



POSTDISCIPLINARY STUDIES IN DISCOURSE

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Regulating Social Life

*Discourses on the Youth and
the Dispositif of Age*

Helena Ostrowicka

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Postdisciplinary Studies in Discourse

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and the Dispositif of Age

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Contents

1	Introduction	1
1.1	To Go Beyond <i>Applicationism</i> —The Post-Foucauldian Research Perspective	2
1.2	The Structure of the Book	8
	References	12
2	The Dispositif of Age: Dispositif, the Concept of Youth, and Temporalization	15
2.1	Methodology: Heuristics and Integration	16
2.2	The Dispositif and Dispositif Discourse Analysis	21
2.3	Youth as the Basic Concept	29
2.4	Temporalization and the Dispositif of Age	46
2.5	Summary	55
	References	58
3	The 3-C Discourses and Governing by the Notion of Youth	67
3.1	The Context and Research Material	70
3.2	The Discourse of Competence	76
3.3	The Discourse of Cartography	85

3.4	The Discourse of Condition	94
3.5	Summary	103
	References	108
4	Regulating Social Life: Between Experience and Expectation	113
4.1	Youth Discourses and Usable Knowledge	116
4.2	Orienting Story: Zero Tolerance	122
4.3	Sensitizing Story: Our Children and Hooligans	133
4.4	Preserving Story: Unwanted Come-ons	141
4.5	Summary	147
	References	153
5	Conclusion	161
	References	167
	Appendix A	169
	Index	171

List of Figures

Fig. 2.1	Theoretical–analytical model of the dispositif of age	54
Fig. 3.1	The discourse of competence in the dispositif of age	85
Fig. 3.2	The discourse of cartography in the dispositif of age	93
Fig. 3.3	The discourse of condition in the dispositif of age	103
Fig. 3.4	Discourses thematically and functionally related to the concept of youth	107
Fig. 4.1	Knowledge in the space of experience and in the horizon of expectation	115

List of Tables

Table 2.1	The dispositif of age and the prototype mechanisms of power	53
Table 3.1	The semantic field of the concept of youth—discourse of competence	78
Table 3.2	The semantic field of the concept of youth—the discourse of cartography	87
Table 3.3	The semantic field of the concept of youth—the discourse of condition	95
Table 3.4	Topoi related to youth	104
Table 4.1	Knowledge–power in the <i>discourse of safety</i> and the <i>discourse of equity</i>	126
Table 4.2	Stories orienting, sensitizing, and preserving experience-expectation	152



1

Introduction

The term *youth* is not a neutral word, but a concept that conveys evaluative meanings and related power relationships. As a category of an everyday, common-sense understanding of the world, it is an element of knowledge that assumes the obvious and natural character of categorization based on age difference. The problematization of this knowledge by showing its relationship with power, that is, showing *youth* as a being that is given to be thought of (Foucault 1978) and, at the same time, predestined to be controlled, was the goal of the empirical studies described here. The aim of the theoretical considerations presented in the book was to develop the concept of the “dispositif of age” (Ostrowicka 2015). In this study, I reach for the theoretical inspirations for Michel Foucault’s (i.a. 2008, 2009, 2014) and Reinhart Koselleck’s (i.a. 1997, 2002, 2006) ideas and describe the *mechanisms of power of youth discourses*, showing their functions in regulating social life.

I have expanded the findings so far by the categories of historical semantics and their connection with the analytics of the dispositif derived from Foucault’s writings. From the perspective of the processes of temporalization of the modern dictionary described by Koselleck, *youth* appears as a “concept of movement” and its strategic function

becomes even more pronounced in the context of discourses describing contemporary social phenomena in the categories of prevention and prophylaxis, investment, and mobilization. An adequate theoretical context, which makes it possible to cover as broadly as possible the multidirectional relationships of knowledge and power in the discursive construction of identity is, in my opinion, the Foucauldian concept of *governmentality*. And it was this that provides the basic epistemological framework for this study. What is worth emphasizing is that I understand the idea of *governmentality* broadly as the development of the idea of knowledge–power, the “art” of governing and controlling, which is based not on only one rationality, i.e. on neoliberal rationality. The knowledge–power–subject relationships underlying this concept are a lens through which I incorporate other theoretical approaches to the issues of language, knowledge, and politics into the analyses. Additional theoretical inspirations are thus provided by works on contemporary issues of the production and distribution of knowledge, risk society, and critical youth studies. Theoretical considerations permeate the entire book since they provide a context for the analytical capture of certain aspects and examples of governing using the concept of youth. Therefore, in the introduction, I explain the key concepts for further consideration: governmentality, discourse, *dispositif*, and the research perspective which I have used.

1.1 To Go Beyond *Applicationism*— The Post-Foucauldian Research Perspective

I link the methodological involvement in research on governing to the search for the possibility of *integrating* research perspectives on two levels. Firstly, within the framework of the cognitive tools derived from Foucault’s work, and secondly by integrating Foucault’s ideas with the proposals of other authors. Consequently, the conducted research can be placed in the wide range of post-Foucauldian studies (cf. e.g. Bührmann et al. 2007; Ostrowicka 2016; Nowicka-Franczak 2017), since they always, to some extent, transform the concepts of the French philosopher.

In this study, the epistemological framework is delineated by the concepts of governmentality, discourse, and dispositif. Particular attention is paid to one of the main values of the category of *governmentality* in social studies which is its potential to integrate theoretical and methodological currents, and thus to exit the routine of what William Walters describes as “applicationism”—the monotonous application of Foucault’s “toolbox” (Walters 2011).

The concept of research adopted here assumes the superior position of the idea of governmentality as an epistemological framework, while the category of the dispositif occupies a position equivalent to the temporalization of the concepts described by Koselleck. Such a perspective implies the adoption of the assumption that changes in the scope of the concept of youth may appear independently of and irrelevantly to the dispositif of age, but they may also be its element. On the other hand, bearing in mind the horizontal dimension of integration, it is worth noting that the combination of the mentioned categories (governmentality and dispositif) creates the ground for the construction of new analytical and heuristic concepts. Its effect in this book is the theoretical and analytical model of the dispositif of age discussed in Chapter 2.

Governmentality understood as a *superior epistemological framework* is characterized by polysemicity and the possibility of opening and organizing rules for the interpretation of social phenomena. It is worth emphasizing that the research potential of the category of governmentality lies, on the one hand, in its historical and philosophical nature, and on the other, in its attractiveness as a methodological category. These three aspects of governmentality are essential in my book.

The historicity of the category of governmentality refers us to the process of “governmentalization of the state” as described by Foucault, to the contexts of the development of security mechanisms, and to the “discovery” of the concept of population. It points out that population is both the human species and the public which may be analysed in terms of opinions, customs, behaviours, habits, but also fears, superstitions, and expectations, and which has become an object of educational practices, social campaigns, and persuasions (Foucault 2008). The historical perspective of governmentality opens a field of meanings and stimulates their reorganization in the various areas of research constructing the concept of youth.

On the other hand, in the *philosophical aspect of the category* of governmentality, the *aporias* inscribed in it, emphasizing above all the coexistence of coercion and freedom in social life, are particularly prolific for theorization and research explorations. Consequently, in the thinking about power relations, the concept of governmentality leads to the abandonment of the popular oppositions between resistance and submission, between freedom and coercion. Although these aporias permeate all of Foucault's writing, it seems particularly evident in the shift of the philosopher's interest to the notion of governmentality. In this perspective, concepts such as prevention, education, or participation are considered as processes of "controlling" others and oneself, a specific "art of governing" "free subjects" using "regimes of truth" (cf. the rich literature on *governmentality studies*, e.g. Rose 1990; Burchell et al. 1991; Peters et al. 2009; Dean 2010; Bröckling et al. 2011; Walters 2011).

An additional argument for recognizing governmentality as a superior epistemological perspective is its *methodological potential* for capturing power relations. It is about studying relations at different levels between knowledge, power, and a subject, between action and knowledge, especially expertise and scientific language (see Dean 2010; Rose 1990; Simons et al. 2009). In this perspective, governmentality becomes a specific research perspective with integrating potential. It allows the adoption of the perspective of meetings (Walters 2011), that is one where integration of Foucauldian ideas with other theoretical trends becomes possible. Basing my thoughts on governmentality as a research framework, I propose an analysis of the regulating social life in terms of power dispositifs.

The category of the dispositif brings new opportunities to combine reflection on the macro-social relations of power with discourse micro-analyses (Van Dyk and Angermüller 2010). In his lectures delivered at the Collège de France, Foucault investigated the interweaving of the dispositif of security with the dispositifs of discipline and law, revealing a wide and complex field of governmentality. Post-Foucauldian research differs in terms of the importance attributed to the dispositif in relation to *governmentality*. However, regardless of detailed theoretical preferences, what Foucault calls governmentality sets the possible framework for the analysis of power relations (Foucault 2009).

The dispositif analytical strategy adopted in these studies assumes a circular relationship between discourse and dispositif. In the Foucauldian perspective, “discourses are, therefore, about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where, and with what authority. Discourses embody meaning and social relationships, they constitute both subjectivity and power relations... Discourses construct certain possibilities for thought... We do not (just) speak discourse. The discourse speaks us” (Ball 1990, pp. 17–18). The approach used here integrates Foucault’s and Koselleck’s concepts, emphasizing the regulatory significance of discourse. It means adopting the assumption that the governance of a young subject is something more than merely linguistic articulation. And I will attempt to present this “extra” using the concept of the dispositif of age, temporalization, and universalization of the concept of youth.

The above reflections on the meaning of governmentality, dispositif, and discourse head towards the governmentality as an integrating framework for the analysis of relations of power—research into the discursive and extradiscursive mechanisms of regulating social life.

In this perspective, regulating social life is seen as a practice combining diverse discourses, institutions, activities, and other non-discursive elements that organize social life. The concept of the dispositif of age as a mechanism of power is used in a dual sense, both the domain-related (Czyżewski 2013) and the prototypical (Raffnsoe et al. 2016) sense. In the first sense, it is a specific phenomenon or domain of social life (young age and the category of youth); in the latter, it is the specific standards of knowledge and power (mechanisms of law, discipline, and security) related to young people.

The framework of governmentality is a heuristic tool for integrating analytic categories in two areas: subjective (relating to the domain of discourse) and methodological.

Subjective integration involves linking concepts and ideas that describe the knowledge and rationality of a particular domain of social life. In the case of my research on youth governance, I have linked the Foucauldian categories to the achievements of critical youth studies (Lesko 2001; Besley 2002) and, in particular, to the work of Johanna Wyn and Rob White (1997) and Koselleck’s (2002) concept of notions.

My research fits within the area of youth studies which shows the links between the social representations of youth and young people, and between discourse and knowledge about youth and social practice and policies aimed at young people. In my studies, I demonstrate in what contexts this knowledge appears and is constructed and what consequences for the regulation of social life are brought by certain types of youth discourses. On a more general level, it is about the relationships between epistemology and politics. Based on historical semantics, I present the regulatory significance of the concept of youth as a concept of movement, which enhances a goal-oriented teleological orientation with a vector directed towards the future.

Methodological integration assumes the linking of categories of discourse analysis and the *dispositif*. The analysis of the *dispositif* is understood as a style which, while not imposing any specific method, is aimed at reconstructing the related discursive and non-discursive elements that form part of the specific historical knowledge–power complexes (Bührmann and Schneider 2008). The presentation of the *dispositif* regulation of social life is based on the study of discourse (specific repertoire of concepts, terminology, knowledge) and the discursive production of certain entities (strategy of power). On the methodological level, this interest in the *dispositif* of age is reflected in the study of policy as a discourse that constructs specific problems and their solutions. Thus, I place these studies within the already extensive contemporary post-structural current of research into problematization as products of the practices of governing (Bacchi 2015; Bacchi and Goodwin 2016), which trend is compatible with the analytics of the *dispositif*. At the centre of this second strategy, there is a study of two related phenomena: apparatization and generalization (Åkerstrøm Andersen 2003).

In conclusion, Foucault's concept of *dispositif* provides a theoretical–analytical framework for capturing the practices of the regulating social life using youth discourses. It directs the conducted analyses towards the relationships between various forms of the apparatization and generalization of knowledge, the mechanisms of the production of “truth”, and the processes of the temporalization and the universalization of the concept of youth, regulated in discursive practices. The concept of the

dispositif of age makes possible the problematization of the thesis about the abolition of “age categorization” today (Steinberg 2006) by presenting the functionality of age divisions in the regulation of social life. In view, on the one hand, of the blurring of the boundaries between youth and adulthood (Melosik 2013), diagnosed by researchers into youth culture and, on the other hand, the discursivization of the “youth issue” present since the 1960s, the question about the concept of youth assumes particular importance. An element of this type of search is the reconstruction of the acting power dispositifs and problematization.

In the book, I attempt to answer the questions about what discourses thematically and functionally related with the concept of youth come to the fore in a given historical moment in response to the situation of “urgent need”? in what way youth discourses and the relationship between knowledge and power connected with them are established and mobilized to name and solve specific social problems? and, finally, how the concept of youth as a concept of movement contributes to the implementation of political goals?

I made texts from various types of discourse, i.e. scientific and expert discourse, media discourse, and youth policy discourse at local (Polish) and international (European) levels, the empirical basis of research and the source of the analysed examples. My interest in the temporality of the concept of youth is also reflected in the selection of the sources that I used to reconstruct the operation of the *dispositif of age*. The sources used differ, as Koselleck says, in their “temporal structure”, and can be put on a scale from uniqueness to repetition. In this book I used three types of empirical material:

1. texts that are characterized by temporal “uniqueness”, one-off nature, the up-to-dateness of which is short-term—press releases;
2. texts that change slowly, contain a lot of temporal layers, and aspire to provide up-to-date and lasting knowledge—lexicons, monographs, and textbooks;
3. texts that contain new propositions, but strive to consolidate the truths which are binding independently of the changing circumstances—“classic” texts, though of one-off nature, but repeatedly reread, strategic documents and legal acts (cf. Koselleck 2002).

As constitutive elements of the *dispositif* of age, I present two related phenomena, i.e. temporalization and universalization of the concept of youth, since the assumption that the concept of youth hides social relationships associated with experiencing time is the basis of the book. The universalizing layers of this concept unveil its temporalization: elements of the past, the present, and the future. I present the temporal structure of concepts related to the regulating social life and the action of the *dispositif* of age that holds together the concept of youth with other categories, bound by various aspects of temporalization: experience, expectation, movement, etc.

The aim of the book is a certain destabilization of “problems” linked to young people by showing the different layers of apparatusization and generalization in the *dispositif* of age and their functions in regulating social life.

1.2 The Structure of the Book

The structure of the book and the direction of its argument are determined by the concept of the *dispositif* of age. Consequently, the principal line of reflection covers the relationship between discourses and power strategies supported by the temporalization and universalization of the concept of youth. I show how varied concepts of youth, norms, and values related to young people, as well as organizational forms and techniques, create specific apparatuses—logical strategies for “working out” difficult or “problematic” events.

The chapter titled “*Dispositif* of age: *dispositif*, concept of youth, and temporalization” determines the methodology, the theoretical context, and the research perspective from which the regulating of social life is described in subsequent chapters. The adopted theoretical assumptions come from two main sources, i.e. from Foucault’s categories of the *dispositif* and discourse, and Reinhart Koselleck’s concept of basic notions and temporalization. Additional arguments are provided by the findings of childhood and youth historians, and researchers from the circle of youth critical studies. It is against this background that the concept of youth is shown as the basic concept, the notion of

movement and expectation. I begin with a presentation of two basic methodological premises: on epistemological *heuristics* (heuristics by analogy, heuristics of the problematization) and *integration* (vertical and horizontal). Then, I proceed to describe the notion of the *dispositif* and *dispositif discourse analysis* as a specific research strategy, taking into account elements of archaeological discourse analysis and a study of apparatusization and generalization (Åkerstrøm Andersen 2003). Generalization means that specific discourses and technologies are removed from a specific context and become strategic logic that can be “installed” in many other contexts, besides the one that has produced it. On the other hand, apparatusization refers to how this particular logic develops, what discourses, institutions, technologies, etc., it combines, and what discursive and non-discursive elements make up this functional whole (Åkerstrøm Andersen 2003). It is precisely apparatusization that determines the content specificity of the *dispositif* in a particular case. I connect this discursive “content” of the *dispositif* of age with the universalization of the concept of youth. I am interested in the ambiguity of the notion of youth from the perspective of the processes of transforming modern vocabulary. The universalizing elements of the concept of youth reveal its temporization embedded not only in the category of age but also in the concept of development, which, described with the help of the metaphor of growth, makes it impossible to forget about movement, which is immanent for it. The proposed theoretical and analytical model of the *dispositif* of age takes into account the concept of the *dispositif* extended to include the assumptions of historical semantics, and comprises two layers: (1) conceptually discursive, focused on formations of knowledge, and (2) pragmatic-strategic, including formations of power and juridical and disciplinary mechanisms, as well as the mechanism of conducting.

As a result of the assumptions about the subject of the research (i.e. the regulation of social life using the *dispositif* of age and youth discourses), empirical materials of various kinds were taken into consideration in the study. This approach is known in research methodology as the triangulation of sources, which allows us to perceive relations and different contexts within a studied phenomenon (cf. Denzin 2009). The collection of materials taken into account included three types

of sources: scientific publications, press releases, and government documents (strategic and legal). All the texts used in the study fall within the domain of public discourse (cf. Czyżewski et al. 2010). Two discursive events became an empirical basis, i.e. the first related to the development of youth policy at a European level, and the second connected with the suicidal death of a junior high school female student.¹ The selection was purposeful, taking into account three criteria, i.e. the time, institution, and topic of a statement. As a result, the body of the texts was built based on the results of the search of the database of European Union legal acts (eur-lex.europa.eu), European Commission documents in force in 2018, and created in the years 2008–2018, using the keyword “youth” (cf. Appendix A). The second collection of texts was created as a result of press monitoring from the perspective of statements referring to the suicidal death of Ania, a 14-year-old junior high school student from Gdansk. I complemented this collection with government documents that were created in connection with this event, and reports from expert opinions that were commissioned by the government.

In the chapter titled “The 3-C discourses and governing by the notion of youth”, I present the conceptually oriented dynamics of three types of discourses functionally and thematically related to the concept of youth: the discourse of competence, of cartography, and of condition. Considering the development of youth-related policy from the perspective of the *dispositif* entails the study of the apparatusization and generalization of specific statements and strategic logics that are not created “from scratch”, but are part of other already functioning discourses. What is meant here are three coherent cultural matrices encompassing the characteristic concepts of youth and the categories of description of the “world” of young people, and supporting specific social practices (preventive, educational, economic, and others). I reflect on how specific youth discourses define the semantic fields and justifications for the political activities of the European Union. As the source of data, I used the documents of the European Union published on the website of the European Commission. Through the study of apparatusization (an analysis of semantic concepts and fields), further work was undertaken on the characteristics of the *constellation of discourses related thematically and functionally to the concept of youth* towards the creation of their models.

The presence of “movement” in the concept of youth is indicated by the youth discourses prevailing today. In this part of my book, I argue that the regulatory function of the concept of youth attests to its dynamic nature; as “the notion of movement” (Koselleck 1997, 2002), young people act productively (in the Foucauldian sense) in three types of discourse, i.e. in the discourse of competence, condition, and cartography (3-C discourses). The conducted studies showed the rhetorical and argumentative functions of the recurrent topoi associated with youth. These were the topoi of the exceptional status of youth, the unique role of youth, youth education, and youth work. In Chapter 3, I describe how the identified topoi circulate and are contextualized (generalized) in the semantics of competence, cartography, and condition, providing justifications for specific goals and tools of European policy. The conducted research showed how the temporized concept of youth performs the regulatory and productive function, supporting a specific response to the issues of unemployment, the economic crisis, and the radicalization of attitudes leading to violence.

The reflections in the 4th part of my book are based on the categories of “space of experience” and “horizon of expectation”, introduced by Koselleck (2010) to describe and interpret temporal tensions between the past, the present, and the future. The case of the discourse around the suicide of the junior high school female student and the nervous reaction of state authorities shows the legal, disciplinary, and security apparatus. In this chapter, I present the generalization of the dispositive of age on the example of three stories launched in response to this event, that is, the narratives named “zero tolerance”, “our children and hooligans”, and “unwanted come-ons”. A narrative is construed here as a discursive strategy that was launched in a situation of “urgent need”. Narratives reconstructed from the dispositive perspective revealed the regularities of discourse, repetitive and wandering ideas, notions, concepts, and ways to organize experience according to the scheme covering the main characters, conditions of action, and the main theme of the story. The conditions of action comprised the space developed, first of all, from knowledge which became useful (*usable knowledge*, cf. Burke 2012) and, secondly, from power, which proved to be effective. The described stories (orienting, sensitizing, and preserving the

youth-related experience-expectations) together with the main themes of prevention, fear, and life policy were a reaction to a specific “problem” and, at the same time, a construction of answers that could be formulated in a given historical moment.

At the end of the book, I emphasize selected conclusions from the conducted research. I also signal the heuristic potential of the concept of the dispositif of age in the study of the power of discourses related to categorization because of the age of life.

Note

1. This is the story of suicide of Ania, a Gdansk junior high school student, which in 2006, and in subsequent years, caused an “explosion” of youth discourse in the Polish media.

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2

The Dispositif of Age: Dispositif, the Concept of Youth, and Temporalization

The colloquial call: “Act your age!” reminds us that chronological age is an important indicator of the regulation of social life. Research, which today can be considered classic for social sciences, shows that in practically all societies the stage of life is one of the basic factors defining status and social expectations (Neugarten 1996; Lesko 2001). What seems to be particularly interesting is the process of creating, spreading, and the ways of operating of age-related norms, conditions that make these social expectations obvious and, owing to that, effective tools of control. It is the regulation of social life through youth discourses that I have made the main object of my research. Speaking of regulation, I do not mean only limiting, restricting, or controlling, but also constitution, initiation, and creation (cf. Lazzarato 2009; Bailey 2013). An attractive conceptual framework for the rethinking and problematizing of social control by means of age is provided by Michel Foucault’s work, especially that in which the French philosopher follows the heterogeneous practices of standardizing and normalization. It concerns both the norms of knowledge and norms of power reconstructed by Foucault in the archaeological and genealogical phase of his work (Foucault 1972, 1981). I make the concept of

the *dispositif* the notion that unites Foucault's works, and at the same time the heuristic model in my own research (see Sect. 2.2).

In addition to the Foucauldian tradition, I made Reinhart Koselleck's work, in particular the ideas of basic concepts, and the notions of movement and temporalization, the main source of inspiration for developing the concept of the *dispositif* of age. The transfer of assumptions about the properties of modern concepts allowed me to conceptualize the concept of youth as, first of all, the so-called basic concept and, secondly, as a notion of movement and expectation (see Sect. 2.3). The general properties of the *dispositif* and concept of youth have been used in this research to develop a theoretical and analytical model of the *dispositif* of age (see Sect. 2.4). I made the purpose of the research described in this book the reconstruction of the *dispositif* of age in relation to the educational policies addressed to young people. Reconstruction is construed here as a strategy for extracting from the analysed materials the empirical properties of the *dispositif*, from the perspective of which I reinterpret the power of youth discourse.

The adopted method of conduct was based on two basic methodological premises: on epistemological heuristics and integration.

2.1 Methodology: Heuristics and Integration

The epistemological and methodological perspective adopted here, making it possible to go beyond the "applicationism" (Walters 2011) of Foucault's "toolbox", is further specified by two categories: *heuristics* and *integration*.

From an epistemological point of view, *heuristics* (in Greek: *heúriskō*—I find) is one of the creative methods of getting to know, perceiving, and solving problems, and discovering new facts and relationships between them. In addition to the noun form, there is also its adjective version, used as when referring to heuristic research, in the sense of its creative, revealing characteristics. In this part of the book, the heuristic dimension of the concept of the *dispositif* was emphasized, that is its research and analytical potential, as well as theoretical fertility.

As Andrew Abbott aptly put it: “Science is a conversation between rigour and imagination” (Abbott 2004, p. 3). The aforementioned relations between “rigour” and “imagination” in relation to general heuristics in a specific academic study can take various forms. Bearing in mind the methods of conduct and the general concept of the subject of the research I am interested in (the power of youth discourse), I mainly used the possibilities that they provide:

1. *heuristics by analogy* (search heuristics) and
2. *heuristics of the problematization* of the obvious (argument heuristics) (cf. Abbott 2004).

Search heuristics is based on the use of *analogy*. The use of analogy makes it possible for us to adopt the ideas and concepts derived from historical research to the analyses of contemporary forms of governing a young subject. Both Foucault and Koselleck made the object of their studies the historical social phenomena and processes of change in discursive institutions and practices different from those that will be analysed here. According to the principle of analogy, the juridical, disciplinary, and security dispositifs described by Foucault in relation to the pre-modern and modern institutions and discourses of sexuality, madness, or population were used to search for legal, juridical, and protective mechanisms of power in contemporary forms of social life. These three forms of the dispositif are understood in terms of prototype power strategies (cf. Raffnsøe et al. 2014) that come to the fore in the polyphonic youth discourses formulated today as well.

The heuristic function is also performed by categories describing the susceptibility of modern concepts to specific processes that Koselleck (1997) describes as democratization, temporalization, ideologization, and politicization. These four categories, which according to the German historian, organize the linguistic space of modernity, were transferred by me to the ground of reflection on the construction of the concept of youth in contemporary public discourses: academic, political, and media. Analogy, however, does not mean equating. The discourses analysed by me are not the same as what Foucault and Koselleck described in reference to historical phenomena. For analogy does not

describe the relationship between data, but concerns the logic of the operation of power and the formation of concepts. I develop this thread later in the work. According to Abbott (2004), analogy is the starting point for argument heuristics.

The application of the *problematization of the obvious* as one of the argumentative heuristics results from the assumptions and ideas about the object of the research adopted here. As mentioned in the introduction, defining the social positions, expectations and differences related to chronological age is accepted by virtue of obviousness, not only in the colloquial view of the world, but also in numerous academic theories and studies (cf. Lesko 2001; Ostrowicka 2015). The problematization of this “naturalness” by showing its nature: chance, contextual, and entangled in the relations of power, is one of the goals of my research. To be more precise, the assumptions regarding the life cycle, youth, and expectations towards the young age, which the policies directed towards young people are based on, were problematized. Therefore, problematization is an attempt to think differently. Understood in the Foucauldian spirit, it has a *critical* dimension when it leads to a distanced reflection on the “politics of truth”, distortions and simplifications of judgements about the world, and also when it seeks to point out issues the obviousness of which is problematic (Foucault 1990; Ostrowicka 2015; Nowicka-Franczak 2017). In my analyses, I tried to remain close to criticism in the Foucauldian spirit, which “consists in determining under what conditions and with what effects a veridiction is exercised, that is to say, [...] a type of formulation falling under particular rules of verification and falsification” (Foucault 2014, p. 58). In this sense, the problematization of the obvious acquired the nature of *alethurgical analysis*, interested in verbal and extra-ordinary procedures of veridiction, and thus establishing “something” as truth (Foucault 2014; Ostrowicka 2017a). Crucial from a critical perspective was the answer to the question about the discursive and non-discursive conditions and consequences of the “regime” of producing the truth about youth, that is, a set of rules that determine what statements can be considered true, and what statements can be considered as false (cf. Foucault 2014).

Both search heuristics (heuristics by analogy) and argument heuristics (heuristics of the problematization of the obvious) define the research

methodology that I have adopted. Its basic assumptions boil down to the methodical transfer of the logics of the operation of power and the formation of concepts into new political and socio-cultural contexts, and to generating research questions by problematizing the (un)obvious status of the object of research. It is worth adding here that according to Foucault, to whom researchers into the concept of problematization refer, this term has a double meaning, i.e. it is both a research method and an object. What is more, “problematization” has become a key analytical concept for many different, but related, theoretical perspectives, such as the Actor–Network Theory, Critical Discourse Analysis, Essex Discourse Theory, governmentality studies, or the WPR concept (*What’s the Problem Represented to be?*) (cf. Bacchi 2015). The heuristics of problematization used by me comprises two aspects: the critical method of analysis and the object of research. Similarly, as in the works of Carol Bacchi (2009, 2015) or Mats Alvesson and Jörgen Sandberg (2011), I attempted to critically analyse the epistemological and ontological presumptions concerning youth. For the method of problematization makes it possible to identify fixed concepts and ways of thinking, the premises on which social practices are based. At the level of generating research questions, it is about identifying and challenging the assumptions underlying youth research (cf. Alvesson and Sandberg 2011). In turn, by making problematizations the object of research, I focused my attention on the activities, processes, and effects of constructing, forming, and defining specific issues as youth-related problems and governing using them. The key issue here was to understand the term “problem”. The *problem* has no pejorative connotation, it is not a “difficult situation” or a disproportion between conditions, needs, and possibilities. The study of problematization is an analysis of how “young people”, and what is connected with them, becomes a *problem*, an issue subject to clashing discourses, a question to be solved (cf. Rose 1990; Bacchi 2009). In this way, the methodology of search heuristics and argument heuristics assumes the need to integrate concepts and knowledge at every stage of the research process.

The concept of *integration* (in Latin: *integrare*—to combine), equated with synthesis or combining, becomes useful in methodological reflection, especially when we take into account the various forms

of combination and relationship. In the case of my research, integration assumed a harmonious marriage of Foucauldian concepts and categories with the ideas of other authors. Speaking of different dimensions of integration in a given research project, I mean vertical integration and horizontal integration. In *vertical integration*, Foucauldian concepts and tools occupy different positions in a hierarchically recognized research project. Generally, in the already vast contemporary current of post-Foucauldian research, the ideas of the French philosopher appear in three places. Firstly, as epistemological concepts superior to analyses based on categories derived from other research approaches (e.g. from phenomenography, framework analysis, conversational analysis, grounded theory, narrative research, critical discourse analysis); This is how Foucauldian concepts of discourse and the “politics of truth” often function. Secondly, as analytical tools subordinated to research goals formulated as part of the “non-Foucauldian” theoretical currents. It was the case, among others, with the categories of panopticon and disciplinary power, which are used in research based on the “non-Foucauldian” version of critical theory (cf. Scheurich and McKenzie 2008). Thirdly, Foucault’s ideas and concepts are used as equivalent and complementary categories to others, such as the James A. Holstein and Jaber F. Gubrium (2005) proposal combining Foucauldian concepts with ethnomethodology.

