- Use Foucault's methods to help understand culture in terms of the management of lives, not the meanings they drew on or left aside.

- Use Foucault's methods to help track forms of self, modes of ethical comportment, ways of knowing and of disciplining as products of particular cultural apparatuses, like the classroom, rather than pre-existing entities, thus helping to demonstrate that culture produces persons; it does not operate with and/or for pre-acculturated individuals. This 'culture' is not the site where individuals are imperfectly liberated, but rather the environment where persons are positively constructed within specific institutional forms, an arena which is productive of specific, historically localised forms of subjectivity, not a site for fostering a priori rational individuals, or a site for the repression and denial of true individuality.

- Use Foucault's methods to give a rather 'flat' description of the historical events involved in accounting for culture, because they deliberately eschew recourse to 'deeper' explanations of particular apparatuses or deeper meanings of the self. The cultural actor featured in this Foucaultian approach is thus not a bastardised or bowdlerised version of the 'true' self, a betrayal of what could have been and an obstacle to what should be – some artefact of 'genuine' culture.

- Use Foucault's methods to present the transmission of culture through schooling as a fragile practice, so contingent that it is hard to pick out an overarching logic or state-inspired programme, for example.

- Use Foucault's methods to help understand the classroom as a place for the constitution of young, autonomous citizens – an instance of the classroom as factory (there is an obvious 'product') and as laboratory (a series of experiments have been instituted to help this productive process).

- Use Foucault's methods to help show that ideas about 'naturalness' are inserted into the logic of the cultural institutions almost at the level of common sense. From our Foucaultian perspective, such 'naturalness' is always the result of a very specific historical conjuncture.

- Use Foucault's methods to help explore the ways the practitioners involved in the regular operation of cultural institutions *manage as best they can*, including the way different theories about how to proceed become 'black-boxed' – in Latourian terminology, the way they become common sense and amalgamated into what appears to be a coherent practice.

- Use Foucault's methods in a manner that allows us to see clearly a vision of what the schoolroom might produce as a part of culture-as-management (or culture-as-government, or culture-as-administration) – what actors, what objects, and what ideas.

- Use Foucault's methods to help build a picture of culture-as-administration in which being 'made free' and 'choosing' are treated seriously as techniques of liberal governance, rather than being seen as tricks to hide some deeper agenda.

- Use Foucault's methods to aid an understanding of the examination and the mark in terms of the production of a new sort of knowledge about the child through a specific means of 'capturing' the child in an inscription. This is not the operation of a negative power – the examination is a technique of normalisation, but it is a normalising technique which has the amplification of capacities built into it as a *raison d'être*.

- Use Foucault's methods in an account of culture that does not understand the sorts of practices put into play in the classroom as negative or as obstacles to complete development – the school is a factory – laboratory where children are manufactured out of educational experiments. The intention is not to deny children access to the truth about themselves, but to produce them as functioning, maximised citizens – to produce the truth about themselves; by this account, culture actively works at producing citizens by management.

It's your turn to try to use these points in the following exercise.

EXERCISE 5.3

Go through the various excerpts from the interviews with teachers and pupils included thus far and see if you can spot exactly where our analyses of them differ from the sort of analyses produced by the culture-as-meaning approach to cultural studies. Please consider at least three sets of pupils' and teachers' talk. Please write about 1,000 words in tackling this task.

A few more remarks

In establishing the advantages of an approach to culture which uses Foucault's methods to focus on management, or administration, rather than consciousness and meaning, we have concentrated on schooling as a part of culture (in the way we want you to see culture). We have dealt with some of the tactics of the modern classroom in relation to the teaching of reading, as a micro-example of culture at work. There are few spaces outside these practices where the child can refuse to be produced as a fulfilled citizen, armed with literacy and other techniques for living a particular sort of life. However, we do not want to suggest that there is no resistance. Perhaps it would be appropriate to include in this concluding section an anecdote about such forms of resistance.

Late in the school afternoon at one of the schools in our study the children have a playtime. When they come back after play they have a story. Then, for the last fifteen minutes of the school day, they finish off what they were doing before play. When they have finished their work they can 'choose', that is, select an activity such as a game to fill the rest of the time. One child Michael in the period leading up to play worked laboriously...