

**The Reagan Administration as the Origin
of the Shift from Citizen to Consumer Building
in American Education**

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Abstract

Current American education is comprised of and influenced by a myriad of complex legislative, technological, and cultural representations of consumption, however this historic-educational study specifically examines how the Reagan administration discursively initiated the consumerizing educational framework. While existing research studies the neoliberal implications on education, this study addresses the neoliberal reforms under President Reagan within the discursive paradigm of its consumerizing impact. By using Critical Discourse Analysis on a selection of Presidential proclamations, speeches, and national educational reports, this study examines and elucidates how the Reagan administration created the consumerizing framework for American education. The Reagan administration distinguished American education from its predecessors as prioritizing the consuming potential of students, while simultaneously situating education as a commodity. The Reagan administration discursively positioned education as a commodity by implementing the free market values of competition and choice. Through Reagan's encouragement of corporate involvement and rewarding the tenacity of business initiatives in education, American education transitioned from a democratic ideal to a market-oriented institution. This was specifically accomplished through positioning Reagan's predecessors as misguided and situating Reagan as a rescuer, while legitimating the reforms as adhering to the American spirit. Similarly, business was presented as embodying the essence of the American spirit and being a rejuvenating force. Choice and competition were recontextualized from their economic purpose and recommended as a new form of educational governance. By understanding the results through the lens of some Frankfurt School thinkers and expanding on Bowles and Gintis' educational theory, this study argues that Reagan's reforms embodied a physical consumerizing aspect and an interactional consumerizing facet as necessary for the economy of post-industrial America.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Troy McLure: “If you have three Pepsis and drink one, how much more refreshed are you?”
(Teacher)

Student: Pepsi?

Troy McLure: Partial credit.
(Teacher)

-*The Simpsons*' portrayal of the future of American education (Daniels & Reardon, 1995).

“Can you devise promotions that take students from the aisles in school rooms to aisles in supermarkets?”

- Mark Evans, senior vice-president of Scholastic, Inc. (Molnar, 1996).

“The private sector has much to offer the growing national movement to improve our education system...In order to encourage this trend, I call upon businesses, organizations, individuals, and agencies to become involved with their local schools.”

– Ronald Reagan proclaiming the National Year of Partnerships in Education (Reagan, 1983b).

American educational policymakers regularly discuss education along issues of school choice, while the private sector also exerts tremendous influence within the school. School competition is innately linked with school choice because schools are compelled to compete with each other to attract potential enrolees. Ultimately, the student has become valued as a consumer by the private sector, while the system of school choice and school competition is dependent upon parents and students engaging the consumer role. These aspects constitute a consumerizing framework of education, but how was this framework enabled? How did the immersion of business with education and the implementation of school choice and competition become central aspects of the modern American education system? This study attempts to answer these questions by considering the discourse first used to implement these features. In what follows, I present some of the issues surrounding business involvement in education, school choice, and school competition. I will conclude this section by presenting my research question and brief methodological description. The literature review will explain the development of American education as being a part of the neoliberalization of American society.

This section is divided into three components which explains: 1) the historical development of American neoliberal education (which has induced the consumerizing framework of American contemporary education); 2) neoliberal language applied to education; and, 3) the increased corporate presence in education, as a result of neoliberalism. In the Methods section, I will explain my reasoning for selecting some Frankfurt School thinkers as well as Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis as my conceptual framework. I will then discuss the sample I used for this study, how I extracted data, and how this data was analyzed. The results of this study will then be presented in seven sections. The first four sections specifically address the prominent critical discourse analysis themes, while the final three consider the interconnectedness of Reagan's discourse in enabling a consumerizing framework. In the discussion section, I discuss the impacts of Reagan's educational reforms as enabling physical consumerization and interactional consumerization. Physical consumerization pertains to the material impacts on schools as a site of learning, while interactional consumerization elucidates the behavioural effects on parents and students. Lastly, I will conclude by recalling the goal of my inquiry, and proposing some solutions to resolving the current situation.

The consumerization¹ of students has become common within contemporary North American schools. Whether sponsoring athletic events, providing food options, supplying classrooms with academic and technological materials, or directly advertising on gymnasium walls, school hallways, busses, or even tests, the private sector has become a familiar presence for students. The link between the private sector and public education is one of collaboration; however the level of involvement the private sector should exert remains contested. For example, the private sector supplies resources for classroom learning, but these materials sometimes skew learning in favour of positively portraying the sponsored company.² Schools

increasingly lack funding and seek out private sector support, however the trade-off becomes receiving materials with an advertising component, or risk losing private sector support altogether. Current U.S. Secretary of Education, Betsy DeVos, is involved with companies that sell classroom materials and promote online education, (Deruy, 2017), which is bound to further impact the status of public education. In American education specifically, parents, students, educators, and policymakers regularly discuss schooling as a matter of student and parental choice. Influential figures such as conservative politician William Bennett and U.S. Senator Lamar Alexander have continued to push for the neoliberalization of American education by recommending choice, competition, and private sector involvement. The former U.S. Secretaries of Education—Bennett during the Reagan administration and the latter during the first Bush administration—perceive the quasi-privatization of public education as necessary for educational improvement (Bennett, 1989; Alexander, 1993). This immersion and alignment of education, business, and the market tenets of choice and competition has had a consumerizing impact on students (Cookson, Jr., 1992; Ball, 1993, p. 16; Klein 2009; Molnar, 1996; 2006a). The privatization/corporatization of public education is fundamentally an attempt to completely dismantle public education (Saltman, 2005; Baltodano, 2012; Hursh, 2016). The movement to privatize/corporatize public education stems from a belief of valuing the individual and the decentralization of power to smaller units of governance (Steger & Roy, 2010, p. 12). The implementation of competition and choice essentially commodifies education; and consequently, schools become dependent on “customer” satisfaction. Titus (2008) explains that the assumption of educational marketing is that “customer” satisfaction will have a positive effect because schools will adjust to meet student wants (p. 398). While Titus (2008) refers to students as embodying a customer role, I believe rather that students fully engage with the consumer

identity, which comprises partly of the consumer *as a customer*. With schools as commodities, students literally are consumers because students select schools as they choose particular goods and services; and, in accordance, schools respond to student demands as a company would to its consumer base. Although certainly vociferous and instrumental, Bennett and Alexander's roles are not entirely pioneering within the context of the history of the American neoliberal education reform movement, as Ronald Reagan created, sustained, and legitimated the original framework for such discourse. This study will examine Reagan's discursive process. .

The consumerizing function of American education is relatively recent (Spring, 2015). This function was enabled following the 'educational crisis' of the 1980s, in which a wave of neoliberal education reform reports and presidential discourse emerged. This discourse aligned education along market tenets of choice, competition, and private sector involvement. This was the result of the campaign to scapegoat education (Spring, 1988, p. 59; Berliner & Biddle, 1995; Haas, 2008, p. 144) as the cause of negative economic performance. Merging corporate goals of pursuing profit with the educational ideal of pursuing the public good (Giroux, 1999) may generate brand loyalty among students but erodes the democratic purposes of public education.. The wave of educational reforms following Reagan's presidency has strengthened the bond between education and capital through entrenching business-school partnerships, commodifying schooling, modulating teacher autonomy, increasing performance-based evaluation requirements; and, hindering critical education (Molnar, 1996; Gabbard, 2008; Giroux, 2011; Labaree, 2012; Ward, 2014; Spring, 2008; 2015; Westheimer, 2015). As a result, American public education has also become a commercialized environment, in which corporations actively pursue the attention of the student, whom becomes prioritized for his/her consuming potential, rather than learning capacity (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005; Sandlin & McLaren, 2009;

Klein, 2009; Molnar, Boninger, Wilkinson, Fogarty, & Geary, 2010; Tienken, 2013). The pervasiveness of school commercialism has various negative effects on students as advertising stimulates negative health, poor self-esteem, induces body image issues, impairs social relationships, and effects values (Schor, 2005; Molnar, Boninger, Wilkinson, Fogarty & Geary, 2010; Ben-Ishai, 2012). Furthermore, sociologist Zigmunt Bauman (2007) explains that living in an overly consumerist society corrupts human perception and social relations by debasing the individual's perceptions towards others not as subjects, but instead as objects. In this case, Bauman explains that all individuals consider their "saleability" to others. Individuals try to obtain "qualities for which there is already a market demand, or by recycling the qualities already possessed into commodities for which demand can go on to be created" (Bauman, 2007, p. 56). With regards to education, the commercially infused schooling system sacrifices the learning experience of students in favour of prioritizing commercial exposure and generating brand loyalty (Story & French, 2004; Klein, 2009). Corporate-sponsored classroom kits, textbooks, and school materials prioritize brand exposure and the consumption of company products or services (Consumers Union, 1998; Alper, 2003; Boyles, 2005; Klein, 2009). The Center for Commercial-Free Public Education (CCFPE) is an American non-profit organization that provides information and support to students, parents, and teachers who wish to retain a commercial-free learning environment. The CCFPE explains how corporate-sponsored classroom materials also sometimes present false knowledge in order to positively represent the company. For example the CCFPE (2002) explains how Exxon created lesson plans for classroom use "about the healthy, flourishing wildlife in Prince William Sound, which showed beautiful eagles, frolicking sea otters, and sea birds in their habitat. In reality, the program was a public relations vehicle designed to help Exxon clean up its image after the Valdez oil spill."

While the private sector recognizes schools as a site to generate profits, this example reflects that the school is also a public space used for corporate image enhancement. Both factors mentioned here appear to take priority before student academic learning.

This study both contributes to our understanding of neoliberalism and American education and also enhances our understanding of late modernity. While the effects of the American neoliberalization of education are heavily studied and debated by academics, this study is unique in that it addresses the beginning of the student-consumerizing framework. Although it is generally accepted that the neoliberalization of education commenced with the Reagan administration, it has not been addressed within the discursive paradigm of its consumerizing impact. By using Critical Discourse Analysis on a selection of Presidential proclamations, speeches, and national educational reports, and presenting these findings through a Frankfurt Schools lens, this study examines and elucidates how the Reagan administration created the consumerizing framework for American education. CDA was viewed as integral to analysis because it seeks to explain how specific discourse operates to (re)establish power (specifically as grounded through ideological guidance), while Frankfurt School thinking was apt for contextualizing the findings into the wider context of advanced capitalism.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Neoliberalism and Education

David Harvey (2005) marks the election of Ronald Reagan as the initiation of American neoliberalism. The United Kingdom, Sweden, and New Zealand, have also democratically established neoliberal governments since the 1980s, which have impacted their education systems. Neoliberalism is an ideological and philosophical movement predicated upon the belief

that institutions should be subject to free market rules with minimal government interference (Friedman, 1982; Harvey, 2005; Ball, 2006; Ganti, 2014). Finding its roots within the thinking of economists Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman, neoliberalism perceives the application of free market principles to institutions as the most efficient model of socio-economic organization.³ Hayek and Friedman considered the concentration of state power as threatening to individual freedom and argued instead for societal institutions to adopt the rules of the free market system. Friedrich Hayek was an Austrian economist whose conviction of choice in the markets greatly influenced and promoted what came to be known as neoliberalism. Hayek (1944) considered that controlling competition was detrimental to human freedom (Hayek, 1944), and instead considered competition as the most effective regulating force in and of itself. Both Hayek and Friedman are vitally influential figures in the neoliberal movement, but Friedman is specifically relevant to our concern here because he also served as an economic advisor to Reagan. According to Friedman's biographer, Lanny Ebenstein, Friedman was in fact considered "the 'guru' of the Reagan administration" (2007 p. 208). It is fundamental to understand this connection in making sense of Reagan's educational reforms. Milton Friedman was an American economist who advocated minimal government interference in the markets. Friedman (1957) considered a population's consuming potential as central to a healthy economy. He also argued that free market principles were the best guarantor for preserving individual freedom and security. He explained that, "the central feature of the market organization of economic activity is that it prevents one person from interfering with another in respect of most of his activities. The consumer is protected from coercion by the seller because of the presence of other sellers with whom he can deal" (Friedman, 1982, p. 20). Friedman, like Hayek, greatly valued competition, and explained that education should specifically be regulated by

competition. In a paper titled “Public Schools: Make them Private” (1995) Friedman expounded that, “In my view, such a radical reconstruction can be achieved only by privatizing a major segment of the educational system—i.e. by enabling a private, for-profit industry to develop that will provide a wide variety of learning opportunities and offer effective competition to public schools” (p. 1). As an economic advisor to Reagan, this thought surely must have informed some of Reagan’s educational reforms.

The influence of these two economists upon American domestic policy is substantial as this market-model has since been applied to American public education; with advocates arguing that school competition will induce school innovation and efficiency (Chubb & Moe, 1990; Friedman, 1995; Finn, Jr., 2008). Education continues, to be a state concern; states are responsible for establishing and closing public and private schools, developing curricula, and setting graduation and enrolment requirements. The Department of Education maintains an educational leadership role, while also seeking methods of ensuring ‘excellence’ and equal access (U.S. Department of Education, 2016), while the President and Congress also influence education through federal legislature and allot funding to the Department of Education via federal budgets. However, the Reagan administration severely reduced federal funding to the Department of Education, along with staff, and official activities and duties (Clark & Astuto, 1986).⁴ This initiative was a part of the decentralization of the Federal government towards enhancing state and local government autonomy. However this fundamentally altered the educational landscape as schools were suddenly forced to find alternative means of funding, while simultaneously competing with other schools for students. Accordingly, education transitioned from a democratic public ideal towards a market-oriented institution as the Reagan administration imposed a neoliberal metanarrative upon educational discourse and significantly

encouraged corporate presence in education. Understanding this discursive process in the historical context is important firstly because it illuminates a period of profound social change in the United States, and secondly because it elucidates how discourse employs a myriad of methods that introduce, perpetuate, and legitimate forms of social change. From a theoretical perspective of social theory, understanding the discursive process is essential for understanding the development of changes in capitalist societies.

Transitioning From Democratic Ideal to Market-Oriented Institution

With the advent of American neoliberalism, the common good of education began to be regulated by market values of choice, competition, and privatization (Apple, 1993; Molnar, 2006a). This arguably resulted from tensions between democratic politics and the demands of markets (Labaree, 2012, p. 189). In studying the business-modeled reforms of American education, Henry Giroux (2011) argues that the neoliberalization of American education betrayed democratic public values and replaced these values in order to benefit private interest groups. In reviewing the lived experiences of teachers within the parameters of continuous federal educational policymaking, Giroux (2011) finds that since the 1980s, American education has shifted from a public good to a private right (p. 1). Giroux (1999) explains that education has become viewed as a “commercial venture in which the only form of citizenship offered to young people is consumerism” (p. 140). This correlates with Nikolas Rose’s (1999) assessment that under neoliberalism, “the citizen is to become a consumer” (p. 164-165). Ball (2006) similarly expounds that the imposition of neoliberal education has manifested in a blurred line between consumer and citizen. Rather than engaging with democratic notions of citizenship, the business-model imposes hyper-individualism onto students, which ultimately detaches the

student from the wider community and public good. In employing Freire's framework of Critical Social Theory, Christopher H. Tienken (2013) uses the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), Common Core State Standards Initiative, and standardized testing as educational reform examples and argues that American education has replaced the progressive civic model of education with neoliberal, social Darwinian, consumerist, and free-market notions. As an employed word in education, *choice* has abandoned its democratic participatory essence and has been relegated to superficial school involvement (Smyth, 1993; Tienken, 2013, p. 305). NCLB transfers schools from a local concern to state and federal control while strictly imposing achievement standards on schools, and encouraging neoliberal recommendations of choice and competition. Similarly, Joel Westheimer (2015) argues that because of the ardent focus on rigorous testing, students are increasingly being taught what to think, instead of how to critically think. This educational development is fundamentally a departure from inculcating civic virtues in favour of measurable testing outcomes. This reduces the democratic function of schools in favour of stricter control, as well as privatization (Apple, 1993; Hursh, 2004), and the commodification of education (Cookson, Jr., 1992; de Alba, González-Guadiano, Lankshear, Peters, 2000; Saltman, 2007). In this context, the neoliberal description of democracy is imprinted on education (Apple, 2005); and the freedom to select products and services replaces the political substance of democracy. In alluding to global economic competition as a rationale for improving educational efficiency, neoliberal policymakers have been successful in strengthening the bond between education and market solutions.

