



*Taking (back) the Wheel:
Structural educational reform in the United States and
Australia, and its Effect upon Inequality in Australian
schooling*

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I acknowledge the support I have received for my research through the provision of an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship.

Signed:

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Abstract

This study investigated educational reform policies in both the United States and Australia to discern a relationship between policies of reform and racial segregation in education. This thesis took as its object of study educational reform policies from the United States between 1983 and 2015 and from Australia between the years 2008 and 2013, examining them through a (Foucauldian-inspired) poststructuralist policy discourse analysis, WPR (Bacchi, 2007, 2009; Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016) and theories of affect (Wetherell, 2012; Ahmed 2004, 2013, 2016), to gauge their import to the observed phenomena of inequality, and specifically segregation within schooling. With regards to educational inequality, and to racial segregation specifically, the literature is clear as to *what* has happened. The more pertinent questions, however, are *how*, despite all the information regarding its effects, it has happened -and especially with regards to inequality-how (and *why*) it persists.

By beginning at the end, with observed human actions within the field of policy, this research project reveals the manner through which policy constructs its issues. It develops an understanding of educational segregation which first, challenges hegemonic conceptions of neoliberalism as well as the simultaneous reification and culpability of the conception of choice within the neoliberalised policy paradigm. It also problematises the pursuance of choice through policy as a form of 'regulated autonomy' (Marginson, 1997a) and a manufactured form of freedom, a false freedom, as it were.

This combination of methodological and theoretical traditions furthers the development of policy analysis and contributes to the body of possible perspectives for policy analysis. Specifically, it demonstrates the facility of the WPR methodology through its unique pairing with theories of affect, and in the formulation of a mechanism of a model of affective policy circulation, identifies how and why policy manifests in specific ways.

Dedication

For your example, your tireless pursuit of excellence and for being my father,
I dedicate this thesis to you

Dr. Sydney O. Alozie.

27 July 1938 – 1 March 2019

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Chapter 1.

Introduction to Study

1.1. Introduction

2016 found Australia and the United States sharing educational headlines for the most surprising of reasons: segregation in schooling. While the United States was confronted by a resurgence, a re-segregation within education, highlighted by very public debates within socially progressive enclaves in New York City (Gettys, 2016; Harris & Fessenden, 2017; Hu & Harris, 2018; K. Taylor, 2017a; 2017b; Whitford, 2016), in Australia socially liberal communities in Melbourne and Sydney became the settings for a contentious debate over "white flight" and race segregation within state schools (Jacks, 2016; Jacks & Cook, 2016a; 2016b; Neill, 2016). This alarming development was eerily reminiscent of the painful process of school desegregation in the United States. Historically a euphemism for the migration of white residents away from inner city neighbourhoods (especially those with large black and brown populations) in response to progressive public policies of desegregation, white flight is a decidedly American term, and its deployment within these particular educational settings should represent a moral, and admittedly progressive, crisis. That this Australian debate should surface while America faced its own documented crisis of re-segregation within schooling (Orfield, Ee, Frankenberg, & Siegel-Hawley, 2016) raises questions as to whether the concomitance of these developments is mere coincidence, or if their similarities are tied to developments within increasingly globalised and neoliberalised practices of educational reform.

Are these developments merely a chance aggregation of disparate individual choices, as policy-makers are wont to assert, the products of such variables as residential patterns or even the results of fragmented social ordering indicative of post-colonial nations? Or is there something to be discovered within the only concrete—and persistent—link between these differing educational contexts: their policies of reform? Is this, as indicated within Norman Rockwell's iconic painting depicting the desegregation of schools in Little Rock, Arkansas, "[a] problem we must all live with"?

When faced with phenomena of such striking similitude, the issue, itself, requires problematization. Specifically, it calls into question the mechanisms of decision-making

within educational systems, and our understandings of the policy environment within which such decisions are made. To wit, this thesis examined structural educational reform policy with regards to its "organizational directives as enacted features of group life" (Prus, 2003) and, more importantly, how "all of those involved in any instance of policy participate in the process" (p. 19). Viewing inequality, and specifically segregation, through the lens of policy focuses attention on the translation or distillation of human action from policy directives and asks "How does policy become ... real? Why does it manifest in particular or specific ways?" It also raises further questions about the nature of modern educational reform, its ideological underpinnings and axiological nature. These required an undertaking to uncover, first, whether there exists a significant level of similitude between these differing contexts with regards to their pursuance of policies of reform; secondly, whether there exists a relationship between educational reform policies and this specific form of educational inequality, and especially its dimensions of colour and social disadvantage; and, finally, determine the nature of our relationship to policy, whether it is done to us, or whether we do it; ultimately, the impact of such policies upon human agency.

1.2. Focus, Scope and Significance of Research

The aim of this study was to understand the effects of globalized educational reform on human action within educational systems. This thesis took as its object of study educational reform policies from the United States between 1983 and 2015 and from Australia between the years 2008 and 2013, examined them through a (Foucauldian-inspired) post-structuralist policy discourse analysis and theories of affect, to gauge their import to the observed phenomena of inequality, and specifically segregation within schooling. Moreover, as after Henig et al. (1999), the "objective characteristics" of segregation as a problem, its framing and interpretation, "determine[s] whether and how [it is] carried onto the public agenda" (p. 71) and indicates the necessity of the problematization of such policies.

While it would seem that these two contexts lack the same "history of explicit apartheid" and the subsequent processes of desegregation (Bonal & Bellei, 2019, p. 1), in order to provide the basis for such a comparison, the steadily increasing market reforms of education, and specifically their globalized nature (Lingard, Taylor, & Rawolle, 2005), ostensibly regarded as reform, have brought issues of equality, and especially of segregation, to the fore (Bonal and Bellei, 2019; see also Benito et al., 2014; Alegre and Ferrer, 2010; Dronkers and Robert, 2008;

Gorard and Smith, 2004) . As a result, their policies of reform are the nodal point of commonality. Assumptions of commonality notwithstanding, this endeavour is not intended to comprise a comparative analysis.

Operating from a position of policy as “the outcome of discursive practices and contests” (Lejano 2006, p. 93), of policy as discourse, allows for an appraisal of policy as more than just “deliberative ‘official’ statements about societal goals ... and the strategies used to put those goals in place” (Welch, 2018, p. 265). Such an approach also provides a means to move beyond “technicist” and traditional conceptions of policy, which reside and operate outside of intervention, becoming “external and reified, something that is done to us”, and towards an understanding of policy as an “embodiment of a set of values” (p. 266; emphasis added). After Ball (1994), this thesis approaches policy as something “acted on” (p.18); he also points out that policy does not “tell you what to do” , but rather “create[s] circumstances in which the range of options ... are narrowed or changed, or particular goals or outcomes set” (p. 19). Ball also notes that our enactment of policy takes places within a “moving discursive frame which articulates and constrains possibilities” (1994, p. 23), though adding that our responses take place within “discursive circumstances that we cannot, or perhaps do not, think about” (p. 23).

It is this discursive bounding, so to speak, upon which this thesis focuses, seeking to identify and map, as it were, the extent to which discourses of educational reform as policy impact upon the actions of social actors within education, and especially as it pertains to the presence of racial segregation in schooling. As such, the research was not intended as an endeavour to discover the sources of segregation within schooling; in this regard, we know what has happened. Neither does this research seek to identify or presume the intent of policy-makers. And while I wish to examine how and why such a phenomenon should arise, I am equally interested in the presentation and evaluation of solutions based upon this information. Specifically, this research seeks to develop a framework for the entirety of this decision-making process, and, crucially, for all within it; for both its *hows* and *whys*, or the conceptual and operational logics through which educational policy becomes real. More importantly, this research argues that all choices within this apparatus are policy-bound, tied to the systems of reform which inform these choices.

Segregation and re-segregation are more than the effects of parental school choices, and part of a larger ecosystem, a new, educational imaginary which envisions education as a competitive arena of choice, of action. Moreover, they require the presence of specific actors, the constitution of specific subjectivities within this discourse. As in the case of Roda and

Wells (2013), research attuned to such subjectivities privileges the agency of specific, and primarily white, or privileged, actors. This research broadens the concept of the agentic subject within education in order to understand the full import/impact of policy on all of its concerned subjects.

Furthermore, this thesis considers education policies intended to engender structural, as opposed to curricular, reform, or change. Henig et al.'s (1999) typology of reform, as shown in Table 1, indicates that reform manifests through four primary mechanisms: program reforms - including curricular reforms, graduation requirements and strategic planning (p. 75); personnel reforms - leadership changes; coalition strategies - business linkages, community and parent involvement; structural innovation - site-based management, charter schools, choice schools, contracting.

Program	Personnel	Coalition Strategies	Structural Innovation
<i>Curriculum reform Graduation requirements Strategic planning</i>	<i>New Superintendent Significant change in school board</i>	<i>Business linkages Community Parents Foundations</i>	<i>Site-based management Charter schools Choice schools Contracting</i>

Table 1: Typology of Education Reform; adapted from Henig et al., 1999; "Typology of Educational Reforms, 1988 to 1997", p. 75

This thesis also approaches structural reforms as inclusive of structural innovation and coalition strategies. Moreover, aspects of the remaining reform categories are present, if not absolutely necessary, within the concept of structural "innovation". Noticeably, curricular reform, a program reform, occupies a seemingly minimal position within Henig et al.'s (1999) typology of reform, a position belying its outsized influence on the public reform discussion. One can conceive of this typology as comprised of two types of reform, program - comprised of curricular reform- and structural.

With regards to the segregation under consideration, this research focuses its attention on racial segregation. Burns, Proctor and Sriprakash (in Welch, 2018) note that race is among the factors, along with class, gender, race and geographic location, which can shape the lives and opportunities of young people (p. 31; see also Woodman and Wyn, 2008). Despite the (seemingly) perpetual reformation of education to suit workforce needs and temporal employment trends, underemployment (as one measure of educational success) has doubled

since the Global Financial Crisis (Vickers, 2018). More alarmingly, race, indigeneity and geography serve to complexify these figures. Vickers (2018), along with Thompson (2002) and Delpit (1988), is clear about the link between student background and the creation of “disadvantage through interactions with the structures and processes of schooling itself” (p. 49).

When considering the segregation or re-segregation of schooling in either an American or an Australian context, there are four actors (and their attendant subjectivities) for whom policy is most central: parents, students, teachers and schools; after Harney and Moten (2013), teachers and schools are regarded as policy deputies. Crucially, it is important to remember that it is they who act, they are the ones whose choices, decisions and educational possibilities are bound up in policy interventions. As such, the policies selected for this research reflect their centrality and this research pursues a purposeful comparative sampling of temporally significant educational policies intended to reform and/or remake education. Moreover, the selected portions of the WPR framework will reflect this, excising those aspects of the framework ill-suited for this purpose.

Finally, its progressive position notwithstanding, this work would regard the post-modern, progressive, scorched-earth discourse of the “deconstruction of the ‘dominant’ or ‘hegemonic’ curriculum” (Maton & Moore, 2011, p. 219) as ineffectual in halting the steady march of neoliberal educational reform, or in producing viable alternatives, due to its deterministic view towards educational reform and human agency within educational systems. However, this research regards the presumably inherent determinism of a neoliberal discourse-as-hegemony as dismissive of both autonomy and agency within education, intimating that inequality, that segregation, is either inevitable, insignificant—or both and, even more importantly, that we are powerless in halting its progression. It is not the mere identification of this ‘problem’ that has precipitated this research, but rather the lack of urgency with which it has been received and what can be termed an oversimplification of the relevant causes.

School segregation is important in that it becomes a marker for the reproduction of both social and educational inequalities. In that education is a social system invested in the “normalization” of social interaction, but also imbued with the capacity for social ‘marginalisation” (Hayes, 2018, p. 17, in Welch, 2018), segregation in education reveals the presence of “social cleavages” (p. 3) and their subsequent exportation into the social realm. Orfield et al. (2016) also identify what they term the “double segregation” of race and poverty, and the intensifying relationship between “racial and economic segregation and inferior

educational opportunities” (p. 1). They note that segregation in schooling impacts equality of opportunity, helps perpetuate social stratification, and that addressing it is necessary for effective social integration in an increasingly complexifying future.

More importantly, the temporal significance of such social fracturing cannot be ignored, as it speaks to notions of national self-regard, and more specifically to the concept of a multicultural and socially cohesive nation at the precise moment of an upsurge of xenophobic and alarmingly anachronistic social currents within both nations. Notably, at the time of this writing, Australia stands, yet again, on the cusp of a federal election, where issues concerning immigration, education and the provision of social services exert an outsized influence on the political calculi of the day. Similarly (and perhaps not merely coincidentally), the American political machine begins its preliminary paroxysms in preparation for another bruising political cycle where issues of immigration and multiculturalism, of race and racism, will, as in Australia, inform positions and policy. Although some of the related processes tangential to school segregation are beyond the scope of educational reform (or education altogether), schooling need not magnify or exacerbate them, making them into “forms of cultural closure and cultural emulation” (Bonal & Bellei, 2019, p. 4).

Several terms require either clarification or elaboration within this thesis, beginning with the references to race, and specifically the terms white and black. This is not to ignore the socially constructed nature of such racial categories, but rather addresses them within their material manifestations in society and within the extant literature.

White and its various derivations appear in this thesis as an acknowledgement of its position as the dominant racial category *with regards to population* in both the United States and Australia. This thesis does not deem it necessary to address its socially *perceived* position of relative power, though such an awareness, especially with regards to its historicity and that of the traditional, white-black binary relationship in both countries, pervades this work. Black is a more complicated term. In the United States, and as used in Orfield et al, (2016, 2019) and Bonal and Bellei (2019) for example, it becomes a composite term intended to encompass persons of African heritage, most commonly referred to as Black. This specifically includes African, African Americans, and Afro-Caribbeans. While used in an Australian context within Indigenous communities, the term finds little purchase as a descriptive term for Indigenous Australians. The term does appear in some Australian literature, but the use of the word sometimes draws approbation. This, though, reflects the Australian penchant for naïve egalitarianism, believing the very acknowledgement of difference as evidence of racism.

Within this thesis, the term black within an Australian context refers to persons of African descent or Indigenous Australians and encompasses immigrant groups historically viewed as black. This work also uses the term brown, a decidedly American term to denote marginalized—though not interstitial—communities of colour, such as Latinos, Middle Eastern or South East Asians. The term finds purchase in much American literature in an awareness of the restrictive nature of viewing racial complexities through the imposed rigidity of the traditional black-white paradigm.

1.3. Theoretical Frameworks and Methodology; Overview and

Justification

In his *Sociological Imagination* (1959), C. Wright Mills emphasises the position of education as a social system, and to this point, Matthews, channelling Mills, argues that the sociology of education requires a "theoretically generative analytical perspective" and contends that such work, at times requires a "cultivat[ion of the] analytical capacity to "make sense of the social world", to switch between and combine different explanatory perspectives (Matthews, 2013, p. 156). With her admonition in mind, the conceptual framework for this research employs two different, but complementary theoretical perspectives, and is guided by Giroux's (2003) expansion upon his *Theory and Resistance in Education* (1983). He contends that "the motivation for scholarly work cannot be narrowly academic; such work must connect with 'real life social and political issues in the wider society' " (Giroux, 2003, p. 12).

It is the intent of this research, through an analysis of one socio-cultural political practice, educational reform policy, to examine its effects on its ostensible subjects, thereby uncovering the mechanisms through which these effects both materialize and persist- its conceptual and operational logics. This research contends that the prevalence and persistence of a specific (and nefarious) form of educational/social inequality is the result of the "social arrangement(s)" impelled, in part, by education reform policies (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, p. 3). Critically, educational research has been particularly rigid in its approach to problems, questions and answers. Moreover, the contestation of the neo-liberal vision of education (or of society) cannot, as Foucault feared and Apple (Apple, 1992) warned, devolve into a desire to "substitute[e] one grand narrative for another", or to explicitly reify either the presence or the

workings of any narrative. This is not to minimize the steady neoliberalisation of education, but rather to say that progressive educational research has clearly identified the role and scope of educational-cum-economic rationalism; we know what has happened. The more pertinent questions, however, are how, despite all the information regarding its effects, it has happened -and especially with regards to inequality-how (and why) it persists. The specific focus upon the relationship between the "embodied human subject and social policy" (Bansel, 2015, p. 5) draws on theories of discursivity, subjectivity and collective affect.

In the broadest terms, this research (of necessity) traces the neoliberal effect upon education and seeks to reveal the educational rationale that attempts to prescribe human action within a system of "regulated autonomy" (Marginson, 1997a p. xiv) and predicated choice. The examination of educational reform policy through its primary theoretical lens, that of a Foucauldian-inspired post-structural policy analysis is necessary precisely because of its refusal of metanarrative, and especially for its approach to educational reform directives—to policy—as both performative in nature and as "pervasive and mundane acts [that] make people what they are" (Mol 2002, p. 39; in Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016, p. 30).

This research intends to foreground the relationship between social policy and specific, human subjects, seeking to prioritize the "meanings, interpretations and practices that policy engenders" (Saltmarsh, 2015, p. 40). As such, post-structural policy analysis resonates as a decidedly inadequate description for this theoretical framework and necessitates a nod to the materiality of policy processes, to the enactment of policy. Specifically, the centrality of policy, as opposed to the subject, a critical aporia within the poststructuralist policy analytical lens, requires a form of post-structuralism, as Murdoch (2006, p. 24) says, situated "beyond the text" in the "fleshy materialities" of the 'bio-social domain', including affect, and human and non-human agency" (in Gulson & Metcalfe, 2014, p. 2).

A materialist poststructuralism actuated through Carol Bacchi's "What's the Problem Represented to Be" (2009, 2014, 2016) or WPR, serves to uncover the conceptual logics-the problem representations-underpinning educational reform policies in Australia and the United States. This materiality is informed by Michel De Certeau's (1984) work on cultural policy, and specifically his focus upon the process by which policy is "simultaneously imposed and taken up, reconfigured by its users in ways not necessarily imagined or intended by those who produced it, and put to work in a multitude of ways" (in Saltmarsh, 2015, p. 41).

This research also approaches policy not only as discourse, but also as an Althusserian ideological apparatus, where "ideology, as rendered in discourses and transmitted through

practices in an apparatus, constitutes individuals as subjects" (Bazzul, 2016, p. 9). However, as Saltmarsh cautions, "policy texts, processes and practices are, 'at every turn contingent upon the agentic practices of social subjects'" (2012, p. 75, in Saltmarsh 2015, p. 4).

In order to uncover the effects of educational reform policy upon human action, it is necessary to understand how specific "individuals, groups and institutions negotiate policy reforms and their effects, in 'a creative and sophisticated process that is a complex shifting meld of values, contingency and context'" (Maguire et al., 2010, p. 167 in Saltmarsh 2015, p. 40). It is what McKenzie (2017, p. 198) terms "bodily encounters of policy" to which this research is directed and, as an examination of the role of affect in policy mobilities, directs the analysis to policy enactment.

As such, the second, though equally important, theoretical lens through which this research operates is Affect Theory. Affect theory appeals to social researchers due to its offer of some measure of understanding of the social (and socialized) actor (Wetherell 2012). Moreover, its temporal significance cannot be overstated; this particular subject presents as a complex being whose interactions seem filtered through a socially mediated lens of exigency. What Clough and Halley (2007) characterize as the 'turn to affect' (or the affective turn), might be instead indicate a move away from critical theory and discourse via "disembodied text" (Wetherell, 2012, p. 3), and towards a more productive and generative theory.

The investigation of affect has found popular purchase within the social sciences, informed primarily by the philosophies of Gilles Deleuze, Baruch Spinoza, Alfred North Whitehead and Henri Bergson. Its conventional usage, and especially as a critical approach *du jour*, exhibits the dual connotation of either psychologized 'emotion' or affect as implicating more universal methods of impact and/or change (Wetherell, 2012). Its theoretical imbrication of power analytics, coupled with an awareness of the 'linguistic fallacy', which Schaefer (2016) identifies as "the belief that power is primarily conducted by thoughts and language", provides a buffer against any notion of "discursive essentialism" which may misconstrue the relationship between bodies, power and language. The error, he asserts, is in the singular emphasis upon texts, in the insistence that "a document charters an institution and legislates bodies in toto". He contends that "bodies do things with texts; texts do not dictate to bodies" (Schaefer, 2016). With respect to WPR and the problem representations to which its analysis is attuned, affect (specifically) and affect theory (generally) offers a mechanism through which to ascertain, and, perhaps, interrogate the explanatory logics behind the problem representations within educational reform policies in Australia and the United States.

1.4. Research Questions

By beginning at the end, with observed human actions within the field of policy, this research project seeks to locate the mechanism impelling the persistence of these phenomena. In doing so, this research challenges the limits of neoliberalised educational discourse (and comprehensive rationalism), and especially the determinism and power with which it is held. It also challenges the conception of choice (and, indeed, its reification) within the neoliberalised policy paradigm, problematizing first its pursuance through policy as a form of regulated autonomy and a bounded rationality, and secondly as a manufactured form of freedom, a false freedom, as it were. Most importantly, the specific focus upon human agency seeks to question whether we do policy, or whether policy does us; whether policy governs or directs our conduct or is merely one frame through which to view action.

The Central Questions guiding this research ask:

1. What are the effects of globalised educational reform policies upon human action within systems of education in Australia?
2. To what extent does policy discourse limit, prescribe or enable human agency?
3. To what extent is there a relationship between globalised educational reform policies and specific forms of educational inequality?

Undergirding the questions guiding this research are two seminal issues also posed as questions. The first is the pivotal query at the heart of the WPR framework, “what does this problem, that of the concomitance of educational segregation and white flight, represent itself to be? The second asks, simply, “How does policy become real?” One might argue that the problems posed by these queries are, in fact, the primary questions guiding this research.

1.5. Originality of the study as a contribution to knowledge

Approaching policy as discourse, while neither new or unique to policy analysis, allows for the acceptance of policy as ‘the outcome of discursive practices and contests’ (Lejano 2006, p. 93). It also offers a different perspective to the analysis of education policy, first eschewing the neoliberalism-as-hegemony, top-down approach to policy while similarly rejecting, though calling for the further examination of, ‘truth claims’ promulgated through discourse in order to ‘consider or imagine alternative ways of developing policy and practice’ (Goodwin 2011, p. 170).

This research demonstrates the utility of the WPR approach within various policy fields for large scale policy analyses and, crucially, in a longitudinal manner across international contexts. While it is a relatively new and different application of this methodology—and in an altogether different manner than previous usages—its pairing with affect theory is also unique; Affect theory, while seemingly ubiquitous in the political scientific realm, finds minimal purchase within education. Most notably, its presence (ordinary usage) as mere emotion, precludes its engagement as collective affect and as a viable social heuristic.

By revealing the manner through which policy ‘constructs its issues’, this research seeks to understand its relationship to segregation and develop a framework for how and why policy manifests in specific ways. This combination of methodological and theoretical traditions furthers the development of policy analysis and contributes to the body of possible perspectives for policy analysis. Specifically, it increases the efficacy of the WPR methodology through its unique pairing with theories of affect, and in the formulation of a mechanism of the reform policy apparatus identifies how and why policy manifests in specific ways, and, perhaps most importantly, offers possible avenues for redress.

1.6. Researcher Perspective

It would be remiss of me to overlook the particularly subjective nature of discourse analytical frameworks, and especially that of the WPR framework. While I believe that this research took steps to mitigate against claims of a skewed lens, a brief explanation of my personal

perspective as a researcher, here, may further clarify those steps taken within the methodological steps outlined within this thesis.

I am a product of both the New York City public and private school systems, have worked for *No Child Left Behind*, and was a teacher within the New York City educational system as a NYC Teaching Fellow as well as in private schools in New York and other American cities. When married to my background as an international educator, first with UNICEF and other Non-Governmental Organisations, and again within Australia, principally as an educator within both governmental and non-governmental institutions, these experiences have developed within me a particular insight into education; they mark me as a consummate *insider*. Conversely, and perhaps equally importantly, I am also a Nigerian-American, a person of colour, and within Australia, a perpetual immigrant, as it were, and my experiences mark me as a consummate *outsider*.

It is no coincidence that my personal experiences within education have, at times, corresponded with the phenomena under consideration; I even attended the very schools within New York City's District 3 detailed within this research background. To wit, this research and the segregation that compels it is not the mere contemplation of an abstract concept, but rather an endeavour to understand what is, to me, a lived reality.

I do not believe that my personal proximity to the phenomena of racial segregation within schooling clouds either my appreciation or analyses of the policies under consideration. Rather, I believe that such personal investment imbues this work with an added measure of criticality, exigency and, more importantly, authenticity.

1.7. Organisation of the Thesis

This thesis is organized into 8 chapters, and arrayed as such:

This introduction, Chapter 1, discusses the aims of this research project and its significance to education.

Chapter 2, entitled Background of Research and Review of Literature, first provides the background to the phenomenon under consideration, contextualizing the racialized

inequalities in both countries. Crucially, this contextualization also identifies salient aspects of prevalent approaches to educational inequality. This chapter also details what is termed an 'architecture' of reform, identifying its theoretical underpinnings and further expanding on dominant approaches to policy and to reform.

Chapter 3, which outlines the Conceptual Framework for this thesis, is similarly structured in two parts, united insights from the two primary theoretical approaches through which this research was both conceived and conducted. First, the salient aspects of a Foucauldian-inspired post-structuralist policy discourse analysis are examined, its key constituent aspects foregrounded with regards to this research. Policy and Policy analysis are similarly discussed, then engaged through the lens of Carol Bacchi's "What's the problem Represented to Be" framework, emphasizing the centrality of problematization and problem representation to policy and to this thesis. Chapter 3 also engages Affect Theory, focusing upon its 'collective' engagement, as collective affect, and its facility for the identification of the mechanism of policy transmission and especially the manifestation of specific forms of inequality within education.

Chapter 4, Methodology, details the specific methodological approach employed within this thesis, explaining the six lenses (or questions) specified by the WPR method. This chapter also details the specific approach to the selection and analysis of policies of reform, and, where necessary, identifies necessary deviations from Bacchi's framework.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 constitute the application and partial analysis of the WPR method. Chapter 5 details the analysis through the first question and details the implicit problem representations uncovered through this analysis. This chapter details its analysis by respective national context. Chapters 6 and 7 build on the identified problem representations to address the considered policies through WPR Questions two and five, respectively and determine the Policy Rationalities and Policy Effects evinced through policies of reform.

Chapter 8 serves as both a discussion of the results of the analysis of policy through the WPR framework and provides a formal conclusion to this thesis. This discussion details the determination of the Conceptual and Operational Logics (the Explanatory logics) of reform as identified through this analysis and a consideration of the Discursive-Affective aspects of policy. The discussion concludes with the presentation of a model of policy transmission, an affective geography of educational reform. Finally, this chapter concludes this thesis by addressing the contributions of this thesis and its broader implications, engages in a

consideration of the limitations of this thesis and discusses recommendations for further research.

Chapter 2.

Background and Review of Literature for this Research Study

2.1 Introduction

The following chapter presents a review of the literature concerning the phenomena under consideration. It is divided into two primary sections, each structured according to its differing aims. The first of these sections examines the literature exploring the background to the phenomenon which precipitated this research, educational segregation, addressing the details of this specific form of inequality within the relevant contexts. The second section addresses the relevant literature examining the profundity of educational reform initiatives in Western countries, and particularly in the United States and Australia, paying particular attention to the relationship between global neoliberalisation and educational policy. It aims to develop an understanding about the economisation of education, purposefully foregrounding its historical and social underpinnings, and thereby contextualising the development of the neoliberal 'ethic' as a further expansion upon 20th century theories of economic or market rationalism. These theories are highlighted as the economic, political and social lenses through which social policy-making—and specifically social services, such as education—is conceived, as this is revealed through its discourse. It is then possible to review the primary actors as they are perceived through the neo-liberal lens, or the neo-liberal imaginary. The second aim builds upon the discussion of the first by discussing the epistemological issues surrounding neoliberal education, its simultaneous promise and limitation of freedom, agency and choice.

Together, these two sections work to explore the social effects of the reformist mindset within education and educational policy as well as directing our attentions towards inequality in its various manifestations. Both sections identify trends within the literature as well as gaps for further examination. Crucially, together they allow for an understanding of the policy landscape and the discourses from which educational reform emerges and the location of the discourse of reform within the affective domain.

2.2. Segregation: Inequality by another name

Within the Australian context and related literature, the term segregation is employed in a liberal manner, as social segregation (Angus, 2015; Cobbold, 2017) or other vague catch-all terms meant to indicate various forms of social segmentation, and purposefully euphemistic as to its material import. It denotes multiple forms of stratification, though more often than not referring primarily to class stratification or cultural (or ethnic) divisions, but—and especially within Australia—only tangentially to race. Calling attention to this distinction is not intended to mask Australia’s history of de jure or de facto racial and ethnic segregation, but rather informs the determination of the related, though distinctive, natures of this phenomenon in both contexts. The social and educationally systemic differences between the United States and Australia do not naturally lend themselves to facile comparison (Savage & O’Connor, 2014), and, indeed, the forms and the quality of segregation are different in both their overall prevalence and their scope.

Whether racially inclined or indicative of economic stratification, segregation is often complexified by natural social demographic changes due to immigration and birth rates. It is worth noting that these naturally occurring social concentrations, or immigrant and racial clustering—whatever their genesis—are not at issue here, although it would be remiss to ignore the sometimes overt/clear relationships between them. And though it includes other forms of social segmentation along such lines as ethnicity, poverty and immigrant status, segregation, here, refers to “intense racial separation” (Orfield et al. 2016, p. 9). Such segregation within schooling indicates growing racial concentrations between and within schools that ostensibly serve the dominant racial and class groups; white, in both the United States and Australia.

Of course, the phenomenon of segregation in Australia and the United States is not, strictly speaking, the same. Most notably, both the demographic realities and geographical constitution of Australia marks its segregation as having a high situational probability. The segregation in question (see van der Weide, Waslander & Pater, 2010; Ho, 2011, 2015; Perry and Southwell, 2013; Biddle & Hayes, 2014; Zhao, 2015; Jacks, 2016; Jacks and Cook, 2016a, 2016b; Cobbold, 2017; Ashenden, 2018; Tsatsaklas, 2018) is identified as having the characteristics of ‘white flight’ and an artificial racial and or ethnic composition.

Notably Australian segregation is also concentrated in urban centers which, though more statistically probable within such areas of higher population density, is remarkable for its presence within areas of increasing or high multicultural or multiethnic composition.

Outside of the United States, ethnic segregation receives limited attention, and racial segregation even less (Bonal & Bellei, 2019). Bonal and Bellei indicate, for example, that despite protestations/reminders of its importance, “the discrimination and school segregation faced by Roma children in European societies have received much less attention than research on racial inequalities in the USA ... and the migrant conditions of children, socio-economic variables or special needs proxies have actually concentrated the focus of most empirical research on school segregation in European countries” (2019, p. 2). Further to this, they also point out that the focus on “social and economic inequalities” in Latin American countries is both relatively recent and focused exclusively upon “factors accounting for the high levels of exclusion from the school system, low academic performance and noticeable educational inequity” (p. 3).

Childers’ (Childers, 2017) comments on American segregation hold equally true of Australian education. She remarks that segregation is the “water in which [Americans] swim”, noting that “at any one point, our history is connected to the imposition of policy and practice that effectively walls-off students of colour from their educational rights” (p. 194). Bonal and Bellei (2019) refer to the extensive research on segregation informing their contention that “contrary to certain positions that might find civic virtues in voluntary and spontaneous school segregation processes (Merry, 2012) and homogeneous school communities (Chubb and Moe, 1990), there is a great deal of evidence to show that school segregation has negative effects on the performance of the most disadvantaged students” (p.3; see also Thrupp et al., 2002; Dupriez et al., 2008).

Additionally, school composition effects become a more accurate barometer for student performance than do accepted measures such as pedagogy or organizational effects (Bonal & Bellei, 2019; see also Benito et al., 2014). They put it plainly, when noting that “the educational performance of ethnic minorities or low SES students is more sensitive to composition effects than it is in the case of higher SES students (see Hanushek et al., 2002; Andersen and Thomsen, 2011; in Bonal & Bellei, 2019, p. 4). Such measures of school composition also figure prominently in students’ capacity for developing social capacity, intercultural associations (Van Houtte and Stevens, 2009; Tropp and Prenovost, 2008); a reduction in prejudice (Hughes et al., 2013); and are indicative of still other measures such as violence or even a participatory democratic awareness (Mickelson, 2019).

Social segregation, however conceived, is approached primarily through the (limited) prism of existing social stratification, namely residential or housing segregation (Bell, 2018; Ho 2011, 2015) as it pertains to school selection processes (see also Taylor, 2017). While Bonal and Bellei correctly define school segregation as being more than the mere product of residential segregation, and definitely indicated by high levels of “institutional differentiation ... and the capacity of schools to select their student” cohorts (2019, p. 4; see also Alegre and Ferrer, 2010), they focus their efforts upon four groups of causal forces: “residential segregation and neighbourhood effects, institutional characteristics of education systems, the role of market reforms in education, and the direct role of education policies regarding admission systems and compensatory policies” (p. 6). Residential segregation, or residential patterning, the most accessible of these forces, poses an immediate challenge: does the residential patterning indicate the school composition, or does school composition create a distinct residential pattern? This causal force represents a “dual causal relationship [whereby] residential segregation affects school segregation as much as differences in school quality impact on families’ residential patterns and choices, especially among the middle class” (Bonal and Bellei, 2019, p. 6; see Frankenberg and Kotok, 2013; Boterman, 2013). The term residential segregation is a quasi-euphemistic term intended to indicate the complex interaction of “middle-class educational strategies” where the search for social advantage by middle class (read here as primarily ‘white’) families “produce circuits of schooling in the educational marketplace, which reproduce spatial inequalities in school composition and academic performance” (Ball et al., 1995, in Bonal & Bellei, 2019, p. 6). Notably, however, the effects of residential segregation are unclear; neighbourhood effects, so to speak, are varied and variable, related to a confluence of factors, most notably spatial and attitudinal dispositions (see Fleischmann et al., 2011; Friedrichs et al., 2003) with further research indicating that peer effects are more conclusive in this regard (Del Bello et al., 2015; Sykes, 2011). Perhaps the most telling fact with regards to residential segregation is that it is lower than that found in schooling (Harris, 2017; Karsten et al., 2006).

Inter-institutional differentiation, referring to tracking or streaming of students is regarded as a significant contributing factor to school segregation (Murat, 2012; Alegre and Ferrer, 2010; Jenkins et al., 2008), producing social differences exacerbated by socio-economic background. Research on the effects of tracking reveals its provision of varied learning environments, with differing impacts upon students in either the lower streams (negative) or the higher streams (minimal) (Hanushek and Woessmann, 2006) and its impact upon teachers and their perceptions of their students (Oakes, 2005). Market reforms comprise the third causal factor,

and they focus upon the importation of ‘private-sector’ mechanisms into education, most notably accountability and organizational principles.

Intra-institutional differentiation, because of its relationship to market-oriented reforms, must be considered here. It refers to the increasing prevalence of differentiated school systems, and the push to marketize the structural characteristics of education, offering different products, as it were, for different customers. Under this banner of *intra*-institutional differentiation fall such educational policy tools as school choice and voucher systems, which in turn produce strategies of parental choice, and crucially, concretize perspectives towards both education and the purpose of choice.

Choice is shown to produce negative effects with regard to lower socio-economic groups and upon school segregation (Denessen et al., 2005; Easton, 2015; Bonal et al., 2017). It is also associated with ‘white flight’, although international research indicates that in some instances school choice serves to ameliorate socio-economic segregation, (see, for example, Gorard and Fitz, 2006). Such findings require an understanding of the relationship between school choice and segregation in schooling. Moreover, the increased diversity of schooling choices—private, public, independent, parochial—is a contributing factor in the process of segregation in schooling through selection and self-selection practices and informing processes of cultural closure and against social cohesion.

With regards to the term white flight, this thesis recognizes its movement beyond its natural and historical alignment usage within the United States, where it is traditionally been linked to what Orfield terms “parental avoidance strategies”. The term can be traced to 1970s desegregation efforts in the United States and indicates, amongst other legislative (and moral) avoidance strategies, the demographic changes caused by the exodus of white families from areas (and the exodus itself) to avoid compliance with legal desegregation edicts.

While the present phenomena may not fit the precise and historical definition nor exhibit the same overtly racial reasoning as that within the United States, its effect is the same: an exodus of white families and students from schools, leaving concentrations of students of colour. Within this thesis, white flight denotes a schooling population dynamic where people of colour disproportionately outnumber ‘white’ Australians due to white Australians having additional options; they can choose to leave. Perhaps most notably, such situations occur where the demographics would indicate a white majority or, at the very least, a semblance of demographic parity.

It is the prevalence of segregation within progressive and racially composite neighbourhoods and locales that has led to a growing raft of research and published discourse in the United States and Australia raising questions as to the genesis and sustainability of what is ostensibly an odious development within education, and its varied usage within the literature indicates both multiplicity of purpose and understanding. Crucially, this seemingly epiphenomenological development draws the analytical gaze towards reform and the policies governing its operation/implementation, as they are the clearest link between these international contexts. Moreover, the contextual differences with regards to both the provision and position of education as well as the scale and scope of segregation within education are sufficiently distinct and significant to warrant mention.

2.2.1. The United States and the American Re-Segregation of Schooling

While contemporaneous media accounts of the state of schooling are unanimous in their identification of the steadily increasing re-segregation within American schooling (Zernike 2016; Bloom, 2015; Gettys, 2015; Whitford, 2016; Wall, 2017; Taylor 2017, Hannah-Jones, 2014), it is the work of Orfield et al., (2016) and Hemphill and Mader (2018) which best clarify the state of social segregation within schooling in the United States. Though they are not alone in their sounding of the alarm (see also Orfield, 2001; Orfield and Lee, 2005; Hanushek et al., 2003; Ogbu, 2003; Saporito, 2003; Roda and Wells, 2013; Gillborn, 2013; Brown and Lissovoy 2011; Renzulli and Evans 2005; Bifulco et al., 2009; Bonal and Bellei, 2019), Orfield et al.'s (2016) longitudinal analysis of inequality in US schooling, and Hemphill and Mader's (2018) empirical focus on New York City provide deeper insight into the shape of the problem we must consider.

Addressing the present state of education in the United States with regards to its degree of racialized inequality requires an appreciation of historical antecedents and specifically the legacy of de jure segregation within American schooling as struck down by the Supreme Court (Brown v. Board of Ed, 1954). The Brown decision garnered attention for a purported democratization of this crucial bastion of Jim Crow America through its striking down of the "separate, but equal" doctrine informing the legalized segregation of education. While the literature is clear in identifying the Brown decision as a seminal moment in the fight against legalized segregation in schooling, it is equally—though tacitly—clear in identifying de facto

segregation, indicated by such phenomena as white flight, as representing the more pernicious of social barriers (or responses) to efforts at establishing equality in education.

Whitehurst, Reeves and Rodriguez (2016) of the Brookings Institute see the trend of social segregation in schooling as characterized by a rapid decrease in segregation in the period following the Brown decision and, although marked a brief uptick during the 1970s “between school districts”, the pattern has continued in a downwards trend through to the 1980s. Childers (2017), however, in a decidedly cynical, though no less accurate characterization of this issue, remarks that “there is no such thing as desegregation, there are merely varying levels or intensities of segregation in education.” While the legality of segregation within US schools was affirmed to be unconstitutional through this case, it is not the Brown decision which stands as pivotal to this endeavour, but rather the 1974 *Milliken v Bradley* case and, to a lesser extent, the 1991 *Dowell* decision. The US Supreme Court’s decision in *Milliken v Bradley* (1974), which addressed the proposed desegregation of public schools through busing programs in Detroit, Michigan, provided clarification of an accepted difference between *de jure* and *de facto* segregation and served to complicate the steady, though fractious and contentious, process of American school desegregation. It found segregation to be permissible/acceptable so long as such processes were not mandated by law, giving assent—whether intended, or not—to *de facto* segregation. It is *de facto* segregation to which this research must look, as the term refers to the seemingly unstructured patterns of collective and social action which characterize this form of social segmentation.

De facto segregation in the United States education is best characterized by choice policies and segregation academies (Ravitch, 2010)—altogether as “white flight”. Tsatsaklas (2018) highlights that, in the aftermath of the Brown decision, resistance to desegregation took many forms, among them ‘freedom of choice’ plans, which by allowing students (parents) a choice in school enrolment, merely “perpetuated segregation”, allowing it to continue within an ostensibly *de facto* form (see also Chemerinsky, 2003). The *Milliken* decision validated the various *de facto* machinations employed by American locales to resist the forced desegregation of schools, and arguably presaged the 1991 *Board of Education of Oklahoma City Public Schools v Dowell* (498 U.S. 237) US Supreme Court decision authorizing the cessation of desegregation initiatives.

In the period subsequent to the Brown decision, desegregation efforts—including the forced integration of schooling in the United States—produced a narrowing of the achievement gap between black and white students, achieving a reduction of 46% by 1988 (Whitehurst et al. 2016, Orfield et al. 1997, 2014, 2016). This statistic is even more remarkable considering the

tacit acceptance (and legal assent) towards de facto segregation accommodated by the Milliken decision. It can be argued, however, that the Dowell decision ushered in the present period of increasing re-segregation. Re-segregation, here, it should be noted, is an inelegant and perhaps imprecise term. While legally, schools, districts and counties were forced to integrate, realistically the educational landscape with regards to the struggle for equality is best characterized by a series of legal disputes, each more arcane than the last, challenging various aspects of school integration policies. Ravitch (2010) notes that it is from within this period that the 'school choice' canard is born; it was an appeal to individuality as a path towards preserving the inherently unequal racial status quo.

Despite the identified success of such policy positions, a reversal of this integrationist success now typifies the current state of educational inequality. In "Brown at 62", Orfield, Ee, Frankenberg and Siegel-Hawley (2016) highlight significant changes to the country's demographic composition, the implications of which are profound, though not necessarily predictive of the racialized nature of educational inequality. Between 1999 and 2013 public school enrolment in the United States has increased by 20 percent (21.1), seeing an increase in real numbers from 41.2 to 49.9 million students. Moreover, as shown in *Figure 1*, and in keeping with national demographic changes, the racial makeup of public schooling has decreased with regards to white students, from 69% to 50%, with a 14 and 15% increase in Latino and Asian students, respectively, and stasis with regards to the number of black students.

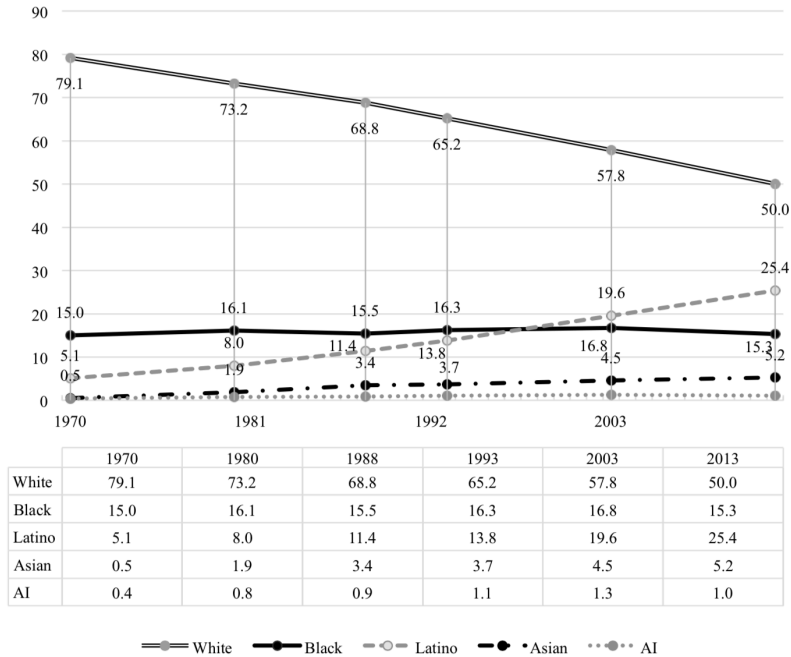


Figure 1: Racial Composition of Public School Enrolment in the United States, 1970-2013, by percentage. Note: AI refers to American Indian. Source: Orfield, et al., 2016, p. 2

They also observe that although public school enrolment has increased in both size and racial composition, “intensely segregated nonwhite schools with zero to 10% white enrolment have more than tripled” in the period spanning 1991 to 2007, as shown in Table 2 (p. 1). During this same period, “the extreme isolation of white students in schools with 0 to 10% nonwhite students has declined by half as the share of white students has dropped sharply” (p. 1).

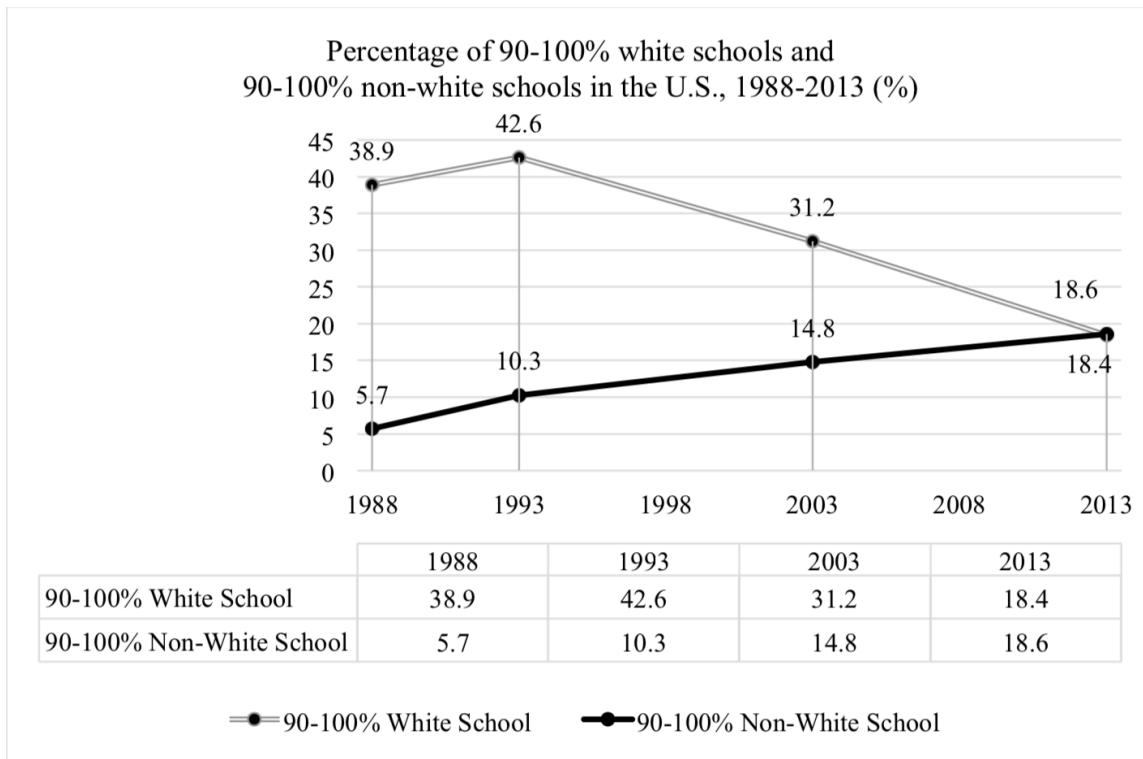


Figure 2: Percentage of intensely segregated schools, 1988-2013; Adapted from Orfield et al., 2016, p. 3

Whitehurst, Reeves and Rodriguez (2016) caution that such identified demographic shifts serve to complicate the data; the increasing diversity of American schooling makes it harder to track segregation as such trends are discerned through a process of evaluating exposure to white students, whose overall share of student numbers has fallen, and especially within majority-white schools—from “81 percent in 1988 to 58 percent in 2013” (Orfield and Frankenberg 2014, in Whitehurst et al., 2016, p. 25). Such “exposure methods” are crucial, however, as an indicator of broader social relations (p. 25). More importantly, the changing demographic landscape is notable for the increasing numbers of Latino students, which serve to draw attention away from the historically dominant (and sometimes simplistic) binary of white-black relations. While Figure 2 indicates the increasing percentage of segregated schools, and crucially paints a full picture of increasing segregation as determined by exposure methodologies, Figure 3 indicates the increasing isolation of certain segments of American population within education, which Whitehurst et al. (2016) characterize as indicative of “less white isolation, less black isolation, and more exposure of black and white students to Hispanic students, [though] less black-white exposure” (p. 26). They conclude by affirming that “both black and white students have become much more likely to share classrooms with Hispanics, but not more likely to share classrooms with each other” (p. 26). A closer examination of the data,

however, reveals even more troubling indications. Their findings, summarized in Table 1, reveal both the changing demographics of education and the surprising nature of this phenomena in the United States.

Black exposure to white students		Percentage of black students in 90-100% non-white schools		State percentage of black enrollment	
New York	15.7	New York	65.8	Mississippi	49.3
California	17.4	Illinois	59.6	Louisiana	42.3
Illinois	18.2	Maryland	53.7	Georgia	37.0
Maryland	19.0	New Jersey	49.2	South Carolina	35.0
Texas	21.0	Michigan	48.7	Maryland	34.1
New Jersey	22.9	California	47.9	Alabama	33.5
Georgia	23.9	Wisconsin	45.3	Delaware	31.2
Nevada	25.1	Pennsylvania	45.3	North Carolina	25.9
Mississippi	25.2	Mississippi	45.2	Virginia	23.2
Michigan	26.4	Tennessee	44.3	Tennessee	22.8
Florida	26.7	Texas	43.3	Florida	22.4
Tennessee	27.9	Georgia	43.1	Arkansas	20.9
Pennsylvania	28.5	Alabama	42.1	Michigan	17.7
Connecticut	28.6	Missouri	41.4	New York	17.7
Louisiana	29.1	Ohio	37.8	Illinois	17.4
Wisconsin	29.1	Florida	34.4	Missouri	16.2
Alabama	29.6	Louisiana	33.2	Ohio	16.1
Ohio	30.2	Rhode Island	32.0	New Jersey	15.9
Indiana	32.1	Indiana	29.8	Pennsylvania	14.8
Missouri	32.2	Connecticut	27.5	Connecticut	12.8

Table 2: Most segregated states for black students, 2013-14; Adapted from Orfield et al. (2016) p. 5

This tabulation of the most segregated states for black students reveals that contrary to the expected (though stereotypical) notion of the American South as the veritable bosom of racism and its attendant social data, it is northern states—and especially their purportedly diverse metropolises—where we are most likely to observe segregated school districts. As indicated in Table 3, for Latino students the same states sit at or near the top of such rankings. While on one hand this is unsurprising in that it is not until the 1973 Keyes decision (Keyes v. Denver School District No. I (413 U.S. 189 (1973)) extending to Latino and Hispanic students the same desegregation efforts afforded to black students; on the other hand, it again indicates that the presence of high levels of segregation in states where such populations comprise lower percentages of the total school populations.

Latino exposure to white students		Percentage of Latino students in		State Percentage of Latino enrollment	
<i>California</i>	15.4	<i>New York</i>	56.8	<i>New Mexico</i>	60.9
<i>Texas</i>	17.6	<i>California</i>	56.5	<i>California</i>	53.2
<i>New York</i>	20.4	<i>Texas</i>	53.7	<i>Texas</i>	51.7
<i>New Mexico</i>	20.5	<i>Rhode Island</i>	49.5	<i>Arizona</i>	43.9
<i>Maryland</i>	25.5	<i>Illinois</i>	44.9	<i>Nevada</i>	40.6
<i>Nevada</i>	25.5	<i>New Jersey</i>	42.5	<i>Colorado</i>	32.5
<i>Illinois</i>	25.7	<i>Maryland</i>	40.4	<i>Florida</i>	30.1
<i>Arizona</i>	25.8	<i>Arizona</i>	40.3	<i>Illinois</i>	24.7
<i>New Jersey</i>	25.9	<i>New Mexico</i>	34.7	<i>New York</i>	24.4
<i>Rhode Island</i>	27.8	<i>Florida</i>	31.5	<i>New Jersey</i>	24.1

Table 3: Most Segregated States for Latino Students; Adapted from Orfield et al., 2016, p. 6

While Whitehurst et al. (2016) believe that the race and class must be considered together and crucially, as indistinguishable from each other, Orfield et al. (2016) are also clear in recognizing the segregation by race, class and/or social status as distinct forces, rather than as a single, homogenous phenomena adequately encapsulated through the term inequality- an efficient, though imprecise, term. Figure 3 depicts the confluence of these distinct forces, displaying a substantial rise in the percentages of poorer students in schools attended by all racial groups, an increase which, while “[reflecting a] lack of mobility and declining real incomes” in the United States, also points towards what Orfield et al. (2016) term a double segregation of class and race, the “serious isolation from racial and class diversity and exposure to the many problems that systematically afflict poor families and communities” (p. 7).

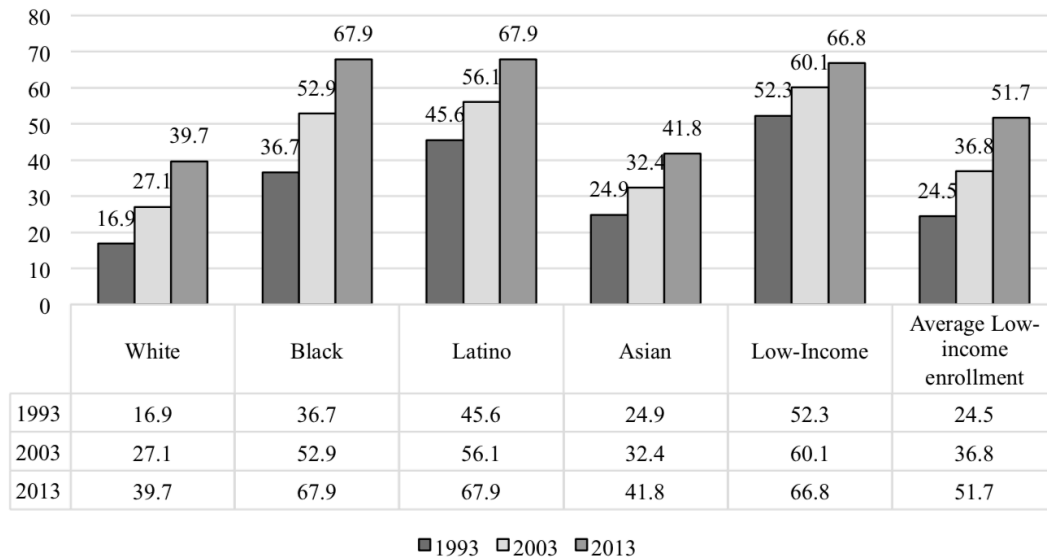


Figure 3: Percentage of low-income students in schools attended by the average student of each race, 1993-2013; Adapted from Orfield et al., 2016, p. 7

Hemphill and Mader (2018) point to research by The New School’s Center for New York City Affairs indicating that segregation in schooling cannot be attributed solely to residential segregation, noting that high poverty and racially homogenous elementary schools exist within racially and economically diverse neighbourhoods. New York City, which alone has as many students as the entirety of Australia, is in the midst of an unprecedented period of gentrification of previously maligned and socially fallow neighbourhoods. Remarkably, this process has produced counterintuitive results for schooling. Nikole Hannah-Jones, an investigative reporter for the New York Times, remarks that “gentrification, it turns out, usually stops at the schoolhouse door” (in Bloom, 2016) and Esther Bloom (2015) notes that “gentrification tends to have a neutral or even negative effect on neighborhood schools”. She likens the situation to Spencer’s (2015) characterization of San Francisco’s process of gentrification, which, in his assessment, has produced “Apartheid schools,” even while gentrification changes other aspects of the neighbourhoods around them. Though Hemphill and Mader (2018) are clear to underscore that this research does not minimize the impacts of residential segregation, screenshots of their interactive maps (Figures 4-6) reveal that New York City’s schools are more segregated than their surrounding neighbourhoods. They are juxtaposed against maps of the racial composition of schools and school zones using data from the Department of Education (DOE) and the American Community Survey.

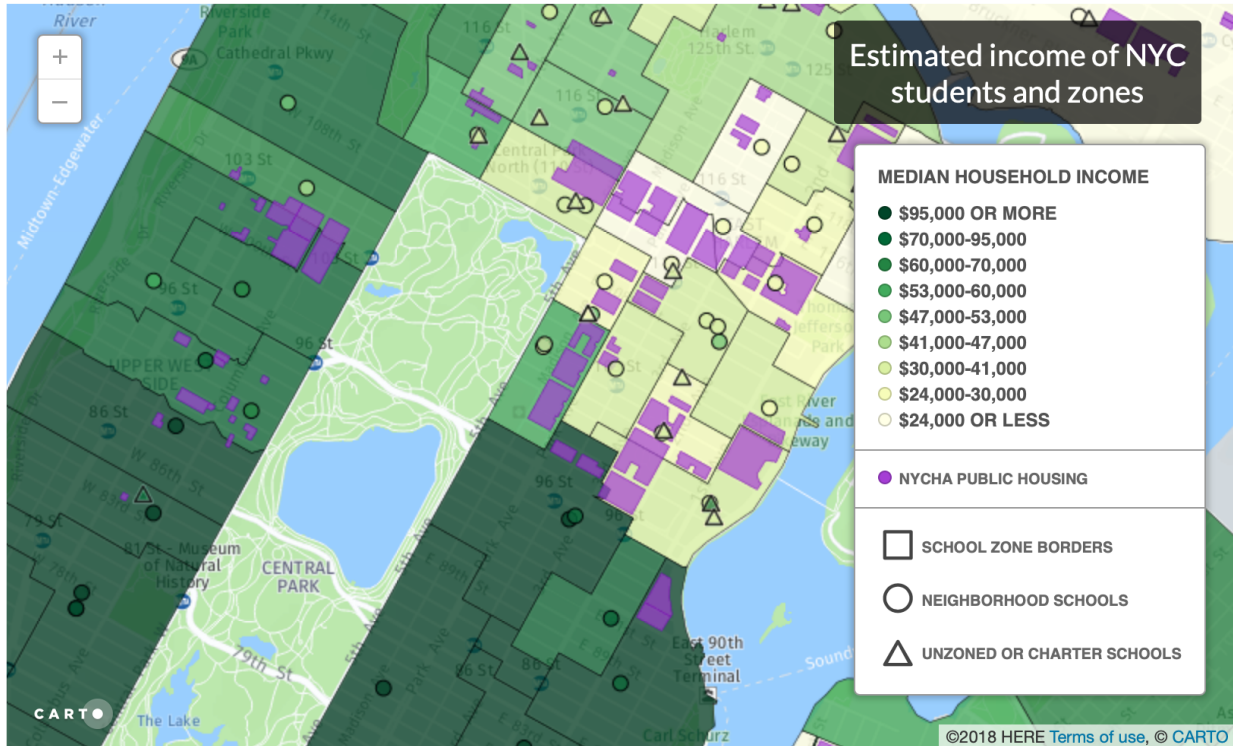
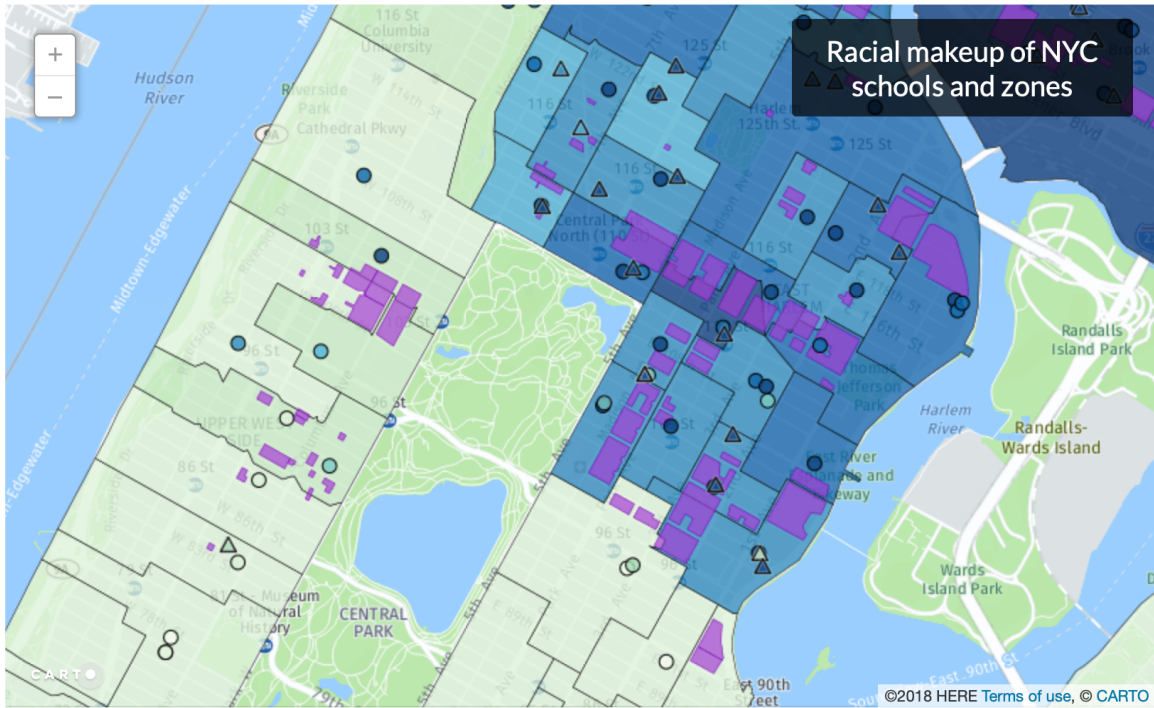


Figure 4: Upper Manhattan School Zones and Incomes; from Hemphill and Mader, 2016

Figure 4 depicts the median incomes of neighbourhoods across the Upper West Side of New York City, revealing the concentrations of both wealth and poverty. Crucially, it is necessary to note that in a number of these neighbourhoods, and particularly as one moves downtown, the average income increases substantially. Of particular interest are the locations of public housing ‘projects’ in relation to public schools (a circle), charter or unzoned schools (a triangle) and the school zone borders. Figure 5 reveals the racial composition of the schools within these very areas, with straight lines indicating school zone borders, neighbourhood schools represented by circles, and triangles denoting unzoned or charter schools. Like their constituent neighbourhoods and school zones, the darker the colouration, the higher the concentration of black and Latino students; a lighter blue indicates lower proportions of such students.



Map created by [Center for NYC Affairs](#)

Figure 5: Racial makeup of NYC school zones- Upper West Side; from Hemphill and Mader, 2016

Notably Figure 6, which depicts the Upper West Side highlighted in a splice of the map from the previous image, reveals that while schools may reside within racially diverse neighbourhoods, their student compositions fail to reflect such diversity.



Figure 6: School Composition, New York City District 3, Upper West Side of Manhattan

Hemphill and Mader (2016) note that of the city's 734 neighbourhood schools, 45 percent of them, or 332 schools, are predominantly black and Latino— specifically, over 90% by composition. Additionally, these schools are primarily in neighbourhoods that are also predominantly black and Latino. Even more concerning was the identification of “59 schools with enrolments of more than 90 percent black and Latino students in neighborhoods that are more racially mixed, that is, neighborhoods that are less than 80 percent black and Latino. These schools have a combined enrolment of 28,175 children”. The sharpest discrepancies, they note, were in District 3 on the Upper West Side (Figure 6), District 5 in Harlem and District 13 in downtown Brooklyn- all areas which have undergone significant gentrification, and notably, districts receiving much undue attention for their efforts to resist diversification efforts.

Taylor (2018) writes that the history of District 3 “which stretches along the West Side of Manhattan from 59th to 122nd Street, shows how administrators’ decisions, combined with the choices of parents and the forces of gentrification, have shaped the current state of its schools, which, in one of the most politically liberal parts of a liberal city, remain sharply divided by race and income, and just as sharply divergent in their levels of academic achievement”. Of the approximately 14,000 elementary and middle school students in District 3, the roughly 30% whom are white are unevenly distributed. Taylor attributes this to white parents taking advantage of alternatives to their zoned schools, choosing to abandon their zoned school, or, as in the case of PS 199 in District 3, resisting efforts to diversify its student body to better reflect the surrounding neighbourhood. I should note here that I attended PS 199 from 1985 to 1989, during the height of bussing efforts to in the United States; I was bussed into this school from, first, Harlem, then, later, the Bronx. Moreover, I attended many of the schools, both public and private, at the heart of the diversity issues within District 3 and the Upper West Side of Manhattan

Allison Roda and Amy Wells (2013) contribute to an insistent and compelling body of research identifying a “strong positive correlation” (p. 262) between the increase in racial and/or ethnic segregation in schools and the presence of market-based, or colour-blind, school choice policies (see also Mead and Green, 2012; Mickelson et al. 2008; Wells and Roda 2008). They note that “when school choice policies are not designed to racially or socioeconomically integrate schools, that is, are ‘colorblind’ policies, they generally manage to do the opposite, leading to greater stratification and separation of students by race and ethnicity across schools and programs” (2013, p. 262). Accordingly, the architecture of choice has received considerable

attention with regards to segregation in schools (see Bell 2009; Glazerman 1998; Goldring and Phillips 2008; Kisida et al., 2008).

Wall (Wall, 2017) recounts the challenges of diversifying schools in New York City's Upper West Side. His examination noted that the push to increase school choice (through reform, through policy) merely increased school choice for already privileged parents. He notes that the proposed policy fixes involved an expansion in charter schools and voucher options. Wall notes that even when privileged and poor families live side by side, they often attend different schools. Through a study on 21 school districts, Saporito and Sohoni (2007) found that many schools were becoming residualised, having "higher poverty rates than their surrounding neighbourhoods- a pattern triggered largely by well-off families choosing private, magnet, or charter options instead of their local public school." (Wells 2017). Of this, Saporito concluded that "If you define choice as deciding not to enroll in the school that serves your neighborhood, then choice leads to greater segregation" (in Wall, 2017).

The architecture of choice, as it were, must also account for the increasing prevalence of charter schools (and to an extent magnet schools) in American education. Orfield (1997) regards charter schools as a measure which further exacerbates the re-segregation of American schooling. Organisations such as the *National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People* (NAACP) and the Movement for Black Lives have condemned charter schools as contributing to an exacerbation of segregation in schooling and calling for a moratorium on their grants. The increasing numbers of students, and especially low-income and students of colour, educated by charter schools and networks is indicative of the purported activation of the inherent power of school choice, the extension of the ability to choose to every segment of the educational population. However, the selection of such schools is fraught with controversy.

Both Roda and Wells (2015) and Hemphil and Mader (2018) focus their analytical attentions upon white and/or privileged parents, presenting an incomplete accounting of either its concerned actors or of the very architecture of choice. The appearance of segregation within progressive neighbourhoods and schools indicates an adherence to an individualistic and competitive discourse which is seemingly activated within an awareness of the socially destructive nature of such competitive forces.

2.2.2 The Australian Embrace of Segregated Schooling

With regards to the growth of segregation in Australia, it is revealed to be a persistent and worsening situation but, accordingly, in line with social demographic patterns, inevitable social shifts and bound to Australia's high levels of both educational and social inequality. Although Connell (2003) avers that 'white flight' had not appeared as an issue within Australian education, 'white flight' has indeed been chronicled by, amongst others, Ho (2011, 2015); and extensively by Biddle and Hayes (2014), and Cobbold (2015). Cobbold is unequivocal in characterizing the educational landscape as one "increasingly characterized by class and ethnic segregation", and especially among "white, elite private schools" (2015, p.3). Moreover, he attributes responsibility for such social segregation to school choice policies, arguing that they compound the effects of housing, or residential, segregation and, in addition to the inherent inequity of government funding to education, have led to "an increasing concentration of disadvantaged students in some public schools and increasing concentration[s] of advantaged students in others" (2015, p.2).

Ho (2011) is similarly clear in her characterization of schooling in Sydney as evincing clear patterns of social segregation and polarization along school sector lines marked by "white flight" from public schools. Her research determined that policies encouraging school choice have ultimately produced an "Ethnically unbalanced" and "hyper-racialised" schooling system. She also notices that though ethnic concentration is a recurring issue within school populations (see Bonnor & Caro 2007; Patty 2008; McDougall 2009), the reasoning for such divisions are complex. Sriprakash identifies the lens of such 'choice' as one of whiteness. His research into racial politics in Australian schooling has led him to declare that this process exhibits a subtle racism. He believes that "it occurs in school choice, in the way parents decide what is a good, bad or risky school" (in Jacks 2016). John Polesel places the burden of culpability upon a system of competition between schools fostered (and encouraged) by NAPLAN and MySchool's "crude measures of success" (in Jacks & Cook 2016). Richard Teese offers a warning, critical in its temporal significance to the consideration of an American context: "If we start educating people separately, we run the risk of creating ghettos, and the formation of hostile social attitudes" (in Jacks 2016).

Addressing the phenomena of racial segregation in schooling requires, first, the contextualization of the Australian social and educational landscape where class and ethnicity are considered the primary factors for both inequality and social segregation.

Inequality is comprised of multiple dimensions, to be sure, each of which have differing material implications for students. Sriprakash and Proctor (2018) point to the relationship between social class and inequality, but also indicate education's role in reaffirming this connection. Both Australia and the United States avail themselves of meritocratic discourses, promulgating the concept of level playing fields, or *ceteris paribus*. A now common aphorism in the discussion of education are Connell's words: "statistically speaking, the best advice ... for poor children is to choose richer parents" (Connell 1993, p. 22; see also Gonski, 2011; Lamb et al., 2015). Sriprakash and Proctor (2018) also note that "there are questions about as to how much inequality is either tolerable or productive" (113). To this, we must qualify it with types or forms of inequality, as well.

The discussion of inequality in Australian schooling is as prevalent as it is persistent. The mediatisation of this topic is profound (see, for example, (Cook, 2016; Hamad, 2016; Masters, 2018; Neill, 2016; C. Webb, 2016; Zhao, 2015), while its examination within academia and amongst policy circles is similarly consistent and prolific (see, for example, Ball, 2014; Bonnor & Shepherd, 2015; Cobbold, 2017; Ho, 2011; 2015; Kenway, 2013; Lingard, Sellar, & Savage, 2014; Mills & Gale, 2002; Riddle, Matters, 2017, n.d.; Teese & Lamb, 2007; Teese & Polesel, 2003; Tsatsaklas, 2018).

Additionally, and perhaps most notably, the OECD has repeatedly identified Australia as among the worst of its member nations with regards to social segregation, ranking its levels as the 4th highest, only surpassed by the United Arab Emirates, Peru, Israel, Indonesia, Hungary, Qatar and Chile (Cobbold, 2017). Remarkably, their position, as displayed in Figure 7, which is based upon the results of PISA 2015—and, crucially, reported within the assessment of student well-being—ranks behind that of the United States. Moreover, Australia's relative wealth masks its levels of inequality and especially the widening gap (Pusey, 2003; Nous Group, 2011) between the boundary levels—the upper and lower—of the 18% of children under the age of 15 living in poverty (ACOSS 2012).

