The Transformation of School Control Under Neoliberalism

by

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Abstract

The focus of this study is centered on the issues of control and surveillance in school settings, specifically the shift in power from traditional authority figures to neoliberal interest groups. This study examines how the traditional educational model, one that educates the masses and meets the needs of all, is deteriorating under the weight of neoliberalism and how the evolution of the new paradigm will result in the revisioning of schooling in North America. For support, this study turns to and interacts with current societal examples or case studies, other research studies, and to post-structural theory in order to build its foundation.

Preface

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Introduction

Research is a lifelong quest, a lifelong commitment. This said it is not a penance; rather it is an extension of the self, of one's identity. In Arthurian legend, King Pellinore spends his entire life pursuing the Questing Beast – the Beast Glatisant or the "barking beast". When the Questing Beast fell ill, King Pellinore had the opportunity to end its life; instead he nursed it back to health so that he could continue chasing the creature. Without the beast and the act of the quest, Pellinore's life lacked meaning (White, 1987).

Likewise, to research is to be propelled by the urges or echoes that trouble us; echoes that keep

Illustration 1 – Pellinore and the Questing Beast -http://waterstonebasbookclub.blogspot.ca/

us up at night. What is more, this organic endeavour evolves, shifts, morphs, and stretches to the end of our lives and beyond – for our research inspires other questers who have similar

questions. We are links in the research chain and, although the research quest can be isolating and lonely, the connections to others exist even if the tethers are unfelt and invisible.

This study focuses on political, historical, sociological, and hierarchical theories as they pertain to the traditional school model and its evolution to the 21st century. The paradigm of the closed school system and its politics are being challenged by neoliberal agendas. Traditional power holders and neoliberals are vying for hegemony of a system that influences the educational journeys and life paths of students. The neoliberal tenets, such as freedom of choice, are challenging traditional, educational paradigms that are rooted in Fordian and Benthamian (2011) power structures that govern schools. There are examples of systems that do not subscribe to Ford's assembly line model or to Bentham's Panopticon, such as the apprentice model employed in trades or the idealistic vision proposed by Illich (1971), but they are not accessible to all or universally viable because they are not able to serve the masses simultaneously in a controlled environment.

Furthermore, traditional educational systems are being challenged by neoliberal parents who, as outlined in Chapters 2 and 3, are driven by consumption and status anxiety (de Botton, 2004), yet demand control over schools while they are earning. The onset and ready access to social media and advances in surveillance technology have made it possible for neoliberal parents to demand engagement on school governance issues, the ability to surveil the progress of students in classrooms, and critique the methods of discipline and control that are employed by traditional school authorities. Attempts to control the school power paradigm and the plight of students' actions are employed behind the mask of social justice and advocacy (Debord, 1994). Ultimately schools, like hospitals and penitentiaries, were created to be governed by local authorities. If the

control of educational spaces moves to the hands of neoliberal parents, then the public educational model cannot survive, because the paradigm of institutional discipline proposed by Bentham (2011), and developed later by Foucault (1995), will disintegrate via the forces of market capitalism. As established in Chapters 2, 3, and 7, even if the traditional paradigm perseveres and changes are made to the existing system, as witnessed with the voucher system in the United States and local efforts to account for neoliberal demands in Edmonton's public school board, the question remains whether these institutions are finished (Deleuze, 1992) regardless of the efforts to revision them.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

The following works are germane to the discourse concerning the control of schools and societies under Neoliberalism. Although other works are cited in this document, these are integral to the study and help shape the analytical lens that is employed. The works are divided into four main themes or categories as they pertain to this thesis: 1) class and status, 2) control and society, 3) neoliberalism, and 4) alternate organizational paradigms.

Class and Status

In Jean Baudrillard's *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign* (1981), the author establishes a value-based or system of worth and it is utilized to explain the value placed on schools by stakeholders. Employing Baudrillard's central idea that a particular sign may signify prestige helps one understand the forces at play in the struggle for school control between traditional power holders and neoliberal stakeholders. At the symbolic and sign levels, the neoliberal parent, as defined in Chapter 3, has awakened to the consumer value of the student. Parents demand control because the stakes of influence and the outcome on the final product. The social positioning of the student is too significant to leave in the hands of a system built and structured to keep bodies docile, as established by Foucault (1995) and is discussed in the next section pertaining to societal control, thus neoliberalism seeks to free students through choice and self-direction. It is this commodification of the student, Baudrillard, (1968) in *The System of Objects* that establishes the connection between the value of an object with consumption. In fact, where Marx (1990) before him focused on the means of production, the control of production, Baudrillard focuses on the drive to consume. He establishes the model by which objects are not

merely a result of production or demand but they ultimately code and classify society into groups. The coding Baudrillard discusses I apply as a value, a worth that parents of school-aged children are classified and judged by; classifications that are labels of worth and indicators of success.

My contention then is that not all schools are valued equally and not all parents whose children attend schools are classified in the same fashion. Their classification is determined by which school they consume. Of course, consumption is not literal here but encompasses the interaction between the school's offerings and the families' educational and childcare needs. In his subsequent works, Baudrillard devises a more concrete and tangible value system that is developed in Chapters 2 and 3 of this study where the connection to de Botton's (2004) concept of "status anxiety" helps to solidify the school site as a site of status and class consumption.

Egan's (2001), *Why Education Is So Difficult and Contentious* outlines three main intents behind the value and power structure of traditional schools and although this source is not heavily cited in this thesis, it is responsible as a catalyst for key research considerations:

1. Socializing the young;
2. Developing academic youths through curriculum; and
3. Impacting the potential of the next generation.

Drawing on Egan's work, this study develops that the traditional school setting is ill-equipped to accomplish these goals and that these goals may in fact be in contradiction to each other. Egan identifies these contrasts as incompatibilities and states that, if they continue to go unaddressed, the problems faced by schools will also thrive; problems that stem from a lack of freedom and natural development for children. The struggle between the neoliberal parent wearing his mask of public advocacy (Debord, 1994) and the traditional power holders of schools is really only a

battle: the war exists for students. Students are at the mercy of school structure and their parents'

fascination with the spectacle when really neither side is serving their interests or pursuits:

> Consider this scenario: You are fifty-five and have had a successful career as a lawyer. You have a spouse and two successful children. You are a pillar of the community, active in church, community centre, and children's sports activities. But it has recently become disturbingly clear that you will not remain vigorous forever, and that time is closing in. Something in you is unsatisfied, like a distant echo from a life-path you somewhere missed taking, like a call from another you who was not realized; but still might be. It is a disturbing call, a distressing echo, which grows louder by the day. Increasingly you feel it is a call from the real you, a call from your buried life; from the you who somehow got lost in all those legal tussles and in the social round and the kids' soccer and ballet and then their colleges and marriages, and now that ghostly you calls to be recognized and brought to life. (Egan, 2001, p. 937)

Egan's description leads well to the connection with media in Chapter 5 and to de Botton's

(2004) concept of status anxiety and, more specifically, meritocracy, which is kin to Egan's

characterization of status longing, or missed opportunities.

Of course, in a discussion relating to class, status, and the struggle to control the means, Karl

Marx's (1990), *Capital Volume I* must be addressed because Marx was the first to connect the

pursuit of materialism with alienation. Furthermore, and central to my thesis, is Marx's

contention that everything in society is a type of transaction; from friendships, to marriages,

politics, and sports. It is what happens as a result of these alienated relationships that apply to the

struggle for control of the educational power structure. For the purpose of this study, Marx's

work is evoked in the following fashion: The school structure holds a value; a value of

production that is represented by the student and this idea is a key connection that is also

developed in de Botton's (2004) work relating to status anxiety, which is fleshed-out in Chapter

4, and where the traditional, control paradigm is examined in detail. The power structure that

drives the educational system then also influences the type of product that is created – the type of

student and, by extension, the type of human. This power over affordances (Gibson, 1979) has been held by the traditional power holders since the creation of formal, mass schooling in Western civilization. As a response, the neoliberal parent, Chapter 3, who drives to consume, desires control over this means of production and desires it without relinquishing or even regulating his level of consumption. As developed in Chapter 6, video cameras are being used to track and supervise the actions of caregivers and teachers, not for the sake of safety, but as a method of control.

Traditionally, parents entrusted schools to keep students safe and to educate them, as prescribed by the Alberta School Act, and more specifically in the Children First Act of 2014, but it seems that they now realize that the cultural and identity-based exchanges that occur in schools are even greater than the ones that occur in the home; homes that have turned attention away from children and are focussed on material pursuits. The neoliberal parent views the student as the commodity – the object to be consumed by a free market economy. In traditional Marxist applications, the struggle for control is centered on the means of production; however my contention is that the greater value has now been assigned to the students as the commodity. The students as products and their consumption value is directly tied to the school – the means of production – and the neoliberal parent will no longer grant unfettered authority over this product's development (Chapters 2, 3, and 6). This extends the work of Marx (1990), Debord (1994), and Baudrillard (1981); where the Situationists and later Baudrillard work past the Marxist contention that the center of all discourse is the means of production. I seek to advance Baudrillard's (1981) contention that controlling the means of production is necessary so that one can control the type of person that is produced to consume by suggesting that the neoliberal's

pressure on the traditional paradigm of school structure and curriculum occurs because stakeholders have awakened to the student as product, as developed in Chapter 6. The contention within this study is that there is a value attached to the student beyond the function of consumption, beyond a vehicle of communication. As outlined in Chapters 2 and 3, parents are now seeing students as class symbols and their value is cultivated through intensive parenting techniques that extend even into the realms of school budgetary decisions. This influence is fostered through the arena of social media where parents have come together to collectively expose a school's shortcomings (as developed in Chapter 6 where examples of parental lobbying, such as *Moms Rising*, and surveillance are explored in detail).

Status Anxiety (2004), by de Botton, deals with a type of worry that impacts all people to some extent, yet it is rarely discussed or applied to the field of education because the parent as stakeholder is universally viewed as wholesome, untainted, and well-intentioned. Because the concept of status anxiety contains elements of vanity and elitism, it is not written about and is reserved for traditional neoliberal structures, such as private industry or corporations, which promote competitive economy and freedom of choice. de Botton (2004) evolves these traditional ideas of neoliberalism by tracing them through the works of such writers as Hume (1742), but the context of luxury and status are set firmly within the 21st-century and framed as determinate factors of success and failure. For neoliberal stakeholders, status impacts the way people treat them in society. This thesis takes the aforementioned ideas and applies them to the field of education, where privileged, neoliberal stakeholders, as established in Chapter 2, 3, and 7 use this advantage to provide their children with choices that are not available to all students. It is

this quest for status and the anxiety of failure, followed by a poor quality of life, which drives the neoliberal parent to use his influence in education.

The clearest example of neoliberal privilege is found in the field of medicine. Jennifer Reich establishes in *Calling the Shots: Why Parents Reject Vaccines* (2016), that the anxiety pertaining to choices for the well-being of children extends to the realm of healthcare as well. Parents are choosing to bypass vaccination and point to their own, ill-informed research to establish potential downfalls of vaccines, even though their selections are putting the greater society at risk by increasing the number of free riders (children who are unvaccinated but protected by the larger, vaccinated group). The neoliberal value of free choice is creating a weakness in the chain of public health that has been established and normalized for the better parts of the 20th and 21st century and stands in contrast to the collective evidence of the expert, medical community. Reich (2016), like de Botton (2004), points to a type of anxiety within neoliberal parents that drives them to act as the expert and to assume control or power through choice and influence, without regard for the greater good or for the expertise of traditional power holders in the fields of medicine. The author's research stems the better part of a decade and includes studies of an anecdotal and quantitative nature that establish the influence of mostly white, educated families who earn over $75,000 a year, yet they fully reject vaccines.

Control of Society

Although Beccaria's *An Essay on Crimes and Punishments* (1819) is not extensively cited in this study, it is integral because it extends Hobbes and Rousseau's assertion that people accept or follow the disciplinary establishment in society because they wish to escape war. This wish for

avoidance is in fact a contract, a pact between the ruler and the ruled. Follow the rules; allow the structure to work and all will be protected. For Beccaria, the laws (the structure of control) are meant to protect the ruler and the ruled from abuse and tyranny. The manifestation of this idea is witnessed within schools, hospitals, and penitentiaries that were all founded to fulfill this utilitarian function. As Bentham (2011) develops through the application of Beccaria's (1819) philosophy, utility here means that the aforementioned public institutions have always carried the responsibility to manage or control docile bodies, which later develops into the fiduciary responsibility of safety, as developed in Chapters 4 and 6. Predominantly, Bentham's contributions have been linked to the fields of criminal justice and societal discipline – more specifically, the relationship between punishment and its impact on human behaviour. As deduced from his writings, a key question or driver for Bentham's work centres on the following question: When considering the consequences of an act, what is the tipping point where consequences are no longer effective, no longer achieving the desired deterrence? This question led Bentham to the development of Beccaria's research and their application to Mill's utility principle. The utility principle states that regulatory actions – rules or laws - should be directed or driven by the production of good and the reduction of harm. This principle guided Bentham to create his Panopticon model for prisons.

Relevant to this thesis, I am interested in how Bentham's concept of constant surveillance – as outlined in his Panopticon designs – evolves into the contemporary model of the school. I contend that the basic philosophies Beccaria and Bentham establish regarding criminal law and punishment in the eighteenth century still serve as the skeletal structure for today's school. The tension or conflict however centres on the control of school and curriculum and exists between

the traditional power holders and neoliberal parents who demand control of discipline and surveillance (Foucault, 1995), as established in Chapters 2, 3, and 6. Furthermore, in Chapter 6, it is examined that by challenging the nature of the traditional control methods in education, neoliberals are challenging the existence of law, order, and democracy in society because these same foundations control prisons, hospitals, and, by extension, daily interactions in society. In their pursuit to create freedom in education and disempower the closed, disciplinary model, neoliberal stakeholders are furthering the advancement of societies of control (Deleuze, 1992), by promoting increased levels of surveillance through technology in schools (cameras, online social media, and smart phones). As developed in Chapter 6, the more transparent and traditional model of discipline and control in traditional schools is being replaced by neoliberal stakeholders with a complex and intricate web of surveillance that is inescapable and ultimately more intrusive in the name of freedom of choice and freedom from control.

This challenge though is not presented in a transparent fashion, rather it is hidden behind the mask of active citizenship. Debord's (1994), *The Society of the Spectacle* establishes that the mask of active citizenship serves to cover the spectacle. Debord (1994) contends that the spectacle is the moment when the commodity has absorbed the focus of social life and becomes a fetish, an obsession that transforms into a type of hyperreality. What is real ceases to exist and in its place signs or images remain that are symbolic in nature. Debord (1994) extends Marx (1990) and his philosophy that ties labour and production, but a key contention taken from Debord (1994) is that, from within this struggle, the worker (the neoliberal parent) possesses every aspect of his activity. This idea is exemplified in Chapter 5 where examples are drawn from the arenas of child care and, more specifically, elaborated in Chapter 7 through the case study of voucher-

based education. The society of the spectacle then pertains to how the community member contemplates or views his place, his existence within the community he struggles to seize control of – the school being the center of the community. The spectacle then, according to Debord, is this hyper reality where the act, the entire society and its functions, become this exchange or currency. The mask then is the one worn by stakeholders who desire to control the controller, and to surveil the surveillor; ensuring hegemony, choice, and mobility.

The traditional paradigm of school control is based in Foucault's (1995), *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. In this work, Michel Foucault furthers Bentham's philosophies and theories regarding societal discipline and, although he too focuses on the production of docile bodies in the realm of the condemned, my interest in Foucault's work is its application to the world of education. Specifically, how docile bodies are meant to be kept safe even when they are in motion within facilities that are meant to enclose or control them; spaces created for their preservation and to meet the governing authority's fiduciary responsibilities. Much of Foucault's (1995) work engages in the perspective of the human body – whether it be a prisoner, patient, or student – as a piece of machinery, machinery that must have its movement corrected and have its management with other machines regulated or overseen. This thesis, particularly in Chapter 4, examines how time management, a structured timetable, the bell system, the traditional classroom structure or design, and the division of students into ranks are designed and employed to purposely create routine. These entrenched norms are established for the purpose of discipline and control, thus emulating the regulation of machines. For example, in the contemporary settings, parents and students are questioning these practices and exposing them as calculated attempts to create homogenous, compartmentalized spaces that serve to control and, therefore, do

not meet the needs of the individual student, as developed in Chapters 3, 4, 6, and 7 where the allure of voucher-based education is addressed.

The societal importance of school space is put forth by Lefebvre's (1991), *The Production of Space*. This text is the most comprehensive in terms of dealing with the various dimensions or faces of space. Lefebvre's work engages in a multi-directional conversation regarding the development and societal importance or value of space and space production – as identified by those who control the space. His work marks a shift in urban planning and establishes the idea that capital shapes and influences space and the politics that accompanies that relationship. These contentions are applied in this study, for example, when examining the intent behind the *Elevate* (2012) report and neoliberal lobbying efforts in Chapter 5. Central tenets in Lefebvre's work speak directly to this thesis and extend the work of Foucault (1995) and Bentham (2011) before him. Primarily, Lefebvre (1991) states that space is ultimately a type of product and that the product is created by the interaction within the spaces. Ultimately, these spaces become the grounds for thought, action, and control, as established in Chapters 2 and 3 where the motivation of neoliberal interest groups are examined.

When considering my contention then, for the purpose of this study, if one dominates the space, he also holds the power and dominion over those who inhabit the space. This control, that until recently was not contested by parents and civic governments, is now being challenged, as outlined in Chapters 2, 3, and 5 through the neoliberal tenets of choice and freedom from control.

Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is a difficult concept to pin down because it is inherently pejorative and implies a level of unregulated freedom and even corruption (Thorsen and Lie, 2007). These negative associations make it inherently difficult to apply to the nurturing force that is parenthood, where traditionally the traits of instability, non-adherence, and unchecked freedom are reserved for corporations and the monetary machine of private industry (Thorsen and Lie, 2007).

For the purpose of this study, as outlined in Chapter 3, the Neoliberal parent is defined as an educational stakeholder who is willing to bend the current, educational governing structures for the betterment of his family's social stature. Neoliberals demand the freedom to choose and the power to dictate the direction of policy and governance of curriculum as it relates to school structures. This description renders neoliberalism, and the neoliberal parent by extension, as unsympathetically rebellious and in search of schools that are not controlled by the state but by the educational demands of society (market influences) and the status pursuit of the individual (Harvey, 2005). These aforementioned pursuits are aligned with the flow of capital and result in the advancement of western ideologies and, more specifically, the betterment of a minority of western society comprised of families who are university educated and earn over $75,000 annually (Reich, 2016).

Neoliberalism is an evolution of traditional liberalism, which focuses on freedom in market places by the governing class, but it has expanded to include the passions and free pursuits of individuals who quest for power (Thorsen and Lie, 2007). For the basis of this thesis, in education, the basic tenets of capitalism, combined with personal liberty, create a confidence in

stakeholders to challenge traditional sources of school autocracies (school boards, superintendents, and principals). Here, the neoliberal stakeholder, who is economically driven, also embraces the neoconservative focus on power politics (hegemony). Ultimately, as seen with modern voucher systems in education, neoliberal stakeholders are creating disparity in school systems and eroding the authority of traditional, closed systems of education; the systems that offer stability and protection in public schools.