The 1980s, particularly with regards to the publication of *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* (The National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983), is repeatedly referred to as the significant moment of educational change. Educational

policy analysts Chester Finn Jr. and Diane Ravitch (1996) recalled that "...this bombshell [*A Nation at Risk*] awakened parents, educators, governors, legislators, and the press ... [and] helped launch what came to be called the excellence movement, which included a mass of other commissions, studies, and reports, all pressing for higher standards and stiffer graduation requirements" (p. 3). While Berliner and Biddle (1995) do not deny that the report initiated the excellence movement, they expose data from *A Nation at Risk* as being manipulated and falsely presented. The researchers assert that *A Nation at Risk* presented a manufactured national crisis, of which education was directly scapegoated as the progenitorial cause. Certainly, the educational reform document, as a social mechanism, aptly functioned to generate and garner popular consent (Chomsky, 1999, p. 53). American educational historian Joel Spring also notes this period as being central to the structural shift (Spring, 1997, p. 50-53; 2013, p. 226), as does David Labaree (2012, p. 125). Despite comprising less than 50 pages, and not actually being legislation, *A Nation at Risk* was influential in shifting the public perception of education. Drafted merely as an 'open letter' to the American people, the document's hyperbolically alarming language⁵ asserted, without evidence, a causal relationship between alleged educational failures and economic decline. An example of this language is expressed within the opening paragraph of the document, wherein it states that, "We report to the American people that while we can take justifiable pride in what our schools and colleges have historically accomplished and contributed to the United States and the well-being of its people, the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future -as a Nation and a people" (p. 13). The sense of alarm presented in the language produced a sense of quickly needed change in order to invite a quest for educational 'excellence.' The changes implemented as a result of *A Nation at Risk*, in fact mostly benefited groups with a

vested interest in educational change, because “powerful interest groups were able to use the climate of urgency created by the report to get their own preferred policies enacted even when the policies were not recommended by [A Nation at]Risk” (Hoxby, 2003, p. 47).

Neoliberal Lexicon in Education

Joel Spring (2009) notes that egalitarian principles guided much of the major educational policies prior to Reagan’s ascension to the presidency. However, the educational shift towards a neoliberal version of education (specifically one that emphasises the role of the individual) is ultimately the result of a newly imposed metanarrative (de Alba, González-Guadiano, Lankshear, Peters, 2000). Significantly, the American neoliberal metanarrative established the connection between education and economic performance, “which in the face of international economic competition calls for remodelling institutions along commercial lines” (Anderson, 1998, p. 586). According to this metanarrative, education is simply another service or product susceptible to the rules of a free market, predicated upon individual interest, and excluded from governmental interference (de Alba, González-Guadiano, Lankshear, Peters, 2000). In observing the change in educational policy, Clark and Astuto (1986) note that Reagan’s lexicon reflects that, “a major change has taken place” (p. 5). This newly Presidential idiolect of *choice*, *competition*, *standards*, and *accountability*, ultimately transitioned the educational sphere from a democratic apparatus, and situated the school within individual pursuit and market regulations. In critically analyzing Reagan’s 1983 State of the Union Address, Collin and Ferrare (2015) comment that Reagan’s statements on “education advanced the New Right’s larger project of rescaling society” (p. 801). Similarly, Ward (2008) explicates that the neoliberal reforms have been less concerned with education, and have fundamentally been centred on restructuring

society. Reagan's societal restructuring specifically contributed towards creating self-interested and competitive individuals (Apple, 1993). Neoliberals also fervently advocate for the involvement of the private sector in education (Gordon & Whitty, 1997; Tabb, 2002, p. 7; Ball, 2007) because the private sector is perceived as an efficient structure to improve educational efficiency (Reagan, 1983; Baker, 1989). The discursive emphasis on private sector involvement principally facilitated the environment for the corporate exploitation of students. By offering students (consumers) to the highest advertising bidder, students have become perceived as commodities (Apple, 1993). The implications of this are significant because as students become valued for their consuming potential rather than their learning capacity, the education they receive inevitably will have a market-aspect to it. Rather than designing materials, programs, and lessons that benefit classroom learning, the educational objective is instead divided between academic inculcation and generating brand loyalty. Companies instead seek to penetrate the classroom for profit motives rather than a desire to enhance learning. While education should inculcate critical thinking skills, Molnar, Boninger, Harris, and Libby (2013) explain that, "advertising exploits psychological vulnerabilities—in particular, their reduced ability to control impulse behaviours and to resist immediate gratification" (p. 4). Therefore a constant tension exists between educators and companies, with each trying to inculcate antagonistic cognitive behaviours. Through the continuous declaration of the importance of choice, school competition, and private sector involvement, neoliberals applied business-market models to education. The ideological meanings, values, and symbols underlying this neoliberal language assert the cooptation of education with a business vision (Saltman, 2008, p. 272).

Pragmatically, the neoliberal ethos of choice and competition is not without its shroud of consumer essence (Apple, 1993; 2002; Tienken, 2013), as students operate as a consumerist

archetype. When the White House conducted a workshop on school choice, participant 14-year old André Lawrence described his experience of selecting a school of his choice as, “It was like shopping, buying a pair of shoes, shopping around until you find something you like” (Cookson Jr., 1992, p. 305). According to Dennis Doyle, senior research fellow at the Hudson Institute and workshop participant, explained that school competition “emphasizes the supremacy of the consumer, consumer sovereignty, and that, in fact, is what competition is all about” (Paulu, 1989, p. 14). The act of purchasing defines the consumer (Clarke, Newman, & Westmarland, 2007, p. 3) and certainly the child example provided by Cookson, Jr. reflects this identification. By discursively advocating the market tenets of choice, competition, and private sector involvement, students are expected to engage within a market-oriented sphere. This primacy of the individual right of choice in educational discourse fundamentally functioned to create an active consumer instead of a passive citizen (Clarke, Newman, & Westmarland, 2007, p. 4). In congruence, a profound distortion between citizen and consumer has been instilled (Apple, 1998; Rose, 1999, p. 164-165; Ball, 1993; 2006). Ball (1993) explains that the implication of the neoliberal metanarrative is the building towards a “...consumer rather than a citizen democracy” (p. 6). By encapsulating educational discussion in the individual paradigm, neoliberals have ultimately “redefine[d] public schooling as a good or service, like toilet paper or soap, which parents and students consume” (Saltman, 2007, p. 29). The discursive immersion of market values to education structurally transformed education from a democratic establishment into a commodity, whereby students engaged within the confines of consumer behaviour while also being disposed to direct corporate exposure.

The Increased Corporate Presence in Education

Some researchers (Price, Murnan & Moore, 2006; Ben-Ishai, 2012) have explained school commercialism as being a survival strategy employed by schools in confronting the decrease of federal funding to education. Schools and school districts certainly do seek out financial assistance from the private sector, however it must be acknowledged that neoliberalism has specifically engineered the close bonding between business and education. By reducing funding to public education, schools have little choice but to collaborate with corporate providers. Furthermore, Di Leo, Giroux, McClennen, and Saltman (2013) argue that the bonding of the private sector with public education fundamentally intends “to destroy public education and to replace it with a privatized national system of schools competing for scarce public dollars” (p.11). Alex Molnar has also extensively studied the increasing commercialization of American public education (1996; 2000; 2006a; 2006b), and he explains that while school survival was an influential factor in school commercialism, the process was certainly accompanied by increased forms of business marketization (2006b). In fact, between 1984 and 1989 alone, school-business partnerships increased from 17% to 51% in school districts (Molnar, 1996, p. 2). Indeed, while Reagan’s reduction of educational funding forced schools and school districts to search funding alternatives through business-partnerships, his official discourse construed the educational landscape and encouraged corporate involvement. Spring (2008) explains that, “Paralleling the growth of for-profit schooling, the commercialization of education holds out the possibility of a world where there are no borders between education, business, and consumption” (p. 212). This aptly reflects Saltman’s (2008) assessment that education increasingly incorporates a business vision. Mathison and Ross (2008) expound that “following the rise of the Reagan revolution...privatizing and commercializing public school began to

appear commonsensical” (p. 131). Robert Bahruth (2008) similarly explains that since the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, education has increasingly functioned to benefit corporations—conducted in a manner to reorganize schools around the consuming potential of students. While the monetary restraints did compel schools to cooperate with businesses, Reagan’s emphasis on private sector involvement and competition fundamentally altered the educational landscape and how social actors were to engage with it. Indeed, it did spark the ‘excellence movement,’ but the movement has only been excellent for those with a profit motive.

Hoff (2002) argues that businesses overwhelmingly desire school-business partnerships because it enhances community good will, however as seen by Evans’ statement and researchers (McNeal, 1999; United States General Accounting Office, 2000; Story & French, 2004; Klein, 2009), businesses do in fact perceive schools as an opportunity to create consumer loyalty. In 2000, the U.S. General Accounting Office reported that, “In-school marketing has become a growing industry. Some marketing professionals are increasingly targeting children in schools, companies are becoming known for their negotiating contracts between school districts and beverage companies.” This report corroborates Ross and Gibson’s assessment that neoliberalism implements a plan to set “business ‘free’ in education for profit-making” (p. 108). While it could be argued that this is a simple trade off, *Captive Audience* (Alper, 2003) documentarily depicts how businesses radically obstruct school learning in order to benefit the brand narrative. Although there is not reason to doubt that Reagan certainly did harbour sincere conviction in the market-model, and the neoliberal schema in its entirety, the framework was nonetheless established in American education through which corporate opportunists could deeply permeate an untapped demographic. Accordingly, the increase of business involvement in education has induced new forms of business-school partnerships, which again reinforces consumer habits.

Spring (2015) discusses how Reagan not only encouraged the commercialization of public education, but also rewarded the tenacity of companies. A year after the reports analyzed in this study were released, Pizza Hut created its educational program BOOK IT!, wherein students are rewarded with a free pizza lunch if they meet reading accomplishments. However, as students are likely too young to travel to Pizza Hut alone to dine, a family dinner at the restaurant would therefore be arranged (p. 204). Impressed with the business-educational resolve of the company, Spring (2015) notes, “In 1988, President Reagan awarded Pizza Hut’s president, Art Gunter, a Private Initiative Citation” (p. 204). Since the 1980s, many fast-food companies have created educational programs similar to BOOK IT! (Story & French, 2004) and some are even establishing their own private school and colleges (Guthrie, 2013). Companies such as McDonald’s, Bell Telephone, and the Ford Motor Company, are but a few examples of corporations establishing university-accredited institutions. In fact, from 1997 to 2007, the presence of corporate universities in the United States doubled from 1 000 to 2 000 (Kolo, Strack, Cavat, Torres, & Bhalla, 2013) while by 2015, the number had exceeded 4 000 (Hirst, 2015). Reagan persistently encouraged these forms of partnerships (Stedman, 1987) and even declared 1983-1984 the National Year of Partnerships in Education (Reagan, 1983a).

Considering this educational restructuring through an Althusserian (2014) lens, Wolff (2005) correlates this increase in commercialization as promoting consumerism. Expanding on Althusser’s thinking, Wolff explains that schools operate as an ideological state apparatus and consequently, “Modern capitalism presses its ISAs to interpellate and thus to subjectivize/identify individuals in those particular ways that will provide the ideological conditions of existence for capitalist exploitation” (p. 226). Wolff continues to expound that pervasive advertising “popularizes this interpellation” (p. 230). This is evidenced in a Lifetime

Learning System ad directed to companies involved in educational ‘assistance,’ which informed companies that, “School is...the ideal time to influence attitudes, build long-term loyalties, introduce new products, test markets, promote sampling and trial usage and –above all— generate immediate sales” (Consumers Union, 1998). Lifetime Learning Systems, Inc. is an American company that creates company sponsored educational materials for classroom use. The company description explains that it “knows how to link a sponsor’s message to curriculum standards and create a powerful presence for your message in America’s classrooms with informative and engaging materials” (Zoom Information, Inc., 2016). Another renowned company is Channel One. Channel One is a company that offers schools educational and technological materials with the terms that students watch a segmented time of televised news provided by Channel One. The criticism is that the televised component is laden with commercial breaks specifically directed towards the student audience. Campaign for a Commercial-Free Childhood has calculated that, “One full day of instruction is lost each year just to Channel One’s commercials” (Lawrence, 2012). Ultimately, the underlying principles of school commercialism and school-business partnerships were a fundamental effort to capitalize and exploit student consuming potential. With the discursive sphere installed and the material environment literally branded, education at this moment functioned as an institution to produce consumers. We must however, consider how language was used as a vehicle for these changes.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This study is concerned with the discursive aspect of consumerization during Reagan’s presidency, which Barbara Ehrenreich and David Nasaw (1983) believe encouraged the exploitation of children as consumers (p. 599). In critically analyzing Reagan administration

discourse, this research addresses the origin of the shift in educational discourse from a democratic model to a consumerizing framework. Chiappelo and Fairclough (2002) acknowledge this transition as warranting a renewal of investigation. Understanding and explaining this discursive shift is imperative because it reveals how neoliberal education developed to serve those with a profit motive, as well as encouraging the questioning of current education in America. This understanding also sheds light on neoliberal education outside of the United States. Explaining this discursive shift also contributes to our understanding about how neoliberal discourse inculcates new ways of being (Fairclough, 2013). This study used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to explain how the Reagan administration discursively enabled and legitimated the consumerizing educational framework, which has developed into a myriad of complex legislative, technological, and cultural representations. As I have shown above, existing research has addressed American neoliberal discourse and its employment of market-oriented vocabulary, however this CDA study examines neoliberal discourse in education. This study adhered to the discourse-historical approach of CDA put forward by Fairclough and Wodak (1997), and specifically employed a socio-diagnostic critique, which uses “background and contextual knowledge and embeds the communicative or interactional structures of a discursive event in a wider frame of social and political relations, processes and circumstances” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 65). Ball (1994) argues that discourse, specifically policy as discourse, embodies the capacity to construct individual subjectivities (p. 22), and CDA recognizes discourse as a socio-political practice that constructs meaning and reproduces social perspectives of the world (Fairclough, 2013, p. 179).

Conceptual Framework: Frankfurt School Thinkers and Bowles and Gintis

This study's framework was originally influenced by Althusser's (2014) concept of ideological state apparatuses, in which educational institutions operate to reproduce capitalism. While my framework values and acknowledges the Althusserian emphasis of the education system as transmitting ideology, it diverges from Althusser in that it posits that education has come to perpetuate capitalism through the propagation of consumerism. According to Frankfurt School philosopher Marcuse (1964), "consumerism, advertising, mass culture, and ideology integrate individuals into and stabilize the capitalist system" (p. xxx). Integration is a necessary function in capitalist systems. According to Douglas Kellner, "The culture industries had the specific function...of providing ideological legitimation of the existing capitalist societies and of integrating individuals into its way of life" (Kellner, 2007, p. 50). Through the emergent school-business partnerships and rhetoric emphasizing choice and competition, capitalist integration became present. In this sense, students and parents are essentially addressed as consumers, while the school itself becomes a corporate infused environment. Marcuse centralized consumerism and commodification into his capitalist critique, and our concern is how the infusions during the 1980s were displayed and enacted in the American educational reforms. Accordingly, this study uses the idea of integration to understand the results of analysis.

