invested in early childhood intervention brings between four and thirteen dollars return in the long term in the form of savings on welfare spending (Commonwealth of Australia, 2007, p. 10), such as crime, unemployment, social and health services and so on.

Scientific discourses, especially research conducted on early brain development by McCain and Mustard (McCain & Mustard, 1999; Mustard, 2002) or the study of Shonkoff and Phillips (2000), are also widely utilized in policy discourses to support
economic arguments and to emphasize the great impact parents and the community play in children’s development. The use of brain research as a ‘regime of truth’, as MacNaughton (2004) argues, satisfies the need to prove that early childhood is important, however it also constructs humans as universally same and simple creatures. Against the ‘noisiness’ of social research with humans, in which the context of the subject and the complex nature of the subject alters research findings to a great extent, brain research simplifies its findings into linear causality. This causality articulates that optimum brain development ensured by the most favourable physical and personal environment results in productive adulthood. Other factors acting upon adult productivity are not considered or are disregarded in these arguments.

In sum, there was a growing interest in children’s wellbeing internationally and nationally from the late 1990s. The discursive field of early childhood was produced by discourses of the previous period and newly emerged or reconstituted discourses of the knowledge nation and human capital, in which the capabilities of persons as innovative and creative gained special importance. This discursive field also produced a certain kind of subject who is able to work flexibly and in partnership in the knowledge-economy to produce national economic growth through being an entrepreneurial lifelong learner. The early years, on the one hand, gained a special place in ensuring the future of the nation by creating opportunities for children to maximize their potentials. On the other hand, investment in the early years was also justified in economic terms and with the use of brain research promoted the idea that every dollar invested brought future economic savings in welfare spending.

Initiatives and policies focusing on the early years joined up across states and departmental divides and used collaborative frameworks among governments,
government departments and the non-government sectors. This framework enabled the government to rationalize its integrated early years provisions, including early childhood education. The funding provided for the restructuring, however was very limited\textsuperscript{107}. It was assumed that the problem was one of efficiency rather than amounts of funding. Consistent with the idea that market forces and collaboration guaranteed higher efficiency, government policies were geared towards this goal. Through community capacity building, the government was able to reduce its responsibility regarding provisions for the early years and shift it to the local communities, parents and carers\textsuperscript{108}.

4.2. Western Australian early years initiatives

State level policy-making is shaped by federal level discourses and initiatives and also by the international discursive field related to the early years. Policy-making at state level is further characterized by the creation of collaborative frameworks among a wide range of governmental departments, non-government organizations and institutions, and the community. In this corroborative framework, the dominant focus shifted onto the communities where children belong, that is, parents, children, carers, schools and the neighbourhoods. The \textit{Children First} agenda (Government of Western Australia, 2004), released by the Office of the Premier and Cabinet of Western Australia, is an important policy initiative of the recent Labor Government in Western Australia. This agenda highlights the importance of the provision of high quality early childhood education and creates the conditions for new understandings of early education and constitutions of “the child” to emerge.

\textsuperscript{107} The 2007/2008 Federal Budget (Commonwealth Government of Australia, 2007) only has about one million dollars designated for early childhood education.

\textsuperscript{108} I return to this idea in the next section, where I outline the new initiatives in Western Australia.
The *Children First* agenda draws together governmental departments ranging from education, health, Indigenous affairs, family and community; profit and non-profit organizations; local councils; institutes working with or conducting research on young children; children and parents. These are included in the development and implementation of policies and actions regarding the wellbeing of children. *Children First* is a:

comprehensive policy that outlines the Western Australian community’s shared vision for our children and young people. It provides direction and support focussing explicitly on children’s lives. A co-ordinated approach will see Government and community agencies work together to meet the needs of all children (Government of Western Australia, 2004, p. 3).

This policy addresses the community as ‘us’ in a personal manner, indicating a partnership with the government. It also imbues the community with a ‘shared vision’ for children. The Government of Western Australia (Government) limits its role mainly to coordinate (not to direct) this agenda, while also retaining its function in service provisions for children. The Government shifts the responsibility to formulate specific plans and to implement those onto the community and community agencies. The Government’s role is to facilitate government departments, businesses and third sector groups to be involved in community capacity building to enable communities to provide “rich and rewarding opportunities that enable our children to thrive” (Government of Western Australia, 2004, p. 3).

Children are considered as members of communities. The Agenda sets as one of its aims to empower and enable children to participate in decision-making that affects their lives. These new intentions to promote children’s participation in Western Australia and the role of the Government to maintain service provisions and to ensure
the protection of children expressed in the agenda, closely reflect the *United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child* (1989). These rights are explicated by the agenda this way:

- **PROVISION:** the right to play and have an adequate standard of living, health care, education and access to early years services;
- **PROTECTION:** the right to protection from abuse, neglect, exploitation and discrimination;
- **PARTICIPATION:** the right to express their view about things that affect them and to participate in communities, programs and services for children (Government of Western Australia, 2004, p. 2).

For example, to enable children’s participation, as part of *Children First* agenda, the Government set up the Office for Children and Youth under the Premier’s Office. The Office’s strategy is to provide children with leadership and development opportunities in relation to participation in decision making and to celebrate the achievements of children and the contribution they make to the community (Premier’s Office, http://www.childrenandyouth.wa.gov.au/template.asp?CIP=12).

Besides the family and school, the local community or neighbourhood is considered to have equal importance in children’s lives, as it is argued by the *Children First* agenda. Thinking about the increased role of communities, integrated frameworks and the cooperation between agencies in terms of governmentality, as Rose (1999) suggests, “one can discern here the emergence of a new ‘game of power’” that operates in the field of ‘ethico-politics’ (p. 188). This new mode of government is termed by Rose as “governing through community” (p. 176). Government in this understanding is different from control. It is the mobilization of forces that “encourage and harness active practices of self-management and identity construction, of personal ethics and collective allegiances” (Rose, 1999, p. 176). Ethico-politics thus involves an ethic of
collective responsibility and responsible self-government. Community, in terms of
governmentality, is understood as a sector for government and is made technical (Rose,

The increasing devolution of the responsibility of the central government to
communities is coupled with losing its capacity to steer from the centre (Lingard,
2000a; Rose, 2000). Communities, that is, families, parents, schools, individuals,
organizations and localities, became important sites for a new form of governing
conduct. They are ‘responsibilized’ as ‘partners’, through collective responsibility, to
resolve issues of health, security and productivity (Rose, 1999, 2000).

Responsibilization is coupled with autonomization, as Rose (1999, 2000) explains
further. Organizations and other actors – such as children – are set free from
bureaucratic control, or in the case of children, parental, or school control and so on, to
find their own destinies. Children are considered as members of communities in their
own right, and their participation is encouraged increasingly through different
strategies, such as the setting up of the Office of Children in the Western Australian
context or by drawing them into partnerships. Consequently, children are understood
more and more as autonomous individuals. At the same time, organizations and actors,
including children, are made more responsible for their common destiny.

The Early Years Strategy (Strategy) (Office for Children and Youth, 2003) was
launched in 2003 in Western Australia and is a fundamental element of the Western
Australian Government’s Children First agenda. The Early Years Strategy supports

109 With this argument I place the push for increased participation and empowerment of children in the
context of recent governmentality. I do not want to argue that children’s empowerment and increased
participation are not welcomed developments. The point I make here is that participation and
empowerment is turned to serve governmental ends.
children, parents, carers and communities to improve the wellbeing of children from
birth to eight years and has “forged important pathways for this agenda [Children First]
by engaging communities to work collaboratively with government and non-
government organisations and agencies” (p. 2). It can be said, that the Early Years
Strategy delivers the practicality of the Children First agenda. By selecting
communities through self-nomination, government intervention is carried out by this
Strategy by the increased ‘responsibilization’ (Rose, 1999) and ‘capacity building’ of
the community and its members. Through community ‘capacity building’, communities
become well equipped to govern children at a distance, without direct state intervention.
Moreover, by enabling or empowering children to participate in decisions directly
affecting their lives, they are governed through their own participation in these
communities to adhere to common and therefore, natural and incontestable (Rose,
1999), moral norms upheld in these communities. The governmental aim to moralize or
civilize children, without the incursion into individual lives and rights, as one of the
main characteristics of the rationality of ‘advanced liberalism’, is therefore carried out
‘through community’ (Rose, 1996b, 1999).

The Children First agenda incorporates early childhood education. Under its
umbrella, funds for the extension of pre-compulsory education are made available in
order to provide children with “improved learning opportunities” (Government of
Western Australia, 2004, p. 10). In agreement with the ideas of the National Agenda for
Early Childhood (Commonwealth Task Force on Child Development, 2003) and under
the Children First agenda, the Department of Education and Training published the
Looking to the Future: The early childhood phase of schooling within a 0 to 8 years
context document (Department of Education and Training, 2004). This document is a
reflection on the ways schools can provide children “with the opportunity to experience
the very best possible start to their learning and development” (Department of
Education and Training, 2004, p. 7). The document reviews how the ‘phase’ between
birth and eight years is thought about in schools and what “this thinking means for
schools, districts and central office” (Department of Education and Training, 2004, p.
7). By reviewing that it develops a “working vision” (p. 8), guiding principles and
assessment for these principles in the school context. It also sets up the Department’s
*Early Years Strategy* and discusses processes for the development and implementation
of these strategies.

*Looking to the future* reiterates the policy and collaborative organizational
framework that the *Children First* agenda and *Early Years Strategy* created. It aims to
define the role of ‘the school in the community’ as a web of partnerships between
parents, schools, organizations and children, and to delineate the responsibilities of the
school towards these partners and vice versa. For example, families are responsibilized
to share their “expertise and information to promote children’s learning, health and
wellbeing” (Department of Education and Training, 2004, p. 12). In turn, the school is
made responsible for strengthening its relationship with families and to offer support to
families. Thus, the document aims to forge alliances between partners to promote
children’s learning, or as the document summarizes it: “We want a child’s development
to be the responsibility of the whole community with integrated services and supportive
relationships established between home, school and community to promote continuity
of learning” (Department of Education and Training, 2004, p. 8).

Thus again, these discourses constitute ‘the child’ as a member of the
community, whose learning opportunities are provided by this community and not only
by the school itself, and for whose learning, the community is responsible. ‘The child’ is a learner, her role is to be an enthusiastic and “successful learner” (Department of Education and Training, 2004, p. 8) whose learning lasts for a life-time. Constituting ‘the child’ as a learner in the community, however questions her role as a full member.

In sum, there is a difference between federal and state level policies regarding the early years. Federal level policy discourses constitute ‘the child’ as an investment for the future, whose early health, education and wellbeing should be fostered to gain financial returns later and to produce self-reliant and productive future citizens for the knowledge economy. National policies call for and define integrated and collaborative frameworks to cater for children’s needs in order to rationalize the recent governmental system in the spirit of efficiency.

State policy discourses constitute ‘the child’ as a member or member-in-learning of the community, who has rights and is provided increasingly with ways to participate. ‘The child’ is located in a collaborative network of agencies, families and the school that strives to provide the best opportunities for her to develop her potentials. By state policy discourses, ‘the child’ is constituted as an autonomous individual who is personally responsible to be a motivated and successful learner. ‘The child’ also has obligations to herself and others and these obligations fulfill certain governmental ends, that is, “for current and future generations to live better, longer and healthier lives” (Government of Western Australia, 2004, p. 3).
5. Conclusion

The period from the 1980s brought major changes in the provision of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia and also conditioned the emergence of new discourses that constituted ‘the child’ in novel ways. To understand these changes, I have stepped back from Western Australia to provide an overview of dominant broader socio-political and economic discourses, including postmodernism and globalization. Discourses of globalization and postmodernism enabled the pluralization of experiences while in return homogenized global discourses. Neo-liberal economic reforms instituted new organizing frameworks of economic rationalization, corporate managerialism and human capital theory both at federal and state levels, and enabled the emergence of discourses of efficiency, effectiveness, accountability, targets, benchmarks, reporting and outcomes in education. These discourses reconstituted the citizen as an enterprising and flexible individual who is skilled for the economy. I considered the impact and uptakes of these broader discourses on Federal and Western Australian policy-making levels. Following that, I brought all these discourses together to analyze how changes were instituted in the provision of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia and how conditions were created to constitute ‘the child’ as its subject.

Governments around the globe adopted neo-liberalism as their political rationality. The public sector management in Australia shifted to corporate federalism. As a result, education was marketized and education policies utilized a strong economic thinking and language, and pursued efficiency, effectiveness, outcomes and accountability. Neo-liberal policies shifted educational administrative responsibilities to families, schools and communities, while at the same time introducing avenues for
Genealogies of governmentality II.

central coordination. During the 1980s, human capital theory was reinvented to fit micro-economic reforms and refashioned education to train a highly skilled, competent, flexible, responsive and knowledgeable future workforce. In Western Australia, education policy-making increasingly emphasized outputs rather than inputs, which created a condition for the emergence of outcomes based education and discourses of equal outcomes and equity of access. A centrally framed and overseen curriculum enabled the standardization of education and its outcomes and produced technologies of assessment and performance, together with models of ‘best’ practices.

The broad international and national discursive field created the possibilities for the constitution of new subjects for micro-economic reforms. Mirroring that, ‘the child’ was produced as a flexible, lifelong learner and enterprising individual. Pre-compulsory education in Western Australia was understood as a technology to produce the productive future workforce for the economy and as a platform to deliver intervention into the lives of all sectors of the population as a means of reducing later costs in the form of welfare expenditure.

