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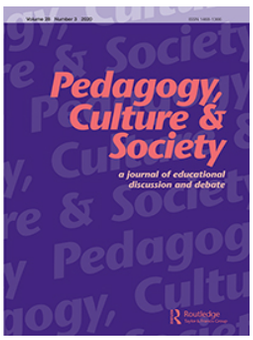

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Erika Åkerblom

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The will to include – education for becoming a desirable citizen

Erika Åkerblom

Faculty of Education and Business Studies, Department of Educational Sciences, University of Gävle, Gävle, Sweden

ABSTRACT

Contemporary understandings about the importance of a 'desirable population' have become intimately related to the pursuit of education and lifelong learning. In order to enable this, higher education operates as a technology for shaping desirable citizens. This paper focuses on a project in Sweden that aimed to include students with intellectual disabilities in higher education. Drawing on Foucault's notion on governmentality and subjectivity, the analytical focus is on which kinds of subjects are created in and emerge from the project's policy documents. The prospective students emerge as different and in need of special measures and are assigned particular knowledge that creates expectations and opportunities for them to regulate and foster themselves as desirable subjects in spaces where governing techniques such as surveillance and confession operate. Rather than including these students, the measures instead lead to further exclusion by creating, manifesting and reproducing the otherness it was supposed to counteract.

KEYWORDS

Education; lifelong learning; health; inclusion; citizenship

Introduction

A dominant discourse in society today is the importance of a constant commitment and engagement in education for the nation's well-being and improvement. The need to become a lifelong learner and educate yourself throughout your life is a recurring theme in political discussions and media reporting. Indeed, it is often portrayed as almost unavoidable, as a duty, and as a human right[1] (e.g., UNESCO 1996; Yang, Schneller, and Roche 2015). In education policy, lifelong learning has gained acceptance and legitimacy and is often presented as a solution to all kinds of modern social problems and as a necessary response to society's increasingly rapid pace of change, the economic and social effects of globalisation and uncertainty about the future (see, e.g., Ministry of Education and Research 2017a, 2017b).

As part of this, it deemed important and necessary to offer equality in education such that everyone is given access to, and develops a good foundation for future learning (see, e.g., Ministry of Education and Research 2017a, 2017b). In 2008 the Swedish Government ratified a resolution from the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRDP) stating that people with intellectual disabilities should be offered a coherent educational system at all levels and lifelong learning. The

CONTACT Erika Åkerblom erika.akerblom@hig.se Faculty of Education and Business Studies, Department of Educational Sciences, University of Gävle, Gävle 801 76, Sweden

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contracting states were asked to 'guarantee that people with disabilities have access to general higher education, vocational education, adult education and lifelong learning without discrimination and under the same conditions as others' (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs 2008, 75).

Descriptions often portray lifelong learning as being about learning post-compulsory schooling, as something that lies ahead of us. Such reasoning is based on the idea that institutions like universities should open their doors to adult learners, adapt to and meet their learning conditions and recognise, value and utilise their skills and abilities to ensure that everyone is employed and has the opportunity to develop and feel involved (see, e.g., Nicoll 2009; Yang, Schneller, and Roche 2015). Discussions like these create expectations about what we should provide and how we should behave. Accordingly it is also about creating particular subjects (Fejes and Dahlstedt 2014; Lemke 2001; Petersson 1999; Tuschling and Engemann 2006). In other words, discussions about education and lifelong learning are not just about the need for institutional practices like higher education and the projected importance of education and learning. They also clarify ideas and images about the future and what kind of citizens and knowledge are needed for a future constructed in these ways.