It is Harvey (2005) that connects the concept of neoliberalism to Marx (1990) but extends it past controlling the means of production and creating a wage system to include the process that creates capital; education as a type of economic transaction that is also political. For Harvey (2005), neoliberalism consists of all Marxist elements but hyper-intensified, a reaction or backlash to Keynes (1936) and a focus on the welfare state, represented by the resulting power of economic elites who use the interplay between politics and economy and, in turn, this thesis applies this idea to the creation of a new power paradigm for educational institutions, as developed in Chapters 3, 6, and 7). This thesis establishes that contemporary neoliberalism has no limits where the reach or influence of free market thought and economic transactions are concerned, with a focus on education and the stakeholders who employ it in order to control its power structure (Chapter 3). One such case study of neoliberal stakeholders in action is developed through the review of the *Elevate* (2012) report.

In 2012, Edmonton's City Council released *Elevate: The Report of Community Sustainability,* the Community Sustainability Task Force engaged in a year-long, research project that centred on supporting neighbourhood vibrancy – with a focus on mature, inner-city neighbourhoods. With the support of community leagues, the group comprised by local government officials and

led by then Councillor Fair, developed a "blueprint" for the community vitality. One of the group's central conclusions outlined that in order to establish fresh approaches to neighbourhood revitalization, traditional concerns relating to school buildings and the governance thereof needed to be overcome; eliminating the silo of school space authority as it currently exists with district authority figures.

The historical power structure still drives contemporary schooling, but the contention is that it is needed, for without this structure and its established methods of control, the drive of the family to work and consume, the local government's vision to repopulate communities, and the neoliberal demand to produce elite graduates year after year will only serve to create a new power model. This new paradigm, as developed in Chapters 5 and 7, is driven by the political agendas of individual citizens seeking to maximize their status potential (de Botton, 2004), while operating behind the mask of active citizenship (Debord, 1994).

Alternate Organizational Paradigms

When it comes to the revisioning of traditional school systems, there is one book that provides a vision for contemporary education, Ivan Illich's *Deschooling Society* (1971). With respect to Freire (1968) and Reimer (1971), both influential from a philosophical stance as well, the real power of the Illich's work exists because it has been rejuvenated as the ultimate, literary allusion to the onset of the voucher system in the United States of America (Blakely, 2017). Even though Illich was responding and rebelling against western society and western traditional models of education, based on accreditation and formal, closed systems, his vision of allows families and

students to apply or administer their own school credits, or money, in order to secure the educational path of their choice.

Even in the context of 1971, the elements set forward by Illich relate to the fundamental tenet of choice in neoliberalism. We see this element present in today's employment of the voucher system in the United States. Families are empowered with the opportunity to apply educational funds as they see fit, into the schools which they would like their children to attend. Ultimately, Illich was trying to find a way to escape or defeat snobbery and elitism in Western education by recommending this alternative, credit based system. The current manifestation of Illich's credit system however has been embraced by neoliberal proponents of education and has been morphed into a type of value-based system where free choice is central to education, so that one can apply funding as he sees fit.

The Edmonton Public School Board, with its Campus EPSB initiative, represents a type of third way between the idealistic and dreamy vision that Illich employs and the extreme vision of the voucher system. Results and research relating to the academic performance of students participating in Indiana's and Ohio's voucher systems (Turner, 2017) are still forming and being assessed. Originally, the voucher system was meant to help lower class families, but empirical evidence suggests that it has been manipulated by middle class, neoliberal stakeholders for the purpose of promoting the advancement of the middle and upper middle class; this occurred when annual income thresholds were raised to allow the middle class to take advantage. Within campus EPSB, students will have choice and those looking for alternate delivery models and alternate time tables or schedules that meet their needs, can have their programs adapted and at the same time help to support their families, act as caregivers, or meet the needs of their personal

lives. These elements of freedom, flexibility, and choice are also at the core of neoliberalism,

thus Campus EPSB stands as a potential example of the way for the accredited, closed system of

schooling to assuage neoliberal stakeholders; perhaps.

Chapter 2: Defining Neoliberalism for the Purpose of This Study

Neoliberalism, which also includes neoliberal, is a term that is controversial and problematic. The term has been appropriated by non-economists in order to define fields of social sciences that are focussed on political policies and societal trends. This often utilized term has been criticized by some academics (Brenner et al 2009, Clarke 2008, and Mudge 2008) as being ill defined, manipulated, and employed in fashions that overreach its original definition. Initially, the term emerged as an ideological bridge between liberalism and socialism. Its more popular, contemporary usage relates to economic policy, post Cold War, and in particular with the economic policies of Thatcher and Reagan in the 1980s, that evolved into "the most successful ideology in world history" (Anderson 2000, p. 17). This success is ultimately attributed to the same pliability and proliferation that bore its criticisms. Although economists, such as (Castree, 2006) and (Rose 2006) label the shifting nature of the term's definition as inconsistent, it is evident through its broad scope of development and use that neoliberalism is a term that is relevant to both the world's social and economic history.

Since the end of the Cold War, the term has gained momentum in the broader political, ideological, and cultural policy models of the millennium (Harvey, 2005). A quick search in Google Scholar returns 84,100 results when searching for "neoliberal 2017" and results span the fields of medicine, politics, economics, and education to name a few. This borderless nature is employed, primarily, as a system of hegemony and, more specifically, as a way for minority agents or groups to employ power in order to secure entitlement with the support of political, legal and media influences – as in the cases of Black Lives Matter and #MeToo (Saad-Filho and

Johnston, 2005). So what exactly is Neoliberalism? Where did it come from and how did it evolve?

Centeno and Cohen (2012) contextualize neoliberalism as a market policy that was born from an economic revolution that looked to supplant the Keynesian (Keynes, 1936) economic model. The Keynesian model is one where governments regulated markets for the protection of the populace and that protection came in the form of a welfare states that supported employment for all its citizens. After WWII, the focus of the global economy shifted to the state-led development of agrarian economies with the goal of industrialization and these welfare states remained in control until the 1970s. Neoliberalism was born as a movement against state controlled mandates that impacted everything from trade to state policies, as well as regulations that limited the rights of the individual (Centeno and Cohen, 2012) and sought to transfer economic control to deregulated or free markets. Neoliberalism's emergence as a dominant policy was solidified at the end of the Cold War and later with the collapse of the Soviet Union and Eastern Germany. The Soviet Union, at the height of the Cold War, represented the epoch of welfare states while, in opposition, Great Britain and the United States represented economic and political deregulation, passive fiscal and monetary policies and opposed the redistribution of wealth (Centeno and Cohen, 2012). At the beginning of her third term in office as Prime Minister of England, Margaret Thatcher, while being interviewed, stated that "there is no such thing as society. There is living tapestry of men and women and people and the beauty of that tapestry and the quality of our lives will depend upon how much each of us is prepared to take responsibility for ourselves and each of us prepared to turn round and help by our own efforts those who are unfortunate" (Keay, 1987). What Thatcher is alluding to then is that neoliberalism has its roots in economic

liberalism, which means that the direction of the economy is in the hands of the individual who is participating in a free, self-regulating market and extends even further to political ideology where the ultimate goal is to reform government in favor of freedom and democracy (Dictionary of Social Sciences, 2002).

Thorsen and Lie (2007) trace the arc of Neoliberalism, in particular where the genesis of the concept is concerned, and establish it as a type of rebirth of classic, economic liberalism that is mixed with neo-conservatism insofar that market capitalism and the rights of the individual are protected above all. This is the same type of liberalism that stems from the work of John Locke and Adam Smith and is centered on the base political fundamentals of freedom and democracy (Thorsen & Lie, 2007). As a central tenet in classical liberalism, the state plays a minimalist role in all areas of public life, with the exception of law enforcement and the military. Locke (1823) establishes that the state is constituted from the formation of individuals or its citizens and goes so far as to grant authority to citizens to revolt against the state if it interferes in the aforementioned practices of economic liberalism. These liberal leanings and practices seem to form the basis of neoliberalism, however neoliberalism also borrows from the school of modern liberalism where it is further cemented by the works of Dewey and Mill among others (Thorsen and Lie, 2007). These 19th century philosophers stress the importance of state intervention in the areas of wealth and power redistribution. As a result of this cocktail of ideas, neoliberalism then is difficult to place on a philosophical continuum, but one can narrow it to the writings of Smith (1776) in which theories of capitalist economic policy are most identified (Thorsen and Lie, 2007).

The term itself stretches back to the nineteenth century when Charles Gide (1898) wrote a scathing article to describe Italian economist Maffeo Pantaleoni (1898), but the term mostly disappears until it is revived by Jacques Cros (1950) through his dissertation work (Thorsen and Lie, 2007). Cros establishes that modern, right wing liberalists - such as Hayek (1935) and Ropke (1944) - morphed the traditional idea of egalitarian liberalism, as established by Keynes (1936), toward a laissez faire stance. The work put forth by Cros (1950) helped to establish that individual liberty is directly linked to the need for a free market economy and where the interest of the citizens lies in their ability to control an unfettered economy. Further to the work of Cros, German theorist Edgar Nawroth (1961) openly criticizes the term and questions whether subscribing to a self-centered approach to politics and economy will not ruin Germany and destroy the country's morality and solidarity. According to Thorsen and Lie (2007), Nawroth (1961) is the first to employ the term in a pejorative manner; a manner that depreciates the concept to a negative adjective. It is this mantle of insult, or the negative twist or flavor of the term that follows it into the twenty first century; that is until the work of David Harvey (2005).

The research is developed in the early to middle part of the twentieth century eventually gives way to the contributions of David Harvey (2005). Harvey brings together the pieces of liberalism, both classic and modern, and tethers them to create one definition that is not so much pejorative as it is descriptive. Harvey's work provides the framework for academics in the new millennium to employ the term:

> Competition—between individuals, between firms, between territorial entities (cities, regions, nations, regional groupings)—is held to be a primary virtue...Privatization and deregulation combined with competition, it is claimed, eliminate bureaucratic red tape, increase efficiency and productivity, improve quality, and reduce costs, both directly to the consumer through cheaper commodities and services and indirectly through reduction of the tax burden. The neoliberal state should persistently seek out internal

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reorganizations and new institutional arrangements that improve its competitive position as an entity vis-à-vis other states in the global market. (Harvey, 2005, p. 65)

It is Harvey's (2005), building upon Anderson (2000), contention that neoliberalism is the prevailing political and economic ideology in the world and that it has displaced the more egalitarian bent of Keynesian thought that was the center of mainstream liberals up to the Cold War. At that time, as outlined by Thorsen and Lie (2007), hardline dictators such as Pinochet of Chile, democratic leaders such as Thatcher of Great Britain, and Reagan of the United States of America contributed to moulding the definition of neoliberalism to include deregulation, privatization, tax reprieve, free markets, free trade, and much of the new economic and political policy that bolsters the entrepreneurial spirit:

> But the neoliberal revolution usually attributed to Thatcher and Reagan after 1979 had to be accomplished by democratic means. For a shift of this magnitude to occur required the prior construction of political consent across a sufficiently large spectrum of the population to win elections. What Gramsci calls 'common sense' (defined as 'the sense held in common') typically grounds consent. Common sense is constructed out of longstanding practices of cultural socialization often rooted deep in regional or national traditions. (Harvey, 2005, p. 39)

It is this wide scope, the boundless nature of neoliberalism's definition and its use that allows for the multidimensional application of the term that stretches into the field of education. Harvey (2005) outlines that the applications of neoliberalism appeals to a broad band of people who are able to identify avenues that overlap to other relevant markets so that the power of the state transfers to the individual. In Chapter 3 of this study, the concept of the neoliberal parent is introduced and the term is defined and rooted in the theory and practice of neoliberalism as developed by David Harvey (2005):

> While personal and individual freedom in the marketplace is guaranteed, each individual is held responsible and accountable for his or her own actions and well-being. This principle extends into the realms of welfare, education, health care, and even pensions (social security has been privatized in Chile and Slovakia, and proposals exist to do the

same in the US). Individual success or failure are interpreted in terms of entrepreneurial virtues or personal failings. (Harvey, 2005, p. 65-6)

This personal accountability that Harvey mentions will, for the purpose of this study, be associated with educational stakeholders and, more specifically, the parents of students who access education. The claim then is that the neoliberalization of education is actualized through a type of market competition between schools that is fueled by the neoliberal demands of parental choice; choice that leads to "the rise of a hegemonic ideology or system of thought" (Centeno and Cohen, 2012, p.2). With this emphasis on choice then, neoliberalism has become a fulcrum that supports educational policy and curriculum in Western nations. This ideology has evolved past the scope of a knowledge economy and it has now connected itself with schools and those who attempt to access the school system. At the center, it is the student who now represents a new type of economic capital – a type of knowledge capitalism (Peters, 2003). Neoliberalism has moved past the manifestation of power or control and has now achieved the level of doxa (Patrick, 2013); a truth that operates on a level that is unquestionable, a considerable shaping force on educational systems that may or may not represent the economic good of society. This point is further tied to the contemporary reimagining of the student as commodity and to the concept of individuals as future workers and as assets of educational process. Of course, this is tied to Foucault's (1982) idea of subjectification (Patrick, 2013) but it is being extended in this study as a form of managerial governance that is employed through choice and, more specifically, the right of choice that is inherent with neoliberal tenets that extend through policy into the approaches of decentralization, privatization, and the individualization of education.

The central, neoliberal tenet of choice, when applied to education, results in the commodification of education. Recently, in the State of Arizona, Governor Doug Ducey ratified the United States' most strident policy relating to school choice. "Buoyed by Donald Trump's championing of a voucher system" (Blakely, 2017), Ducey's legislation allows for parents and students to exit the public education system and choose to enrol in private or online institutions. This is a landmark Bill because, for the first time, tax dollars have mobility and funding is portable. Although some of these concepts were first presented in the 1970s by the political applications of neoliberalism, it is now impacting education in the public sector, whereby parents do not have to pay private tuitions if they can move capital around, thus breaking the formally closed system of education. The intent of these new policies then are to restrict government control, but also to market education as goods and services with an emphasis on students and parents as customers (Saunders, 2011).

The neoliberalization of education is being supported nationally in the United States by Education Secretary Betsy DeVos (Blakely, 2017). The concern or criticism here is that high levels of defunding will lead to a two-tiered system and the democratic destruction of public education. Even though parents favor and laud the entrepreneurial sense of neoliberalism and the choice to apply their tax dollars directly, these freedoms strike those on the lower pole of the economic spectrum the most:

> In Detroit (where DeVos played a big role in introducing school choice) two decades of this marketization has led to extreme defunding and closing of public schools; the funneling of taxpayer money toward for-profit charter venues; economically disadvantaged parents with worse options than when the neoliberal experiment began; and finally, no significant increase in student performance. (Blakely, 2017, p.3)

Masked as the freedom of choice and the attempt to deregulate a closed system, failing schools are having money drained from them in order to support the wishes of the middle-class, and

above, who have the economic means, mobility, and privilege to access any school even without the migration of tax dollars. The call for neoliberalism, as it pertained to democratic governments, was that it helped to curtail the control of free markets by governments, yet now, under the same flag of decentralization, individuals are employing neoliberal market choice to "shape one's community" (Blakely, 2017), but is it for the better? Self- directed learning, where individuals are free to choose between pedagogy, is mired in the politics of control.

Through the transfer of managerial control and governance of education to the neoliberal parent, educational systems are now becoming the dominant arenas for neoliberalist ideologies that aim to transfer control of education to private interests. The neoliberal parent then, is poised to become the new social decision-making, educational consumer and regulator. This statement directly relates to Eagleton-Pierce (2016), Peters (2003), and Fumagalli & Morini (2013) as it relates to the development of bio-capitalism; where the real value is in the intellectual economy rather than the labor-based physical economy. Ultimately, this extends Foucault's (1995) concept of the entrepreneurial self, in which he establishes that people have the option to jump out of the system and choose the path of care through an evaluation of freedoms and opportunities that are presented in society. Parents are now economically self-interested and they are expressing these interests through the student who needs to become market knowledgeable. The goal then of the neoliberal parent is to support children who are valuable as individuals and are defined as such through their value in the economy, thus the student now is a type economic commodity where learning now translates into social mobility, the accumulation of knowledge and skill, and access to higher education (Saunders, 2011).

As students become commodified within the system of education, they are also becoming increasingly unstable and insecure about themselves as they seek to be adaptable to the levels and changes within a globalized economy. Within the framework of neoliberalism however, the aim of education is to conceptualize students as consumers and knowledge as the object of consumption, but the real quest in policy and pedagogy is for the autonomy of the student and for the choices of the parent. In this instance, the student and the form of government are directly tied to the politics of control. This signals a type of end then to centralized education (Bevir, 1999) and the rise of neoliberalism in education, where one governs his choices outside of the influences of external controls and establishes the primary agency that opposes centralized efforts led by government to organize social, economic, and educational systems. This, as established earlier in this chapter, is tied directly to the Foucauldian (1979) concept of the entrepreneur of the self, but it can also be extended past the discourse of power and viewed as an attempt to define ourselves according to our own decisions and judgments, thus establishing a political agency. Bevir (1999) develops this idea and suggests that the ultimate quest for autonomy, the agency of self-control, is really a type of mirage and that all exercises of power are not truly individual as much as they are constituted through regimes of power. It is through agency then that individuals can develop the sense that they can resist centralized controls and can continue to develop themselves as individuals; as well as the quest to be unique or singular, thus the birth of the neoliberal parent.

Chapter 3: The Neoliberal Parent

 Neoliberalism is more than just a philosophy and the "neoliberal parent" is more than just a caricature derived from an ideology. The neoliberal parent represents "a new ruling class, one that is comprised of social groups who are now dependent on privatizations and the corporate economy" (Connell, 2018). What is more, these social groups do not have a pre-requisite of wealth, but they do share the agendas of control and competition (Harvey, 2005) as they relate to the desire to attain wealth, social class advancement, seek gender equality, and control education. This type of "austerity parenting signifies the emerging emphasis on economic frugality, explicit morality and intensified governance" (De Benedictis, 2012). The aforementioned tenets have roots in the rise of neoliberalism as corporate and political responses to increasing personal freedoms of women (equal pay), youth (free speech), and other segments of society who fight for equal rights after World War II (Hursh, 2001). Corporate, neoliberal policies and the agencies established to embody them– such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund - were implemented to limit these new freedoms, eliminate the public sector (Hursh, 2001) and maximize economic growth and corporate profits.

Are all parents then neoliberal parents simply because they exist in a post-WWII era? No, the title is not era or time specific; it is tied to ideology and its practice. The neoliberal parent is one who, although critical of government and corporations for legislating and regulating the work of teachers and students, now forms the basis of a powerful social interest group that is acting as a new governmental authority:

> Paradoxically, neoliberalism, alongside its critique of the deadening consequences of the 'intrusion of the state' into the life of the individual, has none the less provoked the invention and/or deployment of a whole array of organizational

> forms and technical methods in order to extend the field in which a certain kind of economic freedom might be practiced in the form of personal autonomy, enterprise, and choice. (Barry, et al., 1996, p.10)

The neoliberal parent then is one who wishes to wield the control of neoliberal governing agencies; looking to become the new controller that exercises governance over school spaces (Barry et al., 1996). This concept of control transference is developed by Deleuze (1992) in his "Postscript on the Societies of Control"; a "new monster" (Deleuze, 1992, p.4) that is ending the life of closed systems of control such as prisons, hospitals and schools:

> But everyone knows these institutions are finished, whatever the length of their expiration periods. It's only a matter of time until the installation of the new forces knocking at the door. These are the societies of control, which are in the process of replacing the disciplinary societies. (Deleuze, 1992, p.4)

The concept of governance in school spaces here refers to the Foucauldian (1991) concept that is further conceptualized by Urciuoli (2010) to include the neoliberal hallmarks of open, competitive markets, accountability through surveillance, and a mobilization into the practice of strategic planning and arrangement of school spaces. The evolution of neoliberal parents moves from those who were governed by neoliberal economic policies in the 1980s, to those who now assume these "practices of government" (Fejes & Nicoll, 2008, p.13) in order to control school space for the purpose of influencing the conduct of educators, while shaping the capitalistic aspirations of students:

> We have passed from one animal to the other, from the mole to the serpent, in the system under which we live, but also in the manner of living and in our relations with others. (Deleuze, 1992, p. 5)

This iteration of control then focuses "on the choices and self-steering properties of individuals, families, communities, and organizations" (Rose, 1999, p. xxiii). The neoliberal parent then is "an ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations

and tactics that allow the exercise of this complex form of power" (Foucault, 1995, p. 20). Students and educational spaces are now being controlled by neoliberal agendas in order to produce the enterprising and competitive entrepreneur (Kascak et al, 2011) through the investment of money, time, and lobbyist pressures on the part of neoliberal parents who are focussed on competition in a global economy. The results include a lost understanding of what it means for students to be ready for life after school and damage to "the relationship between professionals and non-professionals and directly affecting the lives of those people who fall within their institutional mandate" (Griffith and Andre-Bechely, 2008, p. 44). This negative impact on the relationships between mandated professionals and neoliberal parents is felt in other professional domains as well; most recently in the arena of medicine and, more specifically, in the debate concerning the vaccination of children.