Like Althusser, Bowles and Gintis (2011) affirm that the education system is structured to provide society with an effective and disciplined labour force. In their concept of the correspondence principle, Bowles and Gintis (2011) elucidate how schools are modeled along a capitalist organization of labour and reinforced through discipline. An example of the disciplinary reinforcement of consumerism is in how students were withheld from a carnival in Florida for being unable to "fill a 10-order quota of candy sales" (Molnar, 2006a, p. 31). In this

case, students are not punished for disrupting learning, or failing to meet academic objectives, but rather for not achieving an economic standard. Using Marcuse and Kellner's idea of integration, this study builds off the ideas of Bowles and Gintis to view the educational arrangement as modeled to sustain capitalism through the perpetuation and reinforcement of consumerism.

Bowles and Gintis (2011) expound a correspondence in how the changes of economic production precede similar changes in schooling (p. 224; Young & Whitty, p. 192-227.) As will be further explained in the Discussion component of this study, the economic changes in the American economic situation encouraged the consumerization of students. Marcuse (1971) criticizes the economic shift leading towards the consumer society; "Since capitalist wealth is made up of an increasing mass of services, products of unproductive labor, we see the near starvation of the investment and commodity markets" (p. 7). As an economic transition towards a consumer society developed, education developed to accommodate the change. Parsons and Frick (2003) also argue that American public education currently functions to create and sustain a consumer culture. The researchers contend that the sorting mechanism of schooling contributes to create a self-aware body of students who continue with advanced learning and "a 'middle class' whose basic job [is] to fuel the economy through their own consumption" (p. 19-20). Richard Wolff (2005) explains that the ideological language of Reagan's 1983 national education reform reports had an integrating function (p. 230). While Reagan's reports and discourse serve to integrate the public, it also shaped the form and content of future educational discourse (Stedman, 1987, p. 70; Hass, 2008, p. 143; Collin & Ferrare, 2015, p. 801).

Reagan's discourse addresses the manufactured educational crisis (Berliner & Biddle, 1995) and applies solutions through a new lexicon and conceptual reforms. The neoliberal

anthems of choice and competition (as expressions of individual freedom) were the Reagan solutions to the manufactured crisis. In this context the citizen became valued for his/her consuming potential as a method of renewing education. According to Marcuse (1964),

As the great words of freedom and fulfillment are pronounced by campaigning leaders and politicians, on the screens and radios and stages, they turn into meaningless sounds which obtain meaning only in the context of propaganda, business, discipline, and relaxation. This assimilation of the ideal with reality testifies to the extent to which the ideal has been surpassed. It is brought down from the sublimated realm of the soul or the spirit or the inner man, and translated into operational terms and problems (p. 61).

This neoliberal discourse imposed an identification upon the ‘soul or the spirit or the inner man.’ This new citizen was empowered through consumerization. As the consumerization of students is an economic strategy, predicated upon the centrality of consumerism in advanced industrial societies (Marcuse, 1964), these Frankfurt School thinkers, as well as Bowles and Gintis, frame the study in its very relevant economic context. Education, as revealed by the Reagan administration, did shift to serve a consumerizing economic function.

Sample

The sample includes a total of 16 different sources of Reagan administration discourse. Of this sample, 14 are oral events—6 comprising of Presidential Proclamations and 8 Public Addresses—while the remaining 2 are textual educational reports produced by the administration. These 16 sources were specifically selected because their content revolves around the educational situation, and mostly discuss how education must be changed. The two presidential proclamations dedicated to National Consumers’ Week were selected because these items mentioned the role of education towards generating consumer awareness and proficiency. Presidential Proclamations were selected for their significance and the wider audience the

messages reached, while Presidential Addresses were selected for their frequent mention of neoliberal terms of *choice*, *competition*, and private sector inclusion in education. Ultimately, these selections were assembled because, unlike interviews, they were planned and verbally pre-determined, and consequently portray the official stance of the Reagan administration than compared to say, off-the-cuff remarks during a question and answer event. The dates of these sources range from 1982 to 1989, with 6 occurring in 1983. This discourse concentration is the result of the 1983 publication of *A Nation at Risk*, which Terrel H. Bell (1986) (the U.S. Secretary of Education during Reagan's first term as president), identifies as the central force in shifting the federal attitude towards education (p. 492). The document centred education as Reagan's domestic priority as he faced re-election (Bell, p. 492-493). In fact, following the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, Reagan devoted "51 major speeches on education" (Bell, 1986, p. 493), and "*A Nation at Risk* was positively referenced by more than 100 news articles from 1983 to 1985 alone" (Hass, 2008, p. 143). In addition to *A Nation at Risk*, the reform report *Action for Excellence: A Comprehensive Plan to Improve Our Nation's Schools* (Task Force for Education on Economic Growth, 1983) is included in the textual discourse sample of this study specifically because it rigorously connects education with economic performance and repeatedly regards corporate involvement in education as fundamental.

Analysis

I focus on several particular tenets of CDA (Machin & Mayr, 2012; Fairclough, 2004; 2013) that emphasize ideology, power, meaning, values, and the role and purpose of social actors. These tenets are concerned with: the method in which ideology and power is represented, exercised, and legitimized; how meaning is articulated and created; how values

are revealed in language; and how citizens are situated within the discursive process. I used these tenets to create a framework which I employed to analyze the documents. Specifically, I chose the following ten aspects of CDA: *discourse*; *genre*; *style*; *recontextualization*; *public sphere*; *generic structure*; *types of meaning*; *governance*; *legitimation*; and, *evaluation*.

Discourse is multifaceted: it comprises of the many ways of representing aspects of the world, associated values and beliefs, and fundamentally, “they are also projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds which are different from the actual world, and tied in to projects to change the world in particular directions” (Fairclough, 2004, p. 124). *Genre* is the semiotic way of acting and interacting (Fairclough, 2013). Our concern with *genre* then was how Reagan or the educational reform proposal interacted with the audience or reader. Fairclough (2004) explains that, “when we analyse a text or interaction in terms of genre, we are asking how it figures within and contributes to social action and interaction in social events” (p. 65). *Style* is important because it considers how one identifies oneself and subjects. For example, in looking at how Reagan identifies himself and others when publically addressing the need for school choice. *Discourse*, *genres*, and *styles* together project particular forms of meaning (Fairclough, 2013). *Recontextualization* is a social practice of taking social elements from one social context and applying it to another (Fairclough, 2004); our concern here is how business values were applied to the educational realm. *Public sphere* is the environment wherein citizens engage together in social discussion and association (Fairclough, 2004). As this study does not focus on the perception and deliberations of citizens directly, *public sphere* in this context addresses how citizens are discursively recommended to engage with one another. *Generic structure* pertains to the physical organization of a text (Fairclough, 2004). *Types of meaning* analyzes how discourse implies different meanings to social actions, representations of the world, and social identities

(Fairclough, 2004). Analyzing *types of meaning* is to study the relationship of the item of discourse “to the wider physical and social world, and to the persons involved in the event” (Fairclough, 2004, p. 27). Fairclough articulately describes *governance* as the “Activity within an institution or organization directed at managing or regulating social practices” (Fairclough, 2004), which is helpful in analyzing the forms of recommended management in American education. *Legitimation* considers how Reagan and his administration justify their proposed reforms. Fairclough (2004, p. 98) lists four different types of legitimation: authorization; rationalization; moral; and mythopoesis. Lastly, *evaluation*, connotes the ways in which discourse places value assumptions into its meanings (Fairclough, 2004). In their totality, these selected CDA aspects will contribute towards our socio-historical understanding of the educational consumerization process, initiated in the 1980s. I believe that this framework could also be applied to future research regarding consumerization in contemporary education. Other CDA properties were not directly included in the grid because of the presence or absence each particular discourse item offered. For example, while *overlexicalization*, the overemphasis and repetition of terms (Teo, 2000; Machin & Mayr, 2012), and *nominalization*, the replacement of verb processes with a noun construction (Fairclough, 2004; Machin & Mayr, 2012), are important for CDA, this study incorporated these into the appropriate components of the grid when and if the particular item of discourse contained them.

The methodology of this analysis ultimately followed the five stages outlined by Wodak and Meyer (2001), in that it: 1) addresses a social problem with a semiotic aspect; 2) identifies obstacles being tackled (problematization); 3) considers if the problem is needed by the social order;⁶ 4) identifies possibilities for change; 5) critically reflects on the analysis (p. 125-127).

The interdiscursivity of the items of discourse was subsequently considered in how they were used to enable, perpetuate, and legitimize a consumerizing educational framework.

Since this study is precisely concerned with how students were integrated into a consumerizing discourse and, by proxy, how the function of education was situated within this discourse, analysis considered how the transmission of neoliberal values was indeed consumerizing. Neoliberal discourse and legislation has had many implications upon education, and the analysis stage acknowledged that the consumerizing effect was but one facet of neoliberal implications. While neoliberals advocate for individual liberty, the analysis stage was prudent in uncovering how the Reagan administration discourse facilitated a consumerizing influence. For example, the analysis did not regard the mention of *individual choice* as blatant evidence of a consumerizing influence; rather in employing the analysis grid it considered the many discursive connections within the item of discourse that did reinforce a consumerizing effect. Furthermore, despite the modern imposition of neoliberal reforms existing, analysis was not concerned with directly connecting Reagan discourse with future legislation (such as, for example, the *No Child Left Behind Act*) and highlighting their similarities—to do so would be a vapid effort. Rather, analysis situated this discourse within its contemporary socio-economic context (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 65) to reveal how it operationally created the framework for the initiation of student consumerization.

The change in the presidential lexicon created a new representation of education as well as reconstructed the social identities of students. Following the first step of Wodak and Meyer's methodology (2001), I identified the change in presidential discourse as being a social problem specifically because this discourse demanded changes to education. Anderson (1998) explains that neoliberals align public institutions along commercial lines, while Ross and Gibson (2007)

explain how prioritizing the corporate role would redefine the “relationship between the individual and society” (p. 18). I therefore considered Reagan’s discourse as qualifying as a social problem not merely because it was new and different, but because it sought to structurally transform education. Due to the fact that I perceived that an educational shift did occur, analyzing how the Reagan administration perceived its predecessors was deemed necessary. This was needed because it would distinguish a separation between Reagan and his predecessors, notably from the perspective of Reagan himself. It does not require a detailed observation to determine that a lexical transition between Reagan and his predecessors occurred, however in critically analyzing the references to and portrayals of Reagan’s predecessors, this study reveals how education changed; and what this transition entailed. While looking towards Reagan’s depictions of his predecessors as a way of showing that a change did occur, I also analyzed the discourse to determine the ways in which Reagan enabled a consumerizing framework, and how he legitimated this framework. Fairclough (2002) explains that legitimizing educational change legitimizes neoliberalism (p. 187), thus, “a particular social structuring of semiotic difference may become hegemonic, become part of the legitimizing common sense” (p. 194). Since Mathison and Ross (2008) explain that privatizing and commercializing education became commonsensical to policymakers after Reagan (p. 131), I deemed it necessary to analyze the ways in which Reagan legitimized the consumerizing framework. As the same neoliberal logic directs educational policy today, understanding the legitimation during Reagan’s presidency thus enables us, in part, to comprehend the ideology guiding today’s educational policy.

Chapter 4: Results

The findings presented here elucidate how Reagan enabled student consumerization. In Appendices 1-9 tables present examples of major themes under some of the specific CDA criteria, while also showing some minor themes that emerged (but were not frequent enough to be included in the final document). In order to clearly present the data, only one example of a major theme is displayed per document, however more were frequently present in each document to reinforce the prevalence of the theme. Accordingly, these results have been divided into three final categories: *Differentiating Education: The Reagan Administration and Predecessors; A Necessary Partner: Private Sector Involvement in Education;* and, *Market Tenets of Competition and Choice: Creating the Consumer*. The different CDA elements are combined in each category to explain the specific process undertaken by Reagan. The themes emerged in analysis due to their prevalence in the discourse. Examples not included in the appendices will be shown in the final three sections when appropriate. The following briefly describes the findings of the four major themes espoused in appendices 1-4: *style, types of meaning, governance, and legitimation*.

The final three categories (*Differentiating Education; A Necessary Partner;* and, *Market Tenets of Competition and Choice*) will specifically refer to, extrapolate, and explain the data shown in appendices 5-9. As this study's foundation rests upon the premise that a shift in American education occurred during the Reagan administration, the first category reports the difference between Reagan and his predecessors by analyzing Reagan's characterization of his predecessors, as well as the self-perception of his educational strategies. The second category elucidates how Reagan encouraged the involvement of the private sector in public education by establishing an educational-economic relationship and using authorization (Appendix 5). Here it

is shown how he justified further involvement of the private sector in education. The final category explains how Reagan discursively imposed choice and competition as necessary in education and how citizens were to reformulate their identity according to this neoliberal landscape. These categories discursively operated to impose the neoliberal vision of education. As a result, physical aspects of the school were transformed, while the citizen was configured as a consumer. In discussing these changes I refer to the corporate transformation of schools as *physical consumerization* and the identity configuration as *interactional consumerization*. These two modes of consumerization, as influenced by the Frankfurt School, are considered as performing the necessary function of integrating the population into the capitalist process. First, let us look at the results from the CDA elements of *style*, *types of meaning*, *governance*, and *legitimation*.

Style

Reagan most commonly characterized his *style* (see Table 1 below and Appendix A) as being a rescuer or leading the rescue/restoration of education. Reagan specifically presented himself as a rescuer in 10 out of the 14 oral events analyzed. The textual documents were not considered in this analysis because it was not specifically Reagan whom wrote and created these documents, thus it would be mistaken to attribute these texts to his style of discourse. This self-presentation by Reagan often distinguished education from his predecessors because by definition rescue/restoration presumes a damaged state in need of saving/fixing. Indeed, Reagan often referred to his predecessors' policies as resulting in a need for the rescue of education. Although Reagan most often portrayed himself as a rescuer when distinguishing and legitimating his reforms from that of his predecessors, he also applied this identification to his reform

suggestions specifically. Forms of rescue in Reagan’s style extend to every category of this study—ranging from correcting the bureaucratic misdirection of his predecessors, restoring the parental right to choosing education, and renewing the American spirit through restoring individual (business) involvement in public education. For example, Reagan applied the identity of rescuer to the private sector by explaining to business leaders that, “You have made a difference for your country and for millions of your countrymen. You have helped renew and enrich America by awakening one of her oldest and most noble traditions” (Reagan, 1985c). This example reflects the sentiment that something (predecessors) silenced an American tradition, but now because of the President’s invitation, education is being rescued by the private sector.

Reagan’s Style as “Rescuer”

Reagan’s Style as “Rescuer”	Percentage of Documents
One example per document	14%
More than one example per document	64%

Types of Meaning

The actional component of *types of meaning* (Appendix B) most commonly encouraged both the enhancement of the private sector role in education and parental right to select schools. The actional recommendations typically took the form of directly suggesting that more private sector involvement was needed and that more space for parental choice needed to be provided. A simple example of this is found in *Proclamation 5112—National Year of Partnerships in Education 1983-1984* (Reagan, 1983b), wherein Reagan states, “In order to encourage this trend, I call upon businesses, organizations, individuals, and agencies to become involved with their local schools.” Indeed, the very proclamation of a year dedicated to forming partnerships in

education is a pragmatic approach to achieving the actional type of meaning. Although there were suggestions from some discourse sources for more standards, the majority of evidence recommended inviting private sector collaboration and granting more parental choice.