Discourses of lifelong learning also have an increased focus on individual responsibility where it seems that we should learn across our entire lifespan, i.e., not only in schools but also at work and during leisure time. Despite ideas about individualisation, the discussion also highlights the state's obligation towards citizens who are described as unable to participate in lifelong learning or to succeed in becoming a lifelong learner (see, e.g., Martin 2003; Rubenson 1997, 2002). One of the conclusions is that the state is obliged to take responsibility and create conditions for those groups that are constructed as weaker or excluded, e.g., people with disabilities, LGBT people and immigrants (The Public Health Agency of Sweden 2017) in order to make lifelong learning a reality for all (Ministry of Education and Research 2017b). This can be seen as what Cruikshank (1999) calls 'technologies of citizenship' where individuals are transformed into citizens through various measures to make the individual active and capable of self-governance. The notion of the desirable citizen therefore becomes a means of maintaining social control, where educational measures are described as necessary for fostering desirable subjects who freely modify their behaviour to prescribed norms. Thus, freedom constructed in the discourse governs the individual's behaviour and becomes both a prerequisite and an effect of governance (see, e.g., Rose 1999; Fejes and Dahlstedt 2014). The effect determines our way of living, as we come to understand what is or is not an acceptable behaviour. For example, by describing who the desirable student is, we also understand what the undesirable student is. Thus, power relations construct both the normal and the deviant.

In this article, the starting point is the idea that higher education is construed as a key institution for the shaping and moulding of the kind of citizens the nation is assumed to require (see, e.g., Fejes 2006; Sandberg et al. 2016). In order to illustrate how such an idea operates and its effects, I studied a project run at a university in Sweden that was exclusively aimed at a group of citizens who did not usually have access to higher education, namely people with intellectual disabilities. The analysis explores how predetermined notions on 'the other' had the effect of excluding even though the explicit aim was to include and shape 'normal' subjects. The specific aim of the article thus

becomes to illustrate what kind of subjects are constructed in the discourse of lifelong learning and to identify which techniques are used to shape and foster these subjects.

Perceptions of education – connections and contributions

Researchers who have taken a critical approach that is similar to the one used here have described how ideas about education contribute to the shaping of certain subjects. For example, in the discourse about the importance of formal education throughout life, different ways of talking about education and what it is assumed to contribute to can be found (see, e.g., Nicoll 2009). As Lindblad and Popkewitz (2000) argue, education can be seen as a way of modernising society and creating citizens who will contribute to the development of a stronger and better society. In this sense, education can be understood as a way of strengthening the nation and producing desirable subjects (see, e.g., Brunila and Siivonen 2016; Fejes et al. 2016; Hultqvist 2004; Sandberg et al. 2016; Simons and Masschelein 2008a, 2008b; Simpson 2007; Åkerblom and Fejes 2017)

However, education can also be regarded as a solution to a range of other challenges in society, as shown in the following quotation taken from a fact sheet produced by The Public Health Agency of Sweden (2015):

> As a group, the highly educated have better health than those lacking further education – the higher the educational level, the better the health. (1)
>
> The poorly educated have generally poorer health and worse conditions for good health. Health, living conditions, ways of living and other circumstances that affect health gradually improve with an increased level of education. However, the spread within the education groups is great. (1)

In these quotations, health and education appear to be enmeshed. At a population level, the current belief is that the more educated the population is the better its health will be. However, at an individual level, these assumptions are not completely transferable. According to prevailing ideas, education is described as providing individuals with a number of social benefits, self-control, responsibility, promoting and sustaining healthy lifestyles and positive choices, and improving intelligence (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs 2016; Lager and Bremberg 2013).

Accordingly, by embracing the majority of citizens, education and lifelong learning appear to play a central role in modern society as techniques for creating subjects (see, e.g., Tuschling and Engemann 2006). However, as education is created in accordance with the prevailing discourses and perceptions of people's capabilities and abilities, it also means that the system automatically excludes as it includes (see, e.g., Popkewitz and Brennan 1997; Rubenson and Desjardins 2009). Thus, the education system can be seen as a practice, or act, in which discursive power is staged (Beronius 1986; Olsson 1997). As Fejes (2006) argues, lifelong learning can be seen as a liberal technology for governing. He illustrates that the language that is used in a discourse is an expression of power, where 'all' is defined as certain groups, i.e., those that are considered capable of participating in lifelong learning (see also, e.g., Berglund 2008; Lindblad and Popkewitz 2001; Wilkins and Burke 2015). Groups that are constructed as incapable of personal responsibility, lacking in motivation and not meeting the conditions enshrined in the lifelong learning discourse are excluded.