The Case of Vaccines: Medical Versus Parental Research

In her 2016 publication, *Calling the Shots: Why Parents Reject Vaccines*, Dr. Jennifer Reich narrows the definition of the neoliberal parent and examines the gender and societal issues as they relate to neoliberal mothering (Reich, 2016). These parental groups, led by mothers, are focussed on managing their children's lives and choosing their best paths through the independent investigation of unbiased resources; resources that are external to the field of medicine or proposed by medical professionals whose motivations are viewed with a purveying sense of distrust (Reich, 2016). In addition, Reich's study forms a portrait or composite of the neoliberal mother who refuses her child's vaccination by identifying that the reasons for the refusal have nothing to do with a lack of access or income (as in the case of parents in lower socio-economic circles). On the contrary, Reich's study concludes that children who are

intentionally unvaccinated are more likely to be white, have a college-educated mother, and a higher family income (Reich, 2016). What is more, the neoliberal mother invests time and resources into organic foods, breastfeeding, health-promoting practices at home, and control of their children's social exposure as mitigating disease risk (Reich, 2016). As in the case of school control, the neoliberal parent views herself as the expert, where the health of her child is concerned, and she refuses to be governed. She arms herself with privilege and education which allow for her to reject mandated governmentality (Foucault, 1995), without the fear of persecution, because neoliberal women view their efforts as superior to the recommendations of healthcare professionals (Reich, 2016) who do not know or understand their children's needs.

The ultimate threat however is that the traditional intent of schooling, from a Benthamian standpoint, is to keep the bodies safe, spaces structured, and consistently administer rules and discipline universally. Here the concept of the Panopticon, as introduced by Bentham, and later developed by Foucault (1995), defines the basic structure and logic for schools, factories, and hospitals; from the perspective of purpose. Although the Panopticon seems to be a type of ideal building, its purposes and applications serve the functions of power that govern prisoners, patients, and schoolchildren alike. Within this structure, there is a need to organize and observe individuals in order to intervene if need be and in order to control the multitudes who need to be kept under inspection. Why is this surveillance important? Surveillance is paramount because the Panopticon must be a type of safe house; one that guarantees safe custody, confinement, solitude, forced labour, and instruction. These managerial demands speak directly to the responsibilities of government based institutions and have become the base for all of the aforementioned types of institutions since Bentham's initial writings. What is more, the safekeeping of the multitudes of

students in schools has been used as a key reason for the resiliency of centralist strategies of organization, where schools are concerned, and perseverance of the Panoptic ideologies. The neoliberal parent's challenge to this authority, through the vehicle of privilege, poses harms to those families that do not have the resources and time to invest in the protection of their children's interests. Reich concludes her publication by stating that, although neoliberal mothers are not to be labelled as "loons", their treatment of vaccines as a "technology for individual consumption" places the most vulnerable members of society at risk due to a lack of parental advocacy in the face of elitist lobbying (Reich, 2016).

In California, the authority of neoliberal parents has been formalized in state law where the "parent trigger law" (Smith, 2015) cements the influence of advocacy groups such as "Moms Rising" - where authority is formally given to question everything from core curriculum to local funding formula models that determine the prioritization of school expenditures (Smith, 2015). There is a struggle though to enforce these laws in a way that assures genuine, parental engagement that is meaningful and productive because traditional agents of school control question whether they can fulfill their mandate and answer to the neoliberal parent's demand for accountability. "This happens while state policymakers haphazardly turn over more power to thousands of parents underprepared to hold large districts accountable" (Smith, 2015). Where privileged, neoliberal parents are able to use their resourcefulness and time to research and inform themselves in their children's educational interests, this "dilemma disproportionately affects blacks, brown and poor parents" (Smith, 2015). These groups of parents lack the affordances of mobility born from privileges of neoliberal parents and therefor will not understand the "jargon" and "complex budgets and data without proper training and guidance"

(Smith, 2015). The neoliberal parent then holds an edge that is employed to serve the personal interests of his or her child; interests that supersede the benefits and goodwill of the educational collective that ultimately deserves the greatest attention. The neoliberal parent's ability to foster personal interests though is made possible because of privilege and class status. Within this system of competition and choice comes rankings based on data and standardized test results. These enrolment choices then are data driven, based in elitist and hierarchical motivations that are only accessed by parents who have the fiscal means to provide transportation and tuition fees in order to achieve success and career through the exercise of class advantage.

Each year the Fraser Institute, a privately funded institution that is driven by the neoliberal, economic works of F.A. Hayek (1899-1992), publishes a national ranking of schools that is aimed at providing parents with the most detailed information from which they can choose an educational path for their children. The issue here lies in the fact that many of the top ranked schools are not within an accessible distance for parents, or they are at capacity and cannot serve additional students, or even that the schools are private and require tuition to be paid out of pocket by families. Parents though are willing to opt out of their neighborhood schools and attempt to access the top ranked schools because they want to exercise free choice and they desire to function within a deregulated, educational system that honors the power of the parent as the group that sets market direction; where the market in this instance is comprised by schools. The internalization of neoliberal ideologies on behalf of parents has resulted in the creation of a free market model where the education system is concerned and where competition, economic and social mobility has been promoted as a way to guarantee quality of learning in the classroom and as a function for the critique of schools across Alberta and North America.

2015-16 Rank	Rank in the most recent five years	Trend	School Name	City	2015-16 Rating	Rating in the most recent five years	Schools found: 227
1/790	6/585	—	Windsor Park	Edmonton	10.0	9.3	Add to compare
3/790	1/585	—	Mount Pleasant	Edmonton	9.7	9.9	Add to compare
6/790	5/585	—	Stratford	Edmonton	9.4	9.6	Add to compare
12/790	16/585	—	Tempo	Edmonton	8.9	8.7	Add to compare
12/790	40/585	—	Richard Secord	Edmonton	8.9	8.2	Add to compare
24/790	23/585	—	George P. Nicholson	Edmonton	8.7	8.6	Add to compare
24/790	n/a	n/a	Parkland Immanuel	Edmonton	8.7	n/a	Add to compare
29/790	52/585	—	Virginia Park	Edmonton	8.6	8.1	Add to compare
33/790	27/585	—	Meyokumin	Edmonton	8.5	8.5	Add to compare
33/790	29/585	—	Glenora	Edmonton	8.5	8.4	Add to compare

Illustration 2 – The Fraser Institute - www.fraserinstitute.org

The neoliberal parent then wants the freedom to choose and the power to control education from the financial, social, political, and policy stances; related to the affordances of education which are identified by class, earning potential, and an increased ability to consume (Down, 2009). Education has entered the scope of wealth production and its correlation to enterprise society which values objectifiable, measurable, and transferable wealth (Brancaleone and O'Brien, 2011). The same space will have different affordances for different students but what is consistent is that, for pupils, the affordances are psychological, linked to experience, while the

neoliberal parent shapes the learner as what is perceived to be most valued in the current

economic system (Bonnett, 2009). The neoliberal parent's focus on "intensive parenting"

(Shirani, Henwood, and Coltart, 2011, p. 26) then is tangled in middle class values that are

expensive and require capital.

De Botton (2004) defines the pursuit of these middle class values as the basis for status anxiety

and he identifies lovelessness, expectation, meritocracy, snobbery, and dependence as the key

elements to the chase for status that formed in the middle of the eighteenth century. Those who

amassed riches through the means of trade, industry, or agriculture and spent on luxuries were

viewed as being more beneficially engaged than the poor and that their private accumulation of

wealth ultimately benefited the public because the pursuit of pride and luxury guaranteed the

existence of the poor (de Botton, 2004, p. 56). Hume's thesis "Of Luxury" (1752) first suggested

the idea that it was the pursuit of riches and the expenditures of the wealthy and the pursuit of

superfluous goods that help to produce the wealth of the nation and help to maintain support for

a country's infrastructure and that the manual labor of the poor was simply a means to an end, but

not the source of strength. In 1759, Adam Smith developed these ideas into the bases of what is

status anxiety and the fear or sorrow that comes with the pursuit of riches and people's desire to

accumulate superfluous capital or wealth. It is Smith's concept of the "invisible hand" that first

described the burden of the rich or wealthy to further the interests of society by providing

opportunities in trade and industry for society that benefited everyone; from artisan to peasant.

The old Christian concept of the wealthy accumulator as villain turned to functional contribution

in society (de Botton, 2004, p. 58). The act then of earning and making an economic

contribution to the "concerted cultivation" (Shirani, Henwood, and Coltart, 2011, p. 28) of

students through competition, planning, and managing risk is directly tied to social hierarchy.

The ideal school setting for students, over time, has shifted with the promotion of neoliberal,

capitalistic affordances of schools (earnings, advancement, and class status). When a child

attends kindergarten for the first time, she marvels at the colours, furniture, lighting, and

resources, in that space. From there the child interacts with her classmates and teacher and

relations begin to form that assert to the child that the affordances of the space are ones of love,

relations, teaching, and learning. Neoliberalism has "taken away the joy of learning, the

creativity of teaching and the formation of strong public intellectuals" (Baltodano, 2012, p. 489).

It must be acknowledged that for many students from lower socio-economic backgrounds, there

are still basic needs that need to be met and schools provide a stable, consistent structure that

addresses the basic needs of the child that cannot be met at home:

> Experience in place is thus important in shaping classed attitudes to parenting class provisions. Indeed, the importance of place-based experiences in the socio-spatial construction of classed attitudes explains why those from other social classes whose children also attend these (high income) schools share the same attitudes as their more middle-class counterparts here. (Holloway and Pimlott-Wilson, 2014, p. 102)

As the child ages however, this favorable vision of a school that consists of a place of creativity

and joy, is affected by neoliberalism. For the parent, the influences and authority of school space

should not encroach on the matters of the home – relations, discipline, the concept of family,

emotional grooming and class advancement. "Our empirical findings reinforce social science

research which stresses that parenting is a class issue, as middle-class and working-class parents'

strategies are shaped by and for different social contexts" (Holloway and Pimlott-Wilson, 2014,

p. 106). Through neoliberal parenting, the affordances or benefits of school space are gradually shifted from the relational and stabilizing benefits and directed toward the benefits to reflexive parenting (Jensen, 2010) that school spaces provide; where the emphasis becomes the glorification of the school's inscribed value or worth to the child's advancement (Skeggs, 2004). Parents speak of the opportunity to raise earning potential through education, the opportunity to raise the family's class status, and the opportunity to accomplish something of relevance or worth in one's life as it is defined by the drive to consume. Neoliberalism promotes buying the big house, driving the Escalade, wearing the most identifiable brands, owning the toys, that mark one as successful within the neoliberal system. The child's initial instinct when she enters an educational space is to be unrestrained, uncontained in her interactions with her environment, whether they are positive or negative. As Down (2009) develops, perhaps it is time to rethink the purposes or aims of education in order to restore a level of human sensibility instead of valuing the economic rationalism of neoliberalist values so that the process and purposes of education allow individuals to lead meaningful lives that are fulfilling and that develop their capacities and knowledge. The neoliberal parent's commodification of the child, and his class-related views regarding the affordances of school space, stunt the child's ability to enjoy schooling. Because neoliberalism values commercial society, it seems that people, including children, come to neoliberalism of their own accord, but it is more the promise of a better life.

Modern advertising encourages the public to compare their lives to those who are famous, whether it is in fashion or the ownership of products, but it rarely promotes the examination of self-worth and the importance of understanding and being sensitive to others. For example, in the

1970's, only about 20% of North Americans had a second vehicle, whereas after the year 2000

that number increases to 59%. There are similar statistics for televisions (3% to 45%),

Illustration 3 – SKYY Vodka Advertisement (https://jeren.files.wordpress.com/2007/03/49skyyvodka_jpg.jpg)

air conditioning (22% to 70%) and dishwashers (8% to 44%) (de Botton, 2004, p. 194). The

increases in luxury items and the accumulation of non-essential goods can be directly linked to

the presence of these products in advertising and the extraordinary powers that product

placement has on human psychology; a type of conspicuous consumption where the thing

evoked is the power to elect signs of status and mobility. Neoliberal thought then is linked with

the idea that possessions lead to satisfaction and happiness, however once that peak is reached, a

new climb is commenced, the anxiety to fulfill the desire to consume continues, and goals are re-

visioned in order for happiness to be attained (de Botton, 2004, p. 197). How it is then that

students can enjoy being in schools if there is a distortion of priorities and if the highest level of

achievement is tied to material accumulation instead of the pursuit of understanding through knowledge?

For neoliberal parents then, schools serve a key function; the progression to wealth and transmittance of consumption. The objectification of school space then, as established in Chapters 2 and 3, the connection to market desires by the neoliberalist, renders the current model obsolete. In contrast, the neoliberal parent is in pursuit of the ideal model (Baudrillard, 2005) and so his resulting actions lead to the "destructing and drastic downgrading of the serial object relative to the *real model"* (Baudrillard, 2005, 156). The traditional structure of school space is then being challenged on the levels of function, quality, and desirability (Baudrillard, 2005) because the neoliberal parent views the current model as one that is underperforming when contrasted to the demands of capitalism and desirability because the current model is labeled as insufficient to meet the demands placed on the next generation by future markets (Peters, 2003). In order to change schools then, the neoliberal parent must gain control of the current paradigm. This is "[w]hat is meant by the crisis of the institutions, which is to say, the progressive and dispersed installation of a new system of domination" (Deleuze, 1992, p. 7). This control over space translates to control over the direction of society:

> A policy that is both neoliberal and neoconservative – partly aimed at whipping these resistant and critical students, teachers, and professors in line, is employment policy. Enforcing acceptance of the neoliberal revolution and weakening opposition to it is partly carried out through the importation of new public managerialism into the management of schools and colleges and education services. (Hill, 2006, p. 12)

Parents are now influencing the environment or space where future workers are raised and are engaging in a "professionalisation of parenting" (Holloway and Pimlott-Wilson, 2014, p.94),

where class and class attitudes are driving the nature of the school their child attends. At one time, neoliberal policies, as employed by corporations and government agencies, were criticised for forcing the capitalist ideals on the middle-class family in a type of paternal relationship, yet now this emerging, middle-class, control society (Deleuze, 1992) is acting as a type of legislative entity that is surveilling every policy move of school jurisdictions. The consequence of these contingent forms of neoliberalisation is that the boundaries between family life and state responsibility in the arena of social reproduction are shifting (Holloway and Pimlott-Wilson, 2014). The neoliberal parent is acting from the ethos of informed consumers who are responsible for the well-being of their children and who value their advancement, but they are doing so by pressuring the foundation of public education through parent trigger legislation and lobbyist groups, such as Moms Rising in California, that keep a watchful eye on the managerialism and regulation of public school boards so that the monitoring of performance indicators, rankings, and budgetary authority is challenged at the central level. These new free markets operate as a further control or surveillance of public sector services, such as education, and is born out of a political project that is tied to neoliberalism where the social purposes of education and the political process of education are a secondary consideration. The universal, bureaucratic model that exists to educate the masses or accommodate all as a way of promoting social and political stability is fading.

Chapter 4: Educational Space and the Traditional Power Paradigm

I have always been a "car guy". My earliest memories of childhood are not associated with family and personal milestones as much as they are filled with memories of riding in cars. The earliest vision I have is of a cherry red, 1965 Pontiac Parisienne – what a beauty. I know it may sound unbelievable, but I have vivid memories of being a three year old, riding in the back of that vehicle and, more specifically, laying on the ledge between the back window and seats and staring at the stars as my parents and I made our way home from family functions; not the most sound way of securing one's children in an automobile, I know, but it was commonplace back then. The red finish was speckled and the white vinyl top looked like fine leather. Can a three year old feel pride in a car? My father paid a premium for that vehicle – he bought it new well before I was born – and it was loaded with all of the options of the day; air conditioning, power steering, power brakes, cruise control and an AM/FM stereo.

Illustration 4 – My Father's Pontiac

In 1999, when I turned 25, I purchased my first vehicle. My buddy was getting rid of a 1982 Toyota Tercel for $500 and, since I was starting my teaching career and I needed wheels, I

bought it. The car was "gently used" and he purchased it from the original owner who only put 60,000k on it in the 15 years before selling it to my friend. Betsy – as she became to be known – was a white Tercel, 2 door, four on the floor, 63 horsepower terror that ran well but whose body needed work; serious work. I found this out the hard way the first time I took her through a car wash. My ear still rings from the shot of water that blasted me through the missing door seal. Something had to be done. So, considering that I only invested $500 to begin with, I had the door seals replaced, I replaced the shocks, boots, and bushings which softened the ride, and I took her to MAACO for a new paint job. The tech warned me that the rust would come back but I knew that would take a while and, by then, I would sell her.

Illustration 5 – My Toyota

She came out looking beautiful and running, riding like a dream! My dad was unimpressed. "If you want something to last, pay the money, get something solidly built, and take care of it. Don't waste your money on fixing up cars that are structurally unsound!" I didn't care. In addition to

the exterior work, I replaced the exhaust, rims, and added a new set of 4 speakers, subwoofer, and state of the art cd deck...super white headlights, platinum plugs, and a chrome shift knob.

In the meantime, the rust spread. It was discreet at first, but eventually the paint bubbled and the side panels perforated and, once again, I had to do something. "I can get the panels replaced for $1500 plus paint. They will cut out the old ones and weld new ones on and then prime and paint." My wife did not understand the necessity to make things right, perfect, ideal. Can one consciously live with deficiencies? Much to her chagrin, I spent the money and had Betsy doctored up.

But the cancer came back. How could this happen? I did everything right - I took care of her, I fixed her, I drove her with respect and I upgraded her when needed. Why could she not survive? Perhaps the fault that was present all along, the fault that I refused to acknowledge, the fault that could not be overcome by other fixes or upgrades finally deserved my attention: her structure was under constant attack from external agents; agents such as road salt, pot holes, and the all-mighty Alberta winter. These forces would continue to assault Betsy until she broke down for good; because they were relentless.