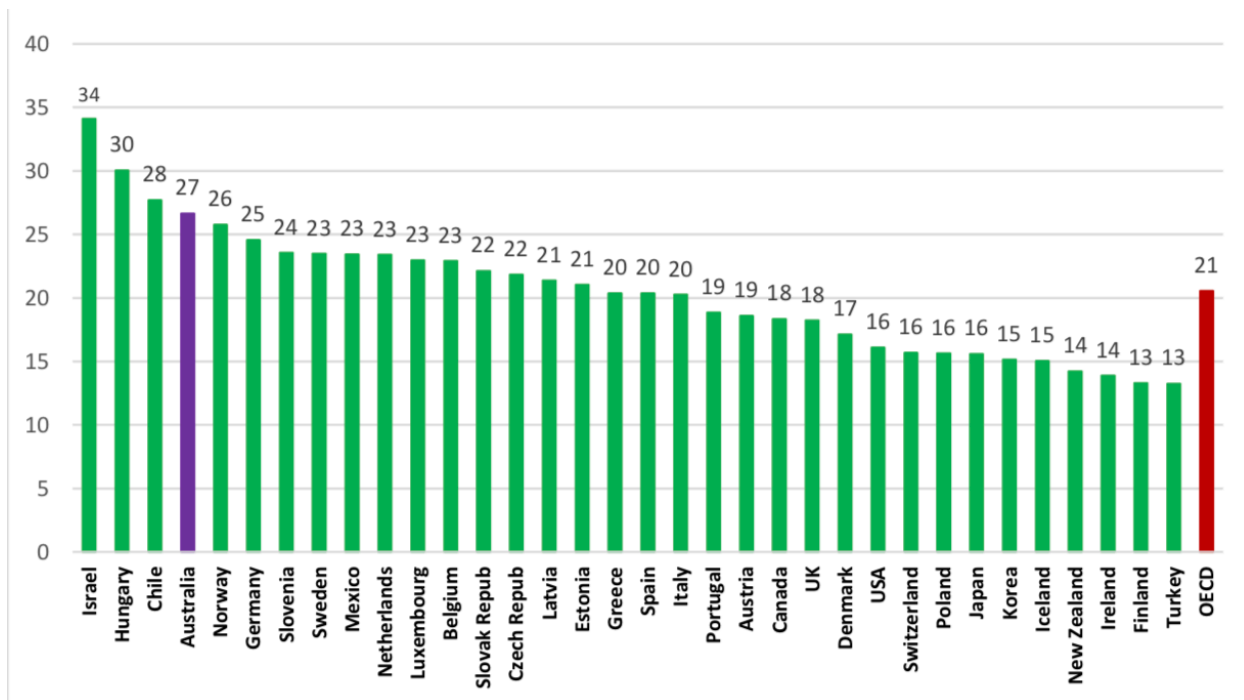


Figure 7: Index of Social Segregation in School Systems, OECD Countries, 2015; from OECD, PISA 2015 Results (Volume III): Students' Well-Being, Table III.10.13.

Schooling in Australia is marked by a “narrow socio-economic mix” in comparison to similar OECD countries (NOUS 2011; Bonnor and Shepherd, 2016), although this social segmentation in education is often and readily attributed to either geography, the outsized presence of non-governmental schools and “highly developed education markets” (Sriprakash and Proctor, 2018, p. 132). Notably, this segmentation correlates significantly with school type; non-governmental schools typically enrol disproportionate numbers of relatively privileged children, while the bulk of students, and especially those with educational challenges, must remain within the government system (Nous, 2011; Preston, 2013; Biddle and Hayes, 2014).

Conversations on educational inequality in Australia focus considerable attention upon the ‘gaps’, on devising meliorative mechanisms to address identified performance inequalities as identified through a myriad of international testing regimes. Notably the Indigenous education (or testing) gap looms large within such conversations, considered as Indigenous disadvantage, and alongside low socioeconomic status and rural/remote groups (see Biddle and Hayes, 2014). Perry admits that such factors often overlap, contributing to a “compounding” (p. 59) of educational disadvantage. Her conclusions, however, strongly suggest that “the most effective approach for reducing inequalities of educational outcomes is to reduce social segregation between schools. Social segregation ... is associated with lower outcomes for students in the

disadvantaged schools, and at the same time, is not associated with higher outcomes for students in advantaged schools” (p. 63).

The normalisation of this systemic inequality is further intensified through the uniquely Australian funding arrangements to all schools, both private and public. While US schools receive the bulk of their funding via local property taxes informing a system tied to the wealth, fortunes and taxation arrangements of individual towns and counties, Australian education is funded primarily by states and territories. This funding arrangement, which mocks the notion of “public” schooling contributes to a marked discrepancy between public and private schools in Australia. According to PISA 2015, and shown in Figure 8, Australia has the 2nd highest level of social segregation between public and private schools in the OECD, and in Figure 9, the 7th highest in the world.

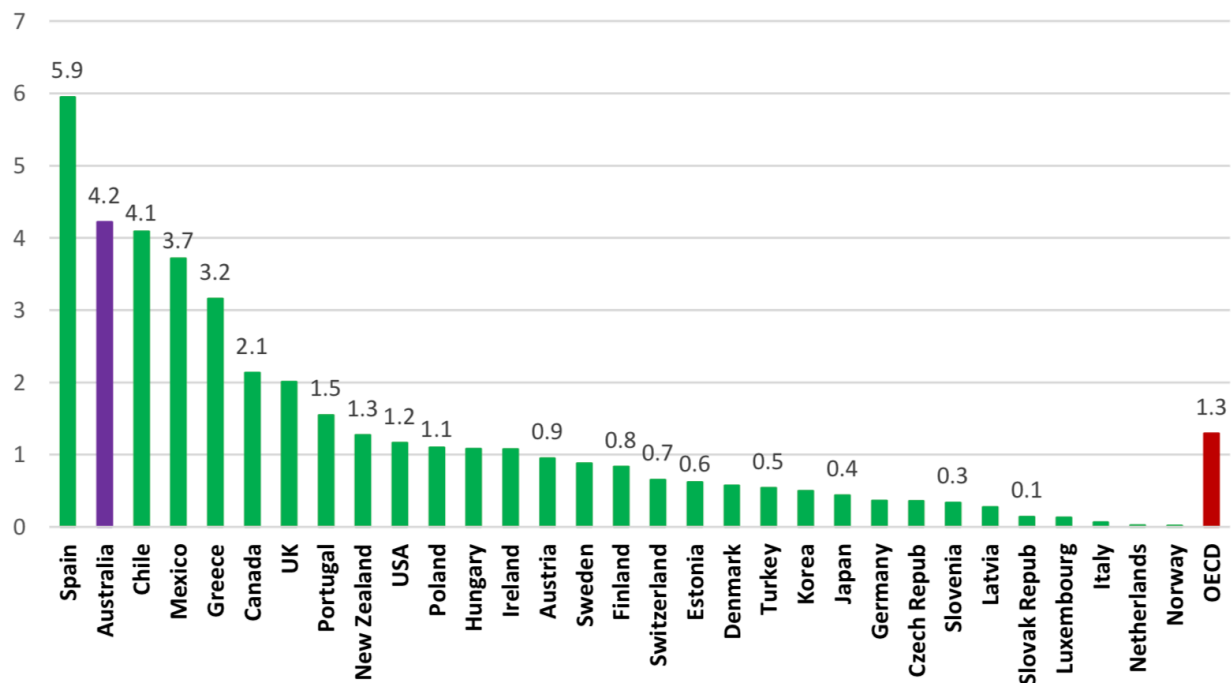


Figure 8: Index of Social Segregation Between Public & Private Schools, OECD Countries, 2015; from OECD, PISA 2015 Results (Volume III): Students’ Well-Being, Table III.10.13.

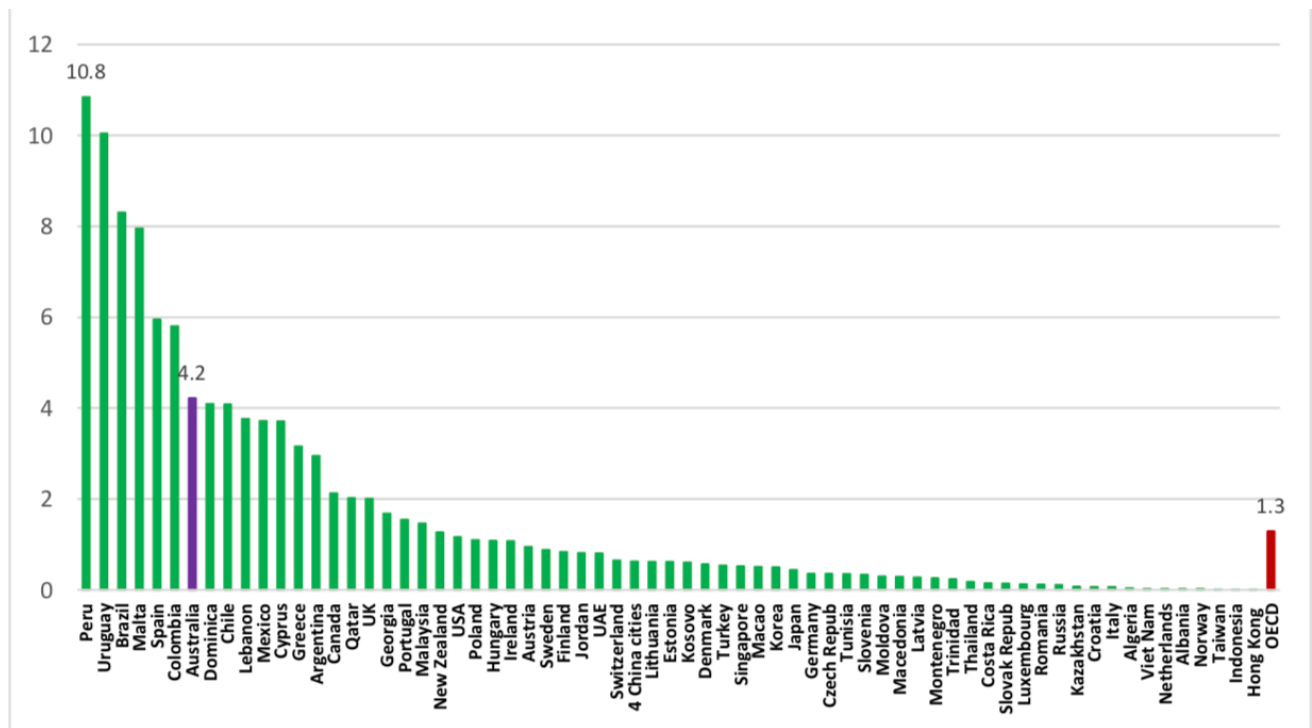


Figure 9: Index of Segregation Between Public & Private Schools, All Countries Participating in PISA 2015; from OECD, PISA 2015 Results (Volume III): Students' Well-Being, Table III.10.13.

Strategies to challenge the production of such social inequalities through schooling are focused on 'productive pedagogies' (Hayes et al., 2016) which view the practice of schooling through the lens of social concerns, and statistical (as opposed to a materially significant) equality (Cobbold, 2017). The benefits of such an approach notwithstanding, pedagogical approaches assume a measure of curricular autonomy; secondly, they, like statistical equity, are only focused on a narrow conception of the performance of teachers and students, as opposed to addressing the system of education; and thirdly, both fail to address the mechanisms of inequality and how they are sustained. Additionally, and germane to this endeavour, they only glancingly touch upon race, an increasingly visible aspect of educational and social inequality.

This oversight becomes foregrounded when considered against the changing migration patterns to Australia. The continual process of spatial assimilation, movement and interpellation into the Australian fold (Edgar, 2014) has facilitated the subsequent arrival and

integration of, first, European post war refugees, and then accommodated subsequent waves of East and Southeast Asian migrants. This also includes a long history of Middle Eastern migration to Australia, though one particularly fraught with the challenges of culture, xenophobia and racism- and, according to Welch (2018) a social outlook largely characterized by disadvantage (see also Mansouri and Trembath, 2005). Though admittedly a simplification of the process, this seemingly ‘uncomplicated’ process of assimilation (for lack of a better historical term) balks at the present crisis (if one is to believe the government of the day) of Sudanese refugees and their ‘gangs’, and of boats of asylum seekers arriving uninvited. Welch notes that such patterns, and the social changes they impel, are asynchronous in nature and, more importantly tied to an increasingly volatile political climate. He cites data on settler arrival by birthplace figures, for example, which identify a 1250% increase in immigration from Sudan between 1993 and 2004 (Welch, 2018, p. 154).

It is argued that school choice policies intensify the already damaging effects of residential segregation. Tsatsaklas (2018) claims that Australian education has “broken the traditional nexus between schooling and housing by borrowing heavily from American neoliberal education policies such as ‘school choice’ (1). Additionally, the expansion of private schooling through unique funding arrangements has precipitated an exodus of advantaged families away from public schooling, leading to the phenomenon of “sink schools”, which are schools “drained of affluent families and high achieving students” (Jacks 2016), as parents exercise their ostensible power within education. Tsatsaklas (2018) argues that this is a reflection of the “neoliberal conviction that educational outcomes can be improved if we allow parents to ‘vote with their feet’” (Sherry and Easthope, 2016, p. 19.) In Melbourne, for example, families choose to “enroll their children in over-subscribed schools” beyond their prescribed schooling zones (Jacks 2016), and both Gulson (2007) and Ho (2011) point to structural mechanisms of school choice, such as the policies governing the zoning of schools, as the primary method of promoting school choice in New South Wales. Citing Gulson (2007), Tsatsaklas (2018) identifies ‘partial de-zoning’ for allowing parents to send their children not only to their local, zoned school, but also to schools previously out of their zone.

Christina Ho’s (2011, 2015) examination of Sydney schools offers an insightful counterpoint to New York City and her findings are equally noteworthy. Her data, updated in Tsatsaklas (2018) with 2016 data, reveals many similar trends with regards to social segregation, although framing her assessment through ethnicity, or more specifically, LBOTE status (Language Background Other Than English). Ho’s examination of Sydney’s “deeply divided” schools identified a city separated between elite private schools, which she termed “bastions of

whiteness”, and selective public schools comprised of significant concentrations of LBOTE students (Ho, 2015, p. 124). She found that in 2011, although students of an LBOTE background comprised approximately half of student enrolments in public high schools, they comprised only 22 and 27 percent in independent and Catholic schools, respectively (Ho, 2011 in Tsatsaklas, 2018). Table 4 lists the student compositions from the schools which recorded the highest HSC (Higher School Certificate) marks, revealing the discrepancy in their student bodies.

School	%LBOTE of school	%LBOTE of suburb
Wenona School, North Sydney	7	36.4
Kambala, Rose Bay	6	26.5
St Ignatius College, Lane Cove	6	30.5
SHORE, North Sydney	10	36.4
Queenwood School for Girls, Mosman	2	22.1
Loreto, Normanhurst	9	28.4
SCEGGS, Darlinghurst	12	37
Ravenswood School for Girls, Gordon	19	44
Ascham School, Edgecliff	14	27.4
Roseville College	15	31.2
Loreto, Kirribilli	11	28
St Catherine's School, Waverley	14	30.4
Brigidine College, St Ives	13	30.4
Cranbrook School, Bellevue Hill	24	25.2
Reddam House, North Bondi	39	25
Barker College, Hornsby	17	53.5

Table 4: Percentage from language backgrounds other than English, selected schools and suburbs in Sydney Adapted from Ho (2011); in Tsatsaklas (2018)

Within the selective public schools Ho identifies a significant “association with ... migrant students”. Table 5 indicates the strength of this association and reveals another meaningful wrinkle to the story of social segregation: self-segregation.

School	%LBOTE
James Ruse Agricultural High School (Carlingford)	97
Baulkham Hills High School	94
North Sydney Boys High School (Crows Nest)	92
North Sydney Girls High School (Crows Nest)	93
Hornsby Girls High School	87
Sydney Boys High School (Surry Hills)	89
Northern Beaches Secondary College Manly Campus	42
Conservatorium High School (Sydney)	71
Normanhurst Boys High School	87
Sydney Girls High School (Surry Hills)	87

Table 5: Percentage of students from language backgrounds other than English, top 10 selective schools in NSW (in order of 2016 HSC rank); Adapted from Ho, 2011; in Tsatsaklas, 2018

The examination of schooling in Sydney reveals that such social segregation is a product of more than just school choice but is also the result of a panoply of policy decisions, both present and historic. Similarly, in addressing the “concentration[s] of Indigenous students in schools with relatively few resources” (abstract), Biddle and Hayes (2014) point to the introduction of the MySchool website in 2010 as fuelling greater media and public discussion on schooling while also providing the information behind an ostensibly informed school choice. They note that the presence of the website “prompts the question of whether the structure of the school system [and of this tool] as it stands is leading to a more equal or a more unequal society compared to other potential systems” (2). It also raises the question as to whether the focus on school choice as the sole or primary culprit for segregation is a misrepresentation of the problem. Moreover, the absence of an accounting for race, specifically, rather than references to ethnic segregation as a euphemistic placeholder, mask the specificity of this social fracturing.

Sriprakash and Proctor, 2018 also note the prevalence of class-based or focused analyses of education and education reform and argue that, based as they are on Weberian and Marxist

conceptions of class, they fail to take into account the variable of race. Moreover, the intersectionality of inequality is “intermeshed and co-constitutive”, recalling Bhabra’s (2016) assertion that “social class is not the operation of a race-neutral system, but an economic system that is deeply racialized” (in Sriprakash and Proctor, 2018 p. 118).

Crucially, it should be noted that this research does not approach the segregation within these different social contexts as commensurate, but rather as related and epiphenomenological. Moreover, the demographic distinctions which mark such differences are those which indicate the importance of this phenomenon. They also point to their commonalities, and one in particular: their pursuance of specific policies of reform.

Notably, both contexts reveal an analytical focus on the exercise of choice within advantaged communities, and their appraisals of choice can be characterised as approaching it as the province of the advantaged, of white parents or both. Do any other segments of the population—black, Hispanic, immigrant or refugee—either have or make any choices within this polycscape? What are the effects of choosing charter schools, for example, by disadvantaged or historically marginalised communities on the phenomenon under consideration? Can choice reverse the trend of segregation in schooling? Are all choices even the same?

2.3 The (Architecture and) Persistence of Reform

US Founding Father and statesman Benjamin Franklin is said to have opined that chief amongst life’s purported certainties are ‘death’ and ‘taxes’. However apocryphal his assertion, one can confidently add ‘concern about education’ to any list of life’s assurances. The training of youth and its attendant discussions or recriminations regarding the purpose of education, its content, funding and (purportedly) resounding failures have been a standard feature of socio-political discourse during the 20th century within Western democracies; its “ostensible brokenness” has become a veritable “article of faith” (Schneider, 2016)(Schneider 2016). The dominant discourse on education is guided by the incessant push to reform and remake education- an important distinction, to be sure-and driven by such sentiments as “our schools are failing, our schools are broken, our schools are obsolete, our society is moving backwards, and we are losing the international race for dominance of something or another” (Ravitch, 2014)(Ravitch 2014, p. 155). Every facet of education (and some tangential to it, as well), from teacher education/training, school funding and infrastructure, to pedagogical direction and

even dress code and uniforms, has been passed through the 'eye' of reform, and all have been found wanting.

Conventional wisdom would assume that some measure of either intransigence and/or obstinacy should greet and follow wholesale changes within any system. Indeed, if reform is viewed, for example, as the province of the natural—and expected—modernization of education, or the inevitable adjustments to temporal realities, educational reform becomes palatable to even the most ardent polemicist. In Western nations however, incessant conflict and controversy, in equal measures, have typified modern educational reform irrespective of context. Jal Mehta's *The Allure of Order* (2013) poses some critical questions: "Why have [Western] reformers repeatedly invested such high hopes in these instruments of control despite their track record of mixed results at best? What assumptions ... underlie these repeated attempts to 'rationalize' schooling?" (p. 2; in Leatherwood & Payne 2016, p. 563). (Leatherwood & Payne, 2016)

The contentious nature of educational reform and its concomitant swath of policy necessitates the aggregation of educational and policy discourses from both within and without education, from both academia and its ostensibly peripheral global educational policy spaces. Moreover, an overview of education reform, its architecture and salient characteristics, is essential to an understanding of the policy and praxis that has come to exemplify education as a social system. Crucially, such a course provides the shape/contours of the phenomenon at the heart of this research, allowing for a grasp of discourse and provides a basis for later discussion across seemingly differing educational contexts born of divergent political and social systems.

2.3.1 Reform

Proponents of educational reform, generally taking the form of "free market" think tanks branded as independent, see education as, in the words of noted Australian educational pundit Kevin Donnelly, "an intrusive and unresponsive bureaucrac[y]" within which "style[s] of teaching and learning [are] consumed by fads and misplaced ideology" and "the academic curriculum is replaced with a politically correct and watered-down version based on what is immediately relevant and of interest to students" ("Australian schools are becoming too 'kumbaya' with progressive, new-age fads", 2015). Through self-identified 'research and educational organisations' such as the Educational Standards Institute (of the aforementioned Donnelly) and the Manhattan Institute, to name a few, they advocate a return to the teaching of basic skills (read here, as literacy and numeracy), and the liberalisation of education via

school choice and in some instances the return of prayer to the classroom. As it stands, education must be reformed for the benefit of national pride via PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) scores, creationism, school vouchers and the legacy of Western civilization—and not necessarily in that order. Conversely,

Diane Ravitch, eminent educational historian, former Assistant Secretary of Education in the United States and recovering reformer, opines that “closing public schools is considered reform. Turning public dollars over to private management and entrepreneurs is considered reform. Legislating vouchers for religious schools that are unregulated and pretending that test scores are the most important outcome of schooling is considered reform” (2014, p. 153).

With regards to reform, and especially the policy discourse, the United States and Australia evince contextual similarities. While, to an extent American reform is best characterized by George W. Bush’s signature education policy *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB), Australian efforts are exemplified by NAPLAN, MySchool and, to a lesser extent, the efforts to codify and establish an Australian National Curriculum. Both groups of examples, however, sit amidst respective social, political and legislative catenae whose primary concerns and goals lay outside of the classroom. Moreover, the players (as it were) within this ‘arena’ of educational reform are many and varied, including educators, parents, business leaders and groups. Within this crowded discursive ‘arena’, the course of reform and the polemics which inform its directions are increasingly falling under the umbrage of politically active, non-governmental organisations, many of which, like Betsy DeVos’ *Alliance for School Choice* and *All Children Matter* PAC (political action committee) or Kevin Donnelly’s *Education Standards Institute*, have succeeded in altering the course and even the tenor of educational discourse; the classroom has become a new battleground for ideological debates and political chicanery best left to the halls of Parliament Houses and Congressional backrooms. Reform becomes nothing less than a series of economically-derived, politically charged and socially incendiary policy initiatives easily identified by their adherence to a level of ideological consistency: Education is an unchanged and obsolete system, and the only remedy for its shortcomings is its complete destruction, followed quickly by the creation of new, market-based initiatives to ensure high scores on the next international test, and an increased GDP.

The political discourse surrounding schooling reform is focused almost exclusively on funding and curricular standardization rather than a healthy debate concerning the purpose of a modern education; on what Ravitch (2010) terms a wholesale push towards the ostensible alignment of “education with the practices of modern, flexible, high-performance

organizations (p. 8). Matthews (2013) avers that the reform agenda is complicit in manufacturing a systemic and semantic divorce of education from its sociological functions. The net result of this myopic focus, according to Reid, Collins and Singh (2013), is not only a preoccupation with "efficiency and international competitiveness" (p.363), but also a seemingly concerted effort to guarantee homogeneity of return or of product, as well as the social fracturing which seems to accompany such discursive trends.

What is clear from an American standpoint is that it is not merely the presence of a National Curriculum or new funding models and arrangements that allow for, promote or entrench inequality within education. Funding may play a part, indeed, but there are systemic peculiarities, or idiosyncrasies, some historically situated and firmly ensconced, which foment inequality and concretise disadvantage, namely notions of autonomy, and are bound to specific sociological/cultural concerns. However localised or idiosyncratic nations' reform narratives may seem, Savage and O'Connor (2014) contend that from the 1980s onwards, educational reform has been driven primarily by global concerns, panics regarding "equity and market competitiveness" (p. 610), giving rise to the notion of GERM.

2.3.1.1 GERM

GERM, the pejorative acronym for the Global Education Reform Movement as coined by Pasi Sahlberg (2012), refers to this ubiquitous and peripatetic 'ringing' of the educational alarm, its strident exhortations fuelled by fears of 'falling behind' and 'losing' the 'race', becoming the new lingua franca of educational policy and purpose. Punctuated by triennial global paroxysms following the release of the OECD's (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) PISA scores, the purported failure of education in the West has been well-documented, as has the rise and sustained success of Far-Eastern nations and Finland. The results of such international comparisons have incited continual competitive and moral(e) crises and have spurred the wholesale, and seemingly continuous, reconstruction of educational systems from the United Kingdom to Australia.

Sahlberg's (2012a; 2012b) explication of global educational reform through the lens of Finnish education identifies 5 keys aspects of GERM: "standardisation; a focus on core curriculum subjects at the expense of areas such as creative arts; risk-avoidance; corporate management models, and test-based accountability policies" (Proctor et al. 2014, p.2). To this, Graham (2013) would affix/append the looming spectres of "school winners and losers, criticism of teacher quality, performance pay, school autonomy and the undermining of the concept of public

education" (p. 5). This apt sobriquet encapsulates the now familiar morass of reform initiatives comprised of school choice and charter schooling, high-stakes testing, league tables and a pervasive structural disappointment. It also, however, points to the increasing economisation and marketization of education (Connell 2013, 2015; Savage & O'Connor 2014; Ravitch 2010) and its reform.

Critically, Sahlberg argues that this emphasis upon standardisation becomes the preferred *modus operandi* of the reform push towards not only universal conformity to international student tests, but also for students around the world to study learning materials from global providers (2012). These 'providers' comprise what Apollo Global estimated to be a \$4.4 trillion USD financial sector in 2013, "its global expansion directly linked to the 'decline in public funding of education', and in the United States to the 'educational policies of former presidents George W. Bush, and Barack Obama [which have] spurred a trend towards the privatization of public education' (Strauss 2013, p. 2; in Alozie, 2016). President Trump, from his selection of Betsy DeVos, ardent charter school advocate, would seek to intensify the market aspects of these policies.

While in the United States, and certainly within Australia one might argue, "formal education is ... intertwined with such forces as industrialization, capitalism, and imperialism" (Hemphill & Blakely, 2016, p. 8), it becomes through reform, and especially during the late 20th and early 21 century, that education becomes inextricable from market issues and imperatives. The striking growth, importance and influence of market imperatives within education focus the lion's share of blame for this reoccurring 'infection' at the feet of neoliberalism; poorly defined and nebulous, this arch-theory would seem the font—and the purpose—of all such 'reforms'. Despite its general acceptance as an ideological catalyst behind educational reform efforts, neoliberalism, unlike globalisation (globalism, etc), has significantly less cache within wider public discourse. As a colloquialised, yet sparsely used, term, neoliberalism exists as a "veritable invisible hand" in the economic and social dynamics of much of the developed and developing world (Alozie, 2016). It both refers to and circumscribes all ideas and ideologies defined by and tangential to market individualism, market or economic rationalism and is considered the defining socio-economic-cum-political force in state and international politics. Song (2006) observes that neoliberalism is, at its core, a " 'sociocultural logic', a social ethos operating through a wide variety of social agents, as well as an economic programme" (in Connell 2013, p.280), echoing both Harvey (2005) and Treanor (2005) in recognising its function and consequence. In truth, GERM is, at its core, the apotheosis of neoliberalisation.

2.3.2 Neoliberalism

Arguably amongst the most salient, though not readily visible, features of the late 20th and 21st century life, neoliberalism is not a single entity, but is the popular nomenclature for the amalgamations of classical political theories, namely through Hayek, and neoclassical economic theory as espoused by Milton Friedman and the Chicago School. Brown (2015) regards the very term as a “loose and shifting signifier” without “fixed or settled coordinates”, but “temporal and geographical variety in its discursive formulations, policy entailments, and material practices” (Brown, 2015, p. 20). Hartwich and Sally’s (2009) analysis concurs with the challenges of defining neoliberalism, though regard it as a “broad umbrella under which very different groups with various points of view can meet.” (p. 4). Despite a marked tension or inconsistency between the theoretical formation of neoliberalism and its enactment politically and socially, global educational policy, directives and purpose- especially through the lens of neoliberalism- has been exhaustively engaged (see, for example, Apple 2005; Apple, Kenway, and Singh 2005; Ball, 1998; Connell et al. 2007; Sadovnik 2007), and some critical insights have emerged from this body of literature. For this limited purpose, however, there exists sufficient codification of its key tenets to identify and examine its inner workings.

Harvey’s treatment of neoliberalism (2005) most accurately characterises it as being more than a mere rebuke to the Keynesian welfare policies of the post war era, and especially its perceived shortcomings. While Wendy Brown (2015) does indeed distinguish neoliberalism as a political and economic reaction against Keynesianism, she is clear to also describe it as a paradoxical and “distinctive mode of reason, of the production of subjects, a ‘conduct of conduct,’ and a scheme of valuation” (Foucault, 2004, in Brown, 2015. p. 21). Brown (2015) defines neoliberalism as “a peculiar form of reason that configures all aspects of existence in economic terms” (p. 17), and regards its reasoning, “ubiquitous today in statecraft and the workplace, in jurisprudence, education, culture, and a vast range of quotidian activity, [as] converting the distinctly political character, meaning, and operation of democracy’s constituent elements into economic ones”. Through Treanor (2005), Harvey (2005) provides further clarity, identifying neoliberalism as

a theory of political economic practices that proposes human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices (Harvey 2005, p. 2).

Harvey is also adamant in that it has become vernacularized, subsumed into the “common-sense” way we live and operate (p. 2) and embedded into the social fabric. It is this colloquialisation, as it were, of neoliberalism which allows it to become subservient to any argument; Brown, following Foucault, regards neoliberalism as an “order of normative reason that, when it becomes ascendant, takes shape as a governing rationality extending a specific formulation of economic values, practices, and metrics to every dimension of human life” (2015, p.30).

Economic rationalism is devoted to “redefining social and ethical life in accordance with economic criteria and expectations ... hold[ing] that human freedom is best achieved through the operation of the markets” (Dean 2009, p. 51). Its basic ideals elevate competition as an ideal, as a “defining human characteristic”, positioning citizens as consumers who exercise their “voices” through spending or purchasing power (Monbiot, 2016), through their choices. In this, the market is viewed as an objective, value-less and ostensibly benign and meritocratic social mechanism requiring privatisation and minimal governmental intrusion that it may properly perform its critical (though undefined) social functions. For this reason, McGregor (2009) regards it as “corporate discourses of accountability, marketization and managerialism (Ranson 2007) [that] have become normalized master narratives – regimes of truth (Foucault 1980) and part of a ‘common-sense’ governance broadly endorsed by most ... politicians” (in McGregor 2009, p. 352).

The market “agenda” aspect of neoliberalism, criticized in education for its “rampant managerialism, a hypercritical attention to measurement via competitive testing and the unassailable logic of the necessary restructuring of the teaching profession” (Alozie, 2016), has received the bulk of academic opprobrium, to the detriment of any fulsome examination of the working interactions of neoliberal theoretical underpinnings, the *hows* and *whys*, and especially its critical theoretical contradictions. Gray et al. (2015) observe that this has allowed an “unchallenged, hegemonic view of neoliberalism” to pervade educational literature (p. 370).

Though challenging to define, neoliberalism is best recognized by its operative traits; “we recognize it when we see it” (Clarke, 2012, p. 175). However, a common frame through which to view neoliberalism—and especially neoliberalisation—emerges from the literature: the concept of logics. Glynos and Howarth (2007) opt for ‘explanatory’ logics, while Clarke (2012) makes the distinction between ‘social, political and fantasmatic’ logics. Angus (2015), too, engages this ideation, addressing policy logics, while Bacchi and Goodwin (2016) present the most widespread use of the term, addressing the governing and historical logics of policy, while

their *What is the Problem Represented To Be*—or WPR— framework aims to uncover conceptual logics. Irrespective of the specific attendant terminology, logics provide the most accessible manner through which to engage neoliberalisation, and rather than an enumeration of the varying articulations of its key tenets, its manifestation within education becomes particularly instructive to discerning its composition and the location of the institutional arrangements underpinning its instalment and continued workings.

2.3.2.1 Neoliberal Logics

Harvey contends that for a conceptual apparatus to rise to ‘dominance’, it must appeal to our higher ‘intuitions and interests,’ our better angels, as it were. Neoliberalism was built on the ‘truths’ of ‘human dignity’ and individual freedom as the ‘central values of civilization’ (2005, p. 4). These ideals are wielded in educational discourse as cudgels, and through logics become necessary frameworks to an appraisal of neoliberal discourse within society, and especially within education.

The literature on neoliberalism, and especially its manifestations within education, details the process of *neoliberalisation*, the reformation of institutions and social relationships to better align with market principles. The attention to the logics through which neoliberalisation is achieved reveals that they are neither theoretical abstractions, nor can they be considered singularly. In fact, one might view them as mutually reinforcing or imbricative of each other. What emerges from the literature as salient is an approach to neoliberal logics primarily through the operative metaphor of education as a market, as a boundary logic to which all other logics are tied (Ball, 2010; Connell 2013; Sellar and Lingard, 2013; Bonnor and Shephard, 2016). *Figure 10* illustrates the relationship of these policy logics. At the centre of this rendering of neo-liberal logic lies choice and, notably, these logics, bound as they are within the market, inform and support the other logics in furtherance of choice. Most importantly, it through these logics that educational reform is conceived, promoted and enacted.



Figure 10: Relationship of Neoliberal Logics

In a sense, market logics is a catch-all phrase intended to convey the imbrication of various attendant (or sub-) logics within its frame. Wholly economic in its framing, the market implicates competition, consumerism (and consumer choice), accountability (or, at the very least, fidelity to principles of the market) and requires willing and active participants in its social workings. They project a measure of ideological coherence, though closer investigation reveals cracks, as it were, within their discursive foundations, and invite further examination.

In addressing the mechanism of this ‘spread’, the *how* of neoliberalisation and subjectification as *homo oeconomicus*, Brown contends that neoliberalism has evolved from the hard power of “fiat and force” indicative of the 1970s and 1980s (best observed in South America), towards an operational milieu of “‘soft power’ drawing on consensus and buy-in, [rather] than through violence, dictatorial command, or even overt political platforms.” (2015, p. 35). It becomes a “sophisticated common sense, a reality principle remaking institutions and human beings everywhere it settles, nestles, and gains affirmation” (p. 35). The remaking of human beings, the constitution of subjectivities requires the first of these operative logics, human capital theory.

Machin and Vignoles (2005) view human capital theory as the driving force behind educational reform, and argue that “individuals invest in human capital, such as schooling, because human capital makes a person more productive and their gain in productivity is reflected in

higher wages (p. 4); the return on their investment helps to ameliorate the income “gradient”. It is used to rationalize investments in schooling, the provision of training by firms ... and “provides a framework for analyzing policy interventions that result in investments in education and other forms of human capital” (p. 4). Theories of human capital are, in essence, an attempt to “maximise human behavior” (Becker 2013, p.5) through what Becker terms an economic approach. This approach “assumes the existence of markets that with varying degrees of efficiency coordinate the action of different participants—individuals, firms, even nations—so that their behavior becomes mutually consistent” (p. 5). Within education this imperative towards maximization is evident within the increase in competitive pressures upon nations, systems and schools to approach education as an altogether social investment. The consistency of this behaviour, although undertaken for individual benefit, is assumed to be socially efficacious. Becker describes this economic approach, noting that “all human behavior can be viewed as involving participants who maximise their utility from a stable set of preferences and accumulate an optimal amount of information and other inputs in a variety of markets” (p. 14). While the stability to which Becker refers presumes a perfection to the system, and especially with regards to the relative equality of all participants within it, the consistency of this behaviour, although undertaken for individual benefit, is assumed to be socially efficacious.

Kantor and Lowe (2011a) ascribe the popularity of human capital development in the United States to the Cold War, where it also satisfied the bootstrap meritocratic discourse so embedded within the American cultural milieu; in a Cold War ideological binary, it served to present the United States as a comparative context of individual opportunity. They trace the presence of human capital theories within American education to Horace Mann in 1841 and are firm in their identification of it as an *operative* logic within the neoliberalised educational sphere. Simon Marginson considers human capital theory to be “the most influential economic theory of education” and identifies it as “setting the framework of education policies” led by the OECD (1993, p. 31). He traces its history from Hobbesian “self-exchange” in the *Leviathan* (32) and Adam Smith’s appreciation of “education [as] an investment in future earnings” in *The Wealth of Nations* (33) through to the differing schools of thought of either “acquired capacities” as human capital, as espoused by John Stuart Mill, Jean Baptiste Say and Henry Sidgwick, or human being themselves as capital, a position held by JR. McCulloch, Nassau Senior and Leon Walras. He cites Gamble (1986), who writes “the historical and institutional analysis which played an important part in classical political economy was filtered out and economics began to concentrate on deductive theory- the working out of the logic of choice for the self-interested, utility-maximising and hence rational individual.” For Marginson, human capital

theory is “a science of the economic aspect of action” (p. 28). Moreover, this science begins to coalesce within the ideological coherence of a neo-liberal imaginary, which presents, or ‘promises’ (Bell, 2009) “a vision of ‘society’ as the cumulative product of free individuals, loose of all but the most necessary constraint by the state—capital unfettered except to their interests and tastes, invested in ways that yield maximum value for shareholders, and through them, for everyone who inhabits this world of ideas and things” (Greenhouse, 2010, p. 1).

More specifically, this ‘science’ revolves around the constitution and the presumed rationality of a specific actor, the idealized neo-liberal subject, *homo oeconomicus*. While Bazzul (2016) regards such terms as the ‘neoliberal subject’, or even ‘political’ subject as nothing more than “organizing abstractions”, they provide access into their constitution by the “social order” (p. 7). Such organizing abstractions allow insight into the formation of subjectivities and how “social institutions, networks, and private interests work to produce the very kind of ‘being’ required to maintain a particular social order” (8). *Homo oeconomicus* is such a being.

2.3.2.2 *Homo Oeconomicus* (Who ‘he’ is)

Homo oeconomicus, the citizen-worker, is not merely idealized but a decidedly aspirational ideational construct integral to the entire neoliberal oeuvre. Brown views *homo oeconomicus*, the neoliberal subject, as “an intensely constructed and governed bit of human capital tasked with improving and leveraging its competitive positioning and with enhancing its (monetary and non-monetary) portfolio value across all of its endeavors and venues” (2015, p. 10). Foucault identifies *him* as “a subject of interest within a totality which eludes him, and which nevertheless founds the rationality of his egoistic choices.” He is, at his core, defined by his actions, and specifically his egoism, being “for himself his own capital, his own producer, the source of his earnings ... whether he is selling, making, or consuming, he is investing in himself and producing his own satisfaction” (Michel Foucault, 2004, p. 226 in Brown, 2015, p. 80). He is, however, above all, rational. This rationality, notes Robert van Krieken (2014), refers to a social calculus involving an evaluation of “short-term desires and emotional inclinations and the longer-term consequences of human action. The more the balance is weighted toward the latter, the more rational the behavior” (p. 24). The operative assumption is that his interest is arrived at via a visible, accessible and, above all, rational process, although Elias’ contends that

the process of his transformation is largely “hidden from view” (Elias, 1994, p. 54 in van Krieken, 2014, p. 21).

When we approach the presence of this logic within education, we find what Bazzul (2012) terms a heavy-handed inculcation of entrepreneurialism, and the wholesale responsabilisation of student, teacher and even parent ‘performance’ within the boundaries of policy. Notably, this theory also allows for the entrance (or control) of business perspectives within education, the “market democratization” of education (Marginson 1997, p. 166) in order to facilitate the development of human capital.

Human Capital Theory is both a view of the world representing an acceptance of the neoliberal imaginary, as well as an individual disposition requiring the adoption or acceptance of specific social ‘truths’, and especially those regarding the ability to act within society- agency. At its core, human capital theory presents within the literature as the economization of the individual, a distillation of human purpose and action to market principles, and the reformation of the previous social subject into homo oeconomicus. The literature is unclear as to the specific mechanism of uptake of these operative logics by our actor, or the specific apparatus governing *his* constitution. However, the neoliberal subject (for that it what he is) is identified most clearly by what he does, and within the context of the attendant logics (or sublogics) of marketisation, competition, freedom/autonomy and accountability, we must address his actions, his choices, as the ultimate manifestation of his agency.

2.3.2.3 Choice (*What ‘he’ does*)

The logic of choice occupies a central position within the neoliberal imaginary, and especially within this research project. The phenomenon under consideration, inequality as segregation within education, is often accepted as a consequence of choice (Roda et al, 2013; Bell, 2009; Angus 2015), but its significance requires further examination within the literature on the reformation of schooling. In order to address its central positioning within the network of neoliberal logics, it must be approached through its theoretical bases, Public Choice Theory and rational actor models of behaviour, both choice theories, in an effort to develop an architecture of choice (or ‘choice architecture’) (Thomas 2018).

The most challenging of the logics of reform, choice theories, comprised of Public Choice Theory and rational choice, seek to map and thereby predict the behaviour of social actors.

Public Choice Theory exists in the interstice between politics and economics, as does education, offering an economic calculus through which to predict human behaviour. Built upon rational choice theory and popularized by Keith Arrow (1951) and James Buchanan (1962), Public Choice Theory models individual behaviour through utility maximization, using marketplace interactions in order to analyse and predict human actions and interactions. Arguing that economic self-interest is the primary focus of individual actors, Choice Theory was born of a growing frustration with Keynesian economics, and specifically a skepticism regarding the role of government within or towards markets. Shaw (2002) remarks that it “reflects a growing dissatisfaction with the implicit assumption ... that government effectively corrects market failures”. Operating firmly within Becker’s (2013) economic approach, Public Choice Theory regards the individual as an “atomized chooser whose only concern [is] self-interest” (Marginson, 1997, p. 110). To wit, within this individualized narrative of human action (and interaction), poor or disadvantageous social outcomes are represented as being the product of poor—though definitively individual—choices. This decontextualization of social inputs allows the individual, the liberal subject as *homo oeconomicus*, to stand as the goal of society while eliding the contexts from (and to) which such individuals exist. Choice, and especially the provision of choice, then, becomes a guiding logic and a key concern within a neo-liberalised landscape. Bazzul asserts that “in order for a subject to continually recognize themselves as a subject there must be a continuous iteration of what allows the subject to be recognized as that subject” (2016, p. 10). Choice, through selection and consumption, becomes how our subject knows himself to act, to engage his agency (however limited) and, at its core, to be.

Additionally, Angus (2015) contends that choice is the crucial aspect within what he terms the neoliberal “policy complex” (p. 397), and within education is increasingly evident within debates over the presence, funding and expansion of charter and (or) independent schools and the plurality of schooling types to facilitate parental choice in schooling. Rizvi and Lingard (2010) are clear in their consideration of school choice as a lynchpin of neoliberal education policy. Campbell et al. (2009), too, contend that “school choice has become a mantra of education policy in many English-speaking countries” (p. 1). Both Australia and the United States have emphasized the production of education markets in order to facilitate a *consumerised* choice.

Choosing schools seems to be a “common and expected activity” in middle class Australia. The ability to choose becomes a defining characteristic of the middle-class experience (Campbell et al., 2009, p. 12). This logic is not purely a product of neoliberal discourse, but within education

is storied, and even reified. Notably, while all social classes are affected by this social jockeying, the middle class is especially susceptible to the lure of the power implicit in school selection. The destabilization of long-established class structures has heightened the economic anxieties surrounding education, and encouraged an anxiety-driven positionality, a selective consumption. Both Ravitch (2010) and Roda and Wells (2013) point to the importance (and the irony) of choice to American segregationists before the passage of the Civil Rights Act, noting that “school choice” was historically the mantra for segregationists.

Within education, a number of related concepts, namely control, autonomy and power, are imbricated by the logic of choice. In this context, choice operates within the assumption that the provision of markets and the ostensible empowerment implicated by parents’ selection of school can impose accountability upon both schools and the overall system, an indirect control over schooling. Moreover, the facilitation of the mechanisms of this logic, most notably test-based accountability and the provision and dissemination of educational data, require the construction of an attendant policy complex facilitating the exercise of this choice. Specifically, it requires an arena of action. The centrality of choice, it would seem, is imbricated within an arena of competition.

2.3.2.4 Competition (How and Where ‘he’ does)

The last of the policy logics for examination is competition. Within the neo-liberal world view, competition is “the defining characteristic of human relations” (Monbiot, 2016). Angus (2015) concurs with this assessment, indeed identifying competition as a ‘policy logic’, built upon the assumption that the “imposition of market pressure” will increase “overall standards of performance” (p. 397). Competition refers to both the act of contestation as well as the arena within which such action occurs.

Neither choice, nor its ostensible options, can be separated from its arena of action, the market. Choice, by definition, implicates the differentiation indicative of a market, and a market offers such choices through competition. Schools, then compete with each other for students; parents and students for coveted places, and teachers for continued employment. Angus observes that educational institutions “[exist] on a quasi-market footing in keeping with governance themes of economic efficiency, competition and narrow but high-stakes forms of accountability” (p. 397; see also Apple 2009; Klees, 2010). Bound by policy frameworks, they

must become adept at “market discipline”, at cultivating “enterprising approach[es]” for the purposes of “impression management to signal their ‘distinctiveness’ and worth in comparison with other schools (p. 397; see also Maguire et al. 2011).

Building upon the previous logics, competition is bound by the dictates of rational choice and especially theories of behavioural economics. Within this arena, the provision of choice presupposes the actions of actors as exhibiting a “behavioural symmetry” (Thomas, 2018), where “the average individual acts on the basis of the same over-all value scale when he participates in market activity and political activity” (Buchanan and Tullock 1962, p. 23 in Thomas, 2018, p. 2). Theoretically, the competitive arena similarly assumes the perfection of action and a fidelity towards the individual propensity for the maximisation of advantage indicative of homo oeconomicus. Competition, then, is an objective construct, bound by and to the rules of meritocratic interaction, though also an acceptance of the necessity of inequality. Crucially, within the educational competition, the actors are assumed to act from a position of disadvantage, each attempting to maximise his/her advantage within the ‘game’. The logic of competition becomes sedimented as common sense, not just within education, but every facet of social life. Competition, however, implies winners, losers and a perpetual anxiety regarding which of these one may become.

2.4 Interventions

Within the scope of neo-liberalism and its logics, policy interventions have attempted to address the phenomenon of re-segregation. One proposed mechanism to address educational segregation which has gained traction within American (urban) policy circles is that of controlled choice. Controlled choice is an attempt to “create diverse, academically rigorous schools with equal access to educational resources” (The Century Foundation, 2016, p. 9). Controlled choice allows “parents a large degree of selection, but structures student assignments [to schools] based on district-wide standards for achieving demographic balance, across equitably resourced schools” (Chen, 2018). Cambridge, Massachusetts Schools began their program of controlled choice in 1980, after their eventual decision to desegregate their schools. It should be noted that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was the site of amongst the most vociferous resistance to desegregation initiatives, and the state stood as a veritable paragon of school choice in support of segregation academies.

Abandoning the neighbourhood school model, Cambridge schools' controlled choice allows for parent choice married to an expanded selection of school options, and through their Family Resource Center, "considers the family's socioeconomic status, their list of three school choices, and issues related to the specific program—such as preparedness for a dual language program, school size, and the balance of girls and boys in the particular grade. Children who do not gain entry to any of their top three choice schools may stay on the waiting list until the next enrolment period begins" (The Century Foundation, 2016, p. 9). Notably, however, a focus on socioeconomic factors was necessary in the wake of *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1* (2007) which outlawed choice-based assignment policies based on race. The successes reported through this policy initiative have drawn the interest of policymakers, though even a cursory analysis reveals some issues that are germane to this research.

The ability of controlled choice policies to serve as a remedy for segregation in schooling is bound to a number of key assumptions and presuppositions implicit within its policy directions. Foremost amongst them is that this singular approach to school composition assumes that segregation is limited to factors of school composition, to parents and their choices. Additionally, there is an assumption that the (relatively) macro concerns of controlled choice can avoid the challenges posed by such micro-concerns as intra-school segregation or racialized tracking (Pirtle, 2019) which, as they are based upon technologies of control and division, produce their own segregation within schools. Is the competition at the core of these practices somehow mitigated through demographic corrections?

Controlled choice also assumes that the remaining policy actors will assent to the marginalization or minimization of their particular perspectives. Parents are assumed to willingly allow the school system to make an equitable choice. This policy proposal also takes as given that parents are still empowered with regard to schooling. In a word, this policy assumes the presence of trust in education and its actors. Notably, charter schools are still present within Cambridge Public Schools, as is a well-ensconced network of independent and parochial schools. Similarly, untouched are the State of Massachusetts' testing protocols. As a policy intervention, controlled choice seems limited to addressing aspects of school composition and takes calculated liberties in order to better engage in the educational competition. Schools become ostensibly integrated, and Cambridge (and, by extension, Boston) can regard itself as a diverse locale with integrated schools. This is, indeed, an example of aestheticization, although, like the reform policies examined within this very research, it equips these 'new' actors with the ability to better compete; it makes no claims as to the

quality of education. While this is laudable, the logics inherent to such interventions indicate the possible confusion of incremental changes for systemic overhaul.

2.5 Conclusion

Although this contested, though coherent, system of social regulation requires, produces and re-produces ready-made/ideal subjectivities primed, as it were, for specific roles or actions within the boundaries of a discursive frame, the literature on neoliberalism fails to identify the specific mechanisms of either subjectification or action.

The purported abstraction of subjectivity notwithstanding, Bazzul (2016) regards understanding subjectivity (and, by extension the process of subjectivisation) as recognizing that the constitution of subjects “exceeds the notion that identity is socially constructed, or that human beings are socialized into particular roles, norms, and positions” (p. 8). Furthermore, he leans upon Althusser, a close friend of Foucault, to explain that individuals are transformed into subjects through “ideologies manifested in apparatuses and institutions of power” (8). Althusser identified ideological apparatuses as the mechanism through which subjects are constituted— an ideology, he notes, which should not be regarded as “[a] ‘false consciousness’, but the social fabric of reality, perpetuated through practices” (Althusser 1998). These practices must be repeated, and through this repetition the subject is continually (re)produced (Butler 1997)(Bazzul, 2016, p.9). Bazzul pointedly summates this thread by noting that “it is ideology, as rendered in discourses and transmitted through practices in an apparatus, that constitutes individuals as subjects” (p. 9).

Brown argues that Foucault’s use of the term interest in his characterisation of homo oeconomicus is insufficient, failing to “adequately capture the “ethos or subjectivity of the contemporary neoliberal subject ... [who is] so profoundly integrated into and hence subordinated to the supervening goal of macroeconomic growth that its own well-being is easily sacrificed to these larger purposes” (2015, p. 83). Furthermore, she argues that the responsabilisation of this subject, the impetus to “become a responsible self-investor and self-provider[,] ... reconfigures the correct comportment of the subject from one naturally driven by satisfying interests to one forced to engage in a particular form of self-sustenance that meshes with the morality of the state and the health of the economy” (p. 84). Brown’s operative assumptions here, and echoed within neoliberal criticism, are that (1) the subject actively pursues courses of action with the “health of the economy in mind”, and (2) that the subject is

forced by a veritable “invisible hand”, “tethered” to interests of the economy (p. 84). This disjuncture between the cohesive rhetoric of neoliberalism and its seemingly contradictory reality indicates the presence of a deterministic and thereby illiberal conception of both subjectification and agency (Demuth 2010). Marginson (1997) similarly presents such a disjuncture in his identification of the “sovereign liberal individual”, as the “product of government programs”, or policy (p. 15).

Homo oeconomicus is indeed, made, not born, though the invisible hand which impels such transformation is our own; rather than subjectification, aestheticisation indicates the subjectification of oneself by oneself. Notably, Miyazaki (2010) identifies *homo oeconomicus* as a manifestation of the “neoliberal emphasis” upon *jiko-jitsugen*, or “self-realization” (p. 240). Greenblatt also points to the concept of “self-fashioning, ... an increased, self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process” (Greenblatt, 1980, p.2 in van Krieken, 2014, p. 26). Elias (2012), too, touches upon this, referring to such self-regulation as a “psychologization” or rationalization” ... which ostensibly “revolve[s] around a growing reflexive understanding of our own actions, those of others, their interrelationships, and their consequences” (p. 406, in van Kreiken, 26).

Both Harvey (2005) and Barnett (2005) note the challenges in specifying the mechanism of consent, though Harvey’s (2005) approach to consent, however compelling, still addresses the “receptivity of people to being *directed*” (Barnett, 2005, p. 11; emphasis added). Barnett (2005) attributes this to the conflation of Foucauldian governmentality and Marxist understandings of hegemony. He argues that the dominant conception of academic neoliberalism, guided by “Gramscian state theory [and] inflected by a heavy dose of French regulation theory (p. 8), confers a problematic coherence to this “ideological project”, attributing to its workings to “clear and unambiguous origins”, its spread “sustained and circulated by an identifiable set of institutions (p. 8).

The challenge of policy analysis is in somehow seeing beyond either “an overly economist derivation of political economy” (p. 10) or an understanding of social relations solely through the lens of a diffusive hegemony. Either position—or both, according to Barnett—fail to explain “how broad macro-structural shifts from state regulation to market regulation are modulated with the micro-contexts of everyday routines” (2005, p. 9). More importantly, and of crucial importance to this thesis, both positions fail to recognise the possibilities of “individualized collective action” (Marchetti, 2003) due to a myopic focus on “a simple

evaluative opposition between individualism and collectivism, the private and the public” (Barnett, 2005, p. 11).

The literature is clear in its identification of neoliberalism as the motive force within education, though does not specify the mechanism of its operation. While Slater (2014; see also Clarke and Newman, 2010), for example, argues for the alignment of neoliberalism to a politics of crisis, and avers that its operation within education is enabled by the evocation of an "increasingly diverse array of crises, both 'manufactured' and 'naturally occurring'" (p. 2), he does not, however, specify how or why crisis incites the neoliberal actor towards choice. His identification of crisis, then, becomes circumstantial and coincidental to neoliberal workings, and does not indicate how it moves us. The concept of crisis, much like the scarcity identified by Marginson (1993) might implicate an affective process, as after Massumi (1995), and indicate the workings of a reflexive, and automatic response to temporal exigency. Crucially, Becker (2013), in explicating his economic approach, asserts that the “economic approach does not assume that decisions units are necessarily conscious of their efforts to maximise or can verbalize or otherwise describe in an informative way reasons for the systematic patterns in their behavior” (p. 7) Furthermore, he views such thinking as “consistent with the emphasis on the subconscious in modern psychology and with the distinction between manifest and latent functions in sociology” (Merton, 1968, in Becker, 2013, p. 7). Such an approach, however, clashes with the vaunted (though presumed) rationality of the neoliberal actor and precludes conscious action. It also stifles avenues for the examination of *otherwise* human action, and presumes to control, or as Becker would frame it, “stabilize” human preferences and actions through “market equilibrium” (14).

An awareness of this disjuncture, that is, whether we are active in our constitution as neoliberal subjects or ‘forced’, allows for a problematization of “taken-for-granted ideas about consent and dissent (Cahn 2008, in Greenhouse, 2010, p. 1), and allows us to ask whether there are any interests for this idealized figure—for us—beyond that which renumerates us financially? The interests of which Foucault speaks are not purely of the market, but also born, as Brown herself notes, of a context replete with risks and fears, of affect. More to the point, this disjuncture also draws attention towards the process by which *homo oeconomicus* is constituted or as Harvey queries, “How is it, then, that ‘the rest of us’ have so easily acquiesced in this state of affairs? (2005, p. 38).

Chapter 3.

Conceptual Framework

3.1 Introduction

This research investigates the role of reform policy in the presence of specific social phenomena within education. To this end, Wetherell (2012) poses a number of questions which underpin the development of this research, specifically: "How can we engage with phenomena that can be read simultaneously as somatic, ... subjective, historical, social and personal? What are the best ways to move forward?" (p. 11). By way of answering this question, it is necessary to note that although segregation in education can be viewed as "random or irrational" or simply as racism, its analogous appearance within differing socio-political and educational contexts evinces a "pattern of unfolding" and a (seemingly) "loose logic" (Wetherell, 2012, p. 81) which would indicate an element of similitude in both structure and logic. Eschewing a circumstantial determination based upon simple affective practices (of which racism is one), this research, instead, seeks to examine "extended and complex social practices" (p. 81; emphasis added) as operating within larger apparatus. Policies, after Labanyi (2010), are, for all intents and purposes, cultural texts, and cultural texts are "things that do things: that is, things that have the capacity to affect us" (p. 233). Additionally, as they are bound to, and promulgated by, discourse, they are become, indeed, social and cultural practices.

The following chapter first engages post-structural policy analysis, making its way through its Foucauldian precepts. It is necessary to provide the following caveat: although the following may hew so closely to a singular, Foucauldian discursive exegesis so as to invalidate the titular qualifier, Foucauldian-inspired, such a focus is a necessary specialization in order to examine the theoretical underpinnings supporting the principal research method, Carol Bacchi's *What's the Problem to Represented Be* (WPR) analysis. The second part of the chapter addresses affect theory and concludes with a rationale for this conceptual framework.

3.2. Conceptual Framework, Part 1 - Foucauldian-inspired post-structural policy analysis

In addition to a brief examination of its constituent elements, a working understanding of a Foucauldian-influenced post-structural policy analysis necessitates a targeted exegesis of Foucault's principle ideas as they relate to his specific post-structural perspective with regards to the principle aims of this research. This does not in any way intimate a purposeful diminution of unexplored or acclaimed aspects of his oeuvre, but rather foregrounds those areas most salient to this exercise. The subsequent sections explore these key concepts and theories which serve to comprise the WPR analytical framework, and concludes with an exegesis on WPR, and specifically its import to an examination of educational reform policy.

3.2.1. Poststructuralism

Poststructuralism is a multifarious approach, rather than a singular theory, marked by an assertion of the contingency of knowledge practices which, in their plurality and heterogeneity, allow for not only an exploration of said practices, but also point towards their disputation, undoing and, ultimately, the location of human agency within them.

Harcourt characterizes the relationship between poststructuralism and its theoretical precursor, structuralism, as "strained"; "it builds on some parts [of structuralism], but [rejects] others (Harcourt, 2007, p. 18). While Han (2013) demurs at regarding either structuralism or poststructuralism as "intellectual traditions", he does, however, note their shared agreement to the "specific commitment to the idea that language is necessarily the central consideration in all attempts to know, act and live" (Lemert, 1997, p. 104 in Han 2013, p. 39). While not intimately concerned with structuralism, this work engages with it, albeit briefly, as a mechanism through which to gain a firm grasp of post-structural theory. This exegesis is admittedly truncated, as it is not the intent of this work to provide an analysis of all structuralist polemics, but rather to lay the groundwork for an exploration of a Foucauldian-inspired post-structural policy analysis.

3.2.1.1. Structuralism

Both Harcourt and Peters and Burbules (2004) agree that structuralism, and especially what Peters and Burbules term 'French structuralism', can trace its origins to Ferdinand de Saussure, and his posthumously published *Cours de linguistique* (1916) (Course in General Linguistics, 1974) whose semiologic version of linguistics (what Rorty (1992) terms the "linguistic turn") regarded systems as "the decisive factor in human affairs" (Crotty 1998, p.197). This approach

considered the starting point for analysis to be not structure, but the individual, as exemplified by language. Crotty also contrasts Saussure's primacy of language with that of his contemporary (and the acknowledged precursor of structuralism) Emile Durkheim, who emphasized consciousness, asserting that for Saussure, "language is not only in itself a system, one of many ... but the system, that is, the ultimately determining system (1998, p. 197).

Saussure's text is where he proposes his systematic signification of language - of the sign and the signified-, proposing a "synchronic approach against the prevailing ... diachronic study of language" (Peters & Burbules 2004, p.13), proclaiming it to be a system of signs. Specifically, the dual insights, identified as "separations" by Han between (1) "*la langue* (language itself, [considered in its formalized patterns]) and *parole* (speech), and (2) between words ('the signifier') and that to which the words referred (the signified)" (Han, 2013, p. 41).

In emphasizing the formalized patterns of language, *langue* refers to the systemic function of language in its structured form; whereas *parole* consists of the usage of language, the situational *patois* that is "heterogenous [and] subject to individual interpretation" (Han, 2013, p. 41). Equally important is the arbitrary, though innate relationship between word and object, whereby the association between apple, for example, (as a verbal signifier), and an apple as commonly found existing (the signified) is "constituted, reinforced and maintained socially" (p. 41). Girding this theoretical construct is the concept of difference, implying a relationality, which operationalises Saussure's linguistic construct, emphasizing that it is the "difference between signifiers that permits them to function" (Peters & Burbules, 2004, p. 13). This emphasis on the relational identity of signs further underscores the importance of the "function" of linguistic elements, as opposed to their causes (p. 13).

Saussure's imbrication of structure through the systematic articulation of difference is picked up by, amongst others, Jean Piaget (1971) in *Structuralism*, where he defines structuralism:

As a first approximation, we may say that a structure is a system of transformations. Inasmuch as it is a system and not a mere collection of elements and their properties, these transformations involve laws: the structure is preserved or enriched by the interplay of its transformation laws, which may never yield results external to the system or employ elements that are external to it. In short, the notion of structure is comprised of three ideas: the idea of wholeness, the idea of transformation, and the idea of self-regulation (Piaget, 1971, p. 5).

Furthermore, Piaget asserts that "the elements of a structure are subordinated to laws, and it is in terms of these laws that the structure qua whole is defined (1971, p. 7). This emphasis on the "scientific study of structures and their capacity to give a complete and lawlike explanation of ... phenomena under consideration" (Peters, 2012, p. 12), indicates an approach

to the human subject that would consider him to be bound by (and to) the social edifices of his society.

Ultimately, a structuralist perspective would aver that the institution, the structure (prison, school etc) precedes, proscribes or informs the discourse, and thereby the individual. A poststructuralist mien would, instead insist upon the opposite: it is discourse which informs (creates, subjects, or even creates) both structures and individuals, prescribing their actions within the sphere of action.

3.2.1.2. Poststructuralism

Both Bacchi and Goodwin (2016), and Peters and Burbules (2004) present their synopses of poststructuralism via the selfsame caveat, that its nominal term should not be employed with any degree of "homogeneity, singularity, or unity" (Peters & Burbules, 2004, p. 17). However, it is such refusals to offer a limiting definition that drive such as Walter Humes and Tom Bryce (2003) to describe discussions of poststructuralism as being plagued by "procedural impass[es] created by "conceptual indeterminacy" (p. 176). To this end, they offer Hammersley's "definition":

[Poststructuralism] can be defined negatively in terms of what it rejects. It denies the possibility of any kind of universally valid knowledge of the kind proposed by advocates of the scientific model. It insists not just on the relativity of all knowledge claims but also that knowledge is a product of desire or power . . . Any claim on the part of researchers to be in pursuit of the truth, or to be in possession of knowledge, is treated by post-structuralists as hiding the work of other interests (Hammersley 1995: 14-15 in Humes & Bryce, 2003, p. 176).

Poststructuralism is the amalgamation of various sensibilities linked by their assertion of the continuous construction of meaning in context, what Veyne (2010) terms "[a truth] in the context of [its] time" (15), and standing as a direct challenge to the 'scientificism' of structuralism, its 'truth' claims and its positioning as a "mega-paradigm for the social sciences" (16). Similarly, Butler (1990) defines poststructuralism as seeking to destabilize "the claims of totality and universality and the presumption of binary structural oppositions that implicitly operate to quell the insistent ambiguity and openness of linguistic and cultural signification" (Butler 1990, p. 40). As to its development, key ideas and figures, while Butler (1990) would trace poststructuralism to Jaques Derrida, Harcourt (2007) insists upon the centrality of a Foucauldian lineage which precedes deconstruction. Harcourt's (2007) summation provides a clear point of entry:

Poststructuralism concentrates on the moment when we impose meaning in a space that is no longer characterized by shared social agreement over the structure of meaning. It attempts to

explain how it comes about that we fill those gaps in our knowledge and come to hold as true what we do believe-and at what distributive cost to society and the contemporary subject. By so clearly identifying points of slippage, poststructuralism clears the table and makes plain the significant role of ethical choice-by which I mean decision making that is guided by beliefs about virtue and the self, not by moral or political principle (p. 1).

This Nietzschean-inspired critique of 'truth(s)' insists upon an "incredulity toward metanarratives" through a focus on the "centrality of language to human activity and culture-its materiality, its linguisticity, and its pervasive ideological nature" (Peters 2004, p. 5). The central query to a poststructuralist investigation is "precisely how knowledge becomes possible at any particular time under specific historical conditions. (Harcourt 2007, p. 18). It asks: How do discourses become "true"? How does the process of making a discourse 'true' shape who we are, and our interactions as subjects? Harcourt qualifies this by insisting that Foucault does not suggest that discourses do not become true, but that the poststructuralist perspective is concerned specifically with the "forms of rationality ... historical conditions" ... and the cost of this subjectification (Foucault 1983, p. 442, in Harcourt 2007, p.18). Like Veyne, Olssen et al (2004) consider Foucault a Nietzschean, and as such, characterize his view of culture as a "system of material and discursive articulation" (p. 52). Moreover, they contend that his genealogy emphasizes "power rather than knowledge, and practices rather than language" (Olssen et al, 2004, p. 52; emphasis in original). Moreover, his post-structuralist position seeks to move beyond the "synchronic textual analysis" to which deconstruction is seemingly bound (53), seeking instead to interrogate the materialities of, in this instance, policy.

3.2.2. Discourse

As a theoretical and analytical concept, discourse is, for all intents and purposes, a Foucauldian concept (by reference, and not necessarily genesis). It is, however, amongst those academic terms that has gained such universal currency that it threatens to become divorced from its intended meaning and purpose. It is often conflated with utterance or dialogue, so as to become a purely linguistic term, but such an engagement fails to capture its profundity. Bove (1990) insists that it is unnecessary to search for the definition of discourse as it would 'contradict the logic of the structure of thought in which the term "discourse" now has a newly powerful critical function" (53). Moreover, Bacchi (2010) notes that particular definitions of discourse are alighted upon, chosen for their amenity to specific purposes. Veyne opines that Foucault, himself, did not fully elucidate his theory of/on discourse, believing that his commentators would provide such clarification (2010, p. 6).

A conclusive definition of discourse is haunted by the tension between "an emphasis on the uses of discourse, and an emphasis on the effects of discourse" (Bacchi 2009, p. 48). For Foucault, discourse is a practice having "its own forms of sequence and succession" (Foucault 1972, p.169), constituting both subjectivity and power relations, that can best be designated as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). While some would, cynically, characterize discourse(s) as "gravitational fields in which humankind is somehow entrapped" (Finkelde 2013, p. 1247), the analytical task is not the abject identification of the very bars of our (possible) imprisonment, but rather an "[inquiry] into the mechanisms, procedures, and processes at work in producing these "forms of sequence and succession", the "discursive practices" or *dispositif* (Bacchi & Bonham 2014, p.37).

Kendall and Wickham (1998) clarify Henriques et al. (1984) in elucidating five key steps to the understanding of a Foucauldian discourse, the latter four being 'rules of identification', and exigent to the first step: "the recognition of a discourse as a corpus of 'statements' whose organization is regular and systemic" (p. 42). The reference to statements is not to inform a view of discourse in which the statement, as an utterance, as text, is reified, but rather reflects that poststructuralism is often perceived as privileging the centrality of language. However, the Foucauldian discursive gaze is concerned with "what people said", in "exactly what is said" as opposed to simply "what people said" (Veyne, 1997, p. 156). As such, discourses are not merely concerned with the real, or our articulations of it (the formations of discourse), but "the effects in the real to which they are linked" (Bernauer, 1992, p. 144); not merely what, but why and especially how. However, the exploration of the how requires a cognizance of a critical tent, which defines the impetus behind a Foucauldian discourse analysis: "the object, in all its materiality, cannot be separated from the formal frameworks through which we come to know it": discourses (Veyne, 2010, p. 6). This exploration of the *how*, the rules which permit and deny, involves identifying such rules, specifically the production of such statements and the rules by which they are governed; the limitations upon the *sayable* (which, of course are never rules of closure); the rules that create spaces in which new statements can be said; and finally, those rules that ensure that a practice is material and discursive at the same time.

Foucault considered the human subject to be subject to the same forces as all creatures, a departure from previous epistemes that approached the human subject as being bound by and to the social structures of his society. A Foucauldian-inspired analysis of discourse, to which this research hews closely, seeks to "[strain] history through a line of thought that rejects universals" (Veyne, 2010, p. 10), that rejects hegemony and the un-agentic reality of discourse determinism.

3.2.3. Power and Knowledge

Foucauldian concepts have achieved a universality whereby they are easily appropriated and often erroneously simplified. Bacchi and Goodwin (2016) offer a useful caveat with which to temper any characterization of Foucault's ideas, and especially of power, warning that such working definitions are not "correct," as such, but, echoing Tanesini (1994, p. 207), this lack of definition points to these concepts as "proposals about how we ought to proceed from here". Labels, such as 'power', render the task an analysis of "particular usages ... and their purposes" (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016, p.28). With regards to the specific discussion on power, Foucault's articulation of *panopticism*, referring to Bentham's prison model, the Panopticon, make his views of power readily associated with-and even appropriated by-what Arnold Davidson terms "a juridical representation of power, conceived of in terms of law, prohibition, and sovereignty" (Foucault, 2003). While Foucauldian power does, indeed, explore such hierarchical observation as a technology of surveillance (and, certainly, educational reform often lends itself to such), Foucault warns against an *a priori* linkage to repression, "a phenomenon of [the] exclusive valorization of a theme" (Foucault, 1990, p. 102). Such a predisposition leads analysis towards hegemonic understandings of power, and crucially, simplistic readings of discursive practices.

3.2.3.1. Discourse and Power

Discourses inform meanings (perceptions, dispositions) that are borne not of language, but rather from "institutional practices, from power relations" (Ball, 1990, p. 2). Foucault's conceptions of power begin with discourse, and his 'strategic model' provides a clarity and coherence, an 'intelligibility' to the concept of discursive practices and their relation to power. Generally, discourse and discourse systems allow an individual to engage, at will, moving from one mode of discourse to another to suit varying social contexts. However, some (institutional) discourse systems are characterized by inaccessible terminology and, as such, selectively limit those who may engage within them. Such selective engagement of specific discourses denotes a form of power; it defines its location, and acts as a marker of power. Specifically, it identifies power as relational. Veyne offers that "once it has been constituted by a *concatenation causarum* or the causality of historical becoming, 'discourse' imposes itself as a historical *a priori*; and in the eyes of contemporaries, only those who speak in conformity with the 'discourse' of the moment will be said to tell the truth and will be accepted in 'the game of what is true and what is false'¹ (Veyne, 2010, p. 93). Foucauldian power is not a theory of truth as such, but rather "an empirical and almost sociological critique of *telling the truth*, that is to say the 'rules'

¹ *Dits et Ecrits*, 1984, p. 634; Veyne notes that this is what Foucault referred to as 'problematization'

for speaking truly, the rules of *Wahrsagen*" (Foucault 1994, p.445 in Veyne, 2010, p. 93; emphasis in original).

Foucault contends, first, that "discourse is something that necessarily extends beyond language," and in line with the rationality of such a strategic landscape, discourse becomes not only a 'struggle' (Foucault, 2003 p. xx), but also "a weapon of power, of control, of subjection, of qualification and of disqualification" (Foucault 1994b, p.123). Moreover, Davidson (2003) contends that "Discourse, knowledge, and truth, as well as relations of power, can be understood from within [this] strategic model" (in Foucault 2003, p. xxi). In this sense, discourse can be positioned not only as both an instrument, and an effect of, power, but also as "a hindrance, a stumbling block, [and] a point of resistance for an opposing strategy" (Foucault, 1982, p. 101).

3.2.3.2. Power

Power is often engaged in its active state, conceptualized as the active exercise of power, and indicating a hierarchical relationship between wielders of power at one end, and those at the receiving end (and thus lacking in power) at the other. Such a mien would not only position said wielders of power as existing outside of the sphere of power's influence, but also presents power as finite within a zero-sum situation; if I have it, another does not. Poststructuralist conceptions of power via Foucault, however, eschew the view of power as a mere tool, a "thing" or a "capacity" (O'Farrell 2005, p. 99).

Kendall and Wickham posit power as a strategy "that maintains a relation between the sayable and the visible" (1999, p. 49). They go on to assert that the sayable and the visible are to be regarded as two poles of knowledge which remain in constant conflict. Working through Foucault's carceral metaphor, the prison is a "form of "visibility which produces statements which reintroduce criminality, while statements around criminality produce forms of visibility which reinforce prison" (50). Kendall and Wickham also offer Deleuze's summary of Foucauldian power (from *The Subject and Power* [1982]):

Power is a relation between forces, or rather every relation between forces is a power relation Force is never singular but essentially exists in relation with other forces, such that any force is already a relation, that is to say power: force has no other subject or object than force ... It is 'an action upon an action, on existing actions, or on those which may arise in the present or the future'; it is a set of actions upon other actions' (Deleuze, 1986, p. 70, in Kendall and Wickham, 1999, p. 50)

Rather than approaching power via an analysis of either "Who exercises power? How? On whom?" or "Who makes decisions for me? Who is preventing me from doing this and telling me to do that? Who is programming my movements and activities?", Foucault suggests an

engagement of how power happens; knowing who wields power does not indicate the mechanism of its enaction. In this sense, power is, as Hunt and Wickham assert, the process of 'keeping things going', it is not a 'thing', in the way fuel or electricity is. (1994, p. 80-1). Foucault's theory of power contends that power is everywhere, and in his own words, "is the *problem* to be resolved" (Veyne, 2010, p. 104; emphasis added). However, he is quick to qualify that he doesn't "see power everywhere", nor does it stem (or reside) primarily in one point but is rather "conveyed by a capillary network so dense that one wonders whether there is anywhere where power is not at work" (Foucault 2004, p. 129, in Veyne, 2010 p. 94)².

