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# Signing the School in Neoliberal Times: The Public Pedagogy of being Pedagogically Public

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Abstract: One of the most significant features of the Western school in the contemporary, neoliberal, era has been its reformation as an economic enterprise. Previously, the school was represented as a site of communal learning and coherence, linked into broader national systems, networks, agendas and projects. Today, however, schools in the West operate increasingly as individual units, frequently focused around economic imperatives that drive concerns to shore up student numbers. This focus has been accompanied by redoubled efforts to differentiate one school from another, at least in the minds of the "market", to the extent that even schools in national or State systems actively look to the advertising industry to connect with their market. This paper reports on the application of visual ethnographic techniques to capture and analyse the types of messages schools in an Australian city present to their community in pursuit of the aim of establishing and marketing individual school identities. Underpinned by the work of Henry Giroux on the concept of public pedagogy (2005), the project has utilized digital photography to develop repositories of images and messages broadcast by schools in the project community. The particular methodology and techniques utilized are the subject of the first part of the paper. The second part of the paper discusses the preliminary analysis of themes of public pedagogical import from school advertising boards.

Keywords: Visual Ethnography, Public Pedagogy, Schools, Identity, Neoliberalism

# Introduction

**♦ OCIALLY, THE SCHOOL** performs a number of essential functions, ranging from acculturation to societal transformation. Indeed, so wide-ranging and diverse are the possibilities for the role of the School that whole intellectual and social action traditions based on the imperative of various such goals and functions have developed. The single common thread running through all of these disparate positions on the essential function of the school, however, is that the school is at core a pedagogical institution; it is a social agency whose raison d'être is to teach. Accordingly, the literature that explores the nature of the school and the schooling process is almost exclusively focused on the content, teaching and assessment techniques, and the effects and outcomes of the schooling process. That is, the overwhelming weight of literature focusses on the School as a pedagogical site.

However, as the forces of globalization embed themselves ever more deeply into the world community's social psyche, reshaping humanity's *weltanschauung* however imperceptibly, the school as a (so-called) Western institution is re-emerging as a key component in the development of what Giroux (2007) has termed the military-industrialeducational complex, that mutually-supporting coalescence of a triad of domineering social forces within contemporary (neoliberal) societies. For Giroux, the effects of the ascendancy of this axis are clear:

Patriotic correctness, consumerism and militarization have become the most powerful trilogy of forces now shaping education, redefining the meaning of citizenship, and establishing the contours of an authoritarian social order. As the spaces for producing engaged citizens are stripped of their critical capacities, commercialised, and militarized, a culture of consent, fear, terror, and paranoia emerges to further fuel the growing authoritarianism of ..society. (p.4).

This incorporation and active involvement of the school in this process operates, it seems to us, in two mutually-dependent avenues of market-participation : ideological and economic. At the ideological level, the school performs a (possibly, *the*) major role in the hegemonic inscription of the imperatives of neoliberalism. The function of the school as an ideological State apparatus *par excellence* (Althusser, 1971) cannot be anything but economically-focused when the State itself has morphed into the vehicle for the three primary transnational projects of economic subjugation, exploitation and accumulation embarked upon by the forces of neoliberalism.

Whilst the idea of the school as a tool for securing the perpetuation of exploitative social relationships drawn up by the operation of capitalist modes of production is not new (see, for example, Counts



THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LEARNING, VOLUME 15, NUMBER 1, 2008 http://www.Learning-Journal.com, ISSN 1447-9494 © Common Ground, Jon Austin, Andrew Hickey, All Rights Reserved, Permissions: cg-support@commongroundpublishing.com 1932, Bowles & Gintis 1976, and Willis 1979), in the current era of ultra-capitalist development, this function is both more pernicious and, thereby, more anti-democratic in its orientation. McLaren and Jaramillo (2007), writing of the United States of America experience, make the pungent point that: ...children in the U.S. confront the concocted image of the American empire as one that equates freedom and democracy with the holy gospel of free trade - a monolithic and undifferentiated image if there ever was one. (p 70).



Figure 1: Pimping the School

The second level of complicity of the school in these neoliberal projects is a seemingly, but deceptively, much more mundane one. Here, we refer to the increasing participation of the school in the mechanisms and tactics of the marketplace, and this occurs in two distinct ways: the school sells things and the school sells itself. In the first instance, schools are increasingly scoured by corporations as sites for increased market share in the youth demographic. As the pincer movement of neoliberal economic theory less-than-delicately squeezes the school of community-derived funds, the school becomes amenable to persuasion that opening itself up to commercial exploitation is the smart thing to do (see Figure 1 for an example of explicit touting for business from a local public school). Whilst not the focus of this paper, a simple example of the pimping of the school - in a very real physical sense - is necessary to root our analysis here.