Actional Meaning for Greater Private Sector Involvement

Actional Meaning for Greater Private Sector Involvement	Percentage of Documents
One example per document	19%
More than one example per document	25%

Actional Meaning for Enhanced Parental Choice

Actional Meaning for Enhanced Parental Choice	Percentage of Documents
One example per document	13%
More than one example per document	25%

The representational aspect of *types of meaning* largely perceived federal government as detrimental to education. For example, Reagan explained that,

Dr. Eileen Gardner, has written: "The record shows that when control of education is placed in Federal hands it is not control by the people, but by small, yet powerful lobbies motivated by self-interest or dogma. When centralized in this way, it is beyond the control of the parents and local communities it is designed to serve. It becomes impervious to feedback. (Reagan, 1985b).

Federal government was presented as a negative force in education. Instead, as a public institution, Reagan advocated that it should be under the control of the public. The private sector and parental choice in education would instead replace the role of the Federal government.

Reagan directly emphasizes the necessity of this replacement by stating that, "There are things the Federal Government can and must do to ensure educational excellence, but bigger budgets are not the answer...the focus of our agenda is, as it must be, to restore parental choice and

influence and to increase competition between schools” (Reagan, 1983d). Private sector leaders were also repeatedly incorporated into the neoliberal representation of education. Reagan explained the pertinent role of the private sector by explaining that, “The crystal tetrahedrons that I am awarding today symbolize how the fusion of the private, public, and non-private sectors can form a solid base. Only by working together and finding some private solutions to public problems can we restore the strong balance needed for the future health of our Nation” (Reagan, 1985c). This example indicates his reforms as representing a beneficial economic-educational relationship. This economic-educational relationship appeared numerous throughout the discourse and can be accepted as the overarching representation of society. In *A Nation at Risk* (1983), it argues that, “The twin goals of equity and high-quality schooling have profound and practical meaning for our economy and society, and we cannot permit one to yield to the other in principle or practice” (NCEE, p. 13). While in *Action for Excellence* (1983) clearly relates private sector involvement in education as beneficial to the economy by suggesting that, “If the business community gets more involved in both the design and delivery of education, we are going to become more competitive as an economy” (TFEEG, p. 17). Remember that it was because of Reagan’s predecessors’ mismanagement of education that compelled the writers of *A Nation at Risk* to blame education for America’s economic underperformance on the international stage. According to the neoliberals, to improve education (and therefore the economy) private sector involvement, choice and competition must be injected into public education.

Representation of Improved Education Featuring Private Sector Involvement

Representation of Improved Education Featuring Private Sector Involvement	Percentage of Documents
One example per document	25%
More than one example per document	25%

Representation of Improved Education Featuring Integration of Choice and Competition

Representation of Improved Education Featuring Integration of Choice and Competition	Percentage of Documents
One example per document	25%
More than one example per document	25%

Lastly, Reagan predominantly gave meaning to identities in two primary ways. Firstly the private sector was typically identified as being a beneficial force for education (see Table 6 below). One important way that Reagan identified the private sector as beneficial was by relating businesses to the essence of the American spirit. For example, Reagan explained that, “Our country is great because it is built on principles of self-reliance, opportunity, innovation, and compassion for the others. Private sector initiatives embody this spirit and are a vital part of the Nation’s character” (Reagan, 1985c). Reagan (1985c) also remarked while bestowing recognition of private sector initiatives that,

Some of you’ve heard me talk about Tocqueville’s reflections on 19th century America and his astonishment at the extent to which Americans made their society work—not by relying on government but by helping each other. You all know this tradition—one of the driving engines of social progress in our country—was in serious jeopardy some years ago when the idea took hold that the only way to handle a social problem was a huge new Federal spending program, an army of functionaries and consultants to administer it...But any modern-day Tocqueville looking over America would see a return now to that tradition and revival of the idea, which all of you embody, that compassion with ingenuity works.

If American education was declining, the private sector could rejuvenate schools, and consequently the economy would improve. *Action for Excellence* succinctly addressed the notion that the private sector would benefit both education and the economy by stating that, “If the business community gets more involved in both the design and delivery of education, we are going to become more competitive as an economy” (p. 17). The perpetuation of the educational crisis was numerously accompanied by the identification of the private sector as a beneficial force for education.

Private Sector Identified as a Beneficial Force for Education

Private Sector Identified as a Beneficial Force for Education	Percentage of Documents
One example per document	25%
More than one example per document	25%

Secondly, Reagan also substantially identified his predecessors as being misguided and detrimental to education (see Table 7 below). In one example, Reagan alludes to his predecessors as abandoning the vision of the Founding Fathers,

In the past 7 years, our Administration has worked to restore a vision of government that was the Founders' own—a vision of a free and self-reliant people, taking responsibility for its own welfare and progress through such time-tested means as individual initiative, neighbourhood and community cooperation, and local and State self-government. The return of responsibility and authority to the individual American is now leading to a virtual renaissance in America of liberty, productivity, prosperity, and self-esteem (Reagan, 1988).

By referring to restoring a vision, Reagan alludes to perception that his predecessors had abandoned the vision of the Founding Fathers. This is just one example of identifying the predecessors as detrimental to American education and society, but the discourse is rife with this

characterization. For further examples consult Appendix B. Reagan's identification of his predecessors will be expanded upon further in the subsequent category of *Differentiating Education: The Reagan Administration and Predecessors*.

Presidential Predecessors of Reagan Identified as Detrimental to Education

Presidential Predecessors of Reagan Identified as Detrimental to Education	Percentage of Documents
One example per document	25%
More than one example per document	25%

Governance

Reagan very clearly perceived Federal regulation as antithetical to educational improvement. Instead, he supplanted choice and competition as beneficial forms of governance (see Table 2 below and Appendix C). He gave credence to choice and competition as regulating factors that would increasingly improve education. In suggesting that choice and competition were solutions to the educational crisis, Reagan also linked his predecessors (as Federal government infringement) as causing the educational crisis. Simply put, it seems that the logic followed: Federal government overspending/regulation caused this crisis, parental choice and competition rely on individual preference and not Federal government, therefore replacing Federal government regulation with a non-Federal government regulatory force will solve the crisis. For example Reagan explained that,

And choice in education is the wave of the future because it represents a return to some of our most basic American values. Choice in education is no mere abstraction. Like its economic cousin, free enterprise, and its political cousin, democracy, it affords hope and opportunity. Can anyone doubt that, after hearing these splendid young people testify about how choice has changed their lives? Choice recognizes the principle that there is no one best way for all of us. It allows schools to excel at something special, rather than trying, and failing, to be all things to all people (Reagan, 1989).

Similar to a product, Reagan explains that schools will specialize in a specific area and meet the needs of specific people. It was believed that choice and competition would therefore satisfy the needs of more people instead of attempting to satisfy the needs of all. In fact, we can correlate this suggestion for choice and competition in education as being directly related to commodified products and services. In *Proclamation 5417—National Consumers Week, 1986* (Reagan, 1985a), Reagan explains that “[Competition] will enable [consumers] to make wise choices whether they are shopping for food, shelter, clothing, transportation, recreation, health care, entertainment, and so on.” As Reagan placed health care in this list of shoppable services, we can presume that education was also considered, or came to be considered, as another service to be shopped for. According to Reagan, the governance system of choice and competition offered greater options for the consumer; in which education was situated as an object of consumption. The recommendation to subsume choice and competition into a governance mechanism fundamentally encouraged parents/students to exercise their consuming role.

Choice and Competition as a Form of Governance

Choice and Competition as a Form of Governance	Percentage of Documents
One example per document	19%
More than one example per document	25%

Legitimation

Reagan overwhelmingly legitimated his reforms in two ways (see Table 3 and Appendix D). Firstly, he correlated the decline in educational performance with the strategies of his predecessors. In doing so he explained how the overspending of his predecessors and the Federal government’s control over education induced educational deterioration, which consequently

legitimated his reforms (because Reagan’s reforms were opposite to his predecessors). Thus, for example, reducing educational funding was legitimated because his predecessors shovelled money into education and educational performance declined. This legitimation differentiated his policies from that of his predecessors and ultimately validated private sector involvement in education and the governance system of choice and competition. The very difference between his educational policies compared to that of his predecessors was legitimated by arguing that his reforms were based upon American tradition or compatible with the vision of the Founding Fathers, while his predecessors’ policies were a deviation. Secondly, he legitimated his reforms by appealing to American sensibilities (such as American spirit, tradition, and former greatness). For example, Reagan referred to choice in education as “The return of responsibility and authority to the individual American is now leading to a virtual renaissance in America of liberty, productivity, prosperity, and self-esteem” (Reagan, 1988). Another example is how Reagan emphasised the private sector as embodying characteristics of the American spirit—to deny private sector involvement in education was consequently to deny the American spirit.

Reagan’s Reforms Legitimated by Being Different from Predecessors’ Strategies

Reagan’s Reforms Legitimated By Being Different from Predecessors’ Strategies	Percentage of Documents where Forms of Legitimation were Expressed
One example per document	15%
More than one example per document	46%

Differentiating Education: The Reagan Administration and Predecessors

The Reagan administration’s regular depiction of its predecessors distinguished itself with regards to its political and socio-economic values (for extended list of examples see Appendix G). The administration differentiated its attitude towards education and

fundamentally marked the origin of the educational shift. This positioning essentially embodied two components of identity: firstly, Reagan depicted his predecessors as intruding on parental rights; and, secondly, Reagan characterized his predecessors as reckless spenders (for further examples, consult Identificatory in Appendix B). Fairclough (2004) explains that *style* is an individual's "way of using language as a resource for self-identifying" (p. 26). Reagan most commonly presented himself in the discourse as a rescuer—presenting himself as a rescuer in 10 of the 14 oral events analyzed. An example of this style (for others, see Appendix A) is exemplified in his Remarks at a White House Ceremony Marking the Beginning of the National Partnerships in Education Program, wherein he explains that,

Between 1963 and 1980, Scholastic Aptitude Test scores were in a virtually unbroken decline. Too many of our States demanded too little of their students, imposing lax graduation requirements. And compared to students in other industrialized nations, many of ours performed badly. Yet even as we've recognized the challenge, our nation has begun to respond...One of our administration's first priorities was to establish a National Commission on Excellence in Education. And we asked it to help us chart a new course that would permit us to correct the mistakes of the past... One aspect of this great renewal is the reason we're gathered here today.

In contrast to the educational deterioration by his predecessors, Reagan presents himself as the leader and orchestrator of the American educational renewal. He portrays the preceding governments through impersonalization—never in fact mentioning specifically what government he is referring to—and centers himself as the rescuer and uniter of America. His stance towards education is differentiated by criticizing his forerunners through the portrayal of the governments' intrusion on parental rights. According to Reagan, previous governments removed parental control over education while federal bureaucracies increased; he explains, "Those were years when the Federal presence in education grew and grew. Parental control over

local schools shrank. Bureaucracy ballooned until accountability seemed lost. Parents were frustrated and didn't know where to turn" (1983d). In explaining the situation, he represents the parental identity as being victimized because preceding governments prioritized their governing apparatus at the expense of the parental role in education. This was not accidental, as Reagan argues, "Well, government seemed to forget that education begins in the home, where it's a parental right and responsibility...For too many years, people here in Washington acted like your families' wishes were only getting in the way" (1983d); "Parents care about their children's education with an intensity central authorities do not share (Reagan, 1985b); "We're talking about reasserting the right of American parents to play a vital—perhaps the central—part in designing the kind of education they believe their children need" (Reagan, 1989). These examples characterize predecessors as being ignorant or uncaring about parental concerns, while also insinuating the return to tradition. The latter of which is explained numerous times with *re* prefixed verbs such as "reasserting the right of American parents" in the example above. The discourse functions to include parents as active participants in the ongoing struggle; he writes that "For the sake of all our children, our country, our future, we must join together in a national campaign to restore excellence in American education" (Reagan, 1983d). This representation (Fairclough, 2002) depicts the effort to reclaim education for 'our children' as an appeal to parental sympathy, which again implies that the preceding governments have been unconcerned for families. The Reagan administration is thus represented and identified as a rescuer. This is echoed through the discourses of reinstating parental involvement, which Reagan specifically regards as "their rightful place" (Reagan, 1985b). The narrative fundamentally unfolds to explain the deterioration of the American education system by the direct orchestration of preceding governments; one which casted aside parental wishes and child empathy. Parents are

portrayed as having a moral right to education, which was removed by preceding governments and reinstated by Reagan (Reagan, 1983d; 1985b; 1988; 1989; National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983, p. 34-35). Education was ultimately depicted as being ignored and mishandled by geographically distant and impersonalized governments; while Reagan marked the change by proclaiming the return of parental involvement in education.

According to the style of Reagan's discourse, he presented himself as a rescuer (and to a lesser degree patriotic leader; See Appendix A) fighting for the rebirth of the American spirit. By highlighting a need for the rebirth of the American spirit, Reagan implied (not so subtly), that his predecessors damaged the American spirit. The dramatic lexicon employed language such as "great renewal" (Reagan, 1983c), "restoring the American educational system to its place of preeminence among nations of the world" (Reagan, 1984a), "spirit of renewal that's underway" (Reagan, 1984b), and "You have helped renew and enrich America by awakening one of her oldest and most noble traditions" (Reagan, 1985c). Furthermore, in depicting education as on the cusp of renewal (See Appendix F), Reagan related this renewal as rescuing education from the apparent misguided, and quite literally (according to Reagan), damaging strategies of his predecessors. He laid distrust in the previous governments by expounding, "We've seen what that "Washington knows best" attitude has wrought" (Reagan, 1983d), and "I know words like "history making" or "historical" get thrown around a lot in this city, but let me assure you that in this case those words are more than just Washington puffery" (Reagan, 1985c). The discursive representation of government becomes dehumanized when it is relegated to the identification of "Washington." This impersonalization is the part of a strategy (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 46-47; Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 79-80), which fundamentally distances the government as an institution from the actual struggles of citizens. In essence, the strategy implies that the

geographically distant governments of the past, have not understood the micro-landscape of citizens and education, and have moved education away from the direction of the citizen interest. Predecessors are impersonalized and dehumanized, which incorporates a mould of distrust into the past and a renewed interest in the unfolding changes. Not only does Reagan's discourse characterize predecessors as distant, but also it amalgamates this distance with misunderstanding, incalculability, arrogance, and vapidness.

Reagan characterized his predecessors as financially irresponsible, which, in contrast, positioned Reagan as an informed and responsible individual burdened with the task of rescuing education. Reagan regularly depicts himself as inheriting substantial national disarray as the result of geographically distant, impersonalized, and irresponsible predecessors. This is most aptly conveyed in Reagan's 1984 radio address to the nation on education, wherein he states that, "The entire reform movement proves how wrong the people who always insist money is the only answer to the problems of our schools...the 20 years they kept shovelling money in was the same 20 years in which the schools deteriorated" (Reagan, 1984b). Negatively characterizing predecessors not only functioned to distinguish Reagan's approach to education, but also fundamentally legitimated his socio-economic initiatives. In connecting the spending of his administration compared to his predecessors, he explains that, "while funding is very important, money without genuine commitment does not lead to educational excellence" (Reagan, 1988). Legitimation is a discursive strategy to justify actions (Fairclough, 2004); which Reagan implements by contrasting the apparent financial irresponsibility of his predecessors accompanied with lack of vision. Reagan targets his forerunners as betraying the American tradition of helping one another by referencing de Tocqueville's observations of 19th century America. He argues that "You all know that this tradition—one of the driving engines of social

progress in this country—was in serious jeopardy some years ago when the idea took hold that the only way to handle a social program was a huge new Federal spending program” (Reagan, 1985c). Tocqueville was earlier referred to in *Action for Excellence* (1983) as well, wherein the philosopher embodies the notion of American progress. In recalling an encounter between Tocqueville and an American sailor, the writers of the report expound that, “Tocqueville’s sailor welcomed change; many of our people today, however, are beginning to fear it” (p. 13). This form of legitimation is authorization (Van Leeuwen, 2008)(See Appendix E for examples of authorization used by Reagan), wherein Reagan appeals to American tradition as validating his policies. In referring to the previous abandonment of American tradition, Reagan again situates himself in the role of the rescuer; he is ultimately restoring American traditional values to education. The negative portrayal of Reagan’s predecessors as reckless spenders situated them in opposition to American values and fundamentally legitimated Reagan’s initiatives to structure education with the necessary involvement of private sector involvement.