Veyne (2010) presents a plenary, as it were, of the various characterisations of Foucauldian power by first offering Foucault's self-characterization of his primary aim as "show[ing] how the coupling of a set of practices and a regime of truth form an apparatus [or set-up: *dispositif*] of 'knowledge-power'. Whatever is believed to be true elicits obedience" (Foucault, 2008, p. 19, in Veyne, 2010, p. 93). He expands on this further, identifying power as "the ability to control the behavior of others without exerting physical pressure, to get people to walk without physically placing their feet and legs in the necessary positions. It is the most common and everyday thing" (Veyne, 2010, p. 93). As such, the ubiquity of power, the individual "innumerable little actions" as well as the "action[s] of central powers" (Veyne, 2010, p. 94), denotes a form of freedom; Foucault avers "there is liberty everywhere because there is power everywhere (Foucault 1994a, p. 720 in Veyne, 2010, p. 94).

Kenway addresses Foucauldian power through particular readings of Gramscian hegemony: "power is not seen to be localized in a central apparatus; neither is it seen to emerge from an essential essence. Rather for both [Foucault and Gramsci] it is seen to exist as a relationship at all points in the social totality" (in Ball, 1990, p. 180). Power, like Gramscian hegemony, is not a top-down, imposed construct but "complex and diffused" (p. 180). Moreover, Gramscian notions of "active consent" are positioned beside Foucault's "move beyond an understanding of power as the 'effects of obedience'" (p. 180).

Foucault is often criticized, like Marxism, for taking a reductive view of power; Marxism would analyse everything through economics, viewing all interactions as economic problems (Foucault, 2013). This distinction, however, is at the heart of the poststructuralist mien: the

² Veyne indicates that this observation came from an Interview of Foucault conducted by R.-P. Droit, June 1975, published in the Dossier on Foucault that appeared in *Le Monde*, 19 and 20 September 2004.

Marxist preoccupation with economics as a structuring form limits the possibility of human agency within the system. This simultaneous reification and reduction would contend that the only course of action is the complete destruction of the system; the 'scorched earth' approach. This conceives of power, in economics, as a thing, and precludes the examination of its effects, namely the careful subjectivities. In contrast, Foucauldian analytics of power recognize that power is "dispersed rather than located in any one center" (Peters & Burbules, 2004, p. 29). Furthermore, the strategic conception of power places the "strategies of power ... the mechanisms ... [and] techniques by which a decision is accepted and by which that decision could not but be taken in the way it was" within the analytical gaze (Foucault, 2013, p. 104).

Inaccuracy of definitions aside, a post-structuralist lens on power places its focus on what power does, rather than just an ascertaining of what it is. This research will place emphasis upon what Torfing (2009) characterizes as the "constitutive", or productive nature of power, examining its practices, its *enaction* within its gerundive form-the *doing* of power- as opposed to power in a prohibitive sense. As a constitutive force, power, as practices, acts upon both individuals and society as "a mechanism 'with a degree of efficacy that brings about results and so produces something in society' " (Foucault 1994, p. 636 in Veyne, 2010, p.95) and through discourse, "commands, represses, persuades and organizes". Especially critical for education is the presentation of power as "rational and informed" (Foucault 2004, p. 128, in Veyne, 2010 p. 94), as a form of what Foucault derided as "human dressage" (2013, p. 105).

3.2.3.3. Knowledge

With regards to knowledge, its relation to power figures significantly within Foucault-influenced post-structural policy analysis, and singularly as *power-knowledge*. A Foucauldian perspective on knowledge regards it as what is "accepted as true" (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, p. 31), and as such implies " 'techniques of knowledge', 'strategies of power' ... joined together in discourse" (Foucault 1990, p. 98).

More specifically, in addressing the "myriad of micropractices require[ing] repetition on a regular basis to 'enact' social relations" (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, p. 30), 'practices' of power, the concept of knowledge figures prominently in an explication of power-knowledge; power becomes the *operationalization* of knowledge, and as such 'knowledge practices'. More than mere acts, practices are "places" where "what is said and what is done, rules imposed and reasons given, the planned and the taken for granted meet and interconnect" (Foucault 1991, p. 75). They represent the activation of knowledges which serve to "constitute subjects as particular kinds of contingent beings". However, the analytical focus does not lay squarely, if

at all, upon the subjects, but rather upon the construction of "external relations of intelligibility" (p. 77).

Approached via the tripartite focus on "doing, heterogeneity and contingency", a Foucauldian post-structural analytic pursues a "posthuman analytic in which *practices* 'do' (constitute) 'subjects' " (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016, p. 32; emphasis in original), requiring, first, the *gerunding* of practices, in this case the reform-*ing* of education, to emphasise the focus on 'doing'. Moreover, this decentering of the subject accentuates the poststructural emphasis upon the relations and networks of relations and replaces objects (Veyne 1997, p. 181 in Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, p. 33). Conceiving of educational reform through this lens contests conventional assessments of causality, and specifically the normalized narrative of neoliberal hegemony; "a sort of multiplication or pluralization of causes" (Foucault 1991, p. 76), a proliferation of "events" as the random results of "the interweaving of relations of power and domination" (Tamboukou 1999, p. 207 in Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016, p. 33) replaces the singularity of a nodal event.

What, then, or who, to be more precise, are these subjects produced by power(/knowledge)? And, critically, how are they made?

3.2.3.4. Power and Subjects

In *Dits et Ecrits*, Foucault offers the following:

"In the course of their history, human beings have constantly been constructing themselves, that is to say they have continually been shifting their subjectivity, fitting themselves into an infinite and multiple series of different subjectivities" (1994a p. 75)

Foucault's observation regarding the construction and re-construction of the self is not a significant theoretical departure; all individuals, remarks Veyne (2010), are "socialized" (104). By way of an introduction of the concept of subjects and subjectivisations, Foucault's prefacing thoughts on human self-construction speak to the philosophical centrality of the formation of subjects to Foucault's work, and the primacy of his efforts to "[create] a history of the different modes by which ... human beings are made subjects" (Foucault, 2000, p. 208). Key to this is understanding that strategies of power produce knowledge, and that "human behavior [becomes] ... a problem to be analysed and resolved ... [and] is bound up [in] the mechanisms of power" (Foucault, 2013, p. 106). Strategies of power, its practices and relations, also produce "problems", "subjects", "objects" and "places" (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016, p. 29). However, neither power-knowledge, nor subjects and subjectivisation can be considered singularly; an understanding of subjectivisation, a concept integral to this research, requires its elucidation

through an articulation of the attendant processes to which it is bound, namely the Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power. Olssen et al. (2004), by way of an explanation of power, point out that "it is not necessary to situate all knowledge as a mere product or expression of power", but rather that, as claimed by Dreyfuss and Rabinow (1982), Foucault focuses on discourses that claim a scientific legitimacy, but are "intimately connected to microphysics of power" (p. 21).

Foucault proposes three types of power-knowledge: disciplinary power, biopower and governmentality. For the purposes of this argument, biopower and governmentality are commingled, chiefly for their interrelated nature, but also owing to their primary consideration within this research as mechanisms for subjectification.

3.2.3.5. Disciplinary power

In *Discipline and Power* (1977), Foucault identifies 'indirect' forms of power actuated to address specific, and, presumably, pressing, social need. He characterizes the modern disciplinary society as a "series of 'new techniques for assuring the ordering of human multiplicities'" (1977a; 218). Specifically, Olssen et al. argue, disciplinary practices "constitute a technology of the political in terms of which individuals recognize themselves as members of the society and as social beings" (2004, p. 24). By privileging the microphysics/micro-processes of power, which Veyne delineates as referring to the "mobile and localizable" nature of power (2010, p. 103), Foucault's engagement of the state refuses "juridico-discursive" conceptions of power to focus, instead, upon "the ways in which individuals are incorporated [into] the practical and efficient system of social regulation by which it constitutes its subjects as members" (Olssen, 2004, p. 24). Foucault identifies the knowledge, developed by the exercise of power, as power-knowledge and "refers to the institutions at which this power has been or is exercised as disciplinary institutions" (2013, p. 15). Of the focus upon micro-discourses, Foucault explains, "in thinking of the mechanisms of power, I am thinking of its capillary form of existence, the point where power reaches into the grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their action and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives" (Foucault 1980, p.39). With regards to the 'creation' of subjects, Foucault identifies three instruments of disciplinary power: *Hierarchical observation, normalisation and examination.*

Hierarchical observation denotes *panoptic* power and technologies of surveillance, and would ensure the "acquisition of aptitudes or types of behaviour" via

"regulated communications (lessons, questions and answers, orders, exhortations, coded signs of obedience, differentiation marks of the 'value' of each person and of the levels of knowledge) and

by means of a whole series of power processes (enclosure, surveillance, reward and punishment, the pyramidal hierarchy)" (Foucault, 2000, p. 218).

In contrast to the surveillance implied by Bentham's *Panopticon*, Foucault identifies normalization as an equally potent, form of disciplinary power. Normalisation refers to the method of defining, enforcing and concretizing the normal; norming. Of it, he states: "the power of normalization imposes homogeneity, but it individualizes by making it possible to measure gaps, to determine levels, to fix specificities and to render differences useful" (Foucault 1977b, p. 184). Normalisation may best resemble that human *dressage* for which Foucault held little regard.

Ball (2013) refers to examination as that "slender technique" in which is to be found "a whole domain of knowledge ... of power", which "embodies and relates power and knowledge in technological form. It is, in truth, a combination of both hierarchical observation and normalization, "'a normalising gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish' (Foucault, 1984a, p. 184). It is towards normalization that this research must eventually turn, and especially the capacity for individuals to both consent to and contest its attempts at '*dressage*'.

3.2.3.6 Governmentality and biopower

Governmentality, by which Foucault proposed to elucidate the "forms of activity aimed to guide and shape conduct" (Gordon 1991, p. 2 in Olssen, 2004, p. 25), represents Foucault's attempts at a macro-conception of power and its exercise on society through governing or governance. It comprises a wide swath of practices, from the (macro) administrative nature of governance to the micro-practices of self-control. Comprising a "bio-politics", this (relatively) new form of government takes as its primary concern "population", with "political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument"(Foucault 2007, p.108). Through rationalities and technologies, comprised of "institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, form of power" (Foucault 2009/7, p. 144), it endeavours to shape "governable domains and governable persons" (Rose et al., 2006, p. 101). The study of governmentality, contend Bacchi and Goodwin (2016), involves an understanding of the various rationalities and technologies, the "micropractices and microsites", as opposed to the merely the "state and its agencies", that are in involved in social administration (p. 42). The logics which impel and justify, which identify "some form of that activity thinkable and practicable both to its practitioners and to those upon whom it was practiced" (Gordon 1991: 3,

in p. 42), are governmental rationalities. Contingent, and availed of some sense of historicity, they are, in Foucault's words "diagrams of rule" (Foucault 1990b, p. 37). Key to an understanding of governmental rationalities is that they are dynamic, and more importantly, do not determine outcomes (Bacchi & Goodwin, p. 43). They often draw upon "the human sciences (such as psychology, economics and medicine)" (Dean 1999, p.16). Notably, it is through the study of governmentality that problematizations become important. Technologies indicate, simply, the mechanisms through which populations are managed, and "shape what it is possible to think and hence plan or organize in the way of governing", and form part of an ontological politics (Mol 1999) that enables some realities and disables others (in Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, p. 44). Bacchi and Goodwin identify "censuses, league tables, performance data, and case management" (2016, p. 44)-practices with which modern education is replete-as apparatuses of governmental technologies.

3.2.4. The Subject, Subjectivisation and Subject Positions

Within institutions, "knowledge has been developed about people, and their behaviour, attitudes, and self-knowledge have been developed, refined and used to shape individuals. These discoveries and practices have not only been used to change us in various ways but are also used to legitimate such changes, as the knowledge gained is deemed to be true" (Marshall 1990, in Ball 1990, p. 15). Marshall refers to subjectivisation (or subjectification), the production of (socio-political) subjects, provisional beings bound to (and by) "repertoires of conduct" (Rose 2000, p. 43). For Foucault, subjectivisation is much like Bourdieu's *habitus* in that both provide a "link between the social domain and the individual" (Veyne, 2010, p. 104).

With regard to the subject, Foucault embraces a social constructionist position (Olssen, 2004, p. 22), by which he asserts the discursive construction of the subject. His decentering of the subject "rejects essentialist views based on 'human nature' or 'biology'" (p. 22). The subject occupies an ambiguous perch, being tied to others by control and simultaneously tied (however tenuously) to his own identity, and Foucault sees this as "thoroughly contingent-emergent, constituted or produced, "in formation" (Bonham et al. 2015, in Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, p. 49). Subjects act within the discursive realm, and are also produced within it, "provid[ing] the bodies on and through which discourse may act" (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 53). However, Veyne clarifies, the "human subject does not do the constituting, but is constituted as its object" (2010, p. 96).

By way of introduction to his text on subjectivity, Hall (2006) alights on the temporal predilection for self-building, for self-improvement, as an indication of the ubiquity of

subjectivisation. He observes that "we are commonly asked to rethink, express, and explain our identities", thereby concretizing the belief that we are possessed of the "freedom and ability"-that we can and, indeed, must- "create and re-create our 'selves' at will, if we *have* the will" (Hall 2006, p. 1; emphasis in original). He does, however, temper this (perhaps) banal observation by positing this social awareness or predisposition against a "suspiciously narrow range of options and avenues that will allow us to fit comfortably into society and our particular gendered, regional, ethnic, sexual subset of it" (p. 1). However, Veyne suggests clearly demarcating subjectivisation, "a kind of socialization" (2010, p. 104), and the Foucauldian concept of "aestheticization, by which he meant not the constitution of the subject, but the initiative of a 'transformation of oneself by oneself'" (Foucault, 1994a, p. 535 in Veyne, 2010, p. 104). He contends that "a subject who aestheticizes himself freely and actively, through certain practices upon himself, is still a child of his time: for those practices are not 'something that the individual himself invents; they are schemata that he finds in his culture'" (Foucault, 1994c, p. 719). Critical to this research is Veyne's (2010) observation that this aestheticization is initiated by freedom (p. 105), and, crucially, through "schemata he finds in his culture" (Foucault 1994a, p. 719).

Lawrence M. Friedman ventures that this is a natural movement away from "forms and traditions that trapped the individual in a cage of ascription", tying him to "definitive social roles, [pinned] to a given position in the world, no matter how they might wriggle and fight" (1999, p vii -viii). He asserts that

"choice is often an illusion. People are firm believers in free will. But they choose their politics, their dress, their manners, their very identity, from a menu they had no hand in writing. They are constrained by forces they do not understand and are not even conscious of. But even the illusion of choice has enormous social significance" (Friedman, 1999, p. 240).

Hall regards his observation as an encapsulation of one tension at the heart of postmodern society: freedom v constraint, or self-construction v social construction, and would identify subjectivity as "the tension between choice and illusion, between imposed definitions and individual interrogations of them, and between old formulae and new responsibilities" (2006, p. 2).

Foucault proffers 3 mechanisms through which human beings are made subjects: the human sciences, dividing practices- meaning the objectification of the subject through classification practices- and by agentic individuals transforming themselves into subjects. Crucially, this process of constitution occurs in relation to material and non-material elements.

3.2.5. Problems and Problematizations

With regards to the term *problematise*, Bacchi notes both its popularity in common discourse, and especially its usage within qualitative research to denote analysis or challenge at a base level (Bacchi 2015, Bacchi & Goodwin 2016). The term enjoys a dual manifestation, and by way of illustrating the aforementioned usage and its customary academic treatment, Bacchi and Goodwin offer Alvesson and Sandberg's (2013) description of a "problematization methodology", which critically assess assumptions and presuppositions in political and social theories" (2016, p. 38). Foucault refers to these as "unexamined ways of thinking" behind "accepted practices" (Foucault 1994a, p. 456). Problematization, however, can also refer to the process of offering or presenting an issue as a problem. Addressing this usage of the term, way of illustrating the aforementioned usage and its customary academic treatment, Bacchi and Goodwin (2016) are clear to assert the distinction in policy theory between interpretivists and poststructuralists: interpretivists focus on how policy gives shape to or even concretises problems, whereas poststructuralists "contest the view that problems are real in some directly observable sense" and instead attend to the constitution of problems within and through policy, how proposals contain implicit *representations* of "the problem"- problem representations(p. 39). Interpretivists, they continue, seek to devise methods of effective problematization so as to generate "consensus" or "shared problematizations" (Colebatch et al., 2010, p. 236, in Bacchi & Goodwin 2016, p. 39). These are, by and large, communicative and rhetorical strategies. WPR, as a Foucauldian poststructuralist mien, would seek "to trouble, rather than to cultivate, consensus" (p. 39), to instigate an interrogation of policy that seeks to disturb that which is taken for granted. Doing so allows for placing 'problems 'at the heart of the analytical task, asking how they are made, or given shape, making them amenable not only to intervention, but also to investigation and analysis.

Problems, as constituted or addressed through social/public policy, present a reductive rendering of complex issues. Moreover, approaches like problem-solving theory (Cox 1986) justify the characterization of education policy as "fast policy", as inoculatory interventions towards specific problems. Within policy, problems are often presented as problematizations, and from an interpretivist policy analytical mien such a conceptualization would position policy as productive of its identified problems. To wit, Osborne asserts that "policy cannot get to work without first problematising its territory" (1997, p. 174 in Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, p. 16). Fundamentally the WPR method seeks to examine the constitution of said problems, challenging the accepted role of policy as 'problem-solving': "if the very nature of a 'problem' is

in dispute, any suggestion that all that is required is evidence about how to solve "it" seems to be sadly inadequate" (p. 39).

3.3. Theoretical Framework, Part 2: Affect Theory

Donovan Shaefer (2013, 2016), following Wetherell (2012), identifies affect theory as an "approach to culture, history and politics that focuses on non-linguistic forces" which seek to identify and organize affects, [and] thereby typifying their 'social manifestation' (Shaefer, 2012). Borne of performative practices (and, itself, a practice), this theoretical mien is tied to Foucault's analytics of power, and especially to the processes of subjectification through apparatuses. Affect "infus[es] social analysis with what could be called psychosocial 'texture'". Its focus on social expression allows for the investigation of "how people are moved, and what attracts them ... how social formations grab people" (Wetherell, 2012 p. 2).

With regards to this research, affect theory allows WPR to move beyond a contemplation of policy as discourse, to directly address the materiality in the enactment of policy: How does (or what are the processes by which) policy becomes real? Whereas a Foucauldian-inspired post-structuralist policy analysis is undertaken to uncover the problem representations, the conceptual logics by which educational reform policies are impelled, affect theory allows an examination of their "armature[s] of emphasis", or explanatory logics- "the [mechanisms] by which certain topics are elevated to importance in different communities of practice" (Schaefer 2016). Such 'armatures of emphasis' are implicit in what can be termed transactional affective consequences, the processes of meaning-making by which policies become real.

As Ben Anderson (2014) suggests, 'States, institutions and corporations now know, target and work through affective life' (p. 26), functioning as 'affect structures' that organize and mediate, including through apparatuses that affect the mobilities of how policies are developed, spread, or resisted. Affective life has been examined as a lens through which social actors and networks have been conceptualized and constructed (Anderson, 2014), and has found purchase within scholarship on critical education policy (Kenway & Youdell, 2011; Lingard & Sellar, 2013; Nairn & Higgins, 2011; Sellar, 2015; P. T. Webb & Gulson, 2015).

3.3.1. Affect

Affect, much like discourse, sits amongst those terms whose profligate usage has served to both dilute and limit their importance; too often, it is simply conflated with, and employed as, individual emotion. By approaching affect through the full range of its conceptual

potentiality—as a motivating force; a compelled psychological state, or emotional disposition—we understand not only its importance to social science research, but also its positioning within this endeavour.

Wetherell (2012) prefaces her definition of affect by examining the specific (and perhaps pedestrian) denotations of affect, which serve to elucidate the complexity of this term/concept. Although often conflated with individualized or personal notions of emotion, affect, in this sense—and for the purpose of this research—is engaged as "that which encompasses and exceeds more individualized conceptions of emotion, interactive and embodied intensities that circulate" as Seigworth & Gregg's (2010) 'forces of encounter', (McKenzie, 2017, p. 187). Anderson's working definition of affect indicates a more *agentic* conception, directly implicating the "bodily capacity to affect and to be affected", and asserts the collective constitution of bodies, and their imbrication within a set of relations that extend beyond the individual (2014, p. 8).

3.3.2. Massumi and automaticity of affect

While eschewing purely *individual* conceptions of emotion, 'emotion' cannot be divorced from a discussion of affect. Massumi's qualitative affective conception refers to emotion as having the "tawdry status of the private" (2002, p. 219). He promotes an understanding of affect that "narrows it down to exclude conscious awareness and massively expands its domain at the same time, marking out affect as all the ways in which bodies respond to the world and to other bodies" (Wetherell, 2012 p. 59). Massumi's (2005) take on affect, however, conveyed via an analysis of the US Homeland Security colour-coded terror alert system, is presented as evidence of such mobilisation of affect, of affective power through purportedly "preconscious visceral reactions" (Wetherell, 2012 p. 58). One of the key claims concerning affect, its rendering as "non-conscious", instinctive or autonomous, prompts Anderson (2006, p. 736) to characterize Massumi's conception of affect as "pre-individual and pre-personal" (in Wetherell, 2012 p. 59). The automaticity which Massumi proffers as powering the efficacy of this system seems to verge on the instinctual. In this sense, it is beyond explicit knowledge, happening "out of mind, beyond the phenomenological, and what is normally understood to be experience" (Wetherell, 2012 p. 58); it exists as a virtual construct—biological, though implicative of a mechanistic process.

The oppositional binary structure of consciously-controlled versus automatic and pre- (or non) conscious processes is one-dimensional, and insufficient to provide an accounting for the range human action. Massumi's notion of affect as virtual renders it invisible at its point of

contact; it is gone, as it existed in that pre-conscious space. Bondi, et al. (2011) succinctly encapsulate this conundrum, asking 'How can we represent that which lies beyond the scope of representation?' (p. 11). Bargh elaborates on this purported binary, arguing:

"the features that have been traditionally associated with a conscious or controlled process - awareness, intentionality, controllability, limited capacity - do not always or even usually hang together in an all-or-none fashion, and neither do the features normally attributed to an automatic process (lack of awareness, unintentional, uncontrollable, and efficiency). Rather, the complex, higher mental processes of most interest to social psychologists are usually mixtures or combinations of these features" (2007, p. 2)

In short, we are not affect automatons. Anderson (2006) attempts to bridge this apparent (though wholly conceptual) divide, offering a tripartite 'layering': Massumi's pre-personal, non-conscious affect, through which automatic body responses are enacted; secondly, feeling as the visceral, the reflexive; and finally, emotion, which he posits as structured, its expression culturally shaped. The three 'modalities' of his construct, rather than implicating any sense of hierarchy, eschew linearity by insisting on "diverse feedforward and feedback loops" (p. 737). Wetherell, following Pile (2010) insists that Massumi's concept of the 'geography' of affect presents "rigid borders within a layered body/mind with no credible way affects can impinge on raw feelings and no clear path by which emotions in the third layer can feed backwards or forwards into the first layer" (2012, 66). It is to this discussion of topographical linearity, of a 'vectored' conception of affect, which this research must return.

Pile (2010) makes a critical point regarding affect and its individual and cultural geographies, writing "affects matter - but they cannot be grasped, made known, or represented. This would appear to leave affectual geography with a problem: its archetypal 'object of study' - affect - cannot, by its own account, be shown or understood (p. 9). Of further importance to gaining a grasp of the complexity of affect are Reddy's forays (2001, 2009) into the affective-discursive, through which he proposes a "hinge" between the psychological and the social by suggesting a relationship between affect and meaning-making. Focusing on discourse, he positions his concept of 'emotives' as a veritable binding agent for historical emotional regimes (Reddy, 2001, pp. 128- 9). They are, simply put, "performatives", "first-person speech acts" that serve to connect subjective experience to collective life (Wetherell, 2012 p. 68). Reddy's account of the affective-discursive is predicated upon an individualistic rendering of discourse. The human actor does not act within a vacuum, nor does he (solely) resemble a *Penseurian* effigy. Affect, much like discourse, is a social event and a relational activity. As such, it becomes necessary to think "in and through" affect in order to fully grasp its motive capabilities.

In order to articulate the concept of affect to which this research will adhere however, Anderson's (2014) observation regarding progressive neoliberal critique becomes relevant. He notes the tendency to conceive of neoliberalised affective 'practice' as "bypassing intentionality" (p. 29), echoing Barnett's (2008) characterization of current usages of affect and power as giving purchase to a recurrent "trope of manipulation" (p. 190). The sole focus on manipulation, however, indicates a reductive view of affect, recalling not only the *Massumian* concept of affective automaticity, but also implicating a "strategic" deployment by "coherent, but vaguely specified actors (including the media)" (Anderson 2014, p. 29). Additionally, this produces a monolithic collective of affective beings and structures, whose interactions can be conceived of as "single or coherent phenomena" (p. 30), easily directed (whether conscious, or not) by a reductive conception of power.

While mindful of Anderson's (2014) caveat that "manipulation is one modality of action that takes place alongside others" (p. 31), this work does not regard education as such an affective enterprise, nor does it wish to view policy solely through a manipulative (and decidedly less agentic) view of power, one approaching Jones, Pykett and Whitehead's (2011) forms of "psychological governance" (in Anderson 2014, p. 30). This research, however, privileges an orientation towards affect comprised of three similar perspectives:

The first is McKenzie's (2017) alignment with the "collective or 'connective' conditions" of affect, or "what affect does in terms of social policy and politics", or the social domain. It exists not only as a working amalgam of the different perspectives on affect, but also because as generated for the purposes of policy mobility research, it foregrounds "what moves us collectively and individually" (p.188). The second perspective is Anderson's (2014) conception of affect as "objects of knowledge, targets of intervention, and [a] means of intervening in life" (p.24). From this position, affects like "morale or 'debility, dependency, dread' - are 'inscribed in reality' as an effect of apparatuses rather than being 'things that exist, or errors, or illusions or ideologies' (Foucault 2008, p. 20 in Anderson, 2014, p. 24). Finally, Labanyi's (2010) approach to affect positions it as lying between the facile options of "emotion and materiality" (p. 225). In this sense, it is informed by both ends of its conceptual foci. Adopting an anthropological approach, whereby "symbolic systems constituted by social practice" (p. 224) become a focus of investigation, he echoes Ahmed's (2004) view of emotion as being more than mere fecund sources of information regarding worlds within the self. Moreover, this affective approach is informed by an understanding of subjectivity as a relational concept, where emotions are produced within a relational framework. Taken together, this distillation of affective understandings reveals affect to be connective and collective emotion bound within a

relational state. It is subject to intervention as both an object (to be affected), and a subject (to cause affect), but is not divorced from intentionality. While subjects can be affected, they, too, can employ their affect, and especially its collective and connective manifestations, in an agentic manner (Labanyi, 2010).

McKenzie (McKenzie, 2017) and Labanyi (2010) privilege the relational, or perhaps transactional, aspect of affect, positioning it as part of an economy— akin to a Bakhtinian 'dialogic— and requiring an interrogation of its activity, the processes [guiding] its movement, its interventions and eventual meaning-making. To this end, McKenzie employs Anderson's (2014) methodology for an analysis of affective life, specifically attending to the 'differentiated "capacities to affect and be affected"; exhaustion, pain, greed, and so on;' with the second task being 'to trace how affects emerge from and express specific relational configurations, while also becoming elements within those formations' (McKenzie, 2017, p. 191). It is necessary to relay her characterization of Anderson's three complementary ways to engage affect, in full, as it indicates the specific direction of this research project. In addition to this, McKenzie proffers a series of seminal guiding questions, writing:

Connecting this vocabulary to considerations of mobility, we can then ask (i) how policy may function as an apparatus of power which uses affect to mobilize particular orientations to education or society (including how infrastructures of policy entities, slogans, technology, reporting, and so on may spur on this mobility); (ii) how such orientations may themselves be expressions of broader collective conditions which spread, mutate, or codevelop across institutional, regional, or national borders; and (iii) how the practices and bodily capacities of policy actors and networks initiate or further such mobilities through their encounters, and/or are redirective, adaptive, or resistant, whether intentionally or not, including in relation to the territoriality and other specifics of locations. (McKenzie, 2017, p. 191)

In keeping with the notion of modalities of action beyond a one-directional, manipulative simplicity, Anderson's contemplation of product marketing and its attempts to shape the affective quality of retail environments speak to the notion of "environmental design" (2014; 31). He concludes that "the milieu of action is the object and target for ... intervention," and "[sets up] possibilities for action within a set of thresholds" (31). This engagement of affect emphasizes its operation beyond the individual, where it "[works] collectively to condition life and set 'effective limits on experience and on action'" (Williams, 1977, p. 32 in McKenzie, 2017, p. 191-192). However, the mechanism(s) of its movement or interventions, its transportation between bodies and collectives-its 'doing'-is unclear. How, then, does affect ... work? How (precisely) does it exist beyond an individualized, narrow conception of emotion that [would seem] to privilege instinctual reflex, rather than structured action? Finally, if affect is not merely response in a virtual domain, are there structures through which affect is directed,

patterns of activity which may indicate (not rigidity, but replicability), and at the very least, intention? To borrow from Anderson, what is its milieu of action? Anderson's milieu of (affective) action is best grasped and comprised of three complementary and, indeed, symbiotic concepts of affective movement and intervention: affective practice, apparatus and, finally, economy.

3.3.3. Affective Practice

Wetherell (2012), too, queries the process by which "bodies become organized and ... situations formulated, evaluated, negotiated and, crucially communicated" (Wetherell 2012, p. 6), focusing on the concept of affective practice(s), which indicate the presence of "interpretative repertoires" (threads of sense-making that work through familiar tropes, metaphors and formulations)" (Wetherell and Potter, 1988, in Wetherell 2012, p. 12). While clarifying affect as an emotional quandary, Labanyi (2010) also addresses emotions as practices, building on an understanding of subjectivity as a relational concept and "viewing [emotions], not as properties of the self, but as produced through interactions between the self and the world" (p. 224).

Wetherell (2012) insists upon the concept of practice partly because of the 'familiar' connotation of the term practice with "activity, flow, assemblage and relationality" (p. 4). She writes that "affective practice focuses on the emotional as it appears in social life and tries to follow what participants do. It finds shifting, flexible and often over-determined figurations rather than simple lines of causation, character types and neat emotion categories" (p. 4). Such a mien allows for a working conception of affective practice as "embodied meaning-making" (Wetherell 2012, p. 4). These repertoires speak to the inherent dynamism and mobility of affect and find purchase in such traditions as Actor Network Theory and (Latour, 2005).

The concept of affective practice is conceived through an expansion of affect (and its facile connotations) "beyond the familiar emotional palettes" (Wetherell 2012, p. 6). It is at this point that I offer a caveat: It is not that the effects of reform policy "construct, define and appeal" to Rosenwein's (2006) 'emotional community' (in Wetherell 2012, p. 8), but that such effects—through specific constructions, or subjectifications—carve out affective positions. Critically, Bacchi (2010), too, regards the concept of interpretive repertoires as an answer to the essentialism that informs the inconsistency inherent in ascribing individual decision-making in a "socially constructed world" solely to individually held 'feelings' (Bacchi 2010, p. 54). In contrast to the analytical mien which positions individuals as "value holders" (Burr 1995, p. 116 in Bacchi 2010, p.54), interpretive repertoires "return the emphasis to the volition of the discourse users, where 'values' are not necessarily 'held' in some internal sense but may be

invoked or *appealed* to in order to produce particular effects" (Bacchi 2010, p. 54; emphasis added). Remarking upon Stewart's (2007) reminder of the banality, the 'ordinary' nature of affect (as opposed to its "uncanny and extreme" possibilities) (in Wetherell, 2012, p. 7), Wetherell cautions that some affective practices "stabilise, solidify and become habit" (Wetherell 2012, p. 14), akin to a form of affective *habitus*.

In recognizing affect as "practical, communicative and organized", a researcher's analysis of such practices must investigate their connectivity and positionality, "whether that articulation and intermeshing is careful, repetitive and predictable or contingently thrown together in the moment with what else is to hand" (Wetherell 2012, p. 13). Notably, Wetherell attempts to clarify the manner of this 'articulation and intermeshing', calling upon the term 'affective machines', although her mechanical usage is bound to Iris Murdoch's sense, where 'machine' indicates "a conventional socio-emotional pattern of feelings, thoughts, positions and desires that [have] a kind of inexorable and often damaging logic" (2012, p. 15). Of Murdoch's treatment of the term machine she writes, "Affective machines draw people like magnets, 'herding us along like brutes', and in her novels require a supreme act of reformulation and self re-making or the dramatic intervention of others to be broken" (e.g. Murdoch, 1967 [1964], p. 167). Wetherell's discussion of machines is meant to evoke a processual array, rather than the automaticity connoted by a mechanistic causality. The study of affect, she avers, "is the study of pattern" (p. 16).

In asserting that "truth and knowledge are *produced* in 'local centres of power- knowledge'" (Foucault 1990, p. 98), Bacchi and Goodwin remind us that Foucault's genealogy is concerned with the "multitudes of practices—the 'processes, procedures and apparatuses' (Tamboukou 1999, p. 202)—involved in the production of 'truth'" (in Bacchi and Goodwin 2016, p. 46). Understanding affective practices involves placing emphasis on the processual, as opposed to the finite, or complete, and requires an interrogation of the assemblages and mechanisms of action which comprise affective practice; simply put, it involves uncovering or recognizing the patterns inherent to such practices. Such patterns, the mechanisms and assemblages of action, are best understood by the Foucauldian concept of apparatus. Within the discussion of affect, apparatuses represent a mechanism of its practice.

3.3.4. Apparatuses

While the combination of these two theories may seem counterintuitive, given the consensus amongst some affect theorists that Foucault evinces an antipathy to an explicit engagement with affect (see Thrift 2006; Sedgwick 2003), one can, however, make the argument for

Foucault's implication of affect within both his archaeology and genealogy. Anderson (2014) makes this determination based on Foucault's implication of fear and its implicit processes with regards to the exercise of power. His agentic conception of power creates the conceptual space to approach it as a 'stimulating' force which impels, and can be compelled- in short, the processes of 'mediation' to which apparatuses are readily linked.

O'Farrell's (2005) rendering of Foucault's *dispositif*, taken here to mean apparatus, indicates the "various institutional, physical and administrative mechanisms and knowledge structures which enhance and maintain the exercise of power within the social body (p. 128). The discussion of apparatuses marks a pivotal point of meeting of this project's two theoretical lenses. Of the various concepts readily linking these two sets of theoretical tools, that of apparatus provide the most compelling evidence for this conceptual marriage. Conceived of as a "strategic relationship" (O'Farrell 2005, p. 66), *dispositif*, or *apparatuses*, indicate the complex interplay of "discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory tensions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical moral and philanthropic propositions (Foucault 1980b, p. 194). The apparatus, he concludes, is the "system of relations" between these elements, the vehicle through which affect is 'practiced'. Although seemingly indistinguishable from his concept of *episteme*, which is exclusively discursive, apparatus comprises both discursive and non-discursive elements (p. 194), thereby implying its heterogeneity.

While its explicit articulation of heterogeneity would link apparatus to such terms as *network* and *assemblage*, Anderson (2014) addresses this possible commingling of terms by calling upon Foucault's distinction of "network" (Foucault, 2007, p. 8) as a system of "correlation" (p. 35), whereby the various elements of an apparatus are both brought and held together. This clarification of terminology also produces a key by-product, that of an apparatus as a recurrent style of structuration, "a distinctive connection between a set of differential elements that integrates those elements through the combination of 'strategies of relations of forces supporting, and supported by, types of knowledge' (Foucault 1980, p. 196 in Anderson 2014, p. 35). Through ongoing processes of intensifications, rearticulations and reformations of the elements comprising this "differential field", apparatuses produce both "intentional and unintentional effects", with either significance or incongruity (p. 35), and requiring what Foucault termed "strategic elaboration". Anderson (2104) further indicates that this tension lies at the heart of discerning the relative importance of either the continual process of strategic elaboration on the one hand, or of reformations and intensifications, on the other (35).

Of critical importance to this endeavour is Bacchi and Goodwin's equating of Foucault's *dispositifs* with "discursive practices" (2016, p. 117; see also Bacchi & Bonham 2014). Discursive practices, they contend, "[encapsulate] how discourses "practice", how they operate to establish their knowledge credentials" (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016, p. 117), owing to Foucault's description of discourses as practices. To wit, *dispositifs* are a discursively generated network of relations and practices, comprised of heterogenous elements which include "actions, symbols, materials, words, and gestures" (117). It is through the ongoing enactment of relations within discursive practices that "subjects", "objects", and "places" are in continual formation (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016, p. 117). Of crucial importance to this work is the understanding that "it is possible to 'map' notionally the "elements"-e.g., the sites, subject positions (kinds of subjects and authority of those subjects), practices, objects, actions, and interactions in a discursive practice" (117).

3.3.5. Affective Economies

Ahmed (2004) offers one such mechanism for the patterned movement of affect, that of affective economies, which takes as its starting point a detachment of emotion from its ready- and restrictive- connotation with "psychological dispositions", opting instead to "consider how they work, in concrete and particular ways, to mediate the relationship between the psychic and the social, and between the individual and the collective" (2004, p. 119). Furthermore, she encourages a disputation of emotion as solely the domain of the individual and would also challenge conventional conceptions of emotion as unidirectional; inside-out. Her 'economical' construct is guided by the pivotal questions: "How do emotions work to align some subjects with some others and against other others? How do emotions move between bodies?" (Ahmed 2004, p. 117).

Via a rhetorical focus on hate, Ahmed makes a crucial observation: "hate does not reside in a given subject or object. Hate is economic; it circulates between signifiers in relationships of difference and displacement" (2004, p. 119). In this sense, emotions circulate, and, like discourse, are circulated. They work to bind subjects together, and "align individuals with communities- or bodily space with social space" (2004, p. 119).

Specifically, the term economic suggests that emotions are 'circulated' in a Marxian, capitalistic sense, whereby ... its commodified movement "converts it into capital" (p. 120). Critically, and as a form of capital, "affect does not reside positively in the sign or commodity but is produced only as an effect of its circulation. (Ahmed 2004, p. 120). Perhaps even more germane to this research is Ahmed's contention that "it is [a] failure of emotions to be located

in a body, object, or figures [which] allows emotions to (re)produce or generate the effects that they do" (p. 124).

While Ahmed proposes a mechanism, McKenzie (2017) instead suggests a catalyst through which affect is collectively operationalized: *precarity*. Although McKenzie indicates its initial use as a term employed by labour activists to indicate labour insecurity (generally), it has found purchase as the connotation of "a collective disposition of generalized insecurity whereby the future becomes 'predictably unpredictable'" (Anderson, 2014, p. 126). Similarly, Peck (2011), Peters (2012), and Slater (2014), who opt for the more sensational, though no less accurate 'crisis', would point to the global move away from Keynesian economic models towards neoliberal policy 'approaches'. Ahmed (2004) also speaks to the notion of crisis, although through the idea of "border anxieties". She prefaces its linkage to the concept of crises by proffering a caveat: crises are not manufactured, made out of nothing, but the "declaration of crisis reads that fact/figure/event and transforms it into a fetish object that then acquires a life of its own" (p. 133). She writes, "Through designating something as already under threat in the present, that very thing becomes installed as "the truth," which we must fight for in the future, a fight that is retrospectively understood to be a matter of life and death" (p. 133), which is, in a word, exigency.

It should be noted that Foucault, as well, approaches precarity/crisis in his clarification of *dispositif*, or apparatus, labelling it an "urgent need" to which the "interplay of shifts of position and modifications of function" are a response (Foucault 1980, p. 194-5, emphasis in original). This urgent need/precarity/crisis is, first, discursively generated, then activated through an "heterogenous [policy] ensemble", a traveling "system of relations"- an apparatus (Foucault 1980, p. 194).

Peck et al. (2012) suggest that the results of these 'traveling affects' of neoliberalism are the "highly selective circulation of preferred programming technologies, models, and policy frames - which effectively become viral carriers of ideologically sanctioned rationalities' (i.e. of neoliberalism)" (p. 281). Such catalysts serve as forms of discursive proscription, and "move in relationship to policy"; they form the basis for approaching affect as operating as a primary motive force (although one bound to precarity/crisis), and the mechanism of affective economy can be held as analogous to the process of subjectification.

Although Ahmed's (2004) usage of border anxieties within a text whose primary focus is on terrorism in a post-9/11 world might indicate that this term simply denotes 'fear' in its

reflexive or instinctual form, her approach speaks best within an educational context when substituting the fear of danger with a fear of scarcity, a direct result of a discursively created (or heightened) zero-sum situation. Perhaps one might venture that this is the modern/neoliberal condition? 'Fear' and other specific manifestations of precarity and crisis provide aspirational 'forms' (in the Platonic sense), to which individuals now strive, thereby turning subjectification on its head; we are, to borrow from Marx, constituted and constitute ourselves under conditions not of our own choosing.

It is through affective economies and the discursive generation of crisis—of precarity, and its attendant concerns about accountability, control and agency, that this research aims to examine problem representations and their attendant materialities. To wit, educational reforms, as traveling affects of neoliberalisation, operate through a discursive generation of crisis/precarity. More specifically, educational reforms represent a specific type of intervention, an apparatus comprised of problem representations engendered within policy which, when activated by precarity, activate the constitution of subjectivities whose actions produce both desired and unintended consequences.

3.4. Conclusion

At the heart of this research are what McKenzie terms 'bodily encounters of policy' (2017, p. 198), and specifically how individuals, groups and institutions encounter, negotiate and implement policy reforms and their effects. Addressing the seminal, underlying question of this research project, "How does policy become real?", requires a poststructuralist mien that approaches educational reform policy through its "subjective and cultural implications" (Saltmarsh 2015, p. 38). Within this lens, policies become "everyday practices or 'ways of operating' that map onto grids of intelligibility, organize networks of relations and give rise to ways of acting, using, making and remaking the products of culture (Saltmarsh, 2015).

In taking the effects of policy reforms—its contextual materialities— as the starting point, or beginning at the end, this poststructuralist mien must be bound to an analytical perspective which takes, as its beginning, the collective connections, the "connections and inter-dependencies" (2010, p. 558) linking individuals, groups and institutions. It must foreground the practices "through which 'policy processes, texts and practices are situated and mediated by institutional histories and ethos, the positionings and personalities of various policy actors, and relationships between governments and institutions' (Saltmarsh, 2012, p. 76). The

analytical combination of Affect theory and the materialist post-structural perspective of the WPR methodology, as articulated, provides such a mechanism.

Chapter 4.

Methodology

4.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the research methodology utilized to examine the effects of globalized educational reform policies in the United States and Australia on human action with regards to inequality. In order to justify the selection of the chosen methodological approach, a discussion of the primary mechanisms through which the conceptual framework is applied to the research questions, of necessity, details the methods of data identification and collection, as well as the specifics of the discourse analytical methods employed within this research. This description of methodology also includes an identification of the policies under consideration. In that this research is a form of policy discourse analysis, this chapter will also address policy, policy as discourse and finally document analysis. The chapter concludes with an examination of ethical considerations and limitations.

4.2. Methodological Approach

The primary method of analysis for this research is comprised of a form of post-structural policy discourse analysis, WPR, developed by Bacchi (2012; 2009; 2010; Bacchi & Goodwin 2016), and entails the application of six questions, or lenses, to policy texts. The secondary method of analysis, affect theory, requires the application of the [model of affective circulation] to aspects of the WPR analysis. This combined methodological approach is applied to 26 policy documents from the United States and Australia.

4.2.1. Qualitative Research

In line with the theoretical perspectives guiding this research, specifically a Foucauldian-inspired poststructuralism and affect theory, a qualitative methodology was utilized, primarily through policy analysis. Denzin and Lincoln (2017) approach qualitative research as a process analogous to filmmaking, "bricolage, quilt making, or montage" (p. 4), and further characterize the qualitative researcher as a "*bricoleur*", a quilter, piecing tools and strategies together to develop "interpretive [practices]" (Becker, 1998, in Denzin et al 2017, p. 4). The selection of

tools, of "research practices", however, are neither static, nor predetermined; the specific task selects (as it were) its own tools. Within such an understanding of qualitative research, if the appropriate research practices are absent, then the researcher undertakes to develop suitable tools and mechanisms with which to "make sense" or develop interpretations of phenomena "in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2017, p. 4).

Such an understanding of qualitative research indicates its utility and efficacy with respect to problematising educational reform policies and their processes of 'embodied meaning making'. Given its explicit focus on uncovering the problem representations (and their attendant value systems), the WPR Framework serves as an appropriate mechanism through which to uncover first, the problem representations implicit within these policy documents; secondly, the conceptual logics underpinning these identified problematisations; and thirdly, to inform the explanatory logics through which action is decided.

4.2.2. Policy & Policy Analysis

Before delving into the specifics of what this research will consider the policy discourse of education reform, it is necessary to first engage the term policy, and its corollary process, policy analysis. Ball (1994) characterizes policy analysis as a field "dominated by commentary and critique rather than by research" due to a lack of specificity with regards to a "working definition" of policy (in Fimyar 2014, p. 8). Admittedly, policy is a slippery term, casually employed to varying ends including, but not limited to, descriptions of fields of activity, or the outcomes of such endeavours. In this sense, policy is very much like Saxe's blind men and their elephant; hard to describe, but recognizable when encountered (Cunningham 1963, in Taylor et al 1997).

Taylor's (2006) exploration of educational policy contends that traditional or historical conceptions of policy approach its definitions through a "functionalist mien emphasising the notion that "society is underpinned by a value consensus" and of a general agreement as to the 'recognition of a problem and its subsequent policy responses (p. 24). As such, policy becomes grounded in political scientific terms, and conflated with legislative directions or directives, promoted courses of action by organisations, although in this sense intimating an endpoint in an organisational debate, or its documented conclusion. Although sometimes saddled by the profound cynicism often levelled towards politics and politicians, Smith (2013) does point out that with regards to education, and its position as a public activity, one cannot escape its political nature and, in this vein, policy can be considered a statement of government intention.

The simplest definitions are exemplified by Dye's appraisal of policy as "whatever governments choose to do or not to do" (1992, p. 2 in Rizvi & Lingard;4) (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 4), or even Levinson et al.'s (2009) "set of laws or normative guidelines ... hav[ing] the status of a governing text ... [and] binding people to its mandates when ... circulated through a social field" (p. 767). While serviceable, these neglect the increasing influence of non-governmental players in policy production, and simultaneously evince a positivist view of policy as mere product, and in the case of Dye, are "conceptually lacking and methodologically limited" (Fimyar, 2014, p. 8). It does, however, intimate the possibility of an expression of policy positions via silences, omissions and excisions. This regard towards policy as a textual-bureaucratic instrument marshalled to "provide an account of those cultural norms which [are] considered by the state as desirable" (S. Taylor, Henry, Lingard, & Rizvi, 1997, pp. 24-25), does not account for the context of said policy-as-text. Such a limiting purview does not "address the assumptions and interests that go into policy formation itself or question the nature of policy as a social practice of power under late modernity" (Levinson et al, 2009, p. 769). Critically, policy as mere proposition, what Gasper and Apthorpe (1996) regard as a "received sense of policy" (p. 6), disregards the processual arena through which it passes, and divorces policy from its conception.

Rizvi and Lingard (2010) offer an expanded definition oriented towards the textual manifestations, processual deliberations and legislative destinations which constitute policy, identifying it as contextualized patterns of decisions taken by political actors on behalf of state institutions, indicative of both the "ends and means designed to steer the actions and behaviours of people". Ball (1993) offers further clarity by positing policy as "both text and action, words and deeds; what is enacted as well as what is intended" (p. 10). Ball's clarification allows for an even more comprehensive engagement of policy, moving beyond its text to "the practice that produces, embeds, extends, contextualizes, and in some cases transforms the text" (Levinson et al, 2009, p. 770). Policy, in this sense begins to resemble a cultural-textual allocation of values, and as such Taylor et al.'s (2006) aforementioned bureaucratic instrumentation becomes a mechanism with which to define, exclude, resist or encourage that which occupies the public imagination.

Definitively, this research project, following Levinson et al. (2009), considers policy to be a "continual process of normative cultural production constituted by diverse actors across diverse contexts" (p. 770). It may be "documented and codified, or it may exist in unwritten form, through ongoing institutional memory and practice" ... and its most obvious and

immediate product a "normative cultural discourse with positive and negative sanctions", which Levinson et al. regard as *officially authorized*, in that they are "backed by enforcement mechanisms of government or corporate charter" (p. 770; emphasis added). Levinson et al. also aver that the "modern state apparatus ... is still the supreme authorizer of policy" (p. 770)—although this research would substitute *authorizer* with the term *legitimator*. They note that state versions of public policy, in both legislative and non-legislative formats, are effectively "disguised by objective, neutral, legal rational idioms" (Shore & Wright, 1997 in Levinson et al. 2009, p. 772). Policy texts, whether *de jure* or *de facto*, then become official state discourses (Codd, 1988; Taylor 2006) and the political eventuation of social struggles (Taylor 2006). Notably, Taylor (2006) concurs with Codd's assessment of policy documents as producing material effects, and in this vein proposes that policy analysis should look towards the "differing effects [of policy] in the production of meaning by readers" (Codd 1988, p.239). Policy certainly refers to, and is comprised of, more than its text, and certainly more than its legislative denotation. It is both product and process, a term indicative of the post-structuralist concepts of power and knowledge, in which discourse is a key concept, and policy an "arena of struggle over meaning" (Yeatmann 1990, in Taylor, 2006, p. 28). Fundamentally, policy is about the exercise of political power, and within a sociocultural approach the fundamental questions are also comprised of "who can do policy?", "what can policy do?" and where does policy reside?

Notably, this expansion of the definitions of policy pose unique challenges within an increasingly digitized and online world, a development further considered in this chapter within the discussion on *hypermodal* analysis.

4.2.3. Policy as Discourse

Policy as discourse seeks to move beyond what Glynos and Howarth label the "simple critique and deconstruction of text" (2007, p. 5) in that policies become operational articulations of social values. Fairclough's linkage of discursive events and texts - practices- to "wider social and cultural structures, relationships and processes" not only intimates the relationship of policy documents to larger policy processes (Fairclough, 1993, p. 135), but also foregrounds the discursive field of policy construction. Policy construction, or making, becomes a site of struggle located at various levels of social interaction, and whereas this study is intimately concerned with public policy, and specifically educational policy of a reformative nature, it must turn its critical gaze upon more than the mere 'linguistics' of policy statements and onto the conditions of possibility bounded or eventuated by policy.

Educational policy serves to resolve the horizons and margins of educational possibilities, and its reformative turn is inherently value-laden, furthered by policies currently steeped in the socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-political logics of neoliberalisation. In recognizing the contextual contingencies of educational reform policy, it serves to reason that any analysis of such discourse would, then, require the deconstruction of said context, but more importantly an appraisal of its discursive field and attendant practices.

This research, then, seeks to problematize the discursive fields of educational reform, through a Foucauldian-inspired post-structural policy discourse analysis. Specifically, this research employs Carol Bacchi's "What's the Problem Represented to Be" (commonly referred to as "WPR") as its methodological mechanism.

4.2.4. The WPR approach as a discourse analysis method

Veyne (2010) offers the contents of a personal communication, which bear truth with regards to the purpose of a Foucauldian-inspired post-structural policy analysis: "what is understanding if not an interaction between two spatio-temporal realities, namely an individual and his or her environment? Which means that it is an empirical process, not a mirror" (Veyne 2010, p.49). To wit, Veyne insists upon approaching interpretation as an inescapable 'truth' or constant; what varies is the manner of said interpretation.

By asking how policy becomes manifest, becomes real, this research aims to interrogate educational reform policy in order to uncover its conceptual and explanatory logics. WPR, as a *theoretical methodology*, whereby the theoretical framework is directly implicit in the methodology, represents a multivalent approach to addressing the materiality of education reform policies. It is, for all intents and purposes, a partial deconstructive analysis (Codd, 1988), whereby it is not authorial intention that is sought, but rather a careful penetration of the "ideology of official policy documents" (Codd, 1988, p. 246). It may, from a distance, resemble a critical discourse analysis, but such an analytical lens only comprises one aspect of this problematisation of policy. The WPR approach is comprised of an interrogation of policy documents and proposals through six questions (or domains), and further invites the same treatment to one's own policy proposals. This approach is not chosen as a solution to policy, but rather allows for 'otherwise' thinking, for a "consideration of how 'problems' are constituted within policies, the unexamined forms of thinking they rely upon, the practices that generate them and the effects they produce. The term 'effects' captures the ways in which particular problem representations limit what can be thought (discursive effects), affect what it is possible for people to become (subjectification effects) and impact on how they live their lives (lived effects)" (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016, p. 108).

Although Bacchi and Goodwin (2016) present WPR as a post-structural understanding of politics, and specifically a Foucault-influenced post-structural analytic as a mechanism through which to approach policy development, this research would contend that within education, the political and social are one and the same, comprised of 'strategic relations and practices': policy. Bacchi and Goodwin are also ardent in their promotion of WPR as a suitable avenue for gaining an understanding of "how governing takes place, [and its] implications for those so governed" (Bacchi 2016, ix).

This research engages the WPR approach as a method through which to understand inequality as a specific form of subjectification in modern educational reform within which attention is directed towards policy (and the policy-making, policy-disseminating apparatus) as comprising heterogenous practices that serve to "produce hierarchical and inegalitarian [social groupings]" (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016, p. 5). By identifying the foci of such analysis as educational reform policies, which are indicative of a "plurality of practices", this endeavour emphasizes the contingent nature of such social arrangements, and especially their abilities to be contested, even dissolved (p. 5).

4.2.4.1. The WPR Questions

The WPR Questions, which are referred to as lenses within this research, are as follows:

Question 1. *What's the 'problem' represented to be in the policy?*

This lens seeks a clarification of the policy aim, seeking to uncover its implicit problem representation. Moreover, it recognizes that policies are often situated within, or ancillary to other policy proposals, which must be accounted for when identifying problem representations.

The phrasing of the question, which may seem a nonsense, is precisely phrased to emphasise (and make pronounced) the very concept of problem representation. Notably, it also presupposes both a problem and a subsequent problem representation. Divorced from the context of this thesis, the question may seem troublesome; its usage to examine reform policy, however, suits its implicit assumption. Reform, at its core, is a corrective measure bound to its framing, to its representation, of a problem. In this sense and for this task, the question is apt.

Question 2. *What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the 'problem'?*

This lens functions as an archaeological examination of policy, foregrounding the epistemological and ontological assumptions that underpin the identified problem representation. Bacchi (2009) contends that problem representations evince patterns, or conceptual logics, which can be characterized as 'modes of governance'. This question aims to educe the presence of firmly ensconced (albeit subconsciously) cultural values. In this sense, such assumptions can be considered analogous to Znaniecki's humanistic sociological conception of *attitudes*, where they represent the tendency to use values within social systems, within interactions. They can also be seen as "cultural tendencies", performing-continuously, periodically or sporadically- activities in accordance with certain rules or leading principles" (Znaniecki, 1969, p. 166).

The deployment of the term assumption should not, however, suggest that the presuppositions under investigation are those of policy makers; this lens seeks to illuminate those that are "*lodged within problem representations*" (Bacchi 2009, p. 5, emphasis in original). In that policies are advanced in and through discourse, this lens takes the language of policy as its analytical field, and these modes can be elicited through a discourse analysis aimed to identify three categories of conceptual premise underwriting the identified problem representation: binaries (oppositional constructions), key concepts and categories (categorical necessities).

Binaries: The identification of binaries serves to elucidate the operation of the logics within problem representations, and specifically the presence of dichotomies which may limit, or bound a policy thrust (Bacchi 2009, p. 7). Moreover, such binaries may implicate a hierarchical construction, and in their appearance or placement, and further, their exclusion or marginalization within a policy text, indicate an axiological significance.

Key Concepts: Arguably, policies are built on concepts, and especially their acceptance as a currency within the policy domain. Key concepts are abstractions to which meaning, or significance is accrued. However, their ready usage does not mitigate their inherent contestability. In addition to the idea of key concepts, that of *fugitive* concepts are added, to indicate those ideas which are not openly stated or acknowledged, though sometimes identified by omission or implicated by proxy.

Categories: Categories represent the constructions necessary to the deployment of policy, to "how governing takes place" (8). Their identification does not give assent to their 'truth' or

validity, but rather acknowledges their essential position within problem representations, policy-making and governance.

Question 3. *How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?*

This lens can be considered a genealogical examination of policy aimed at identifying the non-discursive practices and contingent relationships behind the materialization of the identified problem representation (Bacchi 2009, p. 10). An analysis of the formation of problem representations, their specific "shapes" through the lens of contingency implicitly concedes the possibility of other, equally valid, problem representations, and also directs attention to the processes through which specific problem representations gain both traction and currency.

Question 4. *What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?*

The fourth question of a WPR analysis focuses analytical attentions upon the 'tensions and contradictions', 'limitations and inadequacies' (p. 13) in the represented shape of problems. This lens builds upon the previous questions in that it places binaries identified within Question #2 at the heart of such *limitations* and *inadequacies*, while also recognizing that the possibility of competing (and, perhaps abandoned) problem representations indicate the preclusion of otherwise thinking, the presence of silences.

Question 5. *What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'?*

The purpose of Question #5 of a WPR approach is to identify and articulate the effects associated with specific problem representations and is predicated upon the premise that problem representations produce both benefits and harm to those within the scope of its policy landscape. To this end, Bacchi posits the following questions to direct its focus:

- * What is likely to change with this representation of the 'problem'?
- * What is likely to stay the same?
- * Who is likely to benefit from this representation of the 'problem'?
- * Who is likely to be harmed by this representation of the 'problem'?

- * How does the attribution of responsibility for the 'problem' affect those so targeted and the perceptions of the rest of the community about who is to 'blame'? (Bacchi, 2010, p. 18)

These questions elicit three types of effects, *Subjectification Effects*, which refer to the construction of social identities and relationships within and through policies and their problem representations; *Lived Effects*, which point to the manner in which problem representations materially affect the lives of those that come within the scope of the policy; and *Discursive Effects*, which identify the limits of 'social interventions' as a result of the problem representation, and especially the material consequence of discursive bounding. These forms of effect imbricate one another and are inextricably linked.

Question 6. *How/where has this representation of the 'problem' been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?*

This lens asks how policies are produced and re-produced, the manner of their legitimization, and, most notably, the location of this field of dissemination and/or legitimation. The identification of this larger discursive field implies, as well, a process by which problem representations gain currency.

The six questions of a WPR analysis could similarly be applied to one's own policy proposals, a consideration discussed within the conclusion to this thesis. With regards to this research the determinations derived from an analysis through Questions #1, #2, #5 proved to be both sufficient and most applicable to the question (the problem) of educational inequality.

4.2.5. Previous Applications and Assessments of WPR

Carol Bacchi's WPR method has found purchase as an acceptable method of policy analysis across a diversity of fields and contexts. WPR in the international literature includes analyses of public health in Canada (Alexander and Coveney 2013), vocational and continuing education policies in the European Union (Cort 2008, 2011) and migration policy in Scandinavia (Jorgensen 2012, Kvist and Peterson 2010). Within an Australian context, WPR has been useful in examining addiction in criminal and social policy (Seear and Fraser 2014), economic policies (Goodwin and Voola 2013) and transportation policy (Nielsen and Bonham 2015). Notably, some innovative uses of the WPR method include Marshall's (2012a) application of the WPR approach to "hypermodal policy texts" in the World Bank's policy recommendations, which

consisted of the analysis of policy discourse across multiple forms of communication in order to explore disability policy. Of significant interest to this research, Widding (2011) conducts a multinational examination of imported policy directives, engaging the implementation of a Canadian parenting support program as part of Sweden's *National Strategy for Parent Support*. In the specific field of education, notably Southgate and Bennet (2014) employ WPR in their analysis of higher education policy, while Logan et al (2013) investigate the constitution of subjectivities in and through the 1972 Child Care Act.

Within these enumerated endeavours, the WPR approach, as a poststructuralist ontology, serves to refocus attention onto the notion that "how we think about [an issue at the heart of a policy] is a product of *how we think* far more than it is a product of something enduring in the nature of [the issue at the heart of a policy document] (Bletsas 2012, p. 56). As a social analytic, it takes as its priority the "material implications that arise when phenomena are constituted in particular ways as particular kinds of 'problems' (Bacchi 1999, p. 2 in Bletsas 2012, p. 54). Moreover, it 'side-steps' the discursively anointed causes of policy 'problems', by challenging the fixity of social 'problems' and deconstructing the subsequent policy interventions. Similarly, Nina Marshall (2012b) regards the WPR approach as uniquely suited to engage with "hypermodal, institutionally-produced texts without formal policy status" (p. 79). It is this flexibility which allows for engaging policy with an eye towards "challenging boundaries and broadening the object of analysis (p. 79).

For the most part, the WPR approach considers as its focus one, seminal policy, and is primarily applied to government policy documents. Some applications have combined its methodology with interview analysis (Rönblom and Keisu 2013; Saari 2011), and still others have found WPR useful for mediatized discourse (Begley and Coveney 2010). While it has been employed within an educational context, to date, the WPR approach has not been applied to a longitudinal analysis of policy within a specific field, and certainly not across two different international contexts. In many of these applications, the primary policy vessel are documents, and the principal underlying process one of document analysis.

4.2.6. Document Analysis

Relegated by some to the "margins of [methodological] consideration" (Prior 2003, p. 4), document analysis is often disparaged for presumed issues concerning the facility of document retrieval, availability and the in-built biases associated with document selection. Eschewing its primary deployment as a form of data triangulation—and of Patton's caution against its potential dismissal as the "artifact of a single method" (Bowen, 2009, p. 28)—this

research approaches document analysis as an ideal method through which to carefully approach and engage a topic of such contentious nature. Government documents, although regarded as ostensibly *objective* statements of fact, are socially produced documents-social "facts" according to Atkinson and Coffey (1997), "which are produced, shared, and used in socially organized ways" (in Bowen 2009, p. 27). To wit, they become effective carriers, vessels of discursive regimes and threads, and their dissection within this research allows an investigation of the operative values, the logics, that underpin their usage, and the social organisation for which they were created.

4.3. Data Sources and Collection Methods

This thesis takes as its data set the country specific policies identified by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development as both consequential to a nation's educational standing and indicative of its efforts of reform. This chapter section identifies the method of selection of the policies considered within this research, as well as their organisational characteristics.

4.3.1. Text Selection

Bacchi (2014) is clear to reaffirm that the very selection of documents for analysis is, in and of itself, an exercise in interpretation, and suggests choosing documents aligned with the overall goals of the research project. Moreover, problem representations are often nested, embedded within other problem representations (Bacchi, 2014), as well as their own policy initiatives, and require an iterative process of excavation to elucidate their contours. This research approaches educational reform policies as representative (and reflective) of discourses of educational reform, and allows for an examination of:

- The extent to which such policies (can or do, indeed) effect human action within educational systems
- And whether such action can contribute to the specific levels and forms of inequality seen to be present in both the United States and Australia

Adding to the panoply of challenges, there are key, contextual differences which cannot be ignored in undertaking such comparative analysis, chief among them being the differences between the political systems, and the subsequent import of these differences to the structures and responsibilities of their respective educational systems. As such, the policies

chosen for consideration are drawn primarily from structurally comprehensive policy interventions, in that they are designed to have the broadest (and, perhaps, the most measurable) impact.

4.3.2. Method of Selection

While clear in its focus on contextually specific educational reform policy, this research, and especially its process of text selection for analysis, requires a means of selection that can serve to mediate the "inherent bias of selection" implicit in any form of document analysis (Prior 2003). The resulting process of text selection for this research sought, first, to identify seminal policy documents during the specified time period, thus indicating the necessity of an existing repository of aggregated policy documents. To this end, the biennially produced OECD Educational Policy Outlook, supported by the Educational Policy Outlook Reforms Finder digital tool (or the Educational Policy Explorer, EPO), provided an initial list of relevant policies, along with a delineation of their selection and grouping according to their intended policy aims, or levers. While policymakers in both the United States and Australia might chafe at the notion that the OECD 'makes', determines or drives educational policy, a determination about which this research demurs, the OECD's position with regards to education reform cannot be overstated; its 'research' and measurement initiatives are influential to most, if not all, significant reforms across its member nations, and Western nations in particular.

The periodically produced Education Policy Outlook is a context-specific, comparative framework "aligning OECD education policy work with country reform strategies, resulting in [the identification of a] set of policy levers", or "governing instruments ... [initiated] to direct, manage and shape change in public services, the range of functional mechanisms through which government and its agencies seek to implement policies" (Rivzi and Lingard, 2010 in OECD 2015, p 29). Policy levers, it should be noted, are neither apolitical, nor neutral, but are steering mechanisms aimed at established objectives. To wit, the presence of such levers, imbricated in the usage of the term 'trends', is not an endorsement of either their validity or efficacy, but rather an indication of their overall prevalence. *Table 6*, reproduced from the 2015 Education Policy Outlook, lists the policy levers and explains both their purpose and indicates the type of policies to be expected within each lever.

Policy levers	Definition	Policy options	Policies
<i>Students: Raising outcomes</i>			
<i>Equity (and quality)</i>	Policies to ensure that personal or social circumstances do not hinder achieving educational potential (fairness) and that all individuals reach at least a basic minimum level of skills (inclusion)	Investing early on	Provision of quality early childhood education and care
		Tackling system level policies	Avoiding grade repetition, early tracking and student selection; managing school choice; developing funding strategies that address students' and schools' needs; designing upper secondary pathways to ensure completion.
		Supporting low-performing disadvantaged schools and students	Supporting school leadership; stimulating positive school climates; strengthening the quality of teachers; ensuring effective classroom learning strategies; linking schools with parents and community.
<i>Preparing students for the future</i>	Policies to help prepare students for further education or the labour market	Upper secondary	Flexibility in choice; ensuring quality across programmes; engaging communities, parents and the private sector; ensuring effective transitions into the labour market or further education.
		VET	Matching skills offered by VET programmes with labour market needs; adequate career guidance; quality of teachers; providing workplace training; tools for stakeholder engagement.
		Tertiary education	Steering tertiary education; matching funding with priorities; assuring quality and equity; enhancing the role of tertiary education in research and innovation; strengthening links with the labour market; shaping internationalisation strategies.
		Transitions	Transitions across education pathways and links to the labour market.
<i>Institutions: Enhancing quality</i>			
<i>School improvement</i>	Policies to strengthen delivery of education in schools that can influence student achievement	Learning environments	Class size; curriculum; instruction time; learning strategies; interactions in schools.
		High quality teachers	Recruitment, selection and induction; salary and working conditions; initial training; professional development opportunities and career paths.
		School leaders	Attracting, developing and retaining school principals in the profession; support and networks.
<i>Evaluation and assessment</i>	Policies to support measurement and improvement of school system's outcomes	System evaluation	Evaluation of the system as a whole and of sub-national education systems; programme and policy evaluation.
		School evaluation	Internal school evaluation; external school evaluations; school leadership.
		Teacher appraisal	Probationary periods; developmental appraisal; performance management; appraisal for accountability and improvement purposes.
		Student assessment	Formative assessments; summative assessments.
		Evaluation and assessment frameworks	Co-ordinated arrangements: governance, configuration/architecture; competencies and skills; use of results; implementation strategies and factors.
<i>Systems: Governing effectively</i>			
<i>Governance</i>	Ensuring effective planning, implementation and delivery of policies	Formal structures	Type of government; organisation of education system; locus of decision making.
		Setting objectives	Definitions of national education goals or priorities.
		Stakeholder process	Relevant institutions and engagement with stakeholders.
<i>Funding</i>	Policies to ensure effective and efficient investment in education systems	Economic resources in the education system	Public expenditure: GDP and share by education level.
		Use of resources	Time resources; human resources; material resources by education level.

Table 6: Education Policy Outlook list of policy levers (OECD 2015, p. 30)

Alongside policy levers, the Outlook also classifies policy according to scope of intervention, an "empirical" and "descriptive" taxonomy which purposefully avoids political contextualization for comparison:

- * *Comprehensive policies are overarching general strategies using various, if not all, policy tools available under a particular policy lever. Aiming for systemic change within a policy lever, they can take the form of general strategies-setting goals and priorities or the introduction of new governance systems or new structures.*
- * *Content policies are those that define or reform the content knowledge produced under a specific policy lever. They can be of different natures, such as curriculum or standards.*
- * *Targeted policies are those that target a concrete aspect of a policy lever. (OECD 2015, p. 36)*

The 2015 *Educational Policy Outlook (Making Reforms Happen)*, which takes as its data set policies from the specified time frame, 2008-2015, forms the primary basis for the selection of policy documents. Notably, the 2015 Outlook does not present an evaluation of the impact of the identified policies, but rather indicates the "the policy intent (as expressed by policy makers) [in order] to classify them within the framework" (OECD, 2015, p. 37). Developed to facilitate the aggregation and classification of policy documents for comparison, the Education Policy Outlook Reforms Finder employs a "multi-criteria search engine" to explore educational policies for the Outlook specified time period across member countries (OECD 2015, p. 29). It allows for aggregation by policy lever, policy theme and educational level. These final categories allow for the determination of policy reach. The policies selected for analysis within this research are both chosen and aggregated according to policy lever. The results of the search engine, the selection pool, as it were, are listed within Appendix A.

Although a seminal piece of legislation or a critical report may form the basis of an analysis, supporting documents, in the form of government statements, parliamentary or congressional debates or even preceding policies, will, where necessary, serve to provide a contextual scaffold for both the policy and the subsequent analysis. The selected policies for this research are reflective of such diversity, and are grouped primarily by policy lever, and include (where possible and/or necessary) ancillary policies and documents which serve to clarify their scope. Because of their centrality to specific policy levers, this research regards and oftentimes identifies comprehensive policies as being both nodal (or pivotal), serving to anchor implicit problem representations to their putative aims, as well as "framing", constructed to provide the discursive scope of the considered policies. Notably, the selected American policies are all

comprehensive in nature, owing to an ostensible state-level responsibility for targeting policy dictates.

As in Appendix A, Table 7 shows that Australian policies are well-represented within the *Educational Policy Outlook*, while American policies are noticeably limited in number. The selected policies for consideration, although approached through the lens of similitude, are not approached through a lens of simultaneity. Specifically, this research considers post GFC (2008-2016) Australian educational reform policies (as identified through the OECD policy lens), while the United States' policies under consideration span the years 1983-2015. The relative paucity of policies from the United States (11) was only one factor necessitating this decision to widen the temporal scope. This purposeful discrepancy in time span also allows for a determination as to whether policy-borrowing might also indicate that policy effects, too, are imported (or exported) across international borders. More specifically, reports of American re-segregation appear prior to their appearance within Australia. This staggered appreciation of policy allows for a consideration of those policies most likely to contribute to the presence, development and sustenance of this phenomenon.