The new discursive field of the 21st century understood economic growth in terms of the knowledge economy and innovation. Coordinated and integrated efforts among different government and non-government sectors aim to provide the best opportunities for children in many countries around the globe. Discourses of the knowledge economy mixed with discourses of community participation, fashioned the relationship between government and individuals as partners. Government administration is shifted to foster, rather than to administer, communities. Parallel with increased autonomy, communities gained greater responsibility. They became responsible for the “the ethical formation and self-management of individuals to
promote their engagement in their collective destiny” (Rose, 2000, p.1398). By the complex discursive field of the knowledge economy, innovation and community, ‘the child’ in pre-compulsory education is constituted as a problem-solver, self-actualizing, empowered (partner) and a lifelong learner individual.

The next chapter outlines how these discourses produced ‘best’ practices for early childhood education and constituted ‘the child’ by analyzing the *Guidelines for the identification of best practice in early childhood education for four to eight year olds* (Rice et al., 2001) and its second edition the *Guidelines for best practice in early childhood education within a 0-8 years context* (Rice et al., 2006).
CHAPTER NINE

Constituting ‘the child’ through the Guidelines

1. Introduction

This chapter follows on from Chapter Seven and delineates how ‘the child’ was constituted as a subject of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia in two periods: from the 1990s and the turn of the century, and the early 21st century. The discursive matrices of these periods were discussed in Chapter Eight. This present chapter links these and the regimes of thought of psychological and pedagogical theories analyzed in Chapter Four. In order to mark out the understandings of ‘the child’ I draw on two editions of a guideline for ‘best’ practice that correspond with these periods. These documents are: the Guidelines for the identification of best practice in early childhood education for four to eight year olds (Guideline) (Rice et al., 2001) and the Guidelines for best practice in early childhood education within a 0-8 years context (Guideline 2006) (Rice et al., 2006)

These guidelines are treated as documentary data in the analysis that exemplifies the discourses of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia. These guidelines utilize the discourses of pedagogical and developmental theories and are inscribed with the ways governmental discourses problematize education for the early years. The guidelines translate these discourses into technical recommendations for every-day use in pre-compulsory education. I use the guidelines to help in describing local constitutions of ‘the child’.

The first edition of the Guideline was published after a period of intense consultation between early childhood educators and principals over a period of years on the What is Good Early Childhood Education? (Early Childhood Education Directorate,
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1990s until 2007

1998) government statement. Its second edition was extended to accommodate the changes that occurred in the Western Australian policy field that introduced a new integrative framework for the early years. The Guideline was published by the Western Australian Primary Principals’ Association (WAPPA). WAPPA received minimal funds from the Department of Education and Training of Western Australia to develop and publish the Guideline\textsuperscript{110}.

These guidelines’ common aim is to deliver a comprehensive ‘know-how’ for ‘best’ practice to school principals and early childhood educators that links major curriculum documents, policies and other initiatives relevant to the early years. The guidelines were produced to fulfill three major aims. First, they inform principals about ‘best’ practices in pre-compulsory education and also interpret related goals and initiatives. Second, they enable principals to oversee and to assure the quality of the provision of early childhood education in their schools. Third, early childhood teachers can utilize these as guides for ‘best’ practice. The guidelines are available for all principals and teachers of young children in Western Australia\textsuperscript{111}. It is unknown, however how extensively these guidelines are utilized in practice\textsuperscript{112}.

In this chapter, I proceed with an analysis in the following way. The development and publication of the first edition of the guideline was conditioned by the changes that took place in the 1990s, such as postmodernism, globalization, corporate

\textsuperscript{110} Personal communication with Julie Wraight, the administration officer of Western Australian Primary Principal’s Association (WAPPA) on 28\textsuperscript{th} of June, 2007.

\textsuperscript{111} 5000 copies of the Guideline was published and distributed to members of WAPPA. All government and non-government schools in Western Australia were notified about the publication of this document together with the interstate organizations interested in early childhood education. Copies were sold nationwide. There is also a professional development course organized on the use of the Guideline and delivered on the requests of principals. They are held, at an average, twice a month at school sites. This information was gathered from my personal communication with Julie Wraight, the administration officer of Western Australian Primary Principal’s Association (WAPPA) on 28\textsuperscript{th} of June, 2007..

\textsuperscript{112} Personal communication with Dr. Libby Lee, coordinator of early childhood teacher program at Murdoch University, Perth, and Dr. Carmel Maloney, Early Childhood Program Director at Edith Cowan University, Perth, indicate that the Guidelines are not widely utilized among early childhood teachers in Perth.
managerialism, outcome-based education, performance management and so on. First, I outline briefly how the service provision of pre-compulsory education has been changed. Then I move on to examine the first edition of the guideline (referred to as Guideline thereafter) in the context of other documents or initiatives that were explicitly or implicitly linked to it. Following that, I analyze the second edition of the guideline (referred to as Guideline 2006 thereafter) in a similar fashion. I explicate how positioning the early years in an integrated framework, in which early childhood education fits in more tightly with other government and non-government bodies, shifts the ways ‘the child’ is constituted by discourses of Guideline 2006.

While there are many readings of these guidelines, I offer only one, because this analysis follows the earlier thread that examined how governmental rationalities inscribed regimes of practices of early education and constituted ‘the child’ as a subject of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia. It is not the purpose of this analysis, therefore to critique how these guidelines were put into practice in pre-compulsory classrooms or evaluate teachers according to the standards of ‘best’ practice these guidelines advocate. It is also necessary to state that the analysis of the guidelines inevitably draws on other documents on which it intended to build, for example the Curriculum Framework (Curriculum Council, 1998).

2. The provision of pre-compulsory education

The provision of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia shifted in concert with the provision of education that thought to provide a competitive workforce for the globalized and post-Fordist economy, a demand that was prevalent since the 1980s and 1990s (Lingard, 2000a; Marginson, 1997a). The globalization of the

113 These were outlined in detail in the previous chapter.
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1990s until 2007

economy, a market liberal ideology and a “restructured managerialist, competitive and performative state apparatus” conditioned qualitative changes in policy-making (Lingard, 2000a, p. 29) that saw the federal concern for equality of educational opportunity promoted strongly by the Whitlam government reconceptualized into the priority of parental choice in schooling. This new focus decreased dramatically federal presence in the provision of education to that of performance measures, such as literacy testing (Lingard, 2000a).

The state of Western Australia launched the *Good Start* program in 1995 to create the opportunity for all four and five years old to participate in kindergarten and pre-primary education on the sites of government schools. Following that, the government introduced the *Curriculum Framework* (Curriculum Council, 1998) incorporating the pre-compulsory years (kindergarten and pre-primary). These changes at federal and state levels pushed pre-compulsory education from the private to the public sphere. Pre-compulsory education positioned in the public sphere was subsumed under new management practices and was governed by outputs and outcomes, rather than inputs, such as resources and pedagogy. As Lingard (2000a) argues, by shifting the focus on output “the leaner and meaner state [is] emphasizing efficiency and effectiveness” (p.30).

Outcomes Based Education (OBE) (Spady, 1994) was introduced into pre-compulsory education with the *Curriculum Framework*, since it is based on OBE. To ensure the efficiency and effectiveness of the provision of education, OBE became the steering mechanism while best practice statements and performance indicators developed into the pedals of this new machine of management. The calibration of this machine is done through reviews, evaluations and various standardized tests not purely limited to educational assessments. According to Ball (2000), these parts ensure the
visibility of the practices in education to the public and are also the tools for the management of risks and efficiency. Assessment spreads over new territories, as Fendler (2001) argues, “complex batteries of standardized tests and assessment portfolios, no longer limited to assess an informational knowledge base, have developed to measure students’ and teachers’ attitudes, self-discipline, personality, disposition, type and level of motivation, and willingness to adapt” (p. 123). Thus, the shift in focus to OBE in pre-compulsory education in Western Australia with the introduction of Curriculum Framework and other efficiency, effectiveness and systematic assessment measures in pre-compulsory education, conditioned the emergence of practices of performativity.


The Guideline has various links to other documents and requests, such as

- *What is Good Early Childhood Education?* statement (Early Childhood Education Directorate, 1998);
- *Curriculum Framework* (Curriculum Council, 1998);
- Education Department and Training of Western Australia (EDWA)\(^{114}\) self-improvement process in education\(^{115}\);
- teachers’ and principals’ particular requests; and
- EDWA’s Performance Management and Accountability initiatives.

The stated purposes of the Guideline are: to develop a best practice and professional accountability framework; to assist in the development of quality programs; to promote opportunities for professional development and collaboration; and to clarify what is ‘best’ practice (Rice *et al.*, 2001, p.1). The Guideline is structured around five areas laid down in the *What is Good Early Childhood Education?* document:

1. Early Childhood Learning and Development;
2. Early Childhood Curriculum;

\(^{114}\) It is called Department of Education and Training in 2007.

\(^{115}\) Self-improvement process is linked to performance evaluation and enhancement.
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1990s until 2007

3. Early Childhood Teaching and Learning;
4. Assessment and Accountability In The Early Years; and
5. Early Childhood Within A Whole School.

These areas are implanted into a ‘Best Practice of Early Childhood Education’
framework and are broken down into measurable units following the Key Principle into
Performance Indicators.

The dominant discourse of early childhood education, according to Alloway
(1995) and Fleer (1995b), is child-centred and individually focused on program
development\textsuperscript{116}, pedagogy and evaluation (p. 2). The Guideline utilizes this discourse
and adjoins others, such as the discourse of OBE, managerialist discourses and the
discourses of those policies that surfaced during the restructuring of the service
provision of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia. The utilization of these
discourses conditioned the emergence of a growing number of specific normalizing
frameworks, such as ‘standards’, ‘curriculum framework’, ‘accreditation’,
‘accountability’, ‘benchmarks’, ‘targets’, ‘guidelines to best practice’ and so on. These
frameworks produced a new language in which the notion of ‘curriculum’ exchanged
with teacher designed discrete ‘programming’, and in relation to that new forms of
assessment and outcomes were introduced that were previously unknown in the field
(Grieshaber, 2000b).

OBE shifts the focus, from what education systems and schools have provided
and teachers have taught, with one word, from ‘inputs’, to the focus on what students
have learned, ‘outcomes’ (Willis & Kissane, 1995). Thus, OBE positions the student in
the centre, and as a result, shifts the focus onto the individual while potentially
disregarding any factors that influenced the process through which the outcome was

\textsuperscript{116} In the Western Australian context, the Curriculum Framework provides a standardized outline for
individually focused program development.

300
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1990s until 2007

reached, such as students’ backgrounds or lack of resources. ‘Outcomes’ are the end-products of the instructional process, hence they focus on the teacher’s capabilities and skills to reach those and on students’ learning. Instruction brings about changes in the individual learner and those are matched with stages of identified outcome levels. Hence, the achievement of outcomes can be accounted for and teaching can be evaluated accordingly.

OBE introduces a managerial discourse into early childhood education (benchmarks, accountability, professionalism and performance and so forth) and introduces clearly defined standards of “what’s worth knowing and what’s the purpose of schooling” (O’Neil, 1994, p.7 quoted in Willis and Kissane, 1995, p.8). The Curriculum Framework’s Overarching Statement asserts that the framework defines explicitly what knowledge students need and outlines that in particular goals:

The Curriculum Framework reflects contemporary thinking about what students need to learn in order to lead successful and rewarding lives in the twenty first century and how schools and teachers can best help them to learn. It provides … a clear statement of what students are expected to achieve as a result of their kindergarten to Year 12 education (Curriculum Council, 1998, p. 11).

The Guideline deciphers these outcomes and makes them practical in pre-compulsory practice. It also divides early childhood practice into well-quantifiable and standardized units, as steps of a ladder towards the achievement of these outcomes, on which reflection and self-reflection, regulation and self-regulation, and performance management can take place. The emphasis shifts from input, to the demonstration that the prescribed outcomes have been reached. This focus, as Whitty, Power and Halpin maintain (1998), leads “to a culture of ‘performativity’ rather than an enrichment of learning opportunities” (p.87). Hence, I assert that the emphasis on outcomes and the
culture of ‘performativity’ prevalent in the Guideline are in contradiction to its stated purpose to increase the number and quality of learning opportunities for young children. On the one hand, an early childhood teacher, whose principal adopted this Guideline for ‘best’ practice in their school, may focus to manufacture evidences that outcomes were reached instead of creating authentic learning opportunities in order to create a good performance for herself. On the other hand, adopting prescribed ‘best’ practices as if they were recipes has the potential to de-professionalize the teacher.

OBE is underpinned with the principle of the equality of outcome for all. It satisfies the pursuit for accountability (Willis & Kissane, 1995) and the devolved distribution of responsibilities within the school system through centralized but local curriculum planning carried out by the individual schools. As a result, assessment, as defined in the Curriculum Framework, is focused on the ‘whole school’ and it measures the outcomes achieved by the individual student in comparison to the intended (whole school plan) and enacted outcomes (by the teacher) (Curriculum Council, 1998).

In sum, the Guideline utilizes a complex discursive formulation that prescribes a particular way to provide pre-compulsory education in Western Australia. In the next section, I describe how this discursive formulation constitutes ‘the child’ as a subject of these discourses.

3.1. The ‘entrepreneur child’

During the 1960s, ‘the child’ was constituted as an autonomous and active subject whose activities fed into her naturally unfolding development and who had certain abilities that strived for independence from the adult. Discourses of the Guideline constitute ‘the child’ as active in constructing her own development and learning. As the Guideline states: the classroom offers “a range of learning areas which
provide children with the choices to challenge and support their individual development” (Rice et al., 2001, p.5). ‘The child’ is constituted as knowledgeable about what is best for her and about what satisfies her own needs. ‘The child’ is also constituted as responsible for her own learning. Through discourses of the Guideline children are mobilized on their own behalf. They are presented with choices that furthers their development across “domains/learning areas” to reach their potential and to increase their own “performance” (Rice et al., 2001, p.6). In order to enable children to be active on their own behalf, the teacher is assigned by the Guideline to “develop curriculum which provides opportunities for children to make choices regarding their learning” (p. 15).