A Necessary Partner: Private Sector Involvement in Education

Reagan invited the private sector to replace the Federal Government’s presence in education, on a scale substantially unprecedented in American educational history (See Appendix H for examples of Reagan suggesting further private sector involvement). This strategy was compatible with the neoliberal value of decentralization. Indeed, Reagan’s emphasis on private sector involvement profoundly separated his policies from that of his predecessors (Monsma, 2004). He legitimated private sector involvement (See, Appendix D) in education on the grounds that traditional American values favour cooperation and collaboration of individuals, and not financial dependency and government bureaucracies. Although the

relationship between American public education and the private sector extends to the late 19th century (Spring, 2015), Reagan's discourse strongly emphasized the importance of private sector involvement in public education. Reagan broadcasted the private sector as a necessary partner in education by producing new types of meaning (Fairclough, 2004) in representation, action, and identification; and transformed how education was both structured and perceived. In doing so he: represented education as having an economic relationship, which could be improved by private sector participation; encouraged the social relationship between schools and the private sector as vital; and, identified (Fairclough, 2004) the private sector as an educational rejuvenator. These three types of meaning dialectically operate (Fairclough, 2004, p. 29) to celebrate the private sector, consequently encouraging commercial proliferation in public education. Furthermore, because these types of meaning discursively encouraged the corporate presence in education, the eventual interaction between students and brands instigated physical consumerization. The construction of identity stems from the ideological underpinnings of specific discourses (Fairclough, 2004, p. 9) and when discourses are operationalized they have the capability of constructing new identities (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2010). The corporate presence is principally identified by Reagan's discourse as being a positive force of revitalization and of stimulating the economy through education.

Each ideology offers a specific representation about what society should look like and how it should function; and adherents to ideologies seek to impose the representation of their specific ideology upon society. For example, a Marxist will impose the representation of a just society by teaching about the exploitive nature of the bourgeoisie or conversely a neoliberal will impose the neoliberal representation of society by emphasising the benefits of competition. These ideological representations establish, maintain, and change "social relations of power,

domination, and exploitation” (Fairclough, 2004, p. 9). The neoliberal representation is the cooptation of education with a business vision (Saltman, 2008, p. 272). The Reagan administration regularly portrayed public education as in a state of tumultuous decline which can only be reversed by private sector involvement. By characterizing the private sector as a revitalizing force (See Identificatory in Appendix B and Appendix H), the discourse described an economic-education relationship.⁷ *Action for Excellence* (1983) cogently expresses this relationship by expressing that, “If the business community gets more involved in both the design and the delivery of education, we are going to become more competitive as an economy” (p. 18). While the neoliberal ethos often encourages the imposition of market principles upon education, the previous excerpt specifically links the active participation of the private sector in education as necessary for not only educational effectiveness, but also overall economic prosperity. In proclaiming the National Year of Partnerships in Education, Reagan begins his introduction by establishing this link. He explains that, “America’s future is dependent upon the health and vitality of her education system” (Reagan, 1983b). Subsequently, he expresses his gratitude towards the private sector and encourages the entrenchment of business involvement in education (through business-school partnerships), which connects business involvement with the ‘health’, and ‘vitality’ of the education system. By introducing the proclamation by establishing the economic-educational relationship, Reagan clarifies how the relationship will thrive under a year of encouraged and celebrated business involvement. Shortly after proclaiming the National Year of Partnerships in Education, Reagan re-established the economic-education relationship and situated the business community as an essential force of national improvement (Reagan, 1983c). A simple example of this perceived connection occurred in 1985 when Reagan explained the increase in business-school partnerships and optimistically acknowledged business

leaders in Philadelphia for accruing \$26 million for Catholic schools. He then immediately connects this private sector initiative with the economy by stating that, “I should add that one of the most effective Federal actions has been the growth of the economy, that I mentioned a moment ago” (Reagan, 1985b). In such utterances the connection is repeatedly established to the listener: what the private sector is doing in education is celebrated for its link to economic growth.

Action for Excellence (1983) profoundly advocates for business involvement in education. In fact, despite some calls in the text for involvement of business leaders, labour leaders, and educators, the members of the task force comprised of 13 business leaders, 6 educators, and only 1 labour leader. The generic structure (Fairclough, 2004) of the document specifically accentuates the recommendations for business involvement with bright red lettering, which is situated in one of the three provided vertical columns of each chapter (only chapter 3 is exempted to this due to the structural change of the text from vertical columns to horizontal rows). Furthermore, these accented highlights are continuously presented in larger fonts compared to the rest of the report. Some examples of these highlighted components include, “There is a clear need for closer relationships between business, labor, and education” (p. 17); “If the business community gets more involved in both the design and the delivery of education, we are going to become more competitive as an economy” (p. 18); “The question of whether the time and energy to develop partnerships is worth it to public schools or to the business community has become moot. It is working” (p. 29). These highlights are an act of staging (Fairclough, 2004, p. 72), which privileges the underlying purpose of the discourse. In this case, increased business involvement in education.

In proclaiming the years 1983-1984 as the National Year of Partnerships in Education, Reagan depicts the education system as a recovering institution. Most cogent to this trend, Reagan broadcasts to the American public that, “Partnerships in Education Year gives us the opportunity to acknowledge the efforts of the private sector and to encourage the creation of new partnerships in education all across this Nation” (1983b). Reagan depicts corporate involvement as a positive force in the supposed rejuvenation of public education. Ten days after proclaiming the Year of Partnerships, Reagan remarked,

I'm issuing a challenge to America to ensure our children get the education they deserve. Let us resolve that every one of our country's public, private, and parochial schools and community colleges—all 110,000 of them—will have formed a partnership in education. The goal is lofty, but well within the reach of the Nation that can send men to the Moon
(Reagan, 1983c).

The statement is an evaluation (Fairclough, 2004) that children deserve an effective education, and correlates the evaluation of effective education with the universal involvement of businesses. Indeed, in “Proclamation 5197—Year of Excellence in Education” (1984a), business-school partnerships are specifically mentioned as a mode of seeking ‘excellence’ in education. The private sector is essentially designated as a rescuer through the tactic of the suggested partnerships, and invites abstracted America to participate in the process. Two years later, Reagan rewarded the tenacity of companies for becoming involved in education and remarked that,

You have made a difference for your country and for millions of your countrymen. You have helped renew and enrich America by awakening one of her oldest and most noble traditions. And now, given this marvellous start, I cannot help but feel that our work has just begun. The challenge is before us to make better use of all our resources. We can only

do this by working together. No one sector can do it alone (Reagan, 1985c).

Machin and Mayr (2012) explain that discourse sometimes refers to people by quantifying them and “treated as ‘statistics’” (p. 83). This is referred to as aggregation and is “used to regulate practice and to manufacture consensus opinion, even though it presents itself as merely recording facts” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 37). The use of ‘millions’ is a form of aggregation (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 83-84), which is essentially used to give a sense of credibility (Van Dijk, 1991) to corporate involvement in education. By describing the impact of the private sector as benefiting ‘millions’ of people, Reagan is legitimizing the involvement of business in education. The private sector is not having a slight impact, but rather its collaboration with education is benefiting ‘millions’ only two years after officially inviting the private sector to collaborate with public education (taking this date from the “National Year of Partnerships in Education 1983-1984”). Reagan again recontextualizes Tocqueville’s account in this item of discourse, which is associated to the private sector in the previous excerpt with reference to the private sector actively “awakening” America’s “oldest and most noble traditions.” As stated earlier, this also functions as a form of authorization (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Ultimately, Reagan’s discourse functions to enact a new social relationship between the private sector and public education. The discourses’ ideological underpinnings necessitate the creation and recreation of material relations (Fairclough, 2010, p. 59), which in this context establishes a weakened education system dependent upon corporate collaboration. Education is continuously portrayed as recovering, reawakening, or being renewed, and the correlation between these *re* prefixed verbs is presented as being the direct result of the private sector. The private sector is acknowledged as being the leader in this educational revitalization and their involvement is

fundamentally encouraged through presidential praise, aggregation, and proposed challenges to the American public as a whole. It is observably capable to discern how partnerships in education increased from 17% to 51% in school districts between 1984 and 1989 (Molnar, 1996, p. 2), as a result of the actional meaning created through Reagan's discourse.

Market Tenets of Competition and Choice: Creating the Consumer

Competition and choice dialectically function in Reagan's discourse as schools are encouraged to innovate/improve their service with the intention that consumers will choose to use their service instead of alternatives (See Appendix I). Under this framework, competition and choice operate as a new form of governance. Competition and choice are recontextualized ideas of deregulation typical of Reaganomics (Kleinknecht, 2009), which imposed a new landscape that citizens were to engage with. This strategy fundamentally increases consumer choice and empowers the consumer (Jessop, 2002; Apple, 2006, p. 32; Wilkins, 2011).

This is exemplified by connecting a successful economy, under the market regulation of competition, with that of consumer satisfaction (Reagan, 1983a; 1987b; NCEE, 1983; TFEEG, 1983) and designating the success of this system by "restor[ing] parental choice and influence and to increase competition between schools" (Reagan, 1983d). Ideas are recontextualized and new forms of governance emerge (Fairclough, 2004, p. 33). In encouraging further extensions of choice in education, Reagan explains that, "Study after study has found that when parents have a say in education, the children do better in school" (Reagan, 1988). This rightly could be the case, however we know that Reagan is also recontextualizing the Hayek/Friedman idea of competition and choice as essential for effective institutions. He is, in effect, using aggregation to validate his ongoing initiatives of expanding school choice. This connection is later

succinctly expressed in the following year when Reagan celebrates the choice initiative; he commends,

Whether it's a Harlem school district in which scores have risen dramatically because parents are now permitted to choose which school to send their children to, or the marvellous program in Minnesota that is fostering unprecedented competition among public schools to make them more attractive to parents and students, choice is the most exciting thing that's going on in America today (Reagan, 1989).

We see in this example that choice and competition encourage the consuming potential of parents and students, and that the principal success of each school depends on its capability to satisfy parents and students. The language profoundly resembles a company's acknowledgement of requiring customer satisfaction. Reagan's celebration of 'unprecedented competition' in Minnesota does not describe precisely what this competition embodies, but rather evaluates the competition as important and beneficial because it is described as 'unprecedented.' We are instead led to believe that it is upon the 'unprecedented competition' in itself, as an abstracted force, that we should merely be positively receptive.

The reinvigorated educational landscape prioritizes the consumerization of its parents and students because they make the consumer decision to use the desired service. As Reagan acknowledges, "Well, if we were on autopilot in the past, we've learned we have to work the controls every day. And that's why choice in education is so important. Parents are at the controls" (Reagan, 1989). The discourse espouses the idea of educational rejuvenation and directly situates parents as the social actors responsible. In doing so, the Reagan administration constituted a new identity (Chiapello & Fairclough, 2002, p. 194) of parents. Through their choosing capacity, parents and students were recognized and encouraged as educational rejuvenators. This newly constituted identity was predicated upon the ability to choose or not choose a particular school; which in its essence facilitated a value of demand.

The discourse asserts competition and choice as necessary for America's future and authoritatively legitimates the direction. For example, Reagan explains that choice "represents a return to some of our most basic American values" (Reagan, 1989). Choice is a new form of governance, predicated upon supposed traditional values. The discourse merges the governance as an economic extension by connecting choice in education with "its economic cousin, free enterprise, and its political cousin, democracy, it affords hope and opportunity" (Reagan, 1989). The semiotic decision is a representational strategy (Fairclough, 2004, p. 145; Machin & Mayr, 2012), which highlights certain aspects of identity (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 77)—in this case the citizen is empowered for his/her consuming function. In building this connection, the market tenets of competition and choice are also validated; however most importantly: the relationship between choice, competition, and the consumer—which propels the entire system—is legitimated. Competition and choice consequently embody the abstracted constraints of the new governance set in motion by the Reagan administration, with parents and students acting as the central social agent; their consuming role compels schools, as a commodity, to innovate and rejuvenate public education. Fundamentally, the consumer is the necessary agent that operates this new form of governance.

Chapter 5: Discussion

In discussing the results of this study, two categories of discussion have been established. The first component, *Implementing Modes of Physical Consumerization and Interactional Consumerization*, considers the impacts of Reagan's educational reforms with regards to their consumerizing capabilities. This category considers the school as being transformed from a site of learning towards a commercialized environment and also considers how students and parents

were impelled towards performing neoliberal standards of engagement. This initial category emerged from Reagan's practical considerations for educational change, which specifically targeted the school and parents/students. The final category, *Consumerism as Integration*, theorizes Reagan's educational reforms as necessary for the stabilization of capitalism. This considers how consumerism came to function as a mode of integration (Marcuse, 1964) and expands upon the study conducted by Bowles and Gintis (1976). While the first component considers the pragmatic impacts of the education reforms for the school and students, this final component frames the macro-context of this development within the economic situation of the period and consequently uses this to conceptualize a social theory that explains the spread and consolidation of mass consumerism.

Implementing Modes of Physical Consumerization and Interactional Consumerization

Reagan believed in a neoliberal educational agenda, namely that private sector involvement in schools would improve education. His discourse functioned to align public education along the market tenets of choice and competition, however it also enabled the potentiality for corporate opportunists to exploit students' consuming potential. Under this new neoliberal framework, the Reagan administration created and enabled two consumerizing circumstances. Firstly, students were situated in a corporate environment, which was specifically capitalized on by businesses to garner brand loyalty and brand exposure; we shall refer to this as *physical consumerization*. The concept of physical consumerization specifically regards advertising as a central strategy. The Frankfurt School perspective influences this concept; which explains that,

On both levels, advertising should be seen as an indispensable force in the reproduction of consumer capitalism and in the maintenance of capitalist

hegemony. Indeed, advertising has multi-faceted social functions, ranging from short range efforts to induce individuals to buy specific products to more long range functions that attempt to sell consumer-capitalism as a way of life (Harms & Kellner, 1991).

The Reagan administration significantly reduced educational funding; reduced from 12 percent of the national budget in 1980 to 6 percent by the time Reagan left office (Clabaugh, 2004, p. 257). These budgetary measures were in paramount accompanied by a change in presidential lexicon (Clark & Astuto, 1986, p. 5), which as we have seen: situated the private sector to fill the financial void. The Reagan administration managed to discursively position the private sector as a necessary partner in education by: relating the private sector to American traditional values; emphasizing the private sector as instigating reinvigoration; and, celebrating the efforts of private sector initiatives in education. By positioning the private sector as the financial and material provider for schools, the Reagan administration directly created the vacuum through which corporate opportunists could exploit student consuming potential. Despite the long relationship between businesses and schools (Spring, 2015), the Reagan administration certainly marks a transition period between simple collaboration and the intensified business permeation of education, of which Reagan discursively encouraged. For example, founder of Channel One, Christopher Whittle, rationalized Channel One as a necessary response to lack of educational funding and necessary for providing educational resources (McAllister, 1996, p. 83).