Country	Policy Lever	Policy Title, Year
Australia	Governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Melbourne Declaration (and MCEETYA 4 year Plan) (2008) ▪ National Education Agreement
United States	Governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ A Nation at Risk (1983)
Australia	Evaluation and Assessment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ MySchool (website) ▪ NAPLAN (website) ▪ ACARA Act
United States	Evaluation and Assessment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ America 2000 ▪ Goals 2000 ▪ Improving America's Schools Act
Australia	Funding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Review of Funding in Education (2011) ▪ Australian Education Act (2013)
United States	Funding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Race to the Top (2009)
Australia	School Improvement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Australian Teacher Performance Development Framework ▪ Australian Charter for the Professional Learning of Teachers and School leaders ▪ Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (and Principals) ▪ National partnership on Teacher Quality
United States	School Improvement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Teacher Incentive Fund Program (2012)
Australia	Equity and Quality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ National Partnership on Low Socioeconomic School Communities (2009-2016) ▪ Aboriginal and Torres Strait Education Action Plan (2010)
United States	Equity and Quality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ No Child Left Behind (2001)

Table 7: Selected Policies for Analysis, arranged by Policy Lever

It can be argued that education is, at its core, a future-focused enterprise, thereby rendering the policy lever entitled *preparing students for the future* a moot point, as its included policies form the basis of much of the policy movement around both vocational education and tertiary education. Based on this articulated focus upon "promot[ing] development of skills required for post-secondary education or for entering the labour market" (OECD 2015, 57), this lever has been excised from this research. Moreover, policies under consideration are those whose *reach* spans more than one educational area (and thus whose effects are more widely felt), and for the purposes of brevity are limited to primary and secondary education.

Three policies were excluded *after* their analysis through the WPR framework. The policies excised from this research are, from Australia, Students First (2013); and from the United States, the *ESEA Flexibility Programme* (2011) and the *Every Student Succeeds Act* (2015). Students First proved a challenging inclusion because it is, above all, a campaign platform, rather than a policy initiative; promises, as opposed to definitive (or even likely) courses of action. While campaign platforms are perhaps the clearest indication of discursive positioning, with regards to gauging the effect of policy on inequality, such an inclusion would amount to speculation. The *ESEA Flexibility Programme* (ESSA) and the *Every Student Succeeds Act* were excluded because of their constitution as responses to—and alterations of—*No Child Left Behind* (2001). The exclusion of the ESSA warrants further attention.

This research's identification of the 2015 ESSA as a reform initiative leveraging *Equity and Quality* necessitates, first, an analysis of its preceding national policy, *No Child Left Behind*. While both are legislative policy initiatives presumably aimed at addressing inequities in American education, and as subsequent reauthorizations of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary School Education Act, the ESSA is as much a policy response to NCLB as it is a continuance of wider policy priorities. Due to this fact, the ESSA is not considered within this research. Moreover, the *Every Student Succeeds Act*, as it had not been implemented at the time of analysis, could not be evaluated for either its problem representations or any aspects of material impact or effect. Additionally, its 'pending' status in the wake of the administration change after the 2016 election indicated that many of its priorities would be suborned to the new administration's policy priorities.

4.3.2.1 Hypermodal Analysis

The policies indicated by *Evaluation and Assessment* present a unique challenge for the WPR method of policy analysis. For while acknowledging the "almost endless variety and numbers

of texts that could be selected" (Bacchi 2009, p. 20), multimodality presents the challenge of 'texts' with, for lack of a better term, 'non-textual modes' (Marshall 2012, p. 65). Neither MySchool nor NAPLAN are, within the narrow use of the term, policies, nor do they constitute the directives of any one, specific educational reform policy or intervention. To further complicate the issue, MySchool exists purely in a digital form, while NAPLAN is an examination, and neither form indicates their considered intents, nor their problem representations. They are, however, discursive products born of specific policies; both sites fall within the penumbra of the ACARA Act.

It should be noted that the OECD enumeration of notable policies within this lever list only these two items. Their pre-selection, so to speak, by the OECD underscores their importance to reform efforts, and their selection for analysis should not be viewed as either errant or misguided. The inclusion of both sites is built on a number of interrelated factors, but primarily an expansive definition of policy, which regards written policy "texts" as a useful entry point to such an analysis, and that policy, in this inclusive sense, can include "phenomena that are not literally textual and 'objects' not found in formal documents, such as ceremonies (as spoken and acted text), organizational culture (as symbols), buildings, and mechanisms of government" (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, 18). Both MySchool and NAPLAN do, indeed, function as government mechanisms, as, in some form, prescriptive, "form[s] of proposal and guide[s] to conduct", which fall under Foucault's definition of texts governing conduct (1986). Marshall considers this position as constituting a "methodological injunction" that extends the term policy to the "full range of articulations of 'what to do'" (2012, 64). Marshall also argues that the excision of such texts from selection constitutes the establishment of a type of "hierarchical binary" (Marshall 2012, p. 65), and a disregard of the place of such networks in establishing discursive practices, as well as problem representations. Built upon this understanding that policy "texts" can be comprised, in addition to traditional policy documents, of "organizational files and records, legislation, judicial decisions, bills, speeches, interview transcripts ... media statements, organizational charts, budgets, program contracts, research reports, even statistical data," it follows that such texts can also include policy sites, including "images, videos and forms of digital communication" (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, p. 18).

It is from this conception of policy that Rowse (2009) examines the Australian census as a government mechanism, concluding that it participates in the "problematization of Indigenous peoples as part of a population binary, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, inviting analysis of the sort of political claims such a statistical distinction facilitates or blocks" (in Bacchi 2016, 18). It

is also this position from which Marshall (2012) applies the WPR approach to the problem of disability as presented in the World Bank's policies. She approaches the Bank's website as a "hypermodal policy text" (Marshall, 2012, p. 17), summoning Lemke's (2002) identification of hypermodality when referring to policy websites as networks. Lemke defines hypermodality as an amalgam of multimodality and hypertextuality, which refers to the "new interactions of word-, image-, and sound-based meanings in hypermedia, i.e. in semiotic artifacts in which signifiers on different scales of syntagmatic organization are linked in complex networks or webs" (Lemke, 2002, p. 300).

Critical to this approach is Lemke's observation, that "both verbal text and visual images can be built to be more constraining of the meanings a reader makes or more enabling of the reader as a co-conspirator", underscoring the regulatory power of discourse and thus pointing to the enmeshing of the "verbal and visual" within a multimodal text that is hypermodality as a composition that implicates both the "text" and the reader/viewer/user within a semiotic association. (Lemke 2002, p. 299).

For the purposes of this research, it is not necessary to wholly adopt Lemke's (2002; 2011) methodological approach to multimedia and discourse analysis, but rather adopt his tripartite lens into semiosis as logistical constructs for the purposes of analysis within the WPR framework. Doing so allows for the provision of the raw material, as it were, through which Bacchi's framework must proceed. Specifically, in the case of both NAPLAN and MySchool, as instances of hypermodality, since their websites lack the familiar structure of a policy document, this analysis will approach them through Lemke's identification of the three types of meaning indicated by every semiotic act: presentational, orientational and organisational (2002, p. 302). Lemke's explication of his typology identifies:

- "Presentational meanings are those which present some state of affairs. We construe a state of affairs principally from the ideational content of texts, what they say about processes, relations, events, participants, and circumstances".
- "Orientational meanings are more deeply presupposed; they are those which indicate to us what is happening in the communicative relationship and what stance its participants may have to each other and to the presentational content".
- "Organizational meanings are largely instrumental and backgrounded; they enable the other two kinds of meaning to achieve greater degrees of complexity and precision.

Most fundamentally, organizational resources for meaning enable us to make and tell which other signs go together into larger units". (Lemke 2002, p. 304)

Lemke indicates that in such multimodal semiosis, as is indicated by this task, a "crossmodal" analysis, should employ all three lenses (presentational, orientational and organizational) when analysing multimodal texts. In this instance, the organisational lens is seen as employing presentational and orientational meanings within a semiotic enterprise. Specifically, presentation refers to the "state of affairs" presented within these sites and focuses considerable attention upon the various resources and fact sheets offered by ACARA to prospective users and/or site visitors. Orientation, as a communicative lens, however, refers to the *nature* of the communicative relationship, foregrounding the relational identities, or intended audiences, necessary to participate in this exchange. Moreover, it also highlights both the assumptions and presuppositions undergirding this (intended) interaction. Finally, the organizational refers to interaction of the previous meanings/lenses and indicates the problem representation at the heart of this policy thrust.

4.4. Analysis of Documents: Application of Theoretical Framework

Bernard (2006) contends that the analysis of data is, at its heart, an exploration for the existence of pattern, and especially for an explanation for the *very basis* of identified patterns. The use of coding in this search for pattern involves developing a necessarily cyclical and iterative heuristic whereby the data under investigation are effectively manipulated- "segregated, grouped, regrouped and relinked in order to consolidate meaning and explanation" (Grbich, 2007, p. 21, in Saldana 2009, p. 8).

The process of analysis undertaken by this research project involved an iterative process of close and multiple readings of government texts (official policy documents), followed by an evaluative reading of the texts informed by, first, the WPR framework, and then, secondly, Affect Theory. In this research, the WPR framework allows for the identification of the relationship between policy and educational segregation, which we can confidently identify as the *conceptual* logics of educational reform policy, or *what* and, perhaps more importantly, *how* policy is doing; affect theory (in conjunction with the WPR framework) provides for the development of an understanding of the *explanatory* logics, the *how* (and to some extent the *whys*) of policy enactment. The collective results are then considered through an alteration of Trochim's (1989, 2006) outcome pattern matching in order to develop a model for enactment of policy and the transmission of affect. The subsequent sub-sections detail this process.

4.4.1. Application of the WPR method

This research first engaged the WPR framework within a three-tiered process of analysis through which to evaluate and, ultimately, discern the presence of identifiable patterns within the policy documents. The WPR framework, by definition, offers a method of both content and thematic analysis, presenting an initial coding framework, a set of predetermined analytical categories, through its six lenses. The initial readings of the policy documents, which this research considered as a first pass and a form of content analysis, allowed for a *contextual* reading, meant to elicit the document's key points and begin the process of alignment with this existing, preliminary coding framework. This first reading was immediately followed by a second pass, a *critical* reading undertaken to, as its nomenclature suggests, critically appraise the policy documents through the lenses of Bacchi's framework and in light of the key points identified during the first pass. This critical pass focused its attentions upon *thematic* saliency, identifying and arranging the results of the initial discursive-level analysis within and through the six lenses of the WPR framework.

A third critical reading then evaluated the lenses with regards to the aims of the research, and specifically their relationship to educational inequality and segregation in schooling. This third pass, as it were, allowed for the excision of those lenses and their products deemed as superfluous, or merely tangential, to this task. Crucially, it is within this analytical iteration through which the patterning of policy action begins to reveal itself.

These steps were first undertaken for the Australian policy reform documents, and then for those from the United States. Moreover, the policies were evaluated within their externally defined policy lever groupings. This specific ordering was engaged as a bulwark against both interpretive and confirmation biases.

4.4.2. Evaluation of Data: Reconciling Patterns in Policy through an Affective lens

After the application of each theoretical lens, an altered version of Trochim's outcome pattern matching was engaged to evaluate the results of the analysis against predicted (or proposed) outcomes. Trochim's rendering of the process (depicted in *Figure 11*) indicates the process through which the identified organisational phenomena identified within the data are usually reconciled through the exploration of data. It requires the "specification of a theoretical

pattern, the acquisition of an observed pattern, and an attempt to match these two" (Trochim, 1989, p. 355). In this research however, Trochim's parallel structure allows for the initial (though cursory and speculative) specification of a linear path between policy and action to be posited against the observational structuration revealed through the analysis of the policy documents. The apparent disjuncture allows for the specification of alternative paths between policy and its subsequent enactment, or action.

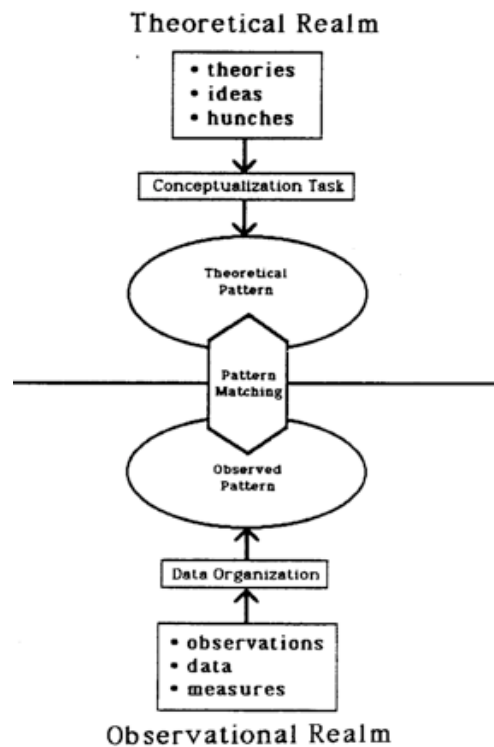


Figure 11 The basic pattern matching model (Trochim 1989, p.356)

4.5. Ethical Considerations

Undoubtedly, ethical considerations in research, and especially in a qualitative study, are of paramount importance. The decision to pursue a policy discourse analysis, was due primarily to the contentiousness of the phenomena at issue, but also as a hedge against ethical issues in either the aggregation of data, or the dissemination of possibly objectionable material. More specifically, where race, social advantage, institutional inequality and their effects are concerned, orienting the research around publicly available materials, social documents, as it were, provides the researcher a critical distance from which to engage the issue.

Chapter 5.

"What's the Problem" – Problem Representations in Reform Policy

5.1. Introduction

This chapter begins the detailing of the WPR analysis of the considered documents, lending insight into the policies under consideration, their patterns of problematization and, crucially, providing insight into the reformist lens. Its sections reveal the results of an application of the first lens, or question, of the WPR method to selected educational reform policies and are presented in three parts: first, arranged by country of origin, a detailing of the analysis of the considered policy documents through this lens by policy lever, making explicit the implicit problem representations in their policy thrusts; secondly, the latter sections specify identified patterns of problematisation through a summary of this analysis.

5.2. Australian Problem Representations

5.2.1. Governance

Melbourne Declaration, MCEETYA 4-Year Plan, National Education Agreement

Classified by the OECD as a document concerning the governance policy lever, the Melbourne Declaration (2008) seems a timely response to the effects of globalization, international mobility and technological change upon the role of education. While the primary document points to no specific exigencies, it does take as given the general failure of education to engage both present social, economic and pedagogic "truths", as well as the preparation for a specified future. At first glance, it employs broad, inclusive language extolling the importance of education to "building a democratic, equitable and just society" (AUS1, p. 4)³. Although in doing so, it does specify-in what can only be termed a caveat-that this 'just' democracy must be "prosperous, cohesive and culturally diverse" (AUS1, 4)- aims which, on the surface, seem neither surprising, nor contentious.

³ In order to avoid long and convoluted referencing of policy documents, the policies under consideration are referenced, where necessary, in abbreviated form, and according to the key at Appendix B.

In order to proffer an answer to the principle questions guiding a determination of the problem representation within this policy document, the Declaration's proposed changes are foregrounded, allowing for an analysis of their aims. The Declaration's key portions are comprised of 2 principal Goals and an eight-part Commitment to Action requiring further explanation through a separate report: "MCEETYA four-year plan 2009 - 2012". Considered as eight, distinct, though inextricably linked, policy proposals, they must be considered both separately and in concert to elucidate the problem representation at the heart of this policy directive.

Goal #1: Australian schooling promotes equity and excellence

Goal #2: All young Australians become:

- *successful learners*
- *confident and creative individuals*
- *active and informed citizens*

These goals are declarative statements of substantive and admirable intent, presented as idealistically transformative, and containing within their elaborations such ambitious objectives as working to ensure that neither socioeconomic disadvantage nor indigeneity can continue to be "significant determinants of educational outcomes". While a casual observer would laud the explicit references to social cohesion, cultural and religious diversity and the avowed focus upon addressing equity and producing an informed citizenry (7)-and so they should-when considered alongside its preamble, these goals produce a jarring incongruity. The preamble is peppered with tacit references to the education competition and the seemingly seismic global changes with regards to economic integration, international mobility and technological relevance that have come to typify the new millennium (4). Taken together, the goals, and the MD in toto, exhibit:

1. An incongruous juxtaposition of the aforementioned ideals besides decidedly competitive issue rhetoric with regards to international testing, ranking and measurement.
2. The unchallenged acceptance of international testing as an effective and barometer and the ultimate measure of success/achievement within education.

3. A myopic view of education, its systems and definitive purpose, through an economic frame. Arguably, this is not a surprise; it does, however, belie the seemingly (sociological) bent of Goal #2, and the *determinate representation* of the preamble.

Commitment to Action

- *developing stronger partnerships*
- *supporting quality teaching and school leadership*
- *strengthening early childhood education*
- *enhancing middle years development*
- *supporting senior years of schooling and youth transitions*
- *promoting world-class curriculum and assessment*
- *improving educational outcomes for Indigenous youth and disadvantaged young Australians, especially those from low socioeconomic backgrounds*
- *strengthening accountability and transparency.*

A determination of the problem representation stems primarily from this analysis of the *Commitment to Action*. A cursory examination of the Commitment to action initially viewed its operative phrases as taking their cue from the first; all of these goals require the forging of effective partnerships. Moreover, these actionable items present a categorical difference, and can be arranged accordingly, where actions B-G address specific, school and systemic level actions, while the bookends, actions A and G, while also considering school and system steps, speak to broader aims. However, the location of this key concept, one of its broader aims, within the first of the objectives invites further interrogation. The commitment to action, seems to prioritise an increase in the effectiveness of schooling (which would indicate that schooling is ineffectual at *everything* that it does). These two primary goals and attendant, eight-part Commitment to Action, together represent a positioning of government as the principle partnership for educational success, thus indicating that all of these goals require, from the outset, effective oversight - accountability and transparency.

When considered separately, these eight directives comprising the Commitment to Action, taken here as policy directions, are phrased to speak more to the purpose and directions of education than to its specific failures or shortcomings. Despite its uncontroversial expression,

the commitment to action directs the policy thrust towards an increase in the effectiveness of schooling- which might indicate, again, the general ineffectiveness of education and/ or that its present efforts are misdirected.

As a whole, the *Melbourne Declaration's* lack of specific policy initiatives is balanced by its framing, both discursively and materially, of the reformist mindset. To wit, it problematises the purpose of education, reconceptualising it as a competitive (economic) enterprise requiring governmental guidance.

5.2.1.1. National Education Agreement

The *National Education Agreement* (2008), or the NEA, is positioned at an interesting and crucial nexus of post-GFC educational reform policy documents. Ostensibly linked to the Melbourne Declaration, the NEA sits at the critical nexus of the *Melbourne Declaration*, the ACARA Act (2008, and considered within this research study) and the (crowded) swath of policies within the *Smarter Schools National Partnerships*. Although on its surface a non-legislative, though legally binding, document primarily structural in nature, the *National Education Agreement* is crafted as a veritable policy "hammer", acting as both the proverbial (pecuniary) stick *and* carrot of educational reform policy. The NEA is quick to articulate that it has been crafted to work with the Melbourne Declaration as a "mutually enforcing" policy document, and its nodal positioning renders it a shepherding policy document, as it were, constructed to overcome and bypass particular stumbling blocks, namely compliance with previous policy directives, but especially the *Performance and Reporting* frameworks detailed within its appendices.

While the body of the document should contain the bulk of its import, three areas of the *National Education Agreement* deserve closer inspection: its *Preliminaries* and *Appendices* are worth careful consideration in that they provide further clarity as to the document's import and proposed effect, thereby providing a clearer path to the determination of the problem representation at the heart of this policy document. This analysis will also consider the *Policy and Reform Directions*, which though articulated within the main document, are recapitulated within the appendices.

5.2.1.1.1. Policy and Reform Directions

Within this NEA, *Policy Directions* and *Reform Directions* are considered and presented separately. Although the Agreement characterises/describes its *Policy Directions* as "indicating those broad areas of policy effort that evidence suggests will have a significant impact" on achieving

its outcomes (AUS3, 37)⁴, they are, quite simply, reiterations of now-familiar reformist rallying cries: (a) Improving Teacher Quality; (b) Education in low SES school communities; (c) a National Literacy and Numeracy Action Plan; (d) the Digital Education Revolution; and (e) the Trade Training Centres in Secondary Schools Program. (AUS3, 42). As to the Agreement's *Reform Directions*, they, too, resonate as redundancies. Their foci, as articulated under the banner of reform, would indicate either their absence in education, or a poor adherence. Such foci include:

- Attracting, training, placing, developing and retraining quality teachers
- Raising parental and community expectations of educational outcomes
- Providing support to students with additional needs
- Closing the Gap (AUS3, 39)

One of the few elaborated Reform Direction indicates the provision of a national reporting framework on individual schools, and the placement of "students and their achievement ... at the centre of the service system"(AUS3, 40). Remarkably, at this point within the policy document this is the only reference to student achievement. It should also be noted that these Reform Directions evince unanimity in their adherence to discourses of accountability in various forms, and especially its lack or misapplication.

Taken alone, one might assume that either the Policy or Reform directions might indicate a specific policy thrust and attendant problem representation, especially in light of the consideration of students. However, the marked lack of elaboration upon any of the presented foci indicate that the policy thrust must lay elsewhere. While the body of the document should contain the bulk of its import, its appendices, as well, are worth careful consideration in that they provide further clarity as to the document's import and proposed effect. Specifically, *Schedule D: MCEETYA KPM Framework* and *Schedule E: Student reports and annual reporting to the School Community* are particularly illuminative to this task.

5.2.1.1.2. Schedule D: MCEETYA KPM Framework

The Measurement Framework for National Key Performance Measures

⁴ In addition to page numbers, the NEA is arranged by section. The references in this section will indicate, first, its appendix code, then its section number (or letter).

The provision of the Performance Measurement and Reporting Taskforce seems a vehicle committed solely to the collection of disaggregated educational data without regard for its use. To be certain, there are ethical firewalls, as it were, and articulated protocols, but scant (if any) mention of how education will employ this particular data. Moreover KPMs, like their siblings KPIs, are traditionally endemic to business performance evaluations; they are professional terms. The seeming normalisation of the use of these terms within education policy discourse would indicate, not only (again), the establishment of discursive authority, but also the ubiquity of economic measures within educational discourse. KPIs, metrics and measures allow for ascertaining business health and producing prognostications. Their applicability and suitability to education is, however, presented as fact.

5.2.1.1.3. Schedule E: Student reports and annual reporting to the School Community

This subsection requires the bi-annual provision to parents and carers of:

(a) Student reports via an "accurate and objective assessment of the student's progress and achievement" (AUS3, E3); and

(b) School reports, comprised primarily of

- contextual and demographic information about the school community, students and staff
- (jurisdictionally appropriate) teacher standards and qualifications
- partially disaggregated attendance rates (and the attendant school policies regarding attendance)
- senior secondary outcomes with regards to completion rates and employment directions
- school "income" sources (AUS3, E4)

This section resonates as either obtuse or tone-deaf, evincing an ignorance of actual teacher/school responsibilities. While report cards are as ubiquitous and ingrained to the school experience as pencils and paper, one must wonder as to the necessity of delineating, via policy, their requirement. As to school reports, the itemised inclusions closely resemble an investment prospectus, or a brochure-cum-advertisement, better suited for sales than education.

5.2.1.1.4. Conclusions

The *National Education Agreement* incentivizes the implementation of *Melbourne Declaration*, and through two of its attendant policy documents, presents as focusing the attention of the reformist gaze upon teacher quality and practices, and, rhetorically, low socio-economic school communities. Its primary aim, however, serves to incentivise the transformation of schooling through the importation of professionalism into modern education. Its key problem representation presents as the assertion that schools do not function as "professional organisations" (AUS3, B13), lacking in transparency and accountability protocols.

5.2.1.2. Summary

Policies within governance collectively problematise educational purpose, structure and overall capacity- which focuses specifically on an economically or business derived professionalism (including education will, political or otherwise) to deal with/account for a changing educational landscape. Crucially, this landscape is bound by a competitive/economic ethos, one which, by virtue of its competitive underpinnings, couches its problematisations within the rhetoric of exigency and *precarity*.

5.2.2. Evaluation and Assessment

Deriving its justification from the *Melbourne Declaration's* Commitment to Action and the Council of Australian Governments' (COAG's) 2008 decision to proceed down the path towards a nationalised curriculum and more formalized (or regulated) assessment and reporting procedures, the ACARA Act, as the legislative Bill has come to be known, establishes a centralised mechanism for the codification, dissemination and implementation of data collection practices (AUS6, p. 2). Equally as important, the Act positions its proposed entity as a locus for the ostensible operationalization of transparency and accountability in educational structure and provision. It is, in the language of the OECD, an agent for systemic *quality assurance* (OECD 2015, p. 18).

The Act neglects to specify many of the details of its functions and seemingly avoids becoming mired in the specifics of its overall task. Lacking in such (or any) explicatory addenda, its minimalistic legislative frame is paired with an overt preoccupation with organizational structure, power dynamics and control. Such minimalism, as it were, while admirable in the pursuit of small government, is ill-suited for such analysis as this research intends. This research would consider the ACARA Act (2008) in concert with its *Parliamentary Explanatory Memoranda* (2008) and, more importantly, the *Bills Digest for the Authority* (2008), as compiled by the Parliamentary Librarian and inclusive of Parliamentary debate and comment.

A WPR analysis of the ACARA Act -bolstered by its Explanatory memoranda and Bill contents- reveal that this "Act to establish the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority, and for related purposes" (AUS4), is equally interested in the Authority it establishes, as it is with the unnamed "related purposes" it indicates. In this sense, it is crafted with an element of *governance*, although it differs substantively from such policies as the *Melbourne Declaration*. The policy lever and the associated processes of governance imbricated by 'related purposes' include, specifically and tangentially, "the [administration] of national curriculum, assessment and data management, and analysis and reporting for schools education" (AUS6, p. 2). Furthermore, a spotlight on two particular sections, Section 6: Functions and Subsection 1 of Section 7: Considerations, governing the performance of functions, is revealing as to the problem representation at the heart of this Legislative policy. The various functions delineated in subsections A through G have been performed -in part and wholly- by a number of other organisations at both the state and Commonwealth level. Specifically, while subsection a of Section 6 represents the continued clamour for standardization that has become a veritable mainstay of curricular reform conversations since the early 1980s, when juxtaposed against subsection 1 of Section 7 it also represents a carefully considered consolidation of functions under the umbrage of this new Authority. This spatial juxtaposition also highlights Marginson's (1997) *ministerialisation*, a careful consolidation of tasks and powers under federal oversight.

Finally, Part II, Section 9, entitled "The charging of Fees", resonates as particularly cynical. Although possibly a necessary inclusion within such an administrative policy document, the attention it garners within the document belies the notion that the primary goal of this entire policy is wholly educative in nature. To wit, one can be forgiven for mistaking the primary purpose of this document to be the creation of a business entity, replete with board, CEO and repeated provisos as to organisational oversight, or even for maligning the ACARA Act as a grand, bureaucratic manoeuvre, or in business parlance, a hostile takeover.

While the inclusion of these titles-CEO, board, etc.- is not necessarily indicative of anything nefarious as such, the seeming lack of engagement with education—but for a sole section entitled "Functions"— would indicate alternative import and, perhaps, purpose. The Explanatory Memorandum for the Bill placed before the Australian Parliament identifies its functions as (AUS6, p. 2): ensuring that responsibility for the Authority is shared between the Commonwealth and States and Territories through MCEETYA. Outlining core functions with regards to curriculum, assessment reporting and data collection, and, curiously, "the ability to

operate commercially with regard to educational services" (AUS6, p. 2). Further to the initial assessment, the impression of a business entity can only be reaffirmed in light of the prospect of "commercial" operations with regard to educational 'services'. The eventual structure will, in effect, seemingly monetize the processes of accountability and assessment.

The brazen commercialization of both curriculum and educational data production and dissemination within the centralization of educational authority (in the name of transparency and accountability), the streamlining (and reassignment) of associated tasks and the purposeful residualisation of such as the National Curriculum Board and the National Schools Assessment and Data Centre can only promote such a (cynical) reading of the Act.

Summary

The subsequent reformation occasioned by this act problematizes the organisation of education, finding its current structures, however similar to the proposed entity, as somehow deficient. Such a mien informs (and is informed by) the narrative of broken education, and the resulting problem representation would presuppose the lack of a discernible structure to education; in fact, the concept of lack plays a significant role in this problem representation, positing that education is, by definition, fatally flawed, as it were. It makes this task less a remedial enterprise, and more a reconstitutive one. Again, the concept of reform - in its denotative and connotative forms- requires further examination. Moreover, the institution of an organization tasked primarily with an oversight function speaks, again, to the workings of a discourse of accountability.

5.2.2.1. MySchool

This WPR analysis considered the MySchool website (myschool.edu.au) at 3 different points during its lifetime: at its inception in 2009-10, at the point of its recalibration in 2011, billed as MySchool 2.0, and at the present time June 2018. Previous versions were accessed through the aid of internet archives, specifically the Wayback Machine. This analysis focuses its efforts on those temporal snapshots most indicative of the implicit problem representation presented through the MySchool website.

2009

The 2009 version of the site, while sharing a similitude of purpose with later iterations, offered limited information, as well as organizational and orientational diversity. The information offered to site visitors was aimed at gaining an understanding of NAPLAN, with one item

addressing the Australian Curriculum and an example school report. These initial iterations foregrounded NAPLAN testing and school comparison, with its final item being a sample school report. The report, it should be noted, employed a colour-coded, gradated stoplight system to alert users to the performance of schools, alerting users to their ability to locate and identify poor performance and sub-standard achievement.

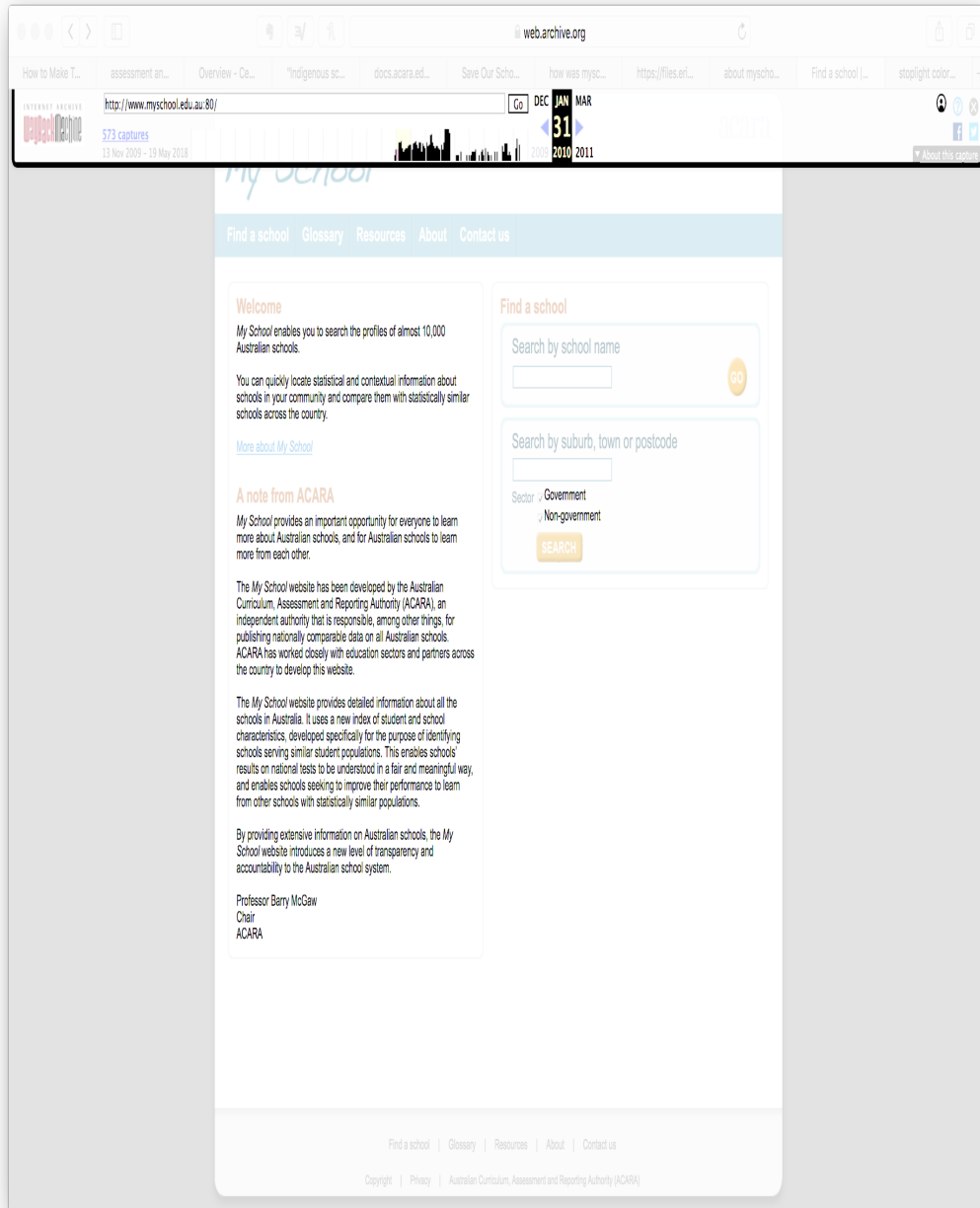


Figure 12: MySchool Landing Page 31 January 2010

In late January of 2010, the MySchool website begins to take on its now familiar appearance (see Figure 12, above), discarding a standard, boilerplate description in favour of a clearer explanation of purpose. MySchool (2010) appears in the familiar, comic sans, kid-script handwriting font—perhaps to emulate a classroom— featuring a navigation banner with five tabs: *Find a school*, *Glossary*, *Resources*, *About* and *Contact Us*. The search facility, absent from the previous version, shares the main page and indicates its importance to any visitors. Its brief *Welcome* also contains a hyperlink to the *About* tab (2010). The most prominent inclusion in this version of the landing page, however, is "A note from ACARA", a salutatory explanation of the MySchool website by Chair of ACARA, Professor Barry McGaw.

Noting that the site allows for the comparison of "statistical and contextual" information, Professor McGaw's statement does not, notably, explain why this is either necessary or significant. Professor McGaw's preface to the site does, however, seem to privilege the site's usage as a mechanism to impel improvement within schools, though also neglects to mention any usage by parents to make school comparisons. His preliminary sentence to his "A note from ACARA" reads, "MySchool provides an important opportunity for everyone to learn more about Australian schools, and for Australian schools to learn more from each other", adding, later, that this "enables schools' results on national tests to be understood in a fair and meaningful way, and enables schools seeking to improve their performance to learn from other schools with statistically similar populations". His concluding paragraph asserts that the provision of "extensive information on Australian schools" will "[introduce] a new level of transparency and accountability to the Australian school system". From this, one can reasonably conclude that transparency and accountability are the chief concerns of this site.

MySchool 2.0 (2011)

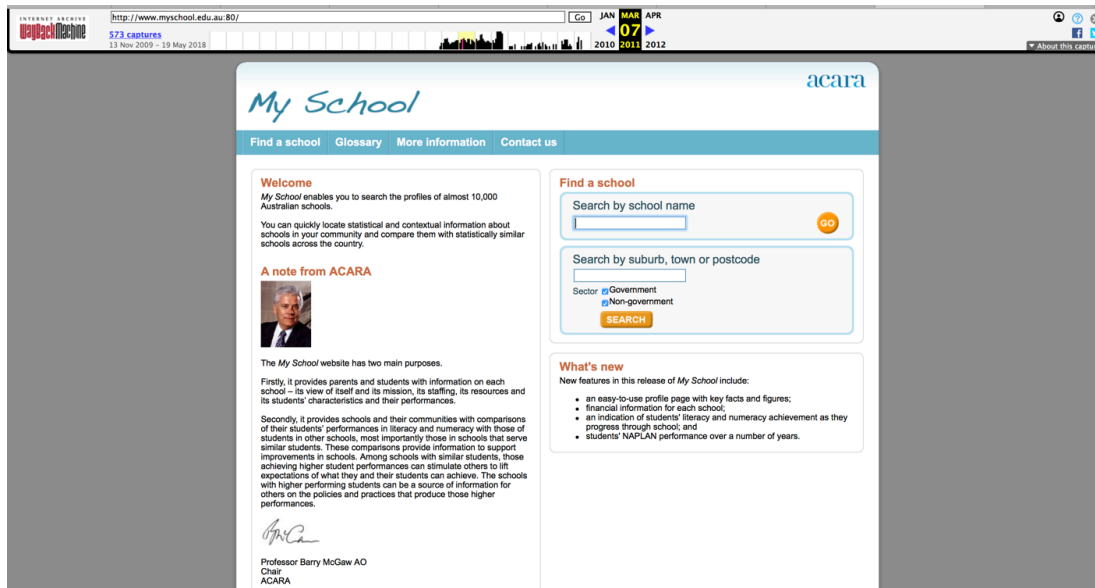


Figure 13 MySchool (2.0) Home Page 7 March 2011

This iteration of the MySchool website (see Figure 13), though similar in appearance to its predecessor, is prefaced by an altogether more precise elucidation of its tasks, features and aims. It still features four tabs/links, (*Find a school*, *Glossary*, *More Information* and *Contact us*), but combines both the "About" and "Resources" tabs within one, "More information". The *Find a school* tab serves as the homepage, and, like the previous version, would seemingly foreground the search facility of the site. Again, a "Note from ACARA" appears below a brief (if not abrupt) welcome, although Professor McGaw's comments here indicate that the website is "firstly, [for] "parents and students", and "secondly ... [to] "provide schools and their communities with comparisons of their students' performances in literacy and numeracy with those of students in other schools." Such comparisons, he writes, "provide information to support improvements in schools".

The other tabs are unchanged, while the *More Information* link leads to the *About* section (with a list of fact sheets and frequently asked questions) found in previous versions. Again, this section makes sure to remind users that "The performance of schools on NAPLAN tests is greatly affected by a range of student intake and school location characteristics," and that comparisons should be between schools which are "statistically similar in terms of a range of factors known to affect test performance." This statement, found in previous versions of the site, encourages the grouping of schools with similar student compositions (i.e., SES status and indigeneity), as that is the only factor identified by the site as impactful with regards to student performance. In effect, this associates (poor) performance with student composition,

and gives a tacit nod to the strong consideration of this factor in both school selection and the usage of this website.

While the analysis thus far has begun to clarify a policy thrust, the following two links help to crystallize the problem representation put forth by the MySchool website.

About MySchool (2011)

This *About My School* (Figure 14) section acknowledges the changes in this 2.0 version and identifies them as occasioned by feedback from "ministers for education and ... stakeholder and consumer groups". The key changes in MySchool 2.0 include the publication of school financial information, including "recurrent income and capital expenditure broken down by funding source", "enhanced" representations of NAPLAN results, and conspicuously, the provision of "expanded commentary" on school context, secondary school outcomes and "information about students from language backgrounds other than English". This last inclusion speaks directly to the association of performance with specific student backgrounds, and especially of poor performance with specific students and communities.

Resources:

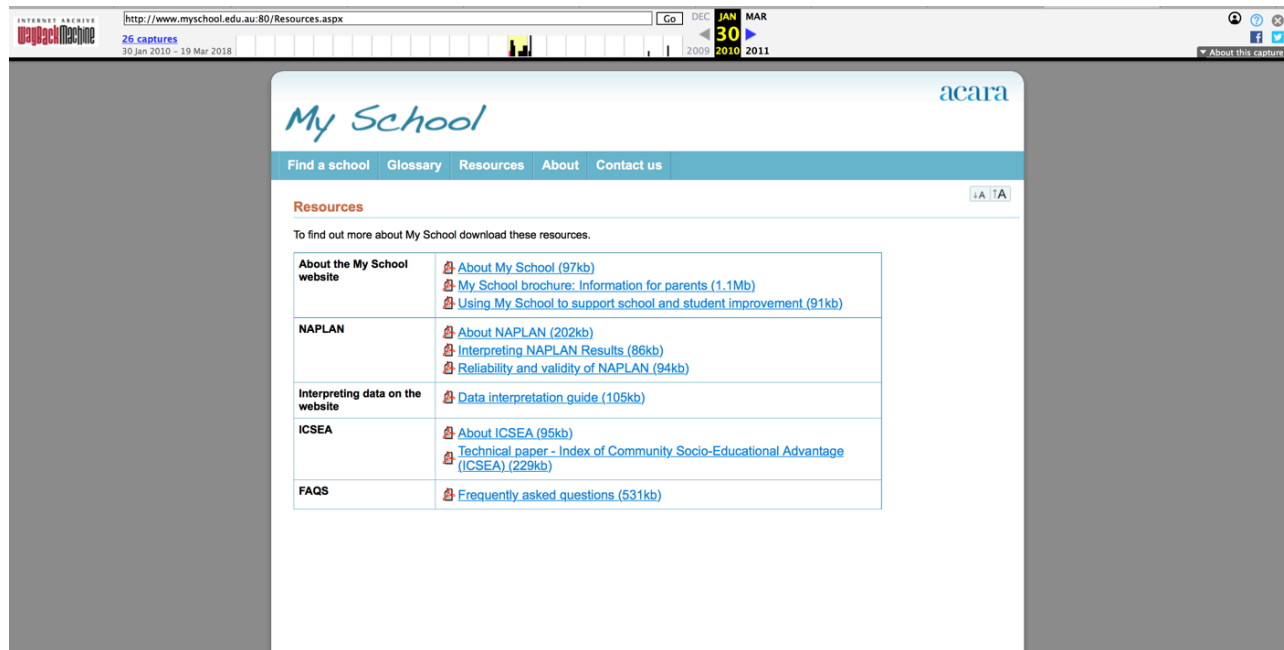


Figure 14 MySchool Fact Sheet - "About MySchool", Site Scan -(27) November 2010; Document listed as January 2010(null)

This link leads to a page delineating a list of resources grouped in five, pre-selected areas. This is a noteworthy inclusion in every iteration of the MySchool website because at no point is a compelling exigency proffered as to the creation of the site, or to the need for an information clearinghouse on statistical information about Australia's educational system. While these five areas link to 10 distinct documents, this analysis focuses on the *About My School* factsheet grouped within information entitled About the My School website (see Figure 15) .

My School FACT SHEET
January 2010

About My School

The My School website (www.myschool.edu.au) provides profiles of almost 10,000 Australian schools that can be searched by the school's location, sector or name. The website provides statistical and contextual information, as well as NAPLAN (www.naplan.edu.au) results that can be compared with results from statistically similar schools across Australia.

Each school has a profile page which includes:

- a short description of the school
- number of students
- number of teachers
- attendance rates
- senior secondary school outcomes
- school-level data about students' backgrounds
- school Index of Community Socio-Educational Advantage (ICSEA) value
- a link to the school's website and, where appropriate, a link to the school sector or system to which the school belongs
- school NAPLAN results compared with the national average and the average results of statistically similar schools.

Other pages show:

- the percentage of students achieving at each band on NAPLAN tests compared with the percentage of students at that band nationally and in statistically similar schools
- school results on NAPLAN compared with the results of up to 60 statistically similar schools
- a list of up to 20 schools located nearest to the school selected.

My School enables you to:

- access a snapshot of a school using nationally consistent indicators
- compare the performance of students in a school with the performance of students in statistically similar schools across Australia and nationally
- search for schools nearby to the school displayed, with hyperlinks to the profile page of that school
- identify and learn about high-performing schools.

Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) (20 Jan 2010) For more information visit myschool.edu.au

Figure 15 MySchool Fact Sheet - "About MySchool", Site Scan -(27) November 2010; Document listed as January 2010

It is from this fact sheet that the clearest indication of both the history and the purpose of MySchool is given. Here we learn that MySchool is the product of a "[commitment] to the publication of school information under the *National Education Agreement* and the *Schools Assistance Act 2008*" (1). More specifically, this sheet addresses why the site was developed: In 2008, the *Council of Australian Governments (COAG)* agreed that greater transparency and accountability for the performance of schools was essential to ensure that every Australian child received the highest-quality education and the opportunity to achieve through participation in employment and society. All education ministers agreed that the information published would include data on each school's "performance and factors relating to performance ... [to] enable comparisons with statistically similar schools (that is, schools with similar student populations) across the nation".

Though not necessarily a contradiction of the "note from ACARA" on the website landing page, the final portion of the third question "Why was the My School website developed?", indicates that the purpose of the site is to facilitate parental usage, as opposed to McGaw's contention that this information will enable schools to increase their performance. This is not a contradiction in aims, however; both statements of purpose are true, and at the very least conditionally accurate. These statements indicating the specifics of the policy thrust suggest a key presupposition within this problem representation, that of the belief that comparison will somehow spur improvement. More specifically, when viewed transitively it insinuates that parental comparison will hasten improvement.

Summary

MySchool problematises transparency, recontextualising it as accountability and ultimately authority. The MySchool website is manufactured as a remedy to the perception of an *informational asymmetry* within education, to address issues of transparency within education despite the individual availability of this information. A policy thrust aimed at increasing transparency would, therefore, take as its starting point a relative lack of transparency, and especially with regards to information about schools. The constitution of transparency (and accountability) as the putative problem *involves publicizing systemic reporting requirements and the very data in question, thereby positioning transparency as accountability.*

5.2.2.2. NAPLAN

Commencing in 2008, the *National Assessment Program - Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN)* is an annual Australia-wide assessment of students across 4 years levels (3,5,7,9) in Reading,

Writing, Language conventions and Numeracy⁵. According to ACARA, it "tests the sorts of skills that are essential for every child to progress through school and life, such as reading, writing, spelling and numeracy"⁶. While also (ostensibly) providing system-level 'snapshots' of school, state and national performance within these domains, the test indicates levels of student achievement or deficiency. System-level summaries and individual student reports are produced, and, to much controversy, the results are published on the *MySchool* website and dissected in the press. The test and its administration have undergone significant changes, most notable amongst them being responsibility for the NAP brought under the auspices of the Australian Curriculum and Assessment Authority in 2008 (beginning in 2009). This analysis of NAPLAN, and specifically its website, will consider two, distinct temporal articulations of the exam on its website, that of the site at the first sitting of the exam, and at present (2018). It will also consider ACARA's submissions to the Parliamentary Inquiry into NAPLAN (2013).

NAPLAN, Pre- ACARA

⁵ www.nap.edu.au/naplan (June 12, 2018)

⁶ www.nap.edu.au/naplan



Figure 16 NAPLAN, Pre- ACARA- Web archive from 4 July 2008

(<https://web.archive.org/web/20080704124558/http://naplan.edu.au/>), Accessed 11 June 2018

This initial iteration (Figure 16) of the NAPLAN website indicates that the tests provide an evaluative function for measuring student ability within the specified content strands. The timing of the tests, May, is considered, but at no point is a timeline specified for the consideration of results. This omission is further compounded by the answers to the question concerning support for schools, which is merely a brief discussion of jurisdictional administrative guidelines.

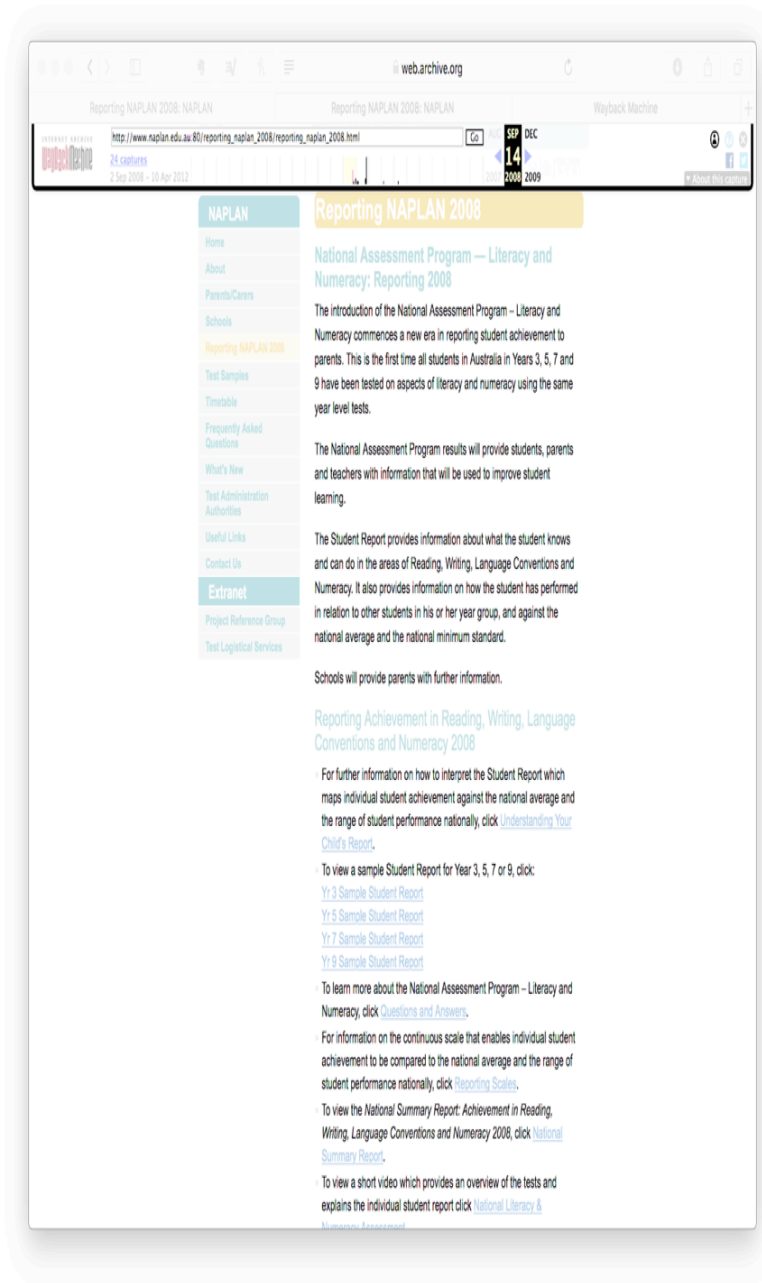


Figure 17 Reporting NAPLAN, 14 September 2008

(https://web.archive.org/web/20080914203141/http://www.naplan.edu.au:80/reporting_naplan_2008/reporting_naplan_2008.html)

On the occasion of the first test results, an altered home page (Figure 17) signals the return of results in the form of a new tab: Reporting NAPLAN 2008. Preliminary statements announce that the NAP results "will provide students, parents and teachers with information that will be used to improve student learning." It is here that previous claims of the test as measures of

student progress are replaced with a knowledge that the student reports, in addition to providing information about "what students already know", indicate how students perform in relation to "other students in his or her year group, and against the national average and the national minimum standard", directly addressing its comparative capabilities.

The remainder of the items on page are comprised of resources through which to understand the individual student report, which, while not necessarily an indication of any measure of obscurity or difficulty, suggests that this information is not readily accessible or easily digested. A hyperlink to a document entitled "Questions and Answers"⁷ presents the best information for the determination of a problem representation. The pre-selected questions and answers provide answers to anticipated questions within 5 areas: *Test Purpose and Design*, *Test Results*, *Student Reports*, *Integrity of Test Administration* and *Reporting the Range of Student Achievement*.

Test Purpose and Design

From the initial questions and answers, which, on the whole, are duplications of answers to previous FAQs, no new information is presented. However, all the of the answers, and especially the sixth question, "How will students benefit from this test?", emphasize the national nature of this testing protocol. Its answer insists that "National testing also means greater consistency, comparability and transferability of results across jurisdictions in a way that was not possible under the previous system." This answer lends credence to the idea that this test is, indeed, high-stakes, for the only purpose for "consistency, comparability and transferability" would be for the evaluation of schools, schooling and education.

Test Results and Student Reports

The questions within these areas deal primarily with the reporting of results and their impact upon the classroom. In response to questions regarding the public release of test results, a two-stage process of results is revealed; a first stage of national, summary reports will be released before the release of parent (student) reports, followed by the "later" release of a detailed, disaggregated report. Questions as to the timing of student reports and their possible impact on student achievement produced an answer worth reproducing in its entirety:

NAPLAN results in 2008 will be available during the third term to inform parents, schools and teachers about student performance. This information can be used to provide support to students within the same year the tests are conducted.

⁷https://web.archive.org/web/20090306144252/http://www.naplan.edu.au:80/verve/_resources/Frequently_asked_Questions.pdf

The confidence with which this answer is proffered belies (and, perhaps, ignores) the realities of schooling. In order to facilitate any measure of improvement in student achievement, one can reasonably assume that teachers (and schools) need time to develop and implement remedial strategies. That this seeming vagary of reporting is addressed as a feature and not an error, may indicate that the results, while, indeed, important, are not really intended as a source of data to impel school improvement. Moreover, it indicates that the test is (or should be) the curriculum, and that any diminution of existing curricular objectives in favour of testing gains is a satisfactory exchange.

Present-day NAPLAN⁸



Figure 18 The NAP welcome-cum-home page, <https://web.archive.org/web/20171002214611/http://nap.edu.au:80/>, 2 Oct 2017

Below a page header displaying the icons of the different arms/responsibilities of ACARA, a navigation banner offers visitors eight links to information: *Home, About, NAPLAN, NAPLAN*

⁸ In that this analysis was conducted in 2018, and specifically during the interim period between the examination and the release of results and relevant reports, the 2017 site will instead be examined. Accessed 30 May 2018.

Online, NAP Sample Assessments, Results and Reports, Resources and Contacts. The page footer (not pictured) contains a panoply of links arranged by the same nomenclature within the navigation banner. These mirrored links provide additional hyperlinks to information related to each of the eight links/subjects. Both, it should be noted, are constants upon every page within the site. For example, the NAPLAN section offers 8 additional links, and Results and Reports offers 4 supplementary links (Figure 18).

For the purposes of eliciting a problem representation, this analysis directs its attention to information within the third link, NAPLAN.

NAPLAN

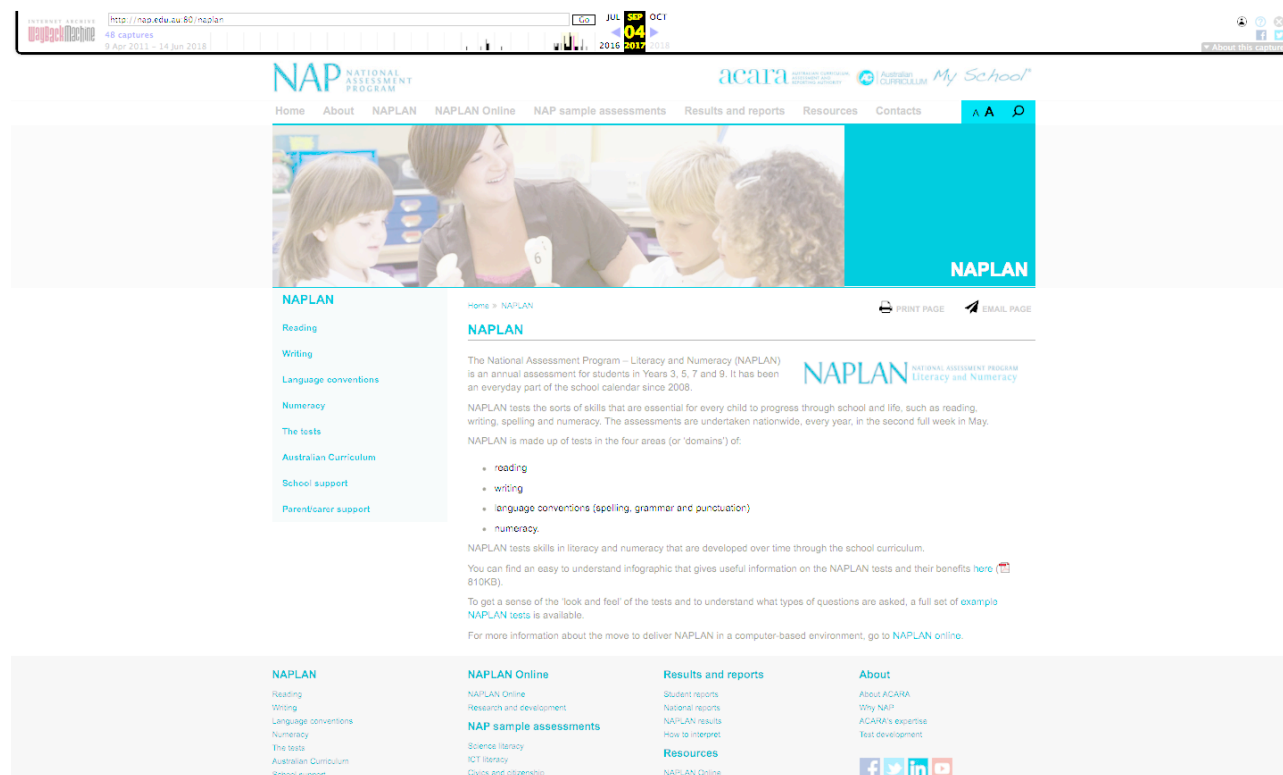


Figure 19 (<https://web.archive.org/web/20170904051813/http://nap.edu.au:80/naplan> 04 September 2017)

While the NAPLAN page (see Figure 19) does offer a link to example/sample tests (ostensibly as a gesture to alleviate any test-induced stress) and information about the upcoming move towards the delivery of NAPLAN in a "computer-based environment", the bulk of the information presented is merely a reprisal of previously-provided and altogether cursory explanations of the exam and its considered domains. In this instance, however, it also offers a graphic representation of the exam:

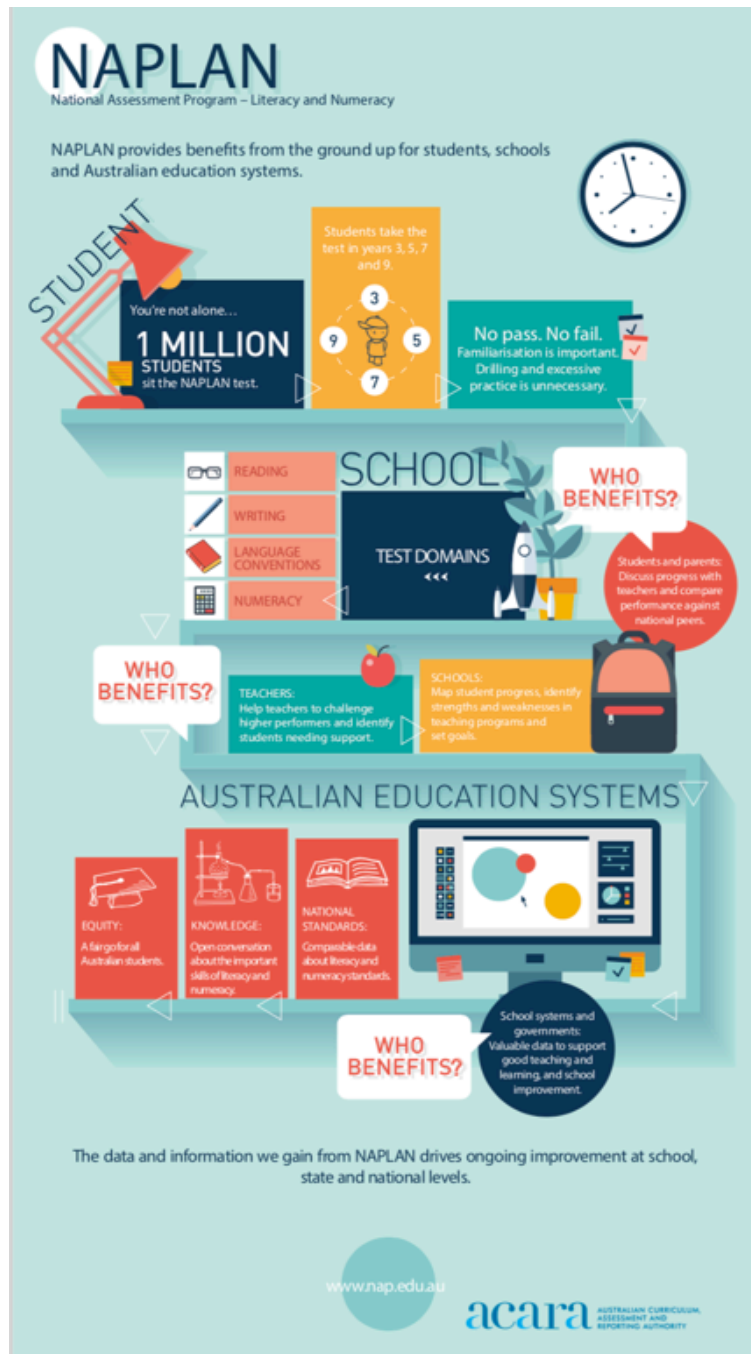


Figure 20 Acara_NAPLAN Infographic -

([https://web.archive.org/web/20170618043520/http://nap.edu.au/_resources/Acara_NAPLAN_Infographic\(V4-2\).pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20170618043520/http://nap.edu.au/_resources/Acara_NAPLAN_Infographic(V4-2).pdf))

NAPLAN infographic

At first glance, the NAPLAN infographic, shown in Figure 20, is admirable in its simplicity, but this initial, cursory examination raises one initial question: for whom is this infographic intended? Against a muted, pastel background the infographic depicts a bookshelf whose

linked, or continuous, surface traces a path linking the test-"You're not alone ... 1 million students sit the NAPLAN test"- at one end, and with "Equity: A fair go for all Australian students", at its presumptive end. This is a bold declaration, to be sure, linking the testing of students with equity in education. Without any clarification, no less. Before addressing this startling link, it is necessary to examine the remainder of the document.

'Bookending' the shelf (and its path) are two statements, the first pronouncing that "NAPLAN provides benefits from the ground up for students, schools and Australian education systems," and "The data and information we gain from NAPLAN drives ongoing improvement at school, state and national levels." The first two 'shelves', respectively labelled STUDENT and SCHOOL, depict information about the test, the domains under consideration and is sure to indicate that it is "No pass, no fail". The third 'shelf' indicates its purpose through the inclusion of speech bubbles addressing a seminal issue/question: "*Who benefits?*". Along the shelf, however, 'answers' for three concerned/involved parties are presented.

For teachers, the benefit lays in helping them to "*challenge higher performers and identify students needing support*". In this sense, NAPLAN is a diagnostic tool, though closer to a summative rather than formative assessment- which belies the narrative which paints this exam as a mere 'snapshot'. With regard to schools, NAPLAN allows the "[mapping] of student progress, [the identification] of strengths and weaknesses in teaching programs and [the setting] of goals". For an ostensibly low-stakes tool, such aims are both comprehensive and significant. Finally, the benefit for student and parents is the opportunity for discussion of "progress with teachers and [the comparison of] performance against national peers. This clearly indicates the evaluative function of the test while also signifying the presence of competition as a key concept. Interestingly, the 'answer' for this interested party doesn't share the space on the shelf, but, curiously, sits between the second and third shelves. This could be an innocuous design decision, or perhaps one indicating that this information is a mere continuation of the information regarding Schools from the second shelf. This immediate juxtaposition near the second shelf—which clearly indicates what is that the test seeks to measure—might be construed as placing teachers and their performance within the examined domains.

Approaching the final 'shelf', which is labelled *Australian Education Systems*, through its proposed path reveals yet another *Who Benefits?* thought bubble. Its 'answer' indicates the ostensible benefits of NAPLAN for school systems and governments to be the provision of "valuable data to support good teaching and learning and school improvement". The identification of governments as an interested party for whom this data is furnished is, indeed,

a surprising inclusion. While indicated alongside school systems, it would be the height of naivete to ignore the power dynamic/relationship between these two systems and cannot help but presage the politicization (and the political dimension) of both the test and of its results. However lofty the rhetoric, schools do not inform government on education and its policy. The final three items on this path, of which Equity is positioned at the very last, include two other 'destinations', as it were, *Knowledge* and *National Standards*, whose positioning requires further examination.

Knowledge: Open conversation about the important skills of literacy and numeracy.

Again, these statements raise more questions than they answer/address, namely that such a statement would indicate that there are questions about the importance of literacy and numeracy. While both educators and parents would agree upon the importance of both, such a statement seems aimed not at its overall importance, but the specific regard with which it is held in modern education. Literacy and numeracy hold specific positions within the human capital formation view of education, and the implication that there is a conversation—which would imply the equitable exchange of differing viewpoints and, perhaps, the arrival at mutually agreeable conclusions—is either, at best, cynical and disingenuous, at its worst.

National Standards: Comparable Data about literacy and numeracy standards.

Does NAPLAN, in fact, produce such comparable data about curriculum standards? This inclusion raises further questions as to whether NAPLAN, which is repeatedly touted as providing a 'snapshot' of student skill/performance, is actually meant to either inform, refine or even reinscribe the curricular standards. Does such an admission indicate that the standards are in any way lacking?

Equity: A fair go for all Australians

The placement of this last item of information highlights a number of issues: Does this indicate that either the results or very process of testing, alone, produce or determine equity? Equity is a term deployed to indicate and most readily associated with (and especially within the policy reform sphere) funding. Does this construction, then, reveal (or imply) a relationship between NAPLAN results and funding? Approached syllogistically, (A) if the NAPLAN results determine equity, (B) and equity is most readily associated (and especially within an Australian context) with funding, taken here as equity=funding, then (C) then NAPLAN results (can) determine funding.

How can such results determine funding? Two mechanisms become immediately apparent: firstly, if governments are, indeed, presented here as interested parties in NAPLAN results, then such results become germane to school and teacher evaluation- and incur either disapprobation or approval through the allocation of funds. Secondly, parents/students can alter/effect funding by similarly using the NAPLAN results as a proxy for school quality and making selections in this vein. To use common restaurant/hospitality parlance, nobody eats in an empty restaurant; parent selection, then, becomes both an evaluative and allocative mechanism and further indicates the concepts of accountability and control. As educational funding is a variable which presumably lays outside the purview of all the concerned parties except government, this accountability is mitigated by the position of NAPLAN as the sole barometric mechanism. To wit, this speaks directly to Marginson's (1997) concept of regulated autonomy, of a false freedom, as it were.

5.2.2.3. Summary and Problem Representation(s)

This information, test results, and especially the mechanism of its provision, the NAPLAN website, in the hands of its primary audience, parents, becomes an instrument- although tangentially- to instantiate transparency. *NAPLAN problematizes accountability, recontextualising it as transparency (through assessment)*. With NAPLAN, however, it is not the test through which this is achieved, but through the reporting of results. The process of reporting-the intended audience, the timelines and the use of said results -indicates a definitive example of a dividing practice. In the specificity of their problematizations of educational structure, transparency and accountability, the considered policies within the lever focusing on evaluation and assessment provide the potential meliorative mechanisms for the re-formation of modern education.

5.2.3. Funding

The OECD recognizes 4 reform initiatives within the funding policy lever as integral to Australia's policy outlook:

- National Partnership Agreements (Smart School
- Intergovernmental Agreement on Federal Financial Relations
- Education Act
- Review of Funding for Schooling

This research approaches the *Review of Funding for Schooling* (2011), and the *Australian Education Act* (2013) as the more impactful of the identified policies regarding educational provision. This decision, and the relatively considerable analytical attention upon the *Review of Funding for Schooling*, however, does not indicate that the remaining policies are of limited consequence; their inclusion within other policy levers, or their explicit consideration of such concepts of disadvantage and/or equity require further examination. Moreover, this rendering of the analysis focuses upon those areas most pertinent to the implicit problem representation. Also, of critical relevance to their inclusion is their classification as structural reforms. This analysis of the policies leveraging Funding within Australian educational reform considers each separately, but also with regards to their shared problematisations and common purpose. The eventual summary will address their respective roles within a common problem representation, as well as their positions within the larger educational reform enterprise.

The chronological placement of the *Review of Funding for Schooling* within the timeframe under consideration by this research makes it, like the *Melbourne Declaration* (2008) before it, a gateway policy document, as it were. Subsequent policy documents, specifically the *National Educational Act*, the *National Educational Reform Act*, and its corollary, the *National Plan for School Improvement*, may provide insight as to the uptake of the Committee's recommendations, as well as providing insight into the development of funding-related problem representations. Irrespective of those subsequent policies, however, the *Review of Funding for Schooling* has, indeed, placed funding at the heart of the reform debate.

5.2.3.1. Analysis of the Review of Funding for Schooling (2011)

Bound as it is to such loaded social (and political) terms as entitlement, needs and responsibility, government spending, by definition, is a contentious topic; as Gerrard et al. frame it, "government funding is a central instantiation of what is considered to be of public worth" (2017, p. 1). Owing to the contentious politics of its subject matter, the *Review of Funding for Schooling*, known colloquially as the Gonski Report (and heretofore referred to within this section as either the Gonski Review, or simply as the Review), is either recognized as "one of the best independent reports to government for many years" (Bartos 2012), or "a poorly run inquiry, a lost opportunity as both a review and policy renovator (Prasser 2011, in Public Policy Institute of the Australian Catholic University, 2012, p. 4).

Commissioned in April of 2010 by then Federal Minister for Education, Hon. Julia Gillard MP, and chaired by prominent businessman David Gonski, the review was empanelled to develop a system of funding that is "transparent, fair, financially sustainable and effective in promoting

excellent outcomes for all Australian students" (Gonski, Boston, Greiner, Lawrence, & Scales, 2011). The Review differs substantially from the majority of policy documents included within this research, in both form and intent. It is not, strictly speaking, a policy document, and certainly not in the legislative sense. The Review takes the form of a public inquiry, an established mechanism in Westminster democracies through which to investigate and (then) present counsel; its conclusions are intended to inform policy, not legislate it (Public Policy Institute of the Australian Catholic University, 2012, p. 5). Both temporary and *ad hoc* in nature, such bodies are appointed with clear terms of reference and operating timeframes. Moreover, their composition is usually drawn from outside of government so as to present the semblance of neutrality with respect to the considered subject. While some such bodies may be empanelled to investigate existing policy, others may be commissioned as 'problem-solvers', and, in truth, are important to generating support for policy positions, or to bolster oppositional viewpoints. In essence, although careful to embrace and outwardly pronounce their objectivity, public inquiries can serve specific political purposes. Herbert (1961, p. 263, in PPI, p. 6) makes an observation regarding inquiries that holds specific temporal significance to an analysis of the Gonski Review: they are "not so much for digging up the truth, but for digging it in". Traditionally, education, as an avowed social 'good', has largely been exempt from such jockeying. However, the processes of neoliberalisation have positioned 'services' such as education within the scope of its purview, placing 'public' processes under the gaze of accountability. The resulting report presented 41 recommendations and 26 findings concerning the system of education with an eye towards equity, and though a voluminous document, the review of funding in schooling offers its problem representation quite readily.

Although the determination of a problem representation was arrived at via an examination of the entirety of the Review, an analytical focus on its primary recommendations and findings narrowed the application of the WPR framework upon the concept of disadvantage, and its presence within the Gonski review. This lens was selected because of the Review's avowed (albeit largely rhetorical) focus on ameliorating educational disadvantage. Specifically, this research does not seek to perform an exhaustive discourse analysis on the entirety of Gonski et al.'s text, but rather focuses its attentions on those key areas most pertinent to our aims.

In a 2010 address to the Sydney Institute promoting the Review, the Hon Julia Gillard MP (then Minister for Education and Deputy Prime Minister) was firm in her assertion that "demography is not destiny", and that the review was a "reject[ion] of the orthodoxies that say that it is hard to educate some children effectively" (Gillard, 2010). She linked the Review of Schooling to a raft of policy initiatives which preceded its convening, specifically *MySchool*, the primary

mechanism of "this new era of transparency". Gillard was also clear to express her desire for the outcome of the Review to produce a funding agreement which "appl[ies] the same requirements of transparency and accountability to all schools."

Gillard's deployment of data (dating to 2010) to bolster the government's case points out the following information as exigent:

- The current system, having been in place since 2001, had outlived its usefulness, and was unsuited to its present task, thereby requiring a review of its efficacy.
- By 2050, the number of children aged 0-14 is expected to double (the population of children between the ages of 0-14 is expected to double by the year 2050).
- The number of special needs children will be almost double its 1998 estimate by 2008 (95,000 to 150,000) and will represent approximately 5% of the schooling population.
- Gillard refers to new patterns of settlement, and especially the growth of capital cities and coastal areas. Couched within this is an awareness of immigration trends.

The Review also refers to such exigencies in its *Executive Summary* but is particularly cognizant of the positional anxiety as a result of international testing results. Perhaps as a measure to mitigate the forthcoming entrance into the debate on funding equity, the *Executive Summary* presents its own guiding exigencies, couching them in the requisite competitive issue rhetoric and determinate representations. It notes that

- over the last decade the performance of Australian students has declined at all levels of achievement, notably at the top end.
- This decline has contributed to the fall in Australia's international position. In 2000, only one country outperformed Australia in reading and scientific literacy and only two outperformed Australia in mathematical literacy. By 2009, six countries outperformed Australia in reading and scientific literacy and 12 outperformed Australia in mathematical literacy.