In sum, education and lifelong learning play central roles in modern society as governing technologies for creating desirable citizens. The way in which education and lifelong learning are talked about can be seen as an expression of power in a discourse in which 'all' refers only to certain categories of citizen. The starting point for this article is the description of higher education as the proper way for offering access to lifelong learning to those who are described as being in need of it, i.e., those outside of the norm.

The project

The idea of a population's need for higher education envisages most individuals able to proceed from primary school and post-secondary school to higher education. However, one group that is not offered this opportunity is people with intellectual disabilities. In Sweden, this group is offered a post-secondary education that does not automatically give them access to academic studies (see, e.g., Ministry of Education 2003). In this group, which is often constructed as being homogeneous, we find a variety of individuals, all of whom are perceived as being unable to cope with and assimilate academic studies. In a project conducted from 2011–2013 at a university in Sweden, nine selected students with intellectual disabilities were given the opportunity to take part in higher education studies. The project was described as enabling participation in lifelong learning, contributing to the improvement of the students' ability to handle change and to improved health (Report 2014). The primary purpose of the project was to:

> … develop higher education for people with developmental disabilities and at the same time create better conditions for lifelong learning and even become more employable on the labour market, keep jobs and manage to change jobs, i.e. changes in the labour market. In addition, the purpose has been to contribute to inclusion in society in general, but with a focus on higher education. (Report 2014, 10)

The project addressed the imagined problem of individuals who were perceived as 'different' or who were unable to adequately participate in and assimilate lifelong learning through academic studies (see, e.g., Ministry of Education 2013). The students involved in the project undertook a two-year programme that was exclusively designed for that group of individuals, during 3 years with the ambition of them then being able to enter the labour market as 'health inspirers' for people with similar disabilities. Before being admitted to the project, the prospective participants were tested to ensure that they would be able to benefit in full from the education provided. For example, their reading and physical skills were tested and those who were approved were then interviewed to determine their motivation and communication skills (Report 2012). The students who were admitted to the project studied subjects including how to promote health, especially with regard to physical activity and diet and related subjects such as strength training and daily exercise, food and nutrition, pedagogical leadership, group processes and inspiration methodologies.

In this article, the empirical material consists of the final report from the project produced in 2014, the mid-term report from 2012 (referenced as 'Report') and five curricula from 2012 (referenced as Curriculum'). For ethical reasons, the material has been anonymised.

The study's analytical tools

In order to analyse how the students' subjectivities emerged in this lifelong learning programme, a post-structural and discursive theorisation was drawn on inspired by the work of Michel Foucault (1972, 1980, 2007): a governmentality perspective in which concepts such as power, knowledge, control, discipline and subjectivity were particularly important. The analytical focus is on what kind of subjects are made possible through the discourse on lifelong learning and emerge in the narratives about the project.

Governmentality is about how we are able to control ourselves and others using prevailing discourses (Foucault, 2003a). According to Foucault, discourse is central to the exercise of power because it is the discourse's portrayals that power refers to and uses. The prevailing discourse visualises the norm, i.e., what it is possible to talk about or not, or as Foucault (1981) describes it:

> We know quite well that we do not have the right to say everything, that we cannot speak of just anything in any circumstances whatever, and that not everyone has the right to speak of everything whatever. (52)

Discourses both create the conditions for and depend on our way of talking about specific problems, events and needs at a certain time and in a certain context (Foucault 1981, 2002, 2006a, 2006b). In other words, stories about, for example, lifelong learning and intellectual disability are constructed and made possible in current discourses. Thus, knowledge and knowledge production are productive activities that create expectations and possibilities for us to create ourselves as subjects, in that subjectivities emerge through and within the regularities of self-description (Fejes and Dahlstedt 2017). In this study, student subjectivities are shaped through discourses of lifelong learning. However, the question is not whether these subjects exist or not, but rather what effects the subjectivation may have.