This anecdote is an extended metaphor for the slow demise of closed systems as they are put forth by Bentham (2011) and explored further by Foucault (1995). Disciplinary-based systems are slowly falling apart due to the pressures of public interest groups and, more specifically, the forces of neoliberalism, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. When one examines Deleuze's "Postscript on the Societies of Control" (1992), the decay of the rusting car parallels the "crisis to the benefit of new forces" (Deleuze, 1992, p. 3) that are "replacing the disciplinary societies"

(Deleuze, 1992, p. 4). The structure and organization of closed societies have conditioned people to move from one closed system to another – family to school, school to work, work to penitentiary or hospital - but these systems are in crisis due to a variety of other forces that are brutalizing them. Traditional power holders "never cease announcing supposedly necessary reforms" (Deleuze, 1992, p.4) as represented in the extended metaphor as the car's body work. Ultimately though, and without "fear or hope" (Deleuze, 1992, p.4) our current model of schooling, like my car, is finished (Deleuze, 1992, p.4) and everything that traditional power holders attempt to do through the allocation of funds for improvements or betterments to the system is working only to prolong their "last rites and of keeping people employed until the installation of the new forces knocking at the door" (Deleuze, 1992, p. 4). These new neoliberal forces enact the emerging power paradigm and they "move in turn and by other means to make itself lay 'priest' " (Deleuze, 1992, p.5). The new principles of education are no longer focused universally, or centrally, and so do not function properly in the current, closed educational model. As developed in Chapters 2 and 3, neoliberal interest groups are motivated by free choice, competition, and individual advancement and these ideals are not served by a disciplinary system that is geared to create docile bodies and production, therefore no amount of reform to the existing system (the car) will meet the demands of neoliberalism (the forces acting on the structure of the car).

Tracing the Arc of the Traditional School Model

Since the eighteenth century, the physical structure of the school has been established in the same image of other institutions such as hospitals, penitentiaries, and military barracks. The primary function of their design was the submission of bodies through the establishment of order

and routine – the "docile body" (Foucault, 1995, p. 138). In the nineteenth century, with the

onset of industrialization, this structure did not evolve a great deal because the school was filled

Illustration 6 – Factories and Classrooms (http://2.bp.blogspot.com/-
bP5qZiHhdF8/TZ4FSYYumBI/AAAAAAAAANM/GyZZu1SdKYw/s1600/School+and+Factory+03.jpg)

with larger numbers of students and, in order to establish a level of discipline, the space required

enclosure, "the protected place of disciplinary monotony (Foucault, 1995, p. 141). By extension,

programs of study, curriculum, had to interact with the task of manipulating, shaping, and

training students to obey while they engaged with curriculum. There has always been a paradox

then where educational spaces and curriculum are concerned because the advancement of

curricular studies has focussed on student engagement, the quality of teacher instruction, and the

affordances derived through these relationships, yet the structure of school space has remained

relatively untouched. Contemporary school spaces are not structured as Panopticons, rather the

concept or form presented by Bentham, and explored later by Foucault, serves as a general

schema, a culmination of disciplinary power (Gallagher, 2010). Here it is implied that modern

school design still employs elements of Bentham's Panopticon with the primary goal being to

condition bodies to submit to power and realize their material existences through the state

curriculum or prescribed course work. In addition to this purpose, Bentham's functions of the

penitentiaries apply and are significant to the evolutions of schools because, beyond the

emphasis on power, instruction, and confinement, there is a managerial responsibility of safe custody that the institution must fulfill and, although not the central focus for Bentham and Foucault, this custodial responsibility has evolved into a central fiduciary responsibility today.

Illustration 7 – Schoolhouse https://i.pinimg.com/originals/12/ef/98/12ef98738f81d4456701509632cc588f.jpg

Although the Panopticon did not persevere as a model for contemporary prisons, the guiding principles of maximizing surveillance with the least amount of staff has remained in contemporary school designs through the means of technology, such as digital cameras, metal detectors, and electronically controlled entries and exits to buildings. This focus on the utility principle (Bentham, 2011), in which actions should be intended either to produce good or to reduce harm, have driven the design structure of schools so that harm can be limited, even if it causes physical discomfort and impedes the delivery and interaction with curricula. The traditional model then relies on protectionist enclosure or isolation by controlling access to the space and by establishing a pattern or routine that assures the control of the bodies within the structure.

Central to the establishment of this model is the work of Cesare Beccaria (1819), who established the school as the space of control through punishment. Beccaria introduced the concept that when behaviour becomes an issue, the scope of punishment or the consequences must impact the masses even more than they impact the individual offender. Beccaria's use of punishment, or the appropriate measure of pain, is intended to deter the offender from future offences but, even more, to dissuade others from committing the same offence. The offence then is accompanied by direct, swift punishments that outweigh the benefits of the crime. Although initially intended for dealing with criminals, Beccaria's (1819) philosophy found a home in the governance of schools because it was taxed with the safekeeping of children – along with their education. These two opposing missions cannot be equally fostered and the control, protection, and care of children are, in today's school, as important as the delivery of curricula because the mass of students that has a right to access school space continues to rise, which in turn places further demands on the disciplinary paradigm - including modern modes of remote surveillance.

There is a link between pedagogy and school space and each generation since World War I has expressed that the space must work to advance curriculum but considering that current school structures still employ the aforementioned elements of closed, disciplinary systems as in the factory to "concentrate; to distribute in space; to order in time; to compose a productive force within the dimension of space-time whose effect will be greater than the sum of its component forces" (Deleuze, 1992, p. 3). Although the visible markers of modernity exist in schools, such as the presence of SMART boards, document cameras and APPs like Classroom Dojo (which send daily updates to Smartphones of parents regarding student attendance, behavior, and academic performance) – the space itself has not transcended the age-based cohorts or ranks as they were

established in the nineteenth century (Foucault, 1995, p. 147). This systematic approach has

thrived because of the need to educate the masses. Further to this point, the model has remained

in-tact due to the capital investment needed to educate the masses for generations:

> The rule of functional sites would gradually, in the disciplinary institutions, code a space that architecture generally left at the disposal of several different uses. Particular places were defined to correspond not only to the need to supervise, to break dangerous communications, but also to create a useful space (Foucault, 1995, p. 143-144).

In contrast to private schools, where the space and organizational structure is determined by

private interests, public schools are designed to meet the life cycle of a neighbourhood. In

Edmonton, for instance, the public school board has over two hundred schools in its inventory

and, of these schools, more than half are at least fifty years old. What has persevered then are the

Tyler and Ford approaches to educational spaces.

The Tyler model, as critiqued by Doll (1993), and its scaffolding based in modernity have

provided the systematic approach to schooling, in the better part of the world, since the latter half

of the nineteenth century. The reason for this prevalence is because the system is based on a

prescriptive, homogeneous, systemic rationale that is repeatable and therefore accessible by the

masses (Hargreaves, 1994). Tyler's *Basic Principles of Curriculum* (1949) captures the

aforementioned system with four key questions (Koo Hok-chun, 2002) that are paraphrased here:

1. What is the educational purpose of the school? 2. How can curriculum be crafted to meet the

purpose? 3. How can the curriculum, instruction, and those who access it be organized for best

effect? 4. How can results related to the purpose, organization and curriculum be measured? The

emphasis of Tyler's model then is based on repeatable procedure that values objectives that are

measured for quality control. Although Doll (1993) criticizes the Newtonian (Bell, 1976) model

for being too mechanistic and ultimately dehumanizing, what is offered in reply – a rich curriculum that both meets the needs of all, yet challenges the needs of the individual (Doll, 1993) – has not succeeded in ending the course of the traditional structure of closed system schools because of three main reasons: 1. More tailored curriculum retracts from efficiently educating the masses (idealizing self determination), 2. The open system strips teachers and educational leaders of their professionalism due to a decrease of direct control over curriculum development and organizational decisions, and 3. The model transfers power from government when it comes to education and, by extension, social welfare (Koo Hok-chun, 2002).

Ford's industrial-era, assembly line model can still be found in most public schools because the demands of mass, public education have only grown; a response to suburbia and sprawl. Sure, teachers have attempted to arrange classrooms differently, to "flip" them, to use different types of furniture in different patterns or arrangement, but these new approaches are still coupled by the same overall design of school space that is meant to be repeatable in all classrooms in order to enhance efficiency and uniformity. There is no doubt that school spaces are now constructed with more modern materials and that they are furnished with quality materials, but the design has not shifted, even with the focus on student-centred learning. With acknowledgment to the onset of technology, computer labs and certain fleeting concepts, such as the open concept classroom, the industrial model of education still rules due to pragmatism and necessity. This structure is consistent however with the capitalist or corporate workplace structure. Students are being conditioned to the reality that awaits them in the private work sector; a reality that is

Illustration 8 – Alternate Classroom Arrangements

comprised of ranks, rows, and isolation. All the spatial designs that students are exposed to during schooling will be familiar to them once they reach adulthood and the workforce. Jeremy Bentham's (2011) work regarding the control of forms and bodies is almost three hundred years old and its relevance is acknowledged by academics, yet the enduring structure of school space and its accompanying, disciplinary practices are being challenged by external stakeholders who are demanding more services, more choices, more access to school resources and the ultimate control of educational spaces. Is it possible to continue educating the masses if the space and methods of control are managed externally – by non-traditional power holders who, until recently, entrusted the control of educational spaces and students to educational authorities? Is it possible to truly educate – extend into the area of citizenship – when the model, its functions,

and its governance exists in a climate of pervasive mistrust? In addition, the postmodern

criticisms that a lack of choices and bureaucratic rigidity in disciplinary environments leads to

Illustration 9 – Cubicles (http://beberryaware.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Office-Cubicles-Shelves.jpg)

the alienation of an increasing number of students (Hargreaves, 1994) are undermining the

traditional goals of rational, scientific decision-making that is focussed on regulation, social

welfare, and institutional efficiency. Hargreaves (1994), Doll (1993) and Deleuze (1992) all

stress that modernist institutions are in a state of crisis and that it is time to shake the

philosophical foundations of modernity in closed systems (Koo Hok-chun, 2002), then why –

almost thirty years after their publications – has the crisis stalled? The contention put forth by

this thesis is that the crisis, in the early 1990s, lacked a vehicle to move it, to give it momentum.

Enter neoliberal stakeholders as the propelling force to the crisis; the new control society that

opposes the traditional power structures of schools based in modernity both on the macro and

micro levels. In this instance, the macro embodies district-wide decisions pertaining to

curriculum and school space use and the micro relates to the authority of the site administrator or principal to enact these universal strategies. To this point, power has been centralized, possessed by governing officials for the sake of efficiency so that curricular and spatial demands can respond to the needs of the student body as a collective. This issue of curriculum as space – as set out by Grundy (1987) establishes that curriculum is a cultural endeavour that is organized within a space - then seeks to address who should control this level of decision making? The significance here is that this decision making impacts all the experiences that students have in a space – the relational and educational affordances – therefore controlling these decisions is paramount.

To this point, the issue of compromise and engagement has existed where the curriculum of space is concerned and traditional power holders have been open to the input of external agents. Society has not been excluded from the process of transmitting its values to students and this socio-political dance has always had an air of power; an air of control (Bernstein, 1971). Progressively, these principles of social control, and the need to have input into their delivery, have become more aggressive and pronounced. The neoliberal parent has become more organized, has mobilized efforts in order to influence the curriculum of space utilization, yet he or she lacks the expertise and time to do so with any real effectiveness; this effectiveness is further blunted by the neoliberal parent's desire to consume. De Botton (2004) defines this drive to consume as a type of "status anxiety" (de Botton, 2004, p. vii) where the failure to conform to the ideals of success result in a devaluing of the individual's worth and a loss of dignity or respect. Centralized authority figures have a number of advantages that promote the uniformity that is necessary to organize school spaces for mass educational delivery – including the

equitable allocation of funds, the knowledge to develop course-based curricula, and the capacity to plan for all public schools. The reason then that the traditional, Benthamian model of control over the discourse of space curriculum has not evolved is because of mass; the exponentially increasing mass of the student body that requires to be schooled. In this sense, I liken this scenario to Einstein's formula of relativity, ($E=mc2$).

The dishevelled physicist communicates that even though an object can be accelerated and can reach a velocity close to the speed of light; its accomplishment is a mirage. As the velocity increases to the speed of light, the dynamic laws that govern mass change as well, which results in the need for perpetual acceleration. Likewise, even though traditional authority figures realize that the curriculum of school space, the long-standing design and structure has limitations, the pursuit of change can never accelerate fast enough to meet the crush or mass of students who are entitled, through the School Act, to access an educational space, thus the pursuit decelerates again and the established model of control is reaffirmed.

To extend the metaphor, neoliberal parents do not want to offer a new formula; rather they wish to run the experiment, to control the variables, to install "a new system of domination" (Deleuze, 1992, p. 7). The variables in this instance are comprised of post-Tyler and Fordist pursuits, more specifically, capital accumulation and production of students who become economic elites. Where the Benthamian model of school space focuses on routine, preparation, and isolation, the neoliberal vision of school space centres on consumption, accumulation, mobility, efficiency, and choice (Marazzi, 2011). Foucault (1995), furthering the work of Bentham, establishes the focus of school space as servile for the sake of collective control and the production of docile bodies:

> In discipline, it is the subjects who have to be seen. Their visibility assures the hold of the power that is exercised over them. It is the fact of being constantly seen, of being able always to be seen, that maintains the disciplined individual in his subjection (Foucault, p. 187, 1995).

In contrast, the neoliberal discourse challenges the concept of social solidarity by stressing the needs of emerging markets, consumerism and, above all choice; a central tenet that centers on the freedom to pursue consumption as invested stockholders (Deleuze, 1992):

> Our freedom to choose causes us to participate in a cultural system willy-nilly. It follows that the choice in question is a specious one: to experience it as a freedom is simply to be less sensible of the fact that it is imposed upon us as such, and through it society as a whole is likewise imposed upon us. (Baudrillard, p. 151, 2005)

Choice for the sake of individualization or specialization is ultimately an illusion because it only serves to further entrench the neoliberal parent into society. The draw then is purely a psychological one because there are no absolute models of educational space that meet the drive for choice; choice that dwells in the realm of inessentials (Baudrillard, 2005, p.153). School authorities rest in the Benthamian model of control because it is tested, familiar, and easily replicated, and the recent tension concerning the control over the educational structures and practices are founded in the increasing demand by external stakeholders – parents, neighborhood leagues, and private interest groups – on schools to support society's drive to consume, to keep the economy humming. As established in Chapters 2 and 3, neoliberal parents are employing capital values to impact all aspects of school decision making; from budget allocations, curriculum, discipline, and surveillance of staff. Indeed, the intent is to operate schools as a shared corporation that is based in neoliberal fundamentals. What is more, external stakeholders are demanding an increased level of input and control over how the school structures are designed, organized for instruction, and how much access community members have to schools

during and after school hours. In September of 2017, the Government of Saskatchewan, according to its webpage, opened eighteen elementary schools on 9 joint use sites citing the benefits of maximizing savings and delivering schools on budget (Government of Saskatchewan, 2017). All of the schools were designed with the input of public stakeholders that helped to determine the functional design of internal and external learning spaces, the green focus of the schools' heating and lighting systems and the design of recreational areas for evening use groups. What is more, the construction of the schools were a joint effort between private financiers, construction forms, and the government. The school will be administered by the public school districts, however stakeholders will have the right of access after hours to the facilities for public use and the private sector will be responsible for the maintenance of the buildings. This three tiered involvement has already been tested in Alberta during the mid 2000s with poor reviews that resulted in the abolishment of the partnerships by 2010. The latest round of fourteen new schools opened by the Edmonton Public School board were strictly school board and government led endeavours, but the demand for public access perseveres.

A Public Schoolboard's Application of the Object System

The reason for this awakening, on behalf of stakeholders, can be better understood when one considers Baudrillard's value system as presented in his text, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign* (1981). Here Baudrillard makes sense of all the stuff we call "objects" (Baudrillard, 2005) and, more importantly, why and how they are assigned values. One has to look no further than a school closure process or a debate over child care in school space to understand the value systems applied to schools. For instance, The Alberta School Act contains a 6 page section that outlines the process of school closure and, more specifically, the access to

debate that stakeholders have before a school is closed. The advertising regulations alone are extensive; 3 public meetings must be held, the meetings must be advertised in 5 public places including television, print and radio advertising. In the case of schools that are over fifty years of age, it costs the EPSB millions of dollars a year to keep them open, from an aging infrastructure standpoint, and for barely 100 students in some instances. What is more, the suggested closure of the aforementioned school has been hotly contested by a privileged community that sites home depreciation and the continued access to a niche school as key points to maintaining aging schools in communities with declining populations.

Baudrillard (2005) identifies four value categories for objects in his text and in this case the categories are applied to address the questions, what is a school and how is it assigned values?

- The "functional" value of a school; its instrumental purpose. A school serves as a structure that holds students.

- The "exchange" value of a school; its economic value. One K-9 school is worth, on average in Alberta, $30,000,000 – according to Alberta Education's website (education.alberta.ca).

- The "symbolic" value of a school; the value assigned to the school by an individual. A school symbolizes learning, youth, rites of passage, friendship, love, and pain or suffering.

- The "sign" value of a school; its value within a *system of objects*. A school may not have any more of a functional benefit than another school but its location or

name may signify a greater value or worth for people – Harvard versus Athabasca University, for instance.

Applying Baudrillard's value lens to this situation aids in the understanding of the forces at play in the struggle for control of school spaces between traditional, power holders and neoliberal parents because it speaks directly to the commodification of schools and, by extension, students. The current conflict can be linked to the recent awakening on behalf of parents and community to the shifting nature of *symbolic* values under neoliberalism. Parents were always aware of these greater values but are now impacted by capital's acceleration through neoliberalism, as a result of status anxiety (de Botton, 2004).

Specifically, private schools allow for the neoliberal agenda to meet its needs by eliminating the elements that hinder it in the public space realm; namely diversity. By establishing a school that can only be accessed through affordances, refugee, indigenous, and status disadvantaged people are eliminated from the schools and the government's methods of centralized control are defeated. No longer is the neoliberal concerned with the exponential increase of the masses because he has helped to redefine mass; the mass accelerates without the exponential burden of dynamic laws. Where public school space forever returns to the structure of organization and security in a school space – bells, desks, rows, and ranks – the private school offers free internal movement; a space where students are not bound to the prison model that focuses on temporality and discipline and is only concerned with keeping competing forces and ideologies outside of its walls. This scenario may appear utopian and indeed it is for neoliberalists, however, access to the educational space is limited by class and ideology which serve to devalue the public, heterogeneous spaces by relegating them by the means of capitalism.