The second of the possibilities of integration, i.e. *integration in the horizontal dimension*, assumes at least three areas in which concepts and ideas are combined:

1. the epistemological area concerning the concept of truth and knowledge,
2. the axiological area associated with the various functions (political, ideological, critical) that Foucault’s “toolbox” performs in the hands of various users, and
3. the cognitive-categorical area creating the ground for building new analytical models (cf. Ostrowicka 2016).

Integration encapsulated in the two dimensions, horizontal and vertical, makes it possible to organize research assumptions. Bearing in mind the vertical dimension of integration, I assumed the superior position

of Foucault's idea of governmentality as an epistemological perspective. It is a perspective in which political changes are perceived in close connection with the development of knowledge, especially in the humanities, and the human concepts developed within them. The perception of knowledge (or actually: "knowledges" in the plural) in its relation to power within the category of governmentality leads to the tracking of various varieties of rationality and processes of producing knowledge, manifestations of power, its techniques and strategies. On the other hand, I placed the category of the dispositif in a position equal to the idea of temporalization of concepts proposed by Koselleck. Such a perspective implies the adoption of the assumption that changes in the scope of the concept of youth may appear independently of and irrelevantly to the dispositif of age, but they may also be its element.

In turn, taking into account the horizontal dimension of integration, it is worth noting that combining these categories creates the ground for constructing new analytical and theoretical concepts. Its effect in this book is the heuristic model of the dispositif of age.

Guided by the methodology of heuristics and integration, I used the dispositif analytical strategy at the empirical level. What this means in the case of my research, I explain in the next part of the book.

2.2 The Dispositif and Dispositif Discourse Analysis

In Foucault's work, the concept of the *dispositif* appears many times, for example in the "History of Sexuality" and in lectures at the Collège de France in the years 1975–1976. There, however, the French philosopher did not devote more attention to defining this concept. When asked directly during the interview given to the periodical "Ornicar?", he lists the characteristics of the dispositif¹:

- dispositif is a heterogeneous set ("ensemble") of discourses and non-discursive forms (institutional, organizational, legal, administrative, and others), the said and the unsaid;

- the *dispositif* is a set of relations between these elements and, more precisely, between the discursive and non-discursive elements of the *dispositif* there exists a kind of mutual interaction and the possibility of modifying the functions of these elements in new contexts and new areas of rationality;
- the *dispositif* performs a strategic function, it is a response to an “urgent” situation or need, the state of “necessity” in a given historical moment (Foucault 1980, pp. 194–195).

In the concept of the *dispositif*, the relations between heterogeneous discursive and non-discursive elements (organizational, institutional, material, and other) and those construed as an *ensemble*, a set of factors non-autonomous towards each other are emphasized. Discursive elements, such as *statements* in the Foucauldian sense, are not identical with the formal structures of language and sentences. Statements are, for example, a graph, a family tree, or a population pyramid (cf. Foucault 1972). The space of coexistence and dependence of expression creates *knowledge* understood both in a narrow sense as institutionalized knowledge in the form of an academic discipline (*connaissance*), and in a broad sense as everyday and common sense knowledge dispersed in social practices (*savoir*).

The *dispositif* is the essence of the connection of what is said and unsaid. In this sense, it performs primarily strategic functions in situations of an “urgent need”. It is a mechanism of power that works in response to a specific moment of crisis. Examples of the action of the *dispositif* include the strategies of the *dispositif* of sexuality described in the “Will of Knowledge”: a hysterization of women’s bodies, pedagogization of children’s sex, socialization of procreative behaviour, and psychiatrization of perverse pleasure (Foucault 1978). In turn, in the series of lectures at the Collège de France in the years 1975–1976 (issued under the title “Society Must Be Defended”), Foucault used this notion speaking of systems of subjugation in their variety and multiplicity, which function and mutually reinforce, or cancel one another within the *dispositifs* of power (Foucault 2003). Foucault showed how local tactics of power are used in global strategies. These lectures, treated as a hint to study the mechanisms of power, encourage the search for

manifestations of power in the dispositifs at the macro level. Examples of such analyses are provided by Foucault's lectures at the Collège de France delivered in the subsequent years and published in the collections entitled *Security, Territory, Population* and *The Birth of Biopolitics*. We will find there studies of various modalities of the dispositif and their functions in the practices of governance. Foucault described history and the present from the perspective of three dispositifs that evolve and interact with each other: juridical, disciplinary, and security. In this sense, by emphasizing the theoretical status of this category, some post-Foucauldian researchers even speak of a "dispositif construction of reality" (cf. Kumięga and Nowicka 2012). It is worth emphasizing that the Foucauldian concept of the dispositif weakens the common dichotomization of discursive and non-discursive phenomena. The basic aspect that is of interest for researchers is the functionality of linking these factors (what is discursive and non-discursive) in solving a specific "problem" and in a strategic, effective response to urgent, problematic situations. The Foucauldian concept, subsequently developed in numerous empirical (post-)Foucauldian studies, makes it possible to operationalize the research into mechanisms of power: juridical, disciplinary, and security. Thanks to this, abstract relations of power are concretized to the form of discursive and non-discursive factors that make up:

1. a situation of an "urgent need", activating a given dispositif of power, and
2. strategies for bringing this situation under control (regulating it).

Situations of an urgent need may take various forms. In addition to *accident*, *risk*, *threat*, or *crisis* (Nowicka-Franczak 2017), there are also situations of *lack* (deficiency) and *excess*. Differences between them result from different problematizations. The first form appears when an individual event is treated as a collective phenomenon. In youth discourses, we then deal with the problematization of an individual case in such a way that makes it a social problem, or a problem affecting the entire youth population. In turn, risk and threat as situations of an urgent need are connected with the possibility of estimating the

probability of the occurrence of an undesirable factor. Differences between them are a matter of scale, where threat refers to a high level of risk (cf. Nowicka-Franczak 2017). It is worth noting that the category of youth appears in response to the problematizations of risk, including in the context of threats related to age, position, or social status. In turn, a situation of an urgent need is a crisis one in two senses: a breakdown or a breakthrough. Crisis-breakdown means a marked increase in the presence of difficult factors and a significant deterioration of the state of affairs; crisis-breakthrough is just a “crisis”, a “turning point”, and therefore a state not always negatively valued (cf. Hejnicka-Bezwińska 1997). Youth discourses are often adopted as “counter-measures” in crisis situations, especially in connection with educational discourse. The last pair of situations triggering the dispositifs of power includes problems of *deficiency* (lack) and *excess*. Problematisations of situations in terms of lack/excess appear when the state of affairs appears as—in the first case—scarce, incomplete, requiring supplementation or correction, and—in the second case—excessively extended, overgrown, and requiring limitation.

The basis for the strategy of bringing urgent need situations under control is diverse juridical, disciplinary, and security mechanisms. Examined in the light of the impact of the dispositif, practices and events that are usually taken for granted show the relations of the various forms of knowledge and the modality of power. According to the proposals of Sverre Raffnsøe, Marius Gudmand-Høyer, and Morten S. Thaning, Foucault’s juridical, disciplinary, and security dispositifs can be seen as prototypical forms of social technologies and their contemporary transformations can be followed (Raffnsøe et al. 2014). As a consequence, the *heuristics* applied by me *by analogy* makes it possible to reconstruct updated (discursive and non-discursive) mechanisms and strategies that may take into account three modalities of power:

1. juridical, which is based on the system of a legal code, on the knowledge of what is forbidden and allowed, and which specifies the type of prohibited activities and sanctions applicable under the law which each “subject of law” is subject to;

2. disciplinary, based on the supervision and correction system, operating preventively (it prevents events inconsistent with the standard) and productively (it produces what is “normal”); disciplinary power develops the “subject of discipline”, its “individual body” and the surrounding world in a normative manner, striving to produce what is in accordance with the “standard”;
3. governance/management, based on the dispositif of security, i.e. on the mobilization of individuals and communities to perform desired actions and, as a result, on the self-regulation of the population. The dispositif of security is based on the profit and loss account and on the calculus of probability; it takes into account the analysis of what may happen in order to manage potential consequences (cf. Raffnsoe et al. 2014; Foucault 2008, 2009).

The theoretical potential of the dispositif translates into the growing popularity of this Foucauldian concept in contemporary social reflection.² In social research, the term *dispositif* appears in many different roles: from a dynamic model, to the mental figure, as far as a notion sensitizing to the rhetorical category (Nowicka 2016). Undoubtedly, the interest of researchers in the idea of the dispositif and in the methodological and theoretical possibilities of its use has stemmed from the growing popularity of Foucault’s work in empirical discourse analysis. With the development of post-Foucauldian analysis, mainly owing to German discourse researchers (cf. Pongratz et al. 2004; Diaz-Bone et al. 2007), the dispositif was appreciated as one of the most important concepts in Foucault’s work. In areas related to education, the dispositifs of competence, learning, education, and university became the subject of analyses (cf. Simons and Masschelein 2008; Truschkat 2008; Gille 2013; Angermüller 2010; Maeße and Hamann 2016).

The outcome of the ambiguity of the concept of the dispositif in the texts of the French philosopher is the development of diversified reception lines in this category. On the most general level, two main trends can be distinguished here. In the first trend, research is primarily theoretical and descriptive, reconstructing the forms of various dispositifs, while in the second, researchers strive to develop a comprehensive research programme, theoretically and methodically grounded (Kumięga 2012).

Andrea Bührmann and Peter Schneider, who presented a holistic theoretical–methodological project assuming a *dispositif* research perspective and “style” of research, deserve the credit in this second field. Determining the style of research, *dispositif* analysis (like discourse analysis) does not impose any specific method, but defines the perspective aimed at the “reconstruction of the *dispositif* construction of reality”, understood in terms of specific, historical power–knowledge complexes (Bührmann and Schneider 2008). The model of *dispositif* analysis proposed by Bührmann combines two aspects: archaeological and genealogical description. According to the researcher, the approach used by Foucault in the analysis of power is similar to the research on discourse analysis. The relations of power traced by Foucault are arranged in specific formations of power, just as dispersed statements form discursive formations (Bührmann 2006). In the wake of Bührmann’s proposal, in the heuristics of the *dispositif* applied here, I avoided the excessive delimitation of the archaeological and genealogical level of analysis, tracking down the traces of interpenetration of the formation of knowledge and the formation of power in the practices of regulating social life.

In this context, it is worth emphasizing that discourse analysis remains the focus of a researcher into the *dispositif*, but the perspective is extended to include institutional, organizational, and material elements of social reality. *Dispositif* analysis is one of the discursive analytical strategies (Åkerstrøm Andersen 2003). According to Niels Åkerstrøm Andersen, “an *analytical strategy* is a second-order strategy for the observation of how ‘the social’ emerges in observations (or enunciations and articulations). The elaboration of an analytical strategy involves shaping a specific gaze that allows the environment to appear as consisting of the observations of other people or systems” (2003, p. VI). Following Åkerstrøm Andersen, I assumed that the *dispositif* analytical strategy includes two related elements:

- apparatusization, i.e. the apparatus of power, network of heterogeneous discursive and non-discursive elements, and
- generalization as strategic logic, an imperative that works productively being transferred from the original context to other areas (Åkerstrøm Andersen 2003).

Generalization means that specific discourses and technologies are removed from a specific context and become strategic logic that can be “installed” in many other contexts besides that which produced it. As Åkerstrøm Andersen emphasizes, It is important not to perceive the strategic logics teleologically: they serve no purpose that extends beyond themselves. They establish a kind of intention and direction without concrete content and programme, and without a particular will or subjectivity (Åkerstrøm Andersen 2003, p. 29).

On the other hand, *apparatzation* speaks of how this specific logic is created: what discourses, institutions, technologies it combines, what discursive and non-discursive elements make up this functional whole (Åkerstrøm Andersen 2003).

Analytical strategy understood in this way entails the adoption of several assumptions:

1. dispositif analysis is a development of the archaeological analysis of discourse, examining the rules of expression,
2. the apparatzation of particular strategic logic is not created “from scratch”, but the discourses, technologies, and institutions that make it up are part of other apparatuses. For apparatzation is often an element of reinstalling these factors using new relations and logics behind them,
3. it is possible to involve several logics in creating one dispositif. Apparatzation shows the combining of various factors using one rationality, but also the interpenetration of their various varieties,
4. apparatzation is not possible without the “counter-powers” accompanying it, resistance and various forms of dysfunctionality that cannot be absorbed by strategic logic (Åkerstrøm Andersen 2003).

In short, apparatzation determines the content specificity of the dispositif, what discourses and non-discursive factors work in a given historical moment, and which of them become an answer to the “urgent need situation”. The dispositif analytical strategy assumes a circular relationship between discourse and the dispositif, with the latter operating only in conditions of the discursivization of a problem, while generating and processing it at the same time. In the Foucauldian perspective,

“Discourses are, therefore, about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where, and with what authority. Discourses embody meaning and social relationships, they constitute both subjectivity and power relations...Discourses construct certain possibilities for thought...We do not (just) speak discourse. The discourse speaks us” (Ball 1990, pp. 17–18). Understood in such a way, discourse becomes a synonym of knowledge and a condition for the possibility of the apparatusization and generalization of the *dispositif*.

Non-discursive elements of the *dispositif* are seen as its “infrastructure” (cf. Kumiega and Nowicka 2012), which takes various forms: institutional, organizational, material. The operation of the *dispositif* does not presuppose the presence of all these forms at the same time. This means that we can talk about the *dispositif* also with reference to social mechanisms (Raffnsøe et al. 2014) without taking into account things understood *sensu stricto*, e.g. telephones, computers, or buildings (cf. Agamben 2010). For it is what is “visible”, and thus also the materiality of discourse, i.e. forms of imaging, graphical representation, or transcription, that is the material aspect of the *dispositif*. The examination of the *dispositif* assumes then an analysis of procedures, activities, and other practices regulating social life anchored in institutions, which are materialized in texts of different origin (e.g. in the press, in legal documents, in academic publications) (Ostrowicka 2017b).

The understanding of the *dispositif* and its circular relationship with discourse presented above coincides with Koselleck’s epistemological perspective. The German historian’s concept of notions assumes that language is both an active factor and a tool of external forces towards it. Regardless, however, of what determinants (discursive or non-discursive) will be considered as leading in a particular case, this alternative is always resolved in discourse (cf. Koselleck 2006). In studies based on text analysis, among others as part of Critical Discourse Analysis and the discourse-historical approach in CDA (cf. Krzyżanowski 2013, 2016) as well as in Foucauldian discourse analysis (Ifversen 2003), the possibilities of bringing together studies on discourse and Koselleck’s methodology were noticed.

Moving towards the integrating heuristics of the *dispositif* of age, in the next part I discuss selected assumptions of Koselleck’s historical semantics, combining them with the findings of historians studying social categorizations by age group.

2.3 Youth as the Basic Concept

In the previous part, I was reflecting on the concepts of the *dispositif*, focusing on the consequences of adopting the *dispositif* analytical strategy. The *dispositif* as a theoretical construct encourages researchers to look at social and political processes from the perspective of the interpenetration of three rationalities: juridical, disciplinary, and security. This combination of different logics fulfils a strategic function in response to situations of demand and moments of urgent need, including crises, threats, or deficiencies. Developing the concept of the *dispositif*, I reach for the work of the German historian Koselleck and for the understanding of concepts characteristic of historical semantics. Concepts, especially those which the German researcher calls “basic concepts” and “concepts of movement”, are assigned special significance in regulating social life. Extended to include the assumptions of the semantics of concepts, *dispositif* analytical strategy makes it possible to grasp the concept of youth and its meaning in the dominant discourses, and thus the strategic possibilities of youth discourses moving into new social contexts.

This chapter consists of two main parts. I begin with a description of selected assumptions of Koselleck’s historical semantics only to use them in the second part to characterize the concept of youth as a basic concept.

In his works devoted to modern concepts, Koselleck showed the tension between society and its transformations, and their linguistic notion. According to the German historian, every event consists of linguistic and non-linguistic elements, and in each of them there is a coupling of speech and action (Koselleck 1982). This interdependence of language and act spreads from individual behaviour to multiple social connections that make an event happen. As Koselleck (1982) emphasized, “semantic struggle” is an element of every crisis period. In modern vocabulary, concepts that go into the future, or those that identify what is next, emerge to a greater extent than in previous ages. It is in them that experience and an ever-widening waiting space meet. The stabilizing effect of concepts described by the German historian (Koselleck 1989) coincides with the strategic function of the *dispositif*. This effect consists in the fact that concepts both open and close argumentative

resources. Regardless of particular discrepancies and interpretative disputes, basic concepts establish a community of discourse in response to the situation of social demand or need. In this book, I argue that such a (basic) concept is the contemporary concept of youth. In addition, I intend to show the concept of youth as a concept of movement.

The basic, general thesis of Koselleck's historical semantics is that the meaning of concepts is historically variable. What distinguishes concepts from words is primarily the obligatory ambiguity of the former: "Each concept is associated with a word, but not every word is a social and political concept. Social and political concepts possess a substantial claim of generality and always have many meanings" (Koselleck 1982, p. 418). Social and political meanings are condensed in concepts. Owing to this, concepts are open to diverse interpretations and "can become a semantic battlefield" (Åkerstrøm Andersen 2003, p. 37). For example, the concept of equality organizes a dispute over equality by striving to set positions and limit ambiguity. We can see this condensation of meanings of the concept of equality from a historical perspective: from gender equality, through equality in the labour market, to equality extended over the whole society (Åkerstrøm Andersen 2003).

Koselleck was interested in the relationship between words and concepts. First of all, he dealt with relationships in which a given concept appears in different words (Ifversen 2003). Concepts are expressed using different words within their semantic fields. The basis for the analysis of the semantic field is the identification of basic concepts (*Grundbegriffe*) and counter-concepts (*Gegenbegriffe*). According to Koselleck (2002), concepts refer to other concepts, they are included in the network of relations in larger textual realizations. Thus, the analysis of a concept should include its opposites, the concepts which it depends on, but also those that depend on it and accompany it.

Koselleck narrowed down the premise of the applied methodology to the assumption that a fundamental change in the meaning of old concepts has taken place since the mid-eighteenth century. In his research, he considered terminology at the same time as a factor and manifestation of the dynamics of history. Importantly, Koselleck focused his analyses primarily on socio-political concepts such as "democracy", "revolution", or "republic", but also studied "translation processes"

and changes in the meanings of the concept of “education” (*Bildung*). He made basic concepts, the use of which makes it possible to understand the structures and dependencies of events, the object of his research. He included in them:

- a. key words of political, social, and economic structures,
- b. constitutional concepts, concepts and slogans of political movements,
- c. expressions or terms individually created within and used by academic disciplines,
- d. terms of dominant occupational groups and social classes as well
- e. concepts that structure and interpret the space of action and work, e.g. the concept of ideology (1972).

Basic concepts have a temporal internal structure in the sense that they simultaneously include layers of meanings from the past (space of experience) and the future (horizon of expectation). Therefore, regardless of their different empirical content, they contain potentials of movement and change. The greater the power of expectation contained in a concept, the less empirical content there is in it. This “compensation rule” can stimulate the undertaking of new actions. Language users refer to the different layers of meaning of a given basic concept when they are unable to give up the concept (Koselleck 2003a). Thus, in addition to semantics, Koselleck was also interested in the pragmatic aspect related to the use of words and concepts.

The German historian used both diachronic analysis, in which he focused on individual concepts and their transformations, as well as synchronous analysis, focused on the semantic field of a given concept and its relationship with other concepts. From Koselleck’s point of view, the semantic field is built from the relationship between concepts and their counter-concepts (*Gegenbegriffe*). When asking about the concept of youth from this perspective, I was interested in the way in which “maturation”, “adolescence”, “development”, etc. are harnessed into the semantic field of the modern concept of youth. What counter-concepts constitute this field? Counter-concepts, which can be very diverse, are used to articulate identities by identifying features that distinguish phenomena, objects, or entities.

Let us summarize this part of these considerations. Basic concepts are necessary to interpret social reality because they have a certain semantic constant which other concepts derive from. These concepts constantly vary as the object of interpretation disputes. Basic concepts create a temporary tension; there is the past and the future in it, constant movement and expectation. According to Koselleck (2002), all concepts have a temporal structure. Depending on how strongly the horizon of expectations is present in them, we can distinguish:

- retrospective concepts, concepts of experiencing, and thus those directed at the past, as well as
- prospective or anticipatory concepts, concepts of expectation, movement—directed at the future.

The second important premise of historical semantics is the thesis on the *temporalization of concepts*. According to Koselleck, modernity has brought new experience, an experience of progressive time and the notion of progressive improvement inscribed in the dynamics of time. In this way, the notion of time with an open future has been unveiled, with the goal inscribed in the process of acting (Koselleck 1997). Koselleck emphasized that this exploration is not only about words or expressions a clear subject of which is time. In the modern mode of the temporalization of concepts, the expectation contained in a concept is not limited to the experience contained in it, but a new “horizon of expectations”, which cannot be derived from or justified by virtue of past experience, is taking shape. The thesis on the temporalization of concepts was developed by the author on the example of the “concepts of movement” specific to the modern period and the concepts-“isms” such as democracy, patriotism, or liberalism. Basic concepts have been subject to temporary tension, which in a new way subordinates the past and the future. The change consists in the fact that expectations regarding the future are no longer fully deduced from previous experience; in the process of temporalization, experience and expectation diverge and concepts are transformed into concepts of purpose, concepts of movement. Importantly, concepts of movement not only name specific processes, but also make it possible to trigger them off (Koselleck 1997, 2002).

According to Koselleck (1997), in the modern era, in addition to temporalization, basic concepts become susceptible to three other related phenomena: democratization, politicization, and ideologization.

Democratization of a concept consists in extending the scope of its application. In the case of *strictly* political terms described by Koselleck, democratization boils down to extending the circle of users of political terminology, the area of the audience writing and speaking in this language; the socio-political language is no longer limited to the statements of the elite (aristocracy, lawyers or academics) and educated people. This expansion of users is accompanied by a growing number of publications and magazines that reach the general public. On the other hand, next to the democratization of the use of concepts, their scope of meaning is also extended because of social changes. As Koselleck observed, the process of democratization presupposes the “coercion of abstraction”, that is, a rise to a higher level of generality. The pace of events, breakthroughs, and social changes makes concepts important to experiencing them become generalized, when unable to keep up with them. They are characterized by a multilayered temporal structure, covering elements of the past, present, and future. The need to prescind and generalize concepts is associated with experiencing globalizing trends of the interpenetration of experiences and interdependence of factors that constitute them (Koselleck 1997). The growing divergence of one’s own experience from the social and political factors that go beyond this experience is intensified by the mediatization of events and the concepts describing them. The situation of “increasing abstraction” favours the development of terminology which can be used universally and leads to the susceptibility of concepts to various types of *ideologization*. Each temporized concept can be placed in the perspective of a chosen ideology, because it refers to the future, and the future is open and cannot be verified. The ambiguity appropriate for abstract concepts, included in the common vocabulary, becomes a “material of empty formulas” that can be used for various purposes, depending on the adopted ideological perspective (in the economic, political, philosophical, and other sense). Ideologization leads to the use of concepts as formulas the obviousness of which depends on ideological assumptions. This phenomenon develops as the social world pluralizes. The expansion of the group of recipients, also

intensified by the development of the mass media, introduces concepts into the context of *politization*. The political meaning of basic concepts is reinforced by counter-concepts, especially when they make it possible to identify one's own and someone else's identity (Koselleck 1972).

In Koselleck's terms, all the four processes, i.e. temporalization, democratization, ideologization, and the politicization of concepts, remain in the network of mutual connections and references.

In the context of the above-described premises, I attributed a specific ontological status to the concept of youth, from the perspective of which it is a basic concept and active factor of the *dispositif*, a horizon of expectation stimulating thinking about the future. In the temporized concept of youth, experience, and expectation, as well as the project of reaching adulthood, which is to be realized, are related. I justify my position below.

I refer the concept of basic concepts and the processes characterizing changes in terminology described by Koselleck to the processes of formation of the semantic field of the multilayered concept of youth. Over the course of time, this field was filled with content related, on the one hand, to the concepts of youth, maturation, and adolescence described in terms of biological–physiological states and age-specific phases in the life cycle of the individual and, on the other, to youth as a category isolated because of age, status, and functions. Youth as a basic concept, necessary for the description and interpretation of social life, has become more and more contentious. Each of the parties to the dispute, however, feeds on a certain semantic constant, the “universal” elements included in the concept of youth. Research based on the analyses of broadly understood texts of culture, documents, iconography, and other sources show the transformation of the vocabulary and social awareness in the field of social categorization based on age difference and the formation of universal and particular components of the concept of youth. At the same time, these studies show that academic conceptualizations did not appear in a social vacuum or political isolation, but fit in with the “problems” of the epoch and the dominant notions about man and his place in the world. Therefore, the following description is focused on key moments, embedded in historical contexts, moments of formation of various layers of the semantic field of the concept we

are interested in and on examples demonstrating its democratization, politicization, and ideologization. My goal is not to trace the history of formation of the modern concept of youth. In this book, I care about showing the “discursive moments” in which specific layers of the concept of youth come to the fore. I do not assume that these layers formed in a linear, chronological sequence of events. I draw from historical works in a way that makes it possible for me to understand the scope and content of the semantic field of contemporary youth discourses.

Studies of childhood and youth historians show that today’s “problem of adolescence” comprises the processes of the conceptual and institutional separation of this period of life, and in particular the specification of the age of transition to adulthood, that is the age at which the status of an adult person has not yet been achieved (cf. Davis 1990). The age limits of the adolescent group have changed over the course of time, which, as John Gillis (1981) observed, resulted from the changing relationships between young people and their parents, and was the consequence of wider social, political, and economic changes. According to the studies by Philippe Ariès (1973), the category of “periods of life” played a huge role in academic treatises and in the colloquial consciousness of man of the ancient and mediaeval era. This category described and explained the periodization of human life with the periodicity of the seasons of the year and the constancy of the laws of nature. Although ancient and mediaeval treatises left behind extremely rich vocabulary describing periods of life (e.g. in Latin there are seven different terms to specify seven periods in man’s life), the expression “youthful age” appeared only in the eighteenth century. Earlier, youthful age was associated with very broadly understood childhood. Paying attention to the difference of youthful age was accompanied by the appearance of the literary character—a Cherub, and the social character—a recruit. However, the notion of youth related only to the latter (with masculine strength) became fixed (Ariès 1973). In the eighteenth century, youth as an age carrying new, revitalizing values and potential for social change became a literary topic (Ariès 1973).

However, as noted by Frank Musgrove (1964), we owe the distinct separation of adolescence as a period with special properties and significant importance both in individual and social terms, to the work

published in 1762 under the title “Emile; or, Concerning Education” by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. It was in “Emile” that the concept of youth gained independence, that is, it was separated from childhood and adulthood, and located at the transition to adulthood. In one of the fragments of the book we find the following description:

The third book has to do with the youth as he is between the ages of twelve and fifteen. At this time his strength is proportionately greatest, and this is the most important period in his life. It is the time for labour and study; not indeed for studies, of all kinds, but for those whose necessity the student himself feels. The principle that ought to guide him now is that of utility. All the master’s talent consists in leading him to discover what is really useful to him. [...] Although up to the beginning of youth life is, on the whole, a period of weakness, there is a time during this earlier age when our strength increases beyond what our wants require, and the growing animal, still absolutely weak, becomes relatively strong. His wants being as yet partly undeveloped, his present strength is more than sufficient to provide for those of the present. (Rousseau 1889, pp. 121–122)

The Genevan pedagogue described youthful age as the time of “second birth”. He attributed to the period between 12 and 15 years of age particular potential and developmental opportunities related to the education of the mind, and while he described the later years up to the age of 20 as particularly important for emotional development. At the same time, he emphasized that this is a time that should be used for work and study, for the development of the needs and interests of a young person. Rousseau’s influential works contributed to the objectification of the notions concerning the separateness and importance of youthful age for the development of the individual. John Davis (1990) notes that it is from the romantic ideas of the Genevan pedagogue that the assumptions about the specific psychosocial properties of adolescence, adopted in later epochs by virtue of obviousness, derive.

In addition to the influence of Rousseau, the development of educational and developmental psychology at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was of particular importance for the crystallization of the modern concept of youth. Davis drew attention to the

professionalization of empirical research, the results of which began to shape the policy addressed to young people. And although the famous work of the American psychologist Granville S. Hall, published in 1904 under the title *Adolescence: Its psychology and its relations to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion and education* was rejected and considered ideological and pseudoscientific (Davis 1990; Griffin 1993; Lesko 2001; Besley 2002), it is the idea of “storm and stress” in youthful age that left a clear mark on the direction of academic, especially psychological and pedagogical conceptualizations of youth. It is worth recalling that in Hall’s perspective:

Adolescence is a new birth, for the higher and more completely human traits are now born. The qualities of body and soul that now emerge are far newer. The child comes from and harks back to a remoter past; the adolescent is neo-atavistic, and in him the later acquisitions of the race slowly become prepotent. Development is less gradual and more saltatory, suggestive of some ancient period of storm and stress when old moorings were broken and a higher level attained. (Hall 1904, p. xiii)

Hall transferred the theory of recapitulation, post-Darwinian and evolutionary ideas to his theory of maturation, in which he compared youth to primitive cultures, while adulthood was to symbolize the most advanced level of development. He described adolescence as a natural, but problematic and “turbulent” stage of transition from childhood to adulthood, in which the young body undergoing intensive biological changes succumbs to hormonal influences. Therefore, in Hall’s perspective, the constant features of youth are the variability of moods, communication problems, and exposure to potential threats (cf. broader analyses of the theory: Davis 1990; Griffin 1993; Lesko 2001; France 2007). In the wake of the Hall’s two-volume work, also in the works of other psychologists (e.g. Charlotte Buhler, Arnold Gesell, or Stefan Baley), the importance of biological factors in human development is emphasized (cf. Obuchowska 1996).

Basing his conclusions on systematic empirical research, Hall developed Rousseau’s idea of the progressive development of man, consistent with nature, in which adolescence is an important stage on the path to

adulthood; it is a time of developing potential, but sometimes of many threats. Considering the contribution of this psychologist's considerations to the development of the semantic field of the modern concept of youth, I want to emphasize three important issues.

The first is the metaphor of growth and change, understood as a progressive pursuit of perfection, that is present in his works. The concept of human development as a progressive transition through successive stages affects the subsequent notions of the place and role of young people in society, and on the importance attributed to the period of youth in the life cycle of the individual. The most influential psychological theories (of Sigmund Freud, Erik H. Erikson, Jean Piaget, Lawrence Kohlberg, Lev S. Vygotsky) assume that developmental change is directed, that it aims at a positively valued goal, a "higher" state—stage, phase. Although in contemporary developmental psychology the equation of development with the one-way growth process is questioned, the perception of human development as a progressive change, a transition to a "better" period in the life of the individual, dominates in popular perception (Trempała 2012).