How governing is manifested depends on how and what we think about control, power and discipline. Power can be expressed through laws and regulations as well as through discipline (Foucault 2007). Within the disciplinary form of power, there are different techniques of governance, including normalisation and surveillance (Foucault 1975). Normalisation strives to induce all individuals to adapt to the prevailing norm in a specific situation. According to Foucault (1975), discipline takes place through normalisation to increase productivity in society. For example, it is about techniques such as structuring and regulating the students' time and space through practices such as terms, courses, deadlines for examinations, etc., for reasons of order and control. Further, it is also about students taking responsibility for themselves, their lives and their education and doing this in a way that is beneficial to them.

Discipline through surveillance is based on the idea that individuals do what is right by accepting that they can be controlled by, for example, teachers, parents or friends, but also by themselves. That is, students assess and interpret themselves in a self-disciplined way so that writing and reading become part of the formation of the subject. In the project, surveillance was enacted through students keeping a diary and registering their eating habits, i.e., technologies on the self (Foucault 2003b) and the teachers contribute to the norm being followed and maintained.

Knowledge thus contributes to the control and formulation of subjects. Education as a governing technology is based on knowledge that underlies measures, at the same time as techniques such as surveillance governsgovern and create the subjects. By applying the above concepts to the project's reports and curricula, the intention is to visualise the construction of subjects that was created through the discourse of lifelong learning and to identify the techniques that shaped and fostered these subjects.

A discourse of lifelong learning and the shaping of desirable citizens

The documents are first of all analysed by focusing on the arguments that emerged during the project, and secondly by how higher education emerged as a governing technology. The third and final focus is on the picture of the students that emerged in the documents.

The existence of the project

The project was described as an enabler and a practice in which individuals who are not perceived as normal participants in higher education could take part in lifelong learning. The need for an existence of the project centred on the idea of inclusion; that Swedish society wanted a more inclusive approach (Report 2014) and that inclusion should be 'in all directions' (21). However, at the same time, there was also a depiction of the distinction between 'us' and 'them':

> As the entire development process and the motive for the project are largely based on inclusion, it is important that we clarify what we mean by the concept of inclusion. [. . .] With an inclusive approach in life you take the initiative to adapt yourself to the needs and conditions of others. (21)

The description of the term inclusion produces 'us' as those who define what is meant by inclusion and 'them' as those who adapt to that definition. Thus, inclusion and the need for an inclusive approach do not appear to apply to 'us', but to them, or 'the other'. Further, this way of reasoning portrays 'us' and 'them' as the basis for the project and legitimises it. The description thus contributes to the categorisation of individuals and, accordingly, becomes an argument for launching the project.

The project description refers to, and has its starting point in a proposition from the Ministry of Education (2001), which stated that universities should welcome everyone regardless of background, ethnicity, residence, gender or disability. Based on this, it was argued in the project description (Report 2014) that recruitment to higher education should be increased, evened out and expanded to include new groups. The project can therefore be seen as a practice that was designed to include 'the other' in higher education and as providing an opening to lifelong learning for those who had previously been excluded from it, i.e., as a process of normalisation (Foucault 1975).

The project description in the report from 2014 emphasises that the most important task was to enable (all) students to develop an ability to learn:

> Our conviction is that one of the most important things we can do for our students with and without developmental disabilities is to help them to be good at learning. Of course, the actual subject content is important in the courses that are taken, but seen from a life

> perspective, it is very important to as early as possible be able to learn new things, i.e. 'learn how to learn' (75)

In the quotation, there is an assumption that all students need support in how to learn. The project's most important task can therefore be said to be about teaching the students how to learn so that they will also be able to participate in learning in the future. As the students were expected to learn how to learn, a shift of responsibility occurred through self-governance. The students were also made accountable for their own development and learning and for the decisions that were made around these aspects. However, initially the project was described as a practice that assisted and enabled inclusion, the documents described the project as way for the selected students to gain access to higher education so that they could be included in what was described as 'normal'. Nevertheless, in the project the students were categorised according to their shortcomings and the demands and expectations that were imposed on them, i.e., the students were expected to be and behave in ways that they had already been described as being unable to.