Consequently, the implication for students was that their learning increasingly occurred in a corporatized environment (Molnar, 1996), with school commercialization functioning as a consumerizing mechanism (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005; Wolff, 2005; Sandlin & McLaren, 2009). The effects of brand exposure in schools fundamentally offered businesses a young and captive demographic (Alper, 2003), who perceive advertised products in schools as positive

specifically because they are displayed in schools (McAllister, 1996, p. 86; Sandlin & McLaren, 2009, p. 87). Reagan indirectly prioritized the physical consumerization of students because the discourse (in accompaniment with budgetary cuts) vehemently encouraged private sector involvement in education. The consequence of business involvement was corporate advertising—advertising, which is ultimately predicated upon selling products or services, relies upon the consumer to satisfy this objective.

Secondly, due to Reagan's emphasis on choice and competition, parents and students were facilitated to interact with education in the manner in which consumers engage with a product or service; we shall refer to this as *interactional consumerization*. Interactional consumerization is the reorientation of individual or collective behaviour towards an institution in a consumerist lens. This concept is derived from the neoliberal viewpoint that citizens are valued and stimulated for their role as consumers (Rose, 1999; Apple, 2006). Wilkins (2011) explains school choice as central in the reorientation as, "the concept and practice of choice can be characterized as a composite of performances and cultural imperatives, as combinations of behaviours that are implicated simultaneously in the designation, assembling and privileging of a consumerist orientation to education services and a neo-liberal framing of active citizenship" (p. 359). More specifically, interactional consumerization is the institutional process in which individuals engage with an institution or organization as they would in decision-making processes of selecting a product or service based on a set of prescribed criteria. Rather than engaging with education as a public civic institution, the parental and student role essentially transitioned to that of the consumer and schools became a marketized service provider. The idea that parental choice will incite competition, and subsequently innovation and efficiency, was primary in Reagan's discourse; indeed because the logic is entirely modeled upon the free

market system (Carl, 1994). Ultimately, the application of this logic to the public education system is an attempt to enhance the consumer role (Carl, 1994; Rose, 1999, p. 87; Minow, 2011). Accordingly, the position of parents and students is not merely predicated upon the role of using, but rather is empowered through its consuming potential (Henig, 1994; Kenway & Epstein, 1996; Olson Beal & Hendry, 2012). The consumer's subjectivity is characterized by its options of consumption (Bauman, 2007, p. 15); that is, that parents and students came to develop their identity as consumers through the pursuit of schooling options. Indeed, the imposed competitive system necessitated this identity immersion. Reagan's discourse delegated parents and students with the individual task of selecting the education they deemed appropriate and satisfactory towards expectations, particularly because it was understood as a vehicle of educational rejuvenation.

The development of this perception certainly expanded exponentially under Reagan's successors (Giroux, 2005), particularly with the influence of thinkers such as John Chubb and Terry Moe (1990) and Chester Finn, Jr. (1991). These thinkers expanded upon Reagan's neoliberal thinking, expounding upon the necessity of the marketization of education; competition was to become, according to Chubb and Moe, the vehicle for the structural reform of education (Gintis, Cox, Green, & Hickox, 1991, p. 383). Moreover, schools have adopted the market-model in order to satisfy the newly established consumer identity of its users. Finn Jr. advises schools to adopt a corporate model and pursue market niches to proliferate and survive (Aronowitz, 1998, p. 32). Promoted as 'parental choice' by the Reagan administration, the concept would expand to the umbrella term of 'school choice' under his successor and the educational policy literature. The Reagan administration discursively initiated the school choice movement and in accordance launched the interactional consumerization of parents and students;

fundamentally reconfiguring their role as consumers and schools as a commodified service.

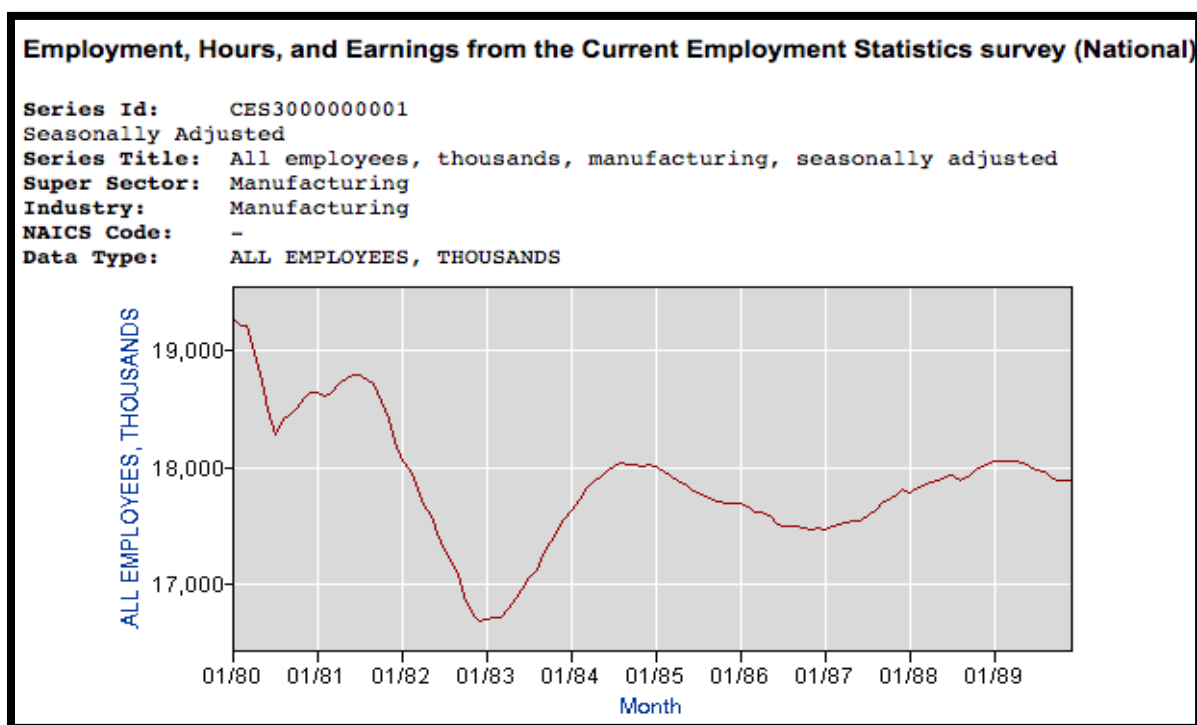
Consumerism as Integration

In 1968 Frankfurt School philosopher, Theodore Adorno, explained in his opening address to the 16th German Sociological Congress that, “one must concede that capitalism has discovered resources within itself, which have permitted the postponing of economic collapse” (2001, p. 1). While Adorno was specifically addressing the technological innovations, which allow the production of consumer goods, he was nonetheless associating consumerism with the survival of capitalism. Indeed, consumerism and advertising are necessary for the stabilization of capitalism (Marcuse, 1964; Kellner, 1983; Harvey, 1989). Similarly, education has been perceived as an institution that reproduces the conditions necessary for the hegemony of capitalism (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Greaves, Hill, & Maisuria, 2007; Althusser, 2014). Bowles and Gintis (1976) extrapolated the connection between American education and the creation of an effective labour force—revealing how schools are modeled along a capitalist organization of labour and reinforced through discipline. However, while Bowles and Gintis reveal the correspondence principle as replicating the labour market, we can use their historical findings to understand the origination of student consumerization.

In explaining the development of this educational structuring, Gintis and Bowles explain that, “Major periods of educational change are responses to alternatives in the structure of economic life associated with the process of capital accumulation” (1976; p. 199). In accordance, the consumerization of students became all the more imperative because of the severe decline in domestic manufacturing jobs following Reagan’s election (See Figure 1) (United States Department of Labor, 2016). Furthermore, the annual increases of manufacturing

output were “lower than that of most our major trading partners over the last twenty years” (Quayle, 1983, p. 8). Quayle (1983) explains that countries such as West Germany and Japan have economically outperformed the United States, which *A Nation at Risk* similarly expressed—however relating this failure as a result of educational mismanagement. This decline in manufacturing coincides with the rise of the service sector (Plunkert, 1990; Bjork, 1999, p. 291). In 1987 service sector employment increased to 24.61% of national employment, which solidified that “services have substantially surpassed manufacturing in employment” (Esping-Andersen, p. 1993, p. 199) Former U.S. Secretary of Labor, Robert Reich, also observed in 1993 that 90% of newly created jobs that year were part-time positions (Moody, 1999), which led Kim Moody to ask who would buy U.S. products and services (p. 328).

Manufacturing Employee Data in the United States between January 1980 and January 1989
(United States Department of Labor, 2016)



Essentially, if one is to follow the historical understandings espoused by Bowles and Gintis then it is discernible that because an effective domestic labour force is no longer required for economic performance—because of the fact that post-industrial societies require a service economy—then an effective *consuming* force must be encouraged. The significance of the consumer is valued at representing two-thirds of demand in the U.S. economy and can perpetuate economic growth (Lahart, 2010). Encouraging an effective consuming force was partially accomplished through consumerizing those involved in education. Whether reprimanding science teachers for permitting students to complete schoolwork instead of watching televised commercials in the classroom (McAllister, 1995, p. 84) or suspending a student for wearing a Pepsi shirt on Coke Day (The Media Business, 1998), the disciplinary reinforcement of consumerism became entrenched throughout all educational strata.

Rather than merely relying on repressive forces of order (i.e. police force, military, laws, etc.) Marcuse explains that advanced industrial societies impose a false consciousness upon individuals, which materializes in the pursuit of false needs (Marcuse, 1964). He writes that, “The products indoctrinate and manipulate; they promote a false consciousness which is immune against its falsehood” (p. 12). Jansiz (2014) explains that “In primary productions, meeting biological needs of the consumers was considered as important, but as the biological needs of the consumers are limited in number, non-biological needs should be created in the consuming societies” (p. 79). While industrial societies depend upon the production of goods, the post-industrial requirement necessitates mass consumption. With higher wages and greater leisure times, people are able to satisfy basic needs, “meaning extra consumption became less urgent” (Spies-Butcher & Cahill, 2012, p. 29). To satisfy this new requirement, John Kenneth Galbraith (1998) argues that corporations used advertising and marketing on a massive scale to generate

new needs for consumers. Termed the ‘dependence effect,’ Galbraith expounds that under post-industrial capitalism, consumers would come to demand more of producers, however through advertising and marketing, corporations are not in fact responding to consumer demands because these companies have already encouraged consumers to feel a need towards the goods and services they now demand. This fundamentally integrates individuals into the capitalist system and functions to stabilize advanced industrial societies. The industrial transformations reduce individual character so as to be concerned with new material needs (Marcuse, 1964, p. 29). The intensity of consumerization during the Reagan presidency is not coincidental: the decrease in domestic manufacturing employment and the increase in service sector employment reflects the shift towards advanced industrial entrenchment and markedly explains the rise of consumerization in education. The ideological apparatus of education (Althusser, 2014), predicated on neoliberalism, engendered the components of the free market, which innately necessitated a consumer base. With advanced industrial societies, “social needs must become individual needs, instinctual needs. And to the degree to which the productivity of this society requires mass production and mass consumption, these needs must be standardized, coordinated, and generalized” (Marcuse, 2009, p. 191). Through corporate involvement and the conditioning of consumer behaviour, the new educational framework created a sense of false needs that correlated with the injection of mass consumption.

Corporate permeation and the marketization of education, originating under the Reagan administration, are attempts to integrate students into the capitalist process and act as strategies to stabilize the capitalist system. The social problem of the consumerization of students is indeed necessary by the social order because it is necessary for the stabilization of advanced industrial societies. As corporate advertising in schools became significantly intensified under Reagan

(Molnar, 1996; Spring, 2015), we can understand this advertising as advanced industrial society's requirement to disseminate material needs through all spectrums of society (Garlitz, 2005, p. 6) Indeed, it is a necessity, however the creation and dissemination of false needs is not a conspiracy (Marcuse, 209, p. 191). Rather, the role is exercised throughout all society: by community members, corporations, and levels of governments—most succinctly identified as the recipients of discursive invitation by the Reagan administration.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This study explains how the Reagan administration enabled the consumerizing framework in three central ways. Firstly, Reagan legitimated neoliberal education reforms by characterizing his predecessors as having damaged public education. This, he claims, was conducted by overfunding education without a guiding strategy, which generated educational decline. Reagan also characterized his predecessors as being geographically distant and excessively centralized. According to Reagan this led to ignoring parents in favour of a 'Washington knows best' attitude. He emphasized that his predecessors had incurred economic deterioration on the international stage as a direct result of educational mismanagement. Ultimately, Reagan styled himself as a rescuer, a hero who would repair the frivolous spending of previous governments and restore disenfranchised parents to their parental right in educational control. Secondly, corporate involvement in education was encouraged by producing new types of meaning. In this regard, Reagan presented an education and economic relationship, which the private sector could reinvigorate. This representation of society led to suggestions for further collaboration between the private sector and education, while also identifying the private sector as a force of renewal. Reagan repeatedly characterized the private sector as embodying the

essence of the American spirit, and suggested that private sector involvement in education is a return to true American tradition. He thus encouraged and legitimated private sector involvement by authorization. Lastly, Reagan suggested that a new form of governance was to replace burgeoning centralized governments. He suggested that choice and competition, as recontextualized neoliberal economic values, should regulate education. Similar to the corporate invitation to education, Reagan professed choice and competition as being a part of American tradition. According to Reagan, choice and competition forced schools to modify in order to satisfy students and parents. He maintained that when parents have a say in their child's education, the student performs better. This implied a causal relationship between parents and schools as schools must respond to the demands and criteria desired by parents. This system of educational success was predicated upon the school choices of parents and students, and the ability of schools to respond to the consumer demands of parents and students. The discourse fundamentally emphasized parents and students as having a consuming function and situated this function as integral to the new educational governance.

The neoliberal landscape of education today conditions individuals "how to consume, how to behave in the marketplace, and how to interact with consumer capitalism (Sandlin & McLaren, 2009). While Reagan initiated choice, competition, and corporate involvement in education, these initiatives have significantly intensified since his presidency. Charter schools and private schools have perpetuated the deterioration of public education, while magnet schools offer a greater degree of competition between public schools. This impacts parents and students who now participate in education as consumers. As schools now depend upon appealing potential enrollees, the consumer wields considerable power over the survival of schools. Corporations for their part offer a wide array of learning materials and programs that extend far

beyond the scopes of early private sector initiatives such as Pizza Hut's BOOK IT! program and Channel One: today ranging from McDonald's Passport to Play program, which proliferates the company's visibility in public schools (Hellmich, 2005), to Nestlé's SweeTart competition which awarded \$10 000 to a Boston school for creating a staircase mural of famous art "incorporating the candy in some way" (Mayer, 2003). While, one cannot doubt all private sector commitments to enhancing public education, these initiatives go beyond their edification value and function efficiently as interactive advertising.

This paper attempted to explain that a shift in American educational policy occurred during the 1980s, and that this transition enabled a consumerizing framework of education. Reagan presented himself as rescuing education from the misguided management of his predecessors while professing his policies as restoring education to a former greatness. The latter of which was conducted by negatively portraying his predecessors. His strong belief in market regulations guided his educational policy because he felt that citizens would exercise their individual desires, which would consequently demand the accommodation of schools. Refuting the apparent interference of the Federal government, Reagan instead offered choice, competition, and private sector involvement as forms of educational governance. Reagan initiated these reforms because he felt that the policies of his predecessors had fostered 'mediocrity.' His firm belief in markets compelled him to impose competition upon education. As products compete and modify to attract purchasers, Reagan believed that schools would diversify, specialize, and ultimately improve their educational services. However, a myriad of social issues have emerged as a result of competition and choice (which go beyond the scope of this study). The perception that citizen involvement in education, as members of local communities, would benefit educational quality. This however, resulted in the enabling of direct competition between

schools, while also offering the student demographic to the marketing and advertising components of the private sector. Reagan legitimated neoliberal education policy reforms by repeatedly emphasizing that his predecessors had ruined education by overly relying on financing education. In order to accommodate financial reductions, Reagan situated the private sector as a force that would renew education through partnerships. He legitimized choice and school competition by explaining that schools become diverse and students excel when school choice is exercised. This was because individual involvement, instead of Federal interference, was central to his neoliberal conviction. However, this sentiment has had a lasting impression on educational policymaking. In fact, President Trump's discourse is highly reminiscent of Reagan's criticism towards his predecessors. According to Trump in his Inaugural Address, the American education system is "an education system, flush with cash, but which leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of all knowledge" (Trump, 2016). Accordingly, Trump's 2018 blueprint budget proposes to cut \$9 billion from the Department of Education while providing an increase of \$1.4 billion for school choice investments (Office of Management and Budget, 2017). The legitimation of reducing educational funding has remained. And, as stated earlier, U.S. Secretary of Education, Betsy DeVos, has a vested interest in maintaining private sector involvement in public education. Indeed, the neoliberal educational transition under Reagan has certainly become conventional.