- The *Executive Summary* also points specifically to the "performance gap" and specifically the 'significant' difference between its highest and lowest performing students.
- "There is also an unacceptable link between low levels of achievement and educational disadvantage, particularly among students from low socioeconomic and Indigenous backgrounds.

Critical Recommendations and Findings

Recommendations 1-4, and #5

The Australian Government and the states and territories, in consultation with the non-government school sector, should make reducing educational disadvantage a high priority in a new funding model. This will require resourcing to be targeted towards supporting the most disadvantaged students and should:

- * capture variation in performance within categories of disadvantaged students
- * significantly increase support to schools that enroll students who experience multiple factors of disadvantage
- * significantly increase support to schools that have high concentrations of disadvantaged students.

It is this recommendation upon which a preliminary determination of a problem representation can be made. Through a careful negotiation of competitive issue rhetoric, and specifically the identified problem of "performance inequality" (Gonski et al. 2011, p. 22), both the *Executive Summary* and *Recommendations 1-4*, and a co-opting, and subsequent elevation of the spectre of disadvantage- through a careful avoidance of equity issues within the funding of education in Australia (whether real, or perceived), the Gonski Review would [promulgate] a decontextualized view of disadvantage, reducing it to a mere measure of financial input. *Recommendation 14* (p. xxiv) identifies the parameters within which addition funding to the Schooling Resource Standard should be determined, specifying that such loadings should account for:

- school size and location

- the proportion of students in a school who are Indigenous or from low socioeconomic backgrounds, with loadings to increase for schools where the concentration of such students is higher
- the proportion of students in a school with limited English language proficiency

As presented, one must ask whether this system of funding 'loading' differs significantly from the system it wishes to supplant. More importantly, this manner of identification of populations deemed to be disadvantaged (and, ultimately disadvantaging to the bottom line of test scores and global rankings), very much in line with the process of data disaggregation advocated by previous policy positions, allows disadvantage to become personified, to be identified by a materiality beyond the abstract and academic.

Recommendation #14, and especially when juxtaposed to #9, raises the possibility that non-government schools may lose funding. Recommendation #19 qualifies this through the recommendation of funding 20 to 25% of SRS to satisfy the caveat that no schools should lose funding as a result of its review or recommendations.

Recommendation #20 indicates a necessity for a "common concept of need for public funding" (p. xxv), which occasions the following questions:

- * Did not the exigencies addressed by the Executive Summary set up the 'need' which should inform any conversation about educational funding?
- * How does the funding of education reconcile the contradiction implicit within the Australian educational (and political) concept of 'entitlement' when positioned against that of 'need'?

Summary

While this analysis need not evaluate the Gonski Review beyond the parameters of its stated purpose, it views its entire enterprise as a fatally flawed process and document, and one seemingly fated to fall victim Australian political realities. Before addressing the common problem representation promoted through the Review of Funding in Education, however, it is necessary to point out that the Australian system of funding for education is decidedly complex, and while one might cynically (and facilely) claim that the true impetus of this review is the OECD's attention to Australian funding, neither the findings nor the

recommendations support this view. Keating and Klatt (2013) detail the complexities involved in the funding of education in Australia, identifying two key issues: the governmental structure of funding, and the status of, and provision for, non-governmental schools. However, the Review approached such issues, as well as the underlying matters of disadvantage and inequity, in a circuitous manner. What is clear, however, is that although Australia is particularly miserly in its educational spending, allocating a lower portion of its GDP to education than many other OECD countries (Middleton 2013; OECD 2015), the Review did not make any significant suggestions in this regard. While the Gonski Review did recommend an increase in educational funding, particularly with the establishment of a Student Resources Standard as a benchmark funding level, its entire effort was hamstrung, as it were, *before its convening*, having been instructed to preserve funding amounts and arrangements. As such, the *Review of Funding in Schooling* problematises educational capacity, as informed primarily by political will to, on the surface, disarticulate and thereby meliorate the relationship between educational provision, or funding, and disadvantage, or inequity, in schooling. Its true policy thrust however, though employing a problematization of education-cum-political capacity and will, establishes a clearer accountability relationship between states and the federal government in exchange for its increased financial role in educational provision. The new SRS and its performative caveats foreground the accountability and control mechanisms which accompany this federal funding.

5.2.3.2. Australian Education Act 2013 + Educational Reform Agreement + National Plan for School Improvement

The *Australian Education Act* (2013) is the principle legislative policy mechanism for the funding of schooling in Australia. Appropriately designated as a funding policy lever (per the OECD) and initiated in the shadow of the *Gonski Report* (2011), launched 1 January 2014, the *Australian Education Act* aims to outline the process of funding Australian schools, and especially their rights and responsibilities with regards to funding. The Act (to which the *Australian Education Act* will be referred in this section) will be considered in conjunction with the *National Plan for School Improvement* (NPSI) and the *National Education Reform Agreement* (NERA). The relative brevity of the following analysis reflects the conditional nature of the Australian Education Act; it relies upon its corollaries for its problem representation.

The Guide to the *Australian Education Act* stipulates that it is concerned with providing Commonwealth Assistance for schools (AUS9, A.2.1), although such assistance is contingent

upon participation in its reform strategy. As such, it resembles a policy crafted to initiate, establish and confirm compliance with other initiatives, specifically the *Melbourne Declaration*. It should be noted that the Act does not institute any substantial change in educational form or provision beyond that of the SRS, which, in truth, can be considered fully within the Review of Funding for Schooling.

While the *Australian Education Act (2013)* does, quite early in its proceeding, identify the importance of a high-quality school system to "successful learners, confident and creative individuals, and active and informed citizens" (AUS8, p. 2), this nod to the sociological import of education is brief, if not cursory. The preamble to the Act is both unremarkable and effectively indistinguishable from previous policy documents during this period, engaging rhetorical pathos as a mechanism for establishing some common ground marked by determinate representation through sufficiently broad (and agreeable idiom), competitive issue rhetoric and rhetorical overselling. The Preamble also defines educational quality as somehow immune to the effects of geography, parental income or personal circumstance. Rhetorical pathos aside, however, this policy also prioritizes global and regional positioning, placing its necessity within a larger conversation on educational purpose. While subsequent portions of the preamble focus upon education as a necessary mechanism for 21st century prosperity and (especially) standards of living, the competitive issue rhetoric, a staple of Western educational reform, takes a pointed turn, referencing the importance of Australia's regional neighbours and their purported educational success. The competitive tone is immediately moderated by the prospect of "economic, cultural and social opportunities" to engage Australia's neighbours during the "Asian century" (AUS8, p. 6).

Although chronologically divergent, both the *National Education Reform Agreement* and the *National Plan for School Improvement* can be seen as extensions of the *Australian Education Act*. To be specific, they are corollaries, veritable *enactions* and intensifications of its policy aims.

National Education Reform Agreement

Taking the *Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians'* (2008) call for 'national collaboration' as its mandate, the *National Education Reform Agreement* (NERA) incorporates the policy aims contained within the National Partnerships and provides the framework through which such collaboration must occur. The NERA is explicit in identifying the *Australian Education Act (2013)* as the federal legislative structure, while its specific purview relates to identifying the shape of reform collaboration. Its Preliminaries section binds the

parties to this agreement to pursuing "[social inclusion, addressing] disadvantage, including for students who are Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander, have disability, come from non-English language backgrounds or are socio-economically disadvantaged" (AUS10, p. 4). The *National Plan for School Improvement* comprises Section 4 of this agreement, and its analysis is considered separately. The NERA's outcomes are consistent with the policy rhetoric of its contemporary policies, as are its articulations of national targets, but it is within Section 4, the NPSI, from which we can elucidate a coherent problem representation.

National Plan for School Improvement

Ostensibly designed to create a national approach to "needs-based, sector-blind funding model" (Commonwealth Select Committee 2014, p. 55) according to a new Schooling Resource Standard (SRS), and carefully billed as a "partnership between governments" (AUS11, p. 3) directed towards the stated goals of "moving Australian schools into the top five in the world by 2025 (AUS11, p. 5), the NPSI advocated for a consistency in reform approaches (read here, as Commonwealth-led) and had 5 stated aims:

(1) Quality teaching - the best teachers for every school

This aim promoted enticing the "best and brightest to join the [teaching] profession" (AUS11, p. 9) through higher entry standards, better pre-service and early career training and more robust professional development (p. 9). The impetus is the stated desire to have a "top five schooling system" and is built on the implicit assumption that neither are Australian teachers among the "best and the brightest", nor are the structures of educational training robust or sufficient.

(2) Quality learning: a world class education for every child

Decidedly aspirational in tone, this aim involves the direction of reformative emphasis. Focusing on the impending full implementation of the Australian Curriculum, a focus on early learning foundational literacy skills to year 3, and an integrated approach to jobs of the future (a discursive bogey man, as it were), including an emphasis on vocational education.

(3) Empowered school leadership: leading by example

The development of school leaders within an accountability framework, the *Principals' Performance and Development Framework* (AUS11, p. 56), is the goal of this aim, but with a particular emphasis on developing their capacities to "[build] stronger partnerships with

[entities] from outside the school" (AUS11, p. 13), including parents, and "leading school improvement at the local level" through the use of School Improvement Plans and MySchool (p. 13).

(4) Meeting student need: delivering for the needs of each child

This aim reinforces the goal for needs-based funding, arguing that "The Schooling Resource Standard will ensure that funding goes where it is needed most" (p.14). It reiterates the location of disadvantage within specific communities and social groups, presents a new Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Action Plan for 2015-2020, and promises a new loading scheme (with updated definitions and data) to provide for students with disability. Simultaneously, it also aims to "encourage excellence" amongst the top school performers to be the "best in the world across the curriculum", advocating for specialized programs and additional teaching staff.

(5) Transparency and accountability: more and better information for parents

Ostensibly built on MySchool's reporting mandate, dictates, and capabilities, this final objective aims to "provide an unprecedented level of information to parents, schools and the broader community, allowing us all to track student outcomes and school performance" (p. 15). Its stated mechanisms are:

- * The targeting of "evidence-based improvement", supported by not only "national data collections, accountability and research capability", but also the "dissemination of school improvement research" (p. 15).
- * A requirement that all States and Territories chart their growth against the both stated 2025 targets as well NPSI targets, with progress to reported to COAG.
- * The development of a National Research Plan for school education to analyze aggregated school performance data for the development of best practices "informed by a real understanding of what works in practice" (p. 15).
- * The publication of school-level data on needs-based funding appears an improvement to MySchool.

Notably, the *Australian Education Bill* (2013) legislated the provision of educational funding across all sectors, but the eponymous Act (2013) made such funding recurrent upon the condition of participation in the *National Educational Reform Agreement*, and its reform conditions.

Summary

An analysis of the considered documents indicates that the *Australian Education Act* (2013) represents an attempt to satisfy the recommendations put forward by the *Review of Funding in Schooling* (2011). Beyond its ostensible "creation" of the Schooling Resource Standard (SRS), the *Australian Education Act* does not explicitly institute any new educational change. However, the SRS and its increased baseline funding are tied to reform agreements and mechanisms, respectively the National Education Reform Agreement and the National Plan for School Improvement, making the *Australian Education Act* (2013) a policy meant to initiate participation in, and compliance with federal reform objectives. This altogether unobvious move, while an aggressive example of Marginson's "ministerialisation", deploys accountability and control in the debate over funding and equity, ultimately positioning equity as a product of educational reform through accountability. Specifically, they make accountability - to reform agreements, and especially financial accountability through the mechanisms of signed reform agreements - its ultimate goal. The identified problem representation would indicate a lack of accountability in educational funding [arrangements].

5.2.3.3. Summary and Problem Representation(s)

Taken together, *Gonski*, *Australian Education Act*, the *National Education Reform Agreement* and the *National Plan for School Improvement* purport a link between educational funding and educational equity. Such a position is both an accessible and politically convenient argument, but if equity were truly its intended target, and funding the necessary ingredient, then its policy thrust has missed the mark, as it were. From a modern educational standpoint, adequate funding *should* be a *sine qua non*; in modern politics, however, and particularly within an educational context, it can become a political poison pill. Attempting to overhaul an entrenched system of funding upon which competing interests have not only laid claim, but also rely upon for subsistence provides a tension, an element of political theatre which serves to obscure any worthwhile underlying premises.

The proposition, however subtle, of a national or Commonwealth assumption of increased fiduciary capacity for educational funding must needs contend against established protocol

regarding the historically accepted roles of the Commonwealth and States and Territories as well as systemic arrangements. The empowerment of a funding body at the Commonwealth level (supposedly) working with state level parallel committees resembles a thinly veiled power grab, and it would seem that some resistance to Gonski is aware of this, claims of preserving local autonomy and recommendations to this effect notwithstanding.

This assemblage of reform policy documents infers that without reform, positioned here as accountability to specific educational aims, educational equity cannot be achieved. The problem, as such, is a lack of accountability in educational provision. Moreover, and perhaps more importantly, when reform through funding becomes tied to discourses of accountability, accountability becomes a function of educational (and political) will. Together, the preceding policy levers ask and answer the following: *How can education be 'fixed'*, what are the *mechanisms* by which we will adapt to this new, educational landscape, through which we will reform education?

5.2.4. School Improvement

Introduction

School Leadership and Teachers

+Australian Teacher Performance and Development Framework (2012)

+ Australian Charter for the Professional Learning of Teachers and School Leaders

+Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (and Principals)

(+National Partnership on Teacher Quality)

The OECD Educational Policy Explorer lists the *National Partnership on Teacher Quality* (TQNP) as the comprehensive policy within this policy lever. However, while this research does not dispute this designation, it does place considerable emphasis upon the *Australian Teacher Performance and Development Framework*. Both policies are selected and addressed within this analysis, but are approached as having similar, though substantively differing aims.

School Leadership and Teachers, owing to its rhetorical regard as the 'most impactful' aspect of the lever, is considered first. The analysis of policies addressing Learning Environments will follow in the subsequent section.

5.2.4.1. School Leadership and Teachers

The *Australian Teacher Performance and Development Framework* (2012) is ostensibly the codification of a national approach to teacher performance and development. It is bound to the goals of the *Melbourne Declaration* (2008), specifically (1) the promotion of equity and excellence, and (2) that students become "successful learners", "confident and creative

individuals" and "active and informed citizens" (AUS14, p. 4). Although initiating no direct legislative policy initiatives (beyond that of the institution of standards), the Framework "calls for the creation of a performance and development culture in all Australian schools by highlighting what is required to build a comprehensive and effective approach to high performance and development" (p. 2). Characterising the process as a cycle, the Framework proposes an iterative process bound by effective leadership, flexibility of approach, a clear understanding of effective teaching, a focus on student outcomes and systematic coherence.

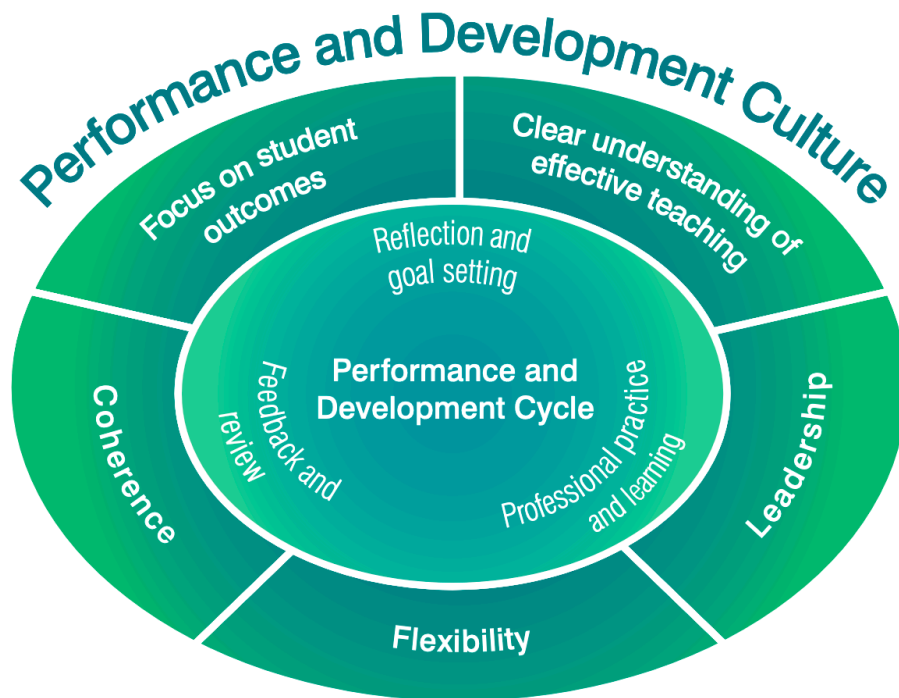


Figure 21 Australian Teacher Performance and Development Culture - August 2012; 5

These binding concepts are accepted aspects of the teaching profession, moot points, so to speak, but certain articulations within the framework deserve some attention:

A clear understanding of effective teaching is linked to the development of professional standards for teachers, which "outline what teachers should know and be able to do at four career stages" (p. 5). The standards operate as a 'common language' for appraising effective teaching within any context, although the Framework ends its explanation of this concept by asserting that "understanding of effective teaching will be shaped by the school's context and priorities" (p. 3). This final inclusion would seem to belie any expressed concept of universality in the standards; they would seem tailored to specific needs. *Coherence* speaks to the importance of alignment of performance and development with school plans, approaches, and

also prioritizes both teacher and school leader involvement (p. 4). Much like the previous concept, this explanation of coherence further reaffirms the notion of imposition, of a top-down, institutional accountability. *Leadership* entails the "critical role of leaders in creating a culture of performance and development" (p. 4) and is clear to recognize both the importance of vested leadership, as well as the development of "leadership from all levels ... characterised by a shared commitment to improvement" (p. 4).

The *performance and development* cycle, indicated by the inner ring within the graphic representation (Figure 21), is comprised of four elements "distilled from the research, practitioner advice and an analysis of current good practice" (7). Though not identified as 'steps', or as progressive elements within the cycle, they do contain "essential elements", or "common requirements" indicating minimum requirements and levels of support (7).

Reflection and Goal Setting

The essential element for this portion of the cycle stipulates: All teachers have a set of documented and regularly reviewed goals related to both performance and development, and ways of measuring progress towards them, that are agreed with the principal or delegate. The Framework indicates that all teachers "must clearly articulate agreed goals based on the school's shared view of effective teaching, derived from the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers" (p. 5) in a performance appraisal supported by the principal or delegate. While admirable, the goals seem geared towards external, school-based goals, and would seemingly undercut the personal aspect denoted by "self-reflection".

Professional Practice and Learning

It is primarily through the Australian Charter for the Professional Learning of Teachers and School Leaders (the *Professional Charter*) that professional learning is derived and promulgated. "Based on research", it identifies the school-based, and student-need based necessity of a "learning culture" (p. 6) and places particular emphasis on evidence of professional learning for the review of teacher performance.

Australian Charter for the Professional Learning of Teachers and School Leaders

The Professional Charter offers a graphic representation of its aims (Figure 22), and the underlying structure to the policy interventions within its purview. It also serves as a useful representation of the considered documents.

It indicates a pyramidal structure through, first, the establishment of standards of professional learning (ostensibly established as a mechanism to 'track' "career progression, promotion and recognition" (AUS15, p. 2). Then, building on this base, a Teacher Performance and Development Framework, which, in concert with the Professional Charter, provide both the direction and the methods through which to develop "high quality teaching and leadership". This, in turn, presumably leads to "all young Australians becoming "successful learners"; "confident and creative individuals"; and "active and informed citizens" (p. 2).

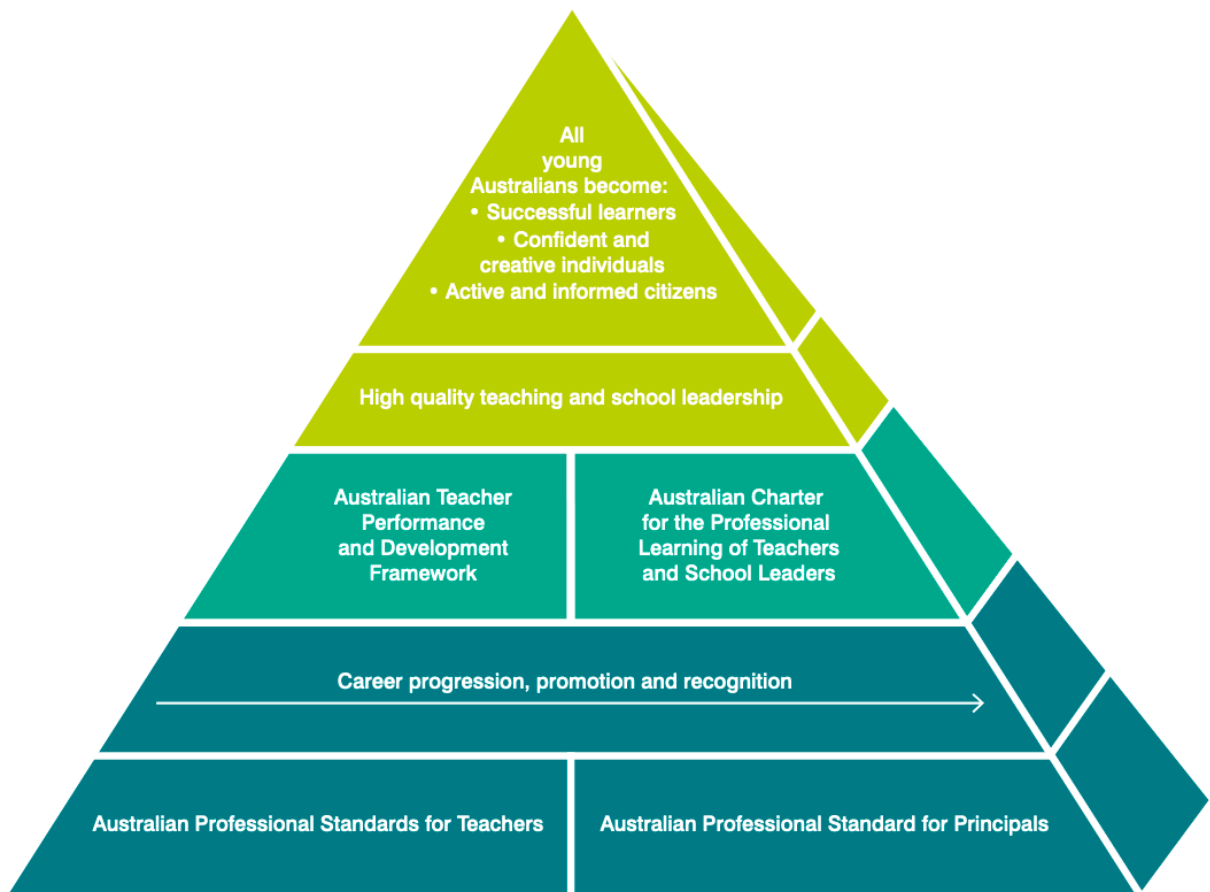


Figure 22 Professional Learning in Context, "The Charter", 2012, p. 2

National Partnership on Teacher Quality

Although it seems incongruous to discuss teacher supply and demand whilst also contemplating teacher preparation, the *National Partnership on Teacher Quality* (NPTQ) does just this. It seeks improvement in teacher quality and leadership through increased rigour in teacher preparation, presupposing that both teacher and leader quality are deficient. With regards to the principle objectives of the *NEA* and the *Melbourne Declaration*, the TQNP evinces a relatively firm degree of fidelity to these objectives, with some changes. The TQNP is to "address the significant challenges Australia faces to maintain the quality of its teaching force" (AUS17, #8), by targeting specific points in the teacher 'life-cycle'. Notably the Partnership declines to identify any specific exigency compelling the overhaul of teacher preparation, or even any indication as to the quality of teaching in schools. Moreover, discussions of teacher recruitment and retention which fail to address either compensation or working conditions can sometimes resonate as incomplete/insufficient, decidedly cynical and, on the whole, wilfully ignorant (and perhaps dismissive) of the demands of teaching.

5.2.4.2. Summary and Problem Representation(s)

The policy thrust enacted through this lever (and the sum of its ancillary documents centering on and around the development framework) initially points to the implicit problem representation to be either that of teacher, principal/leader and educational quality, or that of a lack of educational professionalism. However, AITSL's multipronged approach, comprised of an emphasis on (1) teachers, (2) principals/leaders and an exposition of the guiding framework and culture, indicate the necessity of a summative analysis of the collective rather than an individual assessment of said domains, in order to reach a determination of the implicit problem representation.

The Australian Teacher Performance and Development Framework advocates for a systematic 'professionalisation' of education, delineating the designed roles and responsibilities of the various interventions within this policy lever. While this research considers the *Australian Teacher Performance and Development Framework* to be central to the School Improvement policy lever, it must be considered alongside ancillary documents aimed at specific areas within the Framework's purview, namely Teacher Standards, Principals Standards and Educational Culture. These areas are represented by the *Australian Charter for the Professional Learning of Teachers and School Leaders* (the Professional Charter), the *Australian Professional Standards for Teachers* (APST) and that for *Principals*.

Taken together, these reforms, and indeed the lever, seem aimed at teacher quality (and specifically its lack, or deficiency) as an impediment to educational success, as the problem requiring an intervention. It builds on the tropes, or the key concepts, of teacher centrality, which differs semantically and substantially from teaching centrality, and on a concept of the educational professional as measured against a standard. To wit, this collection of policies problematizes teacher effectiveness as *accountability*, and promotes a system of standards and procedures to which teachers must be held accountable.

School Improvement levers focus their attentions on what is regarded as the primary obstruction to both success in educational achievement, as well as the desired reformation of education: teacher effectiveness. This problematization is also a not-so-subtle abrogation of governmental responsibility for educational success, placing it squarely within the hands (and the seemingly deficient capabilities) of teachers.

5.2.5. Equity and Quality

National Partnership on Low Socio-economic School Communities (NPLowSES; 2009-2016);
Aboriginal and Torres Strait Education Action Plan 2010

Introduction

While nominally identified within specific policy scopes, some comprehensive policies operate beyond these taxonomic descriptions. The *National Partnership on Low Socio-economic School Communities* 2009-2016 (NPLowSES) is one such policy initiative, containing reform prescriptions for both general funding and targeted funding and reform. Identified by the OECD as a general strategy, it is one of a set of complementary reform initiatives within the aegis of the *National Education Agreement* intended to provide comprehensive interventions for targeted issues within Australian education. Its targeted issue, or in this case its targeted population, is Low SES schools and students, earning it a designation as concerned with the lever on equity and quality. Also categorized within this policy lever is the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Action Plan* (2010-2014). Regarded as a targeted policy by the OECD, it reflects the specific commitments by governments toward "closing the gap" (as identified in both policy and public parlance) in educational outcomes between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. The two policies, however, are complementary, and as such are considered jointly. The following section, therefore, details the respective analyses of the *National Partnership on Low Socio-economic School Communities* as well as the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Action Plan* (2010-2014).

As the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Action Plan (2010-2014)* is channelled through the auspices of the *National Education Agreement*, and especially its corollary agreements, including the *NPLowSES*, its specificity marks it as the more comprehensive of the two policies under consideration within this lever, and the subsequent analysis reflects this detail. Conclusions regarding the implicit problem representations presented through both policies will be offered at the conclusion of both analyses.

5.2.5.1. National Partnership on Low Socio-economic School Communities 2009-2016

A comprehensive policy with a targeted and content-based scope, the *NPLowSES* is an "agreed, multilateral framework" setting out the "desired outcomes, reform menu, reporting, financial and governance arrangements" (AUS18, p. 6) necessary for "addressing the issue of social inclusion, including responding to Indigenous disadvantage" (p. 4). Nestled within its Preliminaries is a declaration of purpose, to which this analysis must return when considering the determination of an implicit problem representation. Item #3 declares that "Australian Governments share the objective of raising overall educational attainment so that all Australian school students acquire the knowledge and skills to participate effectively in society." (p. 4). While the specifics of "effective participation" can be open to varying interpretations, the subsequent item offers clarification, linking schooling to productivity. Item #4 itemises the five COAG goals which will "[boost] Australia's participation and productivity" (p. 4), among them that "schooling promotes the social inclusion and reduces the educational disadvantage of children, especially indigenous children" (p. 4). The explicit emphasis upon effective participation, and its juxtaposition with social inclusion within the consideration of education and schooling as an economic imperative, points to a recontextualization of the traditional connotative usage of social inclusion. Whereas inclusion, and especially within the context of underserved or marginalized groups, speaks to the widening of the social sphere to include the marginalized, this conception of inclusion regards marginalization within a purely economic frame, thereby rendering social inclusion as the extent to which one (or in this case the group) has a definitive path to the market. To be clear, neither the term "social inclusion", nor, indeed, the entirety of the *NPLowSES*, regards either low social economic status, nor the state of Indigenous Australia as a social issue, but rather, within this framing of equity, as an individual one.

The Low SES NP considers its policy thrust as integral to making schools "better equipped to address the complex and interconnected challenges facing students in disadvantaged communities" (AUS18, Preliminaries #8, p. 4), and focuses its attentions on improving levels of

educational attainment and participation in identified Lows SES schools. Notably, its objectives do not differ greatly from other National Partnership agreements but for two areas, Objectives d & e (section 18, p7):

- *(d) test reforms in the way schooling is funded, structured and delivered in low SES communities which, if shown to be successful, could be developed into recommendations for system-wide transformational change*
- *contribute to COAG's social inclusion and Indigenous disadvantage agendas through the identification of reforms and models of service delivery that achieve improved educational outcomes for low SES school communities.*

Rather than indicating a definitive direction, they are exploratory in nature, seeking to "identify" and "test" reforms.

The determination of this policy's problem representation is achieved through an analysis of its *Outcomes and Performance Indicators and Outputs and Outputs, Performance Benchmarks and Indicators*, addressed below.

Outcomes and Performance Indicators and Outputs

Written as they are, the outcomes and performance indicators measure participation percentages and thresholds. This immediately disadvantages students who have made gains on the accepted indicators (mandated, standardized tests), but have not reached the identified thresholds; or schools that have increased attendance or certificate attainment rates, but, again, fall below the testing threshold—a stipulation that is eerily similar to the specifications of *No Child Left Behind* in the United States. Crucially, such performance indicators become amenable to the machinations of Campbell's Law. In addition to these, the *NPLowSES* initiates, "where possible and appropriate", the "tracking" of "identified cohorts" for such measures as participation in national testing and their representation amongst the highest and lowest performers across curricular domains (AUS18, pp. 7-8).

Outputs, Performance Benchmarks and Indicators

The *NPLowSES* generally view its benchmarks and indicators as "the achievement by States of specific reform milestones" (p. 10). The Partnership's outputs are recapitulated within the performance benchmarks and indicators as reforms, achievement against which is intended to serve as a barometer for success. The reforms, as benchmarks, are paired with "indicative

actions" which serve to explicate the possible implementation of specific reforms. While the possible actions place the burden of responsibility for improvement squarely upon the shoulders of school systems and individual schools, they also present a fleeting glimpse of a seemingly autonomous version of educational delivery.

- Incentives to attract high-performing teachers and principals
- Adoption of best practice performance management and staffing arrangements that articulate a clear role for principals
- School operational arrangements that encourage innovation and flexibility • Provide innovative and tailored learning opportunities
- Strengthen school accountability
- External partnerships with parents, other schools, businesses and communities and the provision of access

The reforms, on the whole, are performative in nature and do not explicitly indicate their contribution to ameliorating the performance of students in Low SES schools. Moreover, while presented as providing autonomy and born of a consultative process on reform, these actions are chosen from a "menu of [pre-selected] facilitation reforms" (p. 13); the promised autonomy appears in the form of choosing the methods of implementation, a *regulated* autonomy, as it were. Such prospective actions raise a crucial question: While the development of "vigorous [approaches] and strategies for the early intervention and prevention and truancy and non-attendance" are most certainly in demand, does the presence of such vigour with respect to low SES students indicate that this is only a problem within these specific communities?

The possible indicative actions of "strengthened school accountability" are merely the intensification of existing actions: "[carrying] out additional testing ... beyond that agreed upon by the NEA"; "[providing] a higher level of reporting" (p. 12). One might argue that the provision of funding with such stipulation amounts to the reconfiguration of existing accountability frameworks. Additionally, the promotion of external partnerships is a staple of reform initiatives, and in their diversity and scope hold promise for beneficial relationships for both schools and students. The NPLowSES recognises the presence of such existing partnerships, and advocates for the "extension of such approaches" (p. 12).

Initial Summary

The NPLowSES indicates that Low SES and Indigenous disadvantage are a product of poor "models of service delivery in education" (p. 7). To this end, the NP provided resources and targeted initiatives in order to improve student outcomes in specific communities, to improve educational delivery. Rather than positioning the ostensible "challenges" as the problem, the NPLowSES instead identifies disadvantaged students, and specifically their production, as 'the' problem. Similar to the other National Partnerships, the NPLowSES is conceived as a pecuniary hammer, or perhaps a carrot, meant to compel the adoption of policies already identified as desirable. This policy does not present any new or remarkable initiatives but does offer the chance to adopt schooling measures that already exist. It is not the intent of this research to indicate that the discussion of such reforms is either unwelcomed or unwarranted, but to indicate that the ostensible positioning of this reform policy as one intended to impact equity and quality is, at best, misguided.

5.2.5.2. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Action Plan (2010-2014)

(+ 2010 Annual Report for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Action Plan (2010-2014)

Introduction

The *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Action Plan (2010-2014)*, or the ATSI Action Plan (ATSIEAP), is regarded as a targeted policy by the OECD, and much like the NPLowSES, reflects the specific commitments by governments toward "closing the gap" (as identified in the policy and public parlance) in educational outcomes between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. Its "overarching objective" is about "bringing equity in education and training outcomes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people".

Not a sole, or 'standalone', policy, but tied to previous efforts, namely the *Indigenous Education (Targeted Assistance) Act 2000* and the *Australian Directions in Indigenous Education 2005 - 2008*, the ATSI Action Plan is channelled through the auspices of the *National Education Agreement*, and bound by the *National Indigenous Reform Agreement (NIRA)* and was agreed by COAG in November 2008. It is also part of the *Closing the Gap* targets, which aim:

- to close the life-expectancy gap within a generation
- to halve the gap in mortality rates for Indigenous children under five within a decade
- to ensure access to early childhood education for all Indigenous four years olds in remote communities within five years

- to halve the gap in reading, writing and numeracy achievements for children within a decade
- to halve the gap for Indigenous students in Year 12 (or equivalent) attainment rates by 2020
- to halve the gap in employment outcomes between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians within a decade.

The ATSI Action Plan was developed in concert and by consultation with MCEECDYA as the COAG reform agenda with regards to Indigenous Australia and touted as the introduction of "substantial structural and innovative reforms in early childhood education and schooling" (AUS20, p. 3). The Plan proposes 55 actionable items (among which are 21 previously endorsed National Goals) within six, discrete but interconnected areas, referred to here as domains, to both promote and impel improvements in learning outcomes, and distinguishes between the various levels of government and their respective roles within this framework.

The Plan's purpose statement specifically articulates its primary goals as "[assisting] educational providers to accelerate improvements in the educational outcomes of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and young people" (AUS19, p. 4) through a progression of the goals of the *National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Policy* and the *Melbourne Declaration* (2008). However, it immediately reveals a significant disjuncture:

While clear in trumpeting the commitment to "introduce substantial structural and innovative reforms in early childhood education and schooling" (AUS19, p. 4), such innovations are considered to already exist in the form of a raft of previous and concurrent policies "designed to improve outcomes for all Australian students by increasing access to quality early childhood education, improving literacy and numeracy achievement, addressing disadvantage in low socio-economic status school communities, improving teacher quality and increasing the number of young people attaining a Year 12 or equivalent qualification" (p. 4). One, then, should expect to find within the pages of the Plan evidence of the introduction of "substantial structural and innovative reforms" (p. 4). Instead, the Plan directs attention to existing reforms, and especially the national agreements. In that the Plan does not introduce new reforms, what, then, does it do?

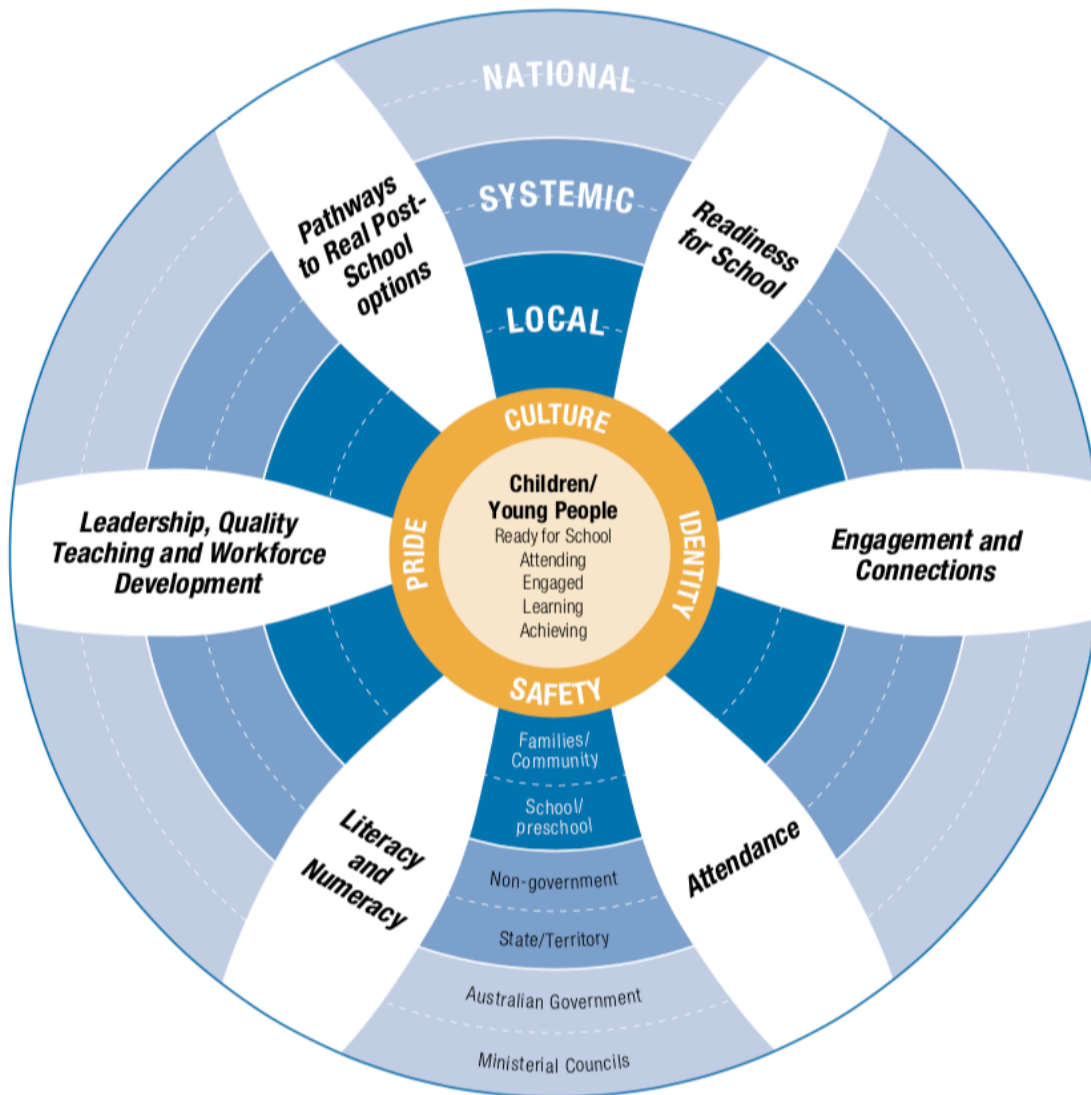


Figure 23 Conceptual Overview of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Action Plan 2010-2014 (ATSIEAP, p5)

The conceptual overview (Figure 23) places Children/Young People at its centre, and in a reflection of its specific focus on Indigeneity, is bound by Culture, Pride, Safety and Identity (p. 5). This conceptual centrality notwithstanding, the overall organisational structure of the Plan, its ostensible plan of attack, as it were, and its concentric rings of accountability indicate a top-down, and perhaps even parochial structure of both governance and policy implementation. One can see that while this policy structure does, indeed, affirm its awareness and value of indigeneity, it binds it—both conceptually, and in a very real, material sense—within the scope of each layer of governance. Simply put, action radiates towards the center, rather than from it. This conceptual representation reverberates with the historical echoes of colonial paternalism, and this irony implicates the policy's *doing to*, rather than *being done*.

The Plan exerts its influence through the identification of "focus schools", agreed upon sites of intervention for "specific action under national partnership agreements" (p. 6). When considered with the conceptual framework offered by the Plan, the six principles each refer to one, overriding principle, that of accountability to established, or pre-existing, reform directions.

Policy Environment

The ATSI Action plan presents its elaboration of the policy environment in an effort to detail the putative exigencies driving its reform directions, and also present some key demographic data:

- In 2010, there were 160,000 ATSI students in Australia, representing approximately 4% of total student population; 85% of these students within government schools
- 20% of ATSI students attend remote schools, while the majority attend regional and urban schools
- In 2010, there were 160,000 ATSI students in Australia, representing approximately 4% of total student population.
- 85% of these students within government schools
- 20% of ATSI students attend remote schools, while the majority attend regional and urban schools (AUS19).

However, one might easily regard this as an attempt to 'frame' the debate and bind the discourse. Its most noteworthy inclusion, however, is reproduced in its entirety:

However, gaps remain between the educational outcomes of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students and other students with evidence from across Australia showing that the more remote the community the poorer the student outcomes. This is clear on all indicators including participation in early childhood education, literacy and numeracy, attendance, retention, and post-school transitions. These gaps limit the career prospects and life choices of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students and perpetuate intergenerational disadvantage. National trajectories to achieve the closing the gap targets are included in Chapter 4" (AUS19, p. 7).

The above passage firmly positions education as the primary mechanism to ameliorate the deficiencies in "career prospects, life choices" and the perpetuation of intergenerational disadvantage".

Initial Summary

One would assume that any argument decrying the state of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Students' educational outcomes would constitute an implicit indictment of the preceding policies and indicate a pivot towards another policy direction. In affirming not only the value, but also the efficacy of previous policies, the Plan reveals its purpose to be a form of retroactive compulsion, a simultaneous intensification and endorsement of previous policy thrusts, and ultimately a course of action designed to impel participation. As such, the implicit problem representation promoted through the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Educational Action Plan is a lack of participation within educational reform directions. Policy Summary

5.2.5.3. Summary and Problem Representation(s)

As a general strategy, the *NPLowSES* serves to specify the target(s) for this lever, while the *ATSI Action Plan* compels participation. Taken together, the problem representation they evince is that of a persistent and purposeful social (read here, as educational, and thereby economic) exclusion as being determinative of disadvantage.

The final educational policy lever, that of *Equity and Quality*, problematizes participation in efforts of reformation as indicative of imbalances within this 'reforming'. These final levers, then, specify the objects of these mechanisms, the ostensible objects of and for re-formation through the operative question: *Upon whom, or what, should these mechanisms act to engage within this new, educational landscape, to reform education?* Guiding the conceptual logics of these policy levers and their problem representations is a view of policy whereby it is *done* to objects, to specific bodies, as opposed to being done by.

5.3 Problem Representations in United States Reform Policy

5.3.1. Introduction

This section presents the analysis of American policies through the first lens of the WPR framework in an effort to elicit its implicit problem representations. In a very real sense, American education has *become* reform, and is best characterized as a peripatetic procession of commentary, alteration and reauthorization of one, seminal policy intervention, the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* (ESEA), authorized by President Lyndon Johnson in 1965. While this research deems it neither necessary nor productive to examine the 1965 ESEA, it will, however, briefly examine the 1983 report *A Nation At Risk*, long considered the bellwether of modern educational reform, the *America 2000* and *Goals 2000* initiatives, and conclude with both *Improving America's Schools Act* (IASA) and *No Child Left Behind*. These policies, though some

contain very targeted specificities, are all comprehensive in nature and, more importantly, can be considered to address multiple policy levers. The evaluation of these policies is in addition to those stipulated by the OECD Policy Explorer, adding them to the listing of policies regarded as indicative of the policy trends in reform. These additions, while accurately included with regards to policy levers, also serve to properly contextualise the eventual policy thrust of what is arguably the central policy within this time period, *No Child Left Behind*, and its positioning within a raft of educational reform initiatives that have become synonymous with education in America.

The brevity with which some of these policies are discussed should not be read as an indication of their importance. Rather, these sections include those aspects of the analysis most related to the determination of a problem representation.

5.3.2. Governance - United States

This research regards a number of US policies as leveraging governance as a reform approach, namely the antecedent policies to (and including) *No Child Left Behind*, and specifically *A Nation at Risk*, *Goals 2000*, *America 2000* and the *Improving America's Schools Act* (199 ...). *A Nation at Risk* (1983), a seminal policy document within the modern educational reform movement, is analysed here as the policy document most aligned with governance and most indicative of the lever.

5.3.2.1. A Nation at Risk

While never explicitly referring to *A Nation at Risk*, American education has seemingly been guided by its 'findings'. Commissioned by President Ronald Reagan in 1981, the National Commission on Excellence in Education was intended to highlight the strengths of American education. The eventual report, *A Nation at Risk* (ANAR) released in 1983 by the then Secretary of Education, Terrel H. Bell, instead painted a bleak picture of American education. Fashioning itself as the clarion call against the "rising tide of mediocrity" that threatens the "unimaginable" event of being matched and surpassed in "educational attainments" (US1, p. 5), it couches its language in the familiar stridence of competitive, Cold War rhetoric, stating at its outset that "our once unchallenged pre-eminence in commerce, industry, science, and technological innovation is being overtaken by competitors throughout the world" (US1, p. 5). The militaristic tone only builds through the document, which claims a "[squandering of] the gains in student achievement made in the wake of the Sputnik challenge" (p. 9), while also presenting an image of schooling as overburdened by 'social responsibility', and forced to

address personal, social, and political problems that the home and other institutions either will not or cannot resolve" (US1, p. 6). This characterization serves a number of purposes: articulating these burdens as "[exact]ing an educational cost as well as a financial one", the report claims an educational system wholly distracted from its (optimal) purpose. To wit, the formation of this finding within an economic frame allows for the discussion of educational provision and purpose within a financial calculus. Interestingly, the goal seems presented as global standing, and the flat-earth theory enamoured of financial (cum social) intellectuals at the later turn of the century (2005) makes its appearance here:

"The world is indeed one global village. We live among determined, well- educated, and strongly motivated competitors. We compete with them for international standing and markets, not only with products but also with the ideas of our laboratories and neighborhood workshops. America's position in the world may once have been reasonably secure with only a few exceptionally well-trained men and women. It is no longer".

Moreover, the *knowledge economy*, another significant ideational construct of later educational hand-wringing, also appears on ANAR's pages:

"[k]nowledge, learning, information, and skilled intelligence are the new raw materials of international commerce... If only to keep and improve on the slim competitive edge we still retain in world markets, we must dedicate ourselves to the reform of our educational system... Learning is the indispensable investment required for success in the 'information age' we are entering".

ANAR problematizes both the purpose of education as well as its social expectations. In identifying these new "raw materials of international commerce", ANAR sediments the economization of education, operationalising the key concepts of competition, of education as economic system (or a marketplace), of individual [investment] and personal responsibility, which are, to be sure, clear neoliberalisms. Furthermore, through a deft rhetorical appeal to pathos, this competitive tone places the blame for this loss of position squarely at the feet of education. Moreover, it insinuates that American competitiveness, that which seemingly buoyed the nation in the intervening years after Sputnik, has been suffocated by an unfocused educational system.

5.3.3. Evaluation and Assessment

The OECD-identified policy within this lever is the *Common Core State Standards*, but as it cannot be substantively separated from its respective accountability mechanism, NCLB, this research instead considers *America 2000*, *Goals 2000* and the *IASA*, which, within their comprehensive policy thrusts, address evaluation and assessment. Their immediate temporal

subsequence clearly indicates the progression of the discourse of reform, while the banality with which they manoeuvre around testing (and specifically *which, what and how many* tests) reflects the regard to evaluation and assessment within the American educational reform landscape.

5.3.3.1. America 2000: An Education Strategy

In the wake (or aftermath) of ANAR's release, George HW Bush's subsequent presidency builds on its educational/reform momentum, as it were, convening a summit for state governors, the 1989 Educational Summit Conference (ESC) in order to safeguard "the very leadership position of America in the next century"⁹ from (presumably) public schooling. The following analysis is derived from the *America 2000 Sourcebook*, which, in its own words, is "a collection of documents that together offer a comprehensive description of America 2000" (Bush, 1991, p. 1) The collection is comprised of Presidential remarks at the presentation of this national education strategy, the contents of the booklet detailing the strategy, the White House press release (referred to as a fact sheet) the goals, and the joint statement by the President and attending state governors at the ESC (1).

At the presentation of the *National Educational Strategy*, President George HW Bush offered remarks, the entirety of which are reproduced as an introduction to the America 2000 initiative. In it, he identifies what his administration outlines as the dual challenges of the future, that of vouchsafing the "next American century" (p. 7), as well as that of education. Careful to specify that it is merely a "national strategy, [and] not a federal program" aimed at the "110,000 public and private schools", it seeks to bring about changes to "our attitude about learning" (p.14).

America 2000 presented 6 goals, and their attendant strategies, to be achieved by the year 2000:

1. *All children in America will start school ready to learn.*
2. *The high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent.*
3. *American students will leave grades four, eight, and twelve having demonstrated competency in challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, history, and geography; and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their*

⁹ Education Summit Conference, "Joint Statement on the Education Summit with the Nation's Governors in Charlottesville, Virginia," September 28, 1989. Available at <http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/public_papers.php?id=971&year=1989&month=9>. Last accessed on 10/08/10. 29.5.2018

minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy.

4. *U.S. students will be first in the world in science and mathematics achievement.*
5. *Every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.*
6. *Every school in America will be free of drugs and violence and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning. (Bush, 1991, p. 21)*

Education, he says, defines us (p. 5) and quotes the *Brown v Board* decision: "It is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education". The equation of education with opportunity extends such opportunity to the determination of "which nations will thrive in a world united in pursuit of freedom in enterprise" (p. 5).

It is here that education receives its clearest articulation as the solution to social ills:

"... if we want to combat crime and drug abuse, if we want to create hope and opportunity in the bleak corners of this country where there is nothing now but defeat and despair, we must dispel the darkness with the enlightenment that a sound and well-rounded education provides.

Think about every problem, every challenge we face. The solution to each starts with education.

In a curious turn, particularly in light of his lofty rhetoric proclaiming the importance of education, Bush addresses the finances of education, claiming that a 33 percent increase in educational funding per student between 1981 and 1991 has not yielded a 33 percent improvement (p. 7), a figure, he notes later, as being more than the spending on defense. He boldly asserts that "dollar bills don't educate students", but rather "committed communities" of "committed teachers, free from the non-educational burdens; committed parents, determined to support excellence; committed students, excited about school and learning" Here the economization of education is obvious. Moreover, employing business terminology to evaluate education immediately after calling for an end to incessant evaluation is decidedly cynical. What President Bush calls for is not merely a "renaissance", but a "revolution" (p. 8), and highlights the finger-pointing, shifting of blame and "no-fault attitude" (p. 7) that he regards as evident of the status quo. He importunes that education (and parenthetically, "us") be held properly accountable, and engages a characterization of schooling akin to that of a manufacturing process.

To address the "knowledge gap"—a term whose definition must be accessed within the document's glossary which refers to the gap between present skills and knowledge, and those

"necessary to live and work successfully in the world as it is today" (p. 40)—America 2000 offers four strategies which pertain to its six goals:

- *“Through a 15-point accountability package, parents, teachers, schools, and communities will be encouraged to measure results, compare results, and insist on change when the results aren't good enough” (p. 23).*
- *“We will unleash America's creative genius to invent and establish a New Generation of American Schools, one by one, community by community. These will be the best schools in the world, schools that enable their students to reach the national education goals, to achieve a quantum leap in learning and to help make America all that it should be” (p. 27).*
- *“Eighty-five percent of America's work force for the year 2000 is already in the work force today, so improving schools for today's and tomorrow's students is not enough to assure a competitive America in 2000. And we need more than job skills to live well in America today. We need to learn more to become better parents, neighbors, citizens, and friends. Education is not just about making a living; it is also about making a life” (p. 31).*
- *“Even if we successfully complete the first, second, and third parts of the AMERICA 2000 education strategy, we still will not have done the job. Even with accountability embedded in every aspect of education, achieving the goals requires a renaissance of sound American values—proven values such as strength of family, parental responsibility, neighborly commitment, the community-wide caring of churches, civic organizations, business, labor and the media” (p. 33).*

Considered respectively, the first strategy, while positing parents as ostensible arbiters of results, also regards accountability as outputs, albeit specifically measured ones. This strategy is also availed of notable specifics: the establishment of “World-Class Standards” for each of the core subject areas and related to either “further study and the work force” (p. 23); and “a new, voluntary nationwide examination system ... to foster good teaching and learning as well as to monitor student progress” (p. 23).

The second strategy identifies schools as the sites of this 'revolution', and in concert with the third strategy, positions schooling as in service to the workforce. As an aside, the last sentence of the third strategy, "We need to learn more to become better parents, neighbours, citizens, and friends. Education is not just about making a living; it is also about making a life", seems an outlier, and a perfect example of Fairclough's "rhetorical oversell" in that its juxtaposition to the previous education-in-service-to-the job market, rings false. The fourth strategy makes an appeal to American values, while creating an opening for non-governmental organisations to play a role in education. The third and fourth strategies also refer to the wider community as having interests in the implementation of these reforms.

Considered collectively, and alongside its goals and strategies, America 2000 is marked by striking omissions, and concepts that function /are activated via both proxy as well as

proximity to precedent document/policies. The strategies, curiously, omit government from any responsibility for either the strategies or goals, while also simultaneously absolving them of any blame for a failure to achieve set goals. When juxtaposed to the pointed consideration of parents, and especially teachers, the onus of responsibility for failure is placed at the feet of teachers. Although parents may be seen to be the holders of accountability, they become mechanisms of accountability to this government intervention.

Like ANAR before it, America 2000 provides limited concrete evidentiary support to justify its call for an educational revolution, relying on the discursive boundaries of education, and its reform, to make its case. This is not to say that contemporaneous data did not exist through which to make their case, but that this document relied heavily on determinate representation and the affective power of rhetorical pathos to state and advance its case.

America 2000 also inserts some key firsts into the reform discourse: Alternative entry pathways into teaching are identified as an important area for reform, citing the onerous bureaucracy one must navigate to become a teacher (p. 26). Likewise, the notion of merit, or "differential pay for teachers" and schools (p. 25) is also introduced. Finally, it is here that we witness the nascence of both school choice and quasi-competitive grants in American education (for federal funding), the latter of which cannot be overstated in its significance during a period of financial recession.

5.3.3.2. Goals 2000: Educate America Act

Signed into law in March of 1994, *Goals 2000: Educate America Act* aims to advance "coherent, nationwide, systemic education reform" (Sec.2. Purpose 1). Although proposed by a Democratic President, *Goals 2000: Reforming Education to Improve Student Achievement* regurgitates the self-same goals of its precedent educational initiative. The addition of two more goals— one addressing teacher education and professional development, and another parent participation (Title I, Sec. 102)— does little to alter the perception that this policy initiative is, in part, a recapitulation of *America 2000: An Education Strategy*. While Goals 2000 does, indeed, build on the educational agenda first promulgated by ANAR, and further sedimented by America 2000, it does contain policy inclusions noteworthy for their departure from previous policy. Its policy thrust begins by identifying the goals, now entitled the National Education Goals (Sec 102.1), and expands upon them, delineating key roles and responsibilities for their success. It then engages in a deft decontextualization of each of these roles while assigning them responsibility for the problem and specific roles within this rendering of the solution. For example:

(ii) every parent in the United States will be a child's first teacher and devote time each day to helping such parent's preschool child learn, and parents will have access to the training and support parents need; and

(iii) children will receive the nutrition, physical activity experiences, and health care needed to arrive at school with healthy minds and bodies, and to maintain the mental alertness necessary to be prepared to learn, and the number of low-birthweight babies will be significantly reduced through enhanced prenatal health systems

The first of these goals, *School Readiness*, clearly delineates the role of parents to ensuring that children start school "ready to learn" (102.1), but in doing so regards the social 'obstacles' mere consequences of individual choice. Similarly, in detailing the goal of SAFE, DISCIPLINED, AND ALCOHOL- AND DRUG-FREE SCHOOLS (102.7.A), the stipulation that every school be free of alcohol, violence and drugs, while admirable and decidedly uncontroversial, seems misplaced. Ignoring the implication of schools as unsafe spaces, it indicates that these predominantly social issues are, in fact, subject to educational (or school) will.

The third goal, Student Achievement and citizenship continues in this vein, making its target "responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our Nation's modern economy" (102.3.A). While its stipulation for academic performance is noteworthy for its sensibility (seeking a distribution of minority students commensurate with their overall population distribution; 102.3.B.i), the responsibility for providing "activities that promote and demonstrate good citizenship, good health, community service, and personal responsibility"; competency in more than one language; access to both physical and health education-whilest also providing for student fitness for the job market-falls squarely upon schools. Such goals, all, are issues of educational capacity, rather than, again, educational will, and require substantial input from parties not present within this document.

With regard to the two additions to the goals originally proposed through America 2000, Teacher Education and Professional development (Sec. 102. 4.), they indicate a clear difference from the preceding policy.

While a clear divergence from America 2000, the attention upon teachers fails to produce any noteworthy reform initiatives or conclusions. However, its indication that teachers, "will have access to programs for the continued improvement of their professional skills and the opportunity to acquire the knowledge and skills needed to instruct and prepare all American students for the next century" (Title I, Sec. 102. 4. A), introduces an interesting accountability

relationship: while the institution of a (purportedly) more robust professional development for teachers satisfies the discursive canard that teachers are poorly skilled and, in essence, part of the problem, it also positions *teachers as being held accountable*, rather than the system of education or, crucially, this reform initiative. While outputs, in the form of state-wide standardized tests which serve to further cement the content standards, will, again, determine the success of these reforms, the inputs, and specifically teachers, will bear the blame in the event of failure.

In addition to the responsibilities previously delineated, *Goals 2000* similarly places parents as holding schools and teachers accountable, although in failing to stipulate (or even suggest) any repercussions, presents an accountability relationship lacking any teeth, so to speak. School choice, in any form, is notably absent from *Goals 2000*. There are, however, some notable inclusions.

Among the more striking of its reform elements is the proposal for a state-level competition for federal funding consisting of an application detailing reform efforts and plans (Title 2, Sec. 219. A. 1; Title 3, Sec. 309. a. 1. A. and b. 1. A.). The sum on offer, \$400 million, is offensively miniscule with regards to the real cost of educational provision further stretched by reform initiatives *across 50 states and territories*, but nonetheless marks the usage of competitive grants as a pecuniary carrot in American education. While 'winners' will receive funding, unsuccessful districts will have reformed their districts in pursuance of such funding. Moreover, *Goals 2000's* proposal of the *voluntary* acceptance of its goals and standards and the institution of a competitive grant program predicated on such acceptance is given greater significance when considered against the slowly rebounding, post-recession American economy. Financially challenged states can only view such a choice as necessity.

Summary of Goals 2000 and America 2000

Taken together, the key proposals of *Goals 2000* promote an expansion in the federalization of educational provision, shifting the locus of control away from states and to the federal government, but avoiding the costs of such reforms as it institutes, passing such costs onto Local Education Authorities (LEAs). It also introduces competitive, grant-based funding, a decidedly coercive and *conditional benevolence* based, in part, on the proximity to a budget crisis. Both *America 2000* and *Goals 2000* build upon the previous problem representation promulgated by ANAR and seek to problematise the responsibility of education, and

specifically the provision of its direction-taken here, as structure. Both policy proposals indicate their preferred direction while deftly demurring with regards to responsibility. In addition, and perhaps most importantly, they activate evaluation and assessment as mechanisms for, and of, accountability.

5.3.3.3. Improving America's Schools Act

The later WPR analyses of *No Child Left Behind*, (2001), as a reauthorization of the 1965 ESEA, almost necessitates the inclusion of the *Improving America's Schools Act of 1994* (IASA), the Clinton administration's reauthorization of the ESEA. This brief analytical detour details the policy genesis of Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) - arguably the most contentious and well-known of American evaluative mechanisms- and the surreptitious instantiation of school choice as a matter of educational policy. Both Goals 2000 and the IASA are legislated within the same year, 1994, the primary difference being that Goals 2000 codified the National Education Goals from the ESC, while the IASA was a reauthorisation of the 1965 ESEA.

Prefaced by a declaration of purpose, the IASA avers that "a high-quality education for all individuals and a fair and equal opportunity to obtain that education are a societal good, are a moral imperative, and improve the life of every individual, because the quality of our individual lives ultimately depends on the quality of the lives of others" (Title I, Sec. 1001 a.1, H.R. 6-2). This declaration is striking for positioning its *pathetic* appeal at the outset, so as to frame all subsequent policy positions as in furtherance of some nationalistic ideal, a greater (American) good. Of note is the clarity with which this statement renders the relationship between the individual and the society, a directionality made more striking by the antonymic association which follows. Appeals to pathos notwithstanding, the declaration also binds such enterprises for the common good within a competitive framework; the spectre of ANAR looms behind IASA, providing a healthy measure of immediacy.

Title I, Part A, Subpart 1 - SEC.1002. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

In material terms, IASA authorizes approximately \$11billion in funding (fiscal year 1995), of which \$7.4 billion are earmarked for Title I "compensatory" educational programs; 118 million for Even Start; 310 million for migrant children; 40 million for neglected, delinquent or at-risk youth; and 41 million for eligible private school students. Notably, States are allowed to preserve .5% of Title I Funding, and specifically migrant student and at-risk student funding allocations, for other school improvement activities. While its significant inclusions involve increases in the provision for bilingual and immigrant education, this brief analysis of its

contents will focus on its noteworthy policy introduction of Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP), as well as its production of guidelines for the implementation of school choice.

Although the IASA recognizes a fifty percent reduction of the achievement gap between disadvantaged and "other children" as a result of educational interventions such as Title I (b,1 H.R.6-2), "such programs need to become even more effective in improving schools" (b, 4, H.R.6-3). Taking a leaf out of the pages of ANAR, the IASA, while recognizing the effectiveness of Title I programs, does not intensify their efforts, but rather bends them to its own devices, namely that of achieving the goals set out in Goals 2000, and specifically through a narrowing of the curriculum and the provision of new, high-quality tests.

Its Title I section also addresses educational need, albeit through a careful use of language; the policy avoids the mention of advantage while simultaneously tying disadvantage to specific bodies. The Act's "recognition of need"(b), states that

(3) educational needs are particularly great for low-achieving children in our Nation's highest-poverty schools, children with limited English proficiency, children of migrant workers, children with disabilities, Indian children, children who are neglected or delinquent, and young children and their parents who are in need of family-literacy services

Moreover, such a sterile treatment assumes that disadvantage is in no way linked to its opposite. Such constructions of reform also serve to place the burden of blame for remedying underachievement and of improving the educational system upon these social sectors.

PART A

In exchange for grants under the auspices of Title I, states must agree to submit school improvement plans satisfying the requirements of the *Goals 2000: Educate America Act* "in consultation with local educational agencies, teachers, pupil services personnel, administrators, other staff, and parents" (sec.1111.state plans a.1; H.R.6-6). Each state plan must demonstrate evidence of the development of challenging content standards and a description of standards-aligned additional assessments. The Act does, however, allow for funds to be distributed with the proviso that such improvement plans as are required will be implemented within a specified period.

SUBPART 1, (2) YEARLY PROGRESS

Adequate yearly progress becomes the sole barometer of success as indicated through student test scores in specific disciplines (reading, language arts and mathematics). Although AYP is a nod towards measuring student growth, it firmly institutes testing as the barometer of success, completing the move away from other, social, measures of educational progress begun by ANAR.

The added juxtaposition of dual policy imperatives of school choice and parental involvement serve to not only imbricate parents within school accountability networks, but also point to the 'nuclear option', so to speak, of parental choice as the ultimate arbiter of school effectiveness. The implicit power of school choice, however, is diluted by the caveat that the withdrawal from Title I schools *only affords the choice of another Title I school*.

Charter Schools

Further to its comments addressing need, the IASA ties its conception of need to its championing of school choice and charter schools. In an acknowledgement of previous policies, section (c) WHAT HAS BEEN LEARNED SINCE 1988 notes that:

(8) Decentralized decision making is a key ingredient of systemic reform. Schools need the resources, flexibility, and authority to design and implement effective strategies for bringing their children to high levels of performance.

(9) Opportunities for students to achieve high standards can be enhanced through a variety of approaches such as public school choice and public charter schools.

(11) Resources provided under this title can be better targeted on the highest-poverty local educational agencies and schools that have children most in need.

(12) Equitable and sufficient resources, particularly as such resources relate to the quality of the teaching force, have an integral relationship to high student achievement.

In addition, a section entitled "Targeted Assistance" (SEC.1115A), local educational agencies (LEAs), "in combination with State, local and private funds," may use funds to "develop and implement choice programs", in furtherance of what are essentially charter schools, and subject to the same requirements as all other public schools. Hidden within this section is a caveat banning the use of such funds to cover transportation costs, a critical component to ensuring accessibility and opportunity for underserved populations.

Additionally, Title X, Part C authorizes a further \$15 million to districts seeking to establish charter schools. Curiously, the Act does not specify the rationale behind these inclusions, and the inclusion of support for charter schools seems a non-sequitur. However, as a Title I initiative, the school choice programs are located within disadvantaged communities, and allow for the school choice *only within* such communities, the stipulation regarding transportation therefore rendering such a choice a limited choice (which is to say, no choice, at all). Students in schools deemed to be in need of improvement, however, can choose another school, and the respective LEAs are authorized to engage transportation budgets, where necessary.

Summary

The *Improving America's Schools Act* (IASA) of 1994 also problematizes accountability within schooling, although it approaches its policy thrust through a recontextualisation of need. 'Need' becomes tied to accountability, rather than merely indicating disadvantage. It specifically privileges the *needs* of the system, of parents ahead of conceptions of need aligned with disadvantage and its amelioration. Unlike other policies taking this approach, offers a meliorative mechanism as the apotheosis of accountability systems, that of charter schools (and, by extension, choice), which ostensibly elevate parents to a position of primary policy actor.

5.3.4. Funding

Race to the Top Executive Summary (2009); Race to the Top Program Guidance and Frequently Asked Questions (2010)

Introduction

Almost immediately after taking the helm of the United States government during the global financial crisis, then President Barack Obama signed the *American Recovery and Reinvestment Act* of 2009 (ARRA). While political pundits shared their differing views on the merits of this 'bailout', as it was regarded at the time, nestled within its wide-ranging mechanisms of economic stimuli was the appropriation of funding for the *Race to the Top* (RTT) program. This largesse on the part of the federal government, a sum of approximately \$4.4 billion, intended to "reward" States for their demonstrated success in "raising student achievement" through their own organically developed processes of delivering improvement and was heralded as "lay[ing a] foundation for education reform" by championing the promotion of "innovative

strategies ... most likely to lead to improved results for students, long-term gains in school and school system capacity, and increased productivity and effectiveness" (US5, p. 2). Its specific structure aimed to devise a strategy through which to push national reforms down to the local level and address, at least rhetorically, the issue of competitiveness in American education.

The *Executive Summary* (2009) details, respectively, a brief policy background, its areas of focus, the selection criteria and both a delineation and explanation of the policy priorities. While regarded within this analysis as the central policy document, a reliance on its limited focus upon the operational details of the policy initiative does not offer sufficient insight into the identification of an implicit problem representation and fails to account for the specific exigencies compelling both its policy thrust and approach. This analysis, then, further engages a number of contemporaneous documents/resources about the *Race To the Top*—as provided by the United States Department of Education—to do so. In addition to the *Executive Summary*, this analysis will include for consideration the *Race To the Top Guidance and Frequently Asked Questions* (2010); clarifying remarks by Arne Duncan, former US Secretary of Education under whose stewardship RTT was both initiated and implemented, in the form of both an interview and a penned, Op-Ed; a transcript of comments by Joanne Weiss, then Chair of the *Race To the Top Fund*; and finally remarks, in the form of an interview transcript, by President Barack Obama about what was, then, his signature policy initiative.

According to the RTT *Executive Summary*, the ARRA provides this funding to the *Race to the Top Fund*, a "competitive grant program" designed to incentivize the creation of optimal conditions for "educational innovation and reform", with an emphasis on "gains in student improvement, closing the achievement gap, improving high school graduation rates, and ensuring student preparation for success in college and careers (US5, p. 2). In many circles, it was viewed as a response to the both the perceived failings and the criticisms levelled against the antecedent national policies, and specifically *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB). Previous grant programs, which automatically allocated funds on the basis of need, provided state and district funding automatically (Beam and Conlan, 2002 in McGuinn, 2012, p. 4) but were usually undone, broken upon the shores of what McGuinn (2012) terms the "50/14,000/130,000 problem in American education reform" (p. 138), where approximately 50 different states and territories, in roughly 14,000 school districts and serving upwards of 130,000 schools are either tasked with agreement, cajoled into participation or sanctioned into compliance. The *Race to The Top*, however, differs from its predecessor in one principle aspect, that being its decision to pursue incentives, rather than sanctions as a mechanism to drive national reform down to the state level.

While not necessarily addressing general funding for education, the RTT represented the use of discretionary funding, particularly noteworthy during the global financial crisis, to compel participation in specific reform directions. Secretary Duncan admits that the financial inducement alone is not at the heart of this policy thrust, but rather that this funding is meant to lever "transformational change" to "be the best of the best" (Duncan, 2009b).

Brief Overview

States applied for funding, for inclusion into the 'race' through, unironically, an assessment against selection criteria and were marked against said criteria— 'graded' (as it were) on a 500 point scale measuring the rigor of their proposed reforms, but especially with regard to their level of adherence to the four key policy areas. In addition to the *Race to The Top Fund*, a separate \$350 million *Race to the Top Assessment Competition* was established to provide "valid and instructionally useful assessments [to] provide accurate information about what students know and can do". ("Race to the Top Assessment Program | U.S. Department of Education", 2010)

Across two funding cycles, RTT received applications from 46 of 50 states, with 40 states applying for the first round (January 2010). The first round 'winners', Delaware (\$100 million) and Tennessee (\$500 million), were joined in the second round by 10 states, of which New York was one. The following section first examines the Areas of Focus before addressing the articulated Priorities.

The Areas of Focus were paraphrased by Secretary Duncan (2009b) as:

- *To reverse the pervasive dumbing-down of academic standards and assessments by states, Race to the Top winners need to work toward adopting common, internationally benchmarked K-12 standards that prepare students for success in college and careers.*
- *To close the data gap -- which now handcuffs districts from tracking growth in student learning and improving classroom instruction -- states will need to monitor advances in student achievement and identify effective instructional practices.*
- *To boost the quality of teachers and principals, especially in high-poverty schools and hard-to-staff subjects, states and districts should be able to identify effective teachers and principals -- and have strategies for rewarding and retaining more top-notch teachers and improving or replacing ones who aren't up to the job.¹⁰*

¹⁰ Weiss points to this as the 'bedrock' of their "human capital agenda"

- *Finally, to turn around the lowest-performing schools, states and districts must be ready to institute far-reaching reforms, from replacing staff and leadership to changing the school culture.*

The four areas of focus are inextricably linked, taking their guidance from the need to compete in the global economy articulated in the first area. Clearly positioning competitiveness in a global economy as the ultimate goal, this first goal can be considered the primary goal, and the remaining three as corollaries. In that education produces a globally competitive workforce, it becomes necessary to create data systems to support its efforts, develop personnel to train this workforce and identify schools which are failing to adequately develop/produce this workforce. This first area makes explicit the connection between education and global economic competitiveness and is clear to prioritise standards and assessments as the specific vehicles towards raising competitiveness in a globalized economy. To this point, Secretary Duncan refers to the RTTT fund as "education's moon shot", referencing the Kennedy administration's space endeavours (while also tangentially alluding to the Space Race generally, and Sputnik specifically), and asserts that the RTTT fund was "by far the largest pot of discretionary funding for K-12 education reform in the history of the United States" (Duncan, 2009a). This competitive rhetoric is also evident in President Obama's 2009 comments about RTTT. He insists that "we used to have the highest graduation rates, we used to be close to the top of the pack in terms of math and science -we are not, now we're in the middle of the pack" (Shear & Anderson, 2009).