Percentage of Elementary Teachers Citing Issue as "Serious Problem," Public vs. Private
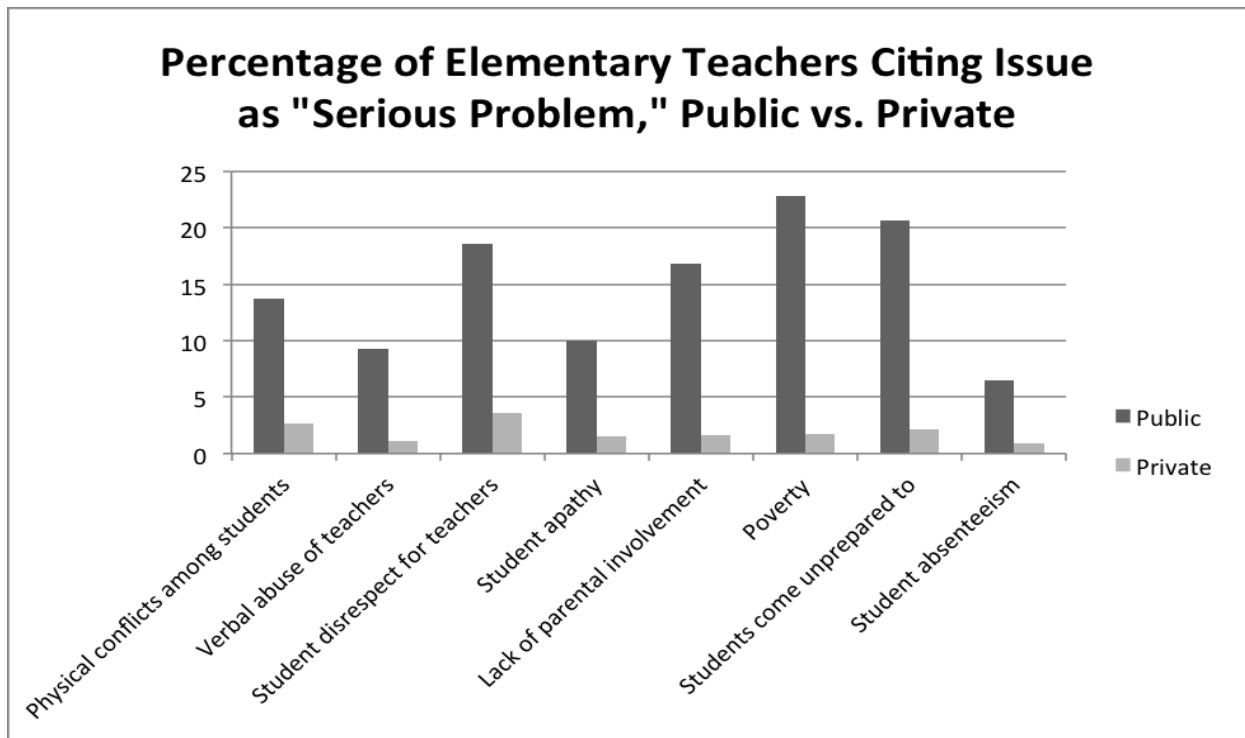

Illustration 10 – Public Versus Private Schools

http://cdn.theatlantic.com/assets/media/img/posts/orlin_teacherpay1.png

The pursuit of the private school is ultimately attractive to the neoliberal parent because it affords him control over the curriculum of space; control that allows him to establish a space that is a market entity. Shifts in market demands, the evolving form of markets and the promotion of competition creates a curriculum of space that is defined by malleability; the fruits of private, exclusionary, neoliberal spaces. This directly relates to Peters (2003) and his concept of knowledge capitalism, where the goods are affective or cognitive, immaterial, rather than labour. Peters and Reveley (2012) further develop and support the idea by asserting that the individuals then become the most important productive resources because they carry the knowledge, or new mode of production, with them thus replacing traditional labour with the knowledge worker.

In contrast to serving the public, private school space serves the individual's desire to consume by satisfying the quest for individual advancement in order to create human capital that will contribute not to the productivity of a nation but to the advancement of the elite. Under the lens of capitalist class structure, the private school offers the neoliberal parent, the minority, access to a model of schooling with "infinite nuances (Baudrillard, 2005, 161). Regardless of which realm the neoliberal parent functions in – private or public – his attempt to control the power structure of school space is motivated by his desire to establish "social rank: the code of status" (Baudrillard, 2005, 212). Where students are "coded figures" (Deleuze, 1992, p. 6) centered on social relationships, those pursuing consumption are focused on the dominion over "power, authority, and responsibility" (Baudrillard, 2005, 212), which leads to the code of status. Consequently, this code of status will render the old hierarchies, the traditional power-holders in school spaces, outmoded.

The demands for control over the *sign* and *symbolic* values of educational spaces have resulted from the commodification of students in a neoliberal setting:

> Our space has strange effects. For one thing, it unleashes desire. It presents desire with a 'transparency' which encourages it to surge forth in an attempt to lay claim to an apparent clear field. Of course this foray comes to naught, for desire encounters no object, nothing desirable, and no work results from its action. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 97)

Students are now viewed as products that are developed; developed from their time spent in the space of school and are meant, on some level, to be consumed; for instance by post secondary institutions (Peters, 2003 and Peters and Reveley, 2012). Baudrillard (2005) suggests that the creation of the product/student is intended to feed or be consumed by the system – through the process of being integrated into the system. In the classical age, the body was viewed by the

military as an object that had to be molded, shaped, manipulated, and made to obey so that it could reach its full potential (Foucault, 1995). The regimen for creating the student, the planned methods used, and the right to administer them are now contested because the value of the student as an object or commodity has been realized; parents now contest control because they are aware of the stakes – the impact of educational spaces on students' mobility, status, and identity (Holloway and Pimlott-Wilson, 2014). There is a "political investment of the body" (Foucault, 1995, 139), a newly realized power that stretches out over all of society and it is manufactured and harvested in educational spaces, most specifically, in public schools, thus the struggle over place; where place is defined as the accumulated experiences, the memories, the ideas formed as a result of moving through educational space.

So why are neoliberals not flocking to private schools in Alberta? Ultimately, neoliberal parents view public schools as their own capital investments; their earnings are being filtered to this system, so why flee the investment? The more logical response is to usurp the paradigm of control through the political realm of active citizenship.

Chapter 5: Behind the Mask of Active Citizenship

Edmonton continues to evolve, continues to grow, continues to sprawl. The definitions of family, community, and school continue to evolve as well, responding to the environmental forces that act on them – where environment, in this instance, denotes the newly forming arteries that present themselves in the form of suburban roadways, sewage and water treatment services and, ultimately, new housing developments. Yes, Edmonton is developing, evolving, morphing into a more complex version of itself -a version that represents the changing desires of a neoliberal society. Schools in the Edmonton Public School Board are being called upon to meet the evolving needs of families who are investing more time in the workplace and less time at home providing family-centred child care, yet the schools are built and designed using the same principles of control that propelled school construction in the 17th and 18th centuries. These "mechanics of power" (Foucault, 1995, p. 138), relating to the control of the human body, provide school authorities with the structure needed to create docile bodies (Foucault, 1995, 138). "The worst news, then, is that the academic ideal of education is designed to achieve a kind of understanding it simply can't deliver - its justification is an ideal that is unrealizable" (Egan, 2001, p. 931). This quotation is Egan's response to Plato's educational program that centres on justice, objectivity, and truth – all the fruits that could be gathered through a disciplined curriculum. Egan's criticism is anachronistic though because Plato's reality did not include classrooms as we envision them in contemporary education spaces; western educational spaces employ classroom structures that include desks, rooms, walls, bells, and other elements of control.

Schools and Childcare

If we applied Plato's ideals of high literacy to a mentor/pupil relationship though, it is quite possible to achieve his vision; meaning every student has one mentor who guides her learning and this learning extends beyond any structure or border. Interestingly enough, I was discussing this very idea with a community member at a school where I was addressing the District's accommodation plan: "That's called being a parent. You need to have kids to do that type of educating." Then what are we doing in schools? And, what is more, how much educating is a parent really doing if the child spends more hours in the day within the confines of the school than with the parent? Dare I suggest that the school as a place has more influence on the child, once she reaches school age than the parents themselves? If true education happens one on one, why are parents so eager to give up those opportunities?
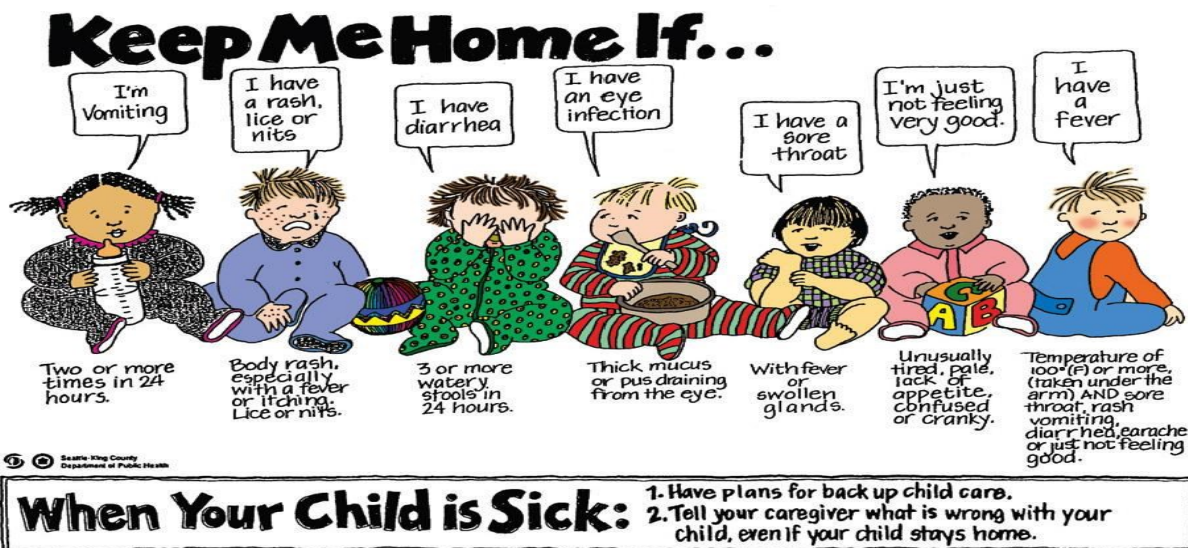
Illustration 11 – Daycare Health

(http://pwoodw6715.com/yahoo_site_admin/assets/images/keepme1.231124525_std.jpg)

These are the conclusions that have driven the neoliberal parent to engage in the control of school space. Yet even in the face of these realizations, the parent cannot turn his back on the desire to consume and the monetary base needed to fulfill her desire to consume. The previous pronoun is purposely chosen because contemporary, feminist concepts of desire fulfilment seem to be tied to earning potential more so than to the traditional example of motherhood. In *Institutional Context of Population Change* (2001), Fred Pampel establishes that in high income nations there is an emphasis on ``relational equality and personal fulfillment of wives`` in the realm of work more so than in familial duties (Pampel, 2001, p. 67). The significance of earnings for women have reduced the importance of children and have negatively impacted birth rates; which reinforces the importance of individual fulfillment through earnings, work and the associated income aspirations (Pampel, 2001). So who then raises and cares for the child? The school. So why can the mentorship ideal not be employed? Because we need to control all of the bodies that require extended care – we need to control students until it is time for the parent to pick them up after work. This outcome determines everything from school start and end times, to the educational year's calendar, and it is responsible for the onset of schools acting as before and after school care facilities.

The demands on school space then are not only driven by families who are working to clothe and feed their children, the blue collar vision or by extension, the generalized American Dream, but also those who are seeking to influence social organization and attain higher levels of status. The neoliberal parent exploits schools in order to support a society where both parents are employed, while attempting to control school space from the workplace. As established in Chapters 2 and 3, Neoliberal interest groups are aware that the ruling class is the dominant intellectual force in

society and, where schools were once allowed disciplinary domain over space and process, a conscious tension now exists because the parent has linked power to his authority and position in a society where he desires the same status, as a minimum, for his child.

Marx's (1990) theory relating to the control of structure outlines that the ruling class is identified as the group that holds the influence over the modes of production and that this is the key to influencing and shaping social consciousness. In return, the traditional power-holders are reluctant to relinquish control of their rule because a loss of control will signify a shift in the ruling class and the status quo (Marx, 1990). It is this conflict model of society, based on antagonisms, that spurs the evolution of hierarchy. In order to create change in the structure of society, the neoliberal parent must move the balance of power through tension and struggle in order to influence what and how schools function. Marx's definition relating to the production of goods is radicalized in this instance to transcend the basic needs of eating and drinking and is applied to the student; the student as a product of consumption. What is meant by "product of consumption" is that, by controlling school spaces, the neoliberal parent is able to influence the production of the student, uphold his place in society, and secure this status for generations. The current reality, the traditional hierarchical model stands as an opposing force to the neoliberal desire for class ascension, for further development. It is this conscious opposition which sets the table for the revolt against the Benthamian structure of school space. As put forth in Chapter 2, the neoliberal parent is part of a greater communication network, has group mass, identifies the classical structure as his common enemy, is organized, and shares this contempt with a collective. Stakeholders place merit in discussions concerning capital spending, community revitalization, and city redevelopment goals but they continue to pursue these goals using the

same vehicle; the same model of controlling school space. The key consideration here is that the current structure of schools is not meant to be a porous, community hub where students, faculty, and community members can freely flow in and out of without hindrance. On the contrary, schools are places of security and protection, places of restraint and control in which curriculum is delivered.

To this point, the purveyors of school design, school space use, student discipline, and program delivery have been the local site administrator, or principal, and by extension the district superintendent. Increasingly, schools are facing pressure from public and private stakeholders, governments (Board of Trustees), and progressive notions of active citizenship that are fracturing educational practice and policy with the neoliberal weapons of city planning, the promotion of the entrepreneurial spirit, and the drive of the working family to consume; where the entrepreneurial spirit represents the ``Alberta Advantage`` of Ralph Klein`s government during the 1990s:

> Unlike some others, my government will not try to buy prosperity through higher taxes. Instead, it will build on Alberta's existing advantage of low taxes and its free enterprise spirit to develop the most competitive economy in North America. The government will strengthen the Alberta Advantage and sell it aggressively around the globe. (Speech from the Throne, August 31, 1993)

Consumption here does not equate to the fulfilment of basic needs – food, clothing, and shelter – yet it relates to the drive to propel one's status and further to control our entire cultural system (Baudrillard, 2005, p. 217). In this case, the mantras of active citizenship and equity are masks; masks that conceal aggression and the ultimate desire to control, to dominate and to weave the tapestry of affluence through affordances. As de Botton (2004) outlines, this consumption is also

propelled by status anxiety that stems from the drive to surpass one's neighbor or seem productive in the eyes of others or to attain a sense of exhilaration from achievement.

Debord's *The Society of the Spectacle* (1994) supports this premise through the contention that the public struggle has value as a type of capital; capital that is drawn from the spectacle that ultimately transforms relationships of power. Essentially, the struggle for power is cyclical, repetitious and has no end. This conflict results in one system of power replacing another only to have the struggle swell again - not for the sake of equity or justice, but to overcome feelings of helplessness and ineptitude. The danger in this scenario is that there is no saturation point where consumption is concerned (Baudrillard, 2005, p. 223) for the neoliberal parent, no level of fulfilment and therefor no satisfaction. Models of school space will forever be compared to an ideal that does not exist, as in the Arthurian legend presented in the beginning of this study; thus the model will forever be hunted, wounded, and nursed back to health only to be pursued again.

Community Governance and Schools

The tension existing between traditional possessors of school control and the new logics of citizenship are fuelled by the morphing nature of community governance; where the community includes all of the public lands and public buildings within its borders. Ultimately, the battle is over the production of students because, since the 1700s when the concept of the educational space forms, the classroom and the school building have been homogeneous spaces that are meant to control bodies. The act of educating includes the establishment of rank, order, age appropriate groupings, and an arrangement of subjects that are overseen by a program of studies, or a succession of subjects governed by escalating prerequisites. This interrelation between

freedom and oppression and its connection to power in education is supported by Freire (1968) who first presents the "pedagogy of the oppressed". More specifically, he states that the freer an individual is the more apt he is to "join the political struggle for transformation of the world" (Freire, 1968, p. 100). So what has changed? Neoliberal influences on traditional school order and discipline have produced students who are driven by educational choice and, more significantly, choice as a right, as established in Chapter 2 through Barry et al., 1996; Blakely, 2017; Centeno and Cohen, 2012; Marazzi, 2011; and Rose, 1999. Students and parents are not concerned with jumping through the metaphorical hoops of curriculum as established by government. Neoliberals are seeking unfettered access to schools so that they can establish their own direction and curriculum for those who qualify. Educational reform, the use and access to educational space, is driven by new power networks that drive the discourse of space control; reform with the intent to reshape educational governance so that the community stakeholders control the use of schools – with the intent of controlling partnerships within instructional spaces so that the convenience of services exists for families that are focused on their class interests. The answer then to the question of aging infrastructure, for neoliberals, is to turn it over to the community and eliminate government control.

In February of 2012, the City of Edmonton's Community Sustainability Task Force, led by Chair Michael Phair, released its *Elevate* (2012) report; a 54 page document that is aimed at the many mature neighborhoods in Edmonton's core. Mature neighborhoods are seeing fewer young families and fewer families with children overall. The key question faced by then Mayor Stephen Mandel was twofold: how does Edmonton meet the challenge of aging communities - such as crumbling infrastructure, low enrolment schools, and declining access to private businesses - and

how, in turn, can the neighbourhoods be revitalized? The Community Sustainability Task Force

dedicated a year to reviewing these mandates and was comprised of twelve citizens, elected

representatives from City Council and the Edmonton Public and Catholic school boards, and the

Province's Office of the Minister of Education (Elevate, 2012). The task force met with several

groups of stakeholders during a series of public consultation events and collected feedback from

the Edmonton Federation of Community Leagues, Edmonton's NextGen, as well as individual

citizens who wished to debate the future direction of mature community vibrancy with the goal

of delivering a blueprint for success. The resulting *Elevate* (2012) report contains nine

recommendations for courses of action in order to enhance the future of mature neighborhoods as

strong, sustainable communities:
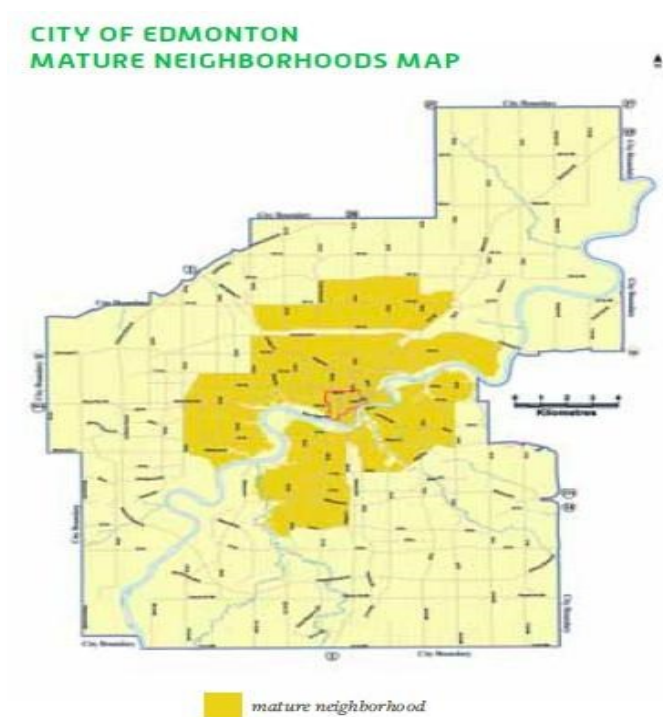
Illustration 12 – Mature Neighborhoods Map (http://daveberta.ca/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/City-of-Edmonton-

Mature-Neighbourhood-Map.jpg)

RECOMMENDATION 1

Bring together the four jurisdictions (federal, provincial, and municipal, school boards) to create innovative partnerships and re-configured policy and funding models designed to assemble a new urban agenda.

RECOMMENDATION 2

Create a channel for collaborative community sustainability work in Edmonton. This channel—which may or may not be a new body, depending on the resources brought to bear—will act as the focal point for the city's community sustainability network.

RECOMMENDATION 3

Create a template for the development of an asset-based development plan for every mature neighbourhood (which will change over time), to understand strengths and areas of need, to engage the community directly, and to ensure that community goals and input are prioritized, particularly when development is being pursued and/or advocated.

RECOMMENDATION 4

Ensure that initiatives for community sustainability are based on good information. The channel—the Edmonton Community Sustainability Partnership (ECSP)—will oversee the effective distribution of this information.

RECOMMENDATION 5

Develop a collaborative regulatory environment that strengthens and supports communities.

RECOMMENDATION 6

Create and support business diversity within communities, and develop stronger partnerships with and between the community, Business Revitalization Zones, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Department of Sustainable Development.

RECOMMENDATION 7

Foster healthy communities through offering a diversity of housing, and through encouraging and educating around issues of diversity and densification.