To summarise, there was a contradictory picture of the purpose of the project and of the intended students. The students were construed as different and as persons who needed to be taken care of to enable them to learn how to learn. This categorisation was used as argument for launching the project but was also a way to make the students self-governing. That is, the aim was to help the students to learn and be included at the same time as the students were made responsible for learning and adapting to the norms for inclusion. Further, the project was presented as a functional tool for developing and offering opportunities for higher education for people with developmental disabilities and as an application of the normalisation process as a practice that fostered and regulated citizens who were constructed as 'the other', i.e., creating 'the lifelong learner' in order to recreate the social order. Thus, the project can be seen as a 'heterotopia of deviation' (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986), in which individuals who were regarded as being outside the norm were placed in a learning context in order to shape them into desirable subjects. Accordingly, this is about expectations for what people should be able to do in order to live a so-called normal life, or at least as normal a life as possible; it defines normal and abnormal, healthy and unhealthy, fit and unfit, educable and uneducable.

Higher education as governing technology

In the 2014 report, the purpose of the project is expressed as including and integrating the students as normal students and citizens, and that the intention of the project is to not be a 'special higher education' (9) but the equivalent of any other higher education. The intention was for higher education to create a place in which those who were perceived as constituting a risk could be fostered to understand social norms and rules. Popkewitz and Brennan (1997) argue that this way of reasoning about the creation of equality, justice and diversity can incorporate examples that construct an otherness by describing concrete methods of pedagogical grouping, which in themselves normalise, distinguish and compare (cf. Fejes and Dahlstedt 2017). The power of this normalisation produces homogeneity but also individualises by allowing measurements and determining acceptable levels (Foucault 2006b).

Turning to the description of the project, it is clear that a discourse on how to be or behave when you are different was visualised. By giving these individuals access to higher education, the idea was that higher education would contribute to the fostering of the desirable citizen; higher education thus becomes a technology for shaping 'normal' individuals. Further, the project appears to offer: 'Opportunities for lifelong learning and that people with developmental disorders should be offered possibilities for higher education [. . .]' (Report 2012, 12). In this way, lifelong learning became enshrined in the idea of higher education. This logic was projected as an overall understanding about improving the population through education (see, e.g.. The Public Health Agency of Sweden 2015), i.e., that in order to become normal citizens, individuals have to be encouraged to be involved in higher education (cf. Nicoll 2009).

As described above, in order to participate in the project there was an idea that this type of student had to be tested to ensure that they could manage and assimilate the education offered. In describing the presumptive students, certain notions of higher education were also present. The admission criteria for the project were portrayed as the lowest acceptable levels in reading ability, motivation and the ability to communicate. After being tested in their reading skills, the students then had to pass a physical test, in this case, a running test based on the student´s ability to jog 2000 metres in 13 min at an even pace. The test was conducted using a pacesetter and the student was only allowed to lose 30 m within the setting. These specific measures meant that access to the project was conditioned in a way that is unusual for higher education in general constructing this group as something other; this otherness emerged in the project's documents in the assumed need for suitability tests. For example, the intended students were described by means of their shortcomings, such as their lack of working memory, poor reading comprehension, abstract thinking and study skills, their inability to express theoretical issues in writing, read large amounts of text and recapitulate these, undertake written examinations, have weight problems and so on (see, e.g., Report 2012). Descriptions of all these problems legitimise the intervention to shape 'normal' students where higher education operates to shape normal students.