Figure 2: Competing Pedagogies: The Public Trumps the Formal

In Aoteroroa New Zealand, recent legislation has allowed all schools to actively tout for business within the commercial world, even when the outcomes of such partnerships seemingly contradict and undermine formal curriculum initiatives. An example: like most Western countries, Aoteroroa New Zealand has endorsed and in some case mandated the conduct of school-based programs aimed at combatting childhood- and youth-obesity. Significant amounts of community resources and precious school time have been applied to the development and introduction of such programs. One wonders, then, at the logic of some of those same schools selling commercial billboard space *on school premises* to business enterprises that might well be the targets of the antiobesity programs in the first place. Figures 2 and 3 illustrate this point, with examples from two Aoteroroa New Zealand schools where sturdy, floodlit billboards rise from the school playgrounds in strategically highly visible locations to carry an endorsement of products that would seem from any perspective to be at the very least inconsistent with official programs of health education offered by the schools concerned. <sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> We are indebted to our colleague, Jacqui Matthews, for these images and associated background information from Aoteoroa New Zealand.



Figure 3: Stretching the Integrity of Educational Initiatives

In an attempt to make ends meet, school principals and parent bodies are increasingly being cajoled into operating the school as a commercial enterprise. This is the school as a sales agent.

In the rest of this paper, we explore a variation of this new role for the school: attempts by the school to sell itself to its community. To do this, we have drawn upon one of the more visible and most accessible forms of evidence of this increasing concern to market the school - school-based signage - in order to illuminate the messages to the community schools are conveying. Essentially, this leads us into the operation of what Giroux (2004) has termed "public pedagogies". What we find particularly intriguing here is the operation of techniques of public pedagogy to "educate" a community about a pedagogical site (the school). Hence, our interest here is in the operation of the mundane processes of public pedagogy with a view to making public the role of the pedagogy of the school.

### The Research Project

As cultural studies ethnographers working within a teacher education context, we have increasingly turned our attention to the power of the image in postmodern times, and we are currently engaged in an international project that explores the ways in which schools operate within dominant public imaginaries, particularly with regard to identity and resistance (for more on the images of schooling in the public arena in the Australian context, see Hickey & Austin, 2006, especially chapter 7).

This project involves the analysis of the ways in which schools utilise "new" (websites, email lists, blogs, etc) and "old" media (newspaper advertisements, newsletters, and the like) as they attempt to carve out distinctive identities and make themselves more market friendly, thereby sustaining enrolments and existence. A component part of this project has involved us in the collection and analysis of in excess of 700 photographs (to date) of formal school signs in a large provincial city in Australia. These images have been collected on both an *ad hoc* and planned basis.

We carry photographic recording equipment with us at all times and capture whatever signage appears at schools as we pass them in the course of our everyday lives. Sarah Pink's statement that "*a camera has been an almost mandatory element in the* 'tool kit' for research for several generations of *ethnographers*." (Pink 2007, p. 65) has certainly found resonance with us during this project.

In order to get a feel for any rhythmic patterns in the types of messages carried, we have also set up three standardised data gathering periods, each of four weeks' duration, where we visit each of the thirty-four schools in the research area and capture the signage message every Friday morning of the period. The three periods cover the beginning of the school year (February), mid-year (June) and end of school year (November). We felt that combining these two data gathering regimens - the serendipitous and the regular - would give us a feel for the idiosyncrasies attaching to individual school philosophies while enabling us to identify any cross-case commonalities.

We have utilized a variety of photographic equipment, ranging from hard drive digital video cameras to high quality digital still cameras to mobile phones. The opportunities for powerful visual data gathering (and, by implication, more authentic visual ethnographic work) resident within new forms of communication technologies have become very evident to us in the conduct of this project<sup>2</sup>. Images were captured, transferred to iMac computers and the analysis conducted using Nvivo software. The data are sifted across two warps: one, looking for broad categories of message type (ie. commonalities across the school sites); the second cut of data involves looking for threads of development from individual school sites across time (mapping the devel-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For more on the use of new digital technologies in contemporary research activity, see Hickey & Austin (forthcoming 2008b)

opment of a school's image as conveyed to its community).