The second important issue from Hall's work concerns the capturing of adolescence in terms of anxiety, instability, and easily succumbing to influences. As Davis (1990) points out, more sociologizing or post-Eriksonian presentations of adolescence as a time of identity crisis still tend to capture adolescence in such categories also today. The topos of "storm and stress" as an inevitable element of youth comes to the fore in terms of "imbalance", "anarchy of mental life", "chaos of experiences and actions", and "internal conflict" (Obuchowska 1996).

The third issue present in Hall's theory and relevant to the contemporary presentations of youth is related to the two previous characteristics, i.e. young people are described by contrasting them with adults. Placing the concept of youth in a network of counter-concepts (young people are "no longer" children, and "not yet" adults) not only makes it possible to define their own identity, but also enhances the political and ideological significance of youth discourse.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the distinction between the concept of youth and the category of childhood and adulthood became more and more common, also in the terminology used by the state.

Significant influence on the perception of youth was exerted by industrialism and urbanization, and the accompanying mass migration of young people from rural to urban areas. As a result of demographic changes, young people appeared in state policy as a separate age group (cf. Gillis 1981; France 2007). As a result of the First World War, during which “young” soldiers in front troops were contrasted with “the older” in the rear, the perception of youth as a separate age category became popularized (Ariès 1973). The perception of young people as a social phenomenon and the recognition of their role in society was also reflected in sociological works, among others in the theories of Karl Mannheim, Leopold Rosenmayr, Samuel Eisenstadt, or Friedrich Tenbruck. The category of generation, using which the relationships between social change and human age were described, as well as the notions of young people being a “barometer” or a “locomotive of change” began to play a significant role in the concept of youth. Importantly, with the help of this concept, for example in the expressions such as “generation gap”, “exchange of generations”, the relationship between chronological age, socio-cultural conditions, and social relations was established. Generational semantics, supported by catchy media slogans, has not been losing strength for many years and labels making the concept of youth uniform, e.g. generation Y, generation X, generation Z, SMS generation, Frugo generation, NOTHING generation, JPII generation, even JP3 generation and others are still being created. Narratives about youth as a problem were maintained in sociology by the so-called Chicago school, focused on phenomena that were perceived to be seemingly more interesting (e.g. street gangs, prostitution, or juvenile delinquency) and young people who were difficult for their communities (France 2007). Changes in the field of social awareness are accompanied by the crystallization of the modern concept of youth. The contemporary concept of youth comprises the content shaped also in studies on culture and youth subcultures, including that developed since the 1960s by the researchers of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS). They are based on characteristics related to age and intergenerational relations, maintaining the ideas of cultural differences and conflict between the generations of children and parents (cf. Griffin 1993; Talbut and Lesko 2011).

Referring the idea of basic concepts to the concept that interests me, we will notice that in the twentieth century, “youth” becomes the basic concept for the identification of persons at a youthful age, including both the age of adolescence and older age groups. This process includes two parallel phenomena; universalization, on the one hand, and particularization of the concept, on the other. The dissemination of the concept of youth in many spaces of experience enhances the importance of universal elements that are permanently attributed to this category: chronological age, adolescent development, youth culture in global terms, school duty issues, legal regulations based on age (e.g. concerning juvenile offences), and youth understood as incompleteness. On the other hand, particular elements related to the pluralization of experience and social, cultural, legal, or geographical diversity come to the fore in the concept of youth (cf. Wyn and White 1997).

In the case of the concept of youth, we deal with convergence (cf. Koselleck 1997) which in one concept combines many universal and particular, and homogeneous and heterogeneous elements and, as Koselleck would say, comprises “layers of time”. This spatial metaphor, according to the geological source domain, has the advantage of referring to many levels of time of different origin and duration, and indicates that these “layers” are present and interact at the same time (Koselleck 2003b). Although the universal and particular content inscribed in the concept of youth come from heterogeneous contexts, they can operate simultaneously. Unable to give up the notion of youth, discourse participants refer to its diverse layers of meaning: biological, psychological, social, and cultural.

Referring Koselleck’s findings on democratization to the concept that interests us, we can observe the unceasing popularity of the “youth” category both in the language of politics and science since the eighteenth century, and since the mid-twentieth century in the broadly understood media discourse. Below I am going to attempt to show how in these three areas (media, politics, and science) the basic character of the concept of youth is maintained today.

In *academic discourse*, researchers seek to present young people in all their diversity and complexity as knowable in an increasingly methodologically and theoretically advanced way. The concepts and results

of research develop a set of ways of understanding young people in relation to various social and political problems (cf. White 1993; Kelly 2010). Together with the development of social sciences, the concept of youth has settled in sociology, political science, pedagogy, and psychology. We note, on the one hand, the process of discursivization of the “youth issue” and the multiplication of the network of academic youth discourses and, on the other hand, the operation of equivalents, synonymous terms, which, although not identical (as the terms “young people” and “adolescents”) are used interchangeably. This is the case, for example, in empirical research on adolescents. In academic theories, from the work of Stanley G. Hall (1904) to the description of people falling into the concept of youth, the term “adolescence” indicating a specific stage in human development, the age of adolescence,³ began also to be used. In modern studies, the term “adolescence” is mainly used to refer to the younger groups of youth (corresponding to the popularized term “teenagers”), and the selection of this category is often associated with not always directly expressed valuation (cf. Kłoskowska 1987). The valuation mentioned above is visible in at least four versions:

1. adolescence as a process of achieving “adulthood” by entering adulthood,
2. adolescence as the time of “hormonal storm”,
3. adolescence as being peer-orientated, and
4. adolescence as a process defined by age (Lesko 2001).

Nancy Lesko (2001) drew attention to the terms used in academic research to describe adolescence, which suggest crossing the “threshold” and reaching some important state, identified with adulthood. The presentation of teenagers as being thrown by hormonal changes underlines uncontrolled biological forces that remain beyond any social or individual control. In turn, the third characteristic of adolescence suggests the conformity of young people with the influence of their peers, and thus their lower autonomy and rationality in comparison with adults. The last of the perspectives identified by Lesko emphasizes the importance of the passage of time for understanding the maturing individual and the “epidemic” of stigmatization due to age. Fiona Beals (2008),

who not without a reason noticed that young people are described and positioned as objects subject to the operation of factors beyond their control, i.e. psychological and biological processes (embedded within the individual) and/or social mechanisms (lying “outside” the individual), is heading in a similar direction in her findings. Peter Dwer and Johan Wyn (2001) called this tendency a “tradition of creating myths” about youth, which turned out to be strong enough to come back regularly in academic research.

According to Janusz Trempała (2012), lack of broader interest in the diversity of developmental changes in psychology was caused by three widespread beliefs:

1. recognition of a universal and relatively stable position of people at a certain age;
2. belief in the existence of institutionalization of the cycle of social life and constant patterns of changes in the behaviour of people appearing with age;
3. conviction that only significant events are important for individual development.

Research conducted from a critical perspective shows that the academic interest in youth is “played”, on the one hand, around fears and, on the other, around the fascinations of adults associated with youth (cf. Griffin 1993; Lesko 2001; Ostrowicka 2015).

Since the 1970s, Hartmut M. GRIESE (1982) has been noting an intense increase in the number of academic publications on youth, especially those with a pedagogical attitude, which are linked by the fact of defining youth as a problem. In the definitions appearing at that time in Polish literature, the concept of youth is combined with educational institutions, and youth is described as the part of a society that is at the stage of preparation for future social roles (cf. Znaniecki 1973). There was even an (unsuccessful) attempt to create a new field of research, juvenology, which would combine the perspectives of various disciplines in youth research. In many academic texts, the issue of definition difficulties is being raised. Explaining and reducing the ambiguity of the concept is fostered by academic theories: psychological theories

of identity, theories of psychosocial development, theories of life tasks, theories of generations, sociological phenomenological theories, functionalist theories, and others. Each of them, based on adopted ontological and epistemological premises, attempts to capture youth in a quite unambiguous way. Nevertheless, the “problem” of formulating an unambiguous definition of the concept that interests us and of the various theoretical–methodological complications associated with research on youth returns in numerous studies. This, however, does not lead to a limitation of the popularity of the term. On the contrary, this ambiguity favours the intensification of abstraction and the expansion of the range of phenomena, objects, and behaviours falling within the characteristics of the concept of youth. In many contexts, it is a generalized concept defined by successive adjectives with a view to giving it a more specific sense. As a result, in discourses of various origins, we talk about school youth, academic youth, high school youth, final year secondary school youth, etc. Currently, the concept of youth has been generalized so much, that its reference to specific people becomes almost arbitrary. For example, the periodic survey under the name “Youth”, conducted since the 1990s by the Centre for Social Opinion Research in Poland, is used to characterize contemporary youth in general. Meanwhile, as Barbara Fatyga (2001) noted, this research shows the specificity of a particular group of young people, that is, students completing their studies at a given stage of education. The concept of youth, referred to a specific group here, becomes “youth in general” and shapes the images, stereotypes, and myths that then circulate in colloquial notions and means of mass communication. And so, for example, a few days after the publication of the report *Youth 2010* of the CSOR research, alarming journalist reports appeared: “Polish youth prefer sex to religion” (cf. Ostrowicka 2015).

It is worth repeating here that the generalized concept of youth becomes susceptible to various types of ideologization, politicization, and practice, which may be referred to as the regime of the expertise. The observed social problem combined with youth becomes the subject of expert research, and the research a source of knowledge for political interventions. Expertises are not always accompanied by expert theories. Research is often “atheoretical”, which at the same time suggests

that the categories and cognitive perspective adopted by the author/authors are obvious and unambiguous. Research reports that are limited to the presentation of collected data and their analysis validate the apparent lack of assumptions behind the applied research methods and tools, including the interpretative obviousness of the obtained results. Research conducted from a perspective critical of the dominant theories of youth (e.g. Griffin 1993; Lesko 2001; Beals 2008; Ostrowicka 2015) shows that specific ideas about young age, its “nature” and characteristics, directly translate into educational and social policy, leading to specific intervention, and preventive and corrective solutions.

In *political discourse*, the concept of youth is widely used in programmes, strategies, and tools of educational and social policy. The term “youth policy” itself can be used in its two meanings: narrow and broad. Youth policy understood in a narrow sense comprises legal acts and accompanying practices of international and state institutions and other agencies the activities of which aim to regulate all important areas of social functioning: education, the labour market, culture, social assistance, health, political life, the legal system, and others. In broad terms, however, youth policy includes regulatory, restrictive, and symbolic activities that apply to young people and are implemented by various communities and institutions, from family to international agencies (Sińczuch 2009a). In the context of political activities, the concept of youth is also linked to the category of “youth work”. Like “youth policy”, the movement is called the indicator of interest of state organs and other organizations in the role of young people in the state and in society. The concept of *youth work* describes target activities of adults, including professionals, addressed to young people as well as youth initiatives for young people (Sińczuch 2009b). This concept of a long tradition is nowadays applied to many activities falling within the framework of “youth policy”, which is especially evident in relation to European policy (cf. Verschelden et al. 2009). From the beginning of the twentieth century, the progressing *ideologization of the concept of youth* served to implement specific political goals. For example, in Central and Eastern Europe after the First World War, the importance of youth was associated with the processes of regaining independence by many countries in the region. Research on various forms of “youth work” (e.g. Sińczuch

2009b) simultaneously attest to the different ideological content and political potential of the concept itself. From the research on the goals and forms of *youth work*, we can draw conclusions about the co-presence of three semantics: elitism, nationalism, and subsidiarity. Firstly, youth work was described in a specific semantics of elitism, in which the concept of youth personified the future and the elite of the nation; secondly, in the nationalistic semantics present at that time, youth meant a better representation of the nation than in other nationalities; thirdly, youth work was described in terms of subsidiarity, and youth was classified as a group in need of help, support and health, education, and social care.

The concept of youth as a basic concept becomes part of the network of assumptions constituting the goals of contemporary youth policies. Claire Wallace and Rene Bendit (2009) in their research on the policies implemented in European countries at the beginning of the twenty-first century noticed that the way of understanding the concept of youth is one of the important factors differentiating the “philosophies of intervention”. In countries such as the United Kingdom and Ireland, where young people were perceived as a problem, youth policy focused, among others, on the issues of unemployment, homelessness, drug addiction, or crime prevention. In turn, the strong emphasis on education, empowerment, and participation of young people in social life in the policy of the Scandinavian countries was accompanied by the image of youth as a *resource*. Numerous policies (implemented in Germany, the Netherlands, and elsewhere) combined both youth constructions, which involved, among others, a wide perception of the age group. Protection was mainly referred to younger youth, while issues related to housing and social care to older young people (Wallace and Bendit 2009).

The concept of youth, depending on the context and perspective in which it is located, may be useful sometimes for the criticism and sometimes for the support and affirmation of a specific policy and ideology. It is not difficult to notice that this concept functions in a network of counter-concepts. Youth are non-adults and non-children. The semantic field of the concept of youth in relation to adulthood is described by the following pairs of oppositions: not adult–adult, becoming–arrived, pre-social self–fixed identity, powerless–powerful, vulnerable–strong, less responsible–responsible, dependent–independent,

ignorant–knowledgeable, risky–considered, rebellious–conformist, reliant–autonomous (Wyn and White 1997).

The use of the concept of youth to define one’s own or someone else’s identity becomes extremely functional for delineating the field “us”—“them” and polarizing the social world according to the criterion of age. The identity aspect becomes particularly visible in the context of reflections on youth rebellion and the defiance of the “adult world”. The interpenetration of the politicization and ideologization of the concept of youth was described in more detail in Chapter 4, devoted to selected examples of policies addressed to young people.

The outcomes of the research on youth policy signalled above sensitize researchers to the ambiguous nature of the concept of youth, at the same time justifying a more in-depth conceptual analysis. It is my intention in this book to reverse the perspective in which the concept of youth is not only a tool for achieving political goals and regulating social life, but also an active factor. Such a perspective, inspired by the concepts of the *dispositif* and the concepts of movement, presupposes the reading of educational policies and discourses in the light of the *dispositif* of age. To do this, let us first return to the phenomenon of the temporalization of concepts.

2.4 Temporalization and the *Dispositif* of Age

Koselleck’s concept of the temporalization of concepts, outlined above, makes it possible to see the connections between the conceptual category of youth and time, and more precisely, with the future and the “horizon of expectation”. Let us remember that the temporalization of concepts means a new experience of time, progressive time, with an open future, and the image of progressive improvement. In the modern mode of temporalization, a new “horizon of expectations”, which cannot be derived from only past experience, emerges. Basic concepts such as youth are covered by temporary tension, experience and expectation diverge, and the concept is transformed into the concept of goal, the concept of movement. Therefore, as I have been trying to argue, the concepts of movement as concepts of expectation play a strategic role in the *dispositif*.

The phenomenon of temporalization described above does not apply only to those concepts that directly refer to time. The influence of the conceptualization of phenomena in terms of linear, modern time is described in the literature on the subject next to the critical reconstruction of many modern concepts such as education (Biesta 2013; Szkudlarek 2017), development (Burman 2008) or adolescence (Lesko 2001). Researchers paid attention to concepts that are perceived as lasting “in time”, requiring time, and expressing themselves “through time”. Gert Biesta (2013) described the temporalization of education in connection with the presence of time in such concepts as: change, learning, development, schooling, the child, and progress. “Change” assumes a certain path, it is a transition from one state of affairs to another state of affairs, from point A to point B. A special form of change is “learning” because the learning process involves a change of something (understanding, skills, knowledge, etc.). “Development” contains the idea of time in teleological interpretations of development (as “temporal unfolding”), as well as in non-teleological approaches, when it contains the concept of “growth-over-time”. “The child” is “an educable being”, who is not yet, and needs learning and supporting development (Biesta 2013, pp. 77–78). All these concepts, like the modern concepts described also by Koselleck, are characterized by linear time. The progressive and linear concept of time, characteristic of modern societies, has developed new possibilities for measuring and standardizing time, which have led to the “temporalization of experience”, among others, to the temporary organization of social institutions, and to “colonization in relation to time” (Lesko 2001; Adam 2010; Biesta 2013). Owing to its obviousness, time has become an effective tool and mechanism of power. Barbara Adam (2010) noted that colonization in relation to time takes two faces:

- “colonization with time” when a certain type of time is imposed; the clock and the use of standard time become the undisputed norm,
- “colonization of time”, i.e. social interference in time—in the past and in the future, various forms of “appropriation” of the dimensions of the past and the future.

As Adam aptly observed (2010), clock time is used to rationalize and regulate the pace of life, activities and social institutions, and changing lifetimes are adjusted to uniform and unchanging time patterns.

The universalizing elements of the concept of youth reveal its temporalization inscribed not only in the category of age, but also in the concept of development, which, described with the help of a metaphor of growth, does not allow us to forget about the movement inherent in it. This expectation set by the direction of time refers to the successive stages of development and to the imperative of change “for the better”. Here, the concept of development coincides with the concept of progress, in which the future is clearly positively valued. On the example of American youth studies, Lesko (2001) showed how easily this group is stereotyped in the modern narrative about adolescence as an experience strictly marked “on the arrow” of linear time. These activities are based on the continuous monitoring and evaluation of “development-in-time” and the productive use of time. The authoress suggested that the dominant aspect of the discourse on adolescence is its location in panoptical time, and developed this idea by examining three representations of teenagers: tables containing crime rates based on the physical characteristics of boys and girls, stages of fertility development, and stages of psychosocial development. Physical, sexual, and psychosocial adolescence is presented in the form of tables and graphs depicting development according to the arrow of linear time. Referring to Anne McClintock, Lesko compared panoptical time to colonial time. According to her, children and youth are an analogy to primitive societies (earlier in time), and the development of the individual summarizes the stages of the evolution of the race. That is why so much importance is attributed, including in psychological theories, to the period of adolescence, in which progress should be made (Lesko 2001). It is worth explaining that the idea of panoptical and disciplinary time is derived from Foucault’s work. This type of time is characterized by:

1. division into segments, consecutive or parallel series, which end at a specific moment;
2. organization of the series in accordance with the scheme of progress and growth;

3. transition to the next stage is conditioned by the “positive” ending of the lower stages;
4. differentiation within the series—new branches and sub-segments open at the end of each time series (Foucault 1995).

Disciplinary time is, therefore, a linear, cumulative, and serial time. Disciplinary techniques such as supervision, assessment, and control, integrate individual series aimed at a specific direction. In this way, time (times of education, adulthood, free time, working time, etc.) and individuals are separated and marked, depending on the place in which they are located (Foucault 1995).

The oppressive nature of time in constructing the Other is pointed out in the studies of Johannes Fabian (1983), who shows how, in anthropological research, the object of research is transferred to the time of the anthropologist. This phenomenon, called by Fabian “allochronism”, works in a similar way in relation to the modern concept of youth. Youth are separated from adults by a time gap that needs to be filled with specific activities (e.g. educational) that mobilize thinking about the future and bring young people closer to the time of adults (cf. Biesta 2013).

The concept of youth as a social category located between childhood and adulthood assumes a *horizon of expectation*, awaiting adulthood (Ostrowicka 2017b). Orientation towards the future in the concept of movement intensifies the hopes connected with it. This way of understanding youth was clearly shared in Polish post-war sociology. Its doyen, Jan Szczepański, emphasized that “their [youth’s] social significance lies primarily in their potential possibilities, in features resulting mainly from biological age conditioning the resource of strength, skills, abilities and scope of responsibility. One could say that the position of youth in society is determined by the hopes and expectations that adults attach to youth” (Szczepański 1958, p. 141). The combination of hope and action in the concept of youth colonizes the future, stimulates thinking about future events and the control of choices and life orientations of young people because of their imagined consequences for them and for society.

One of the forms of colonization of the future is juvenalism, which expresses intensified expectations and hopes of young people.

Juvenalism describes the way in which ideas included in the concept of youth will be realized in the future. Here, the temporalization of meanings and inscribing “youth” in the project of the future, which is just about to be implemented, takes place. Juvenalism expresses the expectation of the use of the strength seen in young people in three varieties: universalist, generational, and prominent. According to Mirosław Karwat (1998), juvenalism attributes to young people an exceptional or essential role in society and entrusts young people with a mission related to the implementation of social change. The universalist variety of juvenalism refers to the general concept of youth and assumes the continuity and universal nature of its unique, causative mission. In this version of juvenalism, the concept of youth is described using metaphors such as the “locomotive of change” (when spontaneity and dynamism are emphasized) and the “barometer of change” (when young people become an indicator of change and a forecast of the “society of the future”). In turn, in the generational variety of juvenalism, the idea of a special mission and uniqueness of a selected generation of youth, for example the “first generation of the breakthrough” or “the first generation of transformation”, is maintained. The third, prominent version of juvenalism is characterized by making the vanguard from only specific subcategories of youth, such as students of elite high schools or leaders of youth organizations. The two latter varieties of juvenalism introduce diversity within the category of youth and they attribute special value and social significance only to selected milieux, groups, and generations of young people (more on this subject in: Ostrowicka-Miszewska 2006).

“Youth” as a concept of movement intensifies teleological orientation, orientated towards the goal, towards the future, towards what they and the rest of society will be in a few or a dozen or so years. This phenomenon of expectation is extremely vivid in discourses of various origins, with diverse subjects, from educational, economic, criminal, health to moral and ideological issues. There are no youth discourses that would not include temporality.

Before I return to the concept of the dispositif of age, let us summarize this part of our considerations. “Youth” as a collective concept has become a basic concept without which today’s social reality cannot

be captured. Once pluralistic, historical terms have met today in the multilayered concept of youth. The parallel notion of “adolescents” has been replaced by the basic concept “youth”, without which today it is difficult to imagine educational, academic, political, or media discourses. This concept, provided with the ideas of adolescence (maturation), development, and “transition”, reveals the horizon of expectations which sees in young people not only the social status, but also the concept of the future. In the temporized concept of youth, experience and expectation are connected in the project of reaching adulthood which is to be implemented.

The *theoretical and analytical model of the dispositif of age* is a proposal serving both analysis and interpretation of broadly understood social policies, and practices of regulating social life. This model makes it possible to combine several presentations of the issue of the power of discourse, with the help of theoretical categories such as the “dispositif” (“juridical dispositif”, “disciplinary dispositif”, “security dispositif”), “basic concept”, “concept of movement”, and “temporalization”. In principle, the analytical possibilities of the model of the dispositif of age are not limited to the study of the power of discourses based solely on the concept of youth. This model assumes temporalization, the existence of a temporal structure of concepts that determines their susceptibility to the processes of democratization, politicization, and ideologization. I hope that the model of the dispositif of age will also be attractive to researchers interested in the temporality of other concepts and areas of the power of discourse.

Let us return here to the issue of colonization in relation to time, which is expressed by means of time and by interfering in time. In both contexts, time is inscribed in the tissue of power. There is no power that would not presuppose a concept of time. Power can, certainly, be understood in very different ways and its modalities may be different. Adopting Foucauldian terminology, we can describe the temporalization of disciplinary, juridical, pastoral, biopolitical, and neoliberal power, as well as governmentality. Each of the modalities of power in its own way operates in time and through time.

I assume that the temporality of modern concepts and the temporalization of experience play an important role in the relations of power.

Therefore, I supplemented the characterization of three prototype dispositifs, which I presented in Sect. 2.2, with the aspect of temporalization. The politics of time, i.e. power through time and through interference in time, is expressed in the temporalization of concepts and experiences.

For the purposes of the analysis, Table 2.1 describes in a schematic way the relations between temporalization and prototype dispositifs: juridification, disciplining, and conducting. However, the proposed model of the dispositif of age assumes that in each empirical case the techniques and form of the operation of law, discipline, and security mechanisms interpenetrate, and can be “recoded” when one of them dominates. The theoretical and analytical model of the dispositif of age takes into account the concept of the dispositif extended to include temporalization and other assumptions of Koselleck’s semantics, and comprises two layers: (1) conceptually discursive, focused on knowledge formations, and (2) pragmatic-strategic, including power formations, and juridical and disciplinary mechanisms as well as the mechanism of conducting (cf. Fig. 2.1).

The previous considerations show the ubiquity of time in youth discourses. Owing to the fact that we already know a lot about the temporality of psychological developmental theories and about the relations between youth theory and the linear concept of time, in this book my attention is focused on how the concept of youth, which is pervaded with time, works in modern governance practices, and how the concepts expressing expectations and thinking in the future perspective enhance a specific policy (e.g. prevention, mitigation of threats, interventions, and others).

The combination of hope and action in the concept of youth makes it become involved in the dispositif, it becomes its component stimulating thinking about the future. The temporized, future-orientated concept of youth provides functional content to the mechanism of the dispositif. In the pragmatic function, it is adapted to a one-time, consensus-based use; semantics comprises centuries-old experience that defines, while limiting its possible meanings. The concept of youth has an inscribed tension between its universalistic elements, which emphasize the social significance of age and development, and the particular

Table 2.1 The dispositif of age and the prototype mechanisms of power

Dispositif of age	Juridification	Disciplining	Conducting
Power through time	codification of time by the "sovereign" (treatises, laws, regulations), e.g. granting rights and obligations arising from chronological age	standardization using time, e.g. development standards are assigned to chronological age and become the basis for assessment and classification	standardization using time, e.g. protection against risk factors connected with age, and introducing protective factors
Interference in time	The colonization of the past dominates: law-making by virtue of experience, the penal system as an "elucidation" of past events; combining the present with the past	The colonization of the present dominates, "blocking" what is lasting, suspending the present, control and correction	The colonization of the future dominates: plans, projects, programmes; prevention, prophylaxis, connecting the present moment with the future
Objectifications (examples)	Birth certificate, categories of school age, retirement age, juvenile offences	Categories of untimely and delayed development, "appropriate" time	Categories of threat and risk time

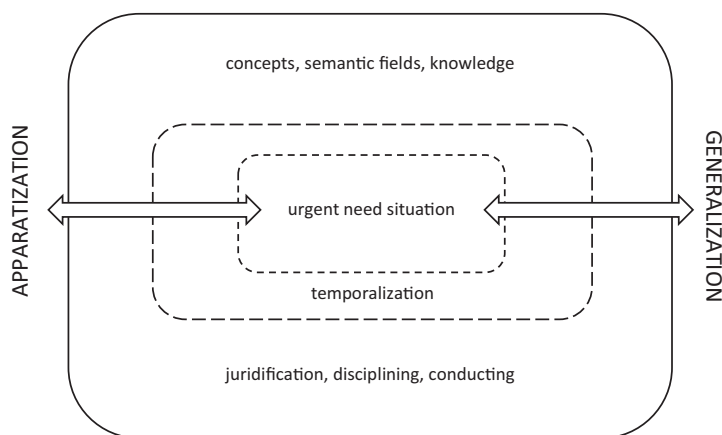


Fig. 2.1 Theoretical-analytical model of the dispositif of age

ones that result from the recognition of social, cultural, and class differences (cf. Wyn and White 1997). The dispositif of age that is of interest to me is mainly based on the former (universalistic) elements, assuming an important factor of generalization and the possibility of changing contexts, e.g. the transition from the description of an individual case to the problematization of the event in terms of the “social problem”. The universal layers of the concept of youth include, among others, the idea of chronological age as an essential characteristic of man, thus justifying the isolation of social categories based on age differences. Owing to this, certain discursive elements of the dispositif of age come to the fore. Crises or urgent cases are problematized at the level of generalization of individual events and generalizations to social phenomena (problems). Consequently, the universalizing concept of youth turns out to be an extremely attractive tool, and at the same time an active factor regulating social life using juridical and disciplinary mechanisms, as well as the mechanism of conducting.

The concept of the dispositif of age assumes that the concept of youth created from heterogeneous discourses makes it possible to regulate social life through places, practices, and institutions in which youth discourses are launched (e.g. at school, in the family, state, labour market, science, media). The integrating model of the heuristics of the

dispositif of age is, therefore, a theoretical and analytical proposal to study the mechanisms of power.

In the next chapter, I show that between the experiences and expectations inscribed in the “power of youth discourse” we can distinguish three main semantic fields, “trajectories” of the dispositif of age, which are now triggered in response to various “problem” situations.

I describe these trajectories following the example of selected youth discourses, which I have called the discourses of competence, condition, and cartography (3-C discourses). Each of them is created on the basis of characteristic and diverse terminology. Each of them, however, assumes the temporalization of the concept of youth. Youth is conceived as “something that is” from the perspective of promising the future in terms of awaiting what will be. In this sense, youth discourses become a reservoir of values. The multilayered semantic field of the concept of youth makes the definition of “what is” and the horizon of expectation variable and contextual. The heuristics of the dispositif of age makes it possible to perform an analysis and interpretation of the network of related concepts, their apparatusization and generalization, to finally answer the question of *how the power of youth discourses works*.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter, I presented the methodological and theoretical bases for the analyses presented in the subsequent parts of the book.

In my research, I am guided by two main methodological premises: heuristics and integration. Firstly, in accordance with search heuristics (heuristics by analogy) and argument heuristics (heuristics of the problematization of the obvious), I undertake the methodical transfer of the logics of the operation of power and the formation of concepts to new political and socio-cultural contexts described by Foucault and Koselleck, and I formulate research questions by problematizing the (un)obvious status of youth discourses. Secondly, guided by the principle of integration, I combine Foucault’s terms and concepts (i.e. dispositif, discourse, various prototype dispositifs, and those of the modality of power) with Koselleck’s historical semantics (with the concept of

basic concepts, concepts of movement, temporalization). As a result, I propose a model of the dispositif of age as a theoretical–analytical tool useful for studying the power of youth discourses. At this point, in order to summarize this chapter, I am going to repeat the most important theoretical premises underlying the construction of this model.

The dispositif, in the sense attributed to it by Foucault, amounts to the strategic combination of discursive and non-discursive factors (institutional, organizational, material and other), which occurs in response to the situation of an “urgent need”, e.g. crisis, threat, problem, excess, or deficiency of socially important values or resources. According to the Foucauldian understanding of discourse and the discursively created order, discursive elements are statements that are subject to special formation rules (Foucault 1972, 1981). Each statement introduces the entire set of rules that have formed its subject, modality, the concepts used by it, and the strategy which it belongs to.

The dispositif as a theoretical category is useful for examining the complex relations of the power of discourse. In this sense, the dispositif is a mechanism of power that becomes empirically perceptible owing to discourse analysis. When we additionally take into account prototype dispositifs in our research, this concept will provide criteria and analytical categories for the reconstruction of rationality and the strategy of juridical and disciplinary power, and the power of conducting.