Another example of how the discourses on the prospective students regulated the project is the development of specific methods and pedagogies, as can be seen in the following quotation:

> Already from the start and throughout the project, the main focus has been on the development of didactics and pedagogy. In the long-term, this will contribute to adapting the education at all the higher education institutions that will eventually offer inclusive education for students with developmental disabilities. In parallel with this, from the very start of the project a major focus has been on developing inclusive course literature. Another key feature of the development work has been to develop the support needed for the students so that they will be able to assimilate the teaching, which ranges from preparing and following up lessons to different types of technical aids. (Report 2014, 15)

The above quotation tells us about students with several types of difficulties. The construction of these shortcomings contributes to the depiction of higher education and the project as different and challenging. In addition, the idea of such challenges creates an opportunity to emphasise that this group is in need of particular measures, such as special didactics and teaching strategies, specific solutions and so on. In other words, arguments put forward in a context of differentness enable teachers to articulate

and highlight problems and relate them to this particular group, which further contributes to and maintains the discourse of the other. On the whole, it seems as though teachers needed to learn to work with the other. In this case, the other requires that the teachers use and develop special teaching materials and techniques. Further, the students were also made responsible for how they will use and benefit from the education they receive. For example, they are described as not asking questions even when they do not understand, as not being interested in or motivated enough in the courses and are therefore described as interested in the 'wrong' things (Report 2014), and that their stress tolerance is too low and they should therefore work on how to manage stress: ' … the student has a lot to gain by practising their stress management skills' (Report 2014, 73). Accountability was also suggested on the understanding that 'practice makes perfect':

> The teaching can make a big difference, but the experience of the project is that major training efforts are the most effective. These are intimately connected with motivation and the ability to communicate. If a person is not motivated to study (= training) between lessons, it doesn't really matter how easy it is to learn. That person's development will anyway be limited. Of course, motivation is also important during lessons, but higher education studies are nevertheless based on a person's own sense of responsibility and on individual or group work between lessons (Report 2014, 72).

Here, students were expected to adapt to the education and its prerequisites, even though some of them had already been described as problematic. The discourse on higher education is about responsibility, motivation, communication and practising between lessons individually and in groups. The quote states that it makes no difference whether a person finds it easy or difficult to learn, but that it is about training and taking responsibility. In the report, the Swedish word 'träna' (training) is used, which is often used in relation to physical activity, which means that in this case the education discourse is infused with notions about physical activity (see Martin 2003; Petersson 1999). Accordingly, this reasoning singles the out students even more. As the 'otherness' is based on the portrayal of the students' inadequacies and lack of ability, the construction of this group of students confirms and reinforces the picture of their otherness and excludes just as much as it includes.

In short, notions of higher education and how the students are described contributes both to the need for the project and to the governing of the students. By contrasting the project to 'normal' higher education, the students are governed into becoming normal students. Access to the project is conditional and there are various reservations, because in order to be approved the students need to be motivated, have enough stamina and self-discipline to persevere and 'keep pace' in all senses of the word. Even if the students had passed the tests and been accepted into the project, the initial construction of otherness remained and was reinforced, which in turn created an opportunity to convey and talk about the difficulties and to link these difficulties and challenges to the students. The common focus in the project was a pathological discourse in which the negative sides, problems and what the students were unable to do or manage were located and used as points of departure (cf. Berglund 2008; Martin 2003). Petersson (1999) describes this as a ' "relapse" into the biomedical mastery of the body' (437), i.e., where the individual fails to take responsibility for his or her health, is insufficient or unsuitable.

Pictures of the students

The discourse that both built and enabled the project contained ideas about different kinds of people, i.e., the able and the disabled. For example, in the report from 2012, three distinct themes were identified as important for these students: food intake, physical activity and learning processes. Common denominators for these three themes are control and registration, consciousness and reflection on their own and other people's behaviour and actions. In the discourse, there was an idea that students needed to be trained to keep track of themselves and their actions regarding nutrition, physical activity and learning processes, i.e., an idea that education can mould students into individuals who are responsible and capable of controlling their own lives. As can be seen in the following selection of goals expressed in the 2012 curricula, students were expected to become self-regulating:

After completing the courses students will be able to:

- Follow a food registration programme using their own food diaries (*Mat och näringslära II*. [Food and nutrition II])
- Describe the importance of the order of the meal for hunger and satiety (*Mat och näringslära I* [Food and nutrition I])
- Evaluate and discuss their own learning from an individual and a societal perspective (*Introduktionskurs i pedagogik*. [Introductory Course in Education])
- Describe the learning processes that promote positive change in ways of living (*Inspirationsmetodik* [Inspiration methods])
- Describe the various forms of health problems that are associated with physical inactivity (*Vardagsmotion* [Physical activity in daily life])

According to these statements, the overall aim was to enable students to become self-governing individuals. As we can see, the students were expected to become aware of their own behaviour in relation to diet, to register this in a diary and take knowledge about hunger and satiety into account. This means that examinations were about surveillance and what Foucault (1978) calls confession; a technology of the self in which confessing contributes to and co-creates knowledge about ourselves since confessing implies that we already know how we should behave. Accordingly, we participate in self-governing in accordance with the norm. Here the registration was also read by an examiner who was ascribed with power and was assumed to know what was required making individuals' life choices transparent (see, e.g., Fejes and Dahlstedt 2013; Rose 1998, 1999).

Accordingly, these students ware also expected to be able to evaluate and discuss their own learning from an individual and a societal perspective. In the display of positive and risky lifestyles, a picture of the desirable attitudes and behaviour that students should adopt in their daily lives emerged. Awareness of personal habits created an image of responsibility, which demanded a particular lifestyle. This meant that individuals had responsibility for their own behaviour and choices. This responsibility was assumed to be a motivating factor and a way of becoming someone to count on, i.e., accountability. The project thus created a certain type of mentality based on a narrative of responsibility for behaviour, health and so on.

The project's stated aim was for the students is to become 'health inspirers' for people with intellectual disabilities, i.e., 'likeminded' people. In this description we can also glimpse ideas about the students' assumed problems and shortcomings:

> Today, there are more problems amongst people with developmental disabilities, such as excess weight, obesity and a lack of physical activity, than in the general population (Flygare-Walléns' PhD thesis from 2013). Helping to minimise and prevent these problems is an important task for society. (Report 2014, 27)

Here, the students are lumped together, connected to certain problems and described and categorised as different, especially as having more weight problems than other individuals. This assumption is also strengthened by expertise (see Rose 1998), in that the document refers to existing research. Further, the need to fix this category of individuals appears to be very important, not just for them but for society as a whole. By suggesting how the students might contribute to their own wellness and the wellness of the whole group, the idea is to educate them so that they can in turn educate the like-minded by becoming role models (see Fejes and Dahlstedt 2017).

> It would be really unique if people with developmental disabilities could help people with and without developmental disorders. This could be done by them acting as role models and inspirers in combination with assisting in the implementation of various physical activities. (Report 2014, 27)

In reasoning like this, it seems as though this group of individuals has not previously had the ability or knowledge to help or support other people. However, by offering them certain knowledge, such as that described in the curricula, they are now imagined as role models able to assist others, albeit only when it comes to diet and physical activity. However, they are included in an already determined group of people and a profession, i.e., the ideas put forward in the documents show what is expected from the students but that they are not yet fully trusted to make the expected life and work choices or have the confidence or ability to learn or 'teach'.

To summarise, desirable students are constructed as responsible and capable of controlling their lives. The overall goal was that the students would be able to make right choices based on knowledge about what were presented as problems and solutions. In the project, it seems as though the students were expected to become aware of, regulate and confess their own behaviours and thoughts, i.e., to become a self-governing, accountable subjects. They were also expected to identify, evaluate and discuss their own learning from an individual and societal perspective. In the project, techniques of governance such as confession and surveillance operated in the shaping of desirable subjects. Through descriptions of positive or risky lifestyles from a societal point of view, an image of students' desirable attitudes and behaviours emerged. According to these descriptions, students should regulate their behaviour to align with what was requested, i.e., to become a desirable student. Thus, the insufficient and undesirable subject and the desirable subject were both simultaneously constructed through the discourse; the former being attributed with problems and shortcomings and the latter regarded as self-controlled and disciplined, able to monitor their own behaviour and attitudes. However, as can be seen in the statements, the prediction was that these particular students would never fully reach this state.