In utilising photographic evidence as the primary source of data in this study, we acknowledge the political and highly subjective nature of the photographic process (see, for example, Harper, 2003) and eschew any suggestion that the visual carries any greater claims to objectivity and truth than any other form of data. What we believe about the use of the visual, however, is that the reader might more easily step into our subjectivities and see at least a part of what we saw in the conduct of the research. Further, we take cognizance of Edwards' comment that "an anthropological photograph is any photograph from which an anthropologist could gain useful, meaningful visual information" (1992, p. 13) and that "any photograph may have ethnographic interest, significance or meanings at a particular time or for a specific reason. The meanings of photographs are arbitrary and subjective; they depend on who is looking." (Pink, 2007, p. 67).

While we have approached the data with what might be seen as realist assumptions, our analyses have been firmly grounded in the interpretive realm. In this, our experiences of working with visual data are on all fours with the Cardiff Hypermedia and Qualitative Research group in their *Ethnography for the Digital Age* (2004) project:

[We found] it necessary to treat our video footage both as realist records (which we coded qualitatively according to broad content themes) and as narratives shaped and generated by the researcher's interactions with specific fieldwork contexts .

We are, similarly, conscious of the subjective nature of photographically-induced views of reality!

## Signs of the Time: Cross-Site Analysis

Our current analyses of the data are drawn from the first round of standardized data collection and all the *ad hoc* photographs collected over a three-month period. While we are sure that the full year's data will reveal more complexity in the rhythms and types of message conveyed by schools in ways that our current more temporally limited data set will expose, our initial analyses present a number of broad themes or categories of message, as well as offering an insight into the ways in which some schools portray themselves in their communities.

From the total project data set available to us at the time of writing (February, 2008), we have drawn out a number of categories of message type. Each category would seem to have certain breadth of intended audience, with those messages most narrowly confined to the immediate and basic functioning of the school being aimed at the narrowest community of interest - the formal school



community of students and their families. At the other end of the scale, we assume that those messages intended to promote the image of the school have been aimed at a much wider audience, including potential students but, more importantly, the geographic region within which the school resides. These categories, with accompanying illustrative description and image, in our sense of an expanding horizons order of community of interest are<sup>3</sup>:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In (re)presenting examples of the data set in a number of formats, we have anonymized details to ensure no individual school is able to be identified



## Administrative

In this category we have included all messages that convey basic information about school operations or activities. As such, we would assume the intended audience for these messages is the very close school community - those who are enrolled or who are parents or carers of students enrolled at the school. We would also assume that the information conveyed here would hold little interest to members of the wider school community.



# Security/Surveillance

Here we have included all messages that speak to a concern for security and protection of school grounds and property. This type of message is intended for those living in the immediate vicinity of the school or those who might travel past the school at times of possible vandalism and the like.

# Celebratory

Messages included in this category include those that explicitly or by implication celebrate whole school or student achievements. We have assumed that these types of messages serve a number of purposes, ranging from genuine delight in the achievements celebrated through to a more pernicious attempt to differentiate the school from perceived "competitors".

# Community-Oriented

This category of message connects the school very explicitly with its wider community, not just those members of the (narrower) school community. We have included in this category messages that we read as speaking to a relationship with all those who would happen upon the sign, typically, we believe, those who live in or traverse the immediate environs of the school and for whom it would be reasonable to think of the particular school as the school in their community.





## Soliciting

Many signs carry messages actively promoting enrollment in the particular school. Some of these messages merely invite enrollments, letting the audience know that there are spaces available. Others, however, provide something of a reason for a parent to consider enrollment, however truncated the explanation of this might be due to the nature of the communication medium. We see this type of message as an attempt on the part of the school to actively solicit business, often by differentiating itself from others.



## Philosophical

In this category we have included any message that speaks to a philosophical or ideological base to the school. While we see this in part as being part of the differentiation process described above, we also believe that there is a broader , almost celebratory, sense of proclamation of identity involved here. We see this type of message as aimed largely at the widest possible community of interest.

Where individual signs carry multiple messages types, we have coded each of the messages separately. For example, in the sign to the right, our coding system would identify two different categories of message, security ("School Watch") and soliciting ("Enrolments Welcome"). As such, we have coded this image in two categories. As a result of such multiple codings, our data set at the time of writing consisted of 782 separate message codings. The relative frequency of message type for each of these categories is displayed in descending order of frequency in table 1 below.