‘Best’ practice laid down by the Guideline allows children to have “free choice in the tasks they pursue” (Rice et al., 2001, p. 6). Moreover, in addition to being active, taking risks is another behaviour that is presumed by the Guideline to lead to development and to enhance learning. The managerial discourse is unmistakable in this logic. Learning becomes an investment (M. Simons, 2007). Investment always incurs a form of risk. Without the child’s investment and risk-taking in learning, there is no return or profit in the form of development and success. Risk-taking behaviour is encouraged by the Guideline in the form of “positive attitudes towards risk taking” (p.8).

The ‘active child’ is constituted by discourses of the Guideline as the one who is able to choose between activities that best support her educational advancement. ‘The child’ is constituted as able to shape and govern her own capacities and competencies through her own will and choice, through being autonomous. The constitution of the

117 Here, performance is understood as directed consciously by ‘the child’ and equalled with educational achievement that is made visible.
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1990s until 2007

‘autonomous child’ was discussed earlier. First, the Froebelian discourse constituted ‘the child’ as a subject for the ‘early’ liberal mode of government. In that understanding, autonomy was a ‘natural human condition’ (Hindess, 1996) of the individual. During the 1980s, the discursive formations of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia constituted ‘the child’ as possessing a level of competency to be independent if placed in an appropriate environment. In the Guideline, autonomy appears not as naturally given or something that ‘the child’ possesses. Autonomy appears as an ‘artefact’, as an effect of a variety of governmental practices that enables her to make choices (Hindess, 1996, p. 73). ‘The child’ is invested with and develops certain capacities through practices performed in pre-compulsory education that enables her to be autonomous, to know how to make choices in her best interests and to manage her own learning and development.

From the 1990s, the constitution of ‘the child’ as active in her learning was paired with another constitution of ‘the child’ as capacitated (Hultqvist, 1998). Emerging political rationalities conditioned the conceptual development of ‘the child’ as capable in early childhood theory and practice. This constitution invested ‘the child’ with various capacities, such as responsivity, reflexivity and flexibility (Fendler, 2001). Thus, as a result of the confluence of these discourses, ‘the child’ was reconstituted as an autonomous and self-governing individual. In other words, the discursive terrain constituted by research and expert knowledges about the ‘capacitated child’ (Hultqvist, 1998) reorganized the pedagogical space of pre-compulsory education. The governmental rationalities of ‘advanced liberalism’ relayed concepts of autonomy and self-realization to this space and constituted ‘the child’ as an autonomous

---

118 It was discussed in Chapter Seven.
119 As it was discussed in Chapter Four.
120 This idea was outlined in detail in Chapters Four and Five.
and self-governing individual. Discourses of the *Guideline* constitute ‘the child’ as assumedly having autonomy and certain capacities as the following examples show: “children show capacity to plan, manage and review their own tasks and performance” (p.12) or “the children reflect on their successes and possible solutions to their unsuccessful attempts” (Rice *et al*., 2001, p. 13). Then, after constituting ‘the child’ in this way it outlines ‘best’ practices to further develop these capacities.

The *Guideline*’s discourse encourages the teacher to withdraw her sovereign power and to create an environment where children can learn and practice their freedom. Children are mobilized and drawn into decisions regarding their own learning. As the *Guideline* states: “children take active part in deciding the curriculum” (p. 14) or the teacher “develops a curriculum in collaboration with children” (Rice *et al*., 2001, p. 13). They are also assumed to participate in their own evaluation and to be reflexive about their learning. In response to the observations children make about these, children are compelled to make the best choices in relation to their learning and, as a result, to achieve the best possible developmental or learning outcomes.

In sum, ‘the child’ is constituted by the *Guideline*’s discourses and practices as an ‘enterprising individual’ who turns her life into an enterprise. ‘The child’ constituted this way is both active and calculating. She “calculates about itself and acts upon itself in order to better itself” (Rose, 1989). The shift in the broader discursive matrices brought by the 1990s created the conditions for the emergence of these discourses that constituted ‘the child’ as an enterprising individual, as a subject of ‘advanced liberal’ government. ‘The child’ is constituted as responsible for her learning. She plans, manages and chooses tasks according to her recent developmental needs and regulates herself through reflecting and acting on her successes and failures. ‘The child’ does all that and invests in developing her capacities in order to achieve the best possible life
through the choices that her autonomy and self-government enable her to make. ‘This child’ could accommodate to the changing environment faster and more flexibly with its newly discovered and developed capacities (Popkewitz, 1996).

3.2. Play

The value of play continues to be a dominant ‘regime of truth’ in pre-compulsory education (Ailwood, 2002a; Wyness, 2006). Discourses of play are strongly utilized by the Guideline and the value of play is also reaffirmed. Play is also put into a more accountable format. By imposing curriculum standards, outcomes and ‘best’ pedagogic practices on play, it is produced as a special vehicle through which learning outcomes are acquired (Grieshaber, 2000b). Ailwood (2002b, 2004) deconstructs the notion of play through her genealogical study and redefines it as a ‘regime of practice’, a form of regulation and government of early childhood.

Besides that, play can also be conceptualized as a technology through which children are mobilized to be active and autonomous in their own development and learning, in other words, to become enterprising individuals. Thus, play can be conceptualized as a technology of government that can fulfill shifting aims. I argue that the Guideline utilizes play as a special technology to produce ‘the child’ as an enterprising individual, who is the subject of ‘advanced’ liberal mode of government (Rose, 1996b, 1999).

For example, the Guideline purports that through play, ‘the child’ is able to be “in control of [her] learning in an environment carefully structured by the teacher for purposeful play” (Rice et al., 2001, p.5). Thus ‘the child’ is constituted as self-governing. ‘Purposeful play’ is constructed around children’s interests, “integrates all areas of the child’s development”, “incorporates ‘plan, do, review’ processes” (Rice et
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1990s until 2007

_alfa, 2001, p.5). Thus, these discourses fashion play as a technology that creates possible choices for children to make. Play also caters for their assumed capacities, such as reflexivity, with the aim to further develop these capacities that enables them to make informed choices that maximize their life.

Play, as Ailwood (2002b, 2004) asserts, has been at the centre of theories in the field of early childhood education. From the discourses of Froebel through Piagetian discourses of intellectual development, Vygotsky’s socio-cultural discourses and progressivist discourses all emphasized the value of play for various reasons and to fulfill a number of aims inscribed by governmental rationalities. Through these discourses, play remained a significant ‘regime of practice’ and technology of early childhood education (Ailwood, 2004). For example, Froebelian discourses constituted the playing child as having abilities through which they could experience divine unity. Recent discourses of play constitute the playing child as an active individual who autonomously fashions her play according to her interests and to fulfill her needs through play. The child’s play is thought to feed into, augment and construct her learning. On this basis, recent discourses of play constitute ‘the child’ as an enterprising subject.

3.3. The ‘lifelong learner’

Before the restructuring of the provision of pre-compulsory education and the introduction of the _Curriculum Framework_ in Western Australia, program planning and learning in pre-compulsory education was connected closely to the areas of child development (for example cognitive, emotional, physical and social). The teacher
developed an informal\textsuperscript{121} pre-compulsory program by utilizing her professional experience as it is explicated by Grieshaber (2000a) in regards to pre-compulsory education in Queensland. The situation was similar in Western Australia. Teachers experienced autonomy in planning and enacting the program. With the introduction of the \textit{Curriculum Framework} in pre-compulsory education, centrally defined curriculum outcomes and subject or learning areas were brought in for the early years. Program planning or, from that time on, curriculum development, carried out by the early childhood teacher needed to fit to the framework and match the learning areas, thus, it became formalized. As a result, informal learning that took place in pre-compulsory education before these changes were introduced, gained particular formal characteristics\textsuperscript{122}. Learning was defined and measured through the process of reaching certain outcomes.

At the same time, new initiatives emerged that rethought the curriculum and pedagogy in the first three years of compulsory schooling. Curriculum was reconceptualized to be more in tune with informal learning. The \textit{Guideline} includes particular practical considerations for this to happen. For example, it states that the teacher “plans collaboratively and shares resources across the ECE program (K-3)” and “is an advocate for the principles of learning in the early years being considered throughout the school” (Rice \textit{et al.}, 2001, p. 33). Therefore, there is a two way process that brings the early years closer to the compulsory years: a formalization of the pre-

\textsuperscript{121} I use ‘informal’ in the understanding that teachers were not compelled to adhere to institutionally defined frameworks or processes or outcomes in program planning.

\textsuperscript{122} Non- and informal learning and teaching are “declared as pristine modes of learning” and teaching by educational discourses (Tuschling & Engeman, 2007, p. 41). Informal learning means that learning occurs as a ‘side-effect’ of the activity the child is engaged in, therefore, knowledge or skills are gained even if they were not taught explicitly. I understand informal learning here that occurs during spontaneous play promoted in early childhood education. Formal learning takes place in institutional frameworks with set processes or outcomes, such as in schools. Non-formal learning is used here as learning that occurs spontaneously in a non-institutional context.
compulsory years with the introduction of the *Curriculum Framework* alongside the intended informalization of the first three compulsory years by applying a form of pedagogy that is utilized in the early years. Early informal learning, in this way, is thought to spread along the years from kindergarten to Year Three. Another of the instruments that creates a continuous learning experience for and assessments of young learners is the amalgamation of the eight Key Learning Areas, such as English, Arts etc. with the basic areas of development, outlined in developmental discourses of infancy in the *Curriculum Framework*. Curriculum development is therefore, determined by both the learning areas and the developmental areas of infancy in the *Guideline*.

The introduction of the *Curriculum Framework* incorporated pre-compulsory education into the “span of students’ schooling” (Curriculum Council, 1998). This enabled pre-compulsory education to become more formalized through centrally framed curriculum development and particularly by linking that with learning areas. As the *Curriculum Framework* explicates: “[i]t enables students to progress smoothly through their education and avoids the major disjunctions between phases of schooling evident in some previous approaches to curriculum. It provides the basis for continuity and consistency in students’ education” (Curriculum Council, 1998, my emphasis). The pre-compulsory years became a step in the continuous process of schooling and learning (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005).

Pre-compulsory education, however, aims at more than continuity to primary education according to Grieshaber (2000a), “the young child is, in effect, being prepared for the school curriculum, lifelong learning, society and the whole world of work” (p.277). As the *Curriculum Framework*’s introduction to the ‘Overarching Learning Outcomes’ states: “all students need to attain [these outcomes] in order to become lifelong learners, achieve their potential in their personal and working lives and
play an active part in civic and economic life” (Curriculum Council, 1998). Learning also became more effective, because curriculum was channeled into specific learning outcomes that link pre-compulsory education with the skills and competencies needed for an efficient and productive workforce. Thus, learning became continuous from the pre-compulsory years to adulthood. In this way pre-compulsory education was more tightly linked to personal, work and community life, it became the first institutional stage of lifelong learning and constituted ‘the child’ as a ‘lifelong learner’.

Conditioned by the fast changing socio-economic and political circumstances of the individual and interplaying with the problematization of education to provide skills and competencies for the labor market, learning became a capacity that needs to be taught. ‘Learning to learn’, argue Tuschling and Engeman (2007), “is both an offer and an order to develop motivation and ability to do so” (p. 51). The Guideline urges teachers to inculcate a positive disposition towards learning and the learning areas. The teacher also, according to the Guideline, should incorporate “dispositions about learning into children’s daily learning experiences (e.g. motivation, interest, curiosity)” (Rice et al., 2001, p. 8). Therefore, through modeling a ‘love of learning’ to children a positive disposition towards learning can be instilled into ‘the child’ as if it was her own, and through other avenues kept nurtured for the individual’s life.

Parallel with developing an attitude towards learning, ‘the child’ is taught ‘how to learn’. While obtaining knowledge or attaining educational outcomes remains important in pre-compulsory education, the capacity to learn also gained an important position. Moreover, according to the Guideline, ‘the child’ is required to be reflexive about her learning in order to be able to create new learning experiences for herself (Rice et al., 2001). Thus, ‘the child’ is constituted as an autonomous individual, who reflects on her learning and plans or chooses accordingly to reach the desired outcomes.
Learning as a capability thus becomes an activity that ‘the child’ needs to conduct endlessly to be able to accommodate flexibly to her life’s fast changing economic and socio-political circumstances (Tuschling & Engeman, 2007).

Learning was tied to enclosed institutions earlier, such as the school or university. Learning was equaled with having an education in an institution (Illich, 1973). As it was foreseen by Deleuze (1992) and as Illich (1973) advocated, learning spread out into any place and any time suitable for learning. ‘Perpetual training’, as Deleuze termed it, diminished the importance of schools. ‘The child’ is now prepared to learn during her whole life. The child’s learning is connected to a ‘learning society’ that spreads over ‘life-wide’ learning that is acquired through a vast range of non-formal or informal learning experiences (Popkewitz et al., 2007, p. 24).