In this book, I have proposed to develop the category of the dispositif by linking it with the concept of temporalization of concepts, which binds together various processes of changes of the modern vocabulary like a buckle. Historical semantics has become the theoretical inspiration for the “temporalization” of the concept of the dispositif. Deriving from Koselleck’s works, sensitivity to the meaning and functions of basic concepts and concepts of expectation and movement made it possible to extract from the wide field of discourse those elements that are useful in the regulation of social life. I assume, after Koselleck, that each concept is characterized by a temporal structure that includes elements of the past, present and future. Basic concepts are those without which the cognitive expression of social reality seems to be impossible.

Against the background of the findings of historians, I extracted the concept of youth as a basic concept, orientated to the future and

functional for the mechanism of the dispositif of age set into motion. Provided with the ideas of adolescence (maturation), youth discourse reveals the horizon of expectations, which sees in youth, not only the concepts of state, status, or social category, but also the concept of the future. The presence of “movement” and expectation in the concept of youth is indicated by the academic, political, and media discourses prevailing today. The democratization of the language in the context of the use of the concept of youth manifests itself in the interest in young people both in the discourse of education and the government, never declining since the nineteenth century, and since the collective rebellion of youth in the 1960s, also of the business world and various media “experts”. The democratization process implies rising to a higher level of generality in order to include in the concept increasingly differentiated and pervasive experiences. The pluralization of experiences and the intensification of the abstractness of the concept make the experiences and expectations diverge, and the concept becomes an element of “empty formulas” prone to ideologization and politicization.

When the present and the space of experience come to the fore in the concepts of movement, the concept is transferred from the basic contexts to new ones, located in the future, in what is not yet. Thinking about the future is stimulated by hope and expectation. The concept of youth implies transformation and prepares for “obvious”, conducted changes, i.e. development and progress towards adulthood. In the model of the dispositif of age proposed here, the temporal dimension of power has been exposed. In Table 2.1, I comparatively compiled three prototypical dispositifs, signalling how juridification, disciplining, and conducting express the policy of time: power through time and through interference in time.

Discourse analysis carried out from the perspective of the apparatization and generalization of the dispositif of age makes it possible to highlight the various aspects and rationalities of educational and social policy.

Both the dispositif perspective and historical semantics assume generalization, that is, the productive transfer of concepts and other discursive elements from the primary context to other areas. For example, concepts and theories that were born in the context of a specific

scientific discipline, live across traditional academic divisions and social practices. Apparatzation, on the other hand, shows a conceptual apparatus constructed of the semantic networks between the concept of youth and other concepts (such as development, maturation, threat, education).

Concept- and dispositif-orientated discourse study is an analytical strategy that indicates preferences for specific categories of empirical material analysis. These categories are discussed in more detail in the subsequent chapters, in which I undertook the reconstruction of the dispositif of age on the example of selected educational and social policies.

Notes

1. In the translation of the interview into English, the French term *dispositif* was translated as “apparatus”.
2. The concept of the *dispositif* is certainly also used in the philosophical reflection inspired by Foucault (e.g. with Deleuze, Agamben, and other theoreticians of biopolitics), and also in works that do not refer to Foucault, e.g. in film studies (cf. Ostrowicka 2015; Nowicka 2016). Owing to the scope of the research presented in the book, these threads will not be further developed here.
3. The concept of adolescence comes from the Latin “*adolescencia*” (youthful age, youth, adolescence).

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3

The 3-C Discourses and Governing by the Notion of Youth

The research on academic and educational discourse in Poland, based on the analysis of the surface of emergence of youth as the object of discourse, instances of delimitation and grids of specification of statements in this discourse, i.e. categories from *The Archaeology of Knowledge* by Michel Foucault, revealed three discourses that can be analytically singled out. These are the discourses of competence, cartography, and condition, thematically and functionally related to the concept of youth (Ostrowicka 2015).

In this chapter, referring to previous findings, I reflect on how specific youth discourses define the semantic fields and justifications for the political activities of the European Union. I have based the analyses presented here on Foucault's concept of discourse, and I have treated European Union documents as *statements* not occurring separately (Foucault 1972). For each statement introduces an entire set of rules that have formed its object, modality, concepts, and the strategy to which it belongs. Thus, a statement about youth is what can be said in a specific discourse. In this sense, European Union documents constituted the materializations of the rules of discourse that permeate the area of appearance, at a given time and space, of possible other statements with their specific content.

In accordance with the assumptions described in Chapter 2, I began with the concept of youth as the basic concept that provides argumentative sources for political programmes and strategies. The theoretical frame of the *dispositif* made it possible to express the European policy as an accidental formation of various discursive and non-discursive elements, practices, and political institutions, constituted at various levels and at different scales (Bailey 2013). Adopting, after Patrick Bailey, the distinction between the micro- and macro-*dispositif* of policy, I analysed the European Union institutions and their discourses as micro-subjects of power, which are part of the macro-*dispositif* of policy, i.e. “spaces and locations where policy is performed and disposed in particular ways” (Bailey 2013, p. 807). I attempted to capture the complex relationships between the micro and macro levels by examining the manifestations of apparatusization and generalization of the *dispositif*. *Apparatusization* talks about what elements comprise the functional whole of the studied discourses. In turn, *generalization* indicates how specific discourses and technologies have become a strategic logic, useful in diverse contexts (Åkerstrøm Andersen 2003, cf. Chapter 2). This means that, firstly, micro-*dispositifs* may be tactical elements of a more general strategic action and, secondly, that there is a certain type of “negotiations” of endless possibilities of transformation and resistance between the macro and micro levels that consolidate and permeate the *dispositif*, contributing to its development (Bailey 2013). The Foucauldian concept of the *dispositif* assumes that there is no discontinuity between the micro and macro levels, nor is there homogeneity, but “one must conceive of the double conditioning of a strategy by the specificity of possible tactics, and of tactics by the strategic envelope that makes them work” (Foucault 1998, p. 100). It is within this conceptual framework that I analysed European Union policy as the micro-*dispositif* of power.

Through the study of apparatusization (an analysis of semantic concepts and fields), further work was undertaken on the characteristics of the *constellation of discourses related thematically and functionally to the concept of youth* towards the creation of their models or, in other words, Weberian “ideal types”. Speaking of the constellation of discourses, I mean a typology that reflects the non-hierarchical structure of the communication area, in which the ranges of individual

discourses interpenetrate and complement each other (cf. Witosz 2005; Szczepankowska 2016). As a constellation construed in this way, 3-C discourses have been distinguished, i.e. the discourses of competence, cartography, and condition.

The body of the analysed texts consisted of documents produced in the years 2008–2018 by the organs of the European Union. These were mainly communications of the European Commission devoted to the various aspects of social, economic, and educational policy.¹ The selected documents made it possible to analyse the constructions of the discourses thematically and functionally related to youth in the process of formulating European Union policy and their meanings in the field of the discursive construction of the “problems” of the future. The performed analysis made it possible to outline the horizon of expectations, in which the concept of youth supports the temporalization of experience and the differentiated strategies of combining the diagnosis of the present (i.e. what is) with the vision of the future (what is not yet).

The applied methodology of the *conceptually-oriented heuristics of the dispositif* was based on the extension of previously used methods of analysing the formation of knowledge and the formation of power (cf. Ostrowicka 2015) to include the analysis of basic concepts and their semantic fields. The formations of knowledge are a concept close to Foucauldian discursive formations. The concentration on knowledge emphasizes the epistemological understanding of discourse, in which *knowledge* is a space of the coexistence and dependence of a statement. It is both knowledge in a narrow sense (*connaissance*), institutionalized in the form of an academic discipline, and knowledge in a broad sense (*savoir*), i.e. everyday knowledge dispersed in specific discursive practices. The analysis of knowledge is closely related to the analysis of power relations, because it is on the model rationalities that the strategic action of the dispositif is based. Such a theoretical perspective leads to the expression of youth discourses as cultural wholes, which come to the fore in the various domains of social life, in the institutionally defined field of academic research, but also in educational, economic, and social policy. For the adopted methodology of distinguishing discourses is based on the Foucauldian “logic of strategy” (Foucault 2008), in which diversity does not exclude coexistence, permeation, and combining.

According to this principle, the purpose of identifying the types of discourses is not to indicate completely separate, mutually exclusive formations or structures of knowledge, but to show different, but coherent, ways to problematize social phenomena with the help of the concept of youth. The plane for their combination may be the mechanism of power, referred to here as the *dispositif* of age.

Specific elements of the formation of knowledge, i.e. the surfaces of emergence of the object of discourse, instances of delimitation, and grids of specification of statements served me as “points of orientation” in the analysed discourse. *The surfaces of emergence of the object of discourse* include places where certain practices related to youth have become an object of knowledge and an object of interest of organs of the European Union. These surfaces indicate where, and in what context, young people have appeared as an object of a statement. *Instances of delimitation* in turn refer to the authorities who have the power to distinguish, mark, describe individuals. Questions are asked here about who defines certain phenomena as problems (e.g. social, educational, political), profiles and distributes knowledge about youth. Instances of delimitation are responsible for expressing specific contents and forms of knowledge, and determining its scope and distribution process. Another rule describes the establishment of objects of discourse by deploying them in *grids of specification*, according to which objects are separated from each other, connected, grouped, and classified in accordance with their selected properties (cf. Foucault 1972). Grids of specification are the rules that have served as criteria for differentiating and categorizing statements about youth.

3.1 The Context and Research Material

It is worth noting that the issue of youth policy as an object of research in comparison with other areas of public policy is not particularly strongly exposed. Owing to the heterogeneous nature of the factors and activities included in youth policy, it is an extremely complex, multi-threaded area of analysis (cf. Boryń et al. 2014). Activities addressed to young people are located in multi- and cross-sectoral areas, as part of

social, educational, civic, and economic policies. Thus, individual solutions, legal acts, and decisions are made by various participants and at different policy levels, also created by non-governmental organizations, youth organizations and local government bodies (Ostrowicka 2015).

From the perspective of the analysis of political discourse and the heuristics of the dispositif of age, questions about the strategic importance of documents, programmes and initiatives, organizational forms, and institutions established based on the concept of youth are important. In this chapter, I focus my attention on the politics organized at the European level. In this context, it is worth mentioning that the first official references to young Europeans in the documents defining European Union policy appeared in the mid-twentieth century. The treaty establishing in 1958 the European Economic Community referred to the category of “young workers”, a category which in subsequent documents was replaced by a wider concept of youth (Ter Haar and Copeland 2011). This change entailed the pursuit of a new, apart from economic, policy area related to youth, that is educational policy. Since then, we have observed a growing interest in youth, both the European Union institutions and the Council of Europe, as well as the beginning of the formation of the so-called youth policy. During the International Youth Year (1985), when the first European Ministerial Conference on Youth was held in Strasbourg, the direction of joint activities became more pronounced (Williamson 2011). The first legal basis for European action programmes in the field of youth was provided by the Treaty signed in 1997 in Amsterdam (Wallace and Bendit 2009). In the 1990s, once again the issue of unemployment became an impulse for a deeper cooperation of the Member States. Launched in 1997, the European Employment Strategy laid the foundations for the further development of youth policy. The establishment of the EES initiated significant activity in the field of youth policy and included the youth perspective in other existing policies, and in each stage of the political process (design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation) (Ter Haar and Copeland 2011; Banjac 2017). Since the late 1990s, international cooperation in the field of youth policy has been developing very fast, especially in the European Union, but also in the Council of Europe. Since the early 1970s, the main object of interest

in the Council was to build the potential of youth organizations and to train young employees and youth leaders. This, however, changed in the 1990s with the introduction of monitoring and advisory activities in the field of youth policy (Schild and Vanhee 2009).

At the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, there was a strong tendency to develop a common policy covering jointly youth work and youth training, youth research, and youth policy (Chisholm et al. 2011). An important event on the way to the establishment of the direction and methods of youth policy was the development in 2001 of the document called “White Paper. A New Impetus for European Youth” (COM 2001, 681 final). The development of the “White Paper” was the effect of consultations of politicians with young people, as well as a wide range of representatives of academia, administration, non-governmental organizations, and institutions working with young people. “A New Impetus for European Youth” defines four priorities, i.e. education and training, employment and social inclusion, health, and anti-discrimination. Another important document representing European youth policy is the “Resolution of the Council and of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States, Meeting Within the Council, on Addressing the Concerns of Young People in Europe – Implementing the European Pact for Youth and Promoting Active Citizenship”. Implemented under the Lisbon Strategy and adopted in 2005, The European Youth Pact was to ensure greater coherence of the various initiatives undertaken in the field of youth policy (OJ 2005, C292/3). The Pact focused on three areas, i.e. employment and social advancement; education, training, and mobility; work and family life (Ter Haar and Copeland 2011). A few years later, “An EU strategy for youth - Investing and empowering. A renewed open method of coordination to address youth challenges and opportunities” was adopted as a renewed framework for European cooperation as part of youth policy for the years 2010–2018 (COM 2009, 200 final). The strategy was illustrated in the form of a tree, which grows into eight branches, i.e. “areas of activity”, such as Education and Training, Employment and Entrepreneurship, Social Integration, Health and Wellbeing, Participation, Culture and Creativity, Volunteering, as well as Youth and the World. Indicators, institutions responsible for measuring

them, as well as the expected goal to be achieved by 2020 were defined for each policy area. In the Strategy depicted as a tree, the roots are cross-sectoral cooperation and youth work, while the common basis (tree trunk) is formed by five principles: (1) reporting, dissemination and monitoring, (2) structured dialogue, (3) policy shaped by data, (4) mutual learning, and (5) launching funds (Ostrowicka 2015). In the “Europe 2020” strategy being the successor to the EU Lisbon Strategy (Ter Haar and Copeland 2011), one of the flagship projects is “Youth on the Move” (COM 2010). This programme focuses on actions to increase Europe’s competitiveness in a knowledge-based economy. Mobile, life-long learning and activation of young people was made the recipe for solving the problem of unemployment and ensuring economic growth.

Currently, the European Union has combined the existing areas of youth policy activities on two levels: the area, and tools of action. At the first level, it is about the integration of various political goals, for example those concerning equal opportunities in education and the labour market, the promotion of active citizenship, integration, and the solidarity of all young people as part of the implementation of the overall goal of enabling young people to make the best of their potential. The second level concerns the integration of the various youth policy instruments that form a complex of the tools used to achieve the overall goal. These instruments include directives, action programmes, resolutions, and the open method of coordination (Ter Haar and Copeland 2011).

Based on the Framework of European cooperation in the youth field published in 2002 (OJ 2002, C168/2), there was the first attempt to combine several policies of action into one new hybrid process. Instead of independent policy areas, the Framework assumes the complementary function of the youth sector in other policy areas. This means that youth policy is subject to the Open Method of Coordination, and the youth dimension should be more taken into account in other policies, including those concerning education, lifelong learning, mobility, employment, and social inclusion, combating racism and xenophobia (Ter Haar and Copeland 2011). The hybrid policy, named so by Beryl Ter Haar and Paul Copeland (2011), was continued in the renewed framework of cooperation in 2009.

Considering the development of youth-related policy from the perspective of the concept of the *dispositif* entails the study of the apparatization and generalization of specific statements and strategic logic that are not created “from scratch”, but are part of other already functioning discourses.

Seeking answers to the question about the role and meaning of the discourses thematically and functionally related to youth in a policy organized on a European scale, I collected research materials for in-depth analysis. The selection was purposeful, taking into account three criteria, i.e. the time, institution, and topic of a statement. As a result, the body of the texts was built based on the results of the search of the database of European Union legal acts (eur-lex.europa.eu), European Commission documents in force in 2018, and created in the years 2008–2018, using the keyword “youth”. The selection of statements using the word “youth” made it possible to preliminarily identify the surface as part of which young people appear as the object of discourse. It was about statements which discussed certain phenomena, objects, behaviours as “adolescent”, “youthful”, belonging to the category of “youth”. The review of European Union documents at this most general level revealed that the concept of youth is mentioned in line with education and culture as priorities of the European Commission. As the research so far shows, until recently the European Union youth discourse emerged primarily as part of employment and education policies (cf. Ostrowicka 2015). Since 2013, youth-related threats that are noticed in European Union policy (i.e. the drop-out rate, unemployment, social exclusion) have been more visibly joined by the problems of crime, terrorism, and radicalization leading to violence. The documents that emphasized the role and importance of youth in the policy of security and counteracting the radicalization of attitudes became important elements of the discourse:

- Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions Preventing Radicalization to Terrorism and Violent Extremism: Strengthening the EU’s Response (COM 2013).

- Conclusions of the Council and of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States, meeting within the Council, on the prevention of radicalisation leading to violent extremism (OJ 2016).
- Declaration on promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance, and non-discrimination through education (2015).

I analysed this re-discoursivization of the “youth issue” from the perspective of the concept of the *dispositif*, activated in response to the economic crisis in the European Union and the undermining of security in Europe.

In connection with the persuasive nature of the documents, the *topoi* specifying the various meanings of the concept of youth were particularly visible in the analysed texts. Thanks to the fact that they combine the premise with the conclusion and lead to predetermined conclusions (cf. Reisigl and Wodak 2001), they perform important argumentative and strategic functions.

In the subsequent parts, I present the results of the analysis of official European Union documents that have shown the apparatusization of three types of discourses and, within them, the semantic fields of the concept of youth. The semantic field of the concept I am interested in comprises the terms, actions of the subject (i.e. youth here), and actions towards the subject, equivalents, associations, and oppositions. The associations and oppositions have created thematic or conceptual connections. In turn, everything that determines the way of life and the properties of youth has been concentrated in the network of attributes. The two subsequent networks referred to the actions of the subject or performers of activities, and words having the same conceptual or semantic connections as “youth” constituted its equivalents (cf. Głowiński 1980).

The distinguished discourses of competence, cartography, and condition are in various ways related to the concept of youth. The most important here are three criteria:

- the surface of the emergence of discourse,
- the grids of specification—*topoi*,
- the concepts forming a semantic field.

In the following Sects. (3.2–3.4), I describe the variation within semantic fields on the example of various associations, attributes, and actions of young people, and actions towards young people. The same oppositions and equivalents interchangeably appear within the semantics of competence, cartography, and condition. Against the background of the analysis of the concepts, I show the mechanisms of the apparatusization and generalization of the dispositif of age, understood in terms of the macro-dispositif of power. In the perspective adopted here, it is the discourses of competence, cartography, and condition that are the answer to the urgent need of a given time, and not the intentions of authors of individual texts. I made a *statement*, which is not tantamount to a sentence in a logical or grammatical sense, a unit of the analyses. This means that one document produced by an organ of the European Union could be constructed from statements belonging to various types of discourse.

3.2 The Discourse of Competence

The discourse of competence is a type of discourse which thematically and functionally binds the concept of youth to the domain of education, and equates the time of youth with the period of using intellectual and cognitive potential. Behind this general category of the “discourse of competence” there is the idea of man as a perfecting and learning being, improving his skills and knowledge, as well as the optimistic belief in the causative power of educational processes (education, teaching, learning). The discourse of competence, activated and reproduced in academic research on youth, attributes a unique role to youth, identifying it with the time of exploiting the potential of both individuals and the resources of modern societies. Speaking of resources, I mean the ideas that link with youth a certain value, the enlargement and development of which is of social, economic, and political importance. In European Union policy, we are dealing with the transfer of academic discourse (i.e. theoretical concepts and research results) to educational policies: these policies refer to the results of research on students, participants of school education at a selected level (cf. Ostrowicka 2015).

The textual indicators of the discourse of competence are the vocabulary related to education, teaching, educational system, school, skills, school achievements, intellectual potential of youth, etc.

The analysis of the semantic field of the concept of youth in European Union documents has revealed two areas of meanings. The first and dominant is built around the associations, activities, and attributes related to education, knowledge, and skills of young people (the student figure), while the other, also constructed within the semantics of competence, links youth with civic participation (the citizen figure) (Table 3.1).

The network of associations indicates the context of a statement. Associations are connected with specific European Union initiatives and programmes. The relations of associations place the concept of youth in three distinct areas:

1. in the area of what is educational,
2. in the area of what is social,
3. in the area of what is economic.

A detailed analysis of the semantic field of the concept of youth shows a network of equivalents, that is a set of words having the same conceptual or semantic connections. Generally speaking, this network consists of two groups: expressions containing the “young” attribute (young people, young persons) and words defining the status of a learning/studying subject. In the first group, apart from the general concept of “people”, we also have “Europeans”. In this way, the network of equivalents at one time broadens the semantic field by applying generalizing concepts (e.g. young people), while at other times it refers to the specific context of the subject’s activity, to the educational or identity-civic context. As a result, young people are presented both in the categories related to the attributes of youth, as well as in the language of social roles and status. Therefore, many elements of the semantic field are associated with the definitions and activities assigned to the pupil/student and citizen role. The network of the attributes and activities of young people includes positive (e.g. potential) and negative connotations (e.g. difficulties in learning, early termination of education). In contrast to the first group of activities, indicating the expectations

Table 3.1 The semantic field of the concept of youth—discourse of competence

Field elements	Examples
Attributes	Representing great potential for our societies; not learning; not getting trained; showing very poor skills in sciences and reading
Actions of the subject	Complete education too early and without obtaining formal qualifications; have difficulties in solving simple mathematical problems; use new or improved educational facilities; acquire appropriate skills; have poor basic skills
Actions towards the subject	Use the potential; take measures to improve the situation, create better opportunities; put a lot of pressure; invest in skills, competences and knowledge; invest in experience; offer opportunities to broaden horizons; offer cross-border opportunities; increase the level of participation; offer support in the field of vocational education and training, volunteering and exchange programmes; provide support in increasing media and information literacy skills and critical thinking skills; finance education and social programmes; enable the acquisition of appropriate skills at the school stage; equip with appropriate skills and professional experience; support the development of skills; provide better opportunities; help in developing their critical thinking skills; help in developing attachment to democracy; inspire by presenting real life experience; invest
Equivalents	Young people; young persons; young Europeans; pupils; young generation; students; the youth sector; young person
Associations	Education; training; culture; social changes; economic challenges; knowledge-based economy; innovations; competitiveness; social justice; educational systems; structured dialogue; the future of Europe; Erasmus+ programme; European youth strategy; European voluntary service; European Social Fund; The European Youth Pact; European Solidarity Corps; the European skills passport; “Creative Europe” programme
Oppositions	Commission; Council; Europe; Member States; people working with young people, experts; policymakers; researchers; organizations and specialists in social work; adults

related to youth, there are also statements diagnosing the current state. In the network of attributes, therefore, two temporal perspectives meet, i.e. the diagnosis of the present is linked to the vision of the future. These elements are obviously connected with an extensive network of

activities relating to the subject, which can be arranged in two groups. Generally, this group includes activities related to:

- influencing the potential of young people by conducting (e.g. supporting, helping, inspiring, investing in) them;
- creating conditions for the development of their potential (e.g. making possible, equipping, providing).

Both activities which are related to intervention in specific areas of activity, as well as to the building of conditions for them are connected with specific EU institutions (European Commission, EU Council) and groups of adults, as a result creating a fairly homogeneous network of oppositions.

The *topoi* identified in the analysed documents of the European Union are characterized by certain common features. The *topos of the unique role of youth* plays an important role in the discourse of competence. It boils down to an argumentation according to which youth are entrusted with the mission of building a future society and a “stronger Europe”. The social and economic development of the European Union and its Member States is linked to the development of the younger generation. A strong relationship of young people with the rest of society and their responsibility for the future of Europe is maintained within this *topos*. As a consequence, the concept of youth is becoming a functional element of the discourse of competence with the idea of education for a “just, open, and democratic society, social mobility and integration, as well as sustainable growth and employment”. The special role of young people is a justification for investing in their knowledge and skills. The assumptions about the *special status of young people* are accompanied by the even more pronounced in EU documents imperative of investing in what has potential (cf. Example 1).

Example 1 The European project is about building a better future for European citizens. This also means investing in young people, providing them with new opportunities and helping them to seize these opportunities. (...) This investment in young people lays the foundation for a fair, open and democratic society, for social mobility and inclusion, as well as for sustained growth and employment. [11, p. 2]²

Young people are assigned a special role in the implementation of the Europe 2020 strategy, as evidenced, among others, by the distinguishing of a programme specifically addressed to them called “Youth on the Move” (cf. Example 2).

Example 2 Europe’s future prosperity depends on its young people. There are close to 100 million in the EU, representing a fifth of its total population. Despite the unprecedented opportunities which modern Europe offers, young people face challenges - aggravated by the economic crisis - in education and training systems, and in accessing the labour market. [7, p. 2]

In this type of discourse, the topos of the unique role of youth is often associated with the topos of education, which assumes the possibility of solving all social problems by means of a properly organized educational system. Within this argumentation there is the *topos of youth education*, through which the unique relationship between the time of youth and the time of education is constructed, including the specific assumption that if we focus on the knowledge, skills, and competences of young citizens, we will build a strong and secure Europe. The topos of education in the EU discourse at the same time shows the *generalization* of an optimistic faith in human reason and man’s cognitive abilities, characteristic of the Enlightenment idea of progress and the phenomenon named in the middle of the previous century as the pedagogization (in English also *educationalization*, in German *Pädagogisierung*) of social life. Although the idea of education as a panacea for all societal problems already has a long tradition, the phenomenon called pedagogization is undoubtedly associated with modernization processes (cf. Smeyers and Depaepe 2008). Contemporary pedagogization manifests itself in the ubiquitous rationalization of activities and forms of governing that resemble the control society. The world, perceived as a domain of problems to be solved, is constantly being evaluated on the basis of externally set standards (Fendler 2008). As Lynn Fendler observes, rationalization occurs in the form of increased attention to detail and justification for various forms of “micro-management”. Pedagogization in the dispositif of age implies

a characteristic conviction that a universal remedy in the form of education, solving all social and economic problems, has been invented. The generalization of various forms of “school” in social life means that assessment, teacher (expert)–pupil (layman) relations, and the control of progress and achievements become effective techniques of governing. As a result, the pedagogical discourse positions citizens as those who need knowledge and education to properly fulfil the role of the citizen and support the development of Europe. Youth discourses combined here with education naturally penetrate into modernization rhetoric.

In this context, it is worth returning to the results of the analysis of the network of associations related to the concept of youth. This field consists of the lexis which is characteristic of modernization discourses: development, economic challenges, knowledge-based economy, innovation, competitiveness, and social justice. Owing to the obviousness of the topos of youth education, the scope of competences is not problematized, but is “neutralized” in the context of modernization discourses. The topoi related to young people, concerning their unique role, and the need for investment and education, support the discourse of the development of Europe. Youth policy defined in terms of future investments, along with the concept of youth as a capital, perfectly matches the modern economic rhetoric of development, and as a result, investment in young people is identified with investment in Europe’s economic development (cf. Example 2).

In this context, it is worth noting two important functions of the discourse of competence. First of all, it connects the concept of youth with education; secondly, it connects “youth” with the development of Europe. This observation is important in that it indicates a set of conditions that have been met for the statements about youth to be able to take place and, at the same time, become functional in EU policy. The lexis associated with education, creating the semantic field of the concept of youth, introduces at the same time a set of discursive and non-discursive conditions characteristic for the construction of a student figure. Youth are presented by referring them to their functioning as a learning subject. The imperative of learning and raising competences emerges owing to the topos of education in the context of pedagogical discourse. In the contemporary analyses of the language of competence,

its neoliberal roots are noted (Jurgiel-Aleksander and Jagiełło-Rusiłowski 2013; Mayo 2009; Starego 2016). Although originally the notion of competences was closely related to vocational education, its scope has expanded significantly, including the sphere of learning in general, critical thinking, and active citizenship (cf. Mayo 2009). The analysed EU documents speak about “skills”, “knowledge”, “experience”, “broadening horizons”, “participation”, “education”, “vocational training”, and “critical thinking skills”. Thus, the issue of citizenship is also formulated in the language of competence and educational discourse and presented as requiring special knowledge and skills. As a result, individuals and groups are mobilized to *learn citizenship*. Even if the term “competences” does not appear in a specific text, the method of problematization of the phenomenon of education places a statement in this type of discourse. What characterizes the “competence paradigm” (Starego 2016) is the concentration on the dispositions of individuals in terms of knowledge and skills, which are acquired in a linearly understood educational process. Young people who *are not yet* competent at the expected level are subjected to special treatment, i.e. they are *motivated* to learn using “soft” forms of governing: supporting, helping, inspiring, investing, enabling, providing conditions. In the semantic field of the concept of youth, the network of activities directed at the subject is definitely richer in meaning than the network of youth activities. Thus, we have a lexis of soft conduct from the outside using the activities which a subject who is subjected to governing remains responsible for. The semantic field of the concept of youth remains consistent with the neoliberal idea of the “entrepreneur of the self” (Foucault 2008, 2009), and thus makes it possible to justify the value of youth education in economic terms. At this point, educational discourse combines with modernization discourse, which is clearly expressed in the thesis about the relationship between youth and the future of Europe (cf. Example 3).

Example 3 The Europe 2020 Strategy sets ambitious objectives for smart, inclusive, and sustainable growth. Young people are essential to achieve this. Quality education and training, successful labour market integration, and more mobility of young people are key to **unleashing all young people’s potential**³ and achieving the Europe 2020 objectives. [7, p. 3]

In the analysed discourse of the European Union, we are dealing with adopting the idea of a young person as a student and of youth as a resource. The “diagnosis of the problem” includes the results of research on learning outcomes, e.g. the international PISA comparative studies (*Programme for International Student Assessment*), coordinated by the OECD and assessing the basic skills of fifteen-year-old students.

In the discourse of competence, the temporal perspective is revealed in the mutual relations of the notion of youth with a specific educational discourse embedded in modernity. In this discourse, education is construed in terms of a process oriented towards an ambitious goal located in the future. The idea of improvement and optimization indicates the nature of the changes made and the new experience of time, progressive time (cf. Koselleck 2003, 2006). A subject subjected to education construed in terms of the development of competences that *he does not have yet* bases itself on the temporalized notion of youth. The principle of the isomorphism of economic and individual development enhances the hopes associated with young people. Linking hope and expectations in the concept of youth legitimizes the control of activities of young people owing to their imagined consequences for themselves and for the rest of society. Since the educational system is a proven method of control known for centuries, the pedagogization of the problems of Europe by means of youth becomes “obvious”.

In addition to investing in education, the topos of the unique role of youth is associated with the *topos of youth work*, which provides an argument for creating conditions and helping young people to use their abilities and fulfil the role assigned to them (cf. Example 4).