The first point to be made about these data is that they have been collected from State<sup>4</sup> (public) schools and parish Catholic and other "minority" religious schools. The types of signage we have scrutinized in our data gathering does not appear to be a feature of the private schools environs nor of their mode of communication with their perceived communities, and in this category of school we place the 'elite' Catholic schools as well. None of these schools have erected the sign boards to carry school messages directly to the community. This paper is not the place to engage in analysis and conjecture as to this phenomenon, but it seems to us that private schools clearly conceive of their relationship to their direct school community and the immediate geographic community quite differently from State and parish schools.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In Australia, "State school" refers to primary, or elementary, schools (student ages 4-12) and "State High School" to secondary schools (ages 13-17).



The second point to be made before expanding on our analysis of these data is that, at this early stage of the overall project, we are reading these data as the total dataset. At this point, our work approximates the monological data gathering stage Carspecken (1996) identifies as crucial to effective critical ethnographic research. We have collected images from the field and have engaged in our initial analyses without seeking input by way of clarification, explanation or justification from others. Such dialogical data gathering constitutes the next stage of our work on this project and will, clearly, yield a different level of understanding for us. However, it is important to emphasise here that the conditions under which we read the school signs in this project are essentially the same as any passerby would experience. Rarely do consumers of messages on school signs have the opportunity to ask the school principal what she or he meant by the message, what her or his motivations and objectives in posting the message were. As such, we place ourselves in the position of the intended audience, and acknowledge that our readings are similarly idiosyncratic, rooted in our individual subjectivities.

#### The Data Summarised

Category	Number of in- stances	% of total in- stances	Illustrative message
Administrative	269	34	SCHOOL LEADERS INVESTITURE Fri 16 <sup>th</sup> 9:00am
Community	212	28	THANKS SHIRE COUNCIL FOR AWE- SOME UPGRADE OF XXXXXXX STREET
Soliciting	114	14.5	NEED A SCHOOL? OFFICE OPEN NOW FOR YOUR ENROLMENTS
Philosophical	109	14	TEACHING IS THE ART OF SHARING
Celebratory	52	6.6	348 STUDENTS ACHIEVED PERSONAL BESTS. WELL DONE!
Security / Surveillance	26	3.3	REPORT TRESPASSERS RING XXXXXX THANKS

Table 1: Message Types Cross all School Sites

### The Data Discussed

These data must read in temporal context. They have been collected in the very early part of the formal school year and one would probably not be surprised to find that administrative matters are prominent in the communications to the school community. There is a need to remind students and their parents of such matters as when school resumes from the lengthy summer recess, when various school functions such as school leader investiture occur and when activities such as swimming carnivals and inter-school sport commence. As the school semester has progressed, the incidence of this type of message has slowed, although we would expect this to remain a predominant category of message over the course of the whole year as school recesses and resumption occur, sports seasons close and commence and as specific one-off school activities (eg Book Week) need to be brought to the attention of the school community.

Messages connecting the individual schools to their local community in more organic ways also figure prominently in the data. Here, the schools either seek assistance from ("We need your help") and involvement by the community ("All welcome") in the life of the school or try to present an image of a good community member (seasons greetings, sometimes in multiple languages; road safety messages; etc)

The presence of celebratory messages should also cause little surprise, but the motivations underpinning such messages are more uncertain. As the school year proceeds, we would anticipate the frequency of these messages will increase. At present, schools seem to be touting their achievements and the achievements of selected students from the previous year to present an image of a particular type: the school's success in generating or encouraging excellence. Many of these types of message amount to something of a report card of the school's 2007 performance presented to the community at a time when potential new enrolments are circulating through the local educational community.

We were surprised at the relative infrequency of school security-related messages. The city within which this research has been conducted, while not witnessing extreme levels of these, is by no means immune from acts of vandalism and destruction, including arson, on school premises. The very small number of messages to the community about school surveillance was a surprise to us, and we suspect there to be a direct relationship between school (or at least, principal's) philosophy and views of its connection to the broader community and the posting of security related signs. We suspect that in schools where there is a sense of the school as something of a civilizing influence in an otherwise "barbaric" community will be more likely to be security conscious (with obvious good reason). This is to be explored in greater detail as the project develops, and will be reported on at a later time.