RECOMMENDATION 8

Recognize that education is the foundation of a successful future for both communities and individuals, and that life-long learning is a foundation for

community sustainability. Ensure that all community-driven plans include the delivery of lifelong learning opportunities for all.

RECOMMENDATION 9

Encourage the Province of Alberta to provide innovative and sustainable infrastructure funding so that existing and new schools are modern, multi-functional and able to accommodate a diversity of programs. (Elevate, 2012)

On the surface, the recommendations are meant to tether individual citizens and elected officials to the intent of creating a stronger city, a more equitable place to live, but there is a glaring omission in this process: senior level administrators (Superintendents) from the public districts were not involved in the conversation. The task force consisted of elected officials of the school boards but did not contain senior level administrators or superintendents; people who govern the daily operations of schools, of the educational spaces. The *Elevate* (2012) report outlines the need for an asset-based development plan, where schools represent such assets, yet the administrators of these value assets were not invited to the table and although the report calls for lifelong learning for all in mature community schools, it does not address if these schools will be needed to meet the crush of developing neighborhoods around the perimeter of Edmonton. It is in these neighborhoods where the population of school-aged children is exploding and where there are fewer community schools.

In January of 2014, the Edmonton Public School Board commenced its Growth Accommodation Plan, which was a plan for dealing with school space shortages in the proverbial donut that outlines the densest area of land and housing developments in Edmonton. The plan includes strategies for moving young, elementary aged children from the outer rim or circle closer to the centre of Edmonton; closer to the mature neighborhoods addressed by the taskforce in the Elevate report of 2012. The necessity for these moves stems from data offered by the following

70

illustration – all EPSB related data has been presented at public Board and/or public consultation

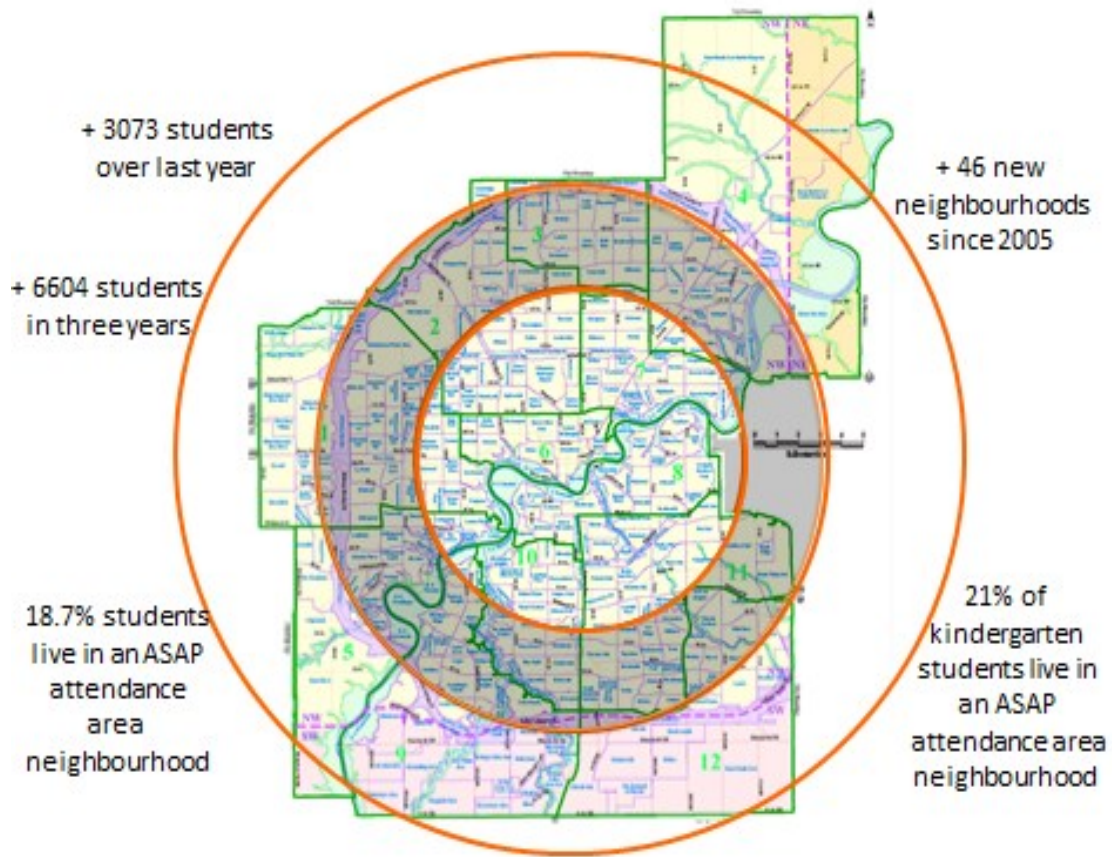meetings and therefore considered public domain information:

+ 3073 students over last year

+ 6604 students in three years

18.7% students live in an ASAP attendance area neighbourhood

+ 46 new neighbourhoods since 2005

21% of kindergarten students live in an ASAP attendance area neighbourhood

Illustration 13 – EPSB Student Demographics
https://www.epsb.ca/media/epsb/ourdistrict/boardoftrustees/boardmeetings/2013-14/february18/03

In 2014 alone, the Edmonton Public School Board increased by 3073 students. In the last three

years combined, the district has increased by more than 6500 students and the majority of this

influx originated from the outer concentric ring. However, the most telling statistic involves the

youngest students who attend EPSB district schools; 21% of all students attending the Edmonton

Public School Board live in ASAP school neighborhoods in the outer concentric ring of city

development - where the Alberta School Alternative Procurement represents the public/private

partnership structure of shared cost for school production in Alberta as developed by Premier Stelmach in 2006 – 21% of 89,000 total students.

The tension then exists between the traditional guardians of school space control and the external stakeholders who wish to restructure the power paradigm. The superintendent of the Edmonton Public School Board is taxed with the responsibility of providing high quality learning environments for all students and in doing so must access surplus space that exists within mature neighborhoods, but he is being challenged in allotting this space by external stakeholders who view these surplus spaces as community assets that need to be appropriated for the survival of the community, not used as stop-gaps until new schools are constructed on the perimeter of the city.

Traditional authorities of school space use, such as site administrators (principals), central planning staff, and superintendents are caught between the steamroller that is the neoliberal agenda, as outlined in Chapters 2 and 3, and the conduits for legitimizing the process. The question here is, will local school authorities work to develop policies of choice, where the greater community has access to all district schools for the betterment of community or will they attempt to hold fast to the established realm of control; controlled access, timetables, ranks and rows, bells and procedures to control who flows in and out of these buildings? The fact remains that historical, structural inequalities still drive contemporary schooling, but the contention is that it is needed, for without this structure and its established methods of control, the drive of the family to work and consume, local government's vision to repopulate communities, and the neoliberal demand to produce labour-ready graduates year after year will only serve to create a new power model; one without the professional expertise to guide it and driven by the political

agendas of individual citizens seeking to maximize their potential behind the mask of active citizenship.

Intra-provincial competition between cities to attract and build entrepreneurial strongholds through qualified labour forces on the macro level and the families drive to work and consume the benefits of the resource-rich province of Alberta on the micro level will become the factors that determine what school space looks like in the future, the student's ability to affect mobility and privilege through schooling. Community stakeholders are questioning why school space is not developed from the onset with childcare dedicated space. Why must parents turn to the more expensive private sector spaces for this service when they are already investing capital in school spaces? The neoliberal agenda is not merely challenging the traditional, school power structure through technological commodification (Peters & Reveley, 2012), it is further tipping the educational, political discourse while hiding behind the moral masks of equity and community. Although behind the mask lays the desire to control society, historical structures are powerless to expose the impetus of the neoliberal parent because they too are designed to oppress and exploit those who occupy educational spaces - by right. The current ruling class lacks the ability to defend itself because it lacks a defence strategy outside of the realm of egoism. The defence of the traditional school structure then rests with the members of society who do not identify with the neoliberal parent, such as members of society who find neoliberal pursuits to be the veiled motivations of the new societies of control (Deleuze, 1992). It is the aforementioned motivations that have fuelled the onset of parent-trigger laws in the United States, and in particular California, that give governing authority to parent groups if they wish to challenge and even dismiss the administration of a school:

The trigger law raises questions as basic as: Who owns the schools? Do they belong to the parents whose children attend them or to the district voters and taxpayers who fund them and elect the school board? If taxpayers and voters are adamantly opposed to a change that parents support, who ought to get their way? Should a bare majority of parents — not all of whom are citizens, by the way — have enough power to close a taxpayer-funded school, forcing the minority of parents to send their children farther from home? This option has never been exercised, but it remains a possibility. (Los Angeles Times, 2015)

There is a fault in the logic and motivation of the courts and federal policy makers who have enacted these laws in the United States however, and that fault lies in the assumption that the best interests of students are better represented by neoliberal interest groups, rather than educational governing bodies.

The Mockery of Snobbery

Illustration 14 – Los Feliz Day Care 1 - http://christylemire.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/LFDC1-939x540.png

Jason Shapiro is a comedy writer from Los Angeles who uses social media, Twitter, to paint a satirical, yet poignant composite of the 21ˢᵗ century, neoliberal parent; the composite is not a flattering one, but it does help to establish the scope of intensive (Shirani, Henwood and Coltart, 2011, p. 26) or helicopter parenting. In this study, the authors found that parents identified strongly with the effects of nurturing more so than that of nature or natural attributes and that there is an overwhelming belief, on behalf of the participants, that the more one researches, studies, and knows about parenting and all of its facets, the more fruitful a child's development (Shirani, Henwood, and Coltart, p. 29, 2011). Shapiro's fictional *Los Feliz Day Care* is a Twitter-based farce that works to expose the mandates of neoliberal parents through parody and focuses on topics such as vaccine exemptions, risk management, the treatment of children as objects or props, and the obsessive monitoring or surveillance of a child's behaviours while at the fictional daycare:
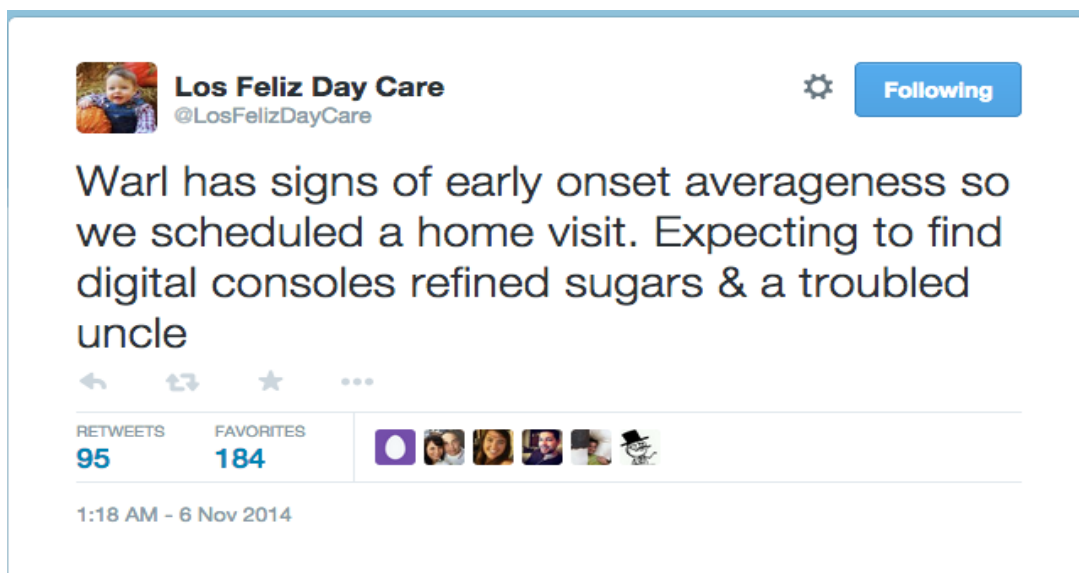
Illustration 15 – Los Feliz Day Care 2 (https://www.babble.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Screen-Shot-2014-11-06-at-11.28.20-AM.png)

The defence of the current form of educational space curriculum then comes from an opposing

mass of society that is also networking, communicating and mobilizing against the consumption

of children as objects or products through the use of satire if not ridicule. Included as followers

of the *Los Feliz Day Care* Twitter feed are other famous and well-connected celebrities, such as

comic Amy Schumer and Trevor Noah, the host of the popular television program, *The Daily

Show.* The counter-force provided by these moguls of media and social media offers a resistance

that the traditional power holders cannot put forth without sounding dismissive and arrogant.

Because this example of satire comes from the realm of entertainment and popular culture, the

neoliberal parent can only accept it and laugh with it, yet by doing so, he acknowledges his quest

for the commodification of society as "snobbery" (de Botton, 2004, p. 79):

> The problem is compounded by newspapers. Because snobs combine a weak
> capacity for independent judgement with an appetite for the views of influential
> people, their beliefs will, to a critical degree, be set by the atmosphere of the
> press. (de Botton, 2004, p. 79)

As de Botton (2004) develops, this revolution is being, at the same time, buoyed and thwarted by

the power of the image that is amplified and/or mocked by mass media. It truly is a struggle for

hegemony that is being played out through media forms and media has the ability to empower.

Neoliberal interest groups are attempting to become the new epoch of control in education - the

new ruling class - and it is technological, social media based advances that serve as the vehicle

for the public surveillance of schools.

Chapter 6: Rodney King, Body Count and the Transformation to Societies of Control

The roots of technological surveillance in schools, and the use of recorded materials against the established power holders, can be traced to a seminal moment in the late half of the twentieth century. On March 3, 1991, a construction worker named Rodney King engaged the Los Angeles Police Department in a high speed chase that concluded with the savage beating of King at the hands of officers Koon, Wind, Briseno, and Powell (Linder, 2018). This event marked the first time that video footage captured by a civilian bystander was used to prosecute members of the established authority. The video of the assault, which lasted almost an hour, was shot by George Holliday and first reported by KTLA news (Linder, 2018). What would have been just another verbal account of authority doling out excessive force to correct the behaviour of a black man became the image or scene of a decade. Holliday's footage worked to remove the veil of otherness by transporting the fight against racism from the theoretical or philosophical realm into the tangible by making it available to millions through their televisions.

Although this example relates to the theme of social identity and race, it was paramount in exposing the lengths that established authority will go to in order to control bodies; to enforce order within the system of law. Considering that public law enforcers work closely with school officials to oversee student behavior within school space, neoliberals were alerted to possibilities that these examples of brutality could be occurring within schools, but within a more private setting that lacks the checks and balances necessary for deterrence. The concept of installing cameras in schools, as a means to level the authoritative playing field, became a topic of conversation after this event and, with the technological progression of smart-phones, students under the control of school administrators can now act as Holliday did and simply document any

and all examples of discipline for the presentation to media outlets or for dispersal on social

media forums so that they can be shared internationally.

Illustration 16 – Rodney King Beating
http://www.nationalenquirer.com/sites/nationalenquirer.com/files/imagecache/node_page_image/article_images/king_story.jpg

The visual crush or impact of the Rodney King beating was cemented when the evidence – the

videotape – was used in a court of law to uphold the actions of those in control. The constructs of

discipline and punishment in society, as brutal as they are, were upheld or ratified by the courts

upon the acquittal of the four officers in question. The Los Angeles riots that followed the trials

stand as a mark, a definitive example of a race that refused to accept the legally affirmed role of

judge and jailor. The fires burned in Los Angeles for weeks and the war on the streets had to be

subdued by Marshall Law.

In response, blacks revolted against the establishment by attacking any innocent label of its

prescriber (all whites) – as seen in the beating of Reginald Denny; a construction trucker who

found himself in the wrong neighbourhood at the wrong time and became a victim of the

backlash against the "state-control of the mechanisms of discipline" and surveillance (Foucault, 1995, p. 213). These events became woven together and they permeated discussions of race, culture, law, and society for the rest of the decade and beyond, to the point where they influenced the direction of surveillance in educational spaces.

Illustration 17 – Reginald Denny Beating

http://i808.photobucket.com/albums/zz6/lazlong76116/misc/ReginaldDenny.jpg

As a senior in high school in 1992, these images and their accompanying videos became mainstays that were discussed in cross-curricular settings: Social Studies, English, CALM, and Religious Studies classes. They followed me from television screen to magazine cover and, ultimately, to my car and bedroom in the form of musical anthems. In 1992, Facebook and Twitter did not exist and even cellular phones and the internet were in their infancy in terms of

availability and universal use. At that time, the primary source through which movements gained

mass, networked, and communicated was through popular culture works and their creators.

In March of 1992, Los Angeles hip hop artist Ice-T released an album entitled *Cop Killer* with

co-creators Ernie-C, Mooseman, Beastmaster V, and D-ROC – collectively known as the

rap/metal band *Body Count*. What makes this album unique, beyond the genre, is the content of
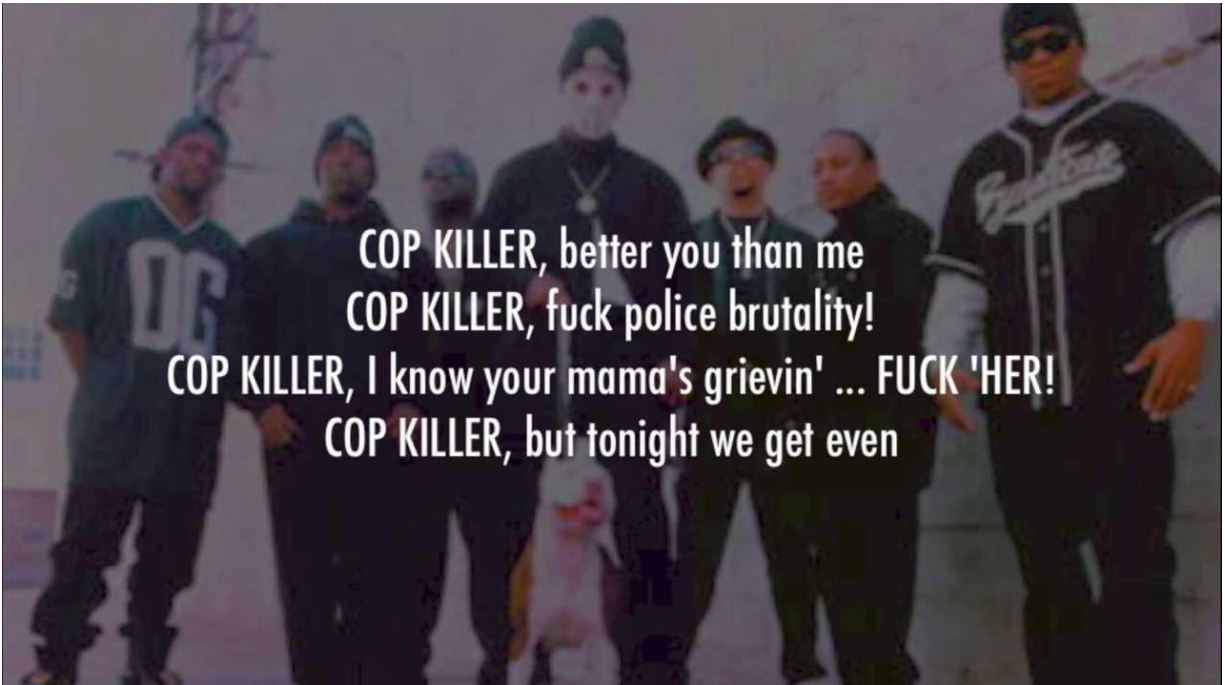
Illustration 18 – Body Count (http://i.ytimg.com/vi/TLRzR5UwdXo/maxresdefault.jpg)

the songs. It was an open retaliation on the authority figures of society; law makers, police

officers and, more specifically, white cops. The group captured the anger and rage of black youth

in America, post Rodney King, but delivered it in a traditionally white vehicle – heavy metal; the

bi-product created the genre of rap-metal. Blaring guitars and pounding drums were not the

traditional realm of black hip hop acts but, with great success, Ice-T and his crew became the

most talked about cross-over act in rock and roll history since Elvis Presley. In a historic role

reversal, black artists were using traditionally white commercial methods to communicate

themes of racial angst, and the desire to dominate the old, white masters of ethnicity. Body

Count refused to play the role of the good, new black representation that rises to replace the bad

old white representation after a crisis (Yon, 1999). The lyrics of the song *Cop Killer* (Morrow

and Cunnigan, 1992) capture the catalysts for the backlash.