Example 4 A lot has already been achieved. To build the future, Europe requires the support and involvement of young people. Therefore, the Commission, together with the Council, is maintaining its strong focus on young people. [12, p. 2]

The topos of youth work justifies the imperative of intervening in a young man’s relationship with the world. The necessity of intervention results from the adopted vision of the time of youth as a period requiring care, support, and assistance from adults and institutions created by

them. This characteristic apparatusization of the rhetoric of the “entrepreneur of the self” and youth work reveals a peculiar paradox of discourses thematically and functionally related to youth. On the one hand, responsabilized youth are being made a “locomotive of change” and a barometer of the future of Europe, while on the other hand, responsibility for who they are is taken off them.

It seems that the rationality according to which the future, i.e. what is not yet, is important, is of key significance for this type of discourse. Intervention in time by means of the concept of youth in EU policy is an example of combining the present moment (the level of youth competences diagnosed directly, or assumed *implicite*) with the future of Europe and the characteristic, among others of modernization discourse, colonization of the future.

In the summary of this part of our considerations, let us return to the concept of the *dispositif*. It assumes that the concept of youth makes the regulation of social life possible through practices and institutions in which youth discourses are activated. The conceptually oriented heuristics of the *dispositif* reveals a discursive and pragmatic-strategic layer of regulation of social life in conditions described by Foucault as “an urgent need”. The European Union documents included in the study are an example of the materialization of the discourse of competence activated in response to the “problem” situation defined in the analysed texts in terms of economic *crisis*, i.e. the intensification of difficult factors and the deterioration of Europe’s economic situation. The discourses of the European Union analysed from the perspective of the *dispositif* revealed the functions of the concept of youth in connection with the concepts of the society of knowledge, development, capital, competence, and education. The *topoi* of the unique role and status of young people, education and youth work, provided the premises and solutions for the problematization of the crisis in terms of the “conduct of conduct” (Foucault 2009): investment, support, assistance, and creating appropriate conditions for “enterprising” youth (Fig. 3.1).

The category that emerged as a learning method and a competence development tool is the aforementioned mobility. The mobility figure turned out to be very wide-ranging and, at the same time, important in the type of discourse, which I called the discourse of cartography.

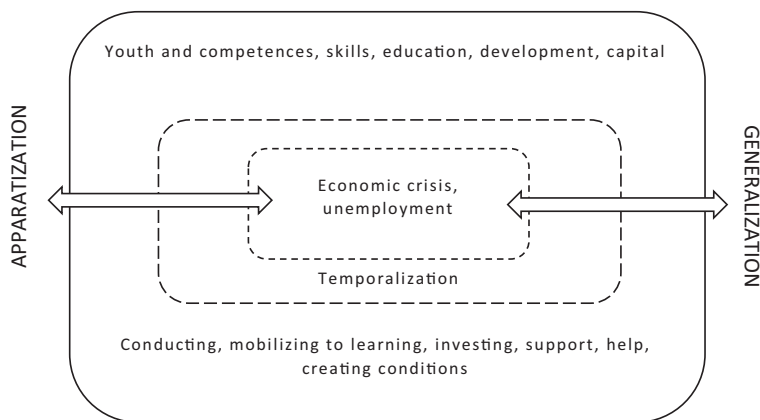


Fig. 3.1 The discourse of competence in the dispositif of age

3.3 The Discourse of Cartography

“Youth is the period of transition from childhood to adulthood”—these are the words from Romana Miller’s (1964, p. 5) book, one of the first works devoted to the theories of youth in Poland. It seems that the concept of youth as the time *in between*, as a period of transition from one stage of development to the next, has existed since the beginning of the modern concept of youth (cf. Chapter 2). From the perspective of sociological and psychological theories, youth were expressed in the categories of preparation for the implementation of important life tasks and the fulfilment of certain social roles in society, i.e. a spouse, an employee, a parent. The results of the analysis of pedagogical research conducted in Poland presented an academic discourse organized around the idea of youth as the time of transition from school to work, a linear process with a specific point of destination, a life and/or professional goal (Ostrowicka 2015). In youth studies, the time *in between* means, on the one hand, the moment of necessity of making difficult and important decisions and, on the other hand, the period of creating the future and looking for one’s own place in the world (cf. Ostrowska 2000; Oleniacz 2005). However, regardless of the adopted perspective, being *in between* is a state of insufficiency of the present and of what is here and now.

The present moment is important inasmuch as it covers what is the effect of the past and what is to be expressed in the future. Because of the appearing in the statements of the metaphors of the *path* and the *way*, and the idea of man as a being designing and planning his life, I named this discourse a discourse of cartography. For the metaphor of the path constructs the concept of youth in a special way, assuming that young people make choices between routes, which are clear and visible as if on the map, creating a predictable landscape. What is more, the discourse of cartography uses the metaphors of educational *thresholds* and educational and educational-professional *ways*. The term *threshold* accentuates moving on the edges, borders, and entering the next stage, overstepping the specified space.

As part of the academic discourse, the concept of youth is constructed in the semantics of life paths, plans, professional orientations, employment opportunities, determinants of success and career, as well as professional and life aspirations. The *metaphor of transition* is one of the most popular and a hot topic in youth theories (cf. Cohen and Ainley 2000). It introduces interest in the level of “transition markers” such as graduation, involvement in the labour market, or readiness for employment, which are also markers of progress, and these come from normative discourses (Cuervo and Wyn 2014). According to Hernán Cuervo and Johanna Wyn, the concept of *transition* is a “master metaphor” in youth studies (Silber 1995), because it plays a central role in both shaping and controlling the research. The aforementioned, spatial metaphors of paths, roads, and thresholds expand the repertoire of the metaphor of transition (cf. Cuervo and Wyn 2014) and, as capacious and flexible tools, make possible the apparatization of academic discourses and youth discourses oriented towards intervening in the stages and paths of life of young people. The textual indicators of the discourse of cartography are, therefore, the vocabulary related to transition, crossing thresholds, being between, or planning a way and a goal.

In the analysed European Union documents, the issue of youth *transition* from education to the labour market is one of the key threads. I collected the representations forming the semantic field of the concept of youth as part of this type of discourse in Table 3.2. They reveal, among other things, the expansion of the metaphor of transition to

Table 3.2 The semantic field of the concept of youth—the discourse of cartography

Field elements	Examples
Attributes	Remains unemployed; non-working; unemployed; particularly exposed to the risk of unemployment; professionally inactive; discouraged from entering the labour market; trapped in the lower end of the labour market, with less on-the-job training, lower wage levels, and weaker long-term employment and career prospects; not equipped with the skills to enter and succeed on the labour market on a sustainable basis; with more entrepreneurial mindsets and skills will be more employable, and more likely to start successful ventures; becoming harder to find work
Actions of the subject	Does not register as unemployed; does not look for a job; does not build the future of Europe; unable to find employment; abandons formal education; does not look for a job; remains unemployed; does not look actively for employment; finds himself in a work environment to get even short-term professional experience; may decide to prolong or go back to studies
Actions towards the subject	Support in finding one's way to adulthood, one's place in society; ensure the best start in life; help in finding the first job in the training leading to its obtaining; include the "Youth Guarantee" national programmes; provide support; facilitate entering the labour market; provide over 500,000 training and job opportunities; create new opportunities; solve the problem of unemployment; support in effective business activity development; facilitate the transition from education to employment; provide work and training opportunities, for instance as a part of Corporate Social Responsibility strategies; help in finding a job in another EU Member State; support the transition from education to work; help financially in getting a job in other Member States; develop schemes that bring a bigger number of young people into the world of work, even for short term work experience
Equivalents	Young people; young persons; Young Europeans; pupils; unemployed; young generation; students; the youth sector; young person; young innovators; young entrepreneurs; graduates

(continued)

Table 3.2 (continued)

Field elements	Examples
Associations	Unemployment; lack of formal qualifications; an initiative for the employment of young people; centres of continual vocational counselling; an alliance for vocational preparation; European Solidarity Corps; prolonged crisis; the cost of long-term unemployment; the "Youth Opportunities" initiative; mobility on the European labour market; "Your first job with EURES", the "Youth in Action" programme; an alliance for vocational preparation
Oppositions	Adults; Member States

include categories that bind space with movement, that is, the extension of the concept of *start* and *mobility*.

The discourse of cartography is created and reproduced in conjunction with the conditions of the labour market, readiness for employment, and unemployment problems. The analysis of the semantic field of the concept of youth in this type of discourse points to the expressions and actions of the subject formulated from the perspective of *lack*, expressing what young people *do not* have or *do not* do. The network of attributes places young people in the vast field of negative connotations as a group *unprepared to enter the labour market*. The semantics of *entering* combines the concept of youth with employment and education. However, in comparison with the discourse of competence, in the network of attributes the diagnosis of the present and the characteristics of what young people are like (inactive, professionally passive, discouraged from entering the labour market, etc.) is more pronounced here. The analysed documents refer to Eurostat data on the subject of "unemployment rate", economic activity and the number of young people aged 15–24 not in employment, education or training (NEET) in European countries. They also refer to OECD research on the increase in youth unemployment in times of crisis (e.g. Scarpetta et al. 2010). What is more, youth policy documents contain information from annual growth surveys and European Commission communications. Generally, the lexis of economic research and economic programmes comprises an extensive field of association related to youth (cf. Example 5).

Example 5 **Youth unemployment is unacceptably high** at almost 21%. **In order to reach the 75% employment target** for the population aged 20–64 years, the transition of young people to the labour market needs to be radically improved. [7, p. 3]⁴

The attributes, activities of the subject and associations as elements of the semantic field of the concept of youth are obviously related to the network of activities towards the subject. Similarly as in the case of the discourse of competence, here we find the semantics of subsidiarity and support, but next to them a stronger element of interference, interference through “problem solving”, “facilitation”, “help”, emerges in the discourse of cartography. The network of oppositions talks about who is behind the activities, who helps, and who solves problems. These are adults and EU Member States. This caring look again rests on the *topos of the unique status of young people*. This time, this uniqueness results from being at the moment of the “start of life”, but a start identified with the commencement of professional work. These initiatory connotations justify the interference of adults (adults, Member States) in the *life* of a young person, which life is reduced to the professional dimension (cf. Example 6).

Example 6 The European project is about building a better future for European citizens. This also means investing in young people, providing them with new opportunities and helping them to seize these opportunities. It is about giving young people the best possible start in life by investing in their knowledge, skills, and experiences, helping them to find or train for their first job and giving them an opportunity to make their voice heard. This investment in young people lays the foundation for a fair, open, and democratic society, for social mobility and inclusion as well as for sustained growth and employment. [11, p. 2]

This rhetorical connection of the exceptional time of youth with the labour market, grounded in the conviction about the cause and effect relationships of school and work, constructs a *subject motivated for employment*. Thus, this type of discourse emphasizes the importance of work in human life, identifying life well-being with the economic

conditions of the country and the European Union. And here again the *topos of youth work* appears. As part of this topos, a project of activities is being revised in which firstly young people and adults function as separate groups; secondly, the value of youth is defined in the confrontation with the labour market and readiness for employment. The suspension of youth in time and space *between* the school and the labour market creates premises for the rationalization of interventions in terms of career guidance and counselling (cf. Example 7).

Example 7 Young people are confronted with an increase in educational choices. They need to be enabled to take informed decisions. They need to get **information about education and training paths**, including a clear picture of job opportunities, to lay the basis for managing their career. **Quality career guidance services and vocational orientation** need to be further developed, with the strong involvement of labour market institutions, supported by actions to improve the image of sectors and professions with employment potential. [7, p. 4]

In the discourse of cartography, spatial metaphors (the metaphor of the path, way, threshold) are additionally “provided” with time; the concept of the start signals the beginning, the beginning of movement in the direction indicated by the arrow of time. The ability to move, change the occupied space, and the expected mobility are described using mobility rhetoric. In the Europe 2020 strategy, the programme addressed to young people is called “Youth on the Move”. “On the Move” meaning being capable of being put into motion. The idea of youth mobility, presented as a method of learning, supports the *topos of youth education*, which is strong in the discourse of cartography. In this case, emphasis is placed on the justification of educational programmes which, in principle, are to support the transition of young people from school to the labour market. The value of youth is defined in relation to their potential in terms of, on the one hand, occupational mobility (change of the place of employment, occupational positions, practised professions) and, on the other hand, participation in mobile forms of learning. Importantly, the significance and function of mobility as an educational method are not questioned. It seems that the topos of youth education is so “neutralized”

in political discourse that it makes it possible to connect the category of youth with the idea of lifelong learning in the “Youth on the Move” programme. This idea, in turn, promotes action that never ends. Movement, transition, crossing next thresholds is a permanent process. Again, it is educational discourse that creates conditions for statements about youth, providing arguments that justify a political agenda. This time, the issue of “paths of education and training” is emphasized, taking the form of specific solutions and proposals for educational places and methods such as “Your first job with EURES”, or the “Youth in Action” programme.

The analysis of EU documents leaves an irresistible impression of the need for movement, the imperative of leaving the occupied place, the transition to better time and better space. Youth along with the whole semantics of transition, the location *between* childhood and adulthood, appears, on the one hand, as the space-time of absence, as a utopia, Foucauldian “placeless place”, and, on the other hand, as a heterotopia, the real place constructed on the map of social relations. A utopia reveals an unrealistic society in the sense of impossible perfection or, on the contrary, as its (i.e. society’s) total reversal (Foucault 1986). Heterotopias are counter-sites within which all (possible in a given culture) sites are enacted, represented, reversed, and contested. Youth is a heterotopia in the sense that the place it occupies at the moment when it is the object of research or political intervention makes it real, connected with specific material or social conditions. At the same time, youth is a utopia, an unreal place, without real space, because to be seen, it must pass through other, significant spaces: childhood and adulthood. The discourse of cartography uses the semantics of the space of youth and when it combines the metaphor of transition with the metaphor of the start of life, it shows heterotopic *emplacement*. The location of youth is determined by a “look” at the relations of closeness between the various elements of the “way of life” and between the reference points: education—work. Spatial relations, positions and their mutual position are visible in formal conceptual networks (cf. Foucault 1986). Let us return to the results of the analysis of semantic fields and the topoi associated with youth, to look at them from the perspective of Foucauldian heterotopology, which in this case shows the mechanisms of regulation of social life.

In Foucault's approach, heterotopias may take different forms, but their basic categories are the following:

- heterotopias of the crisis, exemplified by privileged, sacred, or forbidden places,
- heterotopias of deviation, i.e. places where individuals considered to be deviating from the required standard are placed.

Youth in the discourse of cartography is at the same time the heterotopia of crisis and the heterotopia of deviation. The heterotopicity of crisis at youth is revealed in its relation to society, when youth is perceived as privileged (moratorium rhetoric, topoi of the special position of young people and its role in society) and, at the same time, it is prohibited, exclusive because youth is non-childhood and non-adulthood. "True", real life equated with professional life is *somewhere else*.

In the youth, the heterotopicity of deviation manifests itself in relation to social norms and rules. In a society in which professional work and readiness for employment are the norm, non-working young people who are not preparing for the labour market and are not seeking employment mean deviation.

The heterotopia of youth is associated with *temporariness*, i.e. with time in its fluid, transitory, and impermanent aspect. It is in this heterochrony, as Foucault (1986) would say, that two forms of heterotopia meet, i.e. the heterotopia of the way, moving in a specific direction and rhythm, and the heterotopia of the threshold, the place and moment of the breakthrough.

Using the space-time of youth, the discourse of cartography reveals heterotopias the functions of which are the setting and defining of boundaries and the indicating of "right" paths and destinations. At the same time, it indicates places privileged from the point of view of the adopted objectives and priorities. In an education leading to employment, these places are workplaces (cf. Example 8), and the place that determines the value and strength of youth is the labour market.

Example 8 Workplace learning is a cornerstone of facilitating the school-to-work transitions of young people and for building up a skilled workforce for the future. [9, p. 9]

Youth defined as a space *between* at the same time emphasizes its importance as a heterotopia in which the processes of integration and the meetings of the past (childhood) and the future (adulthood) take place, and as a utopia, an unreal place the only reason for the existence of which is to imagine what is not yet/is not anymore. In both senses, the concept of youth regulates the social space through the rhetoric of obvious maps, valuable paths and ways, the necessary exits–entrances and thresholds.

Closing this part of my considerations, I present an attempt at synthesis in the form of Fig. 3.2—the conceptual-discursive and strategic layers of the dispositif of age. The discourse of cartography in the European Union policy shows the mechanisms of regulating social life in conditions of *scarcity* (*lack*) of cherished values and resources: work, readiness for employment, and professional mobility. The dispositif activated in response to the “urgent need” appeared when the state of affairs was considered deficient, incomplete, requiring *transition* to a higher level (of readiness, mobility, employment, education, etc.).

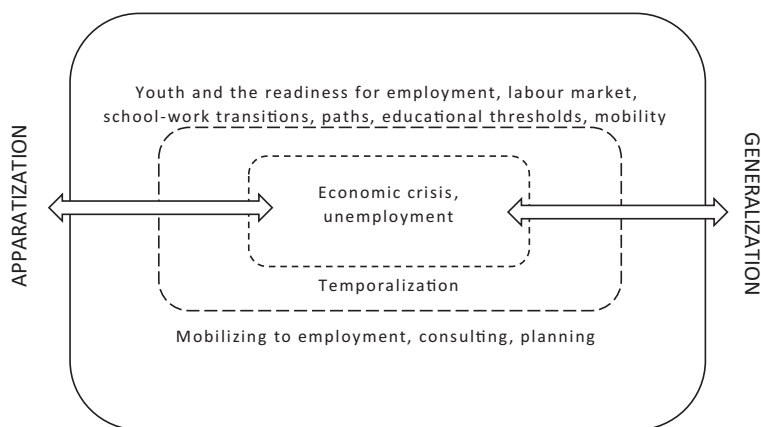


Fig. 3.2 The discourse of cartography in the dispositif of age

3.4 The Discourse of Condition

I made the category of condition a category that links statements about the psychophysical state and identity of youth and the potential threats associated with this state. Condition tells us about the physical, psychosocial, or general state of a phenomenon or object. The concept of youth as a time of “storm and stress”, “identity crises”, “raging hormones”, and the particular vulnerability of people to various “threats” is one of the oldest and most lasting motifs of academic thinking about youth (cf. Chapter 2). As Hartmut GRIESE (1982) noticed years ago, the period of youth is considered the second, after birth, phase in which human existence is threatened. The threat of the first phase is the moment of birth. Threats are of a biological-existential nature here. However, in the period of youth, that is in the phase of forming identity, a socio-cultural birth takes place. Further threats from the impact of external, environmental and internal factors, and individual predispositions are connected with it. According to theories of developmental psychology, the period of youth and adolescence is perceived as a time of risk and sensitivity to social influences. The concepts of risk factors and protective factors are used to describe and explain problem behaviours among young people, such as the use of psychoactive substances, early becoming sexually active, or entering into “destructive” subcultural groups. In the discourse of condition, an important category is an identity and the psychological and sociological theories, based on which who young people are and what they do, in the sense of the relationships with the world, the environment, and their peers, is problematized. The issue of the implementation of “developmental tasks” assigned to youth is also exposed in terms of social norms and expectations (cf. Ostrowicka 2015). The textual indicators of the discourse of condition are the vocabulary related, on the one hand, to threats and risks, emotional and existential problems and, on the other hand, to providing security and protection.

In the discourse of condition that comes to the fore in the EU policy, the concept of youth is like a litmus test, which is supposed to indicate broader tendencies, threats and social problems (cf. Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 The semantic field of the concept of youth—the discourse of condition

Field elements	Examples
Attributes	Discouraged; without motivation; eager for social involvement and participation in social life; more independent and confident; mobilized to provide their comments to politicians; desperate; belonging to the groups most endangered by radical propaganda; exposed to the harmful effects of materials on the Internet; affected by a lack of perspectives; experiencing feelings of frustration; encountering discrimination, humiliation, exclusion, injustice
Actions of the subject	Suffer during the crisis; feel the burden of the economic crisis; be in a difficult situation; do not look with optimism into the future; play a vital role in combating radicalization leading to violence; use the Internet in loneliness; be aware of what democracy, equality, respect for human dignity, human rights, pluralism, and diversity are all about; must understand values
Actions towards the subject	Promote democratic values, social inclusion; create new opportunities; provide assistance in using opportunities; make their voice heard in Europe; help in the best use of the opportunities created by new technologies and global trends; encourage self-reflection, development of empathy, learning critical thinking, ways to deal with challenges and uncertainties, and situations and emotions that cause discomfort; provide a safe environment for growing up, building identity, experiencing belonging and positive peer influence; help young people find their place in society; protect against threats; support in creating a safe and integration-oriented environment that makes it possible to develop one's own identity; support and engage; promote democratic values and civic activity; encourage participation in volunteering; pay attention to problems; seek new ways of indoctrinating; encourage critical thinking about extremist ideologies; push towards violence; show the dark side of this phenomenon; prevent them from becoming victims of radicalization, extremist violence or terrorism; provide help; help in gaining a distance from extremist views

(continued)

Table 3.3 (continued)

Field elements	Examples
Equivalents	Young people; young persons; young Europeans; younger generation
Associations	Crisis; the possibility of active participation; Europe's resistance; social changes; structured dialogue; European Solidarity Corps; youth work; radicalization leading to violence; European Social Fund; The European Youth Pact; Erasmus+ programme; European youth strategy; European voluntary service; brutal extremism; acts of terrorism; links between education and security programmes; terrorism; extremist ideologies; violence
Oppositions	Commission; Council; Europe; Member States; people working with young people, experts; policymakers; researchers; organizations; specialists in social work; terrorist groups; extremists; teachers; educators; teaching staff

The network of youth-related associations points to the broad context of the statements including, on the one hand, the main EU initiatives and programmes that have also appeared in the discourses of competence and cartography (e.g. European Social Fund, European Youth Pact; Erasmus+ programme; European youth strategy) and, on the other hand, associations with clearly negative connotations (e.g. terrorism, violence), signalling an emergency and special condition. As a result, the semantic relationships in the field of associations place the concept of youth in two areas:

1. as part of the overall and multilateral educational and social activities of the European Union,
2. as part of the specific problems identified in the categories of “radicalization leading to violence”.

The selected problems of the condition of youth are, therefore, inscribed in the multi-sectoral activities of the European Union. In turn, the network of equivalents, i.e. the words having the same conceptual or semantic connections, is formed by expressions containing the attribute “young”, e.g. young people, younger generation, young Europeans. In this

way, the network of equivalents on one occasion broadens the semantic field by applying general concepts (e.g. young people), while at another time it narrows the field to those young people who are Europeans. As a result, youth are presented in generational terms as youth in general, and also as a group with a specific origin and identity (European).

The network of attributes and actions places young people in the vast field of negative connotations. Young people *suffer, do not look with optimism, are frustrated, face discrimination, humiliation, exclusion, and injustice*. In general, the terms and activities attributed to young people can be divided into two groups. The first comprises those that express the conditions of young people coming from “the inside” (e.g. frustration, suffering, discouragement), while the other, those coming “from the outside” (e.g. discrimination, exclusion). As a result, the semantic field of the attributes and activities of the subject points to the “problems” that young people have with themselves and with others, thus creating the ground for extended actions addressed to them.

The internal diversity within the network of activities towards the subject is related, in this type of discourse, to the specific construction of the network of oppositions. Next to the adult groups and institutions appearing in a positive context (e.g. Commission, Member States, youth workers, experts, social work specialists, teachers), there are also “terrorist groups” and “extremists” in this network. The activities undertaken by this first group are described in terms of subsidiarity, support, and the creation of optimal conditions. “Encouraging” and “promoting” values by them, in contrast to the “indoctrination” and “pushing” on the part of extremists, are talked about (cf. Example 9).

Example 9 Terrorist groups and extremists are capitalising on advances in technology to find new ways of engaging with disaffected youth, taking advantage of social networking sites, online video channels and radical chat rooms. They are spreading their propaganda more widely, more rapidly, and more effectively. [10, p. 3]

In the above example, there is a note of two important elements of the *topos of the exceptional position of youth*. The first refers to the image of youth as a category particularly susceptible to the influence of external,

here negatively evaluated, interactions (i.e. propaganda, indoctrination); the second, in turn, is based on the image of the potential threat from people at an early age. In the latter case, young people who are “desperate” pose a threat to the rest of society. Young people are at risk both because of their own developmental and biological conditions, that is internal factors, and because of social and external influences. An additional argument for the special position of young people is also connected with the assumption that it is in adolescence that the traits (values, attitudes) which accompany a person throughout their life develop (cf. Example 10)

Example 10 People are at their most impressionable in adolescence and early adulthood, and many of the values and attitudes they develop at this stage stay with them for much of their lives. Not surprisingly, therefore, those most at risk from radical propaganda are adolescents and young adults. [10, p. 9]

The keyword introducing clearly negative connotations is the concept of *radicalization* and a clear suggestion that we are dealing with an adverse change in the conditions in which we have to live. In connection with this, the Council of the European Union and the Member States have taken action “in prevention of radicalization, to safeguard our way of life and provide better opportunities for youth” [4, p. 1].

The reverse of the threats related to youth is, therefore, the semantics of *protection* characteristic of this type of discourse, which in many places is transformed into the military semantics of *defence*. Youth protection proves to be the defence of the whole society and a “fight on many fronts” (cf. Example 11), which is based on the proper identification of the problem and selection of effective methods of solving it.

Example 11 While violent radicalization needs to be confronted and tackled on a number of fronts, it is of crucial importance that the threat and dangers that it poses for young people are recognised, prevented, and acted upon by early and effective intervention measures, respecting young people’s cultural diversity. [3, p. 3]

At this point, the temporality of discourse, in which “early” action is considered effective, clearly reveals itself. It is important to identify a threat as early as possible in order to react to it as soon as possible.

The logic behind this type of argumentation is supported by the linear, one-way model of human development and the cause–effect relationships between humans and the world, rationalizing actions aimed at reducing risk, and thus supporting a sense of security owing to the attempts to control the already known present and the uncertain future. The concept of youth along with the whole background of the semantics of risks embedded in that age of life creates conditions favourable for the promotion of education in terms of early prevention (cf. Example 12).

Example 12 Emphasize the links between education and security programmes financed through external assistance instruments so that children and young people in third world countries are encouraged to develop critical thinking from the early stages of their education and thus prevent themselves from becoming victims of radicalization, extremist violence, or terrorism. [10, p. 11]

The main method of working with youth is civic education and promoting, through education, civic attitudes, and common values, which include freedom, tolerance, and non-discrimination. The *topos of youth education* takes here the form of the assumption that youth education leads to the prevention of undesirable phenomena and events. The condition of youth is defined by the quality of their critical thinking. This is what is being forced through as a remedy for the problems of violence, terrorism, and extremist ideologies (cf. Example 13).

Example 13 Steps need to be taken to encourage young people not to remain passive, but to think critically, to challenge extremist views, and pick them apart. The RAN has identified intercultural dialogue and personal exchanges between young people as a key method of building resilience to extremist propaganda. Civic engagement and participation in communities also helps build up positive attitudes. [10, p. 9]

The discourse of condition encourages civic involvement and critical thinking that are opposed to passive attitudes. While in the discourse of competence the main emphasis was placed on the cognitive capital and the potential inherent in adequate knowledge and school achievements, in the discourse of condition we are dealing with the boosting of the influence and significance of social relations. A place in a social and cultural group and communication skills are here the important *factors protecting* against the threats of an uncertain future (cf. Example 14).

Example 14 while cognitive skills remain essential, social, civic and intercultural competences, communication and conflict resolution skills, empathy, responsibility, critical thinking and media literacy need to be equally developed in the learning process. [4, p. 4]

As part of the discourse of condition, a subject motivated to take over responsibility for the security of European and European Union states is constructed. The passivity of this subject, identified with the lack of civic activity, is an additional threat which, in the face of the radicalization of problems, we cannot afford (cf. Example 15).

Example 15 Constant changes and societal and economic challenges make the sharing of democratic values, young people's social inclusion, and active citizenship even more important. [3, p. 2]

The analysis of the semantic field of the concept of youth and the topoi in the discourse of condition shows that we are dealing here with the apparatization of several specific discursive elements. First of all, the knowledge of the age of adolescence as a period especially vulnerable to external interference, and thus exposed to undesirable (from the point of view of European Union goals) influence, comes to the fore. Secondly, the importance of knowledge about the durability of changes and the effectiveness of educational influences precisely in this period is being raised, in line with the old maxim that "What little Johnny has not learnt, big John will not know how to do". These convictions closely correspond with the temporalization of a young person's experience. In this case, temporalization emphasizes the importance of the

right time for creating changes and *securing* the future. This is joined by the semantics of fight and defence, reinforcing the sense of anxiety and danger. Importantly, we are dealing here with a peculiar shifting of responsibility. While youth are written about in terms of their inclinations and psychological predispositions, i.e. those found in individuals, the identified problems (the radicalization of violence and intolerance) fall into the social sphere. The remedy in the form of developing critical thinking and civic involvement can be interpreted as the redefining of social risk in terms of individual concerns and measures. The individualizing (psychologizing) concepts of youth make the generalization of discourses of “reflective modernization” possible (Giddens 1991; Beck 1986). Youth are considered as a set of individuals who should develop their own critical perspective on the examination of a problem situation. The threats related to terrorism and extremist movements are transferred from the level of problems of institutions (states and the European Union) to the level of reflective individuals. A subject is motivated to deal with the public sphere based on their own resources, the various skills such as the resolution of conflicts, critical thinking, use of the media, etc. As a result, an image of youth not so much endangered by terrorism and violence, whom institutions should protect, is being built, but one of responsabilized young people, i.e. those with whom the responsibility for the effective defence and ensuring of a safe future of Europe rests. However, the concept of youth introduces further complications here, because youth are a “weak” subject, because they are susceptible to external interventions. As a consequence, the topos of education as early prevention is well received here. The future of civil society appears in the extended time horizon of the “risk paradigm” (cf. France 2008; Kelly 2009) in which the notion of youth, provided with temporality, performs the functions mobilizing to the *securitization* of social life. Securitization is a process of expanding the discourse related to state security to include the problems of protecting social, cultural, ethnic, and religious order and, as a result, disseminating the concept of security in all areas of social life (cf. Kaya 2013). This phenomenon leads to the publicizing of threats and to the legitimizing of the policies and regimes of practices of “insuring” against risk. “Insurantal risk” (Ewald 1991; Dean 1999; Binkley 2009) is presented

in the form of clear-cut and calculable investments. In the case of a discourse on the threat of violence and terrorism, measures based on youth work and their education are justified. As a concept of movement, youth assume calculations in terms of the future, which is available thanks to the estimation of the potential effects of actions and early interventions oriented at counteracting risky behaviour. The *securitization of social life by means of the concept of youth* aims the political measures of the European Union not so much at the subjects that have found themselves in the network of oppositions within the semantic field of the notion of youth (that is, terrorists, extremists), as at young people who are, at the same time, endangered and pose a danger themselves. It can be assumed that in the conditions of unsettling social security, the generalization of the discursive and non-discursive elements of the dispositif of age fulfils its strategic function thanks to exposing youth as, understood in the metaphorical sense, “a suitable enemy” (cf. Christie 1986; Ostrowicka 2012). As part of the process of the securitization of social life, young people are becoming a convenient enemy in the situation of “fight” and “defence” for several reasons. First of all, the notion of youth as a time of inclination to risky behaviour, retained in academic and colloquial knowledge, distracts attention from structural and systemic problems, and such ways of solving the problems of violence. Secondly, the topoi of youth education and youth work sustain the broad profile security activities that involve various subjects, not only EU bodies, but above all individuals, institutions, and educational and social organizations (teachers, advisers, experts, social workers). Thirdly, the topoi of the unique position of youth points to the special goods and cherished values that need to be and are worth being defended. For youth is a special time in the life cycle of a person, because the successful individual and social development in the future depends on how it will be used.