On a purely numerical basis, one might be surprised at the relative paucity of philosophical messages. However, it has become apparent to us that the incidence of such messages has been increasing over the term of the data gathering period and that the value of undertaking longer-term site-specific study lies in the exposure of ebbs and flows of school-community engagement. By way of example, Denniston State School<sup>2</sup> commenced the school year with messages that fell into one of two of our categories - administrative or soliciting - but by week three of the semester, the focus on these began to change to broader statements of school (and public) philosophy. Examples of such messages from this site include "Our kids are really great. Each child is valued here"; "We play fast and friendly"; "Wearing our uniforms shows respect for school and self"; and "A great day for all people of our strong nation" (a

reference to the historic apology by the Commonwealth Government of Australia to Indigenous Australians for past government-endorsed actions now seen as racist and bearing injustice).

The final category - and the one that perhaps attracts our attention most at present - is that type of message that reflects an active and explicit attempt by the school to secure enrollments. While this type of activity (and imperative) has long been a feature of most, if not all, private schools, what we are witnessing at present is the engagement of State or public schools in the same game. In the Australian context, and certainly in the particular geographic region within which this study has largely been taking place, State schools have been remarkably undifferentiated, at least in external appearances.

Standardisation of curriculum, systemic regulations, expectations and reporting responsibilities have all coalesced to ensure that one State school was, for all intents and purposes, the same as the next one. In fact, within the memory of one of the authors, State Directors of Education could with great confidence assume that all students in a particular school grade throughout the State would be working on the same thing at the same time, so standard was the organisation of pedagogical time in public schools. Certain expressions of individual school identity were expected - school uniforms, mottos, and the like carried snippets of individuality - but little in terms of the formal content of the school curriculum and pedagogical approach reached the public imaginarv.

In the past half-decade or so, we believe the emphasis on the school as a pedagogical site has changed into a more entrepreneurial one, and this is the case with public schools as much now as it has been for private schools all along. There is a definite attempt on the part of most schools now to clearly differentiate themselves from what were once their sibling but now their competitor schools. It is clear to us that even at the level of school signage, as truncated as messages and concepts conveyed there must be given the limited word format, schools are actively looking to solicit business - that is, enrollments. Where once children would attend the State school closest to where they lived, in many cases now it is what a particular State school has to offer that is important in the school-choice decision-making process.

Arguably, most of the messages posted at the school gate function to create, embed and promote a particular school identity with a view to conveying the most positive and laudatory ideas about what goes on inside the school grounds. (It would be rare, indeed, for any school to openly and honestly communicate negative news about itself and its students

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> a pseudonym

to the community at large). However, there is a category of message that is so explicitly touting for business that it presents as the epitome of the engagement of the school - particularly the State school with the marketplace. Messages in this category range from the very direct (*"We have places from Prep to Year 7"* and *"Enrolments welcome"*) to the somewhat more subtle but nonetheless transparent (*"Need a School? Office open now for your enrolments"*; *"We're off to a great start in 2008. Come & join us"* and *"Looking for something unique in 2008?"*). That many of the instances of these messages were still on display on school signage well into the third week of the school year and beyond also speaks to the business concerns of these schools.

## Signing the Times: Implications

More and more, individual schools are engaging in identity construction and image maintenance. In this study, we have been concerned to read the messages sent to school communities through the very common avenue of the school message board. While at an early stage of the data gathering process, we have been struck by the overwhelming dominance of nonpedagogic messages presented. As a group, and during the first part of the school year, the schools in this study present to the community as being focussed far more on the administrative and business side of things than on the pedagogic. As the data gathering proceeds across the rest of the school year, our hopes are that this relationship would be reversed. Our suspicion is, however, that it in fact be reinforced.

As the school as a social agency is embedded more deeply in the demands and dictates of neoliberal forms of social, economic and personal ideologies and epistemologies, it seems to be being forced to either comply with the expectations of free-market economics, privatization, and economization or to disappear from the community stage. As "students" become "clients", as "curriculum" becomes "input", as "teachers" become "learning managers" and as "learning" becomes "outputs", the school flags its surrender in the face of these new hegemonic forces.

In a context where "the ultimate (unreachable) goal of neoliberalism is a universe where every action of every being is a market transaction, conducted in competition with every other being and influencing every other transaction, with transactions occurring in an infinitely short time, and repeated at an infinitely fast rate (Neoliberalism: origins, theory, definition, 2008), enrollment is reconceptualised as a contractual arrangement, the culmination of a successful marketing and promotion strategy.

As our larger project progresses, we anticipate being able to flesh out the impacts of this change in the focus and image of the school on those most closely involved: the communities schools are meant to serve. The smaller section of that project reported on here has provided important insights into how the ethos of the market has already seeped into the school psyche, and how the school proceeds to go about the business of being publicly pedagogical. Exactly which lessons the community learns about the school are what we endeavour to uncover.

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