However, I would like to suggest several solutions that derive from the results of this study. While school-business partnerships have a long history in both the American (Spring, 2015) and Canadian (Gidney & Gidney, 2008) contexts, the intensity of advertising in schools should be reconsidered. Brazil, Norway, Sweden, and the Canadian province of Québec specifically prohibit advertising to children under the age of 12 (Soares, 2014; Watson, 2014).

The prohibition on child advertising is effective. Goldberg (1990) found that because of the Québec ban, children consume less sugary cereals, while Québec families also less frequent fast-food restaurants (Dhar & Baylis, 2011). Furthermore, Dhar and Baylis also found evidence that supported that the advertising ban effects on children continue into adulthood (Dhar & Baylis, 2011, p. 809-810). Since advertising induces negative health, poor self-esteem, body image issues, and impairs social relationships, prohibiting in-school advertising to all students would significantly alleviate these pressures. Rather than sharing spaces between educational materials and advertising, educational materials should not need to compete for student attention. Following the guidelines published by the Canadian Food Inspection Agency (2016) distinguishing materials for educational purposes instead of advertising is an effective measure towards limiting advertising space in schools. These guidelines ensure that schools remain a site of learning.

Reagan felt that the private sector would provide the necessary resources that the declining education system needed, while alleviating government (Federal, State, and local) financial responsibilities. However, for assisting struggling schools, the private sector enhanced their company presence to students, with the ultimate goal of generating profits. While democratic governments hope in some way to foster democratic citizens, businesses at the heart of their existence, require a continuous supply of consumers. It's unsurprising therefore that the proliferation of in-school advertising and marketing increased substantially once Reagan began to encourage an increased involvement of the private sector in education. As long as governments continuously reduce educational funding, public district school boards will have little choice but to seek out business-school partnerships to survive. Schools cannot risk operating without the necessary funds because the educational environment has been relegated to

direct school competition for students. Accordingly, schools cannot expect to offer appealing programs/resources without the necessary funds. All levels of government must realize the importance of a well-funded public education program. In the American context, 54% (\$598.5 billion) of discretionary spending in 2015 by the Federal government went to the military, while education was tied for second highest spending at 6% (\$70 billion) of discretionary spending (National Priorities Project, 2017). Certainly, education could be more adequately funded so as to ensure that schools do not need to seek out corporate aid. To refer to the current President, compared to military spending, education is absolutely anything but ‘flush with cash.’ However, all nations must ensure that the education of their children is prudently structured and, contrary to Reagan rhetoric, government is not the problem, but the solution. All levels of government have the responsibility and obligation to its citizens to invest in their education. If governments truly value community, then rather than inviting members of the community to become more involved with community services (i.e. health, education, food, housing, etc.) governments should prioritise these services in their funding. The very backbone of a healthy community, and thus citizenry, requires satisfactorily funded institutions. Any alternative is merely an excuse.

It would be a mistake to presume that Reagan desired student consumerization, however his policies reformed education along a framework that allowed corporate opportunists to exploit a vulnerable education system. Certainly the education system was vulnerable because of its reduced funding and the downsizing of the Department of Education. Consequently, choice and competition as regulatory forces, and the private sector as a consumerizing influence, comprised of a developing framework that perceived, valued, and treated students as consumers. The manufacturing industry’s outsourcing that Reagan and *A Nation at Risk* reported was not a result of educational decline, but rather the availability of cheaper labour forces. In the domestic

sphere, a consuming force was needed to consistently purchase goods. Bowles and Gintis explained that educational changes mirror economic conditions; in this case, the deterioration of domestic manufacturing necessitated educational restructuring. As a domestic labour force was no longer needed, the consumerizing framework functioned to stabilize the capitalist system because of the consuming force it generated. This study contributes to our understanding of the discursive operations of facilitating education systems with economic structures and of enhancing our understanding of the origin of conventional educational policymaking in the United States today. It is the responsibility of all citizens to protect their public services against the encroachment of private interests. While at the same time, recognizing that personal involvement in our services should also prioritize the common good.

Notes

¹ In this study, the terms ‘consumerizing’ and ‘consumerization’ refer to the ongoing institutional process of situating individuals in an environment (material or discursive) wherein they are perceived, treated, and encouraged as consumers. This process is a form of social integration (Marcuse, 1964) and a process of constructing social subjects (Fairclough, 2013).

² For example see Klein (2009), Molnar (1996), and examples provided by The Center For Commercial-Free Public Education (2002).

³ Chomsky (1999) and Harvey (2005) specifically recognize neoliberal policies as advocated by wealthy individuals and organizations who solely intend to accumulate greater wealth.

⁴ Despite the neoliberal rhetoric of the Reagan administration as wishing to decentralize the influence of federal bureaucracy, Collin and Ferrare (2015) expound that Reagan actually rescaled education—normally a state concern—under stronger federal control.

⁵ An example of this language is expressed within the opening paragraph of the document, wherein it states that, “We report to the American people that while we can take justifiable pride in what our schools and colleges have historically accomplished and contributed to the United States and the well-being of its people, the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future -as a Nation and a people” (p. 13).

⁶ This consideration has an underlying ideological aspect to it because it addresses how discourse ideologically functions to create and sustain power (Wadok & Meyer, 126).

⁷ *A Nation at Risk* (1983) is specifically structured upon establishing the economic-education relationship and is riddled with rhetoric supporting this connection.

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Appendix A: Table of Major Style Themes

Item of Discourse	Style of Reagan
<p>Reagan, R. (1982). Proclamation 4892— National Consumers’ Week, 1982.</p>	<p><i>Leader</i> – “As we enter a new era of greater economic freedom, I urge schools, community organizations, the media, labor unions and businesses to develop programs and information so that consumer and economic education and information will be readily available to all.”</p> <p><i>Protector</i> – “it is the responsibility of government to insure that our food and drug supplies are safe and that defrauders are brought to justice. Too much government regulation, however, simply adds to the costs to business and consumers alike without commensurate benefits. We are striving to correct excesses, at the same time recognizing that informed and educated consumers are our best hope for prosperity, efficiency, and integrity in the marketplace.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1983a). Proclamation 5016— National Consumers’ Week, 1983.</p>	<p><i>Leader</i> – “Because an effective and efficient system of commerce depends on an informed and educated public, I urge schools, public and private agencies, and all appropriate public-spirited groups to advance consumer competence by helping provide the necessary consumer and economic information for all our citizens to make well thought-out choices in the marketplace.”</p> <p><i>Uniter</i> – “It is clear that the greatest fairness for consumers can be achieved through the active cooperation of business, government, and consumers themselves working to insure equity, increased competition, and safety in our free market economy.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1983b). Proclamation 5112— National Year of Partnerships in Education 1983-1984.</p>	<p><i>Leader/Rescuer</i> – “Although thousands of businesses, industries, individuals, organizations, teachers, administrators, and government at all levels have been involved in the education of our youth, there is more work to be done. More people must become active in improving the quality of education in our Nation.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1983c). Remarks at a white house ceremony marking the beginning of the national partnerships in education program.</p>	<p><i>Rescuer</i> – “Between 1963 and 1980, Scholastic Aptitude Test scores were in a virtually unbroken decline. Too many of our States demanded too little of their students, imposing lax graduation requirements. And compared to students in other industrialized nations, many of ours performed badly. Yet even as we've recognized the challenge, our nation has begun to respond... One of our administration's first priorities was to establish a National Commission on Excellence in Education. And we asked it to help us chart a new course that would permit us to correct the mistakes of the past. ... One aspect of this great renewal is the reason we're gathered here today.”</p> <p><i>Provider</i> – “Mr. Dalton, all of you watching at Congress Heights, I have a surprise for you. You were told that closed-circuit TV's put in your school were there because</p>

	<p>WJLA Television here in Washington was going to form a partnership with you. Well, that wasn't quite right. With your permission, Mr. Dalton, it's the White House which would like to form a partnership with your school.”</p> <p><i>Orchestrator</i> – “So, I’m directing...”; “Everyone must get involved.”</p>
Reagan, R. (1983d). Radio address to the nation on education.	<p><i>Uniter</i> – “For the sake of our children ... we must join together”</p> <p><i>Motivator</i> – “I would like to close with a special challenge to America’s students”</p> <p><i>Wise</i> – “Well, government seemed to forget that education begins in the home, where it's a parental right and responsibility”</p> <p><i>Rescuer/Restorer</i> – “We must put the basics back in the schools and the parents back in charge”</p>
Reagan, R. (1984a). Proclamation 5197—Year of Excellence in Education.	<p><i>Leader/Rescuer</i> – “This same report stated that the declining educational achievement of our schools had left America "a nation at risk." It went on to emphasize that our determination to address this challenge successfully would determine whether America's place in the world will be secured or forfeited... In recognition of the vital role education plays in our Nation, I encourage parents, teachers, administrators, government officials, and the people of the United States to observe the year with activities aimed at restoring the American educational system to its place of pre-eminence among nations of the world.”</p>
Reagan, R. (1984b). Radio address to the nation on education.	<p><i>Uniter/Rescuers</i> – “But we can be proud of the progress we're making. And I think this is only the first chapter of a marvellous story about how the people of America came together to recreate a school system that was once the envy of the world. Let's all write the next chapter together.”</p>
Reagan, R. (1985a). Proclamation 5417— National Consumers Week, 1986.	<p><i>Motivator</i> – “They [businessmen/woman] must do more than just build better products—they must strive to improve marketing, sales, warranties, and service. Quality demands efficient management, productive use of human resources, and responsiveness to consumer needs and preferences.”</p>
Reagan, R. (1985b). Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Independent Schools.	<p><i>Rescuer</i> – “When our administration began its first term in 1981, we had to clean up the mess we'd inherited. And today we're creating a new nation. Our economy is growing, our spirit is renewed, our country is stronger, and America is at peace.”</p> <p><i>Virtuous</i> – “Our budget proposal is prudent; it's reasonable and just.”</p> <p><i>Inviter</i> – “I consider it fully deserving of the support for it that I’m asking you and all Americans to give.”</p>
Reagan, R. (1985c). Remarks at	<p><i>Rescuer/Leader/Patriot/Collaborator</i> – “In addition to being here today for this awards program, there is special significance in that it is Flag Day.</p>

<p>the presentation ceremony for the "C" Flag Awards.</p>	<p>And later I'll be out at Fort McHenry to salute the Stars and Stripes. Flags have always symbolized important characteristics of the American people—the Stars and Stripes for independence and the World War II "E" Flag for excellence. And now, as you look around here, in the Rose Garden you see the "C" Flag—a symbol of private sector initiative that says, "We can, and we care."”</p> <p><i>Rescuer/Celebrator</i> – “And it was very successful for the bureaucrats. Government bureaucracy reached gargantuan size. And because nothing stifles initiative and imagination like bureaucracy, America's self-help tradition lost much of its force and energy. But any modern-day de Tocqueville looking over America would see a return now to that tradition and a revival of the idea, which all of you embody, that compassion with ingenuity works, that the American people are anxious and ready to help each other. They just need to be asked.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1987a). Proclamation 5737—National Community Education Day, 1987</p>	<p><i>Wise/Inviter</i> – “National Community Education Day reminds us that schools and colleges are institutions strongly woven into the fabric of our cities and towns and that they should command the sustained interest of the citizenry. Public education is a community project, and the lifelong mission of education involves everyone in the community.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1987b). Message to the congress on “A Quest for Excellence”</p>	<p><i>Rescuer</i> – “Tonight, I have come personally before the Congress to report on the State of our Union and outline how we can meet the goal of renewing the American spirit—a spirit of excellence.”</p> <p><i>Leader</i> – “We must strive for excellence in education”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1988). 1988 Legislative and administrative message: a union of individuals.</p>	<p><i>Protector of Individual Liberty</i> – “An American President has no more sacred duty than to ensure that the government stays within the constitutional limits that protect individual liberty”</p> <p><i>Rescuer</i> – “In the past 7 years, our Administration has worked to restore a vision of government that was the Founders' own—a vision of a free and self-reliant people, taking responsibility for its own welfare and progress through such time-tested means as individual initiative, neighbourhood and community cooperation, and local and State self-government. The return of responsibility and authority to the individual American is now leading to a virtual renaissance in America of liberty, productivity, prosperity, and self-esteem.”</p> <p><i>Reasonable/Intelligent</i> – “I stated that we must recognize the right of parents to have their children educated, publicly or privately, without unreasonable regulation or interference from State or Federal governments.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1989). Remarks at</p>	<p><i>Restorer</i> – “Choice represents a return to some of our most basic notions about education. In particular, programs emphasizing choice reflect the</p>

<p>a briefing for the white house workshop on choice in education.</p>	<p>simple truth that the keys to educational success are schools and teachers that teach, and parents who insist that their children learn.”</p> <p><i>Provider</i> – “Choice recognizes the principle that there is no one best way for all of us. It allows schools to excel at something special, rather than trying, and failing, to be all things to all people.”</p> <p><i>Rescuer</i> – “For too long, I think, we were content as Americans to imagine that our nation and our society were so inherently strong and successful that they could continue to run on automatic pilot. The schools had done well and should continue to do well; we could turn our attention elsewhere. Well, if we were on automatic pilot in the past, we've learned we have to work the controls by ourselves every day. And that's why a choice in education is so important.”</p> <p><i>Virtuous</i> – “We're talking about reasserting the right of American parents to play a vital—perhaps the central-part in designing the kind of education they believe their children need.”</p>
<p>National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983). <i>A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform.</i></p>	<p>N/A</p>
<p>Task Force on Education for Economic Growth. (1983). <i>Action for Excellence: A Comprehensive Plan to Improve Our Nation's Schools.</i></p>	<p>N/A</p>

Appendix B: Table of Major Types of Meaning Themes

Item of Discourse	Types of Meaning (A= Actional; R= Representational; I= Identificatory)
Reagan, R. (1982). Proclamation 4892— National Consumers’ Week, 1982.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1983a). Proclamation 5016— National Consumers’ Week, 1983.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1983b). Proclamation 5112— National Year of Partnerships in Education 1983-1984.	<p>A= private sector must become more involved in education</p> <p>“In order to encourage this trend, I call upon businesses, organizations, individuals, and agencies to become involved with their local schools.”</p> <p>A- this proclamation intends to encourage further private sector involvement</p> <p>“Partnerships in Education Year gives us the opportunity to acknowledge the efforts of the private sector and to encourage the creation of new partnerships in education all across this Nation.”</p> <hr/> <p>R= private sector involvement can improve education, and thus, the country as a whole</p> <p>“America's future is dependent upon the health and vitality of her education system. Although thousands of businesses, industries, individuals, organizations, teachers, administrators, and government at all levels have been involved in the education of our youth, there is more work to be done.”</p> <hr/> <p>I= private sector contributes to excellence and quality of education</p> <p>“I invite all Americans to join me in my commitment to the excellence and quality of education offered to all Americans.”</p>
Reagan, R. (1983c). Remarks at a white house ceremony marking the beginning of the national	<p>A= encourage schools and business collaborate more</p> <p>“To form a partnership, volunteers from a business, a government agency, or other organization strike an agreement with a school to develop programs that will help the school's students in a number of basic ways. The volunteers might tutor students, establish scholarship funds, donate furnishings and equipment, or teach classes.”</p>