Illustration 19 – ICE-T (http://www.earthlyissues.com/images/icetcop.jpg)
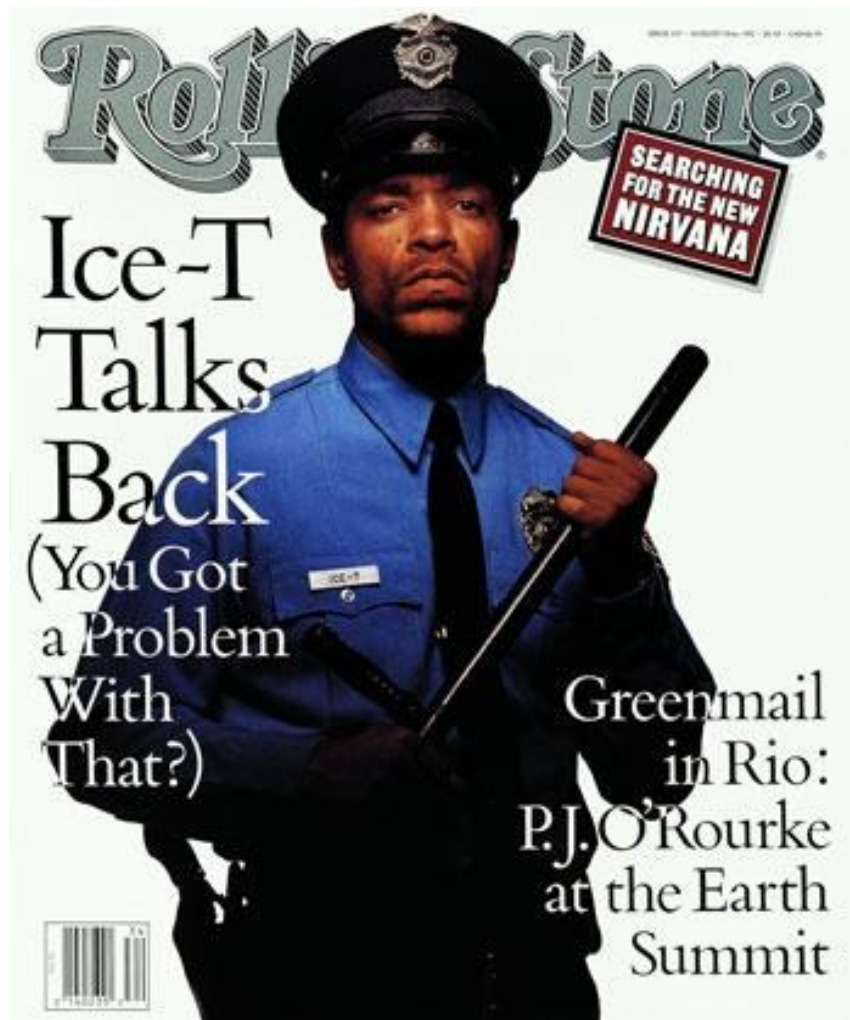
This of course infuriated the white establishments in America that desired to control and define

the differences that assert the cultural dominance of one group over another, especially in the

settings of government institutions (hospitals, schools, and prisons), where surveillance is an act of control through deterrence that is meant for the patient, the student, the prisoner, and not the controller. In England, this type of role reversal has already been explored as a type of post-panopticism where the subject's failures are assessed through external evaluation by means of surveillance (Courtney, 2016). The governors who established the school inspection policy of England in 2011 did so with the intent to evaluate the worth of the institution (teacher practice and principal quality measures, not the compliance of the student (Courtney, p. 624, 2016). The original album cover showed a figure with a tattoo across his chest that read "Cop Killer". After the album's release, reports of violence and vigilante killings of random police officers prompted the band's label, Sire/Warner Bros. to recall the album jacket and re-release it with another one where the tattoo read, "Body Count". Other than making this album jacket a collectable, the act was inconsequential as it sold over half a million units in a few months and what was really threatening to established authority was not the album's cover, but the messages in the music.

As a teen on his way to university, I realized that these images, these videos that exposed the officers were the catalyst of a response; an organized, mass response that was backstopped by music and the other spin offs of popular culture. I am not black but that was inconsequential where the recognition of context and time were concerned as the curriculum of space, surveillance, power, and cultural identity were being formed in front of my eyes and through my ears. Even though I was naïve, I joined the mass by wearing a t-shirt that read, "L.A.P.D. WE TREAT YOU LIKE A KING". My timing for wearing it was perfect too as I stepped off of my plane at the Los Angeles International Airport and passed through security. My exposure to the video, music, and subsequent counter-culture movement that resulted led to aligning myself as

kin to Rodney King, Body Count, and ultimately the revived civil rights movement in America. This is how easy it was for a Greek kid in Edmonton to be swept up by the tide that was created by Holliday's grainy, twelve-minute footage. This video however, exposed contemporary power holders as abusive and the controlled as simple forms of subjection which fragmented society; those who agreed with the courts that affirmed the structure's power band and those who in turn questioned all other structures of institutional control and worked to expose their disciplinary practices.

Illustration 20 – School Cameras (http://theholmeseducationpost.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/ImageSecurityCamerasSchools-580x360.jpg)

This clash between traditional modes of student control - the space, the timetable, the use of discipline, and the technological advancements utilized to secure order – and the desire for parents

to coexist in these environments alongside their children - to surveil the surveillor of the surveilled and attain unfettered access to the institutions of control – has led to a change in the modes of surveillance utilized in schools. Contemporary schools are not "all seeing" circular enclosures that contain a surveillance tower of glass in the middle where a guard may or may not reside, modern cameras and have allowed for power holders to exercise Foucault's definition of disciplinary function where "the fact of being constantly seen, of being always able to be seen, maintains the disciplined individual in his subjection" (Foucault, 1995, 187). Gallagher (2010) outlines that the contemporary school continues to control students by means of observation rather than physical punishment but that level of observation is not continuous, nor constant.
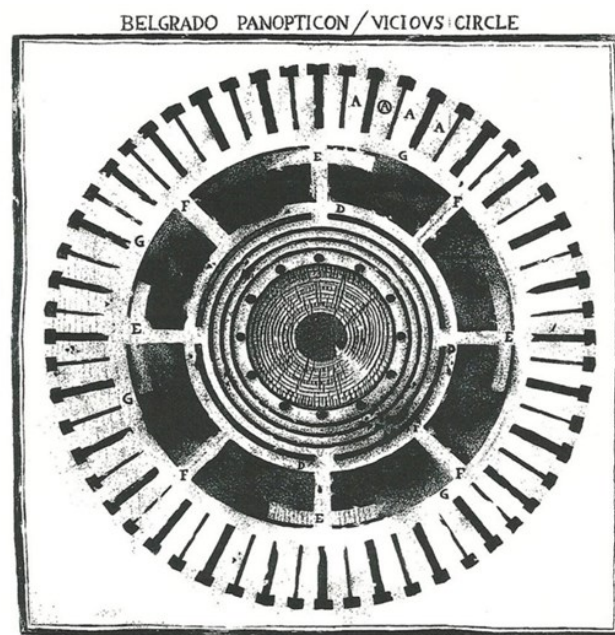
Illustration 21 – Panopticon (https://belgrado.bandcamp.com/track/panopticon)

He goes on to identify that contemporary school surveillance is "discontinuous" and relies on methods that are visual and auditory in nature (Gallagher, 2010, 263-266). The use of cameras and

other audio recording devices in schools became commonplace in the early 2000s when schools introduced them as a means to track missing students and to observe student behaviour as a type of deterrent. In general society, video surveillance had been accepted long-before with their introduction into home security systems in the late 1960s and as the infamous "nanny cams" of the early 1990s.

Illustration 22 – Nanny Cams (https://i0.wp.com/www.bestnannycamreviews.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/dangers-of-nanny-cams.jpg?resize=1039%2C585)

In a turn from Orwell's *1984,* the audio and video security camera were installed as the way to deter immoral acts, however those who control school spaces are not immune from the camera's eyes and ears and now the very tools of deterrence have been usurped by the neoliberal parent, the media, and higher-ranking government officials in order to surveil the surveillor; the shift in

control of school spaces is marked by those who have authority to judge the actions of the surveilled.

In England, hundreds of schools have installed closed circuit television cameras, equipped with sound capabilities and storage capacity to sustain months of documentation, in instructional spaces – classrooms (The Guardian, 2009). Local government officials claim that the recordings will be influential in teacher training and to encourage productivity in the classroom, while deterring vandals and thieves but school governing authorities are predicting that the installations only serve to open the process of school discipline to the scrutiny of neoliberals.

Illustration 23 – Cameras As Evidence
https://mediaassets.wptv.com//photo/2013/04/25/Northport_K_8_school_beating_521390000_20130425183807_64
0_480.JPG

The strategies of control once reserved for those who govern school space are now being used to judge their actions. In the traditional power paradigm of the institution, the methods of control are reserved for those in a position of authority. They are not meant to be applied to the controller, nor are they meant to be utilized in a fashion that questions the foundation of the "great operations of discipline" (Foucault, 1995, p. 148). By using the tools of surveillance to challenge the methods imposed by power, the neoliberal parent is neutering "the law of construction of the operation" (Foucault, 1995, p. 153). This act of obliteration then removes the structure's authority to synthesize the masses and with it the ability to disarm the dangers of disorganization through synthesis. The implementation of video cameras in school spaces now serves to judge the appropriateness of disciplinary power and label it as exploitive; without much debate or evidence. Initially, it was necessary to the health of the child as a connection to "the constitution of 'tableaux vivants'" (Foucault, 1995, p. 148) or the pose captured by cameras of students that helped to identify and control defiance. In some early childhood care facilities, the parent has that ability and authority to live-stream during his child's day in order to monitor the treatment and discipline that the child is receiving.

A Globe and Mail (2012) article asked what aspects of public childcare parents contemplated the most and results showed that parents are most concerned about being informed and involved while still being able to work full-time. Their suspicions concerning the child care providers – all of which are non-profit organizations – center on the topics of qualifications and the philosophical mandates of those employed by the organization. Parents realize that children are being influenced 5 days a week, on average 8 hours a day, by external forces that impact their growth through nurturing. There is reluctance on behalf of neoliberal parents to allow for this influence to be felt and so they employ all means at their disposal, including live surveillance, in order to retain control of the child's progress and safety, while continuing to consume. The onset of social media offers another camera or "eye" on the actions

Illustration 25 – Social Media and Pressure (https://img.buzzfeed.com/buzzfeed-static/static/2017-05/8/13/asset/buzzfeed-prod-fastlane-01/sub-buzz-28646-1494265947-14.png?downsize=715:*&output-format=auto&output-quality=auto)

of traditional power holders as well as the networking and communication needed to coordinate their movement. Facebook organizations have been created by neoliberals in order to gain the necessary momentum and influence the mandate and philosophy of discipline and punishment in schools. The following Facebook group-page exemplifies the critical mass that the neoliberal movement concerning surveillance in school space has reached:
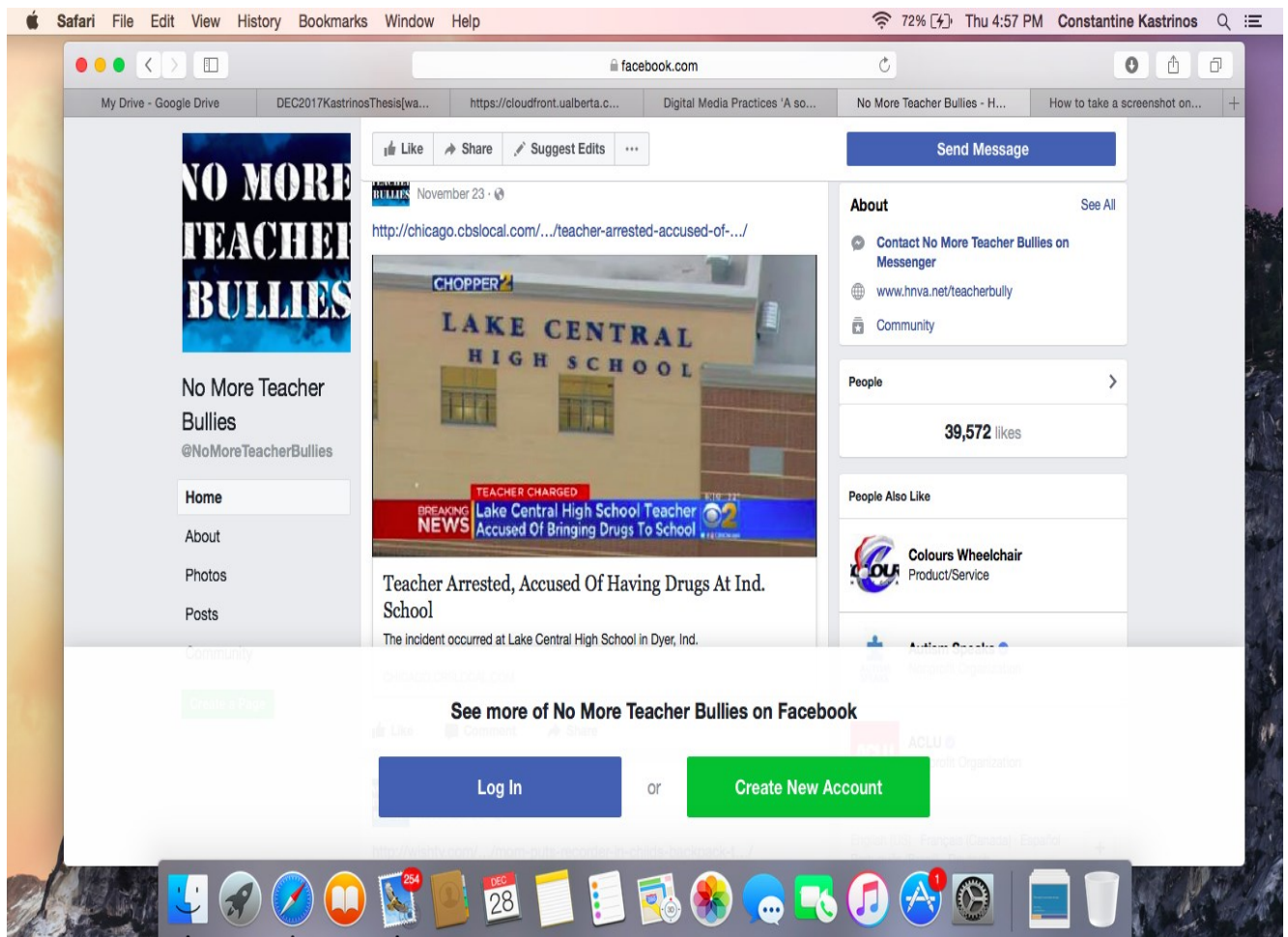

Illustration 26 – Social Media Pressure2 (https://www.facebook.com/NoMoreTeacherBullies/)

Deleuze's "Postscript on the Societies of Control" (1992), develops that control-based structures (as outlined by Foucault) are fading and that no level of reform will resurrect their dominance. In

their place, technology is weaving a more complex web of surveillance that is impossible to escape - a web of surveillance that is always collecting data and information about a person's actions.

The idea of transcending societies of control was initially formed by William Burroughs (1978) and presented as the next step through Foucault's (1995) work articulating the disciplinary mechanisms of such social spaces as hospitals, schools, and factories. Although Deleuze's vision does not have a clear outline concerning what the new societies of control will consist of, what is clear is that the traditional institutions or disciplinary societies (including the school and family) are in crisis. The once well-structured and fortified walls of traditional, disciplinary systems are giving way to the more fluid rhizomic lines that are infinite and not based in patterns or structure. Deleuze implies that there will be no more distinct or segregated networks of control, rather a continuously shifting landscape of contemporary societal structures for there will be no difference between the inside and the outside, internal and external, private and public, culture and nature.

Hardt (1998) develops and supports this idea by exploring the "withering of civil society and the decline of the mediatory functions" of the social institutions. This change marks a dramatic shift from Hobbes and Rousseau who defined civil order as inside space and separate from the order of nature (Hardt, 1998, p. 141). In the post-structural sense, Deleuze establishes that this nature is no longer outside but it is part of an artificial hybrid or simply one degree of a greater order (Hardt, 1998, p.141). Formerly, the public and the private were separate domains, where the inside represented the private, and there were clear delineations or lines that prevented encroachment by the public. With the new societies of control, all private happenings become interests of the public domain through such apps as Instagram, Facebook, and Snapchat.

Although these apps promote physical isolation, they allow for the public encroachment on all private moments through forms of surveillance that began as crude videotape in the early 1990s, as involved in the King case, but have now evolved to sophisticated modes of tracking. In 2018, a person's actions are not simply scripted in video and still images but also in the electronic footprint that one leaves behind through the online surveillance of browsing and other traditional private habits. Much of this was defined by Guy Debord's (1994) imagining of the spectacle as a virtual place where it is impossible to distinguish the inside from the outside, a place where we are under the continual gaze of others (Hardt, 1998, p. 142). The end of privacy then also marks the end of disciplinary societies and the evolution to societies of control, because it was away from the eye of public surveillance that disciplinary societies, such as schools, carried out methods of control when doling out punishment or delivering curriculum. Under the continual gaze of the neoliberal parent, as defined in Chapters 2 and 3, all exercises of bureaucratic power are called into question, regardless of the magnitude or scope, thus negating the authority and dulling the purpose of the traditional school.

Chapter 7: The Transformation of the Traditional Paradigm

It is not good enough to hide behind the mask of neoliberal consumption where education is concerned – or more specifically, its class-related priorities (de Botton, 2004). Conversely, it is also too easy to say that the system is what it is and we need to adjust to it or simply accept the deficiencies of a closed school structure that is based on controlling the masses simultaneously. Consider for a moment that school structures do not exist and classrooms of 25-35 students do not exist. In place of that paradigm, a lifetime with various mentors who are chosen directly by the student and his family and funded by the government. These mentor and pupil relationships are not bound by space, buildings, or the specific outcomes of the program of studies but support the individual's needs to customize or tailor instruction versus meeting the needs of the collective. No rows, no bells, no walls, no fences, no administration, no surveillance of social behavior but a focus on one- on-one or small group relations that are purposely chosen in order to engage in all core and complementary disciplines.

Elements of this vision are part of a trending paradigm as witnessed with the voucher system in the United States and with initiatives such as "Campus EPSB" in Edmonton, Alberta. In essence, these shifts from the closed system have manifested as a result of the neoliberal push for freedom of choice and control over educational directions and curriculum, as introduced and developed in Chapters 3 to 5. This newly forming paradigm then is an open market, free choice system of education. The education of the masses has failed because the complex, student needs that a teacher faces in the classroom cannot be met because of other constraints – class numbers, lack of teacher aids, the inclusion of high needs students, variance in academic learning preferences, and socio-political interference from public interest groups. In an open, one on one or small

cohort scenario, mentors will have years of concentrated time to establish relationships, teach and educate the developing child in all aspects of life. Public education is already being expected to provide this type of customized service by parents who are wrapped with status anxiety and who work to consume. Under the increasing demands for schools to provide more traditionally familial services, such as before and after-school care, mental health interventions, socio-economic supports, and state funded transportation, the traditional paradigm faces its end. The privileged, neoliberal parent, as outlined in Chapter 3, has recognized this end and has lobbied governments to create an alternate way, a way to eliminate the expenses and complications created by the aforementioned barriers.