Lifelong learning can be also conceptualized as a technology that inculcates and trains certain capacities of individuals. It invests and develops self-organization by fashioning the lifelong learner as responsible for the content, level, and the processes of her education and as constructing her own learning (Tuschling & Engeman, 2007). Lifelong learning is a technology to produce individuals who act in this way. Lifelong learning also inculcates reflexivity into the lifelong learner that enables the interpretation of circumstances and the self-organization of learning to match. Armed with these capacities the lifelong learner is able to choose what is best for her with the intention of maximizing her life. Lifelong learning is, therefore another technology that constitutes ‘the child’ as an enterprising individual. Moreover, through the capacity to assess the efficiency and effectiveness of her own learning and the capacity to construct her own learning achievements and successes and failures, she becomes able to fabricate her dispositions and competencies to fit the requirements of her circumstances (Tuschling & Engeman, 2007).
3.4. The ‘performative child’

Performativity is a “system of regulation, of organizations and of the self, providing a measure of worth and of productivity against which individuals are judged” (Ball, 2000, p.3). At its core, performativity is about efficiency, but also about ‘being seen to be doing something’ (Blackmore & Sachs, 2004). Performativity is an ‘attitude’ and an ‘ethical framework’ within which teachers and students “are having to work and think about what they do and who they are!” (Ball, 2000, p. 2). Discourses of performativity constitute ‘the child’ as a certain kind of subject.

The emphasis on performativity – to produce visible evidence of effectiveness and efficiency – in pre-compulsory education changed the ways of teaching and learning. It conditioned an intensification of recording and reporting. One only needs to look at the tremendous work put into the collation of children’s portfolios to make visible and measurable the learning that takes place in schools. The teacher compiles portfolios, records and observation notes in order to demonstrate her teaching’s effectiveness and efficiency and the children’s progress towards mandated learning outcomes. Through this process, the teacher produces her own performance. The early childhood teacher in Western Australia is accountable to the principal and her performance provides a foundation on which her accountability can be evaluated (Rice et al., 2001). Acquiring this performative collation by the teacher takes away the energy to improve inputs. Children construct school records on their learning, participate in their own assessment, and reflect on their own achievements. Thus, children and teachers engage in the ‘fabrication’ of their performance. Through this process they also learn and ‘fabricate’ who they are. In fact, through this process they construct their identities as a student or teacher (Ball, 2000).
Authentic social relations are also turned into “judgemental relations wherein persons are valued for their productivity alone” (Ball, 2000, p.6). These relations, as Lash and Urry claim (in Ball, 2000, p. 15), are ‘deficient in affect’. The early childhood teacher is, therefore not a ‘motherly’ and caring figure anymore (Ailwood, 2002a). The teacher is purely a professional, who has to be productive and has to ‘fabricate’ her own performance to prove her expertise. ‘The child’ is not the needy child any longer. ‘The child’ is constituted as a ‘learner’, who produces learning, which also includes that she is ready to engage with the path of making up what she knows/learnt and who she is.

There is a possibility also, as Ball (2000) warns, that the quest for performance sacrifices commitment, authenticity and judgement of the teacher. Ball (2000) argues further, “there is a ‘splitting’ between the teachers’ own judgements about ‘good practice’ and students’ ‘needs’ on the one hand and the rigours of performance on the other” (p.6). Constantly being alert to her performance steers the teacher’s attention and energy away from authentic, personally-crafted practice and pedagogy. This sacrifice is however rewarded, as McWilliam states (in Ball, 2000), and that is the ‘seductive possibility’ of performance. What it gives is a knowledge that the teacher and student can become more than what they were. By ‘fabricating’ their own performance they can maximize their opportunities and make the best out of the available choices. Thus, the ‘enterprising self’ and ‘performative self’ work in tandem.

The practical ethics and practices of performance invest and develop capacities of self-improvement and self-understanding (Ball, 2000). Thus, the student gains a reward, as McWilliam argues (in Ball, 2000) in the form of the ‘triumph of the self’, for improving herself through lifelong learning and through assessing and fabricating her own productivity. This possibility of the ‘triumph’ propels children to be performative.
It teaches them to show, through self-management and fabrication, what needs to be shown, rather than to do what substantially needs to be done.

3.5. Parents as partners

Since the 1970s, the emphasis on the relationship between home and school has changed and with that, changed the parent-school and parent-teacher relationship. The Guideline defines this new relationship with one of its key principles (5.3): “[a] collaborative approach exists involving parents, school staff and other professionals in identifying and addressing all children’s needs and promoting optimum curriculum outcomes” (Rice et al., 2001, p.3). Collaboration and partnership is the new framework within which parents participate in children’s education. Through this framework parents are made directly responsible for their children’s learning. Parents are responsibilized through various techniques including the mass media, parent education books, and parenting courses either provided by schools or other organizations (Rose, 1996b). They are also responsibilized, as McGowan asserts (2004, 2006), through policies, such as the Western Australian School Education Act, 1999, which lays out the responsibilities of parents in regard to their children’s schooling and learning (The Government of Western Australia, 1999).

Parents’ and particularly mothers’ presence were encouraged in pre-compulsory education programs during the 1970s in addition to their managerial role in the provision of these programs (Ailwood, 2002a). The emphasis of 1970s compensatory programs fell on the need to educate parents in the importance of schooling. Recently there has been a shift in parents’ roles in their children’s education, from being present at school or learning the importance of schooling to actually being responsible as a
partner in the education and learning of their children\textsuperscript{123} (Popkewitz, 2001). The notion of ‘partnership’ expresses this increased responsibility, it “define[s] the duties and obligations parents are to have for their children’s learning, discipline, and attendance at school” (Popkewitz, 2001. p. 125). Parents are bound to their children’s education through their moral responsibility in a quasi-contractual relationship. In other words, they are governed through ethics to participate in their children’s learning (Rose, 1999, 2000).

The responsibilization of parents took three forms. The first is direct involvement of the parent in children’s learning, either at home or in school, for example helping in classroom tasks or with homework. The second is to contribute information about their children to facilitate the teaching and learning of children, for example through two-way reporting and ‘entry’ interviews. Third, parents are made responsible to choose the best possible education and teachers for their children. Through these forms of participation, parents and teachers collaboratively provide the ‘best’ opportunities for children to maximize their learning and achievements. These forms of involvements are discussed further in the following sections.

As the first form of responsibilization, parents are encouraged to get involved in their children’s learning. As the \textit{Guideline} states on many occasions: “parents are involved in the ECE program” (p. 33), “parents are actively involved in the classroom activities” (p. 35), “parents and teachers interact regularly and jointly develop children’s skills” (p.19) or “the teacher makes time … to share information about the program”\textsuperscript{123} While the \textit{Guideline} places great emphasis on parent and staff collaboration in early childhood education, the \textit{Curriculum Framework} in opposition to that, limits parental involvement in schools. The specific publication introducing the \textit{Curriculum Framework} to parents - \textit{The Curriculum Framework and Student Outcomes Statements: Information for parents of students in government schools} (Curriculum Council, 1998) – states, that the implementation of the framework is a team work with parents, and “parents may be invited by their child’s school to exchange ideas and information” (p.7). This statement limits parents’ possible contribution, it re-defines their involvement as insignificant and regulated by the school.
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1990s until 2007

(Rice et al., 2001, p.21). These excerpts demonstrate that ‘the child’s teaching was
reconceptualized by the Guideline as a collaborative process between parents and
teachers in which they work as partners.

The second form of parent involvement in children’s learning is to inform
teachers about their children, because “[p]arents know their children thoroughly … As
parents and teachers collaborate on each students’ abilities, the special needs of
individual children will become apparent” (Rice et al., 2001, p.35). Thus, through
information sharing between the parent and the teacher, ‘the child’ is mapped out. For
the ‘best’ educational or developmental outcomes, no information is left hidden in any
area of development, be that of the child’s most private feelings or secrets. Thus, in
order to deliver the best possible educational outcomes, children are denied privacy and
their voices are ignored. The information gained about ‘the child’ is repackaged, by
translating it with the help of developmental and pedagogical discourses. This
information, then, is used in the child’s teaching and learning to replace or improve
them with those competencies deemed necessary for ‘the child’ to have. As Høeg
(1992) expresses by imagining ‘the child’ as a tin:

There is a widespread notion that children are open, that the
truth about their inner selves just seeps out of them. … [the]
world … is always using a tin-opener on them [children] to see
what they have inside, just in case it ought to be replaced with a
more useful type of tinned foodstuff (p.44).

This practice constitutes ‘the child’ as a tin, easy to open to gain all knowledge about
her and to refill with specific knowledge and capacities that are subsequently developed
in line with learning outcomes.

The third format through which parents are made responsible is to choose the
best schools and teachers for their children. Since parents assumedly know their
children the ‘best’, they also presumably know what is ‘best’ for them. Parents hold particular ideas about their child’s education and learning that the teacher must live up to, because she is accountable to the parents. Accordingly, the child’s learning becomes a product fabricated and ‘sold’ to the parent. The child’s learning is either measured in well-quantifiable literacy and numeracy skills or fabricated according to categories of excellence. This kind of relationship between the parents and teacher encourages practices of performativity from teachers and schools.

The responsibilization of parents in their children’s learning makes them more autonomous and instrumental in providing children with the ‘best’ opportunities to maximize their learning. Governmental aims to maximize the skills, knowledge and usefulness of the population are aligned with parents’ desires to provide the best possible education for their children. Parents’ freedom, in this way, is utilized in the government of the population. In other words, through choosing and participating in their children’s education, parents are governed to align their and their children’s conduct with governmental aims. Parents, through collaborating in their child’s education, are made instrumental in producing ‘enterprising’ and ‘performative’ individuals who are the subjects of an ‘advanced liberal’ mode of government (Millei & Lee, 2007; Rose, 1999).

In summary, the discourses of the Guideline constitute ‘the child’ as an enterprising, lifelong learning and performative individual. Certain technologies, such as play or lifelong learning invest and develop the capacities of reflexivity, responsivity, flexibility, self-organization, self-fabrication, autonomy and responsibility in ‘the child’. These make it possible for her to shape and maximize her life through acts of choice.
Since the beginning of the 21st century, the changes in the broad discursive field created the conditions of possibility for the emergence of new discourses in the second edition of the guideline. *Guideline 2006* utilizes new technologies, besides the ones discussed above, to constitute ‘the child’ as an ‘entrepreneur’, ‘lifelong learner’ and ‘performative’ individual. These technologies are participation and career development.

**4. Guideline 2006**

There are four major changes between the two editions of the guideline. First, *Guideline 2006* addresses early childhood education in the 0-8 years instead of the 4-8 years context of the first edition. This change is a reflection of a shift in thinking about early childhood in an integrative framework in Western Australia that encompasses all areas considered to be relevant to children’s lives, such as family, child-care, health and so on. This new way of thinking about children created the conditions for the release of *Children First* (Government of Western Australia, 2004) strategy and the *Looking to the future: The early childhood phase of schooling within a 0-8 years context* (Department of Education and Training, 2004) government initiatives. In these documents, the education sector and particularly schools were “encouraged to consider the early childhood phase of schooling within this broader 0 to 8 years context”(Rice et al., 2006). The Guideline 2006 is linked closely to these documents and has adopted the same context.

Second, the community was also engaged and made responsible for children’s wellbeing and development (Rice et al., 2006). *Guideline 2006* includes considerations on how schools can work in collaboration with parents, communities and agencies.

---

124 The strategy and the *Looking to the Future* documents were discussed in detail in the previous chapter.
involved with young children to enhance children’s learning. The third change is that
Guideline 2006 incorporates Career Development information and strategies thought to
be important for young ‘lifelong learners’. The authors argue that Career Development
needs to be integrated into curriculum development, because children assumedly know
as early as in kindergarten their approximate career path and the pre-compulsory years
play an important part to prepare children for their work-life. Through the idea of
Career Development, the pre-compulsory years and working life is closely tied together.
Finally, the five areas around which the first edition of the guideline was organized
were extended with two others focusing on children’s development. These are cognitive
development, and social and emotional development. As a result, the developmental
discourse is more apparent in Guideline 2006.

These changes reflect a certain tendency to think differently about children. The
discursive formations of Guideline 2006 constitutes ‘the child’ as an entrepreneur,
however there are certain shifts in the way of how this is done. For example, the
‘autonomous child’ is further responsibilized, empowered and drawn into participation.

4.1. Participation

Guideline 2006 considers children’s participation as necessary in all phases of
the learning process from expressing interest, designing learning experiences and setting
personal goals to monitor and evaluate their learning (Rice et al., 2006, p.52). The
principles of participation are adopted increasingly in the broader discipline of
education (Quaghebeur, 2007). Participation is promoted as an answer to overcome
particular problems at interconnected levels. Participation is an answer for exclusion.
The Good Start program, launched in 1995, created the opportunity for all four and five
years old to participate in pre-compulsory education on the sites of government schools,
and therefore no child is excluded from this opportunity. Participation is also aimed at solving problems with students’ motivation to learn and to take responsibility for their learning. Participation represents and promotes a specific way of being involved that not only enables “participants to being included, but also to acquire skills, knowledge and experience to take greater responsibility for their own development and education” (Quaghebeur, 2007, p. 83). Moreover, participation is geared towards providing ‘the child’ with opportunities to practice her own freedom (Quaghebeur, 2007; Rose, 1999). Thus, participation enables ‘the child’ to make choices regarding her own life.

Participation is also a discourse and technology that governs children and constitutes particular understandings of ‘the child’ (Masschelein & Quaghebeur, 2005; Quaghebeur, 2007). Participation as a technology “mobilises a particular type of individuality that is not ‘natural’ … an individuality that implies a specific practice of freedom that needs to be ‘learned’” (Masschelein & Quaghebeur, 2005, p.53). Thus, in this understanding, participation involves a learning process. Participative (or collaborative) learning or learning to participate provides children with skills and capacities to be autonomous individuals, to be able to exercise this particular practice of freedom. In other words, freedom or practicing freedom that is utilized in the ‘advanced liberal’ government of individuals is taught to or inculcated in children through participation (among other technologies). Thus, participation, as a technology of government, enables and seeks to act upon the freedom of children, to inculcate, shape and utilize it in order to govern children in the ‘advanced liberal way (Masschelein & Quaghebeur, 2005; Rose, 1996b).