<p>partnerships in education program.</p>	<p>R= Business must become more involved in education for it to improve</p> <p>“I know that this room is filled with men and women from business and education who've helped create partnerships in education in their communities. To you, on behalf of all Americans, thank you: large companies like Xerox, IBM, Federal Express, General Motors, and CNA Insurance; organizations like the American Bar Association, the Professional Engineering Societies, and the National Association of Manufacturers; and let's not forget the smaller companies like thousands of Burger King restaurants, local Radio Shack stores, and the group and cable TV stations. There are, also, innovative programs in private schools like Philadelphia's parochial schools and Providence-St. Mel in Chicago. And to the leaders of the three TV networks who are here today, thank you for your commitment to partnerships in education. But we all know there's much more to be done. Everyone must get involved.”</p> <p>I= students are young and innocent –“youngsters”</p> <p>I= Predecessors strategies as ‘inhuman’ and ‘ineffective’ – “Now, this won't be an expensive new government program. It'll be human and effective.”</p> <p>I= National Commission on Excellence in Education, and by extension, the Reagan administration, is restoring/fixing education – “And we asked it [NCEE] to help us chart a new course that would permit us to correct the mistakes of the past”</p> <p>I= Private sector as restorer of education “One aspect of this great renewal is the reason we're gathered here today.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1983d). Radio address to the nation on education.</p>	<p>A= encouraging parents to return education to their control</p> <p>“I think most parents agree it's time to change course. We must move education forward again, with common sense as our guide. We must put the basics back in the schools and the parents back in charge.”</p> <p>R= education is a parental right/responsibility</p> <p>“Well, government seemed to forget that education begins in the home, where it's a parental right and responsibility.”</p> <p>R= choice and competition will improve education</p> <p>“There are things the Federal Government can and must do to ensure educational excellence, but bigger budgets are not the answer. Federal spending increased seventeen-fold during the same 20 years that marked such a dramatic decline in quality. We will continue our firm commitment to support the education efforts of State and local governments, but the</p>

	<p>focus of our agenda is, as it must be, to restore parental choice and influence and to increase competition between schools.”</p> <hr/> <p>I= Parent involvement (choice) can renew education “Let our parents once again be the rudder that puts American education back on course towards success through excellence.”</p> <p>I= Predecessors were misguided “Well-intentioned but misguided policymakers have stamped a uniform mediocrity on the rich variety and excellence that had been our heritage.”</p> <p>I= Students are the future “I would like to close with a special challenge to America's students who may think I just want to pile on more homework. Your generation is coming of age in one of the most challenging and exciting times in our history. High technology is revolutionizing our industries, renewing our economy, and promising new hope and opportunity in the years ahead. But you must earn the rewards of the future with plain hard work. The harder you work today, the greater your rewards will be tomorrow. Make sure you get the training and the skills you need to take advantage of the new opportunities ahead. Get a good education; that's the key to success. It will open your mind and give wings to your spirit. There's a dazzling new world waiting for you. My generation only discovered it. But you, by summoning all the faith, effort, and discipline you can muster can claim it for America.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1984a). Proclamation 5197—Year of Excellence in Education.</p>	<p>A= Encouraging the involvement of private sector in education “Parental and community involvement must be enlarged, and there must be greater participation by business, industries, and individuals. One way to facilitate the involvement of the private sector is to widen the Adopt-a-School and partnership programs that seek to link a company or companies to an individual school.”</p> <p>A= Encouraging back to basics “We also need to follow a back to basics approach emphasizing fundamental scholastic achievement.”</p> <hr/> <p>R= citizen involvement in education will enhance democracy and citizen judgment “As a free and democratic people, we depend on the sound judgment of our fellow citizens. Quality education contributes in a major way to that judgment.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1984b). Radio address to the nation on education.</p>	<p>A= Passing tax credits and school vouchers to encourage parental choice “Much remains to be done. Our administration will go forward with our efforts to control school crime, pass tuition tax credits and school vouchers as well.”</p>

A= Invited private sector citizens to teach students

“In New Jersey Governor Tom Kean had another creative idea—give scientists and mathematicians in private industry a form of teaching accreditation so they can go into the schools and teach what they know.”

R= the leadership of citizens can renew education

“This entire reform movement proves how wrong the people are who always insist money is the only answer to the problems of our schools. Well, leaving aside the fact that the 20 years they kept shovelling money in was the same 20 years in which the schools deteriorated, I think it's fair to say they missed the essential point. Money was never the problem. Leadership was— leadership in getting the schools back to basic values, basic traditions, and basic good sense.”

R= Educational quality depends on citizen involvement, not federal finances

“This entire reform movement proves how wrong the people are who always insist money is the only answer to the problems of our schools. Well, leaving aside the fact that the 20 years they kept shovelling money in was the same 20 years in which the schools deteriorated, I think it's fair to say they missed the essential point. Money was never the problem. Leadership was— leadership in getting the schools back to basic values, basic traditions, and basic good sense.”

R= the private sector is needed to make education more relevant to the 1980s and exciting for students

“The private sector, too, is playing a big part in the reforms. Local businesses are adopting local schools, sending in their executives and employees to work with students and teachers to make education more exciting and more pertinent to the 1980's.”

I= citizens as restorers

“With the leadership of plain American citizens, we're getting back on track.”

I= private sector makes education exciting and relevant to the 1980s

“The private sector, too, is playing a big part in the reforms. Local businesses are adopting local schools, sending in their executives and employees to work with students and teachers to make education more exciting and more pertinent to the 1980's.”

I= citizens are leaders

“Money was never the problem. Leadership was— leadership in getting the schools back to basic values, basic traditions, and basic good sense. With the leadership of plain American citizens, we're getting back on track.”

	<p>I= predecessors lacked leadership; were misguided “This entire reform movement proves how wrong the people are who always insist money is the only answer to the problems of our schools. Well, leaving aside the fact that the 20 years they kept shovelling money in was the same 20 years in which the schools deteriorated, I think it’s fair to say they missed the essential point. Money was never the problem. Leadership was— leadership in getting the schools back to basic values, basic traditions, and basic good sense.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1985a). Proclamation 5417— National Consumers Week, 1986.</p>	<p>I= services are something to be shopped for “This will enable them to make wise choices whether they are shopping for food, shelter, clothing, transportation, recreation, health care, entertainment, and so on.”</p> <p>I= consumers compel services to enhance/change their services “Prudent, informed, discriminating consumers put pressure on suppliers to keep improving products and services while devising production efficiencies that will permit them to keep their prices competitive.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1985b). Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Independent Schools.</p>	<p>A= must reduce educational funding “Yes, our proposal may cause some families to make difficult adjustments. But by bringing the budget under control, we will avoid the far more painful adjustment of living in a wrecked economy. And that’s what we’re absolutely determined to do.”</p> <p>A= encouraging parental choice and competition “Parents should have greater freedom to send their children to the schools they desire and to do so without interference by local, State, or Federal levels of government. Diversity and competition among schools should be encouraged, not discouraged.”</p> <p>A= encouraging merit pay for teachers and teacher qualification regulations “We must sweep away laws and regulations, such as unduly restrictive certification requirements, that prevent good people from entering this profession, and we must pay and promote our teachers according to merit.”</p> <p>A= encouragement of teaching basic values “But students should not only learn basic subjects but basic values. We must teach the importance of justice, equality, religion, liberty, and standards of right and wrong. And we must give them a picture of America that is balanced and full, containing our virtues along with our faults.”</p>

	<p>A= placing power in the hands of school officials</p> <p>“I’m proud to say that our Justice Department participated in the recent Supreme Court case that restored the authority of school officials to conduct reasonable searches. There’s no need to call in a grand jury every time a principal needs to check a student locker. And today I’m directing our outstanding new Attorney General, Ed Meese, to work with Secretary Bennett in examining possible modifications of Federal law to avoid undercutting the authority of State and local school officials to maintain effective discipline.”</p> <p>A= encourage restoring of parental rights, as well as State and local rights</p> <p>“Well, the answer is to restore State and local governments and, above all, parents to their rightful place in the educational process. Parents know that they cannot educate their children on their own. We must recognize, in turn, that schools cannot educate students without the personal involvement of parents.”</p> <hr/> <p>R= education should not be under centralized government control, but rather in control of citizens</p> <p>“Dr. Eileen Gardner, has written: "The record shows that when control of education is placed in Federal hands it is not control by the people, but by small, yet powerful lobbies motivated by self-interest or dogma. When centralized in this way, it is beyond the control of the parents and local communities it is designed to serve. It becomes impervious to feedback."”</p> <p>R= competition will lead to higher educational standards</p> <p>“Tuition tax credits and education vouchers would foster greater diversity and, hence, higher standards throughout our system of education.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1985c). Remarks at the presentation ceremony for the “C” Flag Awards.</p>	<p>R= Private sector involvement in education is improving America “And because you did, you’ve helped change America.”</p> <p>R= the private sector can improve education “The crystal tetrahedrons that I am awarding today symbolize how the fusion on the private, public, and non-private sectors can form a solid base. Only by working together and finding some private solutions to public problems can we restore the strong balance needed for the future health of our Nation.”</p> <hr/> <p>I= predecessors ruined education “And it was very successful for the bureaucrats. Government bureaucracy</p>

	<p>reached gargantuan size. And because nothing stifles initiative and imagination like bureaucracy, America's self-help tradition lost much of its force and energy.”</p> <p>I= private sector embodies American principles and can renew education</p> <p>“Our country is great because it is built on principles of self-reliance, opportunity, innovation, and compassion for the others. Private sector initiatives embody this spirit and are a vital part of the Nation's character.”</p> <p>I= private sector is dedicated and caring</p> <p>“...In the Rose Garden you see the "C" Flag—a symbol of private sector initiative that says, "We can, and we care.””</p> <p>I= normal citizens are thankful to the private sector for their involvement in education</p> <p>“I wish there were time to mention the contributions of everyone. I couldn't possibly do that, but what I can do is thank you, not just for myself, but as President for the millions of Americans who, if they had the chance, would want to personally express their gratitude to you.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1987a). Proclamation 5737— National Community Education Day, 1987</p>	<p>R= education is a community project, which requires the participation of all members</p> <p>“National Community Education Day reminds us that schools and colleges are institutions strongly woven into the fabric of our cities and towns and that they should command the sustained interest of the citizenry. Public education is a community project, and the lifelong mission of education involves everyone in the community.”</p> <p>R= Private sector and community involvement improves education</p> <p>“Businesses and industries become aware of what local educational institutions are offering students and consider how they can contribute their own resources and practical skills to enhance learning and provide educational opportunities for learners of all ages and educational backgrounds. Through outreach, receptiveness, and cooperation, our communities can and do become more firmly interwoven with our schools in a commitment to better education for all generations.”</p> <hr/> <p>I= private sector wants to help improve education</p> <p>“Businesses and industries become aware of what local educational institutions are offering students and consider how they can contribute their own resources and practical skills to enhance learning and provide educational opportunities for learners of all ages and educational</p>

	<p>backgrounds. Through outreach, receptiveness, and cooperation, our communities can and do become more firmly interwoven with our schools in a commitment to better education for all generations.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1987b). Message to the congress on “A Quest for Excellence”</p>	<p>A= Education Consolidation and Improvement Act (ECIA) will do more to “foster innovation” and “parental choice”</p> <p>A= private sector should replace some Federal government responsibilities</p> <p>“The Federal Government should depend more on the private sector to provide support services for Federal activities.”</p> <hr/> <p>R= private sector is more dependable and trustworthy than Federal government</p> <p>“If individuals and community groups take more responsibility for public affairs, we are less likely as a Nation to cede our freedom and opportunity to the Federal government.”</p> <hr/> <p>I- private sector protects freedom and opportunity</p> <p>“If individuals and community groups take more responsibility for public affairs, we are less likely as a Nation to cede our freedom and opportunity to the Federal government.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1988). 1988 Legislative and administrative message: a union of individuals.</p>	<p>A= Congress should enhance parental choice</p> <p>“the Congress should authorize a program of giving parents a choice of schools when providing Federal funds to benefit students.”</p> <p>A= encouraging voucher programs to enhance parental choice</p> <p>“I will ask the Department of Education to develop model voucher legislation and make it available to the 50 States, so that they can implement programs that promote choice in education.”</p> <hr/> <p>R= choice improves student educational performance</p> <p>“Study after study has found that when parents have a say and are involved in their children's education, the children do better in school.”</p> <p>R= parents desire parental choice but are not being offered it</p>

	<p>“Polls show that millions of Americans would like, but do not have, the ability of choosing the education program and institution that is best for their children.”</p> <p>R= encouraging individual autonomy is the president’s duty</p> <p>“The six purposes listed in the Preamble for establishing the Constitution serve as a lasting measure of the legitimate role of government. An American President has no more sacred duty than to ensure that the government stays within the constitutional limits that protect individual liberty. In assessing this Administration's policies and proposals now and for the future, the fundamental blueprint remains the Preamble of the Constitution.”</p> <hr/> <p>I= predecessors abandoned the Founding Fathers’ vision of education</p> <p>“In the past 7 years, our Administration has worked to restore a vision of government that was the Founders' own—a vision of a free and self-reliant people, taking responsibility for its own welfare and progress through such time-tested means as individual initiative, neighborhood and community cooperation, and local and State self-government. The return of responsibility and authority to the individual American is now leading to a virtual renaissance in America of liberty, productivity, prosperity, and self-esteem.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1989). Remarks at a briefing for the white house workshop on choice in education.</p>	<p>A= encouraging parental choice</p> <p>“For when we talk about choice in public education, what we mean first and foremost is parental choice. We’re talking about reasserting the right of American parents to play a vital—perhaps the central-part in designing the kind of education they believe their children need.”</p> <hr/> <p>R= parental right to choose school/education is a right</p> <p>“We’re talking about reasserting the right of American parents to play a vital—perhaps the central-part in designing the kind of education they believe their children need.”</p> <p>R= competition creates more appealing schools</p> <p>“...The marvelous program in Minnesota that is fostering unprecedented competition among public schools to make them more attractive to parents and students, choice is the most exciting thing that's going on in America today.”</p>

	<p>R= choice and competition are basic American values</p> <p>“And choice in education is the wave of the future because it represents a return to some of our most basic American values. Choice in education is no mere abstraction. Like its economic cousin, free enterprise, and its political cousin, democracy, it affords hope and opportunity. Can anyone doubt that, after hearing these splendid young people testify about how choice has changed their lives? Choice recognizes the principle that there is no one best way for all of us. It allows schools to excel at something special, rather than trying, and failing, to be all things to all people.”</p> <hr/> <p>I= predecessors removed the right of parental choice in education</p> <p>“For too long, I think, we were content as Americans to imagine that our nation and our society were so inherently strong and successful that they could continue to run on automatic pilot. The schools had done well and should continue to do well; we could turn our attention elsewhere. Well, if we were on automatic pilot in the past, we've learned we have to work the controls by ourselves every day. And that's why a choice in education is so important. Parents are at the controls.”</p>
<p>National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983). <i>A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform.</i></p>	<p>A= profound emphasis on stressing the need for more standards</p> <p>“We recommend that schools, colleges, and universities adopt more rigorous and measurable standards, and higher expectations, for academic performance and student conduct, and that 4-year colleges and universities raise their requirements for admission” (p. 27).</p> <p>A= push for New Basics</p> <p>“Whatever the student’