Of standards and assessments, Joanne Weiss asserts that they are at "the core of [this] agenda-common, career and college ready standards, and the assessments that measure them-these are the bedrock on which the rest of the reforms are built" (Weiss, 2009, 2). President Obama approached his explanation of RTTT through a rumination on NCLB, opining that "there was a feeling that, number one, the assessment tools that were used were too brittle; number two, that the federal government didn't provide the resources or the best practices to actually achieve those goals" (Shear & Anderson, 2009). His overall comments about NCLB indicate that his administration viewed the legislation as proper, but poorly administered and, perhaps more importantly, lacking either sufficient incentive or punishment to affect change; RTTT, he argued, "put[s] meat on the bones" (Shear & Anderson, 2009). Moreover, Obama adopts a policy position seemingly comfortable with testing as an indication/measure of standards and as a sign of accountability. In this, RTTT is not a significant departure from NCLB, but rather a simultaneous repackaging of its central tenets while refining its delivery mechanism.

Selection Criteria and Scoring Rubric

<i>Selection Criteria</i>	<i>Total Points</i>	<i>Sub-Criteria</i>	<i>Points Allocation</i>
<i>A. State Success Factors</i>	125	<i>(A)(1) Articulating State's education reform agenda and LEA's participation in it</i>	65
		<i>(A)(2) Building strong statewide capacity to implement, scale up, and sustain proposed plans</i>	30
		<i>(A)(3) Demonstrating significant progress in raising achievement and closing gaps</i>	30
<i>B. Standards and Assessments</i>	70	<i>(B)(1) Developing and adopting common standards (40 points)</i>	40
		<i>(B)(2) Developing and implementing common, high-quality assessments</i>	10
		<i>(B)(3) Supporting the transition to enhanced standards and high-quality assessments</i>	20
<i>C. Data Systems to Support Instruction</i>	47	<i>(C)(1) Fully implementing a statewide longitudinal data system</i>	24
		<i>(C)(2) Accessing and using State data</i>	5
		<i>(C)(3) Using data to improve instruction</i>	18
<i>D. Great Teachers and Leaders</i>	138	<i>(D)(1) Providing high-quality pathways for aspiring teachers and principals</i>	21
		<i>(D)(2) Improving teacher and principal effectiveness based on performance</i>	58
		<i>(D)(3) Ensuring equitable distribution of effective teachers and principals</i>	25
		<i>(D)(4) Improving the effectiveness of teacher and principal preparation programs</i>	14
		<i>(D)(5) Providing effective support to teachers and principals</i>	20
<i>E. Turning Around the Lowest-Achieving Schools</i>	50	<i>(E)(1) Intervening in the lowest-achieving schools and LEAs</i>	10
		<i>(E)(2) Turning around the lowest- achieving schools</i>	40
<i>F. General Selection Criteria</i>	55	<i>(F)(1) Making education funding a priority</i>	10
		<i>(F)(2) Ensuring successful conditions for high-performing charters and other innovative schools</i>	40
		<i>(F)(3) Demonstrating other significant reform conditions</i>	5

Table 8: Selection Criteria and Priorities, Adapted from Race to the Top Executive Summary (2009)

The 'scores', as shown in Table 4, while seemingly arbitrary in their specific point allocation, provide quantitative emphasis upon areas of significance, and serve to provide a measurement of their worth- an *authoritative allocation of value*, in truth- and indicating the implicit problem representation. The highest values are assigned to Reform Criteria D, "Great Teachers and Leaders" criterion (138 points), within which lies the second-highest valued sub-criterion, "Improving teacher and principal effectiveness based on performance" (58 points) (Exec Sum 3). Overall, the most valued sub-criterion is "Articulating State's education reform agenda and LEAs' participation in it" (65 points), the first sub-criteria within State Success Factors (US5, p. 3).

The 'least-valued' sub-criterion reveals that some of these valuations stand in stark contrast to the articulated importance of their overarching criteria and give indication of ulterior purpose. Of note, within the criteria of General Selection Criteria, (F)(1) *Making education funding a priority*,

only garners 10 points (p. 3), a striking diminution when considered that the RTTT is regarded as a funding policy intervention. Moreover, it indicates that the provision of adequate funding, while nominally appreciated, is viewed as, at best, the third most valued criteria (by virtue of the point allotments) in the development and implementation of educational reform. When juxtaposed against the value placed upon the subsequent criteria, (F)(2) *Ensuring successful conditions for high-performing charter schools and other innovative schools* (40 points), it is clear that the *Race To The Top Fund*, while operating within the parameters of Funding as an operative mechanism of educational reform, does not value funding as a suitable or effective mechanism of reform. What, then, does the Race to the Top Fund value?

A closer examination of this criteria D reveals some noteworthy valuations. This 'appraisal' clearly indicates that 'winners' of this race are chosen according to their demonstration of the application of performance-based evaluation of teachers and principals as well as the articulation (and subsequent implementation by LEAs) of the state's reform agenda. Within this criteria, the 14-point value of Improving the effectiveness of teacher and principal preparation programs, sub-criteria (D)(4), is markedly lower than that of (D)(1) *Providing high-quality pathways for aspiring teachers and principals* (21 points) or (D)(5) *Providing effective support to teachers and principals* (20 points) (p. 3).

Similarly, within Criteria B, *Standards and Assessments*, sub-criterion (B)(2) *Developing and implementing common, high-quality assessments* also garners only 10 points, while its other sub-criterion, (B)(1) *Developing and adopting common standards* and (B)(3) *Supporting the transition to enhanced standards and high-quality assessments*, receive 40 and 20 points, respectively (p. 3). This comparative valuation further indicates the direction of this policy thrust, taking aim at the motivation, or the will to engage in and effect specific reform objectives.

Summary

While classified as a policy concerned with funding, RTTTs comprehensive nature not only raises questions regarding its possible misclassification, but also proves challenging to ascertain its specific policy thrust. In one sense, it problematizes educational capacity, which McGuinn (2012) articulates as the need for educational resources which inform and support better interventions, while also problematizing "political will" (p. 5) or the ability to engage identified agents of what Secretary Duncan scornfully derides as the "status quo" (2009b). When viewed contextually, against the specific backdrop of the global financial crisis, this ambivalence is less striking.

The *Race to the Top* problematizes the very purpose of education and of educators, initiating a reconceptualization of education as a competition requiring accountability mechanisms to correct its previous missteps and steer its proper course. Obama, Weiss, Duncan and McCluskey, either directly or tangentially, address "politically powerful interest groups" as impediments to comprehensive educational reform. While Obama massages his comments regarding teachers unions and the "cynical view, oftentimes ideologically driven, that says teachers unions inherently are going to be opposed to reform[s]" (in Shear & Anderson, 2009, p. 3), his Educational Secretary, Arne Duncan, is less diplomatic in his assessment. He editorializes upon his displeasure with "system[s] often serv[ing] the interests of adults better than [its] students" (2009a).

Coupled with an ever-present, competitive rhetoric, this mien informs the view that the *Race to the Top* aims to address educational capacity as informed by political will to engage challenges to reform, and in proposing such a program during a period of economic anxiety, circumvents the arguments by relying on the exigency of financial insecurity to propel participation. In that the sum is nominal to total educational expenditure, it manufactures competition through the proposal of a conditional benevolence, a regulated autonomy. A clear, material effect of this program can be seen the number of applications for funding, which would indicate, at least initially, that this policy is successful in its efforts, especially if measured by the reformation of state systems in pursuance of these funds.

The *Race to the Top* problematizes the very purpose of education and of educators, initiating a reconceptualization of education as a competition requiring both competitive and accountability mechanisms to correct its previous missteps and steer its proper course.

5.3.5. School Improvement

The *Teacher Incentive Fund* (TIF) is yet another policy thrust without a specific policy. It is neither legislative, nor is it concerned with data and research, as according to the United States Department of Education parlance. Originally established by the US Congress in 2006 as a competitive grant program through an Appropriations Act, the *Teacher Incentive Fund* is an incentivised human capital management and development strategy which leverages financial remuneration as a vehicle to both develop, appraise and recruit educators. Its continued funding through the American Reinvestment and Recovery Act (ARRA) in 2009 links it to the *Race to the Top* Program, itself an outgrowth of the sweeping economic stimulus package

instituted by President Barack Obama amidst the Global Financial Crisis. With the 2015 Reauthorization of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)*, the *Every Student Succeeds Act*, or ESSA, the *Teacher Incentive Fund* was renamed the *Teacher and School Leader Incentive Grants Program*.

Its initial iterations aimed to impact teacher and principal effectiveness, or quality, in "high-need schools" (Chiang et al., 2017 p. xxi) solely through financial incentives, but the TIF is now focused upon the development, retention and support of a "high-quality educator workforce" (Miller et al., 2015, p. 2). In furtherance of this, the program implements "multiple- measure educator evaluation systems that [form] the basis of a coherent human capital management structure that inform[s] decisions on hiring, induction, professional development, compensation, and retention" (Miller et al., 2015, p. 2).

This following analysis proceeds through a consideration of The Evolution of the Teacher Incentive Fund Program, the Teacher Incentive Fund webpage and the Executive Summary to the Evaluation of the Teacher Incentive Fund: Final Report on Implementation and Impacts of Pay-for-Performance Across Four Years. The first two documents are produced by the United States Department of Education, while the final is a commissioned report by the USDOE. This analysis of a website does not require a hypermodal analysis as its contents are merely informative; they do not constitute, by any measure, a substantive explication of the policy under consideration.

A WPR Approach begins by "examining what is proposed as change and working backwards to see how that constitutes a problem". Lacking a specific policy proposal and especially the format through which to guide an analysis, this examination approaches the determination of a problem representation through the seminal questions of a WPR approach, and especially those germane to the first lens: What is the *Teacher Incentive Fund* and What, specifically, does it propose or implement?

The original aim of the Teacher Incentive Fund was to "ensure that students attending high-poverty schools [had] better access to effective teachers and principals, especially in hard-to-staff subject areas" (*Teacher Incentive Fund*, 2012). It sought to maximise the efficacy and reach of incentivized "human capital strategies" to "enhance and sustain performance-based compensation, ... to increase students' access to effective educators in high-need schools, and to expand the array of promising approaches that can help these educators and other personnel succeed" (*Teacher Incentive Fund*, 2012). Notably, the TIF provided funds to states,

school districts as well as charter schools across the United States, disbursing approximately \$1.8 billion across the four rounds of the program.

Between 2006, 131 grantees in 4 cohorts between 2006 and 2012 received TIF grants:

- Cohort 1, awarded in 2006, included 16 grantees that served schools in 29 states;
- Cohort 2, awarded in 2007, included 18 grantees that served schools in 13 states and the District of Columbia;
- Cohort 3, awarded in 2010, included 62 grantees serving schools in 27 states; and
- Cohort 4, awarded in 2012, included 35 grantees serving schools in 18 states and the District of Columbia. (Miller et al., 2015, p. 2)

In its first 2 years, or cohorts, of the program, recipients were required to develop "performance incentives", and specifically "differentiated" compensation systems "based on student achievement as measured by standardized test scores" (Miller et al., 2015, p. 2). Within the initial cohorts, these incentives usually took the form of stand-alone performance bonuses and, crucially, neglected a professional development component to better integrate its objectives. The third iteration took a more systematic approach, with three "absolute" requirements:

To satisfy the requirements of this iteration of the grant, applicant authorities were required to, first, develop a performance-based compensation system (PBCS) based on differentiated levels of performance, a staple of every round of TIF. These new recipients developed a differentiated system of incentives, with some educators receiving 5 percent of the average salary in performance pay, while others received up to three times that amount- all based upon a specified evaluation system based upon student performance. The second requirement required locating additional forms/sources of funding in a demonstration of long-term, or a "local" commitment to this reform initiative.

The last of these absolute requirements involved integrating these proposed PBCS's within existing strategies governing the use of "data and evaluations for professional development". This shift in later iterations of the program is, according to the Department of Education, based on research indicating that "coherent and integrated systems with mutually reinforcing initiatives are more sustainable and effective at strengthening the educator workforce" (Heneman & Milanowski, 2011, in Miller et al., 2015, p. 2).

The fourth round of the TIF stipulated that recipients develop an "integrated human capital management system (HCMS) that used evaluation data to inform personnel decisions such as recruitment, hiring, placement, retention, dismissal, compensation, tenure, and professional development (Federal Register, 2012 in Miller et al., 2015, p. 2). This forced recipients to demonstrate how evaluative data were used to make decisions. Recipients also had to create a three-tiered, summative rating system measuring student growth for teachers which could be implemented in all schools (both participating and non-participating) by the close of the grant period. This fourth iteration also presented two PCBS models: an additional pay model for teachers rated effective or high and for teachers and principals who took on additional responsibilities.

Most grant receiving educational authorities initially based their evaluations of effectiveness upon observations and readily available student achievement data. Although the stated preference of the DOE was for evaluations to be based upon statistical indicators like value-added models (VAM), most districts opted instead for "school- or grade-level student growth measures instead of classroom-level or individual growth measures", which led to group awards, where all teachers in school, for example, would be awarded bonuses based upon the effectiveness of their peers (Miller, 2015, p. 5).

Theory of Action

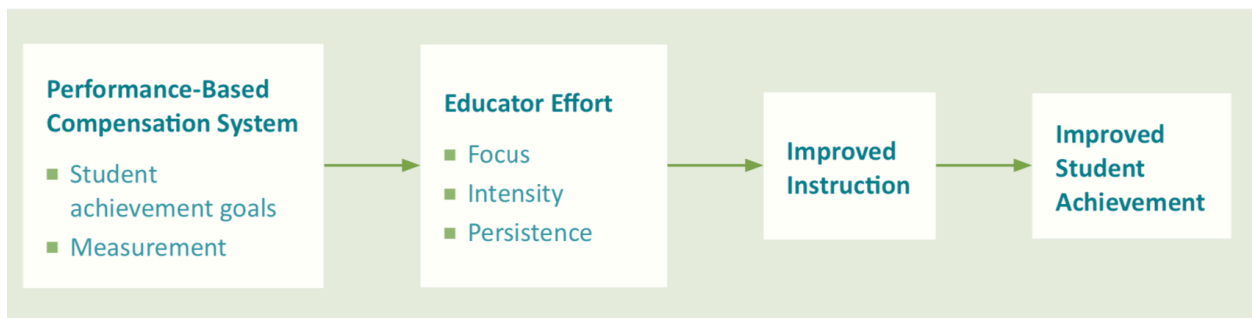


Figure 24: Theory of Action- Motivation

The *Teacher Incentive Fund* is based upon a theory of action (see Figure 24), an operational logic, as it were, centred upon the provision of a motivational, extrinsic incentive in order to impact teacher (and thereby) student performance. This, of course, presupposes a lack of intrinsic motivation within teachers in high-need school districts, while also ignoring any social/environmental or systemic (e.g., the overall state of teacher compensation, or even school infrastructure) issues within these schools, districts or states. The oversimplification of this relationship, that of student achievement to teacher motivation, while ignorant of the

various factors influencing student achievement, either assumes that performance pay, alone, will improve educator motivation or that educators recruited, retained or trained through such a system are in any way concerned with student achievement, or even students, rather than the potential bonus.

Furthermore, an examination of the TIF's *Human Capital Management Logic Model*, Figure 25, exhibits similar logics bound by specific assumptions. Notably, students are absent from almost all aspects of the logic model, as are any steps to address environmental, social or systemic issues.

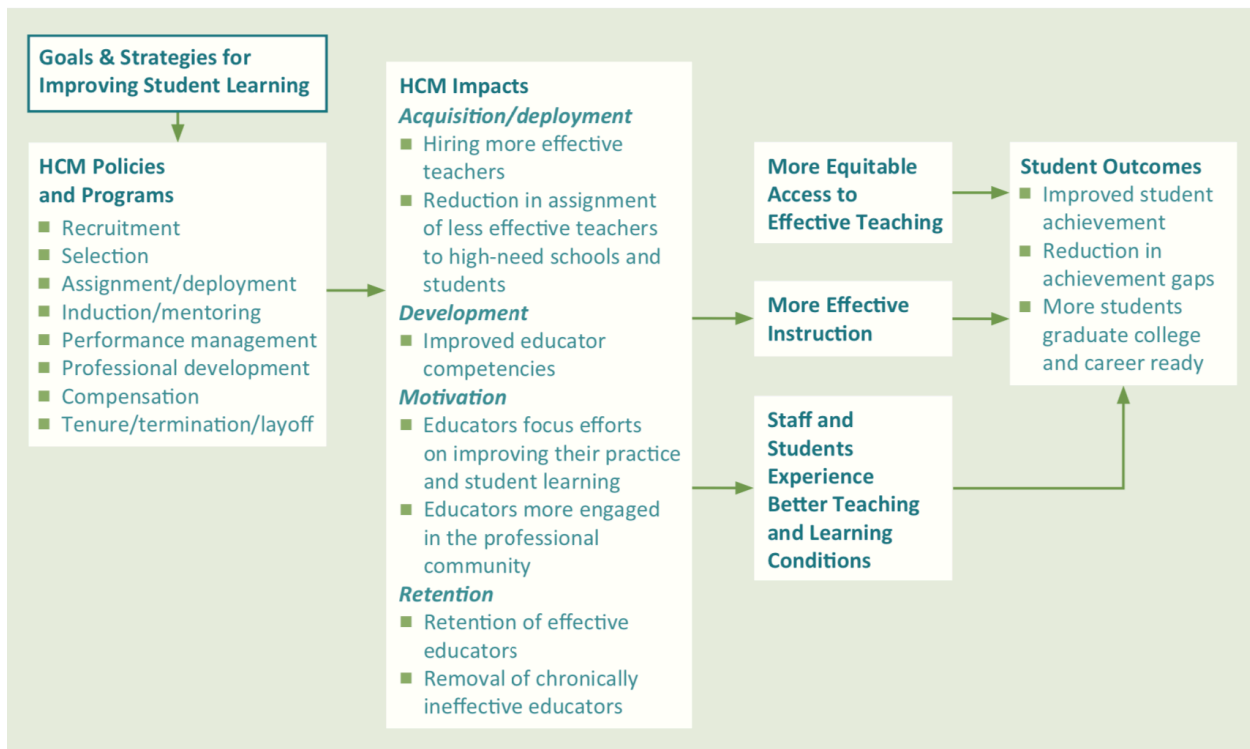


Figure 25: Human Capital Management Logic Model, *Evolution of the Teachers Incentive Fund*, p. 4

The three, key goals of this model, providing "more equitable access to effective teaching", "more effective instruction" and "staff and students experience Better Teaching and Learning Conditions", rely on, again, quantitative measurements of student achievement. This, of course, calls into question the concept of effective teaching, as performance on standardized tests, alone, cannot indicate learning.

Summary

Although teacher effectiveness seems the main goal of this program, the Teacher Incentive Fund is an extended exercise in attempted behavioural modification, problematizing teacher quality by addressing what is seen-although never explicitly articulated- as poor teacher motivation as a means to establish specific human capital management systems in pursuance of other, larger reform efforts. It fails to account for the various factors which may impact upon schools and classrooms, while opting for an economic, though static, approach to a dynamic social system.

5.3.6. Equity and Quality

The OECD EPO Policy Explorer identifies only one US policy initiative as concerned with Equity and Quality, *PreSchool Development Grants*. However, this research specifically focused its attentions on policies with the widest impact, those targeting primary and secondary schooling, while also avoiding policies concerned with pre-primary, post-secondary/tertiary or post-compulsory education. The *PreSchool Development Grants* fall into this excised category. Such excised policies become superfluous to an examination of the relationship of educational reform policy to educational inequality within primary and secondary schools. That being said, the argument can be made for any of the reauthorizations of ESEA as indicative of policies concerned with *Equity and Quality*. Specifically, *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB) focuses its efforts on *Equity and Quality*, and the ESSA's re-articulation of NCLB's policy priorities also informs efforts within this lever. From *No Child Left Behind* a problematization for this policy lever can be identified, while also providing considerable background information regarding the evolution of American educational reform policy.

5.3.6.1. No Child Left Behind

Purloining its title from Marian Wright Edelman's Children Defense Fund, President George W. Bush's *No Child Left Behind* (2001) met limited resistance in its passage through the US Congress, owing primarily to the Bill's proximity to the September 11th terrorist attacks and the subsequent Congressional comity. NCLB can be rightly considered the apogee of American reform efforts, combining all of the disparate policy priorities which found limited purchase within previous policy efforts, and further refining their articulations and plans for implementation. It is identifiable not only through its clear emphasis on measurement and standards, but especially its articulation of accountability through penalties and market-based options.

Unlike the original ESEA, which prioritized fighting poverty as part of Lyndon B Johnson's "Great Society", this reauthorization of the 1965 ESEA Act proposes to "close the achievement gap with accountability, flexibility, and choice, so that no child is left behind" (the full title of the Act). This analysis, then, focuses its attentions on those aspects of its ten titles most aligned with *Equity and Quality*.

Built upon what Dianne Ravitch (2010) termed the "secular gospel" in American education, that of a dearth of accountability for states, districts, schools, principals and teachers (and especially students), NCLB proposes a system of accountability bound to punishments and rewards, and holding educational authorities, namely local educational agencies, and public elementary and secondary schools, accountable for achievement as specified by adequate yearly progress (NCLB, Title I, Part A, SubPart 1, Sec. 1111, 2.A.).

Based on the remarkable, though questionable, successes of Texas' educational reforms (see Ravitch 2010; NCLB was a national version of Texas reform efforts), NCLB's formula proposed uniformity in standards of achievement for all students and holding schools accountable for meeting them; this version of educational accountability, it would seem, had teeth. Title I of the Act, renamed as "Improving The Academic Achievement Of The Disadvantaged", offers a Statement of Purpose for NCLB, "to ensure that all children have a fair, equal, and significant opportunity to obtain a high-quality education and reach, at a minimum, proficiency on challenging State academic achievement standards and state academic assessments" (Sec. 1001). It lists 12 actionable items through which to achieve its aims, of which only 3 can be rightly considered as directly (and solely) addressing equity: (2) "meeting the educational needs of low-achieving children in our Nation's highest-poverty schools"; (3) closing achievement gaps, especially those "between minority and nonminority students, and between disadvantaged children and their more advantaged peers"; (5) distributing funds towards areas of greatest need". The remainder of these speak directly to quality, and further appries the notion that quality informs equity. Among these quality-specific items, #4 stands as the most remarkable, and indicate of this reform intervention:

(4) holding schools, local educational agencies, and States accountable for improving the academic achievement of all students, and identifying and turning around low-performing schools that have failed to provide a high-quality education to their students, while providing alternatives to students in such schools to enable the students to receive a high-quality education

The notion of using test score data to compare schools against each other (and against a standard) was meant to counter the notion that some children could (or could not) learn,

thereby identifying the culprits of educational underperformance as the practitioners and practices, rather than children and parents. Central to this performative liability (for, indeed, that is what NCLB proposed) is Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP), the yearly measurement of 'progress' for individual schools as determined by not only the evaluation of 'progress' in its standardized assessments, but also the specific progress of identified groups of students.

Originally proposed within the *Improving America's Schools Act* (1994), AYP is a calculation of the percentage of students meeting or exceeding the State's proficient level of academic achievement on the State assessments. For a school to meet the conditions of AYP under *No Child Left Behind*, all subgroups of students, as identified through the specific demographic disaggregation of assessment score data, must be rated proficient or better within state assessments. Failure to meet this requirement for any single subgroup indicates failure for the entire school. While in one sense laudable, the practice of holding the group accountable for the progress of any of its constituent parts, this requirement similarly holds specific groups of students accountable for their progress. This is also predicted on the notion of teacher centrality to such educational achievement. Moreover, and more importantly, it identifies inequity in education as the performative achievement gap, and by omission discounts the environmental (historical, etc.) production of disadvantage. The 'stick' in this policy (for there are, indeed, few carrots), so to speak, is that LEAs are authorized to label a school as in need of improvement for failure to meet AYP for two consecutive years and can initiate a series of escalating actions.

First, the relevant educational authority must "provide all students enrolled in the school [deemed to be failing by AYP] with the option to transfer to another public school served by the LEA, which may include a public charter school, that has not been identified for school improvement" (Title I, Part A, SubPart 1, Sec. 1116, b.1.E.i.). This first possible sanction involves providing a measure of what is essentially school choice, and while perhaps empowering for parents, places the onus for improvement squarely upon the shoulders of teachers and school administrators; any failures are educationally viewed as theirs. Additionally, this sanction effectively abandons public education, delegitimizing its mandate by removing its charter and granting it to a market entity. Here, accountability is putatively held by government, but exercised by parents. The freedom or power implicit in choice notwithstanding, this sanction is particularly noteworthy: allowing students who have not met the prescribed standard to opt into a new school does not address their identified shortcomings, nor does it address the school's deficiencies, whether environmental or self-inflicted. It does, however, distribute the problem within a community or school district/authority.

Failure to meet AYP for a following year triggers a second penalty, whereby the state authorizes the provision of *Supplemental Education Services* (SES), delivering tutoring for students not meeting proficiency. Notably, the relevant LEA must "promote maximum participation by [SES] providers to ensure, to the extent practicable, that parents have as many choices as possible." Although local education authorities can provide these services, they are, in essence required to create the market, as it were, for supplemental services, opening it up to non-governmental providers, including for-profit organisations. Besides the marketisation of educational services occasioned by this penalty, it also delivers an implicit slight to teachers and schools, viewing their educational provision as suspect.

Each level of sanction stipulates the development of school plans detailing a course towards improvement. The plans must "incorporate strategies based on scientifically based research that will strengthen the core academic subjects in the school and address the specific academic issues that caused the school to be identified for school improvement", and must also provide teachers and administrators access to professional development towards addressing the identified failures (Sec. 1116, b.3.A.i).

If these two levels of sanctions fail to provide the necessary impetus to lift achievement, a third consequence is applied to the school, a choice of "corrective actions" from the following list:

- (I) Replace the school staff who are relevant to the failure to make adequate yearly progress.
- (II) Institute and fully implement a new curriculum, including providing appropriate professional development for all relevant staff, that is based on scientifically based research and offers substantial promise of improving educational achievement for low-achieving students and enabling the school to make adequate yearly progress.
- (III) Significantly decrease management authority at the school level.
- (IV) Appoint an outside expert to advise the school on its progress toward making adequate yearly progress, based on its school plan.
- (V) Extend the school year or school day for the school.
- (VI) Restructure the internal organizational structure of the school.

These 'corrective actions' focus the majority of their efforts upon school staff, and when taken in context with the previous penalty, place teachers within the market; these actions can best be characterized as 'supply-side' actions.

Summary

Although enacted to confront what President George W Bush termed the "soft bigotry of low expectations", the belief that "low-income children and children of color are somehow deficient or incapable and cannot achieve at the same level as more economically advantaged White students" (Kantor & Lowe, 2006, p. 483), *No Child Left Behind's* leveraging of *Equity and Quality* proceeds without directly addressing disadvantage, its sources or its manifestation within education. This inability to directly address inequality in education stems from an *a priori* belief that education is seemingly without fault; inequality is recast as the discrepancy in test scores and the presence of achievement gaps. To wit, NCLB poses an insignificant threat to the jurisdictional and systemic arrangements which may, in fact, exacerbate educational inequities. *No Child Left Behind* does, however, evince a *panoptic* quality, recalling the title of Foucault's text, "*Surveiller et punir*", or discipline and punish, emphasising its reliance upon mechanisms of negative reinforcement as its primary incentive.

No Child Left Behind problematizes participation within educational reform through a supply-side strategy focusing its energies on the reformation of human inputs. It establishes accountability mechanisms and protocols aimed at compelling teachers and administrators (which, together, we can term as schools) to raise levels of achievement, although providing no inducement to do so. Instead, failure to meet standards incurs harsh penalties, including the de-registration of schools and entire educational authorities. Its systems of sanctions, best characterized as negative reinforcements, force educators, schools, and leaders to operate within a constant state of positional anxiety within a system of coercive accountability and coerced performance, lest they become subject to any number of 'corrective' measures. Participation also refers to the expansion of the educational market, as its corrective actions invite the provision of educational services through market mechanisms.

Chapter 6.

Policy Rationalities

This chapter examines the results of a WPR analysis of education reform documents through its second lens, or question, which asks: *What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?* Question 2 in the WPR framework is concerned with what can best be termed *archaeological* presuppositions and directs analysis in search of the policy *Assumptions* and *Presuppositions*, *Binaries* (oppositional constructions), *Key Concepts* and *Categories*. Significantly, this aspect of the framework is geared towards uncovering the conceptual logics which facilitate specific styles of problematization/political rationalities (Bacchi, 2009, p. 6), and assessing what this research terms, altogether, as *policy rationalities*.

6.1. Policy Rationalities - Governance

Central to all the policies leveraging governance is an unconditional acceptance of a 'broken' education system, articulated within the policies as (a) insufficient or unsuited to the present economic/competitive landscape; (b) unprofessional and lacking in the appropriate structures and mechanisms to provide proper oversight and/or guidance; and (c) requiring remediation. Collectively, they problematise education, and specifically educational purpose (its direction and goals), structures and overall capacity, asking (and shaping the form of the response to): What is wrong with education? Notably, the identified problematisations within this policy collective directly indicate their conceptual premises, their assumptions and presuppositions. In fact, they can be conceptualized as attempts to insinuate these presuppositions as educational truths.

6.1.1. Assumptions and Presuppositions

In Australian policy, the *Melbourne Declaration* implicates both the flattened earth theory (Friedman, 2005) beloved of alarmist economists and politicians (which, itself presumes a technologically-induced levelling of the global 'playing' field and increased competition for economic success), as well as the assumption that education is (mere) training for a competitive (and international) marketplace, while the *National Education Agreement* operates

under the assumption of this as fact, not once referring to educational 'crises', or any specific failure of educational systems; their impending reformation is presented as a given necessity. In the United States, *A Nation at Risk* (1983) takes a similar stance, employing the educational crisis as the operative exigency compelling the reform of education. It vehemently implicates the technological advancements inherent to the flat earth theory as, along with an unabashed positional anxiety-ideational guides.

The *Melbourne Declaration* and *A Nation at Risk* both emphasise accountability, but the *National Education Agreement* (NEA) directly insinuates an accountability discourse into its consideration of governance. As an intensification and, perhaps, an explanation of the *Melbourne Declaration*, the NEA serves as an appropriate vehicle to further clarify some additional assumptions and presuppositions. It resonates as intimately (or fanatically, one might suggest) concerned with accountability, and especially data collection, retention and dissemination, revealing a preoccupation with performance rather than results, evincing several underlying, though related, assumptions and premises. These include the following:

- * The conflation of participation in education with benefit from education
- * The elevation of data collection to the status of a social "good"
- * The deployment of data as an end, in and of itself, divorced from its usage
- * The view that education, alone, is the proper vehicle to ameliorate social (or educational) disadvantage.
- * The significance of human capital development theory to education, and therefore to economic outcomes.

The NEA seems equally preoccupied with reporting and assumes that the data is appropriate or sufficient to (alone) spur change. Moreover, it does not actually engage the actual process of change, beyond wholesale deconstruction of existing educational structures. In addition, while not necessarily considered within this research, the ESEA Flexibility Program, through its reconsideration of *No Child Left Behind's* accountability protocols, also foregrounds accountability while also assuming that all data are created equal. These presuppositions become further sedimented through the use of a policy rhetoric steeped in determinate representation and rhetorical pathos and are tied to a specific conceptualization of the educational sphere based upon the assumption that education is the mere 'facilitation' of governmental dictate/edict, and altogether can be distilled to two key assumptions: (1)

Education as training for a competitive marketplace and (2), Education as deficient, broken and necessary of remediation.

The specific assumptions identified within this policy lever are tied to a particular conceptualization of the educational sphere based upon the assumption that education is the mere 'facilitation' of governmental dictate/edict, that can be distilled to two key assumptions: (1) Education as training for a competitive marketplace; and (2) Education as deficient, broken and necessary of remediation, which are explained below in more detail.

6.1.1.1. Education as training for the marketplace

Education as a public sector 'problem' is complicated by its multiple goals, or outputs (Dolton 2003). Dixit's (2002) enumeration of the multiple goals of education indicate that though they may not seem outwardly contradictory, they do compete for both resources and (political, and ultimately discursive) attentions within the public consciousness. This premise regards schools as instrumental "training organisations" (Smyth, Down, & McInerney, 2014, p. 114), in service to larger, economic aims. A clear neoliberalisation, it is based, and focuses on, the predictability and control of inputs and outcomes, and can be seen as seeking (ultimately) the standardisation of the student, in line with the neoliberal market imperative that the integrity of the product and its assembly line-education- be maintained. Kemmis et al. (1983) term this a "Vocational/Neo-classical Orientation," whereby "education is primarily understood as preparation for work, whether 'skilled' or 'semi-skilled' labour requiring well known and defined competencies ... or managerial or professional, requiring higher levels of education and abstract, universalized thinking' (p.18). This market "agenda" aspect of neoliberalism has been criticized in education for its rampant managerialism, a hypercritical attention to measurement through competitive testing and the unassailable logic of the necessary restructuring of the teaching profession. This economization of education is distilled from theories of "human capital, lifelong learning and knowledge-based economies into an overarching policy narrative that presents education and training as a primary site of policy intervention to improve, simultaneously, both the wellbeing of individuals and the economic strength of nations"(Groundwater-Smith & Mockler, 2015, p. 142).

Concerned primarily with the formation of human capital, such conceptual (and sociocultural) logics regard education as "the *business* of forming the skills and attitudes needed by a productive workforce - productive in the precise sense of producing an ever-growing mass of profits for the market economy" (Connell 2015, p.186-187; emphasis added) and serve to divorce education from wider, sociological functions. In addressing the "policy rationales for

increased retention to Year 12", Kitty te Riele (2014, p. 151) visualizes the neoliberalisation of education within a matrix, diametrically appositioning societal and individual goals upon the horizontal axis, while similarly positing economic and social concerns along the vertical.

		ECONOMIC			
INDIVIDUAL		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Better preparation for work • Improve economic prospects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce youth unemployment • Increase the national skills base • Increased requirements of the workforce (eg. skills & flexibility) • International economic competitiveness • Increase productivity & efficiency 		SOCIETY
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fulfil individual aspirations • Prepare for full participation in adult life • Personal development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Domestic social well being • Improve society culturally and socially • Increase equity • Benefit to democracy 		
		SOCIAL			

Figure 26: Matrix of Educational Neoliberalisation (te Riele 2015, p. 151)

Although intended as a visual representation of what she termed "attainment policies", it stands as an accurate encapsulation of the neoliberal educational paradigm and also highlights the operative tensions at the heart of the neoliberalisation of education, represented by the opposed terms, individual vs society and. economic (as an individual pursuit) vs social. The policy link between education and economic productivity is meant to assert the purpose of education as "a means to [first] individual and [then] national prosperity" (Groundwater-Smith & Mockler, 2015, p. 140) , and has found purchase in no less than the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The OECD articulates its mission as furthering "policies and practices that will contribute to a globalized world economy, including education policies, as espoused through its Directorate for Education" (Groundwater-Smith & Mockler, 2015, p. 142). However, te Riele's visualization in Figure 26 denotes a tension in the policy manifestations of educational purpose and also indicate a specific type, or form, of individual prosperity as preferred by (and through) policy. Notably, the *Melbourne Declaration's* goals, and especially their conceptual championing of the operative metaphor "education is a competition", evince this assumption through an incongruous juxtaposition of determinate representation beside competitive issue rhetoric in terms of international testing, ranking and measurement with regards to economic competitiveness (AUS1, p.4). This economic view of education and its processes, though silent in such precise articulation within the *National Education Agreement*, is foregrounded through its centralization of professionalism. Its specified

focus on "employment in a globalized economy" would indicate that the "participation" and "social inclusion" promoted by this Agreement's Outcomes are of a decidedly economic bent (Governments, 2008, p. 5). In fact, both the articulated outcomes and COAG targets begin to lose their democratic lustre, as it were, when viewed through the economic lens of the key objective.

It was in this 'spirit' that former Prime Minister Julia Gillard declared in 2012 that "to win the economic race ... we must first win the education race" (Connell, 2015, p. 183). The keys to these assumptions are not only found in their mere presence within policy, but rather in the assumed acceptance by all who engage within educational policy. This is not to say that as assumptions they are correct, but rather that the premise of acceptance also indicates a manufactured assent to the resulting policy prerogatives.

6.1.1.2. Education as deficient and requiring remediation

This first assumption is present within every policy under consideration, and in its clear neoliberalisation of education, this research regards it as an operative logic of reform policy. This assumption, and its ancillary implication (and activation) of crisis, is present and indicative of the ever-present concern about the results of competitive international testing, "persistently draw[ing] attention to the underachievers, the 'at risk', the nonperformers, the pockets of poverty, the bad schools, the bad families, the undermotivated, the excluded, the failures" (Connell 2013, p.283). It also channels Paolo Friere's "banking concept" of education, which Smyth et al (2014) define as "characterized by a deficit view of students and didactic teaching methods which positions learners as 'objects' rather than 'subjects' and adaptable, malleable beings able to be integrated into the world" (p. 117). Interestingly, while rhetorically aware of students, the policies within these levers are systemically focused on a macro view, and largely ignore students.

This assumption is bound to the neo-liberalised "social construction of crisis" (Slater, 2014, p. 7), where educational policies are promoted through an evocation of crises, "both 'manufactured' and 'naturally occurring'" (2). The crisis of education, its deficiency and necessary remediation, is found in policy within the such warnings as the "rising tide of mediocrity" (US1, 2) conjured by A Nation at Risk, or the "greater demands" placed upon education by "globalisation [and] rapid technological change" (AUS1, p.4) articulated within the Melbourne Declaration.

With regard to the goals of the *Melbourne Declaration*, and the attendant processes initiated by the *National Education Agreement*, this deficit model presumes knowledge to be "fixed" and "pedagogy [to be] limited", and ultimately based on what students need to know (Smyth et al., 2014, pp. 117-118). This deficiency is also evident in the educational gaps (performative, attainment, etc ...) within reform discourse, and in a modern, multicultural society resonates with a hint of nineteenth century Orientalism, although also operative during the present-day engagement with refugees, viewing new arrivals as lacking, and needing remediation. Of note, and critical to the Australian social narrative, are government social policies-including Education, and especially in interactions with Indigeneity: a successive set of directives evincing an "internal colonialism" (Blauner, 1969), aimed at saving them, bringing them out of the Third World and into the First. It is through this concept that educational capacity and will are indicted; a broken system of education implicates a lack of, or a poor adherence to, educational purpose.

6.1.1.3. Fugitive Assumptions

Additionally, however, these problem representations evince three fugitive rationalities, which are operative, though implied or suggested, ideational concepts underpinning significant conceptual logics. One such fugitive rationality, and in this case assumption, is the belief that the problems of modern education are of, or inherent to, education and that while government policy might intervene to address these identified shortcomings, government takes/holds no responsibility for its failures. To wit, governmental intervention is uncomplicated and purely meliorative. This abrogation of responsibility, and especially blame for any shortcomings, is particularly evident within the decontextualised approaches and articulations of disadvantage-and the deafening silence on advantage- observed within these policies. Another such fugitive rationality is the assumption that students have an uncomplicated and uncompromised entrance into the global competition, or even into education. This is, in a word, meritocracy. This fugitive assumption precludes an honest evaluation of the role of advantage (social, financial, institutional) within both education and society. The third and final such assumption is that of education as an autonomous sphere, operating towards its own ends. This is a necessary assumption for the remediation of education, for its reformation.

6.1.2. Policy Binaries

As the identified problem representations are upheld by various assumptions and presuppositions-some explicit, while others implicit, or fugitive-these assumptions and

presuppositions are similarly underpinned by a network of specific binaries. Chief among them are winners vs. losers; individual vs. society; and individual vs. government.

6.1.2.1. Winners vs. Losers

This oppositional construction presupposes that education is a zero-sum game; that China or India should find success in international testing protocols would indicate that Australia or America is losing ... or has, indeed, already lost the educational-cum-economic competition. It should be noted that such a construction would also presuppose that there are expected winners and losers ... (also points to the implicit construction of the category of a white/western supremacy or primacy with regards to not only educational success, but also economic dominance). This binary is directly connected to the flattening of the earth (Friedman, 2005), and to another crucial concept, competition.

6.1.2.2. Individual vs. society / individual vs. government

Although representative of two different binary relationships, these binaries are of sufficient similitude to warrant a simultaneous presentation.

Among the key oppositional constructs found in ANAR are of the individual v government (roles) in education, a binary which serves to establish the role of government as redirecting the education system towards, ironically, an approach to education guided by its own goals. This binary only functions if the individual represents teachers or other educational policy actors and if education is seen as functioning in opposition to governmental aims. An individual v society binary reconceptualizes the individual (in this case, the student and his/her efforts) within education as serving the nation. Its appeals to citizenship and civic virtue notwithstanding, individual achievement becomes national achievement, a tangential recapitulation of the liberal neologism, "a rising tide lifts all ships". This binary is particularly evident within the *Melbourne Declaration* and *A Nation at Risk* and is counted in the rhetorical pathos of determinate representation, and especially the goals of the *Melbourne Declaration*. Together, these binaries are indicative of the individualism at the heart of neoliberalism, which Ball (2008) considers as "[denying] "the primacy of human relationships in the production of value, in effect erasing the social" (p. 22; in Salter 2013, p. 17). They also refer to an overarching binary relationship, one between rational and humanistic perspectives on education and simply expressed as top-down (managerialism) vs bottom-up (professionalism) (Kovačević, Rahimić, & Šehić, 2018, p. 379). The rational aspect of the binary espouses a primacy of the individual as the primary avenue towards economic, and thereby social, successes or

productivity. Kovacevic et al. (2018) characterize this position within the binary as marked by rationality, hierarchy, centralization, tight control and accountability (p. 379), which together directly implicate a managerial mien, emphasising management for individual success, or for the creation of human capital, the avatar (and ultimate goal) of which would be considered *homo oeconomicus*. Its oppositional position, in contrast, is occupied by a humanistic perspective which, in education, emphasizes a "bounded rationality" (March and Olsen, 1975, in Kovacevic, 2018, p. 379), an awareness of the complexity of this system and its actors, and especially with regards to the .

6.1.3. Key Concepts and Categories

The Key Concepts examined within this section represent the most salient of those distilled from this analysis.

6.1.3.1. Lack

Directly implicated within the identified problem representations as well as the central assumption of the deficiency of education, the concept of lack pervades every aspect of policy within this lever and is arguably fundamental to the enterprise of reform. Lack denotes deficiency and want, and within education further denotes an absence that implicates educational reform as being more than a rehabilitative enterprise, but a formative or constructive process intended to *create* that which is absent. Crucially, the concept of lack also underpins the perception of educational crisis which, in the inability to recognize few (if any) positive results in and from education, allows education to become synonymous with this concept; education becomes positioned as fatally flawed, and the pervasiveness of this concept allows for an acceptance of the necessity for meliorative mechanisms and processes. Beyond its implication within this lever's problematisations, lack also figures prominently within subsequent key concepts in that they are articulated as the objects of lack. These objects, then, become the focus of reform, problems in need of solutions. The first of these objects is accountability and transparency, two separate ideas often conflated within policy.

6.1.3.2. (The lack of) Accountability and/or transparency

Within the policies concerning governance, the concept of accountability, and specifically its lack, speak to the idea that education operates towards its own ends and lacks sufficient oversight. It operates primarily as an ideation concerning educational control. This accountability also speaks to the positioning of government as the principal within a principal-agent relationship (Goldspink, 2003; 2016; Hess, 2003; Moe, 2002), and indicates the attention to

accountability as an effort to wrest control of this dynamic in an effort to galvanize public and political will towards educational change. Specifically, it represents the argument for a top-down accountability (or control) model, built on the presupposition of its absence, or lack of the necessary perspectives with regard to personnel, i.e. professionalism.

The importance of the accountability underscoring these identified problematizations lies in the discursive establishment and sedimentation of *Principal Agent Theory* (PAT), or Agency theory, and especially its attendant conceptualizations of specific principal-agent accountability relationships as an answer to the problem of a broken and directionless educational system. Originating within the field of economics (see Eisenhardt, 1985, 1989), Principal-Agent Theory presents a structure through which to understand and structure "relational phenomenon" (Macias, 2017, p. 16) between agents, seen here as personnel (teachers, schools etc.), and principals, which idealistically are societies, but in practice are governments. De Laine (1997) characterizes it as a contractual relationship, which Goldspink (2003) qualifies as being bound by the "(neo-classical) assumption that each of the parties will work to maximise *their own* benefits (in Goldspink, 2003, p. 8, emphasis added).

Fearon (1999) characterizes the accountability relationship at the heart of a classical Agency Theory model as "one person, A (the agent), is accountable to another B (the principal), if two conditions are met. First, there is an understanding that A is obliged to act in some way on behalf of B. Second, B is empowered by some formal institution or perhaps informal rules to sanction or reward A for her activities or performance in this capacity" (p. 55). Crucially, this relationship assumes a power imbalance, where the principal "inhabit[s] an authoritative role or position, while the agent a subordinate" (Macias, 2017, p.16).

When considered with regard to the policies under consideration however, this classical relationship cannot stipulate who (or what) the principal actor may be; these policies alternately position either government, education or even the competitive health of the economic system as the principal actor for whom reform is initiated. Additionally, these policies presuppose the motivations and interests of educational agents, but more specifically, insinuate that government, its principals, alone act with the interest of education in mind. More importantly, the assumption of education as deficient, as lacking in direction and an appropriate, market-oriented purpose, presumes a new, alternate power imbalance within the principal-agent, or PAT relationship: If A represents the educational agent and P represents principals, the traditional principal-agent relationship can be depicted as $P \rightarrow A$, where the directionality indicates the source of 'power' within this relationship. The assumption of a loss

of control recontextualises the relationship as A→P to characterize the loss of control, the lack of accountability.¹¹

Two of the three policies considered within this policy lever, specifically the *Melbourne Declaration* and *National Education Agreement*, explicitly articulate the importance of accountability and/or transparency within their policy thrusts, while *A Nation at Risk* only tangentially implicates its importance. Australian policies operationalise accountability as an ideational and material concept throughout the considered federal policy documents. The *Melbourne Declaration*, although only directly referencing accountability as the final item within its *Commitment to Action* (AUS1, p. 4), posits that the clarifying performatives within the *Commitment* serve as accountability mechanisms to ensure that Australia achieves its overall educational goals. In essence, this *Commitment to Action* binds governments (states) and schools to the course of action identified within the Declaration, holding the resulting 'data' as evidence of success or failure.

Data, and especially its provision, are essentially posited as the key mechanism of accountability, and its provision for public dissemination as transparency. Notably, however, while the *Melbourne Declaration* stipulates the role of the federal government with regards to this data, chief among them the evaluation of the performance of schools (p. 17) -itself an accountability role- (p. 17), it simultaneously indicates that "governments" (here, indicating states) "are [also] accountable for the decisions they take" , that "schools are accountable for the results they achieve with the public funding they receive" - without ever indicating to whom they are accountable (p. 17). Although these statements are placed within a section entitled "for the community", this concept of community seems varied and indistinct. Similarly, the *National Education Agreement* employs almost identical language to address accountability within its Policy Directions (AUS3, 4), Performance Indicators and Benchmarks (AUS3, 7) and its creation of Reporting frameworks (AUS3, A-15). While *A Nation at Risk* never specifically refers to accountability, the crisis-laden metaphor of the "rising [tides] of mediocrity" and its implication of impending disaster speak to a need for action, for direction and control.

6.1.3.3. Competition

Competition also manifests as an attitudinal disposition, one evinced by *A Nation at Risk*'s railing against the loss of status with regards to a forgone "unchallenged [educational] pre-

¹¹ Appendix C explores the Principal-Agent relationship as indicated by educational reform

eminence" (US1, p. 7). This mien regards other countries as "competitors" (p. 7), and education becomes an investment in the pursuit of regaining a competitive advantage within a global competition. Competition is not only a sole key concept but is also a seminal ideation within many of the problematisations within this research. Also expressed as *education is a competition*, the policies within this lever are clear in their utilization of this concept, which can most readily be found within the repeated references to educational rankings and positional status—a positional anxiety. In this, competition is inextricable from the previous concept of lack, whereby it is the lack of competitiveness (and perhaps an inability or refusal to see education as a competition) which prevents substantive action to stand both countries amongst the "world's highest performing school systems"(AUS1, p. 5). Competition also manifests as an attitudinal disposition, as evinced by *A Nation at Risk's* railing against the loss of status with regards to a forgone "unchallenged [educational] preeminence" (US1, p. 7). This mien regards other countries as "competitors" (p. 7), and education becomes an investment in the pursuit of regaining a competitive advantage within a global competition. As such, competition also identifies another key concept, that of the flattening of the earth.

6.1.3.4. Flat earth, or the flattening of the earth

This concept is built on a Jeffersonian adage stating that "merchants have no country". While certainly a fitting motto for any of the various historical manifestations of globalisation, its present temporal purchase is particularly salient, serving to reinforce a globalization predicated upon economic integration, the disruption of traditional models, methods and (especially) locations of industry and innovation. The flat earth theory, or the flattening of the earth, refers to Thomas L. Friedman's contention that globalization has entered a third phase—which he terms Globalisation 3.0—where the playing field between established and emerging markets has been levelled, flattened, and marked by the democratization of the distributive tools of both communication, commerce and innovation. In alarmist tones, Friedman asserts that "whatever can be done, will be done" (Friedman, 2008). The question, he asserts, is whether things will be done "by you, or to you" (Friedman, 2008).

While this 'theory' can sometimes seem an obvious indication of the access to cheaper labour afforded by globalisation, Friedman's thesis, expanded upon within "The Earth is Flat" (2005), is that this flattening of the world creates access to heretofore unseen pools of labour, thereby intensifying competition for jobs, and elevating the development of necessary (and market-ready) skills through education to an absolute priority. This concept is, in truth, its own presupposition, but is also imbricated by (or within?) such concepts as education as a competitive enterprise, and especially education as a market. The bleak picture he paints—and

is intimidated by this flattening of the earth- encapsulates the competitive exigency at the heart of this concept, one which powers these problem representations. Amongst the policies considered by this research, *A Nation At Risk* locates (temporally) the earliest appearance of this key concept, and would seem particularly prescient in its rhetorical contention, reproduced here, that "the world is indeed one global village ... [where] we compete for international standing and markets, not only with products but also with ... ideas" (US1, 9). The *Melbourne Declaration* makes use of this concept to preface its policy thrust, particularly foregrounding international mobility and technological advance as typifying the new millennium (AUS1, p. 4), pointing to the "growing ... influence" of "India, China and other Asian nations" (p. 4). The NEA's focus on participation in a globalized economy further supports this analytical assessment. This concept imbricates and amplifies a number of tangential concepts, namely competition and positional anxiety, which can be considered another articulation of precarity. While Friedman's (2005) articulation of the "flattening of the earth" may seem novel or ground breaking, this concept is at its core a foundational neoliberalism and tied directly to the post-Sputnik anxieties indicative of the spread of neoliberalism in Western countries.

6.1.3.5. Reform

This final concept is marked by both its ubiquity as well as its comprehensive nature. Educational reform, here, speaks not only to its familiar connotative implication within education, that of refashioning educational structures or systems for efficacy, referring to the various readjustments, realignments and reconceptualisations necessary to address the presumed failures of education, but also to the re-formation of the system itself- its purposes, directions and social expectations. These rationalities require the re-formation of relationships and conceptions of education, of the role of the individual within education, and especially the positionally implicit to a specific principal-agent relationship. When viewed through the implied deficiency of lack, reform also implicates the absence of specific actors (and their particular approaches to education), as well as the formation of specific mechanisms to impel educational change. This final concept speaks not only to its familiar connotative implication within education, that of refashioning educational structures or systems for efficacy, but also to the re-formation of the system itself- its purposes, directions and social expectations. When viewed through the implied deficiency of lack, it also implicates the absence of specific actors (and their particular approaches to education), as well as the formation of specific mechanisms to impel educational change.

6.2. Policy Rationalities: Evaluation and Assessment and Funding

Whereas policies concerned with governance evince the mindset that educational reform in the new millennium is bound to an intransigent appraisal of education as inherently flawed and requiring wholesale reformation, the collective problematization presented through policies within the *Evaluation and Assessment* lever address a hybridized focus upon transparency and accountability, as well as educational structure or formation. Policies addressing funding devote their attentions to educational capacity, or will, and especially political will. While together they address what they collectively identify as wrong, or missing in education, they also present the desired mechanisms of educational reform, building upon both previous assumptions, key concepts, oppositional constructs and categorical necessities. Due to the number of policy assumptions and rationalities evident within this policy collective, as well as their complexities, the following analysis of, first, assumption and presuppositions and, secondly, policy binaries are organised by policy lever, first examining the premises underpinning policies concerned with *Evaluation and Assessment*, and then *Funding*. Key Concepts, however, are jointly considered, while this policy collective presents no Categories for analysis.

6.2.1. Assumptions and Presuppositions - Evaluation and Assessment

The identification of a processual patterning of problem representations also extends to its assumptions as well, in that they both use and capitalize upon previous assumptions and presuppositions while also insinuating their own, policy-specific, discursive premises. Within the policies addressing Evaluation and Assessment, the assumptions and presuppositions implicit to specific policy proposals can be characterized as obvious, but more importantly, as informing one, key conceptual premise, that the mechanisms of accountability and transparency initiated through these policy interventions-the derivation and aggregation of data and its public dissemination to (and for) parents- will induce competition in education, which must, in turn, instigate increased performance in schooling. This key premise is built upon the following assemblage of premises:

6.2.1.1. Education is lacking in accountability (NAPLAN)and/or transparency (MySchool) mechanisms; or both (Goals 2000, America 2000 and the IASA).

These assumptions are those 'obvious' premises implied by specific policy thrusts and are built and dependent upon a structure of interconnecting (and reinforcing) premises. However obvious these premises may seem, policies in both countries first, assume the presence of a clear and consistent accountability relationship between education's presumptive principals

and agent, and also that education operates without proper or effective oversight. Testing becomes the primary instrument of accountability, and as a dividing practice, identifies the winners and losers. The enforced publicity for these measures, for this data, then provides the presupposed transparency.

6.2.1.2. Education is plagued by an informational asymmetry

This conceptual premise takes as yet another 'secular gospel' the absence of school-specific information within the public domain. It also presupposes that schools, and education *tout court*, operate as siloed systems, and, building upon both previous contentions as well the institution of ACARA (to use an Australian example), lack both the methods and structures for effective oversight; the United States similarly embarks on an ambitious federalization of educational provision, its political possibilities (and challenges) notwithstanding. This informational asymmetry denotes an unbalanced power relationship and is built upon the regard of such information as a form of power, of control, whereby the presumed withholding of such data (or the very perception of such activity) indicates an attempt to preserve a specific power dynamic, while the stipulated provision of this information is engendered as a means to impose a performative control.

The question raised by this presupposition is critical to this research: who holds the reins? Is the government meant to stand in control of schooling (its rhetorical distancing notwithstanding), or are parents, the ostensible users of these Australian sites, positioned as steering the 'ship' of education, as holding schools accountable? This assumption of the presence of a power imbalance, while denoting an oppositional relationship between schools and society, also presumes a specific principal agent relationship, and insinuates that such policies constitute a recalibration of this dynamic through its policy intervention. This recalibration is directed at the principle-agent (P-A) relationship, whereby the assumption of an informational asymmetry presumes the theorized relationship as unbalanced towards the agent, and depicted as $iA \rightarrow P$, where in addition to directionality, the locus of information (i)-or data- indicates the source of 'power' within this relationship. Correcting this imbalance through the institution of accountability and transparency mechanisms recalibrates the relationship through an informed principal (iP) who presumably is in control of education and its (now) accountable agents (a), depicted as $iP \rightarrow a$.

6.2.1.3. The derivation, aggregation and presentation of specific information, alone, increases transparency in education.

This assumption speaks first to the presumed validity of the testing instrument, and then to the assumption that this information, alone, is sufficient to making determinations of school success, thereby aiding in fair comparisons. This presupposition is determined by the limited and myopic information provided through testing and on Australian websites, and raises the question concerning whether this is the only significant information through which to make a determination of success or achievement within schooling. In the case of Australia, this research does not intend to evaluate the veracity of ICSEA scores, for example, or even make any determinations as to the veracity or validity of NAPLAN, but the reconfiguration of the formula in *MySchool 2.0* indicates that this measure of student composition is still a work in progress and not altogether reliable with regards to informing fair or meaningful comparisons. Notably, Australia positions NAPLAN as the official arbiter of school success. Subsequent iterations of *MySchool* (will) include parental satisfaction surveys as a method to hedge against this, but unless a user can compare schools by, say, parental or community satisfaction alone, NAPLAN will stand as the only recognized measure of significance.

So, too, the peripatetic nature of debates over the usefulness, nature and even the contents of testing in the United States indicates the presence of this presupposition. Significantly, American policies circumvent these debates by either offering alternative assessments, or more recently (see RTT, for example) allowing LEAs and States to devise their own assessments, a concession which does not diminish the importance of testing.

6.2.1.4. The competition impelled by this aggregation can/will instigate increased performance in schooling.

This presupposition is an essential aspect to the neoliberalisation of education and is representative of the economization of education. A further presumption made here is that education is, indeed, a market, and subject to the theories and dictates of such environs. The competition, however, is not a solitary contest, but takes place on many levels, and with various actors. Although further explored within policy Binaries, this competition puts various actors within direct opposition: student vs. student, school vs. school.

6.2.1.5. Government is only partially responsible for education

This assumption is first made clear through the accountability relationship established through both Australian and American policies concerning *Evaluation and Assessment* and is further reinforced in the policy lever on Funding. It allows for a decontextualized approach to education to emerge, and, more importantly, like pushing food around a plate, focuses policy interventions upon the restructuring- the reformation- of educational workings without

properly engaging goals or funding. Put into practice, this assumption provides a critical distance for government to operate within education without responsabilising their interventions. However, the PAT relationship indicated by this assumption allows for other educational actors to occupy the position of principal.

6.2.1.6. Fugitive Assumptions

The first of these fugitive assumptions is that the seemingly rhetorical 'control' offered to parents through such mechanisms as school choice and accountability and transparency mechanisms will facilitate objective market functions with regard to education. This conceptual premise is most evident within the American policies, although also particularly salient within the evaluation of the Australian MySchool website. The shifting accountability relationships position parents as informed consumers with the understanding (or assumption) that their decisions will be market-based. Moreover, these decisions, taken collectively, will benefit the entire system.

The additional assumption of education as a decontextualized space indicates the workings of another presupposition, *ceteris paribus*, or all things being equal. This Latin axiom stands as the key premise behind yet another assumption, that of meritocracy, and both operate as key concepts. While the previous assumptions are critical to the conceptual logics concerning this policy grouping, one conceptual premise, that of the belief that parents, as the ostensible users of the sites under consideration, can (1) use this information in its present form, and (2) are capable of making not only informed choices regarding schooling, but accurate ones, as well, assumes that the theories of market principles will not only find purchase in education, but are an appropriate heuristic, as well.

6.2.2. Assumptions and Presuppositions - Funding

Although the identified problematisations within the policies concerning funding present as having differing policy thrusts, they subscribe to similar and linked presuppositions. What, upon the surface, may indicate a divergence within their critical assumptions, further investigation uncovers to be the workings of such conceptual logics, and more importantly, that they operate as reinforcing ideological concepts. The problem representations elicited through the WPR analysis of policies leveraging Funding operate through the assumptions that:

6.2.2.1. Educational Funding is adequate

The presupposition that educational funding is, by and large, adequate for the task of education redirects the issue of funding towards questions of allocation, specific uses and the mechanisms of accountability governing such uses and allocations. The establishment of the SRS, much like Foundation funding in the US (in New York State, specifically), while certainly advocating for an increase in funding, proposes an amount that is incommensurable with the overall tenor of educational alarm within Australia. Moreover, it still preserves the marked difference in financial capacity between well-off schools and others. In the United States, the primarily local funding of education, based in large part upon property values and tax bases, is loath to consider such funding imbalances as a result of entrenched social advantage, and pointedly avoids any engagement of these arrangements. This assumption, then, limits conversations on educational funding to questions such as, "Where should it go?", and "Who receives it?", rather than "Is this enough?"

This assumption's simple logic directs a conversation on funding allocation predicated upon the tacit notion that educational funding is both finite and adequate, an idea at stark odds with the policy rhetoric extolling the importance of education amidst a general tenor of positional anxiety. Additionally, the application of this limited funding is sufficient to achieve the lofty goals implicated through reform policy. Simply put, the conversation on funding centers more upon accountability mechanisms than the full funding of education as a national imperative.

6.2.2.2. Educational funding is an issue of need, rather than entitlement or right.

This assumption is based upon the use of need as a rhetorical canard; need refers to present exigency, rather than material shortfall. This alignment with need allows for its targeted application, a focus upon how funding is used, as opposed to whether it is sufficient for the task. It also neatly sidesteps issues of equity by avoiding any mention of the 'size of the pot', so to speak. Perhaps the most alarming aspect of this assumption is its notable effect upon the discursive landscape. This slight re-distribution of funds through an alteration of federal funding formulas (and owing to the unique structure of federal funding to all educational sectors in Australia) reduces 'entitled' funds, applying them to need. While the total sum is not affected, the perception of a new funding imbalance becomes entrenched, and makes funding a new space of contestation, a new educational competition. Further to this, the AEA and NPSI both make their funding allocations contingent upon performative outputs as well as the acceptance of reform initiatives, compelling participation within reform through the control of funding. Within United States policy such 'conditional benevolence' with regards to funding is

a matter of course. Although the funding amounts provided by the federal government are regarded as supplementary, with the Race to the Top their disbursement is similarly tied to performative measures and especially to participation within specific reform initiatives.

6.2.3. Policy Binaries

The following consideration of policy binaries within this policy collective proceeds first through the consideration of two shared policy binaries, then follows with an enumeration of policy binaries arranged by policy lever.

6.2.3.1. Winners vs. Losers

The oppositional construction of winners vs. losers is a recurring binary and its presence here differs from its nationalistic usage within policies concerning governance. Within *Evaluation and Assessment* policies this construction speaks, firstly, to (the possibility of) individual successes and equally individual losses in either the selection of schools via either the MySchool website or via charter selection; and secondly, to the winners and losers identified through testing regimes (which also include individual schools). Within Funding policies, this binary also eschews the nationalistic (and generalized) nature of this binary construction within previous policies, and points to its prospective losers and winners in terms of material capacity, where winners are tacitly endorsed as advantaged.

This binary also endorses the presence of specific key concepts, and beyond the clearly recognizable and expected among them (competition, accountability and measurement/evaluation), the dialectic inherent to this binary intimates the presence of a strong conceptualization of a meritocratic discourse; winners are accorded their position due to hard work, made and not born. However, against the backdrop of competition, or within this competitive *arena*, it indicates the zero-sum nature of educational rhetoric, and a heightened level of positional anxiety.

6.2.3.1.1. Concurrent Federalism vs. Cooperative Federalism

Keating and Klatt (2013) identify cooperative federalism as "dominating" in the United States, whereby the two primary levels of government exist within a 'mutual partnership' (p. 412). By contrast, a concurrent federalism limits such cooperation to specific policy areas, and also limits such federal participation to an ancillary, or complementary position. One could argue that in both Australia and the United States, and within the fiscally austere shadow of the

Global Financial Crisis, the financially induced cooperation between local/state and federal governments within Education stands as a form of concurrent federalism; the federal government's assistance, conditional as it may be, is seen to be a federal incursion into education. However, undue attention upon the financial 'blandishments' offered by federal governments masks their growing influence with regards to the concurrent, or even sole, provision of educational direction, one which places local or state governments and educational agencies at the service of federal funding and educational directions.

The presence of this binary, although hinted at within the policies concerned with educational governance, also indicates the presence of yet another possible principal-agent relationship, an accountability dynamic comprised of multiple, though hierarchical principals: $iP \rightarrow p \rightarrow a$, where iP represents the federal government, p represents states, and a , schools and teachers as educational agents.

The following binaries are indicated by the policies leveraging funding.

6.2.3.2. Entitlement vs. Need

This binary is bound to definitions of need, but also to the politically pejorative connotation implicit to the term entitlement. It operates through a definition of need referring to material shortfalls associated with equitable funding arrangements, and positions funding as a meliorative mechanism. This definition of need is positioned against an entitlement which speaks to (for example) the uniquely Australian arrangement whereby ostensibly private or independent institutions are, along with their government counterparts, entitled to Commonwealth funding. In this sense, entitlement is indicative of a necessary or regularised funding arrangement, a right. However, the term entitlement is also a politically charged term- a subtle epithet- employed to intimate a sense of illegitimacy and unearned largesse. Its usage within the documents suggests that funding is not a right, but perhaps conditional and subject to a political reckoning.

This oppositional construction also assumes a zero-sum situation with regards to funding, and that either approach to funding may be somehow antithetical to the other. It also places the recipients at odds and suggests that choosing one approach would somehow advantage a segment of the population over another, and particularly through the presence of the term entitlement. This binary is especially active within the Gonski Review, which struggles to balance these competing perspectives on funding.

This binary is ultimately symbolic of the challenges of funding indicated within the considered policy documents. It reveals the tension between funding as either a meliorative mechanism, a social right or expectation and as a form of discretionary public spending. This tension is similarly reflected within the subsequent binaries identified within this policy lever.

6.2.3.3. Grant vs. Funding

This binary, most evident within the RTT (but making an appearance within a slew of previous American policy initiatives), recontextualises educational entitlement (in the non-pejorative sense) into grants, which, by definition, imply a power relationship between the grantee and the granting authority. It, again, speaks directly to a *coercive* accountability, to control. The deployment of the term grant, however, also presents the government as decidedly less imperious and more benevolent. However, the terms of the deal represent a *conditional* benevolence, recalling Marginson's regulated autonomy. Positioning educational funding as a grant also implies the finite, or limited, nature of such funds, further underscoring the now competitive aspect of educational funding. It should be noted that Australian education employs grants within its funding mechanism, but they are not significant within the policies under consideration. To wit, this binary, again, highlights the variable usage (and definition) of funding, but also a careful destabilization of accepted definitions and practice so as to engineer a new approach to educational provision.

6.2.3.4. Expenditure vs. Investment

This binary highlights the tension between an economistic framing of education as opposed to its larger social positioning as a government expenditure. The term investment requires careful attention to subsequent return and implies both a conditional relationship to the provision of funding, as well as an accountability relationship between the involved parties upon the receipt of funds—a contractual relationship. Specifically, it implies a relationship whereby government is the principal within a principal-actor accountability relationship. The remaining Binaries are indicated by policies within the lever on Evaluation and Assessment. The first of these oppositional constructions are presented together due not only to their similarity, but especially their association with a competitive discourse within education.

6.2.3.5. School vs. School

Both countries introduce elements of competition within their accountability mechanisms, pitting school against school in competitions for funding and students in addition to positional

rankings. This competitive binary is presumably desirable and emblematic of the desired level of market functionality within education, bound to the economic premise that competition will impel success. However, competition has the ability to produce its own goal displacement (Moe, 2002), whereby the desire and the attendant pressure to "win" becomes the goal of education.

This binary also intimates an oppositional relationship between parents, parents vs. parents. As schools vie for position, so, too, will parents engage in a similar form of jockeying, seeking to gain every advantage for their children in the search for schools in the form of tutors and enrichment programs.

6.2.3.6. Parents vs. School

This binary is indicated by the accountability relationship established through the IASA, whereby parents are presented as holding schools accountable for their progress through the activation of choice. Similarly, ACARA's problematization of informational asymmetry activates the information derived via NAPLAN, for example, and presented through the MySchool website for use by parents in the selection of schools. More specifically, parental pressure becomes a concern for schools, and appropriately primed by discourses of lack, failure within the competitive arena of education, parents become oppositional catalysts for school change.

6.2.3.7. Responsibility vs. Blame

Blame, in this sense, is regarded as a terminable position, whereas responsibility denotes productivity, and a definitive course of action. Though admittedly a cynical appreciation of the presence of these terms within the considered policies, responsibility is presumably granted to the educational principals by society, while agents are assigned the blame. In the terminality of blame, agents are, then, bound to principal direction. This binary is tied to another, that of *educational capacity vs. educational will*, where capacity refers to the material ability to eventuate educational goals, whereas will (inasmuch as it can be determined) speaks to want, desire and motivation. When placed against the tension inherent to accepting responsibility and assigning blame, motivation becomes a target for incentives.

6.2.4. Key Concepts

While research on the neoliberalisation of education has focused its attention on and through the metaphor at the heart of neoliberal policy discourse(s), education is a market, this

endeavour, instead and perhaps as well, finds that this reform grouping employ mutually reinforcing metaphors which, along with accountability, serve to anchor the identified presuppositions and assumptions. It should be noted that the identification of these salient concepts is in addition to those already uncovered through our analysis of governance policies. Specifically, this grouping is again anchored by competition, or education is a competition, and by accountability.

The key concepts within the policy assemblage are varied, although they share considerable overlap. Some concepts, like comparison as transparency or transparency as accountability, are indicative of the specific policy thrusts within the considered initiatives within these levers. Through this preceding discussion of policy rationalities, however, a number of concepts readily emerge, indicating their overall significance to the workings of this policy collective. Additionally, these concepts, through their elucidation within either policy assumptions or binaries, indicate their imbrication within other, overarching concepts.

6.2.4.1. Motivation/Incentivisation

This concept is present within every policy under consideration within these levers and imbricates the concepts of political and educational will. As educational will, particularly evident within the policies on evaluation and assessment, motivation operates as a locomotive force, a catalyst, by first calling into question the commitment of educators and education through [rhetorically] preconceived notions of educational apathy, and then addressing this perceived lack through the recontextualization of education as a competitive arena, whereby the competition for one's job and livelihood becomes a catalyst for reform-an affective mechanism. With regards to funding, when parsed through the lens of political will, the provision of education is cast as a political decision and thereby subject to a purely political calculus. Recasting educational provision as a political rather than educational decision encourages accountability mechanisms intended to establish control rather than solely engender educational success. Additionally, this concept indicates the workings of the PAT relationship, echoing the assertions of Goldspink (2003), Moe (2002) and Hess (2003) as to the educational agent's "motivations for personal gain" (Goldspink, 2003, p. 8), and especially the need to realign the agent's goals with the principal's goals.

Notably, the activation of this concept focuses on individual educational/policy actors, specifically parents, government and education, but is conspicuously absent within an engagement with students. In fact, students are not engaged as a concerned entity in any

substantive manner, which raises the heretofore unaddressed assumption that these levers and their constituent policies are engaged for the benefit of students.

This concept is also related to another key concept, catalyst data. Lingard and Sellar (2013) employ this term to denote "data and indicators that pressure politicians, policy-makers and systems to respond to comparative measures of performance and which have real and multiple effects beyond such measurement" (p. 652). Clearly evident within *Evaluation and Assessment*, surprisingly this concept also finds purchase within policies on Funding, as this data, and the production of it, becomes either the determinant of educational provision or the 'objective' indication of alarm. In that this catalyst data is also engaged as a purportedly objective impetus towards change, it also functions as a catalyst for competition and precarity. The catalysis implied by this concept can also be articulated as motivation, or incentive.

6.2.4.2. Competition

Directly implicated within the previous rationalities, this concept is a seminal ideation within these policy levers. The Australian decision to formalize the structure of its testing approach under ACARA is an effort to raise the national testing profile amongst the international rankings. Similarly, this implication of the flat earth theory is evident within Weiss' (2009) commentary that RTT is specifically aimed at "the reality of preparing our children to compete-not just with kids who live down the block or across town, but with those who live in other States or countries, with students in Singapore, China, India or Denmark" (p. 1). The incessant testing at the heart of *Evaluation and Assessment* is also central to raising international economic competitiveness, operating under the assumption that education is, indeed, a competition (Thompson and Harbaugh, 2013; Rizvi and Lingard, 2010).