At the end of this part of my deliberations, in Fig. 3.3 I present in a schematic form the elements of the discourse of condition in the dispositif of age. It presents two layers related thematically and functionally to the concept of youth, i.e. conceptual-discursive and pragmatic-strategic, which were activated in response to the situation of threat to the security of Europe, that is, the intensification of violence and the deterioration of security.

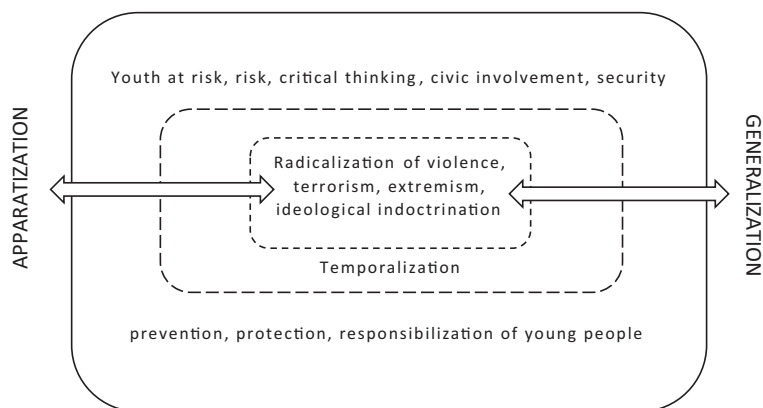


Fig. 3.3 The discourse of condition in the dispositif of age

3.5 Summary

The analyses of the European Union policy presented in this chapter were aimed at presenting the function of the concept of youth in the political discourse concerning the activities, programmes, and decisions regulating social life in a broad perspective. In this sense, my aim was to attempt to describe the meaning of the concept of youth in the context of generally understood European policy. Each youth policy adopts, for obvious reasons, a definition of youth (e.g. Grasso and Bessant 2018). In the case of the studies described here, the research problem did not refer only to the policy addressed *strictly* to the group defined as youth. The problem was the question of how the concept of youth functions in its various meanings as an element of the dispositif mechanisms activated in the situation of an urgent social need: crisis, danger, scarcity, lack of appreciated values, etc. Adopting the assumption of the temporalization of concepts, I studied youth discourses, i.e. in the context of Koselleck's historical semantics, against a future-oriented concept of movement. The study of discourses that are thematically related to youth, i.e. The discourses in which “youth” appears as the subject of a statement, is combined with the study of functional relationships between the various elements of discourse. Thus, the analytical

work focused, firstly, on the analysis of the semantic fields of statements built within a given topic and, secondly, on the search for argumentation schemes, the topoi in which the concept of youth provided predetermined conclusions.

The body of the research materials consisted of existing texts, the European Union documents created in the years 2008–2018, but still in force in 2018. According to the adopted definition of discourse, I made a *statement*, construed in the Foucauldian sense as an element of discourse which is “serious”, i.e. one that has passed a certain institutional test, the analytical unit.

In the analysed documents, one can see semantic and rhetorical connections within which young people have become the subject of statements. These associations build broader discourses that are launched in a situation of an urgent need: economic crisis, unemployment, terrorism and radicalization leading to violence in Europe. The reconstructed discourses of competence, cartography, and condition create conditions of possibility and justification for the implementation of certain social practices and the setting of European policy directions. The research has shown that rhetorical and argumentative functions are fulfilled by four basic topoi associated with youth as a concept of movement, a concept of expectation. These are the topoi of (1) the exceptional youth status, (2) the unique role of youth, (3) youth education, and (4) youth work. I present their paraphrases in Table 3.4.

A characteristic catalogue of assumptions and related conclusions as part of the four separated topoi has provided justifications for specific

Table 3.4 Topoi related to youth

Topoi	Paraphrase
Topos of the exceptional youth status	If we focus our attention and actions on youth, we will keep control over the present and future
Topos of the unique role of youth	The future depends on youth, so they are an important social actor
Topos of youth education	If we focus on youth education, we can control the future
Topos of youth work	If we do not help youth today, they will not achieve the expected results alone

goals and tools of European policy: education policy, economic policy (related to employment), and security policy. These topoi show the mechanisms of the apparatization of discursive elements, in which the temporalized concept of youth has emerged as part of the problems of education, work, and crime, and fulfilled certain functions.

As part of the discourse of competence, we are dealing with the idea of a young man as a developing student. Owing to this, with the help of the notion of youth, the regulation of social life is justified in accordance with the logic of the modern school: classifying, examining, and assessing the outcomes and progress in competence development on the basis of externally set standards. Owing to the figure of youth as a time of learning, the problems of European economic development are redefined into the problems of inadequate competences, the solution of which is possible thanks to appropriately planned youth education. In this way, the concept of youth supports the temporalization of the experience of the economic crisis and combines the diagnosis of current problems with the vision of the future of Europe, along with a whole catalogue of tools for “investment” in youth: supporting, helping, inspiring young people, and creating conditions for the development of their potential. The concept of youth in a society based on the progressive expression of changes and development provides arguments for investment in available resources with a view to the positive effects expected in the future. The topos of the exceptional youth status in the discourse of competence takes the form of knowledge about youth as a resource (capital), which society has at its disposal and which reflects the rationality of thinking about the future in terms of *efficiency*. For we are talking here about intentional actions and their positive effects, which can be assessed in the long-term perspective.

The temporal aspect of governing by means of the concept of youth is also emphasized by the metaphor of transition, the selection of appropriate paths of development. Cartography, like a map, simplifies reality. However, it not only reflects the described area, but also creates it. In this sense, social life appears to be a project aimed and referred for implementation, and the task of the institution of governing is to smoothly guide the choices between the clearly outlined routes, and give help in crossing the next thresholds of life. In the guiding using the concept of

youth, the area “in between” generates decisions and mobilizes to action, in which it is possible to go only in one direction, i.e. towards adulthood and the tasks assigned to it socially. Youth located between childhood and adulthood is situated in the space-time of absence. It is a place without real space, perceived in the context of the transition from the space of childhood to adulthood. It becomes real in the network of relations related to the specific material and social conditions in which the processes of integration and meeting of the past (childhood) and future (adulthood) take place. The semantics of *transition* and movement in accordance with the map of valuable paths, roads, necessary exits—entrances, and thresholds becomes functional in managing “economic crisis” and solving the “ways out” of employment problems.

The imperative of leaving the occupied place, the transition to a better time and a better space, is based in the discourse of the condition on the concept of youth as a particularly difficult and complicated stage, demanding attention. In EU policy, the concept of youth appears in the context of specific problems identified in terms of “radicalization leading to violence”. The topos of youth work rationalizes actions aimed at limiting uncertainty, reducing risk and supporting a sense of security. Imagining the risk inscribed in adolescence, the age of “storm and stress” mobilizes to individual efforts and comprehensive preventive programmes, attempts to control an uncertain future. The semantics of risks associated with youth is reflected in the semantics of protection, which in many places is transformed into the military semantics of *defence* in the face of the “radicalization” of negative phenomena, such as violence and terrorism. It is against this background that the concept of youth creates favourable conditions for education identified with early prevention, i.e. planned activities running along the “time arrow”. Developed early enough, critical thinking and civic involvement provide a recipe for the security problems of the European Union. As a result, as part of the discourse of condition, the entity responsible for combating violence, terrorism, and extremist ideologies is constructed.

To sum up, based on the analysis of European Union documents, it was possible to reconstruct the ways of regulating social life by means of the temporarilized concept of youth. The purpose of such a reconstruction was not to identify discourses characteristic or typical of European institutions. The heuristics of the dispositif and the analytical categories

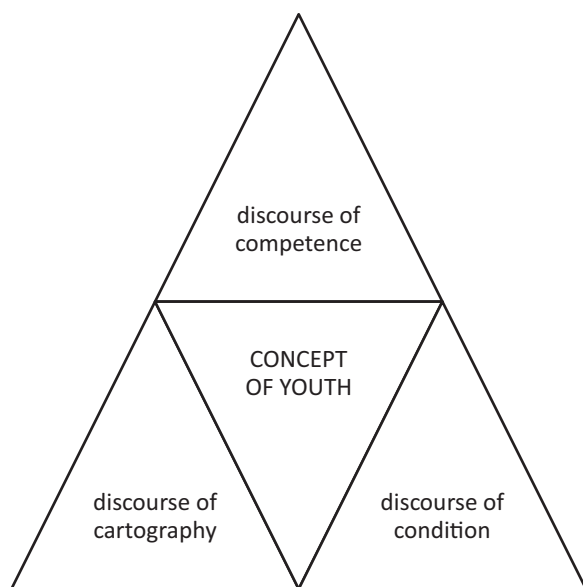


Fig. 3.4 Discourses thematically and functionally related to the concept of youth

associated with it make it possible to link academic youth discourses with common sense knowledge (the level of apparatusization of the dispositif) and with the contexts of its formation and transformation (the level of generalization of the dispositif). From this perspective, the 3-C discourses (of competence, cartography, and condition) were considered as epistemic resources that provided knowledge and argumentative resources to regulate social life on a *macro* scale. It is in the process of producing specific knowledge and its rationality, and in the distribution of discourses that the manifestation of power takes place. Discourses thematically and functionally connected with youth are not entities with clear boundaries, and their mutual interpenetration is visible even in the circulation of topoi. The plane of their connection is the specific meaning of the concept of youth as a concept of movement and expectation, combining diverse statements into a functional whole within one dispositif of power (Fig. 3.4).

The adopted methodology based on heuristics and integration assumes the existence of connections between discourses and their mutual

overlapping. The next part of the book is devoted to the interpenetration of the *experience-expectation* discourses. In the context of the socio-cultural conditions of the hyper-modern knowledge society, I present three stories that orientate, sensitize, and preserve the experience and expectations related to youth.

Notes

1. The body of the texts was built based on the results of the search of the database of European Union legal acts (eur-lex.europa.eu), European Commission documents in force in 2018, and created in the years 2008–2018, using the keyword “youth”. The list of research materials can be found in Appendix A.
2. The number provided in square brackets after the quote refers to the appropriate item on the list of sources presented in the Appendix A.
3. All bold type in quotes according to the original.
4. Statistical data are provided by the source from Eurostat.

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4

Regulating Social Life: Between Experience and Expectation

This chapter is devoted to stories that make it possible for us to preserve the past and look ahead into the future owing to *usable knowledge* (Burke 2012), circulating between academic discourses and government and media discourses and institutions. I use Koselleck's categories of "space of experience" and "horizon of expectation" to describe and interpret the temporal tension in the dispositif of age between the past and the present (2010). The concepts of *experience* and *expectation* are formal categories that are each time filled with content and meaning. Reading the practices of regulating social life using these polarized expressions makes it possible to describe the possible conditions that justify the occurrence of an event. In this sense, they are not categories inductively derived from research material. It is a pair of general categories that do not create an alternative; experience is interlocked with anticipation, and expectation with experience. The categories of experience and expectation link the past and the future, and make it possible to track the practices of regulating social life embedded in time and space. Filled with content, they show the implementation of political and social activities. Experience covers the modern past, while expectation is a modernized future. Expectation refers to what does

not yet fall into experience, and what can be predicted, anticipated. Both categories are, therefore, embedded in the present, but in different ways. Koselleck (2010) explained this presence of present time in experience and expectation using spatial metaphors, speaking of the “space of experience” (*Erfahrungsraum*) and the “horizon of expectation” (*Erwartungshorizont*). There are many layers of past events, which mutually interpenetrate and reinforce each other, that linger on in experience. New hopes and expectations penetrate it. Therefore, experience undergoes changes under the influence of new, retroactive expectations.

The metaphor of the horizon tells us that after crossing this yet imperceptible line, a new space of experience will open up in the future. The future cannot be experienced, but expectations cannot be realized without experience, either. This tension between expectation and experience provokes new actions (Koselleck 2010). In order to express the inseparable connection between the space of experience and the horizon of expectation, I use the combination of words *experience-expectation*. This category includes an area in which what is past interpenetrates the future, i.e. experience is in expectation. There is no expectation without experience, and experience assumes expectation and changes under the influence of acting expectations. The interlocking of the space of experience and the horizon of expectation, past and future, can take on the structure of a story.

The co-organizer of the coherence of the story, experience, and expectation, is *knowledge* and the concepts that make it possible to preserve the past and look ahead into the future. As Paweł Bytniewski writes: “The more extensive the space of experience and the wider the horizon of expectation, the greater the share of knowledge in organizing this coherence” (2008, p. 93). The relationships between the space of experience, the horizon of expectation, and knowledge are presented in a schematic form in Fig. 4.1.

Contemporary society has scientific, technical, and educational means of colonizing the future at its disposal. The *dynamics of conflicts* caused by the participation of scientific knowledge in this process is contained in the idea of a knowledge-based society (Bytniewski 2008). I understand the concept of the knowledge society in two ways. Firstly, as a descriptive concept, describing the processes of spreading knowledge

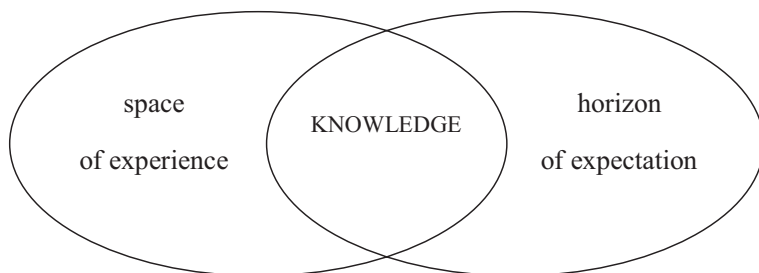


Fig. 4.1 Knowledge in the space of experience and in the horizon of expectation

to all areas of life, opening new fields of research, blurring the boundaries between professional and common sense knowledge, as well as the complex phenomenon of intensifying reflexivity and cognitive activity of various social actors (Giddens 1990; Delanty 2001). Secondly, the idea of the knowledge society is construed as a normative concept, or more precisely as an order of discourse setting certain norms, rules, and forms of the production, selection, and control of knowledge. In the latter case, therefore, it is all about the specific “imperative” of the knowledge society, a state of obligation which emphasizes the dialectical relationship between the production and use of knowledge, in which the Foucauldian idea of knowledge–power becomes actualized in a particular way (Ostrowicka 2019, in print). It is from this perspective that the questions about “what knowledge about youth comes to the fore at a given historical moment?” and “what knowledge is established and mobilized to name and solve specific social problems?” are particularly interesting. And finally, “what knowledge about youth contributes to the implementation of political goals?” The considerations on the subject of “usable knowledge” (Burke 2012) are placed here in two complementary contexts, i.e. in the context of the knowledge society and in the conditions of the hypermodern society described by Marc Augé (1992).

In the first chapter, I describe these contexts as a starting point for the analysis of the processes of the apparatusization and generalization of discursive elements, i.e. the relations between the discourses and institutions of academia, and government and media discourses and institutions. Researchers interested in youth discourses emphasize the role

of the media in constructing and enhancing certain social images and fears, boosting the “moral panic” associated with young people (e.g. Cohen 1972; Griffin 1993; Melosik 2013). On the other hand, attention is drawn to the influence of academic and expert discourse on the distorted perception of youth and its demonization in media messages (e.g. Dwyer and Wyn 2001; Ostrowicka 2015). In turn, in government programmes, the “appetite for knowledge” (Ostrowicka 2016) about youth manifests itself in the financing of numerous expert opinions created with a view to designing educational and social policy. The concept of the *dispositif* makes it possible for us to look at the selective statements coming to the fore as at a constellation of heterogeneous and diverse discourses and non-discursive conditions shaping the space of experience and the horizon of expectation of the hypermodern knowledge-based society. What is on the surface of discourse, what is visible and pronounceable, is the result of clashing and rivalry, the dynamics of the conflict resulting from the excess of knowledges (in plural) and the formation of *usable knowledge* in the temporal, spatial and individual perspective.

4.1 Youth Discourses and Usable Knowledge

If Marc Augé (1992) is right, we live in an age of hypermodernity or, in other words, supermodernity (*surmodernité*). The (almost unlimited in terms of space and time) generation and circulation of data, information and knowledge about youth perfectly harmonizes with the experience of permanent *excess of time*, *excess of space*, and *excess of ego* characteristic of this type of society. The three basic aspects of excess, which Augé writes about (1992), can be referred to the contemporary condition of knowledge, i.e. its temporal, spatial, and individual character. The excess of knowledge from the temporal perspective manifests itself in the acceleration of its production, flow, and swift obsolescence that is perceived today. This acceleration means that today’s knowledge quickly becomes historical knowledge. Therefore, the problem that contemporary man is facing is the question of how to assess the significance of knowledge about youth so far accumulated in experience, the validity

of theories, and their “usefulness” for the understanding of the present and planning the future. In turn, the dimension of the spatial excess of knowledge is associated with unrestricted access to information, the disappearance of boundaries, narrowing the distance, or the abolition of separation between the producers and users of knowledge. The last aspect manifests itself in, among others, the phenomenon of prosumption (Toffler 1980), or the bottom-up, economic practice of the simultaneous production and consumption of “goods” in the broad sense of the word. Under the conditions of spatial excess, knowledge, regardless of the place of its production, detaches itself from its producer and transgresses the socio-cultural context of its creation. This raises questions about the status of scientific knowledge aspiring to universality, about the usability of overall and general images of youth, which replace direct experience and the contextual and local placement. The third of the surfeits is associated with the phenomenon of individualization. The excess of *ego*, the individualization which Augé writes about, transferred to the field of reflection on knowledge is combined with the development of individual educational and emancipation aspirations in the field of creating and disseminating knowledge. In this perspective, the basic problem is the question of what knowledge about youth responds to individual and social needs, puts in motion the mechanisms of the dispositif of power, and thus becomes attractive and useful for specific individuals in a given historical moment (Ostrowicka 2019).

In addition, the excess of individualization of knowledge draws attention to the aspirations of individuals to have current knowledge at their disposal, to be constantly updated, to be informed. As aptly noted by Maarten Simons (2007), the supply of and demand for up-to-date information is a manifestation of a new system of governing, installing less obvious power relations. This demand for knowledge liberates and implements the characteristic technologies of governing and the concepts of “truth” about the world. Discourse based on numerous expertises, governing “by data”, seduces society with the help of “truth” about youth, and thus by guaranteeing the effectiveness of the proposed solutions and the scientific legitimacy of the undertaken activities. Complex and non-obvious relations between power techniques and forms of knowledge reflect the Foucauldian concepts of power-knowledge and

governmentality. These concepts were developed by Foucault in the context of the “will to knowledge” and governing through the truth (Foucault 2009). Governmentality results from the spreading of pastoral power and the domination of this form of power, which Foucault called “governing”. In Foucault’s approach, governmentality includes a set of specific institutional, procedural, and discursive conditions that make governing (exercising power over the population) possible. Interest in the population means interest in communities. Individuals are important as long as they form part of a population of living and biological beings that are susceptible to planned interventions (Foucault 2009). As Nikolas Rose (1990) emphasized, governing requires the fulfilment of at least two conditions. First of all, the production, organization, and management of the “truth” about the population are necessary for governmentality. Secondly, governmentality needs the transcription of knowledge, the materialization of what is to be managed in the form of written reports, tables, maps, charts, and numbers. Studying youth discourses and the usefulness of knowledge from the perspective of governmentality:

1. refer to the issue of youth as population and the public located in a certain place and time;
2. sensitize to the problems of the emergence of a “young” subject as a biological, social, and cultural being;
3. open a field for analyzing changes in youth policy from the angle of activities of modern apparatuses of power justified by expert knowledge.

It is from this perspective, i.e. as elements of governmentality, a special art of governing with the help of “regimes of truth” (cf. the rich literature in the field of *governmentality studies*, e.g. Rose 1990; Burchell et al. 1991; Peters et al. 2009; Dean 2010; Bröckling et al. 2011; Walters 2011), that I describe, further on, the discourses of prevention, policy of fear, and control of the lives of young people.

The landscape of the knowledge society comprises a complex of intricate relationships between various discourses and institutions of science, as well as between scientific institutions and non-university

discourses and institutions, such as the media, government, or business (cf. Czyżewski 2013). The problematization of “knowledge” as useful knowledge is characteristic of this type of society. The senses and meanings of “use” of knowledge are not predetermined or defined, and therefore, I use the term “usable knowledge” coined by Peter Burke (2012), because this term does not determine what ultimately turns out to be useful, and for whom. It is worth recalling that the idea of useful knowledge is not the latest invention. The term “useful knowledge” became a slogan in many languages as early as at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This concept evolved in opposition to “basic” knowledge, to “pure” science, in the confrontation with autotelic knowledge, the so-called knowledge for its own sake (Burke 2012). As aptly observed by Burke (2012), so-called applied knowledge is a “cultural hybrid”, which attests not so much to the victory of practical knowledge over academic knowledge, as to their mutual interpenetration. The concept of usable knowledge makes it possible to capture the complex relations between specialist knowledge and social practice, the processes of interpenetration of youth theory and expertise on it with the various types of interaction programmes, government and media projects, and problematizations of events.

Taking into account the issues of excess (acceleration in respect of the production, circulation and application of knowledge, abolition of the strict subdivision between producers and consumers of knowledge, and the individualization of the character and forms of the “appetite for knowledge”), I would like to draw attention to two interlocking areas of the apparatization and generalization of knowledge in the dispositif of age, i.e. the field of knowledge generation and the field of knowledge use (Ostrowicka 2019).

These fields, in the reality of the hypermodern knowledge society, partly overlap, but distinguishing them for our research has an analytical and ordering value relative to thinking about the use of knowledge. The concept of usable knowledge signals the shift of mechanisms of legitimization and defining from the field of production to the field of use, and means that it is primarily in the second of the areas identified above, i.e. in the field of knowledge use, that it is determined what knowledge is usable, for what, and to what extent. In this context, it

becomes possible to identify usable knowledge as the one for which there is a special demand and, as a part of this, to study the process of fetishization of some of its varieties. The fetishization of knowledge about youth manifests itself in attributing excessive value and social significance to it. Knowledge about youth is susceptible to the process of fetishization because of the specific, culturally conditioned connotations associated with the category of youth. For youth is not a neutral word, but a concept constructed in different domains of discourse, related to socially appreciated values such as development, education, commitment, citizenship, security, and others. The importance of youth is articulated, in a particularly pronounced way, in the discourses of competence, cartography, and condition (cf. Chapter 3). In the hyper-modern knowledge society, knowledge about youth, which is usable in politics, the media and business, gains value. In the conditions of excess data and information, the acceleration of knowledge production and its separation from the place of origin, as well as the individualization of the “appetite for knowledge”, the fate of certain theoretical concepts, ideas, or reports from youth research become an interesting object of analysis (Ostrowicka 2019).

The coherence of experience-expectation requires tame knowledge about youth in which a well-known story is sought, i.e. a story that combines the past, the present, and the future. According to Odo Marquard (1986), the humanities and the sciences of man tell three types of stories:

- orienting stories (introducing clarity, sensibility, support of experience),
- sensitizing stories (showing the colour of the world in which we live),
- preserving stories (taming the world, limiting the growing alienness and artificiality).

In this respect, they perform compensatory functions against the opacity, “disenchantment”, and commodification of the world in modernization processes. It is from this inspiration that the premises for the interpretation of the function and significance of knowledge about youth in the processes of social order regulation emerge. The young

are a popular topic of institutionally embedded research. They are also a frequent “problem” in media reports. In the Polish context, they usually become an object of media interest when their unwanted state or behaviour becomes, for some reason, problematic. Examples of orienting, sensitizing, and preserving stories based on scientific knowledge about youth are provided by the discursivization of the issue of youth in connection with the suicide of Ania, a 14-year-old junior high school student from Gdańsk, an increased public discussion on youth, as well as immediate reactions to this event by representatives of the government, mainly the Ministry of National Education in Poland. This individual event is an example of a problematic situation, a situation of urgent necessity, an ignition point of the *dispositif* of age, which updated the characteristic knowledge of youth, development, maturation, and related risks, as well as the discourse about school together with the whole range of normativities forming this knowledge (cf. Ostrowicka 2015). The discursive elements that appear in the *dispositif* point to the role of the norm, firstly, as a model that organizes cognition (norms of knowledge) and, secondly, as a political model conducting behaviour (norms of power) (Macherey 2011). It is worth recalling after Pierre Macherey (2011) that, in his works, Foucault presented two concepts of the norm:

- negative, based on the juridical figure of exclusion and introducing the dichotomy: allowed—forbidden;
- positive, indicating the biological, inclusive function of the norm, which is not about prohibition, but about regulation.

Strategies of power, showing its relations with knowledge, take the form of juridical, disciplinary, or conducting mechanisms. Speaking of the regulation of social life, I mean the broad understanding of it, including both the mechanisms of limitation and control, as well as the techniques of initiation and creation (cf. Lazzarato 2009; Bailey 2013). The norm makes possible the transition from discipline mechanisms to the forms of regulation characteristic of security mechanisms. In the experience-expectation and in the stories that come to the fore, one can see the elements that form the *dispositif* relation in the three axes: of knowledge, power, and the subject.

First of all, there are theoretical concepts and common sense ideas which are “useful” in the development of a given problem situation and are worth looking into. Secondly, we can distinguish the dominant strategic logic or, in other words, the leitmotif of the story, which structures the temporalization of experience-expectation and the mechanisms of power. Thirdly, in the triangle of the story, there are characters—entities that act, or are subject to influences, standardization, and normalization.

It is against this background that the locally contextualized discourses related to the tragic event in Gdańsk are part of history, in which orienting, sensitizing, and preserving stories are created in the common space of experience and expectation. In the collection of the empirical materials that I analysed, there were press texts referring to young people in connection with the suicide of a 14-year-old girl, published in the most opinion-forming nationwide periodicals. As a result of the press monitoring, I gathered newspaper clippings. I complemented this collection with government documents that were created in connection with this event, and reports from expert opinions commissioned by the government. In this chapter, only those texts are cited which provide a meaningful illustration of the presented conclusions. Below I present the results of the reconstruction of three stories, in which the different categories of youth such as youth at risk, youth posing a threat, “our children”, “hooligans”, girls, boys, and others are the main characters. These categories, as well as the related elements of the narrative structure, were inductively derived from the research materials. It was only in the second step that they were related to the theoretical achievements, among others, in the field of media and youth research, as well as state policy. It is worth adding that the selection of the theoretical contexts used in the interpretation had to remain consistent with the adopted general epistemological and ontological framework presented in Chapter 2.

4.2 Orienting Story: Zero Tolerance

The context of the use and meaning of the term “zero tolerance” has changed over time. As noted by Russell Skiba (2000), from the very beginning, that is, from its application in the anti-drug policy of the

United States in the 1980s, the slogan “zero tolerance” was to signal that all offences, even small ones, will not be tolerated, but will be severely punished. For the first time, a programme developed in 1986 by a US prosecutor in San Diego was introduced under the slogan of “zero tolerance” in connection with the fight against large-scale drug trafficking. Soon, in 1988, the US Attorney General considered the programme as a model one, ordering customs officers to intervene (by taking over property and prosecuting in federal court) even in the case of detaining persons with trace amounts of drugs (Skiba 2000). The colloquial language of “zero tolerance” was enhanced by George L. Kelling and James Q. Wilson’s “*broken window theory*”, popular in criminology, also developed by Catherine M. Coles (Kelling and Wilson 1982; Kelling and Coles 1997). This theory describes how minor violations of order and social norms, if repeated and unresponded to, eventually lead to the development, and even escalation of more serious crime. This symbolic “broken window” is not necessarily a physical manifestation of breaking the law, but the various symptoms of social destabilization in general. According to the “broken window theory”, without the consistent stigmatization of even small manifestations of violations of law and social order, it is not possible to permanently improve the security of citizens. A model illustration of this dependence was the programme “Quality of Life”, which ended in the mid-1990s in the successful elimination of crime in New York during the rule of the mayor Rudolph Giuliani (Czarnecki 2011). In the United States, the slogan “zero tolerance” has triggered social imagination and has begun to be applied to a large extent, beginning from environmental issues, through homelessness, to the problems of aggression at school. Since the early 1990s, terrified by the wave of violence, teachers were ready to apply the zero tolerance policy, extended not only to include the problems of drugs and weapons, but also smoking and disturbing school order (Skiba 2000). The increasing application of the zero tolerance policy in the US has led to a situation in which students from poorer social classes are sentenced to harsher and more frequent punishments than their peers from dominant cultural and economic environments (Kennedy-Lewis 2014).

Regardless of the actual effectiveness of the programmes based on the “broken window theory”, the idea of “zero tolerance” has become

a symbol triggered in situations of danger and instability. In 2007, in response to the “problem of aggression at school” and the situation of “endangerment of children and youth with crime and moral corruption”, the Polish government launched a “programme to improve safety in schools and educational institutions” under the name “Zero Tolerance for violence at school”. The experience that linked the “youth problem” with the government activities directed against violence at school was the suicidal death of Ania, a 14-year-old student from Gdansk.

Government interest was directed towards the aggressive behaviour among young people and the violence experienced by Ania from her peers at school. The assumptions and objectives of the government programme were supported by expert knowledge, and the results of three programmes of research funded by the Ministry of National Education, devoted to the dimensions of aggression and violence in the school environment.

The “zero tolerance” discourse as an orienting story introduced the transparency and sense of the space of experience-expectation owing to the specific norms organizing scientific cognition (scientific theories) and the norms regulating behaviour, norms of juridical power, disciplinary power, and conduct. Let us begin with the norms of knowledge related to the production of scientific theories about the school, the role of teachers, students and school discipline.