Scientific and practical arguments promoting the participation of children in their education constitute particular regimes of truth (Masschelein & Quaghebeur,
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1990s until 2005). Interactive pedagogy125 (Bredekamp & Copple, 1997; MacNaughton, 2003) and non-intervention or guidance approaches to discipline126 are regimes of truth constituted in regards to participation. Interactive pedagogy, for example, links participation with creating better learning experiences for children through involving them in curriculum planning, evaluation and assessment. Non-intervention and guidance approaches to discipline link participation with self-discipline, with the development of democratic skills and competencies, and with empowerment or liberation of children who are thought to be in a powerless position in a controlling environment. These regimes of truth produce certain norms for considering, governing and self-governing conduct in relation to participation. Thus, without direct control or overt or covert obligation, children are “interpellated through discourses … to participate, to behave as participants and also consider and approach others as such” (Masschelein & Quaghebeur, 2005, p. 56).

The constitution of ‘the child’ as a subject of practices of participation involves the inculcation of certain capacities, needs and interests in ‘the child’ that adds further characteristics to the constitution of ‘the child’ as an enterprising individual. First, ‘the child’ is considered as an active and competent human being. For example, Guideline 2006 constitutes children as able to define and satisfy their own needs and interests without or with minimal adult intervention. ‘The child’ who participates in social interaction, for example, is assumed to possess “a capacity to identify his/her own feelings, experience empathy for another and constructively manage strong emotions” (Rice et al., 2006, p. 30). Moreover, ‘the child’ is assumed to have social and communicative skills (for example, “active listening, expressing empathy, negotiation

125 Interactive education was discussed in detail in Chapter Four.
126 Guidance approaches were outlined in detail in Chapter Five.
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1990s until 2007

skills” (p. 31)). ‘The child’ is understood as able to solve interpersonal problems through conflict resolution and apology (p. 29) and to manage her own behaviour through, for example, “self-questions, reflection, goal setting” (p. 31). Children are also assumed to be able “to help each other in maintaining negotiated rules for behaviour” (p. 31). Thus, ‘the child’ is assumed to be able to influence her own or others’ behaviours (Rice et al., 2006). According to Guideline 2006, these capacities are either present at birth in the form of social competencies or are learned or developed through participation, such as negotiation.

Through learning to participate or participation in learning, ‘the child’ is constituted as having certain skills, needs, interests and competencies that are developed in order “to enable participants to create for themselves certain spaces of freedom, as possibilities for freely determining their own lives, their worlds, their identities (Quaghebeur, 2007, p. 84). The child’s freedom, in this way, is produced as an effect (not a product) of participatory practices (Masschelein & Quaghebeur, 2005; Quaghebeur, 2007; Rose, 1996b, 1999). Furthermore, participation offers opportunities to realize one’s freedom, however at the same time, it restricts freedom to a particular form and that is to exercise limited choice (Masschelein & Quaghebeur, 2005). Through participation, ‘the child’ is constituted as an autonomous individual, who actively determines her life, acts on her interests and needs, and maximizes her potentials and wellbeing through acts of choice (Rose, 1999).

The constitution of the ‘autonomous child’ has another element in participation discourses: the ‘empowered child’. As a consequence of allowing children to participate, for example, in decisions about their learning, power between the teacher and the student is redistributed. Consequently, ‘the child’ is thought about as more empowered in the classroom. Empowering happens through particular ways that target
certain capacities of children, “measuring and seeking to maximize their actions, motivations, and interests” (Cruikshank, 1994, p. 35). Best practices, promoted by the guidelines, encourage teachers to look for avenues to involve children in their learning, to find ways to strengthen their motivation, and to make learning as their own interest. Thus, by empowering children and drawing them into participation, it is becoming possible to act upon their conduct, since government entails acting upon the conduct of individuals not to incapacitate them (Rose, 1999). Empowerment and participation make children more autonomous in the understanding of being freer to make choices. This freedom, however also serves a particular aim, to enable the government of children by their own freedom in the ‘advanced liberal’ way (Rose, 1996b, 1999).

4.2. Career Development

Guideline 2006 directly connects early childhood education with the government’s social and economic agendas through Career Development (Rice et al., 2006). Guideline 2006 states that:

career development involves actively taking charge of one’s learning/work/life destiny in a complex, changing world. It is about creating the life one wants to live and the work one wants to do. An integral component of this process is self-management through ever-changing contexts and circumstances of an individual’s life and work journeys (Rice et al., 2006, p. v).

Thus, Career Development’s aim is to manage lifelong learning and to work within changing environments (Miles Morgan Australia Pty Ltd, 2006). The introduction of Career Development in educational institutions is promoted by the federal Department of Education, Science and Training to broaden access to intentional learning opportunities for students created by Career Development.
Career Development can be problematized as a discourse and as a technology that involves children in a particular way. As its advocates argue, Career Development is evolving as a discipline. It is, however already firmly demarcated from career guidance, for example, career counselling or career information (McMahon & Watson, 2006; Miles Morgan Australia Pty Ltd, 2006; Patton, 2001; The Australian Government, 2007). Career guidance techniques were developed to reach those who were not able to find the right career for themselves, to search for, to get, or to keep a job (Patton, 2001). In contrast, Career Development is thought to be for all individuals to help them manage their learning and work better in order to make more “productive choices” (Patton, 2001, p. 14). It is aimed at helping all individuals to meet the constantly changing needs of the labour market and to maintain their employability “so they can achieve their aspirations and participate in the community” (The Australian Government, 2007). Through Career Development, students are trained to make informed choices in regards to selecting schools, courses and post-school opportunities and to “connect education and training pathways with career choices and employment prospects” (The Australian Government, 2007).

Career Development as a technology invests and develops particular capacities and needs in children. These capacities and needs are apparent in the major elements of career education described by Patton (2001). Individuals are taught self-awareness about their personal values, strengths, potentials and aspirations. In this way, a particular form of reflexivity is inculcated that teaches ‘the child’ to understand herself as a subject of Career Development discourse. Individuals also learn to be aware of the opportunities among which they are making choices and how to access these opportunities. Children learn that they need to make choices. They also learn how to fashion their choices as opportunities that are presented to them. They learn how to be
responsive to these opportunities as their own and to understand themselves as free to choose. Career Development also builds a capacity in individuals to be able to transfer their skills that are assumed to lead to further learning and employment. Through being reflexive, not only regarding themselves but also regarding their changing environment, children are taught to flexibly reconstruct their career plans and to refashion their skills and learning to accommodate to that.

To enable children to make choices, Career Development empowers them in the ever-changing circumstances of children’s lives that might make them powerless (Rice et al., 2006). It provides them with techniques and instruments to realize these dispositions and “to integrate this learning into their own frame of reference” (Rice et al., 2006, p. v). Hence, Career Development, as a technology of government, constitutes ‘the child’ as an entrepreneur. It also invests and develops those capacities in children that enable them to take up this position and to think about themselves in that way.

Career Development calls into being a career identity and norms of career behaviour that are connected to lifelong learning and the ‘enterprising’ and ‘performative’ self. As its proponents argue, central to Career Development is the individual who is an “active agent in the process of career construction” (McMahon & Watson, 2006, p. 28). In this process, the individual needs to engage in lifelong learning that engages and reconstruct the knowledge and skills learnt in the different spheres of life in a never-ending fashion. The individual absorbs herself in a continuous maximization and fabrication of the self that enhances her performance and qualifies her for the next job (Patton, 2001).

According to the discourse of Career Development, the skills and capacities that enable the individual to perform her career appear as a form of capital or human capital in which continuous investment is necessary to remain productive (M. Simons, 2007).
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1990s until 2007

Paying attention to this productivity “is a permanent task of the entrepreneurial self” (M. Simons, 2007, p. 118). Thus, through the discourse of Career Development a way of thinking about lifelong learning, entrepreneurship and performance is naturalized to produce lifetime employability.

Individuals are mobilized by career education to learn how to construct their identity, individuality and career in order to realize their interests, to fulfil their potential and to determine the course of their career (work, life and learning) through acts of choice (Patton, 2001; Rose, 1999). Career Development, thus, can be conceptualized as an element in an ‘advanced liberal’ mode of government. It opens up possibilities for the subject to realize freedom, where freedom is understood in terms of the capacity of an autonomous individual to establish an identity through shaping her life course as acts of choice between career opportunities (Rose, 1999). The exercise of this freedom however is restricted to a specific form. This form is limited by norms of conduct fashioned through Career Development that operate as regimes of the self. In these regimes competent personhood is thought to depend upon the continual exercise of choice to maximize one’s productivity and to understand one’s life in terms of one’s successes or failures in acquiring the necessary skills and capacities to be productive (Rose, 1999, p. 87).

Career Development is not widely offered in pre-compulsory education programs in Western Australia (Rice et al., 2006), however federal initiatives promote the adoption of its practice throughout the education system. Guideline 2006 introduces Career Development in to the framework of ‘best’ practices of early childhood education in regards to curriculum and pedagogy. If applied in pre-compulsory education, career education will be another discourse and technology through which
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1990s until 2007

‘the child’ as an enterprising, performative and lifelong learner individual, will be constituted.

5. Problematizing constitutions of ‘the child’

In the last part of this chapter, I develop some arguments why the above outlined constitutions and technologies are problematic or even dangerous. These problematizations are not about the value of children’s participation or rights, citizenship or democracy and so on. Rather, they are about the theoretical and methodological functions of these concepts within pre-compulsory education that aim to create equity and tolerance. It is about questioning the ways these concepts produce pre-compulsory practice and misrepresent, distort and regulate forms of social existence. These problematizations aim to preserve what is valuable in participation, democracy and so on. I demonstrate, however, how equity and tolerance can better addressed in other ways.

5.1. Participation

Recent discourses of pre-compulsory education and early childhood policy encourage teachers and adults to involve children in decisions regarding their lives. For example, they advocate for and enable their participation in curriculum design and mode of delivery in their own disciplining (behaviour management), school and classroom management and so on. These discourses constitute ‘the child’ as, in Malaguzzi’s (1993) words: “rich in potential, strong, powerful, competent” (p. 10). They acknowledge children as capable of influencing activities and people with whom they are involved, and thus, they are seen as ‘agents’ (for example Kennedy & Surman, 127 As it was outlined in detail in Chapter Five.)
Constituting ‘the child’ from 1990s until 2007

2005). These discourses constitute ‘the child’ as a member of communities and lays down participation as a norm. For example, the discourse of the *Children First* (Government of Western Australia, 2004) strategy in Western Australia locates ‘the child’ in the community and facilitates their participation in policy-making and to express their interests and aspirations. As other examples, interactive pedagogy and guiding principles for disciplining children capacitates children and then involves them in decisions regarding their own learning or behaviours.

It is often argued in early childhood discourses that, as a product of their participation, children are involved in matters concerning them and thus, they become empowered to act on their own lives (for example Fleer *et al.*, 2006; Harrison, 2004; Malaguzzi, 1993; Stephenson, 2006). It is assumed that through participation, children obtain greater freedom to exercise their subjectivity, that is, to act on their desires, interests and aspirations through making choices. It is thought that as a result of the participatory process, children become empowered and democratically self-govern themselves, and therefore, power is not applied (Cruikshank, 1994). As Foucault argues (1979a), government is the regulation of conduct. The transformation of a subject’s capacity to act is government and as such, is not possible without exercising power. Self-government is a particular form of government aimed at one’s own conduct (Foucault, 1977). Consequently, empowerment that includes an aspect of self-government is imbued with power.

Empowerment through participation is a technology of government that includes an alteration together with an increase in the capacity of the individual to act (Cruikshank, 1994). Children are constituted as having the capacity to participate by participatory discourses, thus they can become the subject of empowerment that involves self-government. According to this line of reasoning, participation increases
children’s capacity to act and also constitutes their subjectivity. Children therefore are thought about and think about themselves as having a potential and a will to participate. Teachers seek to empower children through participation with the best of intentions, however as I argued earlier, “relations of empowerment are in fact relations of power in and of themselves” (Cruikshank, 1994,p. 30). Children’s empowerment is coupled with capacity building to enable them to participate, to realize their need to participate, and to teach them how. Children learn the possible ways to partake in decisions regarding their own lives and also learn a disposition towards participation. Discourses of participation draw children into partnerships with teachers, the school and parents, thus, children are obligated (or responsibilized) to participate. Through participation they can be governed to exercise their freedom gained through participation (Masschelein & Quaghebeur, 2005) and to feel empowered. This particular freedom, however, is not the product, but rather the effect of their participation. Through the utilization of this same freedom, children are governed in the ‘advanced liberal’ way (Rose, 1999). Those discourses that demand children’s participation in decisions affecting their lives are therefore problematic in two ways. First, they assign participation as normative, and second, they are invested with power in spite of their intention to ‘liberate’ children. The use of participatory practices in pre-compulsory education needs to be better theorized in order to reach the ‘liberatory’ ends they intend to serve, that is, a more equitable and democratic practice. I will get to this point again later.