The preeminence of testing, moreover, speaks to this concept, and the public aggregation and subsequent dissemination of scores encourages competition and, by extension, its facility as a market mechanism. Its presence within a majority of the policy binaries and presuppositions raises questions as to the effects of competition upon the educational landscape. In that this competition (with regards to *Evaluation and Assessment*) is bound to quantitative measures, does this invite the 'gaming' of the system indicated by Campbell's Law? Does the competition impelled by the rhetorical scarcity of educational funding-for it is, indeed, rhetorical-signal the beginning of the end for free government education?

It is a competition based upon the leverage- the motivation- of self-interest for advantage, and, crucially, the identification of a competition impelled by precarity and motivated by self-interests indicates the workings of an *affective* apparatus.

6.2.4.3. Reform

Reform, again, figures prominently within both levers. Within the Gonski Review it refers to both a re-formation of funding relationships, as well as the relationship to funding. While the Review's suggested changes are, indeed, important, they do not indicate a wholesale reorganization of the system; the Review's Executive Summary is clear to point out the limiting policy position in the federal government's instructions to the committee to preserve the funding levels/amounts. This approach to reform is also evident within the ACARA Act, and especially its presupposition that the instantiation-the re-formation-of this structure provides the heretofore missing elements of both transparency and accountability. The reformation initiated through testing regimes as accountability mechanisms, however, addresses both motivation and control, serving as the catalysis of motivation and especially a realignment, recalibration or re-formation of the PAT relationship. Such a re-formation also applies to the competitive aspect of educational funding, and especially as a zero-sum, competitive enterprise. It implies an attendant concept of motivation and is especially evident within the RTT.

Finally, reform, again speaks to a modification of the traditional conceptualization of educational funding, moving away from a strict definition of entitlement funding towards other conceptualizations of educational provision, and particularly those where funding is viewed as discretionary.

6.2.4.4. Accountability

The significance of this key concept to both this research and to educational reform, cannot be overstated, and the attention it garners within this analysis should be taken as a reflection of this centrality. Suspitsyna (2010) characterizes accountability as a "sacred language" endemic to government rationalities, to the political and social logics guiding policy in educational reform (p. 567), though taking care to remark that it is arguably "the most advocated and least analyzed" aspect of educational reform (Burke 2005, p. 1, in Suspitsyna, 2010, p. 570) and, though often assumed (and engaged as) a monolithic concept, is a varied and multifaceted ideation (Cobb, 2004). Within this policy grouping it displays a variable and wholly inconsistent application; the version selected for emphasis is dependent upon the policy actors in question (Rudelavige 2003). In order to identify, and thereby analyse the accountability present within these policy levers requires an understanding of these various forms.

Suspitsyna (2010) regards accountability as both a rhetoric and a mechanism of control, a Foucauldian "technology of governmentality" through which to "[conduct] (conduire), leading, directing, and managing, the conduct (*conduite*) of individuals" (p. 570), and details the specificities of various accountabilities: Ball, Vincent, and Radnor (1997) also identify market accountability, although they make a clear distinction between its function through the "provision of services and financial management" and that of a political form accountability, which speaks to the relationship between elected officials and their "responsiveness" to constituent needs (in Suspitsyna, 2010, p. 568). This function of market accountability also resembles Codd's (2004) client-based perspective, which in form and function resembles a principal-agent (PAT) relationship, and implements a consumer-oriented contractual relationship whereby schools, as service providers (or agents), hold themselves accountable to their ostensible clients, which Cobb identifies as "students, parents and the community" (Cobb, 2004, p.60).

Olsen and Peters (2005) add to this list of forms of accountability, locating first, a bureaucratic-professional accountability, which Suspitsyna describes as being built upon the "standards and objectives" of presumable experts, and secondly a consumer-managerial form of accountability subject to "market standards and externally defined objectives" (2010, p. 568). She also adds Besley and Peters' (2006) description of four accountability 'regimes' to this aggregation: firstly, a bureaucratic accountability, which, as its typology suggests, is concerned with state-level (federal or otherwise) command, or control; secondly, a professional accountability tied to professional associations and their licensing and certification dictates; thirdly, a consumer accountability indicating market regulation and rules; and fourthly, a democratic accountability, which like Ball, Vincent, and Radnor's (1997) political accountability, indicates the relationship between politicians and policymakers, as elected officials, to either government and/or society (in Suspitsyna, 2010).

These various versions of accountability each foreground differing PAT relationships, each prioritizing the direction of a different principal or indicating a hierarchical quality within its conception of principality and can be readily identified within the policies considered in this research. Crucially, they are subsumed within a larger, hybrid accountability which prioritises market mechanisms, including a client-based focus, and high-stakes coercion.

The reform policies of both the United States and Australia mix "coercive accountability (where student performance is measured across schools on a standardized basis) with a dash of free-market accountability (where parents and students can freely choose schools and force competition)" (Rudelavige 2003, p. 26). Coercive accountability is present in the mandating of

specific tests (NAPLAN in Australia, the NAEP in the United States), and especially in funding stipulations, and evinces a high-stakes nature when tied to the evaluation and funding of schools. Hess (2003, p. 57) defines such high-stakes accountability systems as "[linking] incentives to demonstrated student performance to ensure that students master specified content and that educators effectively teach that content" but cautions against conflating high-stakes systems which prioritise sanctions for students and teachers and those which favour "non-intrusive, standards-based" actions. In problematizing motivation and professionalism, such policies embrace a coercive, high-stakes mien that presumes a lack of "individual volition [and] intrinsic motivation", and seeking, instead, the institution of a system of compulsion aimed at compelling cooperation through self-interest (p. 57). However, the importance of catalyst data renders this high-stakes accountability as an outcome-based mechanism. The simultaneous pursuance of high-stakes, outcome-based and decidedly coercive accountability mechanisms alongside bureaucratic, democratic and client-based, free market forms of accountability begs the question, proposed by Cobb (2004): "What is the purpose of an accountability system?" (p. 62), and "Who (or what) is held accountable?" Guided by this query, Cobb (2004) develops a six-dimensional framework through which to clarify and understand the uses and purposes of performance-based accountability mechanisms. The six dimensions he proposes, definition of performance, assessment of performance, goal orientation, evaluative function, consequential nature, and locus of control (p. 62), can be delineated by their attention to micro and macro concerns and, indeed, the ostensible targets of accountability. Of the six dimensions, four require further examination: assessment of performance, evaluative function, consequential nature and locus of control.

Assessment of performance promulgates a "unitary approach to assessing student achievement" (p. 64), though also produces a mechanism through which to evaluate practitioner quality. This form of accountability foregrounds student performance and, with the added measure of disaggregation, places specific students under an evaluative microscope, a further indication of its limited, or micro concerns. Seen as such, it is unclear who or what is meant to be 'held to account', and more importantly, to whom they (or it) is held. The evaluative function addresses the "underlying purpose" of an accountability system and asks whether it aims to improve schools or monitor them (p. 66). This confusion in aims is present in largely "symbolic" (p. 66) policies purporting a focus on school improvement (NAPLAN, MySchool, NEAP and United States state-level exams), but in the absence of a focus on guidance via either instructional improvement, for example, become merely "summative", prioritizing the production of catalyst data over school improvement. Consequences are an integral aspect of accountability systems based on performance, giving them a measure of weight. While Codd

would characterize public reporting of school results as 'less high-stakes', such measures have become, in truth, high-stakes, and potentially fatal to schools. Moreover, financial inducement during a period of heightened financial/economic uncertainty amounts to a negative consequence and is decidedly coercive. The policies considered within these levers prioritise the public dissemination of results, and while not yet at the point of advocating for the residualisation of underperforming schools, provide an equally powerful consequence in the migration of parents away from such schools through varying levels of school choice. Through this form of accountability, however, parents can be said to hold the balance of power within education, voting with their feet, as it were, and holding schools accountable to them. The preceding dimensions clearly identify criteria through which various accountabilities operate and also serve to classify it as a mechanism of control. Be that as it may, the locus of control, the last of Codd's dimensions, is not as clear as it may seem; while implementation or policy enactment may rest in 'local' or even parental control, the primary impetus is still (initially, at least) externally derived and driven. These multifarious forms of accountability, however, present the simulacra of control, and allow different actors to inhabit the principal position, to "take the wheel", so to speak.

Accountability is, in truth, part of an ecosystem of similar concepts which rely on each other within policy contexts, and crucially, serve to answer the question of who is to be held accountable. One such ancillary concept is audit, which along with testing and accountability regimes, Lingard and Sellar view as operating through logics of Deleuzian "control societies" (Deleuze, 1995), owing to the "reality of ongoing incessant measurement and assessment" (in Lingard and Sellar 2013, p. 638).

6.2.4.5. Audit

Although of importance to this policy collective, audit is addressed as a hybridized concept (*Measurement/ Accountability/ Audit*) within the subsequent policy collective. It should be noted, however, that audit connotes a panoptic quality to educational management, and implicates a form of productive power and control.

6.2.4.6. Control

This mélange of interconnected concepts also informs a central key concept of control (though possibly of power, as well). Closely linked to audit, and both the decidedly *panoptic* nature of mechanisms of *Evaluation and Assessment*, as well as the transactional quality of funding arrangements, this concept also indicates the recalibration of the PAT relationship, although

presenting two concurrent relationships bound to multiple forms of accountability. The first positions government firmly as the sole principal, and education as its agent. The 'forced' provision of catalyst data allows this now-empowered principal to direct the agent towards its own ends through the steering of educational discourse and its attendant funding and is primarily emblematic of coercive accountabilities. It should be noted that within the conceptualization of government as the primary principal sits yet another principal agent relationship, that of business as a principal and government as its agent, a relationship explored within the policy effects of the levers. However, an alternate PAT relationship also emerges: the assumption of a power imbalance in the PAT relationship due to the perceived informational asymmetry within education as well as the presumptive power of information, of catalyst data, makes the provision of such information not only a form of accountability and control, but also identifies the locus of power within education to be the recipient of this information. To wit, the provision of information, if taken to be for parents, marks their exercise of choice a mechanism of control within schooling, and thereby instituting parents as yet another principal, and one whose choices have significant material consequences. This re-articulation of the assumed PAT relationship is indicative of a particular combination of accountability forms, namely the assertion of political or democratic (and client-based) accountabilities, re-inscribing its power dynamic over those of consumer-managerial/free-market accountabilities through the exercise of choice in schooling. While seemingly innocuous, the unheralded empowerment of the parental actor as principal, and crucially one compelled by the social exigencies inherent to a competitive arena, inserts a level of variance into the enactment of policy.

6.2.4.7. Choice

While rhetorically positioned as form of productive power, this engagement of its presence, while acknowledging its deployment, like data, as a catalyst for educational change, must also recognize its contextual irony. While lauded as the activation of market forces within education, the selection of choices of schooling available to both parents and students is so contrived as to render this concept a misnomer, or at the very least mischaracterised, and indicative of the conditional nature of Marginson's regulated autonomy. It is, again, a simulacrum of power. Be that as it may, however, the presence of choice within educational reform as a 'nuclear option', as it were, and the very materiality of its exercise exists as a powerful motivator, and indeed a form of productive power.

6.3. Policy Rationalities: School Improvement and Equity and Quality

The policies considered within School Improvement indicate their primary policy thrusts at teachers, which must be regarded as such through their pointed avoidance of teaching, and place the burden of responsibility upon one, sole educational factor with regards to school improvement. Teacher quality is positioned as the prime impediment to educational success and as the problem requiring intervention, and the ostensible targets of these final levers are 'chosen', identified through what can only be termed a deterministic process of educational policy. In keeping with policies addressing or focusing on deficits, the concept of *lack* is prominent within these assumptions and presuppositions. The key assumptions of an absence of professionalism and intrinsic motivation in education, and specifically teachers, operate within Friere's deficit mindset, and crucially, allow for the primary assumption behind key policies within this lever. While American policies aim to motivate teachers through financial incentives, Australian policies seek to 'lift' teachers through programs of what can only be described as 'professional investiture'. Both countries aim to enhance motivation from below, so to speak, leveraging school improvement through processes of behavioural modification, a process best regarded as human capital formation.

Within this collective of policies concerned with *Equity and Quality*, however, the focus of their attentions rests on participation within reform efforts, indicating that the onus for improvement, for reform, lays within these individual decisions to opt in, as it were; the differences in each country's efforts being which human inputs to specifically problematize and subsequently reform.

6.3.1. Assumptions and Presuppositions - School Improvement

Policies leveraging School Improvement presuppose a lack of professionalism within education, and the implication is that education is not a profession. This assumption is built upon the notion that education does not function like a business entity, but that it should (see Moe, 2003; Machin and Vignoles 2005). This lack, however, refers not just to the specific "MBA-style", business approach to education proffered by Students First, but also a view of professionalism tied to accountability where professionals are held to account for their outputs, their results. Although a common refrain within reform policies and now within educational discourse, this lack of professionalism is built upon further presuppositions about teachers and teaching.

6.3.1.1. Additional requirements via policy represent no added burden to the profession

The first of these is that these added requirements (as proposed and implemented) of educators and education, in addition to the implementation of a new, National Curriculum (in Australia), the social and political wrangling inherent to educational funding disputes, in addition to the largely ignored concepts of social disadvantage, represent no added burden to the profession. In this scenario, education is a service, and teaching a mode of service delivery. Teachers, then, in merely facilitating the delivery-and, crucially, not creating this service-are easily replaceable cogs within this system and, it stands to reason, malleable to and for specific purposes.

6.3.1.2. Teaching, alone, is sufficient to overcome the social or educational disadvantages evident within education.

The second of these assumptions presumes that teaching, alone, is sufficient to overcome the social or educational disadvantages evident within education. The concept of teacher centrality is built on the idea that teachers, and principals (to a differing degree), are the most important factor-seemingly to the exclusion (or omission) of others-to student achievement. The texts frequently reference their knowledge base through nebulous references to 'research'- "research is clear ..." (Framework 4); "research shows" (Framework 6), "research suggests" (Framework 8), etc.-as if to preclude discussion, or in any way dispute such findings (if at all possible within such a rendering of 'evidence').

6.3.1.3. Teachers are "adult learners"

The last of the assumption and presuppositions underpinning School Improvement policies is a perspective on teachers as "adult learners". This positions educators as not only inherently deficient and unprofessional but, like their pre-adolescent and pubescent charges, also in need of a strong hand to guide their development and hold them accountable. This top-down accountability model, managerial in quality, and patronizing in effect, manifests within all of these policies and their suggested interventions.

This assumption is evident within the pointed avoidance of teaching, of instruction-what teachers 'do'- within the considered policy initiatives. The focus on reforming teachers, however, focuses attention on who teachers are, and takes that as a starting point for reform. This premise allows for an uncomplicated and seemingly uncontested challenging of teacher's intrinsic motivations through the Teacher Incentive Fund, a similar challenge to teacher's overall fitness and the possibility of 'adverse selection' through the problematization of teacher professionalism through the *Australian Performance and Development Framework*, the

Charter for the Professional Learning of Teachers and School Leaders, the institution of Professional Standards and the National Partnership on Teacher Quality.

6.3.2. Assumptions and Presuppositions - Equity and Quality

Efforts within this lever employ a collection of interconnected premises and can be seen to meld a number of reform discourses into courses of action. It is worth noting that this lever is, itself, bound by a seminal assumption, that of quality as informing equity, and, again, resonates as a mere recapitulation of the neo-liberal axiom of "rising tides". The combination, or conflation, of equity and quality assumes their similarity and/or relationship. Moreover, while this positioning allows efforts within one to stand for the other, it also establishes a hierarchical relationship between these two concepts; one is presented as informing, and more important than, the other. Specifically, the pursuit of quality is taken to represent the engagement of equity. Ironically, the corollary to the aforementioned aphorism regarding rising tides lifting all boats, is that the tide also runs some ships aground.

6.3.2.1. Participation in education, alone, can ameliorate social disadvantage

The presupposition that quality informs equity also relies upon another, seminal assumption, the belief that education, alone, can ameliorate social disadvantage, that inequality, according to Kantor and Lowe (2013), "[is] susceptible to educational correction" (p. 25). Equity, and to a lesser extent quality, are relatively straightforward terms, and Sahlberg (2012) regards educational equity as the extent to which schools "address the inequalities and diversity their students bring to school". However, the articulation of such inequalities as merely "personal and social circumstances" fails to recognize either the entrenchment of such "circumstances" (the preferred term to address social factors within reform policy), or the systematic nature of such inequality, and in some cases their historicity. One can read this characterization of social inequality as an attempt to minimize it, positioning it as an abstraction rather than a material reality. To wit, the primacy of quality, specifically its positioning as a form of 'performative equity', presupposes that education, alone, can ameliorate social disadvantage. Western education reform documents have moved beyond a mere faith in the power of education, and onto a "belief in the capacity of public education to redress unequal opportunity" (Kantor & Lowe 2013, p.25). This positioning of education simultaneously reduces pressure on the state for effective social policy geared towards directly at ameliorating economic and social distress, whilst also fuelling the well-chronicled disillusionment with public education for its inability address and master issues beyond its reach, and perhaps even its purview. The one-dimensional and distinctly myopic nature of this premise allows for the observed policy focus on (and problematization) of participation in education and its reform

efforts. Together, they indicate the assumption that participation within education (and, notably, not educational activity) will correct educational inequality.

This premise relies upon (and is tied to) yet another assumption, that of an uncomplicated access to quality education. This linked assumption presumes that participation is only affected by recalcitrance on the part of students (or specific community dispositions towards education), thus making participation a function of performative equity.

6.3.2.2. The efficacy of negative reinforcement

The second presupposition assumes that negative reinforcement in the pursuit of quality, as espoused by *No Child Left Behind*, will produce positive effects in education with regards to both equity and quality. NCLB's ham-fisted, and thoroughly demoralizing approach to accountability assumes the efficacy of such a high-handed application of its mechanisms. It is, ironically, based upon the dubious successes of Texas' educational turnaround, itself predicated on the validity of test-based accountability. Such an approach also presumes to meliorate the disjuncture of goal displacement, to bend education towards its own ends and goals, and in doing so, dismisses other educational goals, assuming them to be both unnecessary and unproductive.

6.3.2.3. Commonalities of Assumption

While it is clear that the policies considered within both levers have some overlapping assumptions and presuppositions, some require explicit articulation. In keeping with the myopic focus upon pursuing quality, this lever evinces an a priori belief that education (systemically) is without fault; one need only alter the inputs and education will find success. This assumption builds on yet another presupposition of the purchase of managerial professionalism and accountability beyond the theoretical or business worlds. Both levers also presume to place parents not as primary principals within a principal-relationship, but as secondary, necessary for the activation of specific market functions. Finally, this collective indicates a discursive coherence in their activated forms of accountability, assuming a lack of motivation of the part teachers in order to institute coercive and, specifically, client-based and professional accountabilities to compel teacher involvement in reform.

6.3.3. Policy Binaries

The policy binaries underpinning the problematisations within these levers are collectively considered, though limited to those most central to the leverage of *School Improvement and Equity and Quality*.

6.3.3.1. Winner vs. Losers

Within this policy collective, this recurring binary finds still more purchase. Within School Improvement policies, this binary serves to heighten the competitive tenor of educational reform by reflecting the importance of compliance within reform initiatives; the attachment of educational funding to reform initiatives positions those teachers and schools who embrace the necessary direction of reform as winners; those who 'choose' to eschew it are the losers. Policies within *Equity and Quality* are clearer in reflecting the presence and the workings of this binary, clearly identifying the winners and losers within the educational race, the advantaged and disadvantaged segments of the educational population. Moreover, education becomes the arbiter of winners and losers, and bound exclusively to test scores, positions the socially advantaged as winners.

6.3.3.2. Equity vs. Quality

Although partially addressed within the Assumptions and Presuppositions, these two concepts, while rhetorically linked through policy, also exist in tension. When considered separately, their seemingly incompatible ideations become illustrative of the central challenge for neoliberalised education, increasing educational reach without sacrificing its quality. Taken as such, educational reach, or equity, implicates participatory logics and its wholly quantitative calculus, while quality becomes subject to the dominant logics of educational reform, namely the presumed objectivity of mechanisms of evaluation, high-stakes assessment and coercive accountability. This research, however, regards this binary as artificially produced, a manufactured tension intended to limit the possible approaches to either concept.

6.3.3.3. Individual vs. Social

This construction builds upon the concept of *performative equity*, which, by distancing social equity places the burden of performative equity upon the shoulders of individuals, silencing discourses of social responsibility and effectively erasing social sources of inequity from this conversation.

6.3.3.4. Teacher quality v. teaching quality

Efforts to professionalise the teaching force, to professionalise the profession, as it were, have universally sought to "[identify, codify and apply] professional standards of practice to the

teaching force" (Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996, p. 1). This steady march towards standardization, in keeping with similar moves within educational curricula, has indicated the linking of discourses of professionalism with 'quality' teaching. Moreover, the processes of accountability, ostensibly marketed as capacity-building, ultimately result in the legitimization of a particular form of teacher. This binary, which can also be considered a narrowing of the definition of good teaching, pervades educational policy reforms, and manifests in the positing of the discourse of teaching quality as both an exigency and a solution (Mockler, 2013), yet pursuing interventions solely aimed at teacher quality. To be sure, this distinction is by no means mere semantics, as evidenced by the ancillary policies-teacher and principal standards-which conceive of "good teaching as embodied rather than practised" (Gore, Ladwig, & King, 2004, p. 5). As such, policies within the school improvement lever evince a tension, whereby the articulated focus stands as an incomplete approach to the stated issue, though particularly amenable to a managerial policy focus upon teachers.

6.3.3.5. Managerial Professionalism v. Democratic professionalism

Sachs (2001, 2003) distinguishes two forms of teacher professionalism existing in tension, though not readily apparent within policy or practice, and emblematic of new public management approaches to education: managerial and democratic professionalism. These characterisations are summarized within the table below.

<i>Managerial Professionalism</i>	<i>Democratic Professionalism</i>
System driven/ends	Profession driven/ends
External regulation	Professional regulation
Drives reform agenda	Complements & moves beyond reform agenda
Political ends	Professional development
Competitive and market driven	Collegial and profession driven
Control/compliance	Activism

Table 9: In Mockler, 2013, p. 41; adapted from Day and Sachs, 2004, p.7

By definition, discourses offer specific, habitable subject positions, identities through which actors understand their positions, roles and responsibilities and their relationships to power. These identified oppositional discourses denote a seminal tension within the school improvement lever and, along with their implied subject positions, also indicate the subsequent limitations upon discussions of continuing professional education (CPD), on

professionalism and teaching reform. Discourses of managerial professionalism are central to the clamour for organisational and cultural modification/overhaul, and especially within the school improvement lever. They are bound to, and indicative of New Public Management approaches, and part of a panoply of reforms initiated to "deliver educational programmes for students and teachers that are efficient, effective and economical" (Day and Sachs, 2004, p.4). Brennan (1996) characterizes this model as having been born of corporate settings, privileging an actor who strives to meet "corporate goals, set elsewhere, [managing] a range of students well and document[ing] their achievements and problems for public accountability purposes" (p. 22). He continues, arguing that the criteria for success within this managerial setting is measured by the extent to which one works "efficiently and effectively in meeting the standardized criteria ... and contributing to the school's formal accountability processes" (p. 22).

6.3.4. Key Concepts

The key concepts within this policy collective share multiple points of commonality with the previous levers, and in some instances are identical. To wit, these instances do not warrant repeated analysis, and, where necessary, will be excised from this analysis. The following key concepts within these levers are presented according to their complexity, with what can be termed 'foundational', or formative concepts addressed first.

6.3.4.1. Quality

Within this policy collective, quality is taken to be a form of performative equity, a narrow conceptualization which allows for its hybridized leverage (as Equity and Quality) within educational policy, although reaffirms its rhetorical (and policy) linkage to equity. This definition, which is, in truth, not a definition at all, also affords an oblique approach to equity, a decontextualized and tautological rendering that also indicates the workings of a number of tangentially related concepts, among them participatory equity.

The assumptions of the seminal importance of education to the mitigation of education and social inequality and of equity as indicated by quality inform the supply-side reform approaches evident within this policy collective. These policy approaches foreground the quality of teachers, the quality of output, emphasizing the mere participation within reform as indicating an assault upon inequity, and avoiding any conversation on either the quality of resourcing within education, or of access to education. In this, participatory equity is emblematic of meritocratic discourses.

6.3.4.2. Professionalism

This concept emerges within the general timbre of lack, or deficiency (another key concept), within the considered policy documents and refers to those characteristics of a closed and independent group engaged in practices for which there are self-imposed and regularized standards of conduct and training. In practice, however, the term enjoys an inconsistent application. One need only look at the vernacular usage of the term to grasp that professionalism can be engaged, experienced and understood in various ways— as an indication of engaging in paid work, for example. Much like the Australian Curriculum, the Development Framework and the Charter, NCLB and the *Teacher Incentive Fund* serve to redefine the professional ‘authority’ of teachers, passing it through a sieve of performativity. Notably, Mockler (2013) insists that democratic professionalism relies upon the presence of significant professional judgement, and by extension professional autonomy "privileging the nuance of judgement over the 'one-size-fits-all' approach of standardization" (p. 41). The vulgarization of this concept, however, renders it a term deployed to demarcate specific types of work, and in the case indicates those occupations effectively standardized and aligned with performative output measures, and indicative of a professional form of accountability, albeit one overlaid by the coercion of a high-stakes accountability and market accountabilities.

6.3.4.3. Meritocracy

Although implicated by policies leveraging *Evaluation and Assessment*, meritocracy is discussed here in order to examine the breadth of its workings and its significance to educational reform. Meritocracy is generally regarded as a fair method for the distribution of resources, advantage and status, based on the idea that "individuals get ahead and earn rewards in direct proportion to their individual efforts and abilities" (McNamee and Miller 2009, p. 2). Piketty (2014) however, regards meritocracy as an illusion, a discursive (and aspirational) ploy engendered to draw attention away from entrenched advantage by presenting it as merely the product of hard work, and thereby maintaining the divide between the 'haves and have-nots', simply rendered by Young (1965) as "intelligence and effort together make up merit ($I + E = M$)" (Young 1965 [1958], p. 94". This responsabilisation— and thereby the individualization— of not only effort, but also results, again precludes any discussion of either social inputs or social impacts. Of significant concern is the presence of *hypermeritocratism*, built on Piketty's (2014) "hypermeritocratic society" (p. 265) or the "new meritocratic order" (p. 378), where the designation of education's winners and losers through the seeming objectivity of evaluative technologies paints winners as "selected on the basis of the intrinsic merits rather than birth or background" (p. 334), while offering losers a sense of (meritocratic) hope (p. 361). This allows for a rationalization of inequality through a decontextualization of educational provision and

environs, and subsequent obfuscation of the social sedimentation of advantage through entrenched social arrangements. Gale et al. would argue that this "meritocratic argument seems to justify social inequality (originating from human capital inequality) as a function of the supply and demand of skills, mediated by the education system and the labour market (2017, p. 11). To wit, education's losers are a result of an inattention to effort, and when tied to the disaggregation of test scores common to educational reform, allows for their identification within society and essentializing their composition. In this, meritocracy becomes the ultimate expression of Foucauldian dividing practices and a justification of both social and educational inequality. This concept allows for the problematisations of educational responsibility, participation and the binary of social/educational inclusion v exclusion.

6.3.4.4. Measurement/ Accountability/ Audit

This hybridized concept is found within a majority of the policies within this research and encapsulates the "intensification of audit regimes" (Lingard and Sellar, 2013, p. 636) appearing within this and the subsequent policy collective. It is combined with the concepts of measurement and accountability because of their inextricability within reform discourse and is particularly active within these levers. Thompson and Harbaugh (2013, p. 300) note that testing as the sole means of evaluation indicates a shift in policy logics, "from government to governance, to practices of 'auditing' schools and teachers through the production of (largely) quantitative data, and to the creation of systems that use data to steer or manage institutions, individuals and practices often at a distance'. This concept, a veritable neo-liberal preoccupation, is built on a skepticism with regard to the legitimacy of information as well as an equal uncertainty about the function of the educational system and the quality (and standardization) of its product. It is, however, a concept steeped in mistrust and suspicion, and indicative of new managerialism, "'a set of values, ideas and practices including marketisation, performance management, league tables, devolved budgets and targets, aimed at reforming the management of public service organizations" (Brehony and Deem 2005, p. 396) . *Evaluation and Assessment* and *Funding* also share this concept, which serves as one point where these two levers meet, so to speak. The auditing of schools and systems requires that data be generated through mechanisms of Evaluation and Assessment and then used to determine funding, and even school survival. Its sole purpose is to gauge the effectiveness of individual teachers and schools, underscoring its importance to reform as an actionable form of accountability and, notably, an affective mechanism.

6.3.4.5. Quality Assurance

This concept is tied to market-oriented forms of accountability, and specifically the concept of audit and evinces supply-side mechanisms to remediate teacher quality. Crucially, this concept allows for the understanding of the "product" as not being students, but rather their test scores, or more specifically, the mechanisms initiated to produce these measures. This concept also depersonalizes the educational agent and allows for conversations of educational reform to proceed without regard for the human effects of reform interventions.

6.3.4.6. Teacher Centrality

The *Australian Teacher Performance and Development Framework* contends that in pursuing the goals set forth by the Melbourne Declaration, "there is no more important endeavour than further improving the quality of teaching in Australia. Nationally and internationally, there is unequivocal evidence that the quality of teaching is the most significant in-school factor affecting student outcomes (AUS14, p. 2). The Professional Charter is equally strident in asserting that "to achieve these objectives, research tells us that there is no higher priority than further improving the quality of teaching in Australian schools" (AUS15, p. 2). Whereas Timperley et al. (2008) consider teaching to be a "key system influence" which "complements rather than abnegates evidence about and wider policy implications arising from the impact of families and communities on valued outcomes for children and young people" (p. 330), both the Development Framework and the Professional Charter position teaching as the most critical, if not sole, factor. Note, however, that while proclaiming the importance of teaching, the policy thrusts focus their efforts upon teachers and inform the determination of the key concept of teacher centrality (Cornell 2009; Larsen 2010, in Mockler, 2013, p. 34).

Both Mockler (2013) and Loughland et al. (2016) note the seemingly semantic, though altogether seismic shift in the emphasis on teachers rather than teaching; this move places success (and failure) squarely on the shoulders of teachers, as opposed to the authors (or architects) of the various interventions to which education is subjected or, crucially, the contexts within which educators and education *in toto*, must operate.

The issue of context raises another issue with teacher centrality, and specifically its treatment within its presumptive evidence base. The assumed validity of James Hattie's (2009) work on effect sizes within meta-analyses (see also Hattie, J., & Timperley, H. 2007) and its conclusions, which can be regarded as suggestive of Lingard and Sellar's catalyst data, serves to underpin the concept of teacher centrality. Without question, effect size is, indeed, a simple and efficacious method to both identify and gauge appropriate educational interventions. However, the specific methodologies through which the relevant studies arrive at determinations, and

namely the centrality of teachers as opposed to class sizes or funding, through what Hattie terms the *teacher effect*, indicate an artificial decontextualisation (or outright ignorance of contextual factors) of the considered data. Hattie is explicit in his excision of such information (2009, x-ix), and while this research is reluctant to insert itself into a disputation of Hattie's usage and determinations of effect size—which comprise the bulk of the primary 'evidence' behind teacher centrality—it is necessary to note that the diminution of context is a recurring trope within educational reform policies. The positioning of teacher centrality is, itself, built upon a further presupposition of contextual irrelevancy, and as such Hattie's work "provide[s] school leaders with [convenient] data that appeal to their administrative pursuits," becoming "an articulation of the new image of school leadership" (Eacott 2017, p. 3). This is not to say that teachers are not a crucial input within educational environments, but rather to point out the sheer folly of an ignorance of, say, the importance of environmental inputs.

The identified operation of—and policy focus on—coercive forms of accountability, an educative *panopticism* featuring performative equity and the policy erasure of inequality, disadvantage and context rest upon the discursive construction of teacher centrality. This single-mindedness evinces what can be termed an educational myopia, and in its prioritization over other educational exigencies, indicate that this concept (and the focus it implies) may not only exacerbate existing inequalities (while also stagnating educational progress), but also give rise to new ones.

Chapter 7.

Policy Effects

7.1. Introduction

The fifth question in the WPR framework, or method, asks what effects are produced by this representation of the problem? In approaching policy as discourse, and crucially as practices having "material consequence" (Bacchi, 1999, p. 2), the exploration of effects is not meant to be a mechanism through which to solely understand policy consequence. Instead, it looks to engage the implications (socially, politically) of specific problematisations. Within this examination of education reform policies, the examination of effects allows for an engagement of the *experience* of reform, taking them 'off the page', in a sense.

Recalling that the fifth lens of the WPR framework finds and articulates the various effects of identified problem representations, this examination of policy effects is prefaced by a reprisal of Bacchi's guiding questions:

What is likely to change with this representation of the 'problem'?

What is likely to stay the same?

Who is likely to benefit from this representation of the 'problem'?

Who is likely to be harmed by this representation of the 'problem'?

How does the attribution of responsibility for the 'problem' affect those so targeted and the perceptions of the rest of the community about who is to 'blame'? (Bacchi, 2009, p. 18)

Through these guiding questions this analysis focuses on three, specific forms of effect-*discursive, lived and subjectification*-and although pertaining to sometimes differing materialities,

they are each imbricative of the others. In many instances, these effects are culled directly from observed aspects of policy rationalities and can rightly be considered effects of these conceptual logics.

Here we should begin to discern the effects of these problematisations on both education and the reformist enterprise and more specifically their effects upon the various policy actors and deputies implicated through such problematisations. This discussion of discursive effects proceeds through the first two of Bacchi's guiding questions: *What is likely to change with this representation of the 'problem'*; and *What is likely to stay the same?*

Lived effects point to the way problem representations materially affect our lives. The material effects found within the discursive effects find purchase within the lived effects; it is within lived effects that/where policy discourse gains materiality. Lived effects are similarly approached through the following pair of guiding questions: *Who is likely to benefit from this representation of the 'problem'*; and *Who is likely to be harmed by this representation of the 'problem'?*

Subjectification effects refer to the construction of social identities and relationships within and through policies and their problem representations. These social identities (subject positions or subjectivities) are suggestive of positionality (i.e. worldviews) but also of "dividing practices" (Foucault, 1982, p. 208), which place groups of people in opposition to one another. Crucially, (regimes of governance) policy does not "determine forms of subjectivity; they elicit them (Dean, 1999, p. 32 in Bacchi 2009, 42). While engaged through the last of Bacchi's questions, this final effect also addresses the necessary subjectivities required for reform, asking after the effects upon those engaged in policy through the query: *How does the attribution of responsibility for the 'problem' affect those so targeted and the perceptions of the rest of the community about who is to 'blame'?*

Notably, within Bacchi's (2009) explication of her framework, she addresses subjectification effects first, positioning them before lived effects. Within this research, however, the ordering is reversed, though not as a refusal of Bacchi's theorisation of consequence, but as an organisational decision intended to highlight the significance of subjectivisation to this thesis and its argumentative approach.

Significantly, this discussion of policy effects also points to the presence of O'Farrell's 'strategic relationships' (2005, p. 66), and finds both "intentional and unintentional effects", both hallmarks of *dispositif*, or affective *apparatuses*.

The following chapter details the effects uncovered through this analysis of policy and arranges them along the identified processual policy path. Through the lens of affect, these policy effects are weighed against Anderson's (2014) milieu of action for the workings of *affective practice, apparatus and economy*. First, the effects of policies concerned with Governance are presented, given their focus on the guiding question: *What is wrong with education?* The following section then addresses the effects of the second policy grouping, *Evaluation and Assessment and Funding*, followed by a third section addressing *School Improvement and Equity and Quality*. This analysis reveals a deviation from the desired processual path uncovered through an analysis for problematisations and offers insights into the impetus for this alteration of policy course.

7.2. Policy Effects - Governance

Bacchi (2009) reminds users of the WPR framework that discursive effects can be uncovered through the analysis of Questions 2, 3 and 4 within the framework. More importantly, these discursive effects can appear as hybrid or dual effects, indistinguishable from lived effects and subjectivisation effects. The collective problematisation of educational purpose, structure and overall capacity, produce discursive effects that, though presented here singularly, are also bound up within larger discursive regimes, as it were. These discursive effects resonate as among the 'secular gospels' referenced by Ravitch (2010) and are often both a reflection of policy discourses on education as well as determined by their problematisations and rationalities. These effects are identified through the principal queries: First, "*What is likely to change or stay the same through this representation of the problem?*" and secondly, *What effects represent the sedimentation and subsequent subsumption of specific logics into the larger educational*

discourse? These effects also indicate the boundaries of the discursive landscape, changed as they are through policy intervention.

7.2.1. Discursive Effects - Governance

The problematisation of educational purpose, aims, structure and the political will necessary to sustain its efforts relies primarily upon the re-inscription of educational purpose within the educational discourse, a "strategic change to the system that encompasses not just incremental changes in processes, procedures and goals but also deeper, second order changes that alter the system in a fundamental way" (Gioia et al., 1994, in Kovacevic, 2018, p. 381). The discursive effects of the problematisations promoted through policies leveraging governance take specific forms, and in some instances implicate attendant lived effects. The first of these hybrid or dual effects is the ubiquity and subsequent normalization of educational crisis. This effect is the concretisation of the assumption that education-and thereby the economic health and future of the respective countries-is in crisis, and is, itself, another discursive effect. Notably, these effects are twofold, but inextricable; one informs the other. They also recall Ahmed's (2004) observation about crisis, that its "designation ... as [being] *already* under threat ... becomes installed as 'the truth'" (p. 133; emphasis added). In this sense, this discursive effect evinces Wetherell's interpretative repertoire defining the operative boundaries of policy discourse, an affective practice.

This perpetual state of educational alarm links to the lived effect of a near-constant state of education reformation, and, crucially, absolves government of any blame with regards to the outcomes of its policy interventions, providing a level of "political insulation" (Hess, 2003, p. 65). It also appears within reform policy rhetoric albeit through omission; later policies rarely refer to educational crises, instead inferring their acceptance as fact. In this sense, this effect eventuates a stasis in education, whereby it continually operates within a deficit mindset, bound to the concept of lack, and in a constant state of remediation.

The acceptance of crisis as fact, as an educational truth, makes it possible to acknowledge a specific principal-agent relationship (P-A) marked by poor accountability, and, is itself, in need of reformation. Specifically, and aided by the general erosion of trust within education, it cements assumptions as to the power dynamic within this educational principal-agent relationship. The following table (Table 10) delineates these relationships

<i>PAT relationship</i>	Explanation
<i>P → A</i>	Theoretically basic PAT relationship (Fearon, 1999)
<i>A → P</i>	The presupposition of an educational crisis presumes education, and especially its agents, as lacking direction and oversight. Here, the relationship (if at all present) assumes a specific power dynamic.

Table 10: Principal-Agent Relationship, as shown through education reform policy

The normalisation of crisis, and especially one of an economic nature, allows for the "re-imagining" of education as a mechanism of human capital formation and "premised on arguments about the centrality of particular forms of knowledge and skills to economic productivity and competitiveness (Savage and O'Connor, 2014, p. 614). Notably this also indicates yet another discursive-cum-lived effect, articulated by Savage and O'Connor as the "realignment of educational purposes and practices towards global concerns" (p. 614).

Specifically, the entrenchment of human capital theory (and formation) suggests a clear divergence from previous conceptions of education as a social, or even a "consumption" good, towards education as an "investment" (Machin & Vignoles, 2005, p. 3) or an individual good. Although particularly germane to an examination of discursive effects, this entrenchment is assessed further within lived effects.

The final of these discursive effects, regarded by this research as amongst the most salient of these effects (and as recognizable as the first of these effects), is the sedimentation of a competitive mindset with regards to education. Building on *A Nation at Risk*, the concept of education as a competition-a competitive, economic system/marketplace of individual investment and personal responsibility-binds the discursive landscape to a consideration of education exclusively through a deficit lens, while also conceptualizing its efforts as combative, and, crucially, inhabited by winners and losers.

Operating within both educational and political discourse-and, much like neoliberalism, akin to a social ethic, an imperative- this effect is linked to the aforementioned crisis of education, and operationalises what Jennifer Hochschild (2003) identified as demographic and economic imperatives in assessing what she termed "the political dynamics of promoting reform" (p. 117). Operating in tandem, demographic and economic imperatives assert the future precarity of demographic changes as requiring immediate (and remedial) economic action. Hochschild's observation of their presence as inherent to the promotion of educational reform policy, although absent an articulation of the social competition for resources inherent to these imperatives, nonetheless foregrounds the operationalization of neo-liberal discourses within education. Specifically, it identifies an elevation of social precarity to the position of a conceptual and an operative logic. Demographic and economic precarity also exist as lived effects, and whether intended or not, inject an element of variability into the principal-agent relationship.

Together, these effects represent a vernacularisation of neo-liberal discourse within education (Loughland, 2016), and the legitimization of a "new 'official' knowledge about education" (p. 231). Cynically, Machin and Vignoles (2005) assess education within this mien as a grand "accounting exercise" (p. 124). The operative metaphor (or logic) of "Education as competition", and not just any competition, but education as the site of an economic struggle-an economic competition, activates the logics of human capital theory which, crucial to this research, foregrounds the formation (or re-formation) of necessary actors (or subjects) within the educative sphere, and substitutes "parents and schools" with "consumers and providers".

7.2.2. Lived Effects - Governance

The lived effects, the material consequences of discursive "conventions" and structure (Bacchi 1999, p. 46) produced by this policy collective are perhaps best understood through an examination of policy subsequence; such effects, in many cases are embodied by policy responses and interventions. In Australia, such lived effects are visible in no less than 15 policies following-on from the Melbourne Declaration. American initiatives in governance, as

well, display a similar single-minded commitment to reform. These obvious effects alone, however, are ineffective for developing an understanding of the impact of such policies upon "how people live their lives on a day-to-day basis" (Bacchi 2009, p. 43). Given that educational reform policies are engendered to do precisely this, to produce material effects, an examination of lived effect addresses material policy impacts through the following questions: Who is likely to benefit or to be harmed from this representation of the 'problem'?

The benefits of such problematisations can be measured by both the movement and accrual of power- both discursive and material- within the educative sphere. What follows is a transferal of power away from education and towards government, attributable the policy campaign seeking a destabilization of education. As such, reforms do not come from within education, but are instead foisted upon it from outside. These particular problematisations are not necessarily explicit in their attribution of blame/responsibility but allow educators to become seen as complicit in this failure, thereby opening the door to new, non-governmental actors, 'experts' who take the reins of educational direction (see Reckhow, 2103; Savage, 2014). This loss of control is also married to a systematic marginalization of voices/perspectives from within education. In this regard the ostensible benefits, with respect to Bacchi's guiding questions, flow towards the presumptive principals in the Principal-agent relationship, taken here to be any partners residing outside of education—the government, business or even parents.

Notably, it also satisfies the requirements of the first phase of issue expansion (Baumgartner and Jones 1993, in Hochschild 2003). This discussion of the effects—discursive, lived and subjectivisation—of educational reform policies levering governance is guided by Hochschild's (2003) elaboration upon the concept of issue expansion, which offers an assessment of the 'politics of policy promotion', and the nature of policy permanence and longevity. Her summary of Baumgartner and Jones' (1993) concept identifies issue expansion as a phenomenon comprised of three, distinct phases, its beginning marked by the elevation of issues within the public consciousness, to a discursive consequence, if you will:

"when issues reach the public agenda, . . . political leaders react . . . by doing whatever they can to provide support for specialists who convince them that they have the power to solve a major

national problem. Leaders want to be seen as facilitating, not hindering, the work of experts when the public believes that something good may come of it." (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993 in Hochschild, 2003, p. 116).

The legitimization of various unofficial policy "fields" (Loughland, 2016)-and especially within and through the media- is yet another example of this first phase of issue expansion. Reckhow specifically identifies the entrance of "policy entrepreneurs" (2103, p. 14), comprised of philanthropic organizations and 'edubusinesses', into the educational sphere. While touched upon within this portion of the analysis, the actions of these policy actors within this tangential policy 'field' receive further treatment within the policy levers on *School Improvement and Equity and Quality*. One such field where lived effects are most readily observed is media; *mediatised* discourse becomes validated and pronounced precisely because it originates primarily from outside education. The publicization of aspects of policy discourse within and through the media, the *mediatisation* (Ahmed, 2004; Lingard and Rawolle, 2005; Rawolle and Lingard, 2008; Rawolle, 2010) of policy. While the public engagement of policy can seemingly resonate as a measure of the *democratisation* of the policy processes, Rawolle (2010, p. 22) regards *mediatisation* as a 'practice' linked to specific effects-an affective practice- replete with the promulgation and dissemination of "interpretive repertoires" (Wetherell, 2012) within which are found, again, "shifting, flexible and often over-determined figurations" (Wetherell 2012, p. 4) operationalized as valued, and, as Bacchi (2010) asserts, "invoked or appealed to in order to produce particular effects" (p. 54). Rawolle (2010) also notes the use of media as a strategy through which these diverse policy actors, whom he identifies as "intermediaries", can "gain relative power" and, perhaps more importantly, "[change and shape] power relations" within education (p. 22). It is through the media by which the assumption of educational failure, for example, gains currency and purchase; subsequent policy interventions can then proceed as if responsive to this (now) social exigency.

In Australia, free market think-tanks like the *Institute for Public Affairs* and the *Centre for Independent Studies* have risen to a position of considerable influence with regards to educational policy debates. In this way, conversations on educational funding, for example, can publicly evaluate the cost of educational provision without once considering the size of the pot. Savage (2014) identifies the sophisticated operations of these non-governmental policy

actors and organisations as instrumental in the development of the Common Core State Standards (CCSS) in the United States and is unequivocal in classifying them as "political elites ... backed by significant philanthropic funding" (p. 36). The popularization of the educational documentary, for example, is one *privately-funded, but publicly disseminated* mechanism through which the 'chronicles' of aspects of failed education become discursive multipliers for specific problematisations and their conceptual logics. In the United States, for example, "2 million minutes: A Global Examination", borrowing heavily from Friedman's flattening world theories, made a compelling argument for America as losing the competitive race, employing the specter of a global demographic imperative as a cause for alarm regarding the purported lack of educational direction (and application), motivation and its lack of accountability; its ultimate goal was the generation of precarity within and about education.

These effects represent a systematic destabilization and delegitimization of the education sphere and produce two further effects which imply both lived and subjectification effects, explained here. First, the reformation of education has now become education; education's core business has become retooling its efforts towards this task. Those tasked with facilitating its ends (teachers, principals, schools, but, curiously, not students) find themselves in a constant state of adaptation to any number of new changes (a state of affairs which may be termed subjectivisation but may find clearer purchase within the discussion of other policy levers). Secondly, the sedimentation of competition also produces its own lived effects, namely the reconceptualization of educational or policy actors-parents, teachers, schools, students-as competitors within an educational arena and, when competition is deconstructed into its constituent components, chiefly demographic and economic imperatives, it is the positional discursive precarity that transforms education into the development of human capital, or advantage.

7.2.3. Subjectification (or subjectivisation) Effects - Governance

Bacchi's explication of this last effect offers a final question to direct its efforts: How does the attribution of responsibility for the 'problem' affect those so targeted and the perceptions of

the rest of the community about who is to 'blame'? (Bacchi, 2009, p. 18). However, this research adds a further dimension to this question, offering an added measure of clarity while also linking the guiding query to the aim of this research endeavour, asking "*what are the specific subjects necessary to these 'problems'; who (or what) do these problematisations ask that we become?*" These additional questions reflect an awareness that the bulk of the effects produced through this policy collective are, again, of a subsequent, future-focused nature, and, accordingly, indicate (transformational) changes and subjectivities deemed necessary to the success of reform initiatives.

The subjectification effects produced through the policies concerning governance, accordingly, speak to the desired subjects of policy, to the best principals and agents. The first such subjects are educational agents and principals bound to specific concepts of education, and especially its purposes and aims. The policies addressing governance tacitly indicate a desire, a need, for educational agents (schools, administrators, teachers) suborned to the economic dictates of this desired educational *competition* and appropriately motivated by the identified economic exigencies to seek an advantage within this seemingly primal landscape; they are ostensibly principals (governments, students and parents) similarly driven by positional anxieties to ensure the returns on their educational investments; in a word (or phrase) *homo oeconomicus*.

7.3. Policy Effects: Evaluation and Assessment & Funding

The examined policies leveraging governance establish a basis from which to understand the policy effects identified within *Evaluation and Assessment* as well as *Funding*. The articulated foci of transparency and accountability, educational structure and especially educational and political within these levers ask and answer the following: *How can education be 'fixed', what are the mechanisms by which we will adapt to this new, educational landscape, through which we will reform education?* The effects of policy uncovered by this analysis prove significant within the examined domains, and especially within a discussion on inequality in education.

According to Baumgartner and Jones (1993) the second phase of issue expansion involves the "[creation of] new institutions to support their programs. . . . [which] then structure participation and policymaking" (in Hochschild, 2003, p. 116). An awareness of this second phase is integral to identifying and engaging the various effects of the policies within this collective, comprised of the levers of *Evaluation and Assessment* and *Funding*. In addressing these various effects, again, Bacchi's questions provide guidance and serve to distill the most significant effects from this policy collective. With regards to discursive effects, this analysis asks, "What is likely to change or stay the same through this representation of the problem?" The centrality of accountability guides this discussion of effects, and, building upon the effects identified through within the previous policy collective, this analysis engages the 5th lens of the WPR framework.

7.3.1. Discursive Effects - Evaluation and Assessment & Funding

Becker's assertion that "an increased demand by different interest groups or constituencies for particular intellectual arguments and conclusions would stimulate an increased supply of these arguments" (2013, p. 11) frames this identification of the discursive effects within this policy collective. The problematizations of both accountability/transparency as well as political-cum educational will relies upon the intensification of an economic approach to human behavior (Becker, 2013), which, for education, becomes an operative logic, injecting rationalities of incentives and varying forms of accountability into the educational discourse; they, too, become education. Operating as a form of *credo consolans*, this new educational doxa begins to reshape the educational landscape and its denizens, and fashions educational policy as a response to "global dynamics of labour, capital and education" (Loughland and Sriprakash, 2016, p. 232).

The first of the discursive effects identified within these levers is concerned with the institution of multiples forms of accountability within education. Suspitsyna's (2010) identification of accountability as a "sacred language" points to its "disjunction between theory or the ideal, and practice; it establishes the criteria of legitimacy for practice" (Tenbenschel, 2002,

p. 303 in Suspitsyna, 2010, p. 577), a *sine qua non* within the reform landscape. The reliance upon coercive and outcome-based accountabilities presupposes a contentious relationship to education and its practitioners, and in response to the previously identified notions of a broken or even runaway education, seeks to 'bring it to heel', to exert control upon education. *Free-market accountability* aims to leverage market principles to both create and stabilize this nascent educational market. *Political or democratic* accountabilities provide the necessary assent through which reforms are enacted (ostensibly) for society's benefit. Despite the presence of these various forms of accountability, and especially their implied variance with regards to the locus of power, the federalization, the ministerialisation of educational reform folds them into a monolithic conception of accountability, thereby concealing its "multiple and contested meanings" through the promulgation of a "rhetorical orthodoxy"; accountability becomes a meliorative mechanism, a "means for improving educational organizations [and outputs] but also an unquestionable good and as such, a desired end in itself" (Suspitsyna, 2010, p. 577).

The homogenizing result of this discursive effect, this simplification of accountability as an uncontested discursive *doxa*, neither precludes nor diminishes the constituent forms of accountability, but produces a multiplicity of educational purpose through reform, making possible the exposition of specific institutional targets with reference to reform initiatives. Furthermore, the identification of accountability as a Foucauldian technology of control allows for the various actors implicated within diverse forms of accountability to assert their positionality as the primary (if not sole) PAT principals, and therefore in control of education. These initial effects indicate and inform the presence of 4 ancillary discursive effects:

The first of these ancillary effects is the production of an altered view of funding in education. Funding becomes viewed as no longer a necessity for either adequate or equitable educational provision, and more importantly, becomes subject to the vagaries of political processes. The identified policy binary of entitlement vs. need signals its relegation to the political realm; its articulation as an entitlement with regards to its provision, but an investment within the economic approach, secures its usage as either an incentive or a cudgel for both a coercive and a consumer-managerial form of accountability. Bound as it is to discourses of accountability,

funding also becomes a conditional concept, and crucially, tied to data in a precarity-laden relationship.

The second ancillary effect concerns the preeminence of data within education. The position of data with regards to education reflects the operation of regimes of audit and accountability within education and a "governance by numbers" (Rose, 1991, in Sellar, 2015, p. 132). Produced primarily through systems of standardized testing, and disseminated through various media, data, whether identified as "catalyst" (Lingard and Sellar, 2013) or "performance" (Sellar, 2015), is virtually reified within education, positioned as an 'ends' of education, and the only legitimate evidence for policy within education. The diminution of the educational experience to a few quantitative measures similarly indicates the relegation of other measures of education as ex-discursive, and thus limiting educational achievement to its processes of aggregation.

The aggregation of data relies upon the concept of commensurability (as well as the practice of commensuration) and informs the measurement and comparison indicative of this economic mindset, and especially the function of accountability. Its specific usage within accountability and audit regimes "involves an intensified relationship between the abstract quantities generated through commensuration and the affective intensities through which these abstractions have effects" (Sellar, 2015, p. 132), a relationship that both ensures its catalysis of various policy actors and elevates the importance of data within reform. Notably, the aggregation and especially the disaggregation of data into its constituent social groupings also positions data as the arbiter of the winners and losers in education, serving as a marker of either advantage or disadvantage.

The third effect is the presumption of commensurability within educational provision and access. As the "transformation of different qualities into a common metric" (Espeland & Stevens, 1998, in Sellar, 2015, p. 131), commensuration also implies both standardization and, with regards to the production of educational data, the decontextualization of the educational lens. The general assumption of the objectivity of quantitative measurements also imbues such measures with a legitimacy that both enhances and validates its conclusions. The

preeminence of data, cloaked in the veneer of objectivity conferred both by its "science-based evidence"(Suspitsyna, 2010, p. 577), privileges market-based forms of accountability and the implied competition. It also allows for the discursive effect of the sedimentation of meritocratic discourses in education to emerge. In this context, school becomes a Foucauldian dividing practice, and the arbiter of educational and subsequently social disadvantage, a clear lived effect. When considered against the uncertainty of educational funding; the tacit acceptance of alternative school forms and the rising power of school choices; the variability of accountability and the reification of data and the normalization of positional anxiety in the production of winners and losers within an economic mindset, the final discursive effect reveals itself to be the recontextualization (Loughland 2016) of education as a competition for social advantage. While several unexamined discursive effects exist, they appear within the discussion of lived effects.

7.3.2. Lived Effects - Evaluation and Assessment & Funding

The first lived effect impelled by the problematisations and discursive effects within these policy levers relates to the changed view of funding in education. The uncertainty of educational funding due to its politicization produces a variability in educational funding, a precarious situation further complicated by the policy linkage of educational provision to student performance. Schools now must devise methods to secure their funding at the cost of other schools and, crucially, other students. Within Australia, this is complicated by the unique public-private (or non-governmental) funding arrangement; advantaged schools increase their advantage in both performance and funding, while disadvantaged schools struggle for footing within this competitive arena. This forced starving of resources (for, indeed, that is what such funding arrangements amount to) heightens the competition, and as with the United States' *Race to The Top*, coerces participation within an economically-induced reform.

The normalization of this economic approach indicates a linked lived effect, the entrance of business, as a concerned entity and as an additional (or supplementary) principal into the

educational sphere. This manifests itself in private sector participation, which Hogan (2014), channelling Ball (2007), observes as a "range of privatisations 'of', 'in' and 'through' education and education policy" (p. 94), noting that this incursion of private enterprise into public services led to the transference of expertise away from education and towards what she terms 'edu-businesses', represented by such notable companies as Pearson, the educational publisher. Edu-business activity within educational reform, which generates a \$48 billion profit into its own coffers in the United States (Burch 2009), reflects the rise of new 'policy networks' and forms of governance (Ball 2012) increasing their activity within the educational policy sphere and especially within the provision of educational direction and reform (see Ball, 2012; Ball and Junemann, 2012; Burch, 2009; Reckhow, 2013).

These policy networks speak to the institutions indicated in Baumgartner and Jones' (1993) second phase of issue expansion and comprise edu-businesses, government and a third policy actor that Thompson and Lingard (2015) recognize as non-government actors in the form of think-tanks and policy 'mills'. These institutions, comprised of "non-state actors and agencies" like the OECD, the Cato and Grattan Institutes and the Institute for Public Affairs, are connected to government in various ways, leveraging such connections "to influence all aspects of the policy cycle, from agenda setting and generation of research and ideas for policy, through to policy text production, policy implementation and evaluation (p. 2). In Australia, Hart and Vromen (2008, p. 136) identify 'academic'; 'government', 'contract research' and 'policy advocacy' think tanks, and in the US the nomenclature is similar, with McGann and Weaver (2000) replacing government with political party think tanks. Thompson et al. indicate what Medvetz (2012) terms "boundary organisations", which, though bound to a loose configuration, inhabit distinct, though ideologically-based positions located at the intersections of "academia, politics, the market and the media" (Thompson, Savage and Lingard, 2015, p. 3). Hogan (2014) also notes that the presence of such networks, and particularly within *Evaluation and Assessment*, are indicative of a redistribution of policy power and values within education.

The presence of these non-government actors (also subjectification effects, in truth) serve to both widen, or expand the field of policy and reinscribe it with new 'social grammars' for education. More importantly their activities mark their positioning as principals-and sometimes agents, as well-within their own PAT relationships, and engender a concentration of educational (and social) power owing to their recontextualization of discursive authority and their leverage of new informational asymmetries in their favour, and towards their own ends. This crowded field also begs the question, who is in control of education?

7.3.3. Subjectivisation Effects - Evaluation and Assessment

A lived effect linked to these shifting and inconstant power dynamics amidst the widened-and crowded-policy field is the institution of a new educational competition, a competition to become the educational principal. Wading into this new educational arena, and indicative of a subjectification effect of these policy levers, is the new consumer-parent who, armed with reams of catalyst data and the ability to make a choice (however regulated), asserts their own power. This is a power afforded them via the presence of multiple accountability mechanisms and a multiplicity of educational purpose and direction.

The resulting effect concerns the various actors implicated within this competitive arena. The new consumer-parent, emboldened and empowered within policy through discourses of choice and control, believes themselves to *force* schools to address their roles and positions within this educational competition. To wit, schools must also 'play the game', becoming competitors for funding, student numbers and student performance. This is not to say precisely that schools have become businesses, but that the increasingly zero-sum nature of educational provision requires a prioritization of survival. Student success is not the goal of schooling but guarantees the survival of the school.

Additionally, the widening of the educational arena also extends to the identification and participation of educational actors; schools and the aforementioned 'boundary organizations' now enter the fray, competing for both discursive control and material management of public

resources within education. Their power stems from their employment of such catalyst data as are made available through the mechanisms found within this lever, primarily through testing.

It bears noting that the institutional structuration of participation indicated by Baumgartner and Jones (1993) reveals competition, as an institutional discursive construct which structures the participation of these various subjects. Notably, the assumption of *principality* (as in their relative position within the principal-agent dialectic) within this arena imbues these actors—schools, parents, extra-educational actors, all—with the presumption of not only control, but of sole direction.

7.4. Policy Effects - School Improvement and Equity and Quality

Recalling Bacchi's admonition as to the hybridity or duality of some effects, this final analysis of policy effects operates within this hybridity, emphasizing the concomitant and interrelated nature of these effects. The policy effects uncovered through this analysis of the leverage of *School Improvement and Equity and Quality*, moreover, share a significant measure of similitude to those within the previous policy collective. Considering this, beyond the inclusion of effects of significance to these levers, an effort was made to excise those effects whose presence have already been noted, though recognizing their presence where necessary.

This final engagement of effects is also engaged through the third phase of issue expansion:

"Finally, the excitement dies away, replaced by either concern for another problem, frustration with the intractability of this one, or simply fickleness. But "after public interest and enthusiasm fade, the institutions remain, pushing forward with their preferred policies. These institutional legacies of agenda access may structure participation so that a powerful subsystem can remain relatively independent of popular control for decades" (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993 in Hochschild, 2003, p. 116).

It is the 'structuration of participation' upon which this discussion of effects focuses, for through such structuration of agenda access are effects uncovered and marking this policy collective as the veritable apogee of issue expansion.

7.4.1. Discursive Effects - School Improvement and Equity and Quality

Again, discursive effects require engagement through their respective guiding questions, asking "What is likely to change or stay the same with this representation of the problem?" However, approaching Bacchi's operative questions through the frame of Baumgartner and Jones' third phase of issue expansion refines the focus of the analytical lens, and within an analysis of educational policy now asks, "*in what ways do these problematisations indicate "institutional legacies of agenda access" and their impact upon structures of participation- what is likely to change, and what is likely to stay the same?"*

The first of these discursive effects regards *education as the primary meliorative mechanism to address educational inequality*. In support of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary School Education Act (ESEA), and especially its Title I provisions, US President Lyndon B. Johnson asserted that "Poverty has many roots, but the taproot is ignorance" (Kantor & Lowe, 2011b, p. 18), a statement which on its surface resonates with determinate representation, but instead indicates a diversion of attention from social sources of poverty and the influence of "labor market inadequacies" (p. 18) on inequality. It is the modern companion to Horace Mann's aphorism that "education is the great balance wheel of humanity". Married to this willful oversight comes a feature of educational policies in both the United States and Australia, and with respect to the policy levers under consideration in this research, is a discursive effect, that of education as the only meliorative mechanism to address inequality.

Channeling the 'illusion' of meritocracy (Piketty, 2014), of *ceteris paribus*, the policies within these levers focus their energies on uplifting urban schools in the US, and low socioeconomic area and Indigenous schools in Australia, through the minimisation of "any connection between the conditions of educational provision and school achievement [or] that equality [may require] the redistribution of resources" (Kantor and Lowe, 2011, p. 19). When married to the rationalities of previous levers, and namely the relegation of educational funding to the political realm where it is subject to a fickle and conditional political calculus, the denuding of context within these policies permits varied accountability relationships, instead, to focus their attentions on human capitalistic efforts.

With respect to the guiding questions, the second of these discursive effects represents both change and stasis, an alteration to previously identified discursive concepts, identified by this research as the discursive *construction of teachers, schools and education, writ large, as hostile agents to both educational goals and to its (PAT) principals*. It is also linked to the key concept of teacher centrality, which itself implicates further effects.

This effect is, in truth, the result of a process of subtraction, as each possible candidate is removed from contention by the sheer discursive weight of the responsabilisation of the education agent through meritocratic discourses and especially the concept of *teacher centrality*. Mockler (2013), contends that the 'problem' of teacher quality is a "tenet" of neoliberalisation, part of an effort to transform teaching through the "the rhetoric of blame and fear and the promulgation of heroic narratives of exemplary teachers, which, coupled with the wide-spread use of tests, render teachers and teacher educators susceptible to the language of policy and the lure of business practices and make possible teachers' psychic investment in various aspects of the transformation" (Mockler 2013, p. 3). Teacher centrality becomes the language of educational efficacy, and an able euphemism for school accountability, positioning teachers as the objects of the various accountability mechanisms.

Across the considered policy documents, the original principal-agent relationship has evinced many iterations, and though primarily non-committal as to the identity of the primary principal, the educational agent (schooling, teachers, its principals and system administrators) is consistently positioned as the actor for whom accountability is most necessary. Within this policy collective, however, the discursive lens becomes focused on teachers as representative of education and especially their centrality to remediating education. Several factors contribute this discursive effect, beginning with the *a priori* assumption that teachers' intrinsic motivation is a determining factor in their performance, which sediments the position that teachers are the cause of mediocre performance by students. This allows for the corresponding lived effects of a procession of policies aimed at teachers and (indirectly) teacher unions and, more importantly, continues the now-accepted practice of maligning teachers. Also contributing to this effect is the rhetorical construction of education as a de-professionalised space and of teachers as lacking professionalism. Within neoliberalised discourse,

professionalism is the *lingua franca* of compliance, of discourses of performativity, and with regards to performance, student performance on standardized tests becomes a proxy for teacher performance, and, as such, a narrow conception of teacher impact or efficacy. In addition, the absence of any engagement of teaching limits the efforts at school improvement to the production of compliant workers, a discursive and subjectification effect. The importance of the standardized test *du jour*, then becomes less a measure of progress, but empirical proof of instructional and institutional compliance.

The final discursive effect is *the justification and acceptance of educational inequality as a product of the new meritocratic order*. While meritocracy exists among those terms regarded as commonsensical, and vernacularized, reduced to a form of cliché in the popular imagination, within education it stands as a seminal discourse which operates through its proximity to questions of equity and disadvantage. Piketty insists that meritocratic discourses must first "define the meaning of inequality [thereby] justifying the position of the winners [as] a matter of vital importance [for meritocratic viability and validity], and one can expect to see all sorts of misrepresentations of the facts in service of the cause" (2014, p. 487).

The sedimentation of meritocratic discourses allows for the essentialization of educational achievement and intelligence. Within this decontextualized and responsabilised discourse, the mediated 'fact' of educational achievement as concentrated within society's 'haves'-and their disaggregated social markers, race, class etc.-serves as an explanation and justification for inequality within education. Furthermore, by re-defining equity, casting it as a function of quality, one need only address the impediments to educational quality to achieve equity. The noted diminished returns of reform initiatives within this meritocratic and responsabilised competition then become located within a human capitalistic framework, solely attributable to individual capacity and effort rather than systemic or environmental input.

7.4.2. Lived Effects - School Improvement and Equity and Quality

While a number of lived effects have already found purchase within the analysis of discursive effects, either expressly located within or intimated by enumerated discursive effects (within these, and other policy levers), the discussion of lived effects within this policy collective

focuses its attention on four key effects and their attendant ancillary effects for their significance to this research and its specified aims.

First, the identification of teachers (and by extension, teachers and education) as hostile or as impediments to educational goals precipitates the first effect, which this research regards as the profusion of 'professional', non-governmental principals within education. Identified within the previous policy collective as comprised of edu-businesses, both government and non-governmental educational agents, and (quasi) academic actors, they enter the market in the hopes of capitalizing on the increased reformation of educational agents, and intent on professionalising educators and education. Their involvement also signals an attempt to circumvent the presumed recalcitrance of teachers towards existing educational reform efforts.

Within the policy sphere they are both sources for and vocal critics of policy initiatives and their efforts are most evident in these policy levers on two fronts, (1) campaigning for an increase (and in some cases, the presence of) alternative teaching certification (or registration, in Australia) and training programs -which, in Australia, also include calls to reform teacher education programs in the tertiary sector- and (2) the championing of charter (and charter-type) or independent public schooling as a remedy for both educational stagnation and a policy response to disadvantage (see Lubienski, 2006, 2013; Jha and Buckingham, 2015; Buckingham, 2015).

Alternative teaching programs such as *Teach for America*, *Teach for Australia* and the *New York City Teaching Fellows*, offer substitute entry pathways for prospective teachers, and specifically 'career changers', bypassing the reportedly onerous and inflexible prerequisites for prospective teachers. The operating premise of such programs is that education evinces the effects of 'adverse selection' (see Moe, 2003) with regards to its selection of teachers, and requires the provision of further pathways into education for 'desirable' candidates without the challenges of traditional teacher training and selection processes. Clearly the blatant irony is lost on advocates of such programs, as the notion of alternative certification programs seeks to circumvent the very professionalism believed to be lacking in education. Such endeavours are

essentially capacity-building programs steeped in meritocratic and accountability discourses and offer a desirable supply-side feature for educational systems, producing teachers are often more cost-effective than fully certified teachers and serve as a mechanism to replace established educators with new, cheaper and appropriately professionalized educators (Strauss, 2018). At this point, I should note that I am a product of one such program, the *New York City Teaching Fellows*. In practice, though, they produce a cheap and (most importantly) pliant workforce amenable to reform efforts.

A corollary effect of this overall elevation of teacher centrality is also the lived effect of pressure upon teacher training organisations, best observed within an Australian context. Traditionally entrusted with the training of teachers, tertiary institutions now endure the worst of this public devaluation of teachers and placing teacher education programs under the reform microscope. This reformist position argues that Australia's teachers do not come from amongst the best students, and the sensationalist mediatisation of policy discourse further amplifies this position (Baumann, Dalton & Wilson, 2015; Robinson, 2018). Interestingly, the calls for increasing the baseline qualifications of teachers do not accompany equally fervent (if any, at all) calls to increase compensation within education.

These quasi-educational actors are also central to another ancillary effect, the growth of charter, portfolio or non-governmental public schools. Charter schools are firmly established and growing in the United States, while in Australia the push for their implementation is slowly gaining impetus (Jha & Buckingham, 2015; Lubienski & Weitzel, 2010). They represent a cost-effective method to instigate the professionalization of the educational sector. Notably, however, the very definition of charter school finds currency within schooling in Australia; public funding and (though partial) private management. The consensus definition of charter schools identifies them as the combination of public funding and private management in schooling form bound by a performance-based contractual arrangement, or charter. In exchange for a measure of autonomy from laws and regulations, the "charter bargain" (Prothero, 2018) binds such schools to what amount to performance contracts. The proliferation of charter schools stems from the discursive elevation of school choice, a curious

development considering its history as a rallying cry for segregationists in America. An equally noteworthy development is the over-representation of charter type schooling in disadvantaged communities (Lubienski, 2013).

Charter schools take part in what Gabor (2018) characterizes as a "Darwinian game of musical chairs" where, in the competition for a "limited supply of philanthropic [and public] dollars", charter schools seek to "outperform the market for test scores" (in Strauss 2018). Gabor's characterization points to the increasing involvement of (ostensibly) philanthropic interests within education, emphasizing her characterization of a 'Darwinian' landscape. In a report entitled *Hijacked by Billionaires*, the Network for Public Education Action (2018) details the efforts of what Carol Burris (chairwoman of the NPE) and Diane Ravitch (2018, in Strauss 2018) term the "billionaire class" to residualise public schooling through the financial and public support of charter schools. Their efforts involve (financially) supporting the election of charter-friendly school boards, charter-friendly legislators and public initiatives to wholly abolish publicly elected educational boards to pave the way for an increase in charter schooling. This powerful group of educational actors counts among their number such illustrious names as the Walton Family of Walmart fortunes, former New York mayor Michael Bloomberg of Bloomberg Financial, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (Gates of Microsoft) and the DeVos family of Amway fortune. Despite limited experience in education, these business titans use their considerable wealth and social capital to steer and tug education towards such directions as charter schooling. Amidst the uncertainty of educational funding, the presence of such philanthropic partnerships and dollars also reflects a healthy measure of discursive authority; such outside funding represents, again, an authoritative allocation of funding. The imprimatur of Gates Foundation Funding, for example, lends a decisive measure of discursive authority to any educational initiative. Notably, Betsy DeVos has capitalized on her charter advocacy to become US Secretary of Education.

However, charter schools evince, at best, mixed results; at worst, they are an abject failure. With upwards of 33% of charter schools opened in 2000 closed 10 years later, and 40% by 2003 (Burris and Ravitch in Strauss 2018), the data should indicate the lessening of an appetite for such educational interventions. The reality, however, reveals an intensification of charter

schooling. Unbeknownst to the Montessori Federation, Jeff Bezos, CEO of Amazon, has decided to enter the fray in November of 2018 by funding Montessori-like schools. Simultaneously, Netflix CEO Reed Hastings has also committed 10 million dollars to fund charter schools and similar initiatives in California. While charter schools are not yet common in Australia, the Darwinian competition is, as is the policy-driven impetus behind corporate partnerships within education. Pearson, Dell and Apple are firm players, as it were, within this tangential competitive arena.

The erosion, or even the destruction of trust in education appears as another lived effect, though one with the broadest reach with regards to its effects upon both and society. The continual and far-reaching efforts to destabilise education have allowed the unchallenged denigration of education and educators, decrying their purported ineptitude, gross negligence and lack of effort (Welch, 2018). The mediatization of education discourse(s) reproduce such polemics and, as is the nature of discourse, they are similarly recounted within official government discourses. By positioning educational agents as hostile, education has become an acrimonious space marked by recriminations as to who cares the most about children. The teaching profession has seen a public devaluation of its worth, while the involvement of various policy actors intensifies the contestation of educational control.