Illich's Ideal

By enacting the voucher system in the United States, the federal government has created a type of neoliberal, dream curriculum that is tailored to the individual but that will only be enjoyed by those families who have the economic means, resources, time, and knowledge to access and navigate the system. For those who cannot access the new structure, they will continue to dwell in the Fordian, assembly line model of curriculum delivery that attempts to differentiate for every child, include every child, and meet the complex familial, health, social, and educational needs of all. Although changes to policy and increases in dedicated resources have attempted to achieve the aforementioned goals, the traditional model has dwelt for decades with lessening success. The reason for this failure is because some parents are working to survive, while others to consume. Whatever the case may be, more of the educational responsibilities related to the development of society are being addressed within the setting of the school. It is evident then that the traditional school paradigm is shifting and so are the methods of control, the discourse

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relating to curriculum, and instructional pedagogy. This evolution though is hampered by two

main obstacles: 1) the existing, publicly funded bureaucracies that control and administer public

education and 2) the neoliberal stakeholder's overt mission to gain control of educational spaces

and reconstruct them through self-governance. These two factors have stalled the shift away

from the traditional school paradigm in the past and have prevented a new line of flight for

education.

Educational Grants – Roots of Directed Funding

The open market system as put forth by the voucher system in the United States is not wholly a

new idea. Milton Friedman (1955) first proposed the concept in a published essay that outlined a

vision where the government would pay for all students to attend schools, but that the schools

should not be run by the public sector. Government would form a type of watch-dog agency to

ensure the stable operation of a choice-based system. In 1971, Ivan Illich further addressed the

topic of public school disestablishment in his work *Descholing Society.* At that time, the

premise of absolving public education and allowing for families and students to choose their own

educational path, through the allotment of school-credits as a type of capital and through the

empowerment of technological learning webs was blasphemous. Illich (1971) identifies the

ineffectual nature of institutionalized, educational space for not meeting the individual needs of

students, for being too focused on the locus of control, and for being grossly inefficient in

handling public educational dollars. Illich's work has been marked as revolutionary but now we

see his revolution in action, yet the real shock lies in the fact that the vehicle for the revolution is

neoliberal capitalism.

For Illich, the dream curriculum of school space does not include the stalwarts of space or curriculum as plan. In his work, he envisions the direction of education to be conducted by the informal learning opportunities as a result of students networking through technologically supported learning communities. This pathway was echoed later in 1987 by French philosopher Jacques Ranciere in his work *The Ignorant Schoolmaster,* where he implies that by fostering this individual change, the focus on the single student, the resultant will be mass societal change. Ranciere (1991) also argues that societal changes, shifts from existing paradigms, comes through the individual via capitalism. By loosely defining the qualifications of a teacher, by eliminating the need for school structures, and behavioral surveillance, and by placing the power of choice in the hand of the student through the allocation of direct educational grants and educational credits, Illich (1971) establishes an environment where students are peer matched. What results is a homogenous grouping of skill-sets where students have open access to educational resources and a directory of qualified educators who offer advice, support, and tutelage. The motivation for Illich is to level the educational arena so that poverty can be eliminated as a contributing factor to educational access and progression. He contests that through the disestablishment of schools, society too will be disestablished and, ultimately, poverty will be eradicated Illich, (1971).

Illich's conception seems alien and idealistic; a romantic lament of pre-industrial, agrarian societies but with computer access. What is meant by this is Illich proposes an educational paradigm that is organic, unstructured, and lacks the patterned structures of industrialization. Ultimately, his hypothesis rebukes all structures of organized society or life as we know it, such as the workplace, organized religion, public schools, government, and law. Although there may be an attraction to his proposal, the indoctrination of structure and control in all aspects of

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society prevent people from solving the issue of the model's real-world application. Just how will these networks be established? Who will organize their existence? In this model, educational credits or grants are given to students who are then responsible for their dispersal, but who will oversee any potential corruption or inappropriate use of public funds? What Illich (1971) is implying through his revolution is not just the deschooling of society but the purging of society as a whole, for the same paradigms that control the traditional school system are the ones that are embedded throughout society.

As much as we might abhor control, surveillance, structure, responsibility, and consumption we are lost without them. One must have these elements because, without them, he alone is responsible for his progress and there is a gravity to this concept that one cannot face, nor overcome. Who would there be to blame? Ironically, Illich's dream curriculum has a better chance to succeed in the twenty first century with the support of mass technological advances that would establish all of the networks needed for the deschooling of society. The factor that prevents this vision in 2018 is the radicalization of the traditional family unit, where the roles and responsibilities of the parents are concerned. At the time when Illich released his work, the traditional family vision consisted of one parent who worked full-time (mostly male) and one parent who committed to the act of child-rearing (mostly female). In this family composite, someone is available to offer the guidance needed to a student in order to find her place in a school system that lacks a border, order, control, and surveillance. For Illich (1971), the progress of the student is self-directed but it is also guided by the structure of the family, however the family unit as it existed 1971 does not exist anymore. Families are now, mostly, comprised of

parents who work in order to support the unit's needs and the responsibility of daily, child-rearing has been shifted to the schools and other childcare facilities.

In 2018, Canadian families have children in public and private schools and an additional group occupy early childhood care facilities such as preschools and daycares. With the evolving nature of the contemporary family, one which the time allotted to the welfare of the child competes with time available to work, as established in Chapters 3 and 5, parents are not choosing to stay at home. In addition, as developed in Chapter 2, the United States Secretary of Education, Betsy DeVos, has enacted a voucher system that allows for families to allot educational dollars as they see fit. This government policy resembles a part of Illich's vision, where choice and self direction are concerned, but is not meant to be equitable. Where Illich's vision intends to eliminate poverty, DeVos' intent, as seen in the example that follows, directly or indirectly creates homogenous groupings that localize poverty. This precedent already exists in healthcare where there is a two-tiered system that is based on wealth. Similarly, parents who have access to wealth and resources will embrace the voucher system, as will talented teachers, while those without the means or privilege will continue to occupy the arena of guaranteed education - the traditional, closed school system. Since the right to an education is entrenched in law, it is not possible to merely eliminate access to it, however who it serves and who chooses to access it is evolving.

The Voucher System

In Indiana, where more families than any other state in America embrace the voucher program, the demographic of students choosing private schools or customized education are increasingly

white (60 percent) and from suburban neighbourhoods (Turner, 2017). Initially, when the

Indiana Supreme Court ruled to allow voucher-based education in 2011, the program was meant,

as in Illich's vision, to give all students equal access to choice in education. At that time there

were caps in place that would only allow 7,500 students to access the voucher program and, of

that group, spots were reserved for minorities and low-income families (Turner, 2017). In 2013

however, new Indiana governor Mike Pence raised income-based qualifications to allow more

middle-class families to access the program from $45,000 annually to $90,000 annually and he

also allowed families who never accessed a public school first to opt-into private institutions

from the beginning (Turner, 2017). Even though the voucher program is intended to give public

schools first access to students, tens of millions of dollars are being directed to families who

never attended public schools and who never intended to meet their children's needs through the

public system.

Illustration 27 – Indiana Voucher System (https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/entry/school-choice-indiana-vouchers_us_59d3ddd5e4b06226e3f413c2)

The voucher pathway was initially marketed as a way for low income families to escape failing, closed system schools, but by 2017 fewer than one percent of all families who accessed the voucher program were classified by the program's metrics as low income (Turner, 2017) and a total of $146 million dollars were funneled to private schools through the voucher system in Indiana (Turner, 2017). The families who are choosing the private institutions are doing so because they have resources, meet the exclusive criteria which rejects students with behavioral needs and poor academic standing, and prefer the smaller and intimate settings of the private
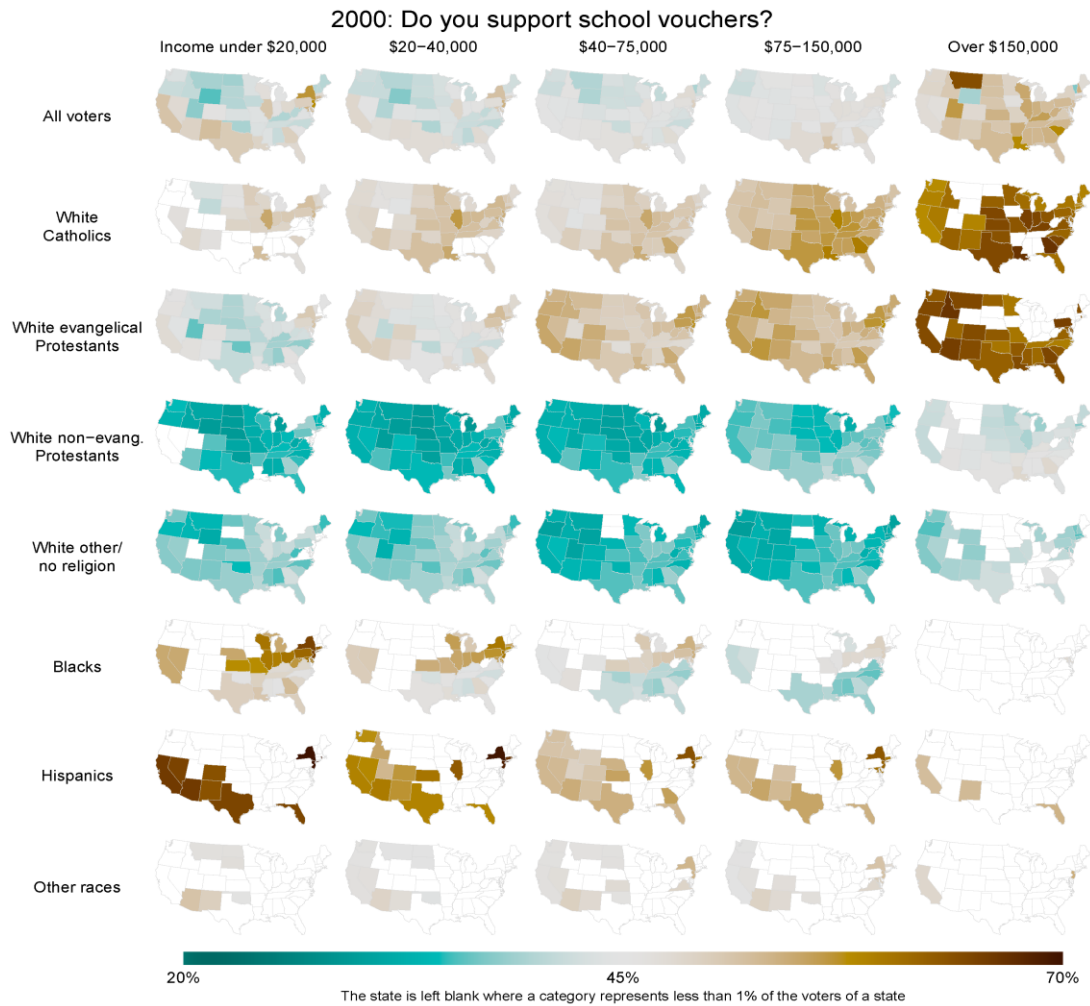

2000: Do you support school vouchers?

The state is left blank where a category represents less than 1% of the voters of a state

schools. Yoon (2016) questions whether the increasing availability of school choice is in fact creating an educational environment where consumer freedom is fostering exclusion; where programming is not included for students with exceptional needs. In contrast, the low-rated, large public schools in the state serve in excess of 2,000 students each (Turner, 2017) and have disproportionately high numbers of students with special needs. The result is that the largest educational, voucher system in the United States is a two-tiered, homogeneous system that separates low-income students with behavioral needs and disabilities from students who have resources and familial supports to access the smaller, seemingly academic schools. This last description of private schools is not meant to simply be pejorative, but is linked to some alarming, emerging academic results that relate to students who utilize the voucher system to attend private or charter schools in Indiana, Louisiana, and Ohio; homes to the largest programs in the United States.

Research findings are emerging that point to lower results in reading and mathematics for students that shift to private schools (Carey, 2017). The schools are receiving far more requests to enrol students than they can accommodate and have enacted a lottery system to grant entry. Using the students who succeeded in the lottery process over the last two years, researchers have tracked their academic results in reading and mathematics and found a decrease, on average, of 24 percentile points; where students entered the private school in the 50th percentile and ended at the 26th percentile in mathematics by the end of the year (Carey, 2017). In addition, there has been a backlash against voucher students by many private schools in Louisiana who refuse to

enrol them, unless they experience a decline in total enrollment (Carey, 2017). This reaction connects to the neoliberal ideologies, as developed in Chapters 3 to 5, that choice and freedom are only available to the elite. The poor continue to be at the mercy of gentrification. The evolving research is shaping an argument then for a third way, or balance. Considering the neoliberal value of choice, parents can exercise school choice within a public setting that does not discriminate on status and remains accountable to government.

"Campus EPSB" – The Third Way

The Edmonton Public School Board has found a way to create a hybrid between the closed, traditional system and the dream vision that Ilich developed in 1971. Through its creation of "Campus EPSB", the district allows students who are in high school and who are looking for richer and more diverse opportunities to pursue their educational goals in multiple settings. Traditionally, students could only enroll and attend classes in one school because funding that was allotted by the government per-pupil could only be allocated to one educational institution and one district, in essence the funding followed the student. The district however has challenged this idea and has created a more tailored system that allows students to enroll in one school but to also follow classes and observe lessons in multiple school sites because the need of the student may require that he or she attends several different campuses in order to gain the knowledge and experience needed to be successful at the next level, whether it is at post-secondary or in more traditional trade settings.

In addition, to the needs of the student academically, "Campus EPSB" also takes into account that the traditional school calendar where students observe lessons and classes between

September and June and between 8:30 A.M and 3:00 P.M may not actually serve all students. This traditional model is expanded to include classes that go into the summer and into the evening depending on the student and family needs. It is no longer a model that forces the student to comply with the school's or district's time frame, rather this is a hybrid model that allows for students and families to stay within the public system but also to customize
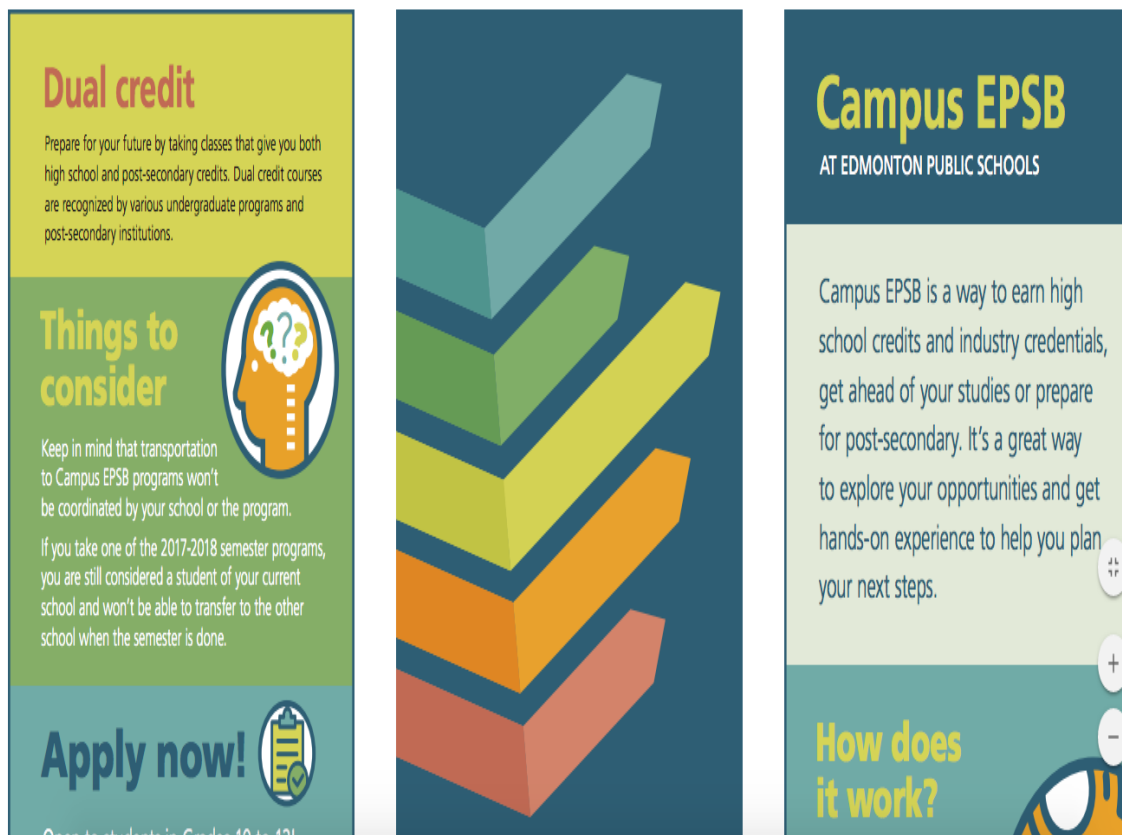

Illustration 29 – Campus EPSB (https://www.epsb.ca/media/epsb/curriculumprograms/CampusEPSBbrochure.pdf)

the educational experience in a public system to meet the more individual goals in a way that is unique and outside the traditional paradigm. This model is not meant to allow for students to simply shop for what they believe better schools are or for better teachers, however it is meant for students to be able to craft a time table and an educational season that meet their needs and

that extend beyond the restrictions of one particular campus. By allowing for students to access the various programs at different schools without being stymied by the closed system that traditionally does not allow for movement between sites, families will perceive a greater sense of choice and control.

This model may not fulfill Illich's vision of unfettered, educational freedom, as opposed to formalized freedom, but it serves as a better alternative to opting out of the public education paradigm completely, if the alternative is the voucher system of the United States and, in particular, in its largest system in Indiana. By allowing for choice and by allowing students to move among several campuses to meet their needs and throughout different seasons and times of the day, the Edmonton Public School Board is providing families with motivation to choose public education as opposed to private institutions or homeschooling. Whether or not these are merely the final gyrations of a dying, closed model of education remains to be seen but what is certain is that the traditional paradigm of school control is shifting under the weight of neoliberal stakeholders.

As a key consideration in this study, if the traditional school system is to survive, it must open itself to the possibilities of choice and free movement, as seen with the Edmonton Public School Board's "Campus EPSB". Offering choice and mobility are ways to attract and retain families, while simultaneously meeting the neoliberal impulses of those who are privileged and who desire to customize or tailor their child's education. As the second largest public school district in Alberta, this model will serve as an important experiment and evolution for the Edmonton Public School Board that may be able to bridge the gap between the ideal and romanticized vision that Illich developed in the 1970s. The choice to simply opt out of public education into a voucher

system that creates two tiers that divide students and families on the basis of status, socioeconomic standing, access to resources, and influence is proving detrimental to students who engage in it (Carey, 2017). By keeping funding in the public system, yet allowing choice and self-direction, school boards may avoid the funneling of funds to private institutions, as seen in the United States, while alleviating the strain on families who do not have the access to resources or the time needed to customize their child's education. Ultimately, if radical, 21st century educational visions such as "Campus EPSB" fail to provide this balance between closed system education and free market education, the outcome points to a two-tiered system. This evolution, to a two-tiered system, will address the needs of the poor in the public school sector, while the privileged class, armed with its neoliberal tenets, floats free to pursue new learning opportunities, set directions, and determine the arc of student learning outside of government surveillance and control.

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