5.2. Questioning the choice of the child

Through the technologies of pre-compulsory education such as play, participation or lifelong learning, the ‘autonomous child’ was invested with a particular
freedom, a capacity to act and choose. This freedom in ‘advanced liberalism’ “moves away from the emancipatory aspirations” and becomes a technical instrument to achieve governmental purposes and objectives (Dean, 1999, p. 155). Consequently, through her freedom or constituting ‘the child’ as free to choose, ‘the child’ was made a subject of the ‘advanced liberal’ mode of government. The capacity to choose constitutes ‘the child’ as an autonomous chooser (Marshall, 1995). According to this constitution, “[t]here is almost a postulation of a human faculty of choice, which is both part of human nature and which humans need to exercise to be ‘proper’ human beings (Marshall, 1995, p. 326, original emphasis). Moreover, choice itself became calculated and manipulated by working on the environment within which it is exercised (Dean, 1999). Thus, ‘the child’ is constituted by particular technologies as an ‘autonomous chooser’ who actively makes choices, moreover, who governs herself through making choices. She also understands her life as ‘the making of choices’ (Masschelein & Quaghebeur, 2005). These technologies lay subjection (constitutes ‘the child’ as a subject of a discourse of choice through domination) and subjectification (child acts freely according to her needs and interests) upon each other as a condition of each other (Dean, 1999). Thus, the possibility to understand these technologies as forms of domination is disguised by their ‘liberatory’ nature. In other words, to understand that children want to choose and to let them choose freely are as much domination as ‘liberation’ or ‘empowerment’.

Promoting ‘liberatory’ practices in pre-compulsory education serves a social justice purpose on the surface. It is easy to forget about the hidden domination built into them. If early educators want to democratize education through these practices, they have to be alert that these practices merely transform instead of eliminating power. In other words, in what other ways can an ‘autonomous child’ be fabricated from ‘the
child’ who is unwilling to make choices unless power is exercised to make her want to choose.

5.3. De-stabilizing lifelong learning

‘The child’ is constituted as a lifelong learner who has a capacity of ‘learning to learn’. This capacity is linked strongly with the capacity of self-understanding (self-reflection) and self-improvement (the child makes an enterprise of her life). ‘The child’ as a lifelong learner does not only need to engage continuously in learning to improve herself and her future income, but also needs to demonstrate her investment into and efficiency in learning. Thus, she is subjected to certain norms through performance measures. Lifelong learning, as a technology, turns continuous learning into a norm instead of a process of emancipation (Freire, 1975; Illich, 1973). The normalization of the instrumentalist orientation of knowledge and lifelong learning that bends toward the market ensures the production of economically productive ‘skilled units’, instead of well-educated and emancipated persons (‘someone’) (Lambeir, 2005). The irony of ‘advanced liberalism’ then is, that the enterprising individual “will keep on developing and updating her competences, in order to be wanted. This being wanted as a unit in contemporary society differs strongly from being respected as the person you are” (Lambeir, 2005, p. 354, original emphasis). Thus, the conceptualization of ‘lifelong learning’ as a continuous investment and development of skills that leads to self-improvement, works against respecting ‘the child’ as ‘someone’. In discourses of lifelong learning, ‘the child’ is thought about as a collection of competences and skills who is motivated to invest in acquiring or updating packages. Furthermore, education in this discourse is conceptualized as a service that supplies packages and teaches ‘the child’ how to collect them.
Another author, Masschelein (2001), shares Lambeir’s argument about lifelong learning, in regards to the ways lifelong learning shifts the reality and the understanding of the purpose of education. He argues that discourses of knowledge or information society replace the production and management of tangible goods with the production and management of knowledge, information and creativity (innovation) as intangible goods. Education and lifelong learning enables the individual to adapt to or to cope with changes that are argued (in these discourses) as being increasingly prevalent and more rapid in the new century. In that context, these discourses maintain increased flexibility and the capacity to react (responsive) is required from individuals, organizations and society as a whole. These capacities are those for learning and enterprise that enable the individual to produce incessantly and manage knowledge and information. Learning, therefore, is understood by discourses of the knowledge society in terms of continuous learning. In this incessant learning, formal education is only a brief step that capacititates individuals for more learning and imbues them with a disposition to learning. Consequently, the reality of education expressed in terms of ‘learning to learn’ to produce more knowledge and information and skills for further learning replaces, for example, learning to become ‘someone’.

Continuous learning in a learning society becomes a necessity, argues Masschelein (2001) further, and individuals (and organizations) “live permanently under the threat of being excluded from the community or from society” if they fail to keep up learning that extends and updates their skills and competencies (p.3). Drawing on Arendt’s (1958) analysis of basic human activities and Foucault’s analysis of biopolitics, Masschelein makes the case that the learning society reconceptualized learning as a necessity for pure ‘biological existence’. Learning guarantees that the individual is able to physically survive by avoiding her exclusion from society. ‘Biological
existence’ is incapable of making the individual ‘someone’, that is, to have a biography. Biography is a singular event that starts from birth to death. While ‘biological existence’ concerns happiness and wellbeing, being ‘someone’ is about meaning.

For human beings, things have a function (in relation to keeping up life) and “[t]hey cannot be reduced to a signal triggering adaptation, to information which has to be processed, to a given which resolves in sensation or to the provision of sustenance” (p. 8). Rather, Masschelein (2001) claims, for human existence a world should be created as a space “where the meaning of life is sought, discussed and witnessed” (p. 9) in order for the individual to become ‘someone’. In this world, learning (as self-regulation, reflexive problem-solving and skill acquisition) is reconstructed as a kind of transformation or alienation from the self or identity “to what one is and does” (p. 9). Learning to become ‘someone’ is thus the questioning of our needs and what they mean. This questioning is facilitated by engaging with another reality of ‘someone’ where the individual feels a certain disquiet or shame. As Masschelein (2001) concludes, the ‘educated’ individual is a ‘suffering’ individual, “the individual inhabited by an uneasiness and a mourning which characterizes every real thinking” (p. 18). This individual is not seduced by the happiness of ‘biological existence’ (for example, the sensation that is generated when one done some exercise), but strives for meaning.

5.4. Communities of learners as a political space

Children are thought about by current policies as participating and lifelong learner citizen-members of Western Australian communities and are positioned into a grid of emotional and moral ties assumed to exist in communities (Government of Western Australia, 2004). Children are not future citizens of the nation-state, as they were understood in ‘early’ liberalism, but actual citizens of communities. Thinking
about ‘the child’ in this way is also prevalent in recent early childhood discourses (for example, Fleer, 2003; Fleer et al., 2006; Woodrow & Press, 2007). Community demarcates a territory between the state, the market and the liberty of the autonomous, rights-bearing individual. Thus, its space appears as a natural, apolitical zone (Rose, 2000). Communities, however, are particular elements of political governance. They became valorized as political zones through which governmental aims are met (Rose, 2000). Community, thus, became political because it was made technical to serve governmental ends.

Thinking about communities in terms of government makes visible the emergence of a new diagram of power, what Rose (1999) termed, “community-civility game” (p. 188). This new ‘game’ of power seeks to act on the ethical formation and self-management of individuals through the community to deliver its civilizing program, that is, for individuals to acquire certain community-based morals. The civilizing program of the population, therefore happens in an assumedly apolitical zone by “establishing relations between the moral values of communities and those of individual citizens” (Rose, 1999, p. 190). Consequently, the free and autonomous child who is a citizen of a community can be governed and civilized through the political instrumentalization of community. This civilizing process fashions “localized, fragmented, hybrid” citizens, in contrast to the uniform social citizens that were formed as part of the citizen-forming strategies of the 19th and 20th centuries (Hunter, 1994; Rose, 1999). A multitude of identities of children, therefore are constructed through belonging to these communities and their micro-cultures (Rose, 1999). Early childhood discourses advocate for the plurality of identities to be equally recognized. These discourses consider these identities as constructed by certain domains of culture, values and mores.
This new ‘community-civility game’ of power operates on the field of what Rose termed ‘ethico-politics’ (Rose, 1999, 2000). ‘Ethico-politics’ “concerns itself with the self-techniques necessary for responsible self-government and the relations between one’s obligation to oneself and one’s obligations to others” (Rose, 1999, p. 188, original emphasis). Early childhood teachers are locked into an increasing number of moral standards and obligatory frameworks regarding the education and care of children. One of these frameworks in Australia is the Early Childhood Australia’s Code of Ethics128 (Early Childhood Australia, 2006). Other documents that shape teachers’ ethical practices with children are position statements, such as the Early Childhood Australia’s position statements on various issues considering the wellbeing and education of children129. Best practices of early childhood and codes or standards of conduct produced by various agencies and professional communities also mould the ethical conduct of teachers. These frameworks are thought to be apolitical, since they are produced by independent organizations. Through ‘ethico-politics’ that are partly relayed by these moral standards, teachers have become obliged to think ethically.

In spite of these moral standards intending to produce a moral touchstone for ethical teaching and relationship with children, they also have a normalizing effect on ethical thinking and practices. The ethical judgments that comprise a part of these standards are easily translatable into objective terms. For example, these standards call teachers to understand children as contributing members of communities. Thus, being a member is insufficient. Children need to contribute in particular ways. The idea of contribution also sets up a normative opposition between contributing and the lack of it. As another example, teachers encourage children’s participation in learning

---

communities by enabling their involvement in decisions affecting their learning. This again sets up a binary position that makes participation normative. Non-participation or different ways of participation, such as non-participation as a form of dissent, is not acceptable (Delpit, 1988). These standardized views close off ethical debates by drawing on the power of the ‘true’ discourse and the experts of these truths. To avoid closure is possible, according to Rose (1999, 2000), by keeping these judgments open to ongoing ethical debate and contestation, thus dissensus.

Politics is about dissensus. A particular political practice ‘agonistic pluralism’ described by Mouffe (2000) or ‘perspectival dialogism’ discussed by Yeatman (1994) might be adopted in pre-compulsory education as Dahlberg and Moss (2005) advocate. This particular practice is “premised on irreducible alterity and the inevitability of conflict” (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005, p. 151, original emphasis). The role of this politics is to crack consensus and standardized practices that normalize. The aim is to continuously “stimulate original and creative solutions, produce new knowledges and open up ways for new possibilities for thought, reasoning and practice” (p.153). Three possible examples for this form of practice – ‘minor politics’ – are suggested by Dahlberg and Moss (2005): ‘pedagogical documentation’, the ‘Mosaic Approach’ and ‘little narratives’.

Pedagogical documentation can be a form of contestation (if placed in sharp contrast to documenting to measure up to quality) and dialogue for temporary compromise (that is opened up for questioning again) in which difference and discourses are de- and reconstructed. The Mosaic Approach contests children’s participation as a technology of government. It enables the documentation and listening to children’s perspectives through multiple avenues (mosaic). Compiled this way, their perspectives about the institutions created for them are made the basis for dialogue
between them and adults. This form of dialogue is able to limit adult narratives and to create a space for children’s narratives to be heard and counted into decisions regarding their lives. The third example, ‘little narratives’, uses Hughes and MacNaughton’s (2000) study on parent involvement as an example. The authors question the idea and value of consensus between teachers and parents regarding early childhood education and particular children. They argue that the form of consensus that is built on teachers’ truth – based on standardized discourses of early childhood, such as developmentalism – disempowers parents. Rather, Hughes and MacNaughton call for understanding preschool as a political space where dissensus is normal and parents are considered as competent in playing a part in ‘minor politics’ with their ‘little narratives’.

It is necessary, therefore to understand pre-compulsory education as a political practice in which particular technologies and discourses constitute ‘the child’ and practices for her education that are not immune to power relations. Through similar critical practices to the aforementioned ones – such as discussed in MacNaughton’s (2005) *Doing Foucault in early childhood studies* – these manifestations of power relations, such as constitutions of ‘the child, dominant discourses and ways of regulating individuals, might be destabilized, opened up for contestation and dialogue.

6. Conclusion

This chapter explored how recent shifts in political rationalities in the broader framework of education changed the provision of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia. These changes bind pre-compulsory education closer to compulsory schooling by drawing it under school management and by introducing a compulsory curriculum framework for the early years. With the introduction of the discourses of outcome-based education and management, new normalizing and assessment
frameworks were produced for the early years and the idea of centrally-framed curriculum was inaugurated in pre-compulsory education.

The introduction of new discourses and frameworks constituted a new type of individual in classrooms: the ‘enterprising’, ‘lifelong learning’ and ‘performative’ child. By analyzing the two editions of the Guideline and drawing on other related documents these new ways of constituting ‘the child’ in pre-compulsory education in Western Australia were outlined. Particular discourses and technologies were also discussed, such as play, lifelong learning, partnership, participation and career development, in order to delineate the ways these discourses constitute ‘the child’ or invest and develop particular capacities, needs, and interests in children that enable their government in the ‘advanced liberal’ ways.

Finally, I scrutinized some of the technologies and discourses utilized in early childhood education, such as participation, choice, lifelong learning and communities, to de-stabilize their taken-for-granted understandings. I argued that although we use these discourses and practices with the best of intentions, they are inextricably imbued with power. Thus, early childhood education has to be conceptualized as a political practice. Constituting ‘the child’ as a participant, entrepreneur, autonomous individual, lifelong learner or citizen member of a community, powerfully positions children and shapes them (and children shape their selves) as the subject of an ‘advanced’ liberal mode of government. Some avenues to create an authentic democratic practice with children were also suggested, for example ‘minor politics’ outlined by Rose (1999) and adapted to early childhood practice by Dahlberg and Moss (2005).

The following chapter draws together constitutions of ‘the child’ discussed in the previous chapters and concludes this thesis.
PART FOUR

CHAPTER TEN

Conclusion

“The subject itself is the effect of a production, caught in the mutually constitutive web of social practices, discourses and subjectivity; its reality is the tissue of social relations” (Henriques et al., 1984, p.117).