Previous studies on the policy of zero tolerance in education have shown that these programmes are located in the competing discourses of safety and the discourse of equity, which interpenetrate all sectors of neoliberalized democracy, including the education system (Kennedy-Lewis 2014). Brianna L. Kennedy-Lewis proved that theories describing the functions of the school and school education are characterized by the polarization of perspectives. On the one hand, there is the *discourse of safety* that emphasizes beliefs stating that:

- the basis for maintaining safety at school is to prioritize the needs of the group in relation to the needs of individuals,
- student behaviour results from conscious, rational choices,
- the penalties used should be severe enough to deter potential perpetrators.

Kennedy-Lewis (2014) noted that the discourse of safety coincides with the neoliberal assumptions about individual responsibility for success and protection of the rights of people who participate in the capitalist market, while those who do not meet the requirements of the consumer lifestyle lose their rights. On the other hand, there is the *discourse of equity* which:

- underlines the role of social forces in creating unequal conditions for students,
- considers unlawful behaviour to be an indicator of a problem that does not belong to the child, one that needs to be carefully investigated,
- supports disciplinary reactions that support children's holistic needs,
- perceives various effects in the group as the result of institutionalized and social practice, not individual failures (Kennedy-Lewis 2014).

Among the differences between the discourse of safety and the discourse of equity, synthetically collected in the table by Kennedy-Lewis, I additionally emphasized the layers referring to the norms of knowledge and norms of power (cf. Table 4.1). These differences show the rules according to which state “zero tolerance” regulations describe educators, students, and school discipline. Young people are portrayed as rational actors who deserve punishment when they engage in destructive behaviour. In turn, teachers are given the power and the right to make decisions, and thus responsible for the appropriate disciplining of students.

The programme “Zero tolerance for violence at school” (2007) introduced by the Minister of National Education in Poland, linked the concept of youth, firstly, with the school and, secondly, with aggression and security risks. The programme “colonized the future” at school, i.e. the school has become a space-time of prevention, identification of potential threats, and counteracting the potential negative effects of problems related to care, education, development, identity of a young person, etc. (cf. Example 1).

Table 4.1 Knowledge–power in the *discourse of safety* and the *discourse of equity*

	Norms of knowledge	Norms of power
<i>Discourse of safety</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students' positions in that labour force are determined by individual skills, effort, and achievement • The most important part of schooling is academic achievement and preparation for the labour force • When students act noncompliantly, it is because they clearly know right from wrong and are choosing to do wrong 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Schools need to produce a skilled labour force for the national economy • Schooling should include character education and hold students to a traditional moral standard • When students choose to do wrong, they should be thoroughly punished for their actions • When students break school rules, they forfeit their right to a free, public education • Punishments for breaking rules should be sufficiently high to scare future perpetrators • Students who achieve highly should be protected from those who do not, and especially from those who misbehave • When students chronically misbehave at school, they should be removed from the school setting until they can meet the expectations for proper behaviour
<i>Discourse of equity</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students' positions in the labour force are constrained by social forces such as race, class, gender, and parents' education level, which the student cannot control • The most important part of schooling is the development of the whole child • When students act noncompliantly it is because there is an underlying problem that requires further investigation and perhaps intervention • When students choose to do wrong, there may be a misunderstanding or a cultural mismatch in expectations for behaviour; they may also be expressing justifiable dissent 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Schools need to produce educated and engaged citizens who are willing to participate civically and voice dissent when necessary • Students should teach students to think critically and make their own moral decisions • When students break school rules, schools still have an obligation to educate them • Consequences for breaking rules should be logical and restorative. • Students who achieve highly should be taught to empathize with, support, and learn from, students who struggle behaviourally or academically • When students chronically misbehave at school, they should be given the support they need to develop their full potential in a high-quality educational setting

Source Based on Kennedy-Lewis (2014, p. 171)

Example 1 The school is a good area of effective preventive impacts, affecting the overall social functioning of children and youth, because it is a place of:

- meetings of children, adolescents, and adults responsible for care and education (parents and teachers);
 - intensive interpersonal and social development;
 - students' task-oriented activities;
 - confronting authorities and developing the students' own identity;
 - filling a significant part of the active life of children and adolescents;
 - verification of parents' expectations related to their own child.
- (*Programme ...* 2007, p. 15)

The source of the definition of the school used in the programme was the academic texts devoted to prevention problems: *Prevention at school. Preventing students' addictions* (Gaś 1997) and *Preventive programmes, and the basics of professional psychoprevention* (Szymańska 2002). In the government's response to the suicidal death of the junior high school student, knowledge about principles and preventive methods, as well as the scope and forms of behaviour considered aggressive, came to the fore. First of all, the programme referred to the results of research into the extent of the phenomenon of aggression and violence in the school environment (i.e. Ostrowska and Tatarowicz 1998; Surzykiewicz 2001; Ostrowska and Surzykiewicz 2005). The creators of the programme were interested in the behaviour of students which was included in the aggressive categories: cheating teachers, disturbing teachers in conducting lessons, calling names and hurling abuse at other students, scribbling, writing on walls, benches, deliberately jostling others, getting drunk, spreading lies about others, getting into fights with schoolmates. Based on the conducted research, depending on the number of prohibited acts committed during the year, students were classified into five groups:

- free from aggressive behaviour,
- random aggressors (one, two instances of aggressive behaviour),
- occasional aggressors (instances of aggressive behaviour),

- cultural aggressors (from 6 to 16 instances of aggressive behaviour),
- compulsive aggressors (from 17 to 41 instances of aggressive behaviour) (*Programme ...* 2007).

The programme “Zero tolerance for violence at school” is an example of the *discourse of safety* in which the identification of “cases” of aggression and violence at school was accompanied by determining the risk space and identifying students posing a threat to others and, therefore, demanding intervention. The programme assumed that students can clearly distinguish between good and bad behaviour, which is called aggressive behaviour in the research, and choose to do wrong. The socio-cultural differences in the interpretation and understanding of a situation, such as “disturbing” the teacher in conducting lessons or writing on benches, were omitted in the government’s discourse. In accordance with the *discourse of safety*, the programme assumed the axiological, normative consensus and social consent.

As noted by Peter Kelly (2009), in this type of discourse, the unrest and uncertainty associated with youth become a subject of governmentality, i.e. under the patronage of the state the behaviour of young people is subjected to rationalization and institutionalization. What is more, similarly to other programmes launched in the USA and European countries (cf. Kelly 2009; France and Utting 2005), the “Zero Tolerance” programme focused on shifting the policy of reducing crime towards the school forms of social prevention by referring to the so-called risk paradigm. Polish law obliges the school to undertake preventive actions in order to counteract problem behaviour. This is mentioned, for example, in the *Regulation of the Minister of National Education of 18 August 2015 on the scope and forms of educational, informational, and preventive activities implemented in the education system, in order to counteract drug addiction in schools and educational organizations*, and previously in the *Regulation of the Minister of National Education and Sport of 31 January 2003 on specific forms of educational and preventive activities among children and adolescents at risk of addiction*. As part of the preparation of relevant legal provisions to announce the “Zero tolerance” programme, changes were made to the secondary legislation to the Act on the education system, which specified actions related to

the assessment of students' behaviour, exercising pedagogical supervision, and expert opinions. In 2006:

- the regulation on the conditions and manner of assessing, classifying and promoting pupils and students as well as conducting tests and examinations in public schools was amended in such a way that the conduct mark had an impact on promotion to the next grade;
- a new regulation on the detailed rules for the exercise of pedagogical supervision, the list of positions requiring pedagogical qualification, qualifications necessary to exercise pedagogical supervision, as well as the qualifications of persons who can be commissioned to conduct research and develop expert opinions was issued (cf. Ostrowicka 2015).

The psychological concepts of “risk factors” and “protective factors” proved to be usable knowledge for the programme of the Ministry of National Education (cf. Example 2). In the approach of Richard and Shirley Jessor, the developers of the theory of risky behaviour of young people, risk factors favour engaging in risky behaviour, while protective factors increase resistance to the former (Coie et al. 1996). These authors, however, emphasized the essential developmental functions, which risky behaviour performs in the period of young age: for example, it is associated with building one's own identity and independence and dealing with life difficulties through the reduction of fear and frustration (Szymańska 2002).

Example 2 A young person's behaviour depends on his or her individual characteristic features and on the factors present in the environment. They can be of protective nature (protective factors) or increase the possibility of engaging in specific behaviour (risk factors). Protective factors include: a strong emotional bond with parents, interest in school education, regular religious practices, respect for the law, norms, values, and social authorities, membership in a positive group. [...] Risk factors are features, situations, conditions conducive to the emergence of risky behaviour, e.g. high level of fear and anxiety, low self-esteem, emotional and social immaturity, poor internal control, unrealistic expectations of oneself and of the environment, lack of interest in school education, impaired relationships with parents, incorrect family structure etc. (*Programme ...* 2007, p. 9)

In the analysed programme, risk factors were sought both in the individual and in his or her immediate environment, i.e. at school and in the family (cf. Ostrowicka 2012). The concept of risk factors and protective factors has provided politicians with scientific arguments that the solution of social problems is possible by coping with individual, family and environmental dysfunctions, but, at the same time, diverted attention from the structural factors on the *macro* level (Kelly 2009). As demonstrated by Alan France (2008) in his research, this concept reduces the environment to individual interactions and assigns little importance to the complexity of global influences and structures of social life. According to the power-knowledge of *the discourse of safety*, teachers and school directors are given the power to make decisions and, consequently, responsibility in the matter of supervision, ensuring safety at school, and appropriate disciplining of students. Their task is to protect able students and those who do not cause problems from those who behave badly, and thus pose a threat to themselves and others. As a result, power tools such as video monitoring, regular surveys, inspections of representatives of the police and the board of education were introduced into schools in accordance with the norm of the discourse of safety. Secured spaces, as Foucault (2009) wrote many years ago, such as school spaces, are indispensable and characteristic for a society based on security. In the discourse of safety based on the logic of prevention, guilt, and responsibility are not subject to problematization or discussion. The main issue here is the scope and form and tools of intervention, in this case mechanisms serving not only to stop young people engaging in undesirable behaviour, but also mobilizing adults, i.e. teachers, parents, police officers, and others to take appropriate action. Hence, the public and the media devoted so much attention to meticulous analyses and polemics on the adequacy and effectiveness of penalties and other educational or preventive methods, for example in the context of the purposefulness of spending PLN 50 million on the “Zero tolerance” programme (cf. Example 3).

Example 3 The programme, adopted by the government, assumes, among other actions: tightening the punishment for student offences (e.g. for three negative conduct marks in the final school report as a result

of reprehensible behaviour, a student is expelled from school, more criminal liability for acts of hooliganism directed against teachers, monitoring in schools, the introduction of school uniform and the possibility of introducing the so-called security hours [curfew] by local authorities (...). The programme may be extended to include the idea of special schools for difficult school youth. (...) What exactly does the Ministry of National Education want to spend PLN 50 million on? 'Among other things on uniforms for students from poor families', says Giertych. Asked whether it is not better, for example, to train teachers to better deal with conflicts at school, he replied, 'Discipline and discipline again'. (Pezda 2006, p. 7)

The knowledge used in "zero tolerance" programmes has contributed to the content of the *orienting story*, according to which the recipe for the future is decided and purposeful intervention in the present. The story of the causative power of individuals, their individual responsibility for who they are and how they shape their surroundings, was constructed based on the knowledge about risky behaviour and the interaction of the internal and external factors that pose a threat to, or protect the development of the individual and the security of society. According to the "truth" saying that it is better to prevent and avoid negative consequences than to remedy them, the logic of prevention has constructed a narrative about experience and the horizon of expectation connected with the risks at school. The institutionalization of the life cycle of an individual has led to the placement of youth experience in the institution of the school. The leitmotif of prevention focused on the consequences of the present state for the future. The "broken window" theory, which was useful in the initial phases of development of this story, made us sensitive to the need to control all types of "problematic" behaviour, including those with little social harm. In this way, what exists and is happening today with a view to potential states in the future has been colonized. One of the useful properties of knowledge turned out to be the quantitative indices resulting from the statistical calculations regarding the level of aggression and violence at school. This "indexing of man and reality" (Melosik 2013, p. 389) is an element of the diagnosis that provides usable knowledge in the exercise of power. Its usefulness increases with the possibility of generalization,

i.e. the detachment of knowledge from the place of its creation. Owing to its aspirations to objectify reality, statistical knowledge about the population is particularly useful in intervention programmes that require social consensus and support.

The story of necessary prevention oriented individual and social experience, and scientific knowledge became useful owing to the regulation of law, discipline, and neoliberal conduct. In the programme “Zero tolerance for violence at school”, prohibited acts and control methods, as well as sanctions which the young person will be subjected to, were codified and described. By virtue of juridification, the categories of “adulthood”, “school age” and “juvenile delinquent” were introduced into the story of youth; in the name of discipline, video monitoring, and visits and controls of representatives of the police and the supervisory body of the school have been planned; in the name of neoliberal conduct, procedures for the responsabilization of individuals, i.e. teachers, parents, and students, were launched. At the same time, with the assumption of a normative, social consensus on valuable, expected goals, usable knowledge came from the discourse of the condition which defines the concept of youth. The category of life age, as defining youth, was not problematized; on the contrary, it was an unquestionable starting point for exercising power. As part of the *dispositif* of age, experience (known concepts, theories, motifs) was generalized according to the strategic logic of prevention, i.e. ensuring security and avoiding risks.

The problematization of the discourse of risk, including youth-at-risk discourse, is not something new. For many years, researchers have pointed to the negative consequences of attempts to regulate the identity of young people through the practices of intervention and supervision resulting from the anxiety and concern about youth at risk and posing risk (cf. Kelly 2000, 2009). Joining this discussion at this point takes place on several levels, only partly overlapping with the perspective presented by Peter Kelly, Anthony Giddens, and Ulrich Beck. The reconstruction of the “zero tolerance” programme as an orienting story reveals the role of scientific knowledge and expertise in actions minimizing risk similarly as in the above works. It also demonstrates the need to define and precisely determine the phenomena and objects that are subject to control in order, as Zygmunt Bauman (1990) aptly put it,

to reduce ambivalence and ambiguity. The perspective of the dispositif of age additionally sensitizes to the functionality of the concept of youth and the discourses related to it in regulating the behaviour not only of young people, but also of other groups, individuals, or institutions, i.e. teachers, parents, schools, supervising authorities, the entire education system. A story orienting *experience-expectation* by linking the suicide of the junior high school student with a programme created elsewhere, and at some other time (in the United States in the 1980s), is one of the symptoms of operation of the dispositif of age. Similarly to the European Union discourse described in Chapter 3 of this book, this programme was constructed in the extended time horizon of the risk paradigm (France 2008; Kelly 2009), in which the concept of youth performed mobilizing functions for the securitization of social life, and dissemination of the notion of security in all areas of social, cultural, ethnic, and religious order (cf. Kaya 2013).

Thinking in terms of risk will be also the subject of my interest in the next part. However, I am going to talk about yet another story, launched in response to the Gdańsk experience, i.e. a media story sensitizing us to the good of “our children” and to the fear of “hooligans”.

4.3 Sensitizing Story: Our Children and Hooligans

The durability of the famous phrase “The thing I fear most is fear” formulated in an essay by Michel de Montaigne in 1571, and later paraphrased by other authors, including in the inaugural speech of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1933, signals that the topic of fear has long been present in public discourse (cf. Robin 2004; Czech 2009). Analyzing the American election campaign of George W. Bush and John Kerry in 2004, Frank Furedi (2005) argued that the discourse of fear was equally used on both sides of the political barricade. According to Furedi, fear has become a perspective that both politicians and citizens use. The *policy of fear*, as the British sociologist writes, results from fatalistic thinking, which politicians and the media succumb to. Today, they have taken over the rhetoric of prophets and preachers which

anticipates risk and warns against threats. In today's society, fear has become a comrade of risk (Furedi 2006). Politicians and journalists not only independently promote fear, but also cooperate with each other. Barry Glassner (1999) showed, on the example of the American public sphere, how the media gain a sensational story as part of this cooperation, and politicians mobilize society to certain, often very costly, activities aimed at limiting risk (cf. Czech 2009). In Poland, in the context of sensational cases of aggression and violence at school, beginning from 2007,¹ a project to equip 4912 schools and educational institutions across the country (including youth education centres, youth socio-therapy centres, special educational centres, boarding houses, schools at correctional facilities), with video monitoring was started as part of the government programme. However, this spectacular investment, which gained media attention, seems to be an apparent move in a situation where other, basic conditions of good education have been ignored for years (such as overcrowded classrooms, school equipment, classrooms, and bathrooms not adapted to children's height, or deficits in equipping schools with teaching aids). Researchers in the media argue that the appearance of a topic in media coverage is enough for it to be considered socially important (cf. Cwalina and Falkowski 2006; Goban-Klas 2009; Sobczak 2013).

The role of the media in defining areas and zones of risk was also indicated by Ulrich Beck (1986) in his famous concept of the risk society. The German sociologist emphasized that apart from science, it is the media that had become the main social and political centres. However, it is primarily the numerous studies initiated by Stanley Cohen (1972) that reinforced the belief in the key function of the media in the social construction of fear and "moral panic". Cohen's research has shown the building of an atmosphere of danger around the considered morally reprehensible conflict of youth subcultures of Mods and Rockers in Great Britain, and their media demonization. Cohen thus wrote about the development of moral panic:

Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person, or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is

presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians, and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges, or deteriorates and becomes more visible. (Cohen 1972, p. 28)

Thus, moral panic is characterized by 5 elements:

1. Concern: an increased level of concerns related to the behaviour of a specific group or category with the potential consequences that this behaviour will yield for the rest of society,
2. Hostility: increased hostility towards this group or category considered to be engaging in problem behaviour,
3. Consensus: considerable or widespread agreement as to the fact that the threat is real, serious and caused by the behaviour of specific social groups or categories,
4. Disproportionality: an exaggerated sense of the scale of the threat, i.e. the belief that more people are involved in a given behaviour than are in reality,
5. Volatility: the instability and variability of the moments of the “explosion” of moral panic (it may appear suddenly and subside as suddenly) (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 1994; Ungar 2001).

The findings of sociologists and political scientists regarding the policy of fear and panic show the context for the analysis and interpretation of the media discourse caused by the suicidal death of Ania, a 14-year-old student from Gdańsk. In accordance with the dispositive perspective adopted in this book, I perceive the manifestations of moral panic and the construction of fear from the perspective of the regulation of social order by means of the concept of youth and related knowledge–power.

The intense media discussion unleashed in connection with Ania’s suicide polarized social reality. In this part, I present how this experience–expectation was played out on the level of emotions through rationalized fear. The discursive strategies of a persuasive nature, as well as measures of rationalization and intensification, played a special role

in the construction of sensitizing stories. Their goal was to enhance a particular message, including the use of the power of emotions, suggestions, cautions, threats (cf. Reisigl 2008). The strategy of rationalization showed the operation of usable knowledge, which in this case was hidden behind the authority of science and the media, as well as its representatives. Rational and logical argumentation was supported by emotional arguments, appealing to the feelings of the recipient.

The relationship within the space of experience-expectation was revealed in two types of anxiety, which can be described after Mark Leary and Robin Kowalski (1997) as *reactive anxiety* and *anticipatory anxiety*. The analysis of media discourse, however, was not so much about individual emotions, as mentioned by the authors, but about the social imaginations and knowledge that caused anxiety. At the level of discourse, reactive anxiety was visible in statements about past experience, while anticipatory anxiety manifested itself in the harbingers of the future (cf. Example 4).

Example 4 It's a real breakthrough! At last, someone wants to deal with school hooligans with a heavy hand. The previous ministers lacked courage. The tragic and unnecessary death of Ania from Gdańsk has convinced us that inaction often proves catastrophic in its results. How does Giertych² want to deal with teenage thugs? - We are accelerating work on schools with special pedagogical supervision. This is the only way out. If bandits remain in normal schools, they will infect decent students with the brutality, the minister argues. Specialists dealing with difficult youth will work in new, closed schools. Only they will be able to get the hooligans under control and save our children. (Moske 2006, p. 6)

In the above example, the journalist of the popular tabloid "Fakt" alerted in the title: "Throw bandits out of schools!", further arguing that success in the fight against "school hooligans" can only be achieved by governing with a "heavy hand" and, therefore, a decisive and determined action. The statement clearly distinguished the category of young people, which the author referred to as "teenage thugs", "bandits", "hooligans", "difficult youth", and identified it with threat. The use of a criminal language in this case led to the escalation of a sense

of anxiety associated with putting “good students” and “our children” at risk. Reactive anxiety was reinforced by a critical assessment of the effects of the government’s previous actions. Anticipatory anxiety was in turn reinforced by the predictions of future negative consequences of inaction, or leaving “difficult youth” in “normal schools”.

For it was all about the good of “our children”. Ania’s suicide renewed the discourse on youth as a threat and on the ineptitude of the Polish school, and also launched systems of statements for the necessity of change, enhanced by the use of emotions, fear of a discursively constructed threat from “hooligans”. As in the case of political discourse (cf. Chapter 3), the category of “difficult youth” served as a “convenient enemy” because it was considered to be involved in problem behaviour and threatens universally appreciated values. Combined with the criminalization of language, the rhetoric of exclusion, clearly present in the analysed discourse, favoured the construction of a community of fear. It was through the combination of emotions and reason that the story of Ania’s suicide was constructed. Rationalizations manifested themselves in the statements of “experts of truth”, psychologists, pedagogues, sociologists, and in journalistic commentaries to these statements (cf. Example 5).

Example 5 14-year-old Ania did not survive the terrible humiliation. In the middle of the day, in a school full of people, in a Polish lesson, four students of the second grade Junior High School No. 2 in Gdańsk tore the clothes off their female classmate, shouting vulgar abuse at her and touching her, the fifth of them filming everything. The rest of the class were watching. The humiliated girl took her life: 14-year-old Ania, a victim of the cruelty of classmates. What Ania felt can only be understood by those who remember themselves at this age. For a fourteen-year-old, a lifted skirt is already a terrible shame. An assault, during which someone tears the clothes off her in front of the whole class, is a rape, an unbearable shame. - A trauma, bottomless despair which you cannot see a way out of, a nightmare - Aleksandra Piotrowska, a child psychologist from the University of Warsaw has no doubts about the girl’s state of mind. This nightmare began in the Polish lesson. (Skrzydłowska-Kalukin and Olejniczak 2006, p. 14)

The psychologist's opinion introduced a detailed description of the experience, leading to the construction of the reality and seriousness of the threat. Consensus was established by abandoning all doubts about Ania's "state of mind". By virtue of the authority of science, the specialist announced what feelings are typical for a teenage girl. In another place, the expert's explanation of Ania's peers' behaviour was accompanied by a picture of young people who are looking for new sensations, without taking into account the needs of others (cf. Example 6).

Example 6 Youth are looking for thrilling sensations. There are several reasons why teenagers film their victims. The most important is young people's pursuit of new, stronger sensations. What overlaps with it is the need to become known, for example by publishing such a recording on the Internet. For many teenagers, showing similar films is also a way to satisfy the need to become a leader in the group. (Krzysztofek 2006, p. 1)

What is important, in the above-mentioned statement of the expert-sociologist, is that she was talking about the "victims" of pursuing aspirations characteristic of the period of youth, which unequivocally leads to the conclusion that satisfying the needs of young people which are natural for them poses a threat to the rest of society. At this point, the discourse of condition, consolidated for centuries and thematically related to youth, clearly came to the fore (cf. Chapter 3). In this type of discourse, based on the psychological theories of identity development and on the concepts of adolescence and puberty, the image of the time of youth as a biologically conditioned state of "storm and stress" and raging hormones was constructed (for more on this research tradition, cf. Chapter 2). In this way, youth's problematic behaviour was naturalized, which, on the one hand, may be reassuring (according to the principle: there is no cause for concern, because everything is in line with the developmental norm), but, on the other hand, leads to the exaggeration of the scale of different types of behaviour threatening the social order (according to the principle: all young people experience crises and show behavioural disorders). As a result, the above example shows the construction of a story in which young age is a source of fear of two kinds: the fear of biology

and the fear of new technologies that are becoming equally dangerous in the hands of young people. What is more, in the media search for those guilty of Ania's desperate act, the characterization of a young person as a being that is non-autonomous and influenced by peers has returned. The press anxiously reported further suicides among young people and the "Werther effect", i.e. imitating Ania and attempting suicides by her peers.

The knowledge used in the media discussion on the suicide of the junior high school student in Gdańsk made up a sensitizing story that boosts one's self-esteem and highlights the sphere of emotions, but also rationalizes them. As the central theme of the narrative, this rational fear combined the past with the future, experience and the related fears with expectations and the fear of the future. Grounded in scientific knowledge about developmental crises and the needs of young people, as well as legitimized by expert authority, the story constructed an image of the enemy. In this case, the expert was not so much an absolute authority as the person who, Zbyszko Melosik (2013) wrote, makes it possible to regain, or even temporarily and locally gain control over a certain sphere of life. The title of the press article about the accused boys directly indicated the importance of the expertise: "The experts have spoken: morally corrupt" (Ulanowski 2007, p. 12). In the group created as the enemy, however, there were not one, but two categories which, paraphrasing Fiona Beals (2008), can be described as "normal deviants" and "abnormal deviants". The first group includes all people who are in their youth. Deviation is understood here as a departure from the expected state of adulthood. It is "normal" because the inclination for problematic and risky behaviour is natural for the period of youth. In the second case, the world of youth became polarized and divided into "our children" and "hooligans", and only this latter group was constructed as a social enemy, "degenerates", with "a high degree of moral corruption" (Ulanowski 2007, p. 12). Owing to this, it became possible to balance, in a sensitizing manner, between *disproportionality* and *consensus* in the discursive processing of this experience.

In this context, a question arises about the mechanisms of power which made youth discourses the usable knowledge in playing social

fears and concentrating social attention on important, but nonetheless isolated events. According to the Foucauldian perspective, these mechanisms can be described in terms of disciplinary authority and the power of conduct. The image of young people as a category, the members of which by definition manifest problem behaviour and have problems with their own identity, makes them a legitimate object of the interactions of power. The assumption about young people's inclination for risky behaviour removed from the discourse the doubts that could be related to designing a school in the form of a disciplinary panopticon. For fear of an uncertain future, the defenders of "our children" were willing to give up the privileges of full school freedom, just to "crack down" on "hooliganism". The path that led to the dichotomization of the reality of youth was indicated by the rhetoric of criminalization. Owing to it, it became possible to attribute the blame, and to define the perpetrators and the victim only on the side of youth. Experts, journalists, and politicians took on the role of "fear entrepreneurs" (Furedi 2005), creating in the media a version of threats that consistently focuses on the "deficits" of young people, and passes over structural, economic or cultural problems. The media discourse also showed a governmental version of the links between the state—experts—individuals. In this version, every young person is perceived as a part of a population that is emotional by nature and works under the influence of raging hormones, and therefore, it must be subjected to external control and management. This version sustains the "truth" about youth as a category that combines the common age and the resulting needs and behaviour, and marginalizes the knowledge about class, nationality, economic, and other differences. However, from the point of view of the goals of the state, the condition for efficient conduct is the diagnosis of predisposition and the division of all individuals according to the criterion of suitability for the whole system. One of the possible (neoliberal) consequences of conducting using the reactive and anticipatory anxiety of the discursively constructed enemy is the selection and division of youth between those in whom it is worth investing, and unnecessary youth.

4.4 Preserving Story: Unwanted Come-ons

The sexuality of children and youth is one of the oldest areas of population management. It is rarely perceived as unproblematic or uncomplicated, which is why it remains under the constant control of adults (cf. Kehily and Montgomery 2008). In this part, I am going to talk about the mechanisms of regulating social life by means of the concept of youth identified with immaturity and lack of readiness to take on and implement social roles related to gender and sexuality. Frank Furstenberg's studies (1998, 2009) showed strong cultural, religious, and political differences in the ways in which nations manage the sexual experience of young people. Cultural beliefs and values, as well as the effectiveness of public policy in respect of regulating sexual activity, are of fundamental importance. In the case when premarital and teenage sexual behaviour is perceived as a "religious and cultural anathema" (Furstenberg 2009, p. 227), social mechanisms and norms aiming at controlling contacts between young women and men before marriage are introduced. Although in the majority of European countries the strict regulation of the sexual behaviour of adolescents in middle and late adolescence has been abandoned, because this behaviour was considered a developmental norm, an issue that still remains socially and politically problematic is teenage parenthood. Teenage parenthood is not a common phenomenon in industrialized countries, although differences between regions are also noticeable here. At relatively high levels, it occurs in many countries of Eastern Europe and in Anglo-Saxon countries, especially in the United States, where it appears four times more often than in European countries (Furstenberg 2009). As already mentioned above, countries differ in terms of the strategy of counteracting early parenthood, which, regardless of the scale, is perceived as an unfavourable experience owing to the economic and social conditions of parents (Furstenberg 2009). International comparative analyses of the effectiveness of various public policies are undertaken (e.g. Imamura et al. 2007; Part et al. 2013; Chung et al. 2018). The perspective of governmentality adopted in this book aims the reflections made here in a different direction. For at its root is the question of what knowledge

and what concepts, rationalities and assumptions characteristic of it justify exercising power over life processes. Such a conceptual approach to both the biological and political premises of the regulation of social order makes the concept of biopolitics, used in the Foucauldian sense, possible. Using the concept of biopolitics (and interchangeably, bio-power), Foucault drew attention to the phenomena and mechanisms leading to the inclusion of certain biological features of the human species in the area of politics, and making them objects of political strategies (Foucault 2008). Biopolitics can, therefore, be conceived as specific, because of the content and nature of usable knowledge, a form of governmentality in which knowledge about the biological properties of man provides the concept of normality to the exercise of power, techniques that discipline or optimize the “health” of the population. The figure of the population is assigned a special status. It is both a political subject and object, which, on the one hand, is distinguished by its own dynamics and independence from political interventions while, on the other hand, this autonomy is not the limit of political interventions, but rather its reference (Lemke 2011). In this context, the “discovery” of maturation indicators creates the conditions for the precise control of the youth population. As emphasized by Nikolas Rose (2001), biopolitics was inextricably linked to the birth and development of life sciences, the humanities, and medical sciences.

One of the dimensions of contemporary biopolitics, which Rose drew attention to, is the level of “risk policy” (Rose 2001). The key issue for this aspect of biopolitics is to minimize those life forms and processes that are identified as posing a threat and generating costs. In the case of managing teenage sexuality, biopolitics is an example of risk policy and “strategies that try to identify, treat, manage, or administer those individuals, groups or localities where risk is seen to be high” (Rose 2001, p. 7).