Discussion

The article's starting point was today's dominant policy discourse: that higher education is a way of providing access to lifelong learning in a proper manner, i.e., higher education operates as an overall technology for shaping desirable citizens. The analytical focus has been on what kind of subjects are created in the discourse on lifelong learning and the techniques that were used in such a creation. By studying a project undertaken with citizens who did not normally have access to lifelong learning through higher education, the intention has been to visualise how 'the other' was governed and shaped into becoming a normal citizen by means of educational measures. As I have illustrated, the project introduced ideas about how to provide these students with skills that were assumed to make them capable of choosing to live according to the prevailing discourse. In this logic, higher education became shaped as a 'heterotopia of deviation', a place in which individuals who were outside the norm were enabled to transform into discursively constructed desirable subjects (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986). As we have seen, knowledge about the students permeated an understanding of the need for the project, how it operated, the techniques used in the shaping of subjects, and the kind of subjects constructed.

With the ambition of shaping normal citizens, the students are construed as incapable and as lacking capacity and other characteristics. Further, despite a will to include, it became clear that the project actually produced and reproduced the student's differences further enhancing their otherness and exclusion. Higher education as a tool for shaping desirable citizens take as starting point depictions of a desirable norm. This enabled, even during the project's inception, the construction of the students as 'other' – an otherness that permeated the teaching methods, examination methods and expectations throughout the project. The description of and expectations for the students' results meant that the teachers had to learn new ways to teach and alternative forms of examination adapted to the students' needs and abilities.

This way of reasoning about students ascribed as 'other' with certain difficulties also enabled them to become role models. That is, their shortcomings and differentness were repositioned as resources enabling them to function as health inspirers (cf. Fejes and Dahlstedt 2017). As health inspires, who themselves have disabilities, they were expected to be successful in inspiring others with similar background, i.e., to inspire disabled people into becoming healthy and responsible. Thus, these students were not expected to ever become or be 'normal'. This argument was further reinforced by the project's focus on adjusting the education program to the students. By doing so, the project resulted in what it set out to avoid, namely a tailor-made special higher education that was legitimised in the name lifelong learning and the students' constructed differentness.

The students were governed by techniques like surveillance and confession; they were expected to watch over themselves (the diary) but also to be watched by teachers (examinations). Lifelong learners, as they appear in the documents, are confessors, subjects with self-control and self-discipline able to monitor their own behaviour and attitudes in accordance with current and imagined future social norms and needs (see, e.g., Fejes and Dahlstedt 2013). As such, education contributes to the shaping of self-governing citizens as part of a neoliberal governmentality where strategies for self-

governing are about individualisation and accountability; citizens are invited to reflect on themselves and their problems (Cruikshank 1999; Rose 1999). This logic, as Sandberg et al. (2016) argue, is an important part of how governing operates as the targets of the intervention become engaged in governing themselves. In this picture, health and physical activity were central concerns. Even when it came to motivation, reading skills and so on, terms familiar from sport occurred. The contradiction in the project was the aim to mould lifelong learners who already lacked the necessary skills to be lifelong learners. In other words, even though the project provided education and learning opportunities, it highlighted the importance of the subjects' motivation and accountability, which they were initially described as lacking. The whole project was thus largely based on pathological notions of the group's shortcomings, a group construed as homogenous, even though it was probably as heterogeneous as any other group. By using a governmentality perspective, I have been able to problematise and show how measures taken for granted as 'good' can have the opposite effect. As we can see, the students were 'free' to choose to behave according to the norms; however, the choices were constrained by prior knowledge about this particular group. That is, the project created, manifested and reproduced the otherness that it was supposed to prevent.

Note

1. Access to education, and especially higher education, was discussed by United Nations some 70 years ago, see, e.g., 'Higher education should be open to all with respect to their ability' UN, 1948, Article 26, point 1.

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ORCID

Erika Åkerblom http://orcid.org/0000-0001-8695-2130

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