1. Introduction

This thesis has emerged from my interest in how ‘the child’ is understood in pre-compulsory education in Western Australia, how these understandings came about, and how these understandings were and are influenced by the broader context of childhood. I also wanted to determine why these understandings are so taken-for-granted in pre-compulsory education. To follow my interest, I studied how ‘the child’ was constituted as a subject of pedagogy, developmental psychology, classroom discipline theories and the provision of pre-compulsory education to answer the research question of this study:

How has ‘the child’ come to be constituted as a subject of regimes of practices of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia? Or, how has the education of the young child been problematized to constitute ‘the child’ in particular ways in Western Australian pre-compulsory education?

This thesis examined the historical shifts in constitutions of ‘the child’ as a subject of pre-compulsory education in line with the changing provision for the education of young children in Western Australia in order to de-stabilize the taken-for-granted understandings of ‘the child’ embedded in present theories and practices. In
other words, as a genealogy or history of the present, this study aimed to shake the foundations of present ways of thinking about children by bringing into view the “historically sedimented underpinnings of particular “problematizations” that have a salience for our contemporary experience” (Barry et al., 1996a, p. 5). By writing the history of the present, this thesis also developed a set of intertwining arguments.

One of the main arguments contends that ‘the child’ is invented through historically contingent ideas about the individual, as the Henriques et al. quotation at the beginning of this chapter suggests. What we understand as ‘the child’ is constituted by discourses and technologies that shift in concert with changing problematizations about the government of the population and individuals. As a second main argument of this thesis, ‘the child’ is constituted in close relationship with how the government of the adult – citizen, teacher, worker, mother, parent, and so on – is thought about. The third main argument insists on the necessity to look at the provision of pre-compulsory education as a political practice.

This conclusion gathers the traces of these arguments and sketches how these findings contribute to the understanding and the destabilization of discourses and practices of education that constitute ‘the child’ in pre-compulsory education in Western Australia in 2007. Following this, I move on to consider the contribution this thesis makes and the limitations of this research. Finally I suggest directions for further research by picking up some traces that were intentionally left unexplored.

2. The historical constitutions of ‘the child’ as a subject of government

The history of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia goes back to the late 19th century when the first kindergartens were established. This period is
characterized by the formation of the Australian nation-state and the creation of citizenry. The early kindergartens, by adopting individualized pedagogies such as the theory of Froebel, gained educational characteristics and became disciplinary technologies for the formation of citizenry. Teaching in kindergartens exchanged the earlier focus on regimented habit teaching with a ‘new’ individualized pedagogy that aimed at internal regulation (Walkerdine, 1984). By placing the individual into the centre of the schooling process, teaching became passive and following. It aimed to free children from adult control. The kindergarten as a technology capacitated children to be responsible for themselves and to master and regulate themselves. In this way, children regained their ‘natural’ freedom. Individualized pedagogy moved ‘the child’ to the centre of education and encouraged a pastoral relationship between the teacher and children. This relationship targeted the inner life of the child, to know it and to govern it. Consequently, overt control of the habits of ‘the child’ moved towards the ‘inside’ of the child. Constituting ‘the child’ this way is isomorphous to that of the thinking about the citizen as an ‘early’ liberal subject of rule. The removal of the government of others (the state or in this case teachers and parents) and the capacitation of the individual (citizen or pupil) that enabled the self-regulation and self-mastery, constituted the citizen and ‘the child’ as naturally free. ‘The child’ was constituted as a naturally unfolding individual who was driven by an inherent urge to self-actively develop her abilities that were not present at birth and, as a result, to progressively control her environment. ‘The child’ was constituted by these discourses as an autonomous individual, who, if let free from domination, could progress to full growth by herself without her actions playing any role. Through a complex mechanism of translation, the
education of children in kindergarten was aligned with the aims of ‘early’ liberal mode of government and ‘the child’ was constituted as its subject.

The aim of government in ‘early’ liberalism was to increase national efficiency and to moralize certain sections of the population. Philanthropic persons and organizations secured the provision of kindergartens with the explicit aim to reform or civilize certain groups of the population. These aims were accompanied by a shift in pedagogy away from religious knowledge to scientific knowledge. Representative of this process was the emergence of behaviourism in which the divine substance of ‘the child’ was ‘emptied out’ and ‘the child’ became ‘tabula rasa’. Behaviourism reinforced the idea that the physical and social environment plays a role in growth. ‘The child’s activities, however were still thought to be unconnected to this process. The acquisition of reason was thought about in similar terms with physical growth and its progress becoming understood as development. Schools and kindergartens served as ideal places to measure development.

Psychology set out to quantify the development of reason by translating difference into numerical forms (Rose, 1989). Individual differences in development were also put down as variations in interest and abilities. Through this process development – as a notion and its progression – was normalized and standards for normality were set up. Moreover, the notion of ‘natural’ became intertwined with the notion of ‘normal’ (Hultqvist, 2001; Walkerdine, 1984). Through the utilization of this knowledge about the ‘normal’ in pedagogy, ‘the child’ was constituted as having a ‘natural’ development and a certain normalcy. Thinking about ‘the child’ this way shaped how education and care was understood.
Critiques of these conceptualizations argued increasingly that the moralization, normalization and ‘pastoral’ projects of ‘early liberalism’, that aimed to maintain moral order, had failed (Rose, 1999). The Australian political sphere was slowly reorganized around the problematics of ‘early liberalism’ after the Second World War, and a new mentality of government emerged: ‘social liberalism’. This change conditioned new way of thinking about the state’s role to provide different forms of security for the population. Expertise also gained an increased role in the government of population. Psychology acquired a central position in early childhood education. Accordingly, the focus of education shifted to children’s learning instead of teacher’s teaching. The postwar anxiety against totalitarian regimes conditioned the emergence of child-centred pedagogy. This new pedagogy aimed to inculcate freedom and democratic values and habits to children to pre-empt the possibility of the surfacing of new totalitarian regimes. Child-centred pedagogy also intended to empower children so they could be more independent and competent, while at the same time, it made them more responsible for their learning. ‘The child’ was constituted as driven by an inherent force to actively develop her competencies in interaction with her environment (social and physical). The teacher’s role changed to being active in creating an environment for children that facilitates their learning.

Psychological and educational theories informing pre-compulsory practices gradually lost their socio-political context. The context was blended into the development of ‘the child’, and thus it was individualized. Diversity, in this vacuum, was understood as an altered developmental sequence or varying levels of social, emotional, cognitive and physical competence. ‘The child’ was thought about as a ‘psychological child’, who existed in a socio-political void. The lack of competencies
and prospects of disadvantaged individuals were recoded as needs. Pre-compulsory education was thought about as having a significant role in early intervention by fulfilling certain needs of disadvantaged children that enabled them to start their education on an equal basis.

There has been a series of challenges to the ‘social’ state since the middle of the 20th century. Critiques argued that the recreation of community, to ensure and maximize equality and liberty, had failed and ‘welfare’ actually weakened communities. Other observers maintained that it failed to redistribute wealth, increased paternalism and inequality, and intruded into the private lives of citizens (Rose, 1999). Economic arguments claimed that the ‘social’ state endangered economic growth. These accounts consolidated into a new mode of government that is termed by Rose (1996b) as ‘advanced liberalism’. In ‘advanced’ liberalism, the creation and control of a market environment and the control of expertise shifted to the centre (Rose, 1996b, 1999). ‘Advanced’ liberalism reinvents the ‘early’ liberal ideal of limited government. However, in order to keep its ‘will to govern’, while at the same time curbing its government, it had or has to devise new strategies. It created and creates new technologies of government that produce a distance between formal political decisions and social actors. The new mode of government also restrains the authority of expertise through the invention of accountability and performance mechanisms (Rose, 1996b).

In the recent provision of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia, ‘the child’ is constituted as an entrepreneur who makes active choices in order to maximize her life. This subject supplants the ‘social’ citizen whose freedom and autonomy were gained through acquiring expert-determined ‘normality’ and whose wellbeing was ensured by the state. Thus, ‘the child’ in ‘advanced’ liberalism is constituted as a free
and autonomous individual who knows what is best for her and is enabled by adults to
decide about her life through the utilization of her capacities of reflexivity and
responsiveness. Thus, ‘the child’ has certain capacities that are developed through pre-
compulsory education in order to ‘empower’ ‘the child’ to be able to exercise her
freedom. ‘The child’ is also engaged in a life-wide and lifelong learning to respond to a
fast changing postmodern and globalized society. She also flexibly constructs her life
and development in order to maximize her opportunities and choices. Furthermore, pre-
compulsory education fashions ‘the child’ to understand herself through the choices she
makes as a free individual. Since an ‘advanced’ liberal mode of government regulates
the conduct of an active and free subject, pre-compulsory education serves the
governmental aim to produce ‘advanced’ liberal subjects for government. Consequently,
pre-compulsory education is a political practice.

3. Pre-compulsory education as a political practice

The discursive field and the newly emerged technologies and strategies of
government conditioned the possibility for the provision of voluntary, universal, pre-
compulsory education in Western Australia. Centralization was coupled however with
de-centralization, and the centrally-administered pre-compulsory system that belonged
to the schools system was disassembled from the state through devolution. Through the
process of devolution schools, together with pre-compulsory education, gained greater
responsibilities and autonomy from the state, thus the distance between the state and
education grew. Consequently, devolution strengthened the assumption of the apolitical
nature of pre-compulsory education. It is also presumed that pre-compulsory education
operates on a purely scientific, and thus neutral agenda, since it is served by
pedagogical and psychological knowledges. Pre-compulsory education in Western Australia remained accountable to the state in a manner in which this relationship was also assumed to be apolitical. The introduction of the *Curriculum Framework* (Curriculum Council, 1998) and the recently proposed new *Early Childhood K-3 Syllabus*¹³⁰ (Curriculum Council, 2007) serves the purpose of making pre-compulsory education accountable and its output measurable. The texts of these documents use an expert and technological language that make them appear objective and neutral.

In addition, pre-compulsory education was also derailed onto an economic platform, on which it fulfils the ideal of equality of access and serves early intervention that prevents economic rather than social costs. In the 21st century, the economy was reconceptualized as an information and knowledge economy that values knowledge and innovation as the main source of economic growth. In this context, the early years became a national and global priority due to early education’s ability to maximize children’s potential and to produce a creative and highly skilled workforce for high technology. By attempting to produce a skilled and flexible future workforce for the national economy, the *Curriculum Framework* (Curriculum Council, 1998) also directly linked pre-compulsory education to objective macro-economic reform goals.

I have discussed in this thesis that the provision and practices of pre-compulsory education are entrenched deeply in politics. I conceptualized politics as related to the government of individuals rather than institutional (parliamentary) or party politics. I maintained that discourses and practices of early education are inscribed with the ways of thinking about the government of individuals, thus they are political at their core. ‘Advanced’ liberalism created the possibility for the emergence of new discourses and

¹³⁰ The *Early Childhood K-3 Syllabus* (Curriculum Council, 2007) is still under collaborative evaluation.
governmental technologies to fashion – without direct intervention by political authorities – certain types of individuals who are ready to compete in the international market. Through these newly invented governmental rationalities and technologies, ‘advanced liberal’ government promotes an active citizen who is invested with a specific kind of freedom by which this individual can be subjected to government. Accordingly, the new subject of pre-compulsory education is also constituted as an active individual who is free to choose. Freedom however in ‘advanced liberalism’ “moves away from the emancipatory aspirations” and becomes a technical instrument to achieve governmental purposes and objectives (Dean, 1999, p. 155). Consequently, although pre-compulsory education on the surface appears distant from politics and its links to politics are obscured, ‘the child’, through the technology of pre-compulsory education, is made a subject of an ‘advanced liberal’ mode of government. ‘The child’ was compelled to be an active, self-governing and free subject whose conduct and self-government could be regulated. Thus, in spite that technologies of participation, lifelong learning or citizenship in a community intend to create greater freedom, democracy and equity between children and adults, these technologies are utilized to capacitate and govern children by their freedom. Through the instrumentalization of freedom in pre-compulsory education, children are made self-determining to fulfill their needs, desires and interests through exercising ‘limited’\textsuperscript{131} choice and to turn their own lives into an enterprise. Moreover, children understand themselves in terms of the choices they made. Thus, freedom became technical and infused with relations of power that entail a specific mode of government and self-government in ‘advanced liberalism’ while it shows itself as liberation, empowerment and equality (Rose, 1999). In sum, 

\textsuperscript{131} The choice that the teacher makes available for the child to choose from.
contemporary rationalities of ‘advanced’ liberalism inscribed on the provision of precompulsory education carry out their civilizing project by inculcating, shaping and managing the capacities, skills and wills of children, yet they are assumed to be outside of the formal political authority.

This thesis also contributed to the destabilization of the present constitutions of ‘the child’ and discourses of pre-compulsory education. As a result of the destabilization the fragility of our recent ways of thinking about ‘the child’ and the politics of the practices we employ, were exposed. Thus, this study aimed to open up possibilities for transformation. To avoid, however the kind of transformation that sets new theories and practices into concrete, and normalizes and standardizes ways of understanding ‘the child’ and her education, the transformation of thought and practice was looked at as anti-essentialist. Transformation was understood as being in the “interests of improvement, rather than [based] on the assumption that [it] … will bring about a utopian, wholesale and, thus revolutionary, transformation” (Branson & Miller, 1991, p. 187).