In this context, there is an increasing interest in the *measurement* of biopolitical risk management and identification of risky practices and locations. Strategies emerge aimed at reducing the likelihood of unfortunate events within the population. Ultimately, they are interested not so much in individuals who are exposed to, or pose a risk, as in unwanted events (Rose 2001).

In the previous parts, we talked about discursive and institutional strategies based on thinking in terms of risk. The first, orienting story, was based on the logic of prevention, in which the identification of groups of young people posing a threat became the key issue, as a result of which, it became possible to intervene and stop the course of unwanted events using specific techniques. In the second, sensitizing story, media discourses attempted to identify factors (features, properties, behaviour) that make possible the identification of groups of young people exposed to, or posing a risk. Therefore, the sensitizing story focused on those young people's characteristics that are problematic.

In the preserving story, I want to draw attention to the third thread that appeared in connection with Ania's suicidal death, the discourse of youthful sexuality and about the relationships between girls and boys. The tragic event was described in the media as a result of sexual harassment and gender-related problems experienced by Ania from her classmates. On the pages of "Gazeta Wyborcza", one of the most opinion-forming newspapers in Poland, the well-known philosopher Magdalena Środa called for a change in attitudes towards girls and women, and a departure from the model of education in which girls are prepared for submission and passivity (cf. Example 7).

Example 7 The Prime Minister speaks about "a human being" and "aggression". Meanwhile, 96% of victims of violence are girls and women, while men are aggressors. [...] Meanwhile, girls are brought up in a way that develops their passivity. They are to be polite, meek, quiet, and nice. This is what their socialization looks like in textbooks, and this is the content of school, family, and church teaching guidelines. Boys should be independent, prepared for fighting and competing, self-confident [...]. Harassment is underestimated, oppression against women allegedly does not exist, violence becomes a media subject only in extreme cases, while this everyday, domestic is dismissed with advice, often from catechists, that everything must be sacrificed to the family. Fighting against violence against women, it is necessary not so much to rigorously punish the perpetrators [...] but to change the attitude towards girls and women. (Środa 2006, p. 16)

In a similar vein, the Gdańsk event was commented on by Izabela Jaruga-Nowacka MP, indicating the consequences for women of the “good girl” syndrome and bringing up girls to take on the traditional roles of the mother, good and hardworking wife, and housewife. The consequence of being brought up to please, to be useful, obedient, and submissive is that women consent to violence. If they protest, their refusal is interpreted as a game and coquetry (cf. Example 8).

Example 8 When a girl says “no”, it means that she teases, flirts. And you have to put pressure on her, until she succumbs. I think that when 14-year-old Ania defended herself against her classmates and said “no”, they (brought up in this belief) thought everything was fine, that they could go even further. (Jaruga-Nowacka 2006, p. 30)

The strategy of justifying the aggressive behaviour of the boys towards Ania was supported by the argument of “unwanted come-ons³ normal for this age.” Peer relations were described in terms of a typical “erotic game” (Pacewicz 2007), in which, at the beginning, the girl was eager to participate. There was talking about the feelings that Ania had for one of the boys which were to explain the gibes from her classmates and question her role as a victim. The single event, Ania’s death, became part of the story of social problems constructed at the intersection of youth, adolescence, and sexuality discourses. In this story, sexual behaviour was one of the problems associated with young age. The launched discourses focused not only on boys posing a danger (as suggested by the discourse on “hooligans”), but also on girls threatened with moral corruption and departure from the socially assigned role of the “good girl”, a candidate for a good wife and mother. Sexual education and sex among minors became some of the key topics of discussion. The Deputy Minister of National Education, Mirosław Orzechowski, explained in a media statement that sexual education should prepare a young girl to abstain from sexual initiation until the foundation of a family. The new programme of the school subject Family Life Education was to prepare girls for the preservation of all virtues which, in his opinion, are indispensable, and thus the virtue of fidelity and the virtue of chastity. Minister Roman Giertych obliged schools superintendents to review

the work of schools in the field of the subject Family Life Education, and the possibility of giving up co-educational forms and schools was discussed.

The consolidation of knowledge and normative schemes concerning age-related life processes and tasks provided common ground for this type of statements. According to the image of adolescence as a stage of preparation for fulfilling socially defined roles of parenthood and marriage, sex and its consequences pose a threat to the successful course of life in accordance with the model: school-family-labour market.

As Rose (2001) noted, nineteenth-century biopolitical techniques sought to maximize the good condition of the population both through a system of incentives and techniques of coercion. Their purpose was to regulate the needs, or the ability to procreate of those individuals that belonged to certain specific social categories. At present, and it was the case of the analysed discourse on youth sexuality, the justifications for the political interest in the health of the population were formulated in moral terms. Moral arguments appeared in the statements of deputy minister Orzechowski on conscious and responsible motherhood and in the statements of Minister Giertych, who appealed for the young to initiate sexual life as late as possible. In accordance with the biopolitical rationality of management, the discourse on youth sexuality made possible the identification of unwanted events, i.e. sexual behaviour among young people. From the point of view of the effective institutionalization of the life cycle, sex among minors is a disruption of the “normal” trajectory of tasks “typical” for adolescence.

Thinking in terms of “the right stage of life” for taking on and realizing roles related to gender is accompanied by scientific knowledge. The classic psychological concepts of development, especially Robert J. Havighurst’s (1948) influential theory of developmental tasks, assigns to each stage in human life different challenges related to biological development and social expectations. The concept of developmental tasks is based on thinking in terms of a “specific time”, a time considered by the society as suitable for undertaking and implementing specific tasks and activities. For early (13–17 years of age) and late adolescence (18–22 years of age), Havighurst set many developmental tasks, including those related to biological development and procreation:

- mastering the social role related to gender,
- accepting your physicality and using one's own body effectively,
- preparing for marriage and family life,
- establishing new and more mature relationships with peers of both sexes (cf. Brzezińska 2000).

According to the idea of developmental tasks, a human being is not mature and ready for the full implementation of gender-related roles. In its dictionary definition, maturity is “the state or trait of a person fully developed in terms of thinking, emotions, and feelings” (Bańko 2000, p. 284). Just as with immaturity, the concept of youth as a state of “incompleteness” or “lack” (cf. Sect. 3.3), links human sexuality with the techniques of biopolitical governing. Biopolitics is based here on the knowledge that creates and processes categorization according to age groups, regulating social life in the direction indicated by the policy of the risk related to the age of life. It cares for securing the space and practices reserved for adulthood, i.e. the sphere of motherhood and the starting of a family. In the Polish context, the discourse on Ania's relationships with her classmates took place at the level of gender and sexuality. In the statements of Polish politicians, this thread was dominated by moral and ideological argumentation. The used rhetoric included mainly specific ideas about young women and their traditional life roles. By definition, owing to their state of immaturity and low responsibility attributed to young age, young people are placed in a higher risk group. Because it is on them that the successful institutionalization of a life cycle in accordance with social norms depends, biopolitical strategies are aimed at finding factors that are controllable within the life of an individual and the population. In the case of youth, this factor is *time*. Experience is subject to temporalization, a given event that does not fit into the cultural temporal matrix is identified as respectively: “before” or “after” its time. According to the mechanisms of conducting, chronological age becomes something that can be managed, the action of which can be optimized. In the biopolitical strategy, the phenomena associated with young age are managed in such a way so as to ensure the avoidance of adverse events and the achievement of optimal results. A glance at a human being's age triggers a whole set of discourses standardizing and normalizing his or her behaviour.

A story the leitmotif of which was the control of life is a preserving one, enhancing the value of what is “natural”, i.e. in accordance with its time.

4.5 Summary

The considerations presented in this chapter were aimed at presenting the generalization of the dispositif of age on the example of three stories launched in response to the suicide of the 14-year-old girl. By reconstructing the three forms of narration, I described the tensions between the experience of the past and the future. Narration is construed here as a discursive strategy used to implement specific political (mobilization, identity, integration) goals. In this sense, it is a strategic element of the dispositif connected with power. The significance of this narration is based on the fact that it allows us to “tame” the reality of excess knowledge (in the temporal, spatial and individual sense) in a problematic situation, referred to in this book as the moment of an “urgent need”. The suicidal death of the junior high school female student as an example of such a situation launched a wide media, expert, and government discussion, in which knowledge about youth, young age, and behaviour associated with it came to the fore. Based on Koselleck’s categories of the space of experience and the horizon of expectation, I described the strategic logic of the discourse of prevention, policy of fear, and control of life as three stories: orienting, sensitizing, and preserving this *experience-expectation* associated with youth.

The post-Foucauldian analysis of discourse as a reconstruction of the narrative made it possible to link personal experience with the relations of power created in institutional conditions (cf. Pawliszak 2017). My research, however, was not about the description of historical events, but about capturing the discourse that presents the image of the cause-and-effect connections between Ania’s death and other events, and their discursive representations. In research practice, as Magdalena Nowicka-Franczak (2018) noted, we rarely deal with statements that make up a complete narrative in the form of a plot with a clear beginning, development, and ending. Typically, selected narrative structures are verbalized, and the overall sense of the narrative can be

reconstructed considering the context and ways of telling the story of a given issue (cf. also Hajer 1995). The narrative as a discursive strategy launched in a situation of “urgent need” shows the regularities of discourse, that is, repeated and wandering ideas, notions, and concepts. The elements of the narrative reconstructed by me consume usable knowledge, referring directly or indirectly to specific concepts, ideas, and theories. In this sense, they are never an innocent story, but a “reconfiguration of the past and the present corresponding to the spirit of time and claiming the status of the real version of events” (Nowicka-Franczak 2018, p. 43). They show a combination of relations between knowledge, power mechanisms, and forms of subjectivity. I understand these relations, in accordance with the Foucauldian perspective, in terms of the multiplicity of relations characteristic for the field in which they are commenced, epistemological points of support, and their institutional crystallization in the form of state apparatus, formulas of law and social domination (Foucault 1978). Knowledge–power relations are reconfigured in various ways as a result of the procedures for the selection, distribution, and control of discourse. Elements of the *dispositif*, both discursive and non-discursive (organizational, institutional), are not permanently integrated, but they “diverge” and re-integrate in new ways. Narratives reconstructed from the *dispositif* perspective show the ways to organize experience according to the scheme covering the main characters, the conditions of action, and the main theme of the story, signalling values, goals, and motifs. The conditions of action consist of space which is formed, firstly, from the knowledge that has become usable and, secondly, from the power that has proved effective. In the analysed discourse, the experience-expectation “with youth in the background” made up three stories:

1. zero tolerance,
2. our children and hooligans,
3. unwanted come-ons.

The main motif of the “zero tolerance” narrative extracted on the basis of research is prevention. The beginnings of the history of the “zero tolerance” preventive policy of the state go back to the

anti-narcotics policy pursued in the United States in the 1980s. Acting on the imagination, enhanced by the popular criminological “broken window theory”, the slogan “zero tolerance” was transferred to other areas of social life, including the problems of aggression at school. Based on this idea, the policy of prevention of the Minister of National Education in Poland simply returned to the “zero tolerance” narrative in 2007 in the flagship programme “Zero tolerance for violence at school”. The experience that combined government actions directed against violence at school with the “youth problem” was the suicide, broadly discussed at the time in the media, of a 14-year-old female student. The narrative present in the “zero tolerance” discourse was based on several dominant elements. They were:

1. the motif of prevention funded on the colonization of the future by means of intervention in the present, the belief in the possibility of stopping the flow of unwanted events;
2. statements based on the so-called the paradigm of risk, the theory of risky behaviour of young people, and the concept of risk factors and protective factors that describe the internal and external threats both from the side of young people and for themselves;
3. expert knowledge, especially conclusions from the research on aggression and violence at school which was carried out on behalf of the Ministry of National Education; the conclusions made it possible to formulate a diagnosis of the current state of the “problem of aggression” among young people and justify the government’s preventive programme;
4. aggressive youth and pupils-teachers-parents relationships as the key characters in the narrative; in contrast to the next story (“our children and hooligans”), the role of these subjects as guilty/liable was not problematized, but assigned to them in advance; similarly, the expectations of the main characters of the narrative were defined: the young people were, first of all, to refrain from undesirable behaviour, and adults were mobilized to take appropriate actions;
5. focusing on the mechanisms and forms of preventing unwanted events (aggressive behaviour among young people) and, as a result, creating a wide catalogue of preventive methods, such as codification

of the types of behaviour prohibited at school and punishments for them, responsabilization of teachers, headteachers, and parents for the implementation of the objectives and assumptions of the government policy, as well as video, police and schools superintendent's monitoring.

A characteristic feature of the narrative about "our children and hooligans" was the polarization of social reality based on the discursive efforts to rationalize fear. Media strategies of constructing "moral panic" and the policy of fear by building up an atmosphere of threat around socially appreciated values have diversified the world of youth, dividing it into "our" and "your" children. The story of Ania's suicide was constructed by a combination of emotions and reason, with the leitmotif of the fear of "hooligans" and concerns about "our children". Initiated by Ania's suicide, discussions about the guilty and liable for this tragic event were played at the level of emotions appealing to the feelings of readers using suggestive cautions, logical argumentation, and expert "view". The sensitizing narrative, based on the discourse of "our children and hooligans", contained several repetitive elements, among which the following should be emphasized:

1. a strong motif of fear as a principle organizing the selection of statements and arguments in the case; there were both reactive anxiety, visible in the statements about the experience related to young people and the assessment of the effects of previous government actions, and anticipatory anxiety, evoked by predictions about future negative consequences of the lack of social response to moral corruption;
2. statements about the specificity of the development of the youth's identity, their age- and puberty-related behaviour, generating an atmosphere of two-fold fear: a fear of biology and a fear of new technologies;
3. criminalization of the language, that is, formulating statements in the rhetoric of crime, pathology, demoralization, guilt, and victim, with a strong negative labelling of deviations: "hooligans", "bandits", "degenerates";

4. key characters who are clearly polarized and differently valued: our children, normal youth *vs.* hooligans, bandits, youth with problems;
5. concentration on the normalization of youthful behaviour, naturalization of the time of “storm and stress” and vulnerability to external, peer influences as the prevailing characteristics of youth; focusing on the expert identification of guilty parties and their stigmatization.

In turn, the narrative that I called “unwanted come-ons” is a story about broadly understood gender relations and age-related norms related to human sexuality. It fits into the biopolitical rationality of managing unwanted events and controlling the sexual behaviour of the young population. In the media discussion, Ania’s suicide was located in the context of problems related to the relations between girls and boys and the hegemonic constructions of the so-called good girl syndrome. The main points of the story were the following narrative structures:

1. a clear motif for controlling life (life processes and tasks related to age) in accordance with the “risk policy” aimed at identifying risky practices and their location; in contrast to the previously described narratives (orienting and sensitizing), the leitmotif here was not so much an exposed or risky individual, but an undesirable event, i.e. the sex among minors;
2. knowledge of the biological properties and puberty of a human being, providing norms defining age-related life tasks and the definition of the adequate stage of life to engage in sexual behaviour;
3. common ideas about differences between the sexes, constructions of submissive and “pure” femininity, and stereotypes describing “normal” types of behaviour of emotionally immature youth (the norm of “unwanted come-ons”);
4. the youth category divided by gender: boys and girls;
5. the biopolitical techniques of population optimization through age management, normalization of “before” and “after” behaviour, institutionalization of the life cycle in accordance with social norms, for which young people’s sexuality is a danger zone;
6. concentration on sexual education, the assumptions and objectives of which were derived from the premises of the outlook on life and from moral arguments.

Table 4.2 Stories orienting, sensitizing, and preserving experience-expectation

Stories	Zero tolerance	Our children and hooligans	Unwanted come-ons
Leitmotif Usable knowledge	Prevention Theory of risky behaviour of young people, the concept of risk factors and protective factors, broken window theory, research on aggression at school	Anxiety Knowledge about the development of youth identity, the concept of maturation, Criminalization of language	Life control Theory of life tasks, concepts of adolescence, Young people's sexuality, differences between the sexes, gender-related stereotypes
Main characters	Aggressive youth, students, teachers, parents	Our children, normal youth, hooligans, bandits, youth with problems, juvenile delinquents	Boys, girls, good girls
Mechanisms of power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Juridification (codification of types of behaviour prohibited at school); • Disciplining (video monitoring, police and school inspections, punishing); • Conducting (responsibilization of teachers, headteachers and parents) • Indexing and expertise securitization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disciplining (standardization, naturalization of "storm and stress" and threats related to youth, division of space) • Conducting (voice of an expert identifying those guilty and victims) • Stigmatization sexual education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biopolitics (age management, normalization of behaviour related to gender, statistics)

The reconstructed narratives are examples of the generalization of the dispositif of age, within which the concept of youth has been intercepted and used to create coherent and convincing stories. Their persuasive qualities were determined by the culturally based elements of scientific knowledge, common ideas, concepts, values, and slogans within the space of experience of the participants in the analysed discourses. The described stories were a reaction to a specific “problem” and, at the same time, a construction of answers that could be formulated in a given historical moment. Returning to Koselleck’s categories, it can be added that they have managed the space of experience in a manner consistent with the horizon of expectations related to youth. The processes of regulating social life in stories orienting, sensitizing, and preserving the experience-expectation associated with youth include the triangle of relations between knowledge, power, and subjects, the detailed elements of which I have gathered in Table 4.2.

Notes

1. I am talking here about the government programme for the years 2008–2013 “Safe and friendly school”. Appendix to resolution No. 172/2008 of the Council of Ministers dated 19 August 2008, Warsaw 2008.
2. Minister of National Education in Poland in the years 2006–2007.
3. Unwanted come-ons—not very subtle courtship, sometimes even vulgar.

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5

Conclusion

The considerations presented in the book were conducted around two related goals. I made their starting point the need to develop the concept of the *dispositif* of age as a categorial “scaffolding” that provides a conceptual and theoretical basis for researching the power of youth discourses. For this purpose, I reached for the works of Michel Foucault and their contemporary reception as well as for the historical semantics of Reinhart Koselleck. The findings of historians such as Philippe Ariès, John Davis, Alan France, John Gillis, and conclusions from critical youth studies (inter alia by P. Dwyer, P. Kelly, J. Wyn, C. Griffin, N. Lesko, R. White) were also very helpful. As a result, I proposed a theoretical–analytical model that combines a conceptually oriented analysis of the discourse with the heuristics of the *dispositif*. Following this research model, I looked at selected political, media, and expert discourses in order to problematize the obviousness inscribed in the knowledge about youth and, as a result, to reconstruct the knowledge–power relations. In accordance with the adopted *dispositif* perspective, I was interested in those discourses that appeared in connection with situations of “urgent need”, i.e. an economic crisis and that related to threats to security in the macro (the European Union) and micro (school in

Poland) scales. By examining these contexts of the discursivization of the “youth problem”, I searched for answers to three main questions:

1. what discourses, thematically and functionally related with the concept of youth, come to the fore in a given historical moment in response to the situation of “urgent need”?
2. how are youth discourses and the knowledge–power relations related to them established and mobilized to name and solve specific social problems?
3. how does the concept of youth as a concept of movement contribute to the implementation of political goals?

At the end of this book, I would like to formulate conclusions referring to the power of discourses thematically and functionally related to youth in the “cartographic” style, referring to previous findings. The cartographer’s perspective signals that my goal is to highlight (by means of choosing) selected topographic points and the relationships between them, taking into account a specific scale. Bearing in mind the epistemological framework of the knowledge–power–subject relationship, I want to emphasize and develop the threads that have proved significant for the construction of the developed argument.

Firstly, in the approach presented in the book, broadly understood knowledge about youth carries specific meanings and values, as well as related functionality. As a rhetorical procedure, an argument combining a premise with a conclusion appears in the form of a few topoi made widespread in the public discourse. As theoretical knowledge, it is also generalized in common-sense and media messages, entering the structures of orienting, sensitizing, and preserving social narratives. The topoi of the exceptional status of young people, the unique role of youth, youth education, and youth work provide justifications for specific policy objectives and tools: educational, economic (related to employment), and security policy. Scientific concepts of youth and expert knowledge are an important element of broader cultural narratives built according to the rationality of prevention, fear, and biopolitics. Analysed cases of reactions to crisis situations reveal functional knowledge, show which concepts, theories, and ideas become useful

in a given historical moment, and create stories that orient, sensitize, and preserve individual and collective *experience-expectations*. Taking into account these diverse contexts, we can talk about the practices of enhancing the processes of pedagogization, economization, and securitization of social life by means of knowledge about youth. The *society of pedagogy* needs a discourse based on school standards, on a qualifying assessment of competences, and on social relations such as student (layman, young person)–teacher (expert, adult), and faith in the effectiveness of intentional educational interactions. Youth is identified with the time of acquiring competences and preparing for a profession. Education perceived in terms of investment in the future, supported by the topos of the unique role of youth, perfectly fits into the landscape of the *society of economics* and rhetoric of fitness for employment and preparation for entering the labour market. The objectified subjects of the securitization process are individuals and groups at risk or posing a threat, both objects and conditions causing and reducing anxiety. Knowledge about youth based on the paradigm of risk seems to be an immanent element of the *society of security*.

Secondly, the securitization, pedagogization, and economization in youth discourses are processes with a clear vector directed towards the future. As I tried to prove in the whole previous argument, youth is a concept of movement, assuming a state of expectation, awaiting what is to come after youthfulness. This temporality of the concept makes it a useful tool in regulating social life by means of time and through interference with time. The events analysed by me, interpreted in terms of the situations of “urgent need” and their discursivization (in the form of more or less consistent cultural matrices and narratives) provided data revealing the repeatability of three discourses, i.e. of competence, cartography, and condition. What is common to them is temporal tension, past and future in the present, and movement marked by the arrow of time. The rationality of thinking about the future in terms of *efficiency* was crystallized in the *discourse of competence*. I spoke here about intentional actions and their positive effects, which can be assessed in the long-term perspective. In the *discourse of cartography*, youth is a *project* meant to be implemented, with clearly outlined routes and a plan to cross the next thresholds in life. In a problematic situation, this location

“in between” justified activities in which it was “natural” to go only in one direction, towards tasks socially assigned to future adulthood: work, marriage, and parenthood. A similar imperative of leaving the occupied place, moving to a *better time*, is present in the *discourse of condition* in which youth is a period that is particularly difficult, complicated, and demanding attention.

Thirdly, the above-described functionality of the concept of youth makes it possible to speak about the *dispositif of age*. Let me remind the reader here that under the concept of the *dispositif*, I mean the strategic connection of discursive and non-discursive factors (institutional, organizational, material, and other), which occurs in response to the situation of “urgent need”, e.g. a crisis, threat, problem, excess, or deficiency of socially important values or resources. The *theoretical-analytical model of the dispositif of age* proposed here takes into account the extension of the Foucauldian concept of the *dispositif* to include the assumptions of historical semantics, i.e. temporalization, the notions of movement and expectation, the space of experience, and the horizon of expectation. An important aspect of the knowledge–power relation is the temporal dimension of the discourse based on the temporalization of concepts and social categorization according to age groups. In his research, Koselleck described how basic concepts become the subject of such phenomena as politicization or ideologization. From this perspective, the various cases of ideologization and politicization of youth discourses can be also viewed. However, the analyses undertaken in this book were directed in the opposite direction. Assuming that the immanent property of youth discourses is the *colonization of time* (interference with time and using time), I asked the question about the function and usefulness of these discourses in the regulation of social life. Against the background of the obtained results, the *dispositif of age* showed its action as a mechanism of power which, in its strategic function, combines discursive and non-discursive elements according to the logic of investment/profit, completeness/incompleteness, security/threat. Owing to its temporal organization and repetitive structure, a particularly meaningful manifestation of the operation of the *dispositif* is *narratives*. They highlight the role of the characters of stories and the main themes that attest to the generalization of the *dispositif*.

Knowledge about youth as a separate age category is part of the common-sense taming of the world and as such is a useful “toolbox”, a collection of handy ideas, concepts, assumptions, and statements. Owing to its obviousness, perpetuated by centuries-long discourse, it is easily identified in various social domains, further constructed in narratives, and transferred into new contexts. And these new contexts are certainly worth exploring.

Fourthly, in the *concepts of movement*, expectations about the future are no longer fully deduced from past experience. In the process of temporalization, experience and expectation diverge; concepts not only describe experience but can also evoke it. Concepts of movement, such as the concept of youth, mobilize thinking about the future and assume a horizon of expectation, in this case, an expectation of what young people and the rest of the society will be in a few or several dozen years. This phenomenon of expectation is particularly evident in educational, economic, and security policy, but also in common moral and philosophical discourses. The norms referred to define what is desirable and normal, and what remains undesirable and deviant. In the studied case, various futures emerged from one experience (the death by suicide of a Gdansk junior high school student), developing the past in accordance with the accepted order of the narrative. This order can be interpreted in terms of three “ontologies of expectations” (Koczanowicz 2008), which are future-oriented in various ways. One is the ontology of expectations built on the *preventive role of social institutions*, such as the school, which are to organize the life and future of a young person appropriately. The properly organized and planned education of the young generation is seen as a recipe for solving past problems and a source of expectations for the future. One can risk stating that this ontology of expectations, which refers to the long-established tradition of educational institutions and norms of the widely understood school, designs and creates a society of pedagogy. The second ontology refers to the emotional dimension of experience, when both the past and the future are the source of fear. For this reason, it leads to the *rationalization of experienced fear* and to the building of a society of security in which all spaces and events are secured. The basis of the third ontology of expectations is the faith in the causative power and significance of

the “right time” for undertaken activities. The sources of the problem are seen in experience beyond “its time”. It is also about the need to invest efforts and resources in those places and activities that are consistent with their time and, therefore, have the potential, and also the need to eliminate events that are, from this point of view, undesirable, because they bring losses. This type of ontology of expectations coincides with the principles of the society of economics in which the *future is calculable*.

The theoretical reflections and empirical conclusions presented in the book undoubtedly do not exhaust either the complexity of the issues, or, I hope, the research potential of the model of the *dispositif* of age. It was my intention that this model should be a useful heuristic tool for studying the relations of power resulting from the temporalization of experience, the domination of the concepts of movement, and the social categorization based on age difference. As a theoretical–analytical model allowing for two levels of analysis (concept-discursive and pragmatic-strategic), the *dispositif* of age provides a research perspective and a set of categories to study the semantics of age-related concepts (i.e. childhood, adulthood, old age, and others) and their functionalities in the discourses of power, for example, in lifelong education, in social care, in social work, or in other sectors of political activities. In modern post-Foucauldian literature, the concept of the *dispositif* is associated with the issues related to old age. For example, in studies on the paradigm of “active ageing”, Tina Denninger et al. (2010) reconstructed the so-called “*dispositif* of active ageing”, in the last decade visible in the “activating” policy in Germany. They described the images of “old age”/“retirement” specific to this paradigm through a systematic analysis of public discourse and individual narratives. Other researchers have reconstructed the historical production of old age (dos Santos and de Souza Lago 2016) and childhood (Müller 2016), interpreting “old age” or childhood (and its determinants) as a *dispositif* that organizes, controls, unifies, and normalizes the social sphere.

The model of the *dispositif* of age proposed in this book imposes on the potential subject of research a certain set of concepts and assumptions derived from the works of Koselleck. The *dispositif* of age is not a point of arrival here, an effect of empirical or historical reconstructions

(as in the studies quoted above), but a starting point, a theoretical–analytical model in the study of the power of discourse. Taking into account the temporality of the studied concepts and discourses makes it possible to capture social interference with time, the various forms of “colonizing” the dimensions of the past and the future, as well as ways of “working out” crisis or problem situations using the concepts of movement and expectations.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize the otherwise obvious fact that the adopted post-Foucauldian research perspective also means the awareness that the view of the power of youth discourses proposed in the book is only one of the possible, not necessarily most convincing ones.

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Index

A

Analogy 9, 17, 18, 24, 48, 55

Apparatization 6, 8–10, 26–28, 55,
57, 68, 74–76, 84, 86, 100,
105, 107, 115, 119

B

Basic notions 8

Biopolitics 58, 142, 146, 162

C

Colonization of the future 49, 53,
84, 149

Concept of youth 2, 3, 5–11, 16,
17, 21, 29–31, 34–36, 38–46,
48–52, 54–58, 67–71, 74–79,
81–89, 93–96, 99–107, 125,

132, 133, 135, 141, 146, 153,
162, 164, 165

Conducting 9, 52–54, 56, 57,
79, 121, 127–129, 140,
146, 152

D

Disciplinary dispositif 51

Disciplining 52, 53, 57, 125,
130, 152

Discourse analysis 6, 9, 19, 20, 25,
26, 28, 56, 57

Discursivization 7, 27, 41, 121,
162, 163

Dispositif of age 1, 3, 5–9, 12, 16, 21,
28, 46, 50–58, 70, 71, 76, 80,
85, 93, 102, 103, 113, 119, 121,
132, 133, 147, 153, 164, 166

E

Economization 163

G

Generalization 6, 8–11, 26–28,
54, 55, 57, 68, 74, 76,
80, 81, 101, 102, 107,
115, 119, 131, 147,
153, 164

Governmentality 2–5, 19, 21, 51,
118, 128, 141, 142

H

Heuristics 9, 16–19, 21, 24, 26, 28,
54, 55, 71, 84, 107, 161

Historical semantics 1, 6, 9, 28–30,
32, 55–57, 164

Horizon of expectation 11, 31, 32,
34, 46, 49, 51, 55, 57, 69,
113–116, 131, 147, 153,
164, 165

I

Integration 4–6, 9, 19, 20, 73, 93,
106, 107

J

Juridical dispositif 51

Juridification 52, 53, 57, 132, 152

N

Notion of movement 8, 11, 16

P

Pedagogization 22, 80, 83, 163

Policy of fear 118, 133, 135, 147,
150

Problematization 1, 6, 7, 9, 18, 19,
23, 24, 54, 55, 82, 84, 119,
130, 132

S

Securitization 101, 102, 133, 152,
163

Security dispositif 17, 24, 51

Semantic field 10, 30, 31, 34, 35,
38, 45, 55, 67, 69, 75–78, 81,
82, 86–89, 91, 95, 97, 100,
102, 104

Space of experience 11, 31, 40, 57,
113–116, 122, 136, 147, 153

T

Temporalization 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 16, 17,
21, 32, 34, 46–48, 50–52, 55,
56, 69, 100, 103, 105, 122,
146, 164–166

Topos 38, 79–81, 83, 89, 90, 101,
104–106, 163

U

Universalization 5, 6, 8, 9, 40

Urgent need 7, 11, 22–24, 27, 29,
56, 76, 84, 93, 104, 147, 148,
161–164

Usable knowledge 11, 113, 116,
119, 120, 129, 131, 132, 136,
139, 142, 148, 152