The final lived effect is a catalysis towards social segmentation and racial /cultural segregation within education, one marked by increasing variations in school types, and both white flight and the appeal of parental choice within education. The rationalization of inequality-its ostensible justification- becomes the basis for school selection practices in Australia and the United States. Armed with the objective proof of educational achievement, parents choose between identified and sanctioned embodiments of educational achievement or failure. One can argue that parents do not choose between institutions but are instead attempting to choose advantage. The resulting lived effect is a socially segmented system of education highlighting a danger inherent to an until now unrecognized binary of macroeconomic v microeconomic returns from education (Machin and Vignoles, 2005, p. 135). The choice of schooling stands for the valuation of microeconomic returns over those of macroeconomic, or

social, returns, as does the valuation of individual choice of school at the risk of socially deleterious consequences.

In educational discourse, choice is strongly associated with parents, and is indicative of their exercise of power, of the insertion of a measure of control into a system within which there are many "hands in the pot", so to speak. One must enquire as to the quality, the truth, of this 'choice'. Is a choice between predetermined options selected in advance—and manufactured or designed—still, in truth, a choice? Does a choice within a regulated autonomy (or a bounded, or limited, rationality) still qualify as a choice? Or is it merely a predetermined and equally limited outcome? Significantly, choice is also the domain of schools; the readily available evaluative data produced by standardized assessments are individualized and allow schools to identify desirable candidates. More to the point, choice also refers to the selected composition of school populations, an overlooked mechanism of school segregation (Roda and Wells, 2013).

While schooling has always functioned as a form of social capital and signaling (see Machin and Vignoles, 2005), when considered against the backdrop of the teacher/educational agent as both hostile to and indicative of established educational intentions, advantaged schools and students are then assumed to have access to more effective and compliant teachers, an assumption which also intimates the converse, whereby poor or underachieving schools are assumed to have disadvantaged and non-compliant teachers. This decidedly myopic appraisal of schooling allows performance on standardized tests to serve as marker of advantage. Bonnor and Shepherd (2016) see this as impelling increased enrollments towards advantaged schools.

The resulting selection of—and exodus from—specific schools is not, in and of itself, evidence of the presence of parental choice as determinative of segregation within schooling. However, when married to the performative pressures placed upon schools to produce results and to recruit students capable of specific levels of performance within a school-level positional anxiety, what this research terms institutional choice becomes an equally significant factor in the catalysis towards social, racial and economic segmentation.

7.4.3. Subjectification Effects- School Improvement and Equity and Quality

This final effect returns our attentions to Bacchi's questions and our pointed clarifications. In its unadulterated form the questions ask, *How does the attribution of responsibility for the 'problem' affect those so targeted and the perceptions of the rest of the community about who is to 'blame'?* (Bacchi, 2009, p. 18). Again, this research clarifies her investigative query, asking, *what are the specific subjects necessary to these 'problems'; who (or what) do these problematisations ask that we become?"*

The desired subjects of policy within these final levers indicate a culmination of the entire policy process, specifying the specific subjects necessary to the enactment of reform across all of the considered levers. Significantly, they are nominated and addressed by their subject position and assumed actions within the policy sphere. The previously identified subject positions constituted through policy are the consumer-parent, the competitive school, the boundary organization as educational principal and the professional teacher. In addition to those already identified within this discussion of policy effects this policy collective evinces two further subject positions, the professionalized teacher and the absent student, both of which are particular to this policy collective

The teacher-professional: Constructed under the aegis of both competition and teacher centrality, this subject is primarily responsible and culpable for student and school success or failure. This subject is identified by his professionalism, marked by a belief that his task is approach teaching from a no-excuses platform. Accordingly, and unsurprisingly, he, too, must engage in a perpetual process of self-reformation. He is engaged in multiple forms of professional development and is intimately aware of the absolute importance of his student's test scores and, crucially, his performance as measured against his colleagues/competitors. His participation within the competitive arena, through such measures as performance bonuses, represent a measure of compliance, however unwilling. Crucially, he also knows that his career depends on the performance of specific students and, together with his school, works to mitigate their impact upon his (the student's) scores.

The absent student: Notably absent from this list of subjects is the student. The most noticeable aspect within this analysis of the reformation of education through policy is the marked

absence of the student within policy documents and much of the wider policy discourse. Their importance, however, is not diminished, though their object treatment as an object-target resonates through this policy collective. Teacher centrality minimizes the importance of the student within policy to quantitative measures; the prioritization of (teaching) quality over equity reduces the student, again, to a *problematic* statistical input while also marginalizing the qualitative aspects of their education.

Chapter 8.

Results, Conclusions and Determinations

8.1. Introduction

The following chapter serves two key purposes within this dissertation. Its first purpose, addressed within the first three sections, entails summarising the results of this WPR analysis and detailing the determination of the conceptual and operational logics informing the enactment of educational reform policies within these contexts. Moreover, these collective results are further examined through an affective-discursive frame to discover the mechanism(s), the *why* and *how*, of policy movement/enaction.

The second purpose of this chapter involves providing a conclusion to this thesis, directly addressing the research questions guiding this investigation. Moreover, in keeping with Bacchi's original intent with the WPR framework, this research considers the possibility of future approaches to reform, examining the utility (or promise) in the contestation and replacement of prevailing educational and reform discourses in order to address educational segregation in Australia.

8.2. Results of the WPR Analysis

This thesis undertook an analysis of educational reform policies from both the United States from 1983-2014 and Australia during 2008-2015 in search of, first, similarities or patterns in their approaches to reform, and, secondly, a relationship to specific forms of educational inequality. The results of this analysis of policy through the WPR framework, a Foucauldian-inspired post-structural policy discourse analysis, reveal several similarities between

educational reform policies in both countries. The WPR method is a "critical, rather than descriptive, form of analysis" (Bacchi, 2009, p. 39). Furthermore, Bacchi cites Foucault (1994, p. 456) to specify her intended usage of critique: "A critique does not consist in saying that things aren't good the way they are. It consists in seeing on what type of assumptions, of familiar notions, of established, unexamined ways of thinking the accepted practices are based" (p. 39). As such, it is not enough to simply enumerate these problematisations and rationalities, merely noting their presence within policy frameworks; instead, they must be critically "assessed" (p. 40). Specifically, this analysis discovers clear and compelling patterns in policy problematizations (Q1), in the assumptions and presuppositions underpinning these problem representations (Q2), and, finally, in the various effects produced by such problematisations (Q5). This is not to say that other patterns were not visible, but that those chosen for discussion appeared as salient, and most indicative of the policies under consideration with regards to the specific form of inequality problematized by this research endeavor.

8.2.1. Problem Representations

This examination of policy discourse reveals that American policies are predominately comprehensive in nature, indicative of an attempt to alter all aspects of the educational sphere in a simultaneous manner. However, each of the American policies contain areas of specific policy (and discursive) emphasis. Australian policies, in contrast, primarily proceed through a targeted approach towards limited policy aims. These differences can be attributable to the differences in educational structure, and especially the mechanisms of provision, within these differing contexts. Both policy groupings indicate a clear pattern in their deployment of policy within education, and when considered within their respective policy levers evince a definitive path, a processual quality to their engagement of reform and its objectives. Table 11 indicates the aggregated problem representations from this analysis of reform policies in the United States and Australia.

Country	Policy Lever	Title	Problem Representation
AUS	Governance	Melbourne Declaration + MCEETYA 4 Year Plan National Education Agreement	<p>Problematises the purpose of education, reconceptualising it as a competitive enterprise.</p> <p>Schools do not function as “professional organisations”, lacking in transparency and accountability protocols.</p>
US	Governance	A Nation At Risk	ANAR problematizes both the purpose of education as well as its social expectations, sedimenting the economization of education and operationalising the key concepts of competition, of education as economic system (or a marketplace), of individual [investment] and personal responsibility, which are, to be sure, clear neoliberalisms.
AUS	Evaluation & Assessment	MySchool Website	MySchool problematizes transparency, recontextualising the provision of educational information as accountability ... and ultimately as authority.
		NAPLAN Website	NAPLAN problematizes accountability, recontextualising it as transparency (through assessment). With NAPLAN, however, it is not the test through which this is achieved, but through the reporting of results.
		ACARA Act	This problem representation would presuppose the lack of a discernible structure to education; in fact, the concept of lack plays a significant role in this problem representation; education is, by definition, fatally flawed, as it were. It makes this task less a remedial enterprise, and more a reconstitutive one. Again, the concept of reform – in its denotative and connotative forms- requires further examination. Moreover, the institution of an organization tasked primarily with an oversight function speaks, again, to the workings of a discourse of accountability.
US	Evaluation & Assessment	America 2000, Goals 2000 & the IASA	<p>America 2000 & Goals 2000 problematise the responsibility of education, and specifically the provision of its direction-taken here, as structure. Both policy proposals indicate their preferred direction while deftly demurring with regards to responsibility, though insinuating the necessity of a specific social/educational policy actor.</p> <p>The <i>Improving America's Schools Act</i> (IASA), however, problematizes accountability within schooling, approaching its policy thrust through a recontextualisation of need.</p>

AUS	Funding	Gonksi	The Review of Funding in Schooling problematises educational capacity, as informed primarily by political will to, ostensibly, establish a clearer accountability relationship between states and the federal government in exchange for its increased financial role in educational provision.
US	Funding	Race To the Top (2009)	Problematises the very purpose of education and of educators, initiating a reconceptualization of education as a competition requiring both competitive and accountability mechanisms to correct its previous missteps and steer its proper course.
AUS	School Improvement	Australian Teacher Performance and Development Framework + Australian Charter for the Professional Learning of Teachers and School Leaders +Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (and Principals) (+National Partnership on Teacher Quality)	Taken together, these reforms, and indeed the lever, seem aimed at teacher quality (and specifically its lack, or deficiency) as an impediment to educational success, as the problem requiring an intervention. It builds on the tropes, or the key concepts, of teacher centrality, which differs semantically and substantially from <i>teaching</i> centrality, and on a concept of the educational professional as measured against a standard. To wit, this collection of policies problematizes teacher effectiveness as <i>accountability</i> , and promotes a system of standards and procedures to which teachers must be held accountable.
US	School Improvement	Teacher Incentive Fund Program (2012)	Problematises teacher/educational motivation as a mechanism to build [buy-in] to a larger reform agenda, and specifically a new system of human capital management.
AUS	Equity and Quality	National Partnership on Low Socio-economic School Communities (NPLowSES; 2009-2016) +Aboriginal and Torres Strait Education Action Plan 2010 (2011)	The <i>NPLowSES</i> serves to specify the target(s) for this lever, while the <i>ATSI Action Plan</i> compels participation. Together, they Problematises participation in efforts of reformation as indicative of imbalances within this reform and takes an individualistic (and decontextualized) approach to both notions of equity as well as disadvantage.

US	Equity and Quality	No Child Left Behind	<i>No Child Left Behind</i> problematizes participation within educational reform through a supply-side strategy focusing its energies on the reformation of human inputs. Specifically, participation is incentivized through a system of negative reinforcement and coercive accountability and is also taken to refer to participation within the education market.
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Table 11: Identified Problem Representations from WPR Analysis

An aggregation of the collective problematisations reveal that policies within the Governance lever collectively problematise educational purpose, structure and overall capacity- which focuses specifically on an economically or business derived professionalism (including educational will, political or otherwise) to deal with/account for a changing educational landscape. Crucially, this landscape is bound by a competitive/economic ethos, which, by virtue of its competitive underpinnings, couches its problematisations within the rhetoric of exigency, positional anxieties and precarity. They, together, ask and answer the question: *What is wrong with education?*

It soon becomes clear, however, that this changing landscape is as much rhetorical as it is material. In that success relies upon a landscape increasingly defined by standardized testing and accountability protocols, then the implicated exigencies are largely straw men-although their effects are materially significant. However it is that we arrive at this new future, the effects of decrying education are clear: in the specificity of their problematizations of educational structure, transparency and accountability, the considered policies within the lever focusing on *Evaluation and Assessment* provide the potential (and chosen) meliorative mechanisms for the re-formation of modern education. Crucially, they also concretize the use of dividing practices and surveillance techniques. Significantly, their varying definitions and usages of accountability, the operative term within their (if not all) problem representations evince a multiplicity of purpose, and a displacement of educational goals. The policies leveraging *Funding* directly address educational capacity, seen here, collectively, as educational will (including motivation- intrinsic, extrinsic and political) and political will. Together, the preceding policy levers ask and answer the following: *How can education be 'fixed', what are the*

mechanisms by which we will adapt to this new, educational landscape, through which we will reform education?

The final levers, then, specify the objects of these mechanisms, the ostensible objects of and for re-formation through the operative question: *Upon whom, or what, should these mechanisms act to engage within this new, educational landscape, to reform education?* School Improvement policies focus their attentions on the primary obstruction to both success in educational achievement, as well as the desired reformation of education: teacher effectiveness, and to a lesser degree, educational autonomy. The final educational policy lever, that of *Equity and Quality*, problematizes participation in efforts of reformation as indicative of imbalances within this reforming.

8.2.2. Policy Rationalities

The second question in the WPR framework builds on the initial assessment for problem representations, eliciting the policy rationalities—binary constructions, key concepts and categorical necessities—underpinning the specific problematisations identified through the first lens of the framework. These ideational constructions also directly inform the conceptual logics underpinning both the identified problem representations, as well as the processes of policy implementation and enactment.

This aspect of the analysis, though, again, organized by policy lever and cognizant of key contextual and temporal differences, also considers the policies within their place on the identified processual path, as policy collectives (see Table 12). This determination of policy collectives identifies similarity of purpose within the policy rationalities identified within Evaluation and Assessment and Funding. It finds similar accord within School Improvement and Equity and Quality, but only within their policy binaries and Key Concepts.

The following collective consideration of policy according to lever and implicit problematization provides critical insight into any patterns within these policy rationalities. This also aids in identifying their relationship to the identified problem representations and allows for a clearer rendering of the conceptual logics. As this research concerns itself with the

identification of implicit patterns within the policies under consideration, the following section eschews an itemized accounting of each of these rationalities and opts, instead, for an elucidation of the salient binary constructions, key concepts and categories.

Policy Rationalities	Assumptions and Presuppositions	Policy Binaries	Key Concepts
Governance	<p>Education as training for the marketplace</p> <p>Education as deficient and requiring remediation</p> <p>Fugitive rationalities</p> <p>that the problems of modern education are of, or inherent to, education and that while government policy might intervene to address these identified shortcomings, government takes/holds no responsibility for its failures.</p>	<p>Winners vs. Losers</p> <p>Individual vs. society / individual vs. government</p>	<p>Lack</p> <p>(The lack of) Accountability and/or transparency</p> <p>Competition</p> <p>Flat earth, or the flattening of the earth</p>
Evaluation & Assessment; Funding	<p>Education is lacking in accountability (NAPLAN)and/or transparency (MySchool) mechanisms; or both (Goals 2000, America 2000 and the IASA).</p> <p>The derivation, aggregation and presentation of specific information, alone, increases transparency in education.</p> <p>The competition impelled by this aggregation can/will instigate increased performance in schooling.</p> <p>Government is only partially responsible for education</p> <p>Fugitive rationalities</p> <p>the seemingly rhetorical 'control' offered to parents through such mechanisms as school choice and accountability and transparency mechanisms will facilitate objective market functions with regard to education.</p> <p>Educational Funding is adequate</p> <p>Educational funding is an issue of need, rather than entitlement or right.</p>	<p>Winners vs. Losers</p> <p>Concurrent Federalism vs. Cooperative Federalism</p> <p>Entitlement vs. Need</p> <p>Grant vs. Funding</p> <p>Expenditure vs. Investment</p> <p>School vs. School</p> <p>Parents vs. School</p> <p>Responsibility vs. Blame</p>	<p>Motivation/Incentivisation</p> <p>Competition</p> <p>Reform</p> <p>Accountability</p> <p>Audit</p> <p>Control</p> <p>Choice</p>
School Improvement	<p>Additional requirements via policy represent no added burden to the profession</p> <p>Teaching, alone, is sufficient to overcome the social or educational disadvantages evident within education.</p> <p>Teachers are "adult learners"</p>	<p>Winner vs. Losers</p> <p>Equity vs. Quality</p> <p>Individual vs. Social</p>	<p>Quality</p> <p>Professionalism</p> <p>Meritocracy</p>
Equity and Quality	<p>Participation in education, alone, can ameliorate social disadvantage</p> <p>The efficacy of negative reinforcement</p> <p>an a priori belief that education (systemically) is without fault; one need only alter the inputs and education will find success.</p> <p>presupposition of the purchase of managerial professionalism and accountability beyond the theoretical or business worlds</p> <p>a lack of motivation of the part teachers in order to institute coercive and, specifically, client-based and professional accountabilities to compel teacher involvement in reform.</p>	<p>Teacher quality v. teaching quality</p> <p>Managerial Professionalism v. Democratic professionalism</p>	<p>Measurement/ Accountability/ Audit</p> <p>Quality Assurance</p> <p>Teacher Centrality</p>

Table 12: Policy Rationalities by Lever

In keeping with its identified problematisations, the policy rationalities evinced through the lever of *Governance* indicate the perceived failings of education and hint at possible paths towards reform. The rationalities uncovered within this policy lever evince a discursive weighting which informs all subsequent policy levers. Chief amongst these is the concept/ideation of competition. This policy collective exhibits a clear discursive framing of education as an economically-based competition, as a zero-sum contest, a concept buttressed by the attendant binaries of winners vs. losers and those oppositional constructions pitting the individual (actor, student, parent, etc.) against society, government and education.

The concept of lack evinces a similar outsized influence within the policies under consideration, featuring prominently in the lack of accountability, (the lack) of *control* of measurable success and even of education, writ large, located within this lever's Key Concepts. Notably, the assumption/presupposition of the deficiency of education serves to frame all subsequent rationalities in this research within a paradigm of deficit, and (as indicated within its Key Concepts) of lack. This remedial connotative association— couched as it is within the key concept of *competition* and further underscored by Friedman's (2008) *flat earth theory*, which locates the nature of the contest— imbricates these rationalities within a social exigency. This exigency is further exacerbated (and, perhaps, elevated to the level of a social precarity, as it were) by the abrogation of responsibility, the rejection of government (and governing) responsibilities for the perceived failure of education. This fugitive assumption further informs a perceived lack of control within (and of) education, a critical aporia of governance within an increasingly competitive social sphere.

Within the later policy levers, *Evaluation and Assessment* and *Funding*, begins the process of specifying how reform should proceed, and what mechanisms, tools and strategies will best achieve the desired reformation. The rationalities within this policy collective again display a

discursive reliance on competition, as evidenced by the contested binaries which evince a competitive tenor, exhibiting binary constructions that not only pit ideation against ideation, but, notably, social subject against both institution and other social subjects: individual vs. social, winners vs. losers; parent vs. school- ideations which implicate the presence and workings of a positional anxiety. More importantly, the presence of motivation/incentivization insert/underscore a measure of personal or individualized competition, a determination supported by the presence of choice mechanisms within the policy collectives. These binaries are situated beside yet other binaries which underpin the operation of ideational aspirations or (promises) that stand as possible answers to the question of both what is wrong with education and how do we fix it. Notably, these concepts reflect a clear patterning, emphasizing control through a panoply of similar concepts: accountability, audit/quality assurance, choice, motivation. These concepts imply the use (and necessity) of various dividing practices, bolstered by the assumption of the implicit power in the aggregation and operationalization of various forms of catalyst data.

Policies within the final policy collective, *School Improvement and Equity and Quality*, further support the determination of competition as a binding rationality, but also indicate the responsabilisation of policy actors within what this research terms a competitive arena. The ubiquity of the oppositional construct of winners vs. losers, supported by that of the individual vs. social, informs this determination. Moreover, the presence of meritocratic discourses through the key concept of meritocracy and the binary of quality vs. equity further support this process of responsabilisation and individuation. Also present within the key concept of quality control is the presence, again, of discourses of control.

8.2.3. Conceptual Logics

Questions 1 and 2 of Bacchi's WPR analysis offer a mechanism through which to gain an understanding of the conceptual logics guiding the enactment of educational reform policy. The problematisations and policy rationalities gleaned from this analysis through these first two lenses reveal the presence of clear patterns and, more importantly, prominent

rationalities in the construction and activation of problem representations within educational reform discourse as shown through policy. These ideations form the conceptual logics through which reform becomes activated and achieved. As conceptual logics, they are not only “ways of thinking” that shape and direct our engagement of policy issues (Bacchi, 2010, p. 252), they are also “foundational” or gateway assumptions (p. 102) that operate at the level of a “social unconscious” which can be likened to Foucauldian episteme (p. 5). Only through such outlooks can particular problem representations cohere or make sense” (p. 5).

The implicit problem representations shown within this analysis evince a rhetoric of exigency, of positional anxieties amidst a general lack (or loss) of control and a social *precarity* that stipulates the careful cultivation of specific perspectives through which to engage with policy directives. Chief amongst these conceptual logics within this directional pattern of policies is the logic of competition. Notably, however, and as shown within Table 9, this competition is distinctively social; while there is certainly an individuation of competition, the prevalence of national (social and cultural) exigencies reproduced within these various policies mark the competition as decidedly social. This logic binds the remaining logics— (lack of) control and autonomy, social precarity and positional anxiety— within an arena of apprehensive action, although, notably, one that is, itself, bound to an economistic framing of education, itself a conceptual logic. Bacchi asserts that we become “immersed” within these conceptual logics, bound by and to them and, further, that they institutionalise our relationship to policy and to each other. The added presence of meritocratic discourses within this uncertain landscape (whether rhetorical or real) serves to elevate the general level of precarity and allows all actions taken in the name of policy to become necessary, vital.

Conceptual Logics
<i>Economic Competition (social)</i>
<i>(Lack) of Control and Autonomy</i>
<i>Meritocracy</i>

Table 13: Conceptual Logics from WPR Analysis

Each of these conceptual logics, shown in Table 13, gains currency within and through the activation of attendant discourses: in the name of social precarity (both global and local), discourses of competition become further stimulated; lack of educational control (and autonomy) implicates the activation of discourses of accountability, while positional anxieties, bound as they are to ancillary meritocratic discourses, trigger processes of subjectification.

Bacchi (2016) channels Rose, O'Malley and Valverde (2006) in offering a crucial caveat with regards to the function of rationalities and their implied conceptual logics, remarking on their inherent dynamism: "... rationalities are not ideal types ... Nor are [they] static. Rather, they are constantly undergoing modification, while retaining certain 'styles of thought and technological preferences' (Rose et al. 2006, p. 98). Further, there is no assumption that the 'mere existence of a diagram of government' *determines* outcomes" (in Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016, p. 43; emphasis added in Bacchi). To wit, their position as discursively-generated 'ways of thinking' renders them abstractions; conceptual logics have no immediate material implications. This begs the question, *Why (or how) are such logics important? How do they gain purchase within the policy arena?* It is in their interaction with their implied ideations and by their relationship to and interaction with *operational* logics, as shown through an analysis of policy effects, through which we can locate and gauge their material import.

8.3. Results of the WPR Analysis – Determining Operational Logics

This section summarises the results of an examination of the results of an examination of policy for its ‘material’ implications (Bacchi, 1999), linking the possible abstractions of policy to their experience in the real through a discussion of ‘effects’. This term “captures the ways in which particular problem representations limit what can be thought (discursive effects), affect what is possible for people to become (subjectification effects), and impacts upon how they live their lives (lived effects)” (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016, p. 108). As in the discussion of policy rationalities, these results are arranged by policy collective (see *Table 14*), along the identified processual path. These effects, however, also reveal the presence of operational logics through a discussion of the discursive-affective.

8.3.1 Policy Effects

	Discursive Effects	Lived Effects	Subjectification (or subjectivisation) Effects
Governance	<p>the ubiquity and subsequent normalization of educational crisis</p> <p>the sedimentation of a competitive mindset with regards to education</p> <p>An assumed alteration of the theoretically basic principal agent relationship: A → P</p>	<p>Constant state of reform</p> <p>Government absolution of blame for educational outcomes - "political insulation" (Hess, 2003, p. 65).</p> <p>Reforms intended to alter the power dynamic in favour of the presumed principal, and notably, away from the agent.</p> <p>"re-imagining" of education as a mechanism of human capital formation and economic productivity and competitiveness" (Savage et al. 2014, p. 614)</p> <p>a transferal of power away from education and towards government</p> <p>reforms are not generated from within education but are instead foisted upon it from outside and directed by new, non-governmental actors, 'experts' who take the reins of educational direction (see Recknow, 2103; Savage, 2014).</p> <p>Issue expansion</p>	<p>educational agents and principals bound to the economic dictates of this desired educational competition and appropriately motivated by the identified economic exigencies to seek an advantage within this seemingly primal landscape, principals (governments, students and parents) similarly driven by positional anxieties to ensure the returns on their educational investments; in a word (or phrase) homo oeconomicus.</p> <p>the reconceptualization of educational or policy actors- parents, teachers, schools, students-as competitors within an educational arena and, when competition is deconstructed into its constituent components, chiefly demographic and economic imperatives, it is the positional discursive precarity that transforms education into the development of human capital, or advantage.</p> <p>Substitution of "parents and schools" with "consumers and providers" and competitors.</p> <p>Reconceptualization of education as the site of national and individual economic struggle</p>
Evaluation and Assessment & Funding	<p>the intensification of an economic approach to human behavior (Becker, 2013)</p> <p>with the institution of multiples forms of accountability within education</p> <p>the production of an altered view of funding in education, subjecting it to the vagaries of political processes and rendering it a conditional and precarious concept</p> <p>the preeminence of data (and its production) within education. Positioned as a marker for disadvantage or advantage</p> <p>the reconceptualization (Loughland 2016) of education as a competition for social advantage</p>	<p>The precarious nature of funding coerces participation within reform</p> <p>The prevalence of private sector participation in education, and their positioning as a principal within the ever-expanding accountability matrix.</p> <p>Non-state actors and agency importance and influence within the educational sphere</p> <p>New 'social grammars' (policy values and actors) which serve to concentrate educational (and social) power through the reconceptualization of discursive authority.</p>	<p>A widening of the educational arena and the presence of new educational principals in direct competition, each assuming 'control' of education due to their access to catalyst data.</p> <p>Economically-bound educational actors defined by their relationship to (and use of) catalyst data.</p> <p>Schools as players within the educational competition.</p>
School Improvement and Equity and Quality	<p>education as seemingly the only meliorative mechanism to address inequality</p> <p>construction of teachers, schools and education, writ large, as hostile agents to both educational goals and to its (PAT) principals.</p> <p>is the rhetorical construction of education as a de-professionalised space and teachers as lacking professionalism- teachers as non-compliant</p> <p>the justification and acceptance of educational inequality as a product of the new meritocratic order (the responsabilisation of inequality)</p> <p>the redefinition of equity, casting it as a function of quality</p>	<p>a procession of policies aimed at teachers and (indirectly) teacher unions and more importantly, continues the now-accepted practice of maligning teachers</p> <p>the essentialization of educational achievement and intelligence</p> <p>the profusion of 'professional', non-governmental principals within education.</p> <p>pressure upon teacher training organisations</p> <p>the growth of (and advocacy for) charter, portfolio or non-governmental public schools</p> <p>an increasingly socially segmented system of education</p>	

Table 14: Policy Effects

This analysis of policy through the WPR framework, Question 5, indicated that policies leveraging governance evince a comprehensive (and definitively competitive) rationalist outlook, setting the stage and defining the parameters of educational discourse with regards to its reformation. Notably, the considered policies within this lever initiate few changes; their import, however, becomes evident within their discursive effects, and significantly within the affective domain. Specifically, this analysis regards the ubiquity and normalization of the perception of an educational crisis as a central discursive effect. This perpetual crisis is bound within an economistic frame and attended by an equally inexhaustive process of reform as an ancillary lived effect. This discursive effect recalls Foucault's identification of education as an economic site (Foucault, 1972) and highlights Gordon's contention that the economics of education, and thereby its economistic framing, is simultaneously positioned "as a target area for intervention and a functioning totality to be brought into existence" (Gordon, 1980, p. 245, in Marginson 2007, p. 219). This crisis, however, takes on an individualized quality lacking within the identified conceptual logics.

Furthermore, the government's 'insulation' from responsibility (Hess, 2003) allows for the responsibility for this crisis to rest squarely upon the shoulders of policy actors and deputies. Notably, this abrogation of responsibility triggers a process whereby parents, specifically, seek to exert a measure of control over the system; the boundaries of this new arena require specific subject positions and crucially, mechanisms through which to distinguish these actors and various policy deputies within the confines of this arena. In this low-trust environment, the policies leveraging governance serve to reconceptualise education, moving it away from notions of social good towards individual advantage, and ultimately functioning as affective apparatuses, deploying precarity as a catalyst which can affect this change.

This discursive deployment of precarity serves to exacerbate the assumption of the lack of control within education and informs an alteration of the theoretically basic principal agent relationship. Where government/policy makers might intend to portray education as directed by the principal—meaning education, teachers and, according to Moe (1999) and echoed by Duncan and Obama, teachers unions—this discursive ideation within the lived effect of a constant state of reform serves to present education as a rudderless ship, which only

heightens the positional anxiety of the various policy actors and deputies tasked with enacting policy. This intensification of the economic approach (Becker, 2013) fully manifests within the policy collective of *Evaluation and Assessment and Funding*, where the sought-after mechanisms/technologies of reform and its evaluative judgements representing 'dividing practices', place individuals groups of competitors in direct conflict (as opposed to merely competition) within a conversation subject to various political calculations. Marginson asserts, through Foucault, that “the economics of education is more than a set of words or numbers or claims to truth, but practices that 'systematically form the objects of which they speak' (in Marginson, 2007, p. 221), and most notably, induce “effects of power” within the concept of common sense, informing the perspective of education as more than the “technical language of economists” but as the necessary investment in the *formation of human capital* via an “input-output production” (p. 221).

The effects elucidated within the final policy collective, *School Improvement and Equity and Quality*, essentialise educational achievement and intelligence, highlighting Marginson's contention that “the programs of government are implicated in the languages and behaviours of everyday life, so that they shape [not only]the formation, and the self-formation, of individuals themselves” (p. 221), but also their relationships to—and, notably, their perceptions—others within this now-economised sphere. The discursive positioning of education as *the* meliorative mechanism for educational inequality through the redefinition of equity as a function of quality limits substantive responses to inequality while also justifying its existence, albeit tacitly, as an objective product of the new meritocratic order. The lived effects of increasingly segmented schooling and social systems, the essentialisation of educational achievement and intelligence—and specifically regarding race—further compound the now strident alarms of positional anxiety. These effects, together, serve to give shape to the phenomenon of racial segregation within schooling.

Harney and Moten (2013) insists that the first rule of policy is that it “fixes others”; it is a corrective enterprise, and from above “[forces] itself with mechanical violence upon the incorrect, the uncorrected, the ones who do not know to seek their own correction” (p. 85). The Subjectification effects elicited through this analysis of policy effects point to the constitution

of specific subjects under the aegis of policy, the ostensible ‘corrections’ *engineered* (as it were) through policy:

The professionalized teacher and schools- competitors, in arms

With regard to the professional teacher, this policy collective takes as its primary concern the constitution of the labour force, although recognizes that “this labor force cannot reproduce itself, it must be reproduced” (Harney & Moten, 2013, p. 36).

Professionalisation then becomes about the “privatization of the social individual” (p. 41); it wants nothing less than to “convert the social individual” (p. 45) into a new form of subject. This privatisation of the social is equally evident within the following subject position, that of schools.

Schools also become actors within the competitive arena, pitting themselves against other schools in a contest for both students and rapidly decreasing funds. The measures of their success are standardized tests, and notably, their practice adjusts to this reality. They enthralled by the prospect of the power offered through reform and are uniquely situated to employ it within this social sphere.

The student, an absented problem

Harney and Moten (2013) insists that within this apparatus, “the student has no interests. The student’s interests must be identified, declared, pursued, assessed, counseled, and credited” (p. 74). Within policy, however, the student will come to see themselves as the problem, as deficient and necessitating some form of remediation (p. 26). The absence of jobs, of gainful employment, underemployment and job-readiness will all be accepted by the student as an identifiable deficiency in their makeup, causing the student to recognize himself as, above all, “a customer, [taking] on the burden of realisation and always necessarily [being] inadequate to it. Later, these students will be able to see themselves properly as obstacles to society, or perhaps, with lifelong learning, students will return having successfully diagnosed themselves as the problem” (p. 36).

Parents, the citizen consumer

While this consumer parent, motivated by a precarity-driven self-interest and wholly committed to gaining their educational advantage, may present as that paragon of neo-liberalised theory, *homo oeconomicus*, the new actor exercises its power according to its own calculus of self-interest. Crucially, it is without regard for the various goals and aims of other presumptive principals or agents, market, political or otherwise. On the surface, the formation of this subject is achieved through the "responsibilization of individual subjects in [order to produce] new relationships to the self and to education" (Suspitsyna, 2010, p. 579), but is, instead, indicative of aestheticization, the subjectification of oneself by oneself.

The specific actors constituted within policy, the consumer-parent, the professionalized teacher, the competitive school and the absented student-problem, find further purchase within the subsequent discussion as to the discursive-affective, the method—the *how*—of their aestheticization, their constitution through policy and specifically through an examination of operational logics.

8.3.2. The Discursive-affective

This examination of policy finds specific problematisations advanced through educational discourse, the rationalities they inform and their material effects. Drawing on concepts of *affective practice, affective apparatus and affective economies* (Anderson, 2014), it becomes possible to identify and specify the mechanism of reform policy enactment and to address the seminal question at the heart of this research: *How does policy become real?* This discussion of what this research terms the affective-discursive must first engage the operational logics of reform discourse, a determination based upon such policy effects as are a result of policies of educational reform.

The proposed model of affective policy transmission addresses how educational reform policy circulates, finding its approach to reform through policy effects as uncovered through Carol

Bacchi's WPR framework. As these policy effects also directly inform the explanatory or operationalized logics of reform, we are, as before, beginning 'at the end', with the material effects of policy. Additionally, these three types of policy effects—discursive, lived and subjectivisation/subjectification—also speak to Anderson's (2014) affective milieu of action, informing the emergence of specific relational and, crucially, affective configurations (McKenzie, 2017): practice, apparatus and economies.

Through the lens of policy effects, *affective practice* imbricates the assemblage of activities and resulting effects of policy. First, the "interpretative repertoires" (Wetherell, 2012, p.4), which "[work] collectively to set "effective limits on experience and on action" (McKenzie, 2017, pp. 191-192), are discerned within Bacchi's discursive effects. To wit, this model approaches policy as affective practice, as both the "intellectual technology of power and its exercise" (Jenkins, 2007, p. 12), as well as Foucault's "conduct of conduct" (1982, p. 220). Similarly, the materiality of lived effects is present within this conception of affective practice by the 'activity and flow' of the "[affective] as it appears in social life" (Wetherell, 2012, p. 4). Finally, subjectification effects are directly implicated in Wetherell's assertion that such effects point to "affective positions" which are operationalized through the habitation of specific constructions and subjectifications (p. 8).

The similitude of effects across policy collectives and levers is indicative of Ahmed's (2004) affective economy, and especially those effects as are catalysed by precarity. These "traveling affects" (and effects), most readily observed through *operational* logics, are, as observed by Peck et al. (2012), "ideologically sanctioned rationalities" and evince a "'highly selective circulation of preferred programming technologies, models, and policy frames" (p. 281).

8.3.3. Activating Affect - Operational (and Explanatory) Logics

Bacchi's deployment of the term 'logic' within the WPR framework reflects an uncomplicated rendering of its basic definition, as that of reasoned conduct, or the systems, values or ideologies which inform the reasoning of conduct. This research similarly returns to the term as an adequate heuristic for the explication of concepts and actions within this policy sphere and places considerable emphasis on the concepts of logics, or what Glynnos, Klimecki and

Wilmott (2015) term the 'logics approach' to policy studies. Such a method of approach is built upon post-structuralist thinking with regards to the necessity of problematization to any endeavour of critical 'explanation' (Bacchi, 2009, (Glynos and Howarth 2007; Howarth and Griggs 2012; Glynos and Speed 2012; Glynos et al. 2015), and particularly useful to efforts that seek to "[highlight] the radically contingent and incomplete character of social practices" (Glynos et al., 2015, p. 395).

For Glynos, Speed and West (2015), logics is a category formed of three "interpretive registers: social logics, political logics and fantasmatic logics" (Glynos and Howarth 2007). They write:

logics offer a language with which to characterize and critically explain the dialectical movement governing practices, including the way they come to be instituted, maintained, defended or transformed. Logics articulate something about the norms, roles and narratives, as well as the ontological presuppositions that, together, render practices possible, intelligible and vulnerable to contestation. The language of logics offers a way of putting to work a poststructuralist ontology, where critical explanation is understood to emerge through deep immersion in the empirical corpus Glynos et al., 2015, p. 395)

Of these specific interpretive registers, addressed as the concept of 'logics of critical explanation' (Glynos and Howarth, 2007), social logics entail the characterization of a practice through its "dominant [and] sedimented norms"; political logics point to those processes that "establish, contest, de-contest, defend or transform those norms; and fantasmatic logics attend to the affective energy with which social norms are retained or, alternatively, contested, loosened and transformed" (p. 395). For its relationship to affect, fantasmatic and political logics appear most related to this research and to the task of explanation. The usage of operational logics here, however, imbricates these interpretive registers, but also foregrounds the necessity of an explanatory aspect absent from these interpretive registers. The operative logics shown in Table 15, as revealed through the discussion of policy effects, provide an explanatory aspect for this research.

Conceptual Logics	Operational Logics
Economic Competition (social) (Lack) of Control and Autonomy Meritocracy	Individual Competition Positional anxiety Accountability Control <u>Hypermeritocracy</u>

Table 15: Explanatory Logics of Educational Reform

This research borrows from this logics approach, and specifically the logics of critical explanation (Glynos and Howarth, 2007; Glynos et al. 2015) to explain the relationship between policies of reform and educational inequality, and especially segregation within education. Specifically, the concept of operational logics speak to Ahmed's (2004) pivotal concern as to the movement of a precarity-driven emotion "between bodies" (2004, p.117) and informs the position of this research that policy, as discourse, *generates* this precarity and through its "system of relations" activates precarity as a motive force *mediating* the relationship between the individual and the social, and, crucially, *transforms conceptual logics into operational logics*. This conclusion further informs a determination as to the exact mechanism of the patterned movement of effects and of affect through policy, an apparatus of affective circulation.

8.4. Model of Affective Circulation

How, then, does affect figure within this examination of policy? How does affect interact with these conceptual and operational logics, transforming conceptual logics into operational logics- *how does policy become real?* To answer this question, we must return to Bacchi and Goodwin's explanation of discursive practices. In that they are relational

observances/activities between/amongst “heterogeneous elements ... It is possible to ‘map’ notionally the ‘elements’-e.g., the sites, subject positions (kinds of subjects and authority of those subjects), practices, objects, actions, and [crucially, the] interactions in a discursive practice (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016, p. 117). In producing such a ‘map’, this research, in addition to engaging policy as discursive practice, approaches reform discourse as an apparatus, a recurrent system of structuration and assembled 'strategies of relations of forces supporting, and supported by, types of knowledge' (Foucault 1980, p. 196 in Anderson 2014, p. 35). Additionally, and equally important, is the awareness of the possibility of disparate, “intentional and unintentional” effects as a by-product of the “strategic elaborations” operationalized within the field of policy (Anderson 2014, p. 35). This mien is depicted within *Figure 27*, a normal, and idealised, policy process where the path between policy and action resembles a straightforward process.

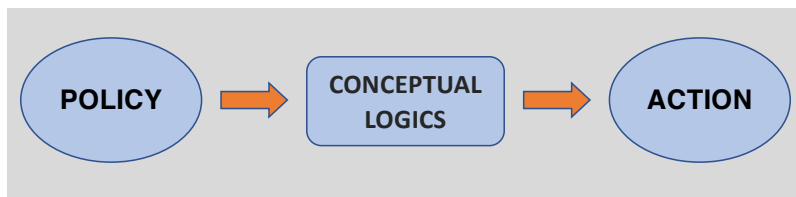


Figure 27: Normal, or Idealized Policy Process

The awareness of policy rationalities alters our understanding of this process somewhat; this analysis of policy now approaches reform policy as operating through Anderson’s “field”, and as subsequently indicated within *Figure 28*, depicts the movement of policy towards action as mediated through conceptual and then operational logics.

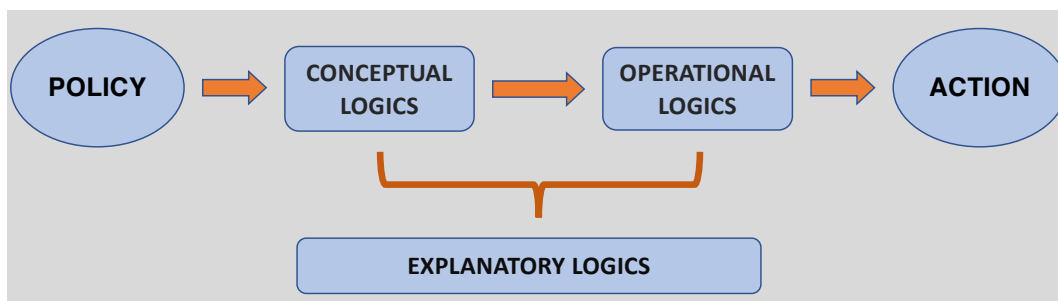


Figure 28: Proposed model of an Explanatory Policy Process

These rationalities do not, as argued by Rose, O'Malley and Valverde (2006), necessarily determine outcomes, nor explain action. The explanatory policy path, as shown in Figure 29, assumes that policy, actuated through problem representations and policy rationalities—conceptual logics—will result in the reformation of education and through carefully cultivated operational logics, will produce the required perspectives and dispositions necessary to alter education towards its new aims within a global economic competition. This expected processual path presumes that (a) the presumed action will be beneficial for all involved actors and, (b) that the resulting reformation of both actor and system will provide the maximum social utility.

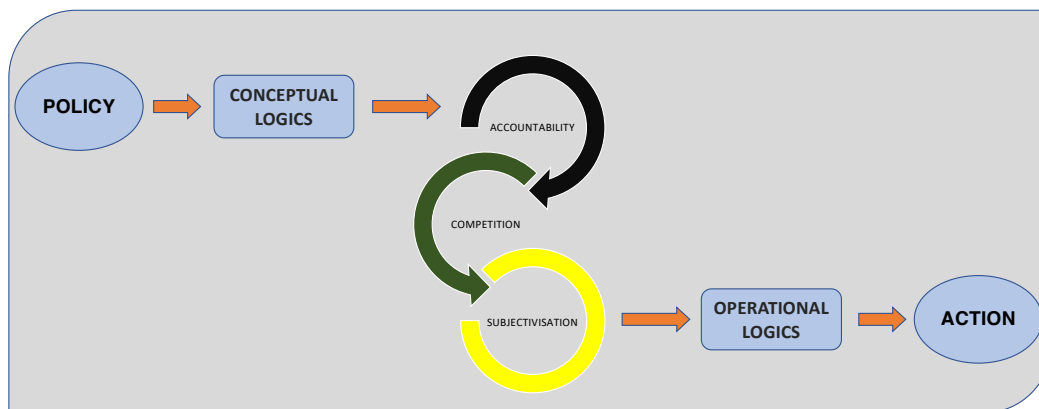


Figure 29: Expected, or Predicted, Path of Policy Reform

Figure 30 exhibits what this research terms an affective geography of policy circulation, through which the enactment of educational reform policy occurs. The combination of conceptual and what this research terms operational logics as *explanatory* logics denotes the explanatory nature of this construct. Aptly termed the *affective geography* of educational reform, this 'map' of policy enactment under reform represents a semi-retroductive process, and, crucially, seeks to locate the difference between an assumed or projected path of policy enactment and indicate (or even map) the explanatory logics through which our considered phenomenon is generated.

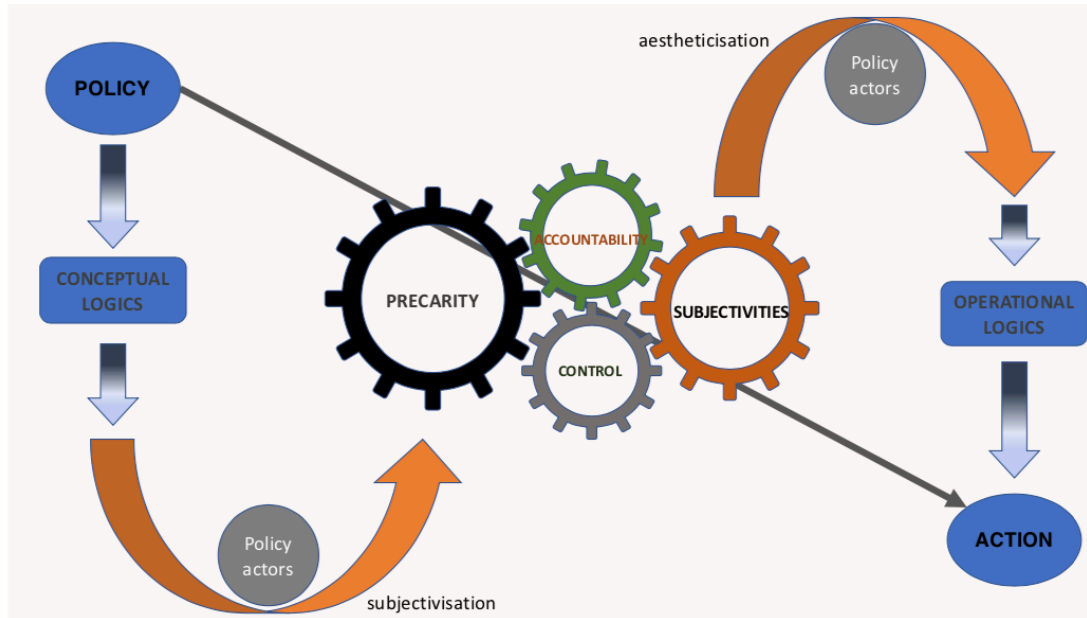


Figure 30: The Affective Geography of Policy Circulation

This affective geography is marked by the insistence upon a predicted path from policy to action, but this path is disturbed, complicated by the unexpected products of policy interventions and enactments and thereby producing altogether different, though perhaps expected results. This research views reform policy as not necessarily initiated as a pure governmental remedy, but, as concerned with human capital formation, rather as a mechanism of subjectivisation, as the re-formation of socio-political realities from below.

In this, policy is the “reign”, or ascendance, of precarity” ... marked by “subjectivities of interest” whose “potentialities are already bounded by how they will be spent” (Harney & Moten, 2015, p. 63). While Moten also insists that policy is distinctive in its “radiation of critique” (p. 26), it is, in truth, a structuration of critique whose genius is in the creation and promulgation of insufficiency, scarcity, competition and overall lack. Policies of reform project a “false image” of deficiency, which are reflected in their activation of precarity.

Subjectification effects speak to Harney & Moten’s (2015) characterization of policy as “dispersed [and] deputised command” (p. 83; emphasis added), deftly arrayed as “imposed consensus” that seeks to “[fix] others”. This characterization as consensus, however, disputes

the notion of policy as command, deployed from above; it is, indeed, an imperative, though not one forced upon our actors. Within this competitive arena, and placed in the hands of these actors, this subjectivisation becomes *aestheticisation*, and places the actors, us, as the ostensible architects of both our potentiality and our own binding to the process- our loss of agency. This aestheticisation is catalysed by precarity, and operationalises a perceived accountability and the simulacra of control presented through the discursive destabilization of the classic principal-agent relationship.

The constitution of *homo oeconomicus* within this aspect of the neoliberal paradigm occurs through the discursive deployment of crisis politics and the usage of precarity as a form of affective ‘priming’. Precarity ‘primes’ neoliberal actors by circumscribing them within a competitive arena and encouraging dispositions toward individualized action. The ‘interests’ of which Foucault wrote are no longer narrowly defined within economic terms but are expanded to reflect the individualized positional anxiety which policy helps to establish. Although reflected within policy and articulated as both general and specific exigencies, precarity appears as somehow both organic and temporal. However, it is not solely initiated by policy. It is also an administered agent, a driver, placed into this apparatus and initiating this mechanism.

Moreover, the neoliberal actor, aestheticized as an ostensibly agentic actor within education, holds aloft his choice as evidence of his power. However, this choice is no marker of advantage, but evidence of a false freedom and specifically a regulated autonomy and a bounded rationality. It represents the workings of what Carlson (1992) identified as a philosophy of presence. He wrote:

Philosophy of presence works by suppressing the other by force or violence, even while denying that this violence occurs. What appears to be a whole is covertly an economy ... The restricted economy claims a profit—the unified whole—but does so only by concealing a loss—the loss of the Other that is violently suppressed. (Carlson, 1992, pp.265—266 in Marginson, 2006, p. 224)

Educational segregation represents, at its core, both a loss and a continual act of violence. Systemically (and policy) bound, it is, the definition of *racism*. The leverage of this term is not flippant, nor is it intended to stand as a determination of intent or even awareness on the part of policy-makers or policy actors and agents; the materiality of its effects in the real, its social

manifestation, is ample justification. The most alarming aspect, however, is not the appearance of this term, but rather the understanding that it is, as James Baldwin contends, the “sum of individual abdications” (1972), that we all, whether willing or no, produce and reproduce this violence.

8.4. Discussion

This thesis examined policies of educational reform in the United States and Australia in search of patterns within policy that might indicate a relationship to observed patterns of inequality, and specifically racial segregation, seeking an answer to how and why policy manifests in specific ways. The following sections provide a formal discussion of the results of this research, first presenting its findings through an engagement with the guiding questions.

8.4.1. Research Questions

The research questions guiding this research asked, first as to the effects of educational reform policies upon human action. However, before addressing this seminal question, it is necessary to engage the latter two questions, which ask after the extent to which policy discourse limits or promotes human agency, as well as seeking an answer to the relationship between policies of reform and educational inequality—specifically racial segregation within schooling.

To what extent is there a relationship between globalised educational reform policies and specific forms of educational inequality?

This thesis contends, first, that educational reform policies in the United States and Australia indicate a similarity of purpose, eschewing an approach to reform focusing on a wholesale reconceptualization of educational purpose and function within modern and modernizing societies instead for a focus upon educational actors and their relationships towards education - its purposes, our expectations of its facility and usefulness.

Moreover, the causes of this ever-increasing segregation in schooling evident in the United States and Australia are misdiagnosed; the bulk of ‘blame’ (if it can indeed be called that) for the present racial segregation in schooling falls upon specific parents and their exercise of choice upon residential segregation, while ignoring the systemic arrangements which both motivate and proscribe their choices. The literature focuses its attentions upon parental choice; the responsabilisation of human action allows for this determination of causality. School choice, when viewed as *parental* choice either in the selection of specific schools or even in housing patterns (residential choices) as the sole culprit for this phenomenon, is a discursive *canard*, and further evidence of the simultaneous responsabilisation of educational actors and the absolution of systemic or policy forces for this phenomenon. The singular preoccupation with parental choice precludes a discussion of either institutional choices or the discursive landscape within which such choices are made and thereby painting parents (and other decision-making subjects) as bound by and to, and solely responsible for, the effects of their actions, for segregation in schooling. The observed segregation, however, is more than the product of single choices, but is a perfect confluence of environmentally produced actions. Crucially, this environment relies upon educational reform policy and the present discourses of/on education and its intended reform.

To be clear, educational reform does not create segregation but helps to create—to ‘socially arrange’ (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016, p. 3)—the conditions and the perspectives through which we will accept it.

The final two questions ask: *What are the effects of globalised educational reform policies upon human action within systems of education in Australia?* and *To what extent does policy discourse limit, prescribe or enable human agency?*

The results of this analysis of policy indicate that reform policies in both countries, as indicative of O’Farrell’s “patterns and structures”, place policy users, and particularly parents and schools, within a competitive arena where education is become about the search for individual advantage in a winner-take-all struggle, and locates disadvantage within specific groups of people, thereby encouraging discriminatory perspectives within education. Within

this precarity-laden competitive arena, advantage and disadvantage gain faces, addresses and postcodes and, crucially, colour. Policy does not necessarily limit or directly proscribe action but constitutes a discursive regime, which “[operates] according to rules which are quite specific to a particular time, space, and cultural setting. It is not a matter of external determinations being imposed on people’s thought, rather it is a matter of rules which, a bit like the grammar of a language, allow certain statements to be made,” (O’Farrell, 2005, p. 79) and presents specific courses of action as not only possible, but desired. Notably, O’Farrell also points out that in order to ascertain the workings of discursive regimes and their effects on both individuals and subjects, “it is not a matter of analyzing the motivations, creativity, and discoveries of an individual ... but in looking at what structures and patterns that work shares, and also does not share, with others” (p. 111).

This research finds that educational ‘action’ materialises within a precarity-driven apparatus, wherein crisis impels action. More specifically, policies of reform offer a false or negative freedom/power via the power-knowledge relationship in (purportedly) data driven “choice”, when it is the exercise of the power of social/financial/racial (read here, as historical) advantage. An affective canard, in truth, it exists because of the creation of this new, powerful parent/student/community consumer client, to whom the system is accountable, but who is already exercising their relative advantage. Moreover, the positioning of the government and its interests at the heart of all educational reform documents across both countries belie the truth; it is a false democratization of relative advantage.

This thesis argues that the discursive focus on human capital formation and development in education reform is complicit in the rise of segregation in schooling. In creating the conditions for this arena of action, reform policy, as emblematic of wider discourses of educational reform and personal re-formation, presupposes courses of action and, equally important, requires the assent and participation of specific actors, subjects, and equally specific dispositions towards education. Contrary to the neoliberal discourse-as-hegemony perspective however, this thesis contends that rather than being *forced* to engage education in this manner, policy users, policy ‘deputies’ (Harney & Moten, 2015) and education, writ large, willingly engage in this zero-sum, competitive approach to education as an exercise in control, a false freedom and autonomy

within both education and society generally. Reform policy represent a false narrative of educational power through a continued and systematic process of affective priming, or affective simulacra, an *affective apparatus* offering the promise of control of educational outcomes through an affectively engendered subjectivisation, or *aestheticisation*—the subjectivisation of oneself by oneself— while simultaneously presenting the reality of a regulated autonomy and a bounded rationality. It is the sum of these ‘individual abdications’ (Baldwin, 1972) in pursuit of this promised/proposed power, of collective affect, which allows segregation by race within schooling to thrive.

One might argue that identifying social subjects as complicit in their subjectification is merely another type of the very forms of individualized responsabilisation decried as endemic within the neo-liberal moment. However, neoliberal responsabilisation is, in every sense, a misnomer. This determination operates within the interstitial space between blame and responsibility, a distinction that is more than mere semantics. Where blame is engaged as a terminable position and indicates a culpability through which power and autonomy can be siphoned as a form of punishment, responsibility, as evinced within policy (and the neo-liberal political *oeuvre*), is a masqueraded form of blame.

Racial segregation within schooling, then, becomes more than the effects of imposed policy and instead the result of the activation of affect within and through policy. While the presence of the term ‘white flight’ indicates a link between the nascent segregation within Australia to its established and seemingly resurgent existence in the United States, the causes for this are less than clear. What this research can indicate, however, is that this phenomenon is facilitated by the decisions of *both* white and non-white and advantaged and disadvantaged parents. It highlights the activation and individuation of collective affect for relative advantage by all social actors and echoes James Baldwin’s assertion that “People pay for what they do, and, still more, for what they [allow] themselves to become. And they pay for it very simply: by the lives they lead” (Baldwin, 1972). This is not to place blame upon the shoulders of parents who simply wish the best for their children; however one feels about their choices, the context of such choices demands such action. It is, indeed, the context which identifies, frames and demands such choices.

8.5. Conclusions

Of Foucault's *Order of Things*, Clare O'Farrell offers a clarification of her work which holds significance for this research. She writes:

It is not merely a question of recognizing that different orders are possible, but one must search for the very principles that give rise to particular ways of constructing order ... and search for those systems which make it possible to actually see that an order exists" (2005, p. 58)

In the context of this social phenomenon, educational segregation, the problematization of policies of reform allow for a recognizance of the links between policy and this form of educational inequality, whilst also providing the explanatory logics (both conceptual and operational; the how and why) which sustain such effects. While this research may identify an order, a patterning in this specific practice which governs the 'conduct of conduct', the ultimate goal of the WPR Framework, however, is to create a "space for challenge" (Bacchi, 2000, p. 55) about and within reform; to problematize reform, its conceptual and explanatory logics, in order to contest and, perhaps, replace such discourses as are complicit in the sustenance of such presumably detestable social orderings. Such challenges, contestations and even the contemplation of the replacement of such discourses require, I believe, an engagement of the explanatory logics through which such actions are manifested.

8.5.1 The Reification of Choice

Within policies of educational reform, the centrality of choice, as both a neoliberal logic and the manifestation of an operative logic as well as the discursive focus for educational reform in Australia, becomes foregrounded. This logic/concept sits at the nexus of a number of tangential (and sometimes ancillary) concepts, rationalities and logics.

Activated by parents, ostensibly positioned as the empowered principles within the reformed principal-agent relationship, choice:

- Is activated by the production and aggregation of catalyst data through various dividing practices. Conversely, choice requires such information.
- Masquerades as accountability; the threat of choosing away from a school, for example, is intended to spur change within teachers. It also emphasises the

competitive nature of schooling- students can be chosen by schools to enhance or retain their position, or relative advantages.

- Is the selection of advantage, whether by student, schools or parents.

Choice appears as a value, as after Znaniecki (1968; see Smolicz, 1999), where it represents an aspirational form, in the Aristotelian sense. It bears reproducing Znaniecki's humanistic sociological appreciation of values; he distinguishes them from mere things or ideas and recognizes that they "[possess] both a given content, which distinguishes [them] as ... empirical object[s] from other objects, and a meaning, [which] suggests other objects- those with which [they have] been actively associated in the past" (Znaniecki in Bierstedt 1969, pp. 140,141). Crucially, they are not organically generated, but "are components of actively constructed systems ... and the activities constructing these systems can be formally repeated and functionally shared" (Znaniecki 1968, p.164 in Smolicz 1999, p. 286).

Within the educational sphere, and especially within the discourse of reform, choice is become freedom and its exercise a marker of agency. As argued recently by United States Secretary of Education Betsy DeVos, its exercise is akin to a fundamental freedom. One, without which, she argues, is comparable to the lack of freedoms enjoyed under Communist, East German Rule (Stratford, 2019). While such comments can easily be dismissed as political hyperbole, and even an unethical (or ill-conceived) use of rhetorical pathos, her point remains clear: We are that which we do; choice is freedom. Within the Australian context, it is an embedded feature and represents the primary vehicle for modern educational reform. In keeping with its appearance within the United States, choice is inextricable from issues of variation in schooling, school types, charter and free schools. Policy recommendations to address educational inequality skew towards offering choice within education as a market mechanism to establish competition within education through the embrace of charter, or free, schools (Jha and Buckingham, 2016, p.1). Choice in education is also represented as a force for addressing inequality; former Education Minister Simon Birmingham argued in his first speech before Parliament that those who need choice the most often miss out (Knott, 2015). Notably, however, his support for choices accompanied a recommendation of the trial of a US-style school voucher program, and such choices as he advocated for solely involved the right to choose from the private sector (Knott, 2015).

Choice, and especially the valuation of the act of choosing over that of the production of valid choices—in this case, equal schools—contributes to the worsening of inequality in education.

More specifically, its conceptualisation as power allows for its characterisation within educational reform as an equaliser of advantage and a substitute for adequate schooling. As an act of regulated autonomy and a restricted, or bounded rationality, it is a false freedom and (after Foucault) an unproductive power. Educational actors reach for—choose— a form of putative control, of autonomous action within education for a chance at increasing their relative advantage within the educational (and thereby social) competition. However, their eventual reformation as neoliberal actors come at a steep social cost- one which they may not necessarily bear individually, but a social cost, all the same. The full cost of this exchange, the price for this willing subjectivisation as a *chooser* (and as one who can make a specific choice), is an individual abdication of control and autonomy both within education and, ultimately, within society.

Choice, however, does not exist within a vacuum, nor does the act of choosing. It is choice within the boundaries of the manufactured competition of neoliberalised life which falsifies the act. If all the world be one gladiatorial arena, then we must fight; if the arena is taken away, must we contend against each other?

The obvious question here would be to ask how one excuses himself from that which seems to pervade every aspect of social life. This research regards the very mechanisms underpinning this segregation as the vehicle to regaining control—both discursive and material— of education, to taking back the wheel, as it were. Choice in education can, indeed, represent a productive act of power if, in the case of parental choice, *such choices as are made available to all parents are equal*. Reversing the growing trend of segregation in education requires those marginalised choosers to demand equality in choice, to change the nature of the competition; one might not necessarily escape the dictates of neoliberal reform, but it can be bent to one's—and, ultimately, social—needs. Moreover, agency within social life, and especially education, can be recaptured if we take active control of the principal agent relationship. It is, at its heart, a socio-political contract, and the well-chronicled apathy in many Western nations has allowed government to take the wheel.

8.5.2 Responsibility, Blame and Unmaking

Merely unmaking policy does not undo the effects of policy; it is akin to shutting the gate *after* the horse has bolted, to use a common idiom. This thesis does not claim to have the answer

and cannot make immediate claims as to how merely undoing educational reform regains control and takes back the wheel of education. It does, however, recognise that as these social arrangements have been made, they can be unmade (Kritzman, in Foucault 1988, p. 37); while discourse, through policy, may structure the 'conduct of our conduct', we are not affect automatons, and the recognisance of our own complicity within this phenomenon is proof of our productive power within education and, indeed, society.

Regaining control of education, taking (back) the wheel, as it were, requires first accepting responsibility both for its effects and its direction. Crucially, the responsibility for educational policy can no longer be the exclusive domain of globalised policy networks. Policy borrowing, as coined by Lingard (2010) eschews context, presupposing that policy interventions and their underpinning theories are equally and uncomplicatedly mobile. Specifically, the importation of policy across borders must not assume a commensurability between contextually different architectures of choice.

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Appendix A

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EDUCATION POLICY OUTLOOK REFORMS EXPLORER [DEMO VERSION]							
Australia	Equity and Quality	Disadvantaged students	Early childhood education and care	Closing the Gap: Indigenous Early Childhood Development (replaced The National Partnership Agreement for Indigenous Early Childhood Development)	The National Partnership Agreement for Indigenous Families, and their children. As part of	Abc	
			Primary and secondary	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Action Plan	The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Action Plan identifies outcomes, targets	Abc	
				Smarter Schools National Partnership for Low Socio-economic Status School Communities	The Smarter Schools National Partnership for Low Socio-economic Status School Communities identifies outcomes, targets	Abc	
		Investing early on	Early childhood education and care	Australian Early Development Index	Australian Early Development Index	The Australian Early Development Index is a population-based measure developed by the time they enter school, developed by the time they enter school, developed by the time they enter school	Abc
				Investing in the Early Years – A National Early Childhood Development Strategy	Investing in the Early Years – A National Early Childhood Development Strategy	To support greater equity by start in education, Australia implemented the National Early Childhood Development Strategy (2009) to aid all levels of education	Abc
				National Partnership Agreement on Universal Access to Early Childhood Education (replaced National Partnership on Early Childhood Education - 2008)	National Partnership Agreement on Universal Access to Early Childhood Education (replaced National Partnership on Early Childhood Education - 2008)	The National Partnership Agreement on Universal Access to Early Childhood Education aims to ensure universal access to early childhood education, and early childhood teachers, for all children	Abc
				The National Quality Framework for Early Childhood Education and Care (NQF)	The National Quality Framework for Early Childhood Education and Care (NQF) (and consistency in education now applies to long-day care)	The National Quality Framework for Early Childhood Education and Care (NQF) (and consistency in education now applies to long-day care)	Abc
		Evaluation and Assessment to Improve Student Outcomes	Student assessment	Primary and secondary	National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy	National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy. It is a national assessment program for Years 3, 5, 7 and 9 in reading and numeracy	Abc
			System evaluation	All levels of education	My School website, My Skills and My University website	In addition, the Australian Government School website in 2010. The expanded over time, provide range of information on Australian schools	Abc
		Funding	Economic resources in education	Primary and secondary	National Partnership Agreements (Smart Schools)	The Smarter Schools National Partnership Agreements (Smart Schools) are part of a funding approach to improve education systems (including the non-partnerships to improve education)	Abc
	All levels of education			Intergovernmental Agreement on Federal Financial Relations	The Intergovernmental Agreement on Federal Financial Relations (2009) aims to improve effectiveness of government responsibilities for each level of government	Abc	
	Use of resources		Primary and secondary	Education Act	Education Act	Starting January 2014, to deliver needs-based funding that gives parents certainty for the future, schools are appropriately funded	Abc
				Review of Funding for Schooling	Review of Funding for Schooling	In 2010, the Australian Government independent Review of Funding for Schooling Report, December, 2011. It sets out arrangements for funding, a review of funding for schooling	Abc
	Governance	Education priorities	Pre-primary to secondary	National Education Agreement	The National Education Agreement sets performance indicators that national progress towards a common set of outcomes. Additionally, the agreement sets out a framework for national progress towards a common set of outcomes	Abc	
			Primary and secondary	Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians	The Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians, agreed by ministers in 2008, sets the educational goals for the next ten years. Its objective is to ensure that all young Australians are equipped with skills, knowledge and attitudes to succeed in a rapidly changing world	Abc	
	Preparing Students for the Future	Quality of tertiary	Tertiary	All levels of education	My University website	The Australian Government websites in 2012: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> My Skills provides information and employers with training opportunities 	Abc
				Advancing Quality in Higher Education	Advancing Quality in Higher Education	The Advancing Quality in Higher Education (2012-14) introduces various initiatives to improve teaching and learning in higher education	Abc
				Higher Education Participation and Partnerships Programme	Higher Education Participation and Partnerships Programme	The Higher Education Participation and Partnerships Programme provides additional support, and retain students from disadvantaged backgrounds. These students are provided with additional support and resources to help them succeed in higher education	Abc
				National targets for higher education	National targets for higher education	In addition to the above VET, Government has also set two education targets: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attainment: by 2025, 40% of young people will have completed a tertiary qualification 	Abc
				New Colombo Plan	New Colombo Plan	To promote internationalisation and increase collaboration in the tertiary sector, the New Colombo Plan (2011) for Australian students to study in overseas universities	Abc
				Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency	Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency	In 2011, two new national tertiary education quality agencies were established: the Australian Skills Quality Authority (ASQA) for VET and the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA)	Abc
				Upholding Quality Indicators for Learning and Teaching measures	Upholding Quality Indicators for Learning and Teaching measures	In tertiary education, Australia has introduced Quality Teaching measures (2014). These measures aim to improve the quality of teaching and learning in tertiary education	Abc

Appendix A (continued)
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EDUCATION POLICY OUTLOOK REFORMS EXPLORER [DEMO VERSION]						
United States	Funding	Use of resources	Pre-primary	Race to the Top – Early Learning Challenge	The pre-school Development the Top – Early Learning Ch support state and local effort high-quality early childhood	Abc
			Pre-primary to secondary	Race to the Top	Race to The Top (RTT, 2009) programme designed to crea comprehensive reforms and student achievement for all	Abc
			Tertiary	American Opportunity Tax Credit	The American Opportunity T families with college costs.	Abc
				College Scorecard	The Department of Educatio Scorecard (2013) to inform rates, loan default rates, an employability.	Abc
				Increase of Federal Pell Grant	To improve access to tertiar Federal Pell Grant award inc and the number of recipient	Abc
			Model financial aid disclosure form	A model financial aid disclos clarify to students the type (compares aid packages offe universities.	Abc	
			Pay as You Earn	The Pay as You Earn (2013) students to cap student loan monthly income.	Abc	
	Governance	Education priorities	Primary and secondary	ESEA Flexibility Programme	ED aims to provide rigorous to states from the Elementa Act of 1965 (ESEA). The ESI aims to move away from to	Abc
	School Improvement	Teachers	Primary and secondary	Teacher Incentive Fund programme	ED's Teacher Incentive Func states and districts with grai recruit and retain effective t	Abc
				Teacher Quality Partnership Program	The Teacher Quality Partner improve the quality of new t partnerships among Higher high-need districts and early	Abc

Appendix B

Key to Government Texts

Policy Code	Policy or Document Name	Year
Australian Reform		
AUS1	<i>Melbourne Declaration</i>	2008
AUS2	<i>MCEETYA 4-year Plan</i>	
AUS3	<i>National Education Agreement</i>	
AUS4	<i>Australian Curriculum and Assessment Authority Reporting Act (ACARA Act)</i>	2008
AUS5	<i>Australian Curriculum and Assessment Authority Reporting Bill</i>	2008
AUS6	<i>Australian Curriculum and Assessment Authority Reporting Bill Explanatory Memorandum</i>	2008
AUS7	<i>The Review of Funding in Education – The Gonski Review</i>	2011
AUS8	<i>Australian Education Act</i>	2013/2014
AUS9	<i>Guide to the Australian Education Act</i>	2013
AUS10	<i>Educational Reform Agreement</i>	
AUS11	<i>National Plan for School Improvement NPSI</i>	
AUS12	<i>Funding the National Plan for School Improvement: an explanation</i>	
AUS13	<i>Select Committee on School Funding</i>	2014
AUS14	<i>Australian Teacher Performance Development Framework</i>	2012
AUS15	<i>Australian Charter for the Professional Learning of Teachers and School leaders</i>	
AUS16	<i>Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (and Principals)</i>	
AUS17	<i>National partnership on Teacher Quality</i>	
AUS18	<i>National Partnership on Low Socioeconomic School Communities</i>	2009
AUS19	<i>Aboriginal and Torres Strait Education Action Plan (2010-2014)</i>	2010
AUS20	<i>Annual Report for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Action Plan</i>	2010

Appendix B (continued);
Key to Government Texts

United States Reform		
US1	<i>A Nation at Risk</i>	1983
US2	<i>America 2000</i>	1991
US3	<i>Goals 2000</i>	1994
US4	<i>Improving America's Schools Act</i>	1994
US5	<i>Race To the Top Executive Summary and Key Policy Details</i>	2009
US6	Race to the Top Program Guidance and Frequently Asked Questions	2010
US7	<i>Teacher Incentive Fund Program</i>	2012
US8	<i>No Child Left Behind</i>	2001

Appendix C

Theoretically basic PAT relationship (Fearon, 1999)

$P \rightarrow A$

An educational PAT relationship marked by an informational asymmetry

$iA \rightarrow P$

A recalibrated PAT relationship after the institution of accountability mechanisms

$iP \rightarrow a$

The forced provision of educational data identifies governments, as the genesis of such coercion, as the primary principal.

$G \rightarrow a$

The presence of business, as policy partners and as designers of the instruments of accountability, further complicates this simple binary relationship. Here, business, too is a principal, and it can be argued that because of the assumption of education as serving the market, it fashions itself as the educational principal.

$B \rightarrow a$ (where B represents business or market interests)

<i>PAT relationship</i>	Explanation
<i>P → A</i>	Theoretically basic PAT relationship (Fearon, 1999)
<i>A → P</i>	The presupposition of an educational crisis presumes education, and especially its agents, as lacking direction and oversight. Here, the relationship (if at all present) assumes a specific power dynamic.
<i>iA → P</i>	An educational PAT relationship marked by an informational asymmetry (Moe, 2002). This rendering of the PAT relationship positions principals as disempowered by a lack of information regarding educational function and progress, which, then, also identifies the educational agent (A) as empowered by their proximity to this information and a covetous regard to its dissemination.
<i>iP → a</i>	A recalibrated PAT relationship after the institution of accountability mechanisms through policy in <i>Evaluation and Assessment and Funding</i> .
<i>G → a</i>	The forced provision of educational data identifies governments, as the genesis of such coercion, as the primary principal.
<i>B → a</i>	The presence of business, as policy partners and as designers of the instruments of accountability, further complicates this simple binary relationship. Here, business, too is a principal, and it can be argued that because of the assumption of education as serving the market, it fashions itself as the educational principal.