4. Contribution

This study is the only research that considers the historical provision of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia as a political technology that shapes the ways ‘the child’ is constituted as a subject of education and how her education was and is thought about. In other words, this is the first genealogical study that examines how ‘the child’ and her early education were constituted locally in relation to the shifting government of the adult/citizen. This analysis belongs to those researches that demonstrate the necessity to understand pre-compulsory education and constitutions of
‘the child’ as deeply political. Moreover, this study is one of the handful of studies that use governmentality as an analytical tool for research in pre-compulsory education in Australia (Ailwood, 2002a, 2004). Besides the overall aims, part of this analysis delivers a critique of classroom discipline approaches that contributes to the few critiques that arose from outside the field of educational psychology. Moreover, this is the first study that uses a governmentality framework for critique. Furthermore, this is the first critique that embraces many of the particular classroom discipline approaches used in early childhood (however it is far from exhaustive of all approaches) from outside the field and that also uses governmentality as a tool for problematizing practices.

5. Limitations and direction for further research

This thesis originated from my interest in examining how ‘the child’ is understood in pre-compulsory education in Western Australia. As Prout (2000) argues, children are seen with a kind of ‘futurism’ in which their future is more important than their present. In early childhood education, as a particular type of ‘futurism’, ‘the child’ is seen through the lens of developmentalism that progresses ‘the child’ towards adult ‘maturity’. Developmental discourses still dominantly and powerfully shape early childhood practices in Western Australia and constitute ‘the child’ as an adult/citizen in the making. As such, children are looked at in their ‘futurity’ as figures of redemptive possibility for society (Popkewitz & Bloch, 2001). This thesis focused primarily on this relationship between ‘the child’ and the ‘adult/citizen’, more particularly on how constitutions of ‘the child’ and ‘the adult’ go hand in hand through discourses and practices. As a consequence, ‘the child’, as the subject of this study, was looked at as
genderless, raceless and without a particular ethnicity. In other words, constitutions of ‘the child’ were mapped in this thesis as shifting in concert with constitutions of the adult/citizen. Adopting this focus was necessary in this research, because of the limited scope of a thesis.

Discourses of difference and how they constituted particular alterations in constitutions of ‘the child’ in pre-compulsory education, therefore only received cursory attention. Future studies could explore how gendered or rationalized discourses constitute girls and boys differently as ‘entrepreneurs’. For example, McRobbie (2007) in her recent study examines how girls are capacitated differently in ‘advanced liberalism’ to become particular kinds of ‘enterprising individuals’. She argues, that girls are drawn into a ‘new sexual contract’ and are “urged to become hyper-active across three key sites where their new found visibility then becomes most manifest” (McRobbie, 2007, p. 718). These sites constitute girls as using a ‘post-feminist masquerade’, as ‘phallic girls’ and as ‘top girls/career girls’. McRobbie (2007) argues that through these constitutions young girls are governed intensively as a specific and important group of the population. Moreover, she makes the case “that sexual contract now embedded in political discourse and in popular culture permits the renewed institutionalization of gender inequity and the restabilization of gender hierarchy by means of a generational-specific address which interpellates young women as subjects of capacity” (McRobbie, 2007, p. 718).

It is also important to look at how ‘advanced liberalism’ translates “concerns of social and cultural movements into its own vocabulary and a set of practical formulas for the review, rationalization and renewal of governmental practice” (Dean, 1999, p. 155). In other words, there is scope for subsequent research projects to examine how
certain technologies, such as participation or choice and others – that were not the
object of this study – tame and translate discourses and non-discursive practices of
difference (gender, class and so forth) and constitute, for example, the gendered child as
a uniform subject of government. Furthermore, it is also a possible agenda for further
research to look at how these constitutions produce different practices for girls and
boys. For example, Bröckling (2005) in his study maintains, by drawing on his
observations on gender constructions in the field of self-management, that women are
treated as the marked gender, the ones who need extra education to reach
entrepreneurship. Career consultants for women explain this by insisting that female
entrepreneurs must cope with different problems to that of men. Thus, women should
pursue specific professional development in order to become ‘fit’ for the market.

Another study conducted by Ilcan, Oliver and O’Connor (2007) raises a similar
argument. The authors state that the ‘new citizenship regime’ produced by ‘advanced
liberalism’ “renders women as active agents who are responsible for solving problems
in an individualized manner” (p. 75). They argue that the ‘neo-liberal’ restructuring of
the state and as a consequence, the decreasing demand for women’s ‘traditional’
occupations and “the increasing prevalence of women in non-standard work
arrangements, constitute women as political-economic subjects in new ways” (p. 75).
Ilcan, Oliver and O’Connor (2007) also argue that “gendering and re-gendering of
employment positions are significant strategies of neoliberal restructuring initiatives”
(p. 88). Further analysis could extend this thesis and examine how, through the
strategies of ‘gendering and re-gendering’, neo-liberal education reform in early
childhood education is carried out.
The gendered discourses that altered the provision of pre-compulsory education and constituted particular understandings of the teacher were very briefly explored in this thesis. More extensive coverage is given to this topic in Ailwood’s (2002a) genealogical study on the provision of pre-compulsory education in Queensland. Ailwood examined how the different understandings of motherhood conditioned possible understandings of teachers and the provision of pre-compulsory education. Connecting to this idea, a subsequent research could examine how ‘the teacher’ is constituted as a shifting subject of government by the discourses of pre-compulsory education. For example, Moss (2006) examined how early childhood teachers and child-care workers and their work is understood in regards to recent understandings of the workforce that constitutes these workers in complex ways not limited to the dualism of being non-professional or professional. Another project could examine the shifting constitutions of ‘the parent’ by discourses of early childhood as it was carried out by Hughes and MacNaughton (2000) in regards to equitable teacher-parent relationships or by Millei and Lee (2007) who analysed a new initiative in Australia that governs parents by constituting them as responsible for their children’s education and success in life.

6. Concluding comment

In this concluding comment, I reconnect with the quote of Henriques et al. that starts this chapter. In our present political climate in Western Australia and in the greater world, the ethical values of autonomy, responsibility and choice are highly regarded in the local variations of neo-liberal political spheres and produce the ‘tissue’ of social relations. These values, therefore, necessarily frame educational provisions and
discourses and are dangerous without their questioning and problematization. Rose (1996c) suggests that we should not simply critique these values and how they secretly deny the very freedom they promote, but to examine relations of human subjects and political power with which these ideals are bound. This thesis, therefore aimed to study – through the concept of governmentality – how political power is tied up in the social relations and discourses of early childhood education and pedagogy and constituted ‘the child’ as a subject of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia.


Alderson, A. (1976). Evaluating the pre-primary centres. A report on the deliberations and areas studied by the committee on the evaluation of the pre-primary centres. Report no. 1. In Education Department of Western Australia (Ed.): Parliament Place, West Perth.


Education Department of Western Australia. (1972). *Pre-school education in Western Australia. Report of the inquiry by W. E. Nott, S.M., into pre-school education in Western Australia.* Perth: Education Department of Western Australia.

Education Department of Western Australia. (1989). *A whole-school approach to discipline: A review of four years' work.* Perth, WA: Education Department of Western Australia.

Education Department of Western Australia (1994a) *Devolution of decision-making authority in the government school system of Western Australia.* (Hoffman Report). Government Publisher, Perth.

Education Department of Western Australia (1994b) *Review of school development procedures and processes in Western Australia* (Temby review). Government Publisher, Perth.

Education Department of Western Australia. (1995). *Good start: An investment in our children's future.* Education Department of Western Australia: Government Publisher.


Fleer, M. (2003). Early childhood Education as an evolving 'community of practice' or as lived 'social reproduction': Researching the 'taken-for-granted'. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood, 4*(1), 64-79.


362


policy area and the implications for policy priorities and programs. WEETAG
Project: Canberra, APGS.


construction of intersubjectivity during conflict resolution. *New Directions for
Child Development, 73*, 57-69.


Gordon & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality* (pp.


Government of Western Australia. (2004). *Children First*. Department of the Premier
and Cabinet, Social Policy Unit: Government of Western Australia, Perth.

Early Childhood, 25*(2), 1-6.

the cultural politics of education, 21*(3), 269-281.

possibilities in early childhood education. In S. Grieshaber & G. S. Cannella
(Eds.), *Embracing identities in early childhood education: Diversity and

care and education of young
childhood education: Diversity and possibilities*. New York and London:
Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University.

children*. Paper presented at the Continuity in the Early Years: First State
Conference of the Early Childhood Teacher's Association of Western Australia,
University of Western Australia, Perth.


Interim Committee of the Australian School Commission. (1973). *Schools in Australia (Karmel Report)*. Canberra: AGPS.


Williams, L. R. (1999). Determining the early childhood curriculum: The evolution of goals and strategies through consonance and controversy. In The early childhood...
curriculum: Current findings in theory and practice: Teachers College, Columbia University.


APPENDIX

Data collection and description

To answer the research question it was necessary to collect a wide variety of data for analysis. I looked up Commonwealth and State policies, parliamentary debates, memoirs, party policy proposals, reports and other government documents regarding the early education of young children in Western Australia and Australia. I also ventured to other but related fields of health or child care provisions for young children and collected similar types of data for this study from these fields. I searched for all historical evidences in archives and libraries on all facets of the provision of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia and, in relation to that, about the histories of organizations that were providing these services or were training teachers to be employed in these institutions.

More particularly, fractions of the analysis performed in different parts of the thesis draw on different data to analyze shifting constitutions of ‘the child’. In the second part of the thesis, more particularly in Chapter Three and Four, I use the original work of many theorists whose work were/are utilized in educating young children in Western Australia. For example, the writings of Froebel, Montessori, de Lissa and Piaget are analyzed. In Chapter Five, for the analysis of classroom discipline approaches, I selected three books as representative of approaches used in relation to classroom discipline in early childhood education. I examined these books, because they were endorsed by Early Childhood Australia, which is the organization of the largest professional body of early years professionals in Australia. The books were written by J. Slee (2003), Porter (2003) and Bell, Carr, Denno, Johnson and Phillips (2004).

In the third part of the thesis I analyzed policy documents, government reports, parliamentary discussions and so on, and used the histories of the provision of
Australian and Western Australian pre-compulsory education to outline socio-political discourses of certain periods. To identify the theories applied in classrooms in different periods, to delineate constitutions of ‘the child’, and to be able to link the socio-political and policy contexts to the every day practice in classrooms, I looked for guidelines written by central agencies (state or other) that provided/prvide practical recommendations for teaching in pre-compulsory education. I considered the texts of these guidelines as representative of the discourses of their time and therefore, imbued with constitutions of ‘the child’ the corresponding periods had fashioned.

There are four periods that this study identified that brought shifts in the provision of pre-compulsory education in Western Australia. The first period lasts approximately from the 1870s to the end of the Second World War. The second period roughly ends with the early 1980s. In spite of the thorough search in all libraries and archives in Western Australia, no practical documents were found from these periods that were particularly used as guidelines in the institutions teaching young children. Therefore, I analyzed the 1924 to 1938 issues of *Kindergarten Graduates Magazine* (Magazine) and the documents that I have found in the archive of the Kindergarten Association of Western Australia (1911-1982) about the practices of early kindergartens and their teachers. This magazine was an official monthly publication of the association that informed graduates about recent development in the field.

During the second main period under investigation, the Pre-School Board of Western Australia was responsible for the provision of pre-school education. All other programs that were offered to pre-compulsory age children and were considered educational belonged to the Education Department of Western Australia from the middle of the 1970s. I searched the library and archive of the now called Department of Education and Training, the archives of the universities of Perth that have early
childhood programs and the Library of Western Australia as well. I have found a number of documents representatives of this era, however not any guidelines, and considered these documents as representative of this era to study the second period. These are the following:

- State and Commonwealth government reports (Education Department of Western Australia, 1972; Early Childhood Advisory Committee, 1983; Australian Pre-schools Committee, 1974; Alderson, 1976)
- a survey on parent involvement in early childhood education (Education Department of Western Australia, 1978),
- report on developing an early childhood programme in Western Australia (Education Department of Western Australia, 1979),
- issues of Educare: Care & Education in our Community. The official journal of the Pre-school Teachers and Associates Union of Western Australia
- resource book for isolated families (Education Department of Western Australia, 1979), and
- conference proceedings (The Australian Pre-School Association, 1972; Early Childhood Teachers' Association of Western Australia, 1983).

The third and fourth period, that brought repeated shifts in the provision of pre-compulsory education, could be placed around the 1990s and around the few years of the twenty-first century. I choose as central pieces of data to analyze these periods the two editions of a guideline for best practice in early childhood education and other documents that directly relate to them. The two editions of the guideline are: *Guidelines For The Identification of Best Practice In Early Childhood Education For Four To Eight Year Olds (Guideline)* (Rice, 2001) and *Guidelines for Best Practice In Early Childhood Education Within a 0-8 Years Context* (Rice, 2006). I decided to focus on
these documents for three reasons. First, it reflects the new structure of the provision of pre-compulsory education in the State that was developed around the turn of this century. This structure introduced a voluntary pre-compulsory system composed of a full-time pre-primary year for the five years olds and a four half-day kindergarten program for the four years olds outlined earlier. The sites of pre-compulsory education were mostly attached to school sites and are administered under the government school system.

Second, it is important to study these Guidelines in this thesis also, because they recommend best practices for early childhood professionals that were developed by a team of practitioners. These documents not only describe best practices but also develop frameworks for the performance management of teachers’ work and transform early education practices into a format that can be subjected to accountability measures. Third, these documents are relevant, because in the five years between the first and second edition of the guideline important policy shifts took place in Western Australia regarding the early years and the second edition of the guideline mirrors that. This shift resulted in embracing early childhood education into an integrative framework under the Children First policy framework (Government of Western Australia, 2004). The second edition of the Guideline addresses this shift with its practical recommendations to schools and professionals working in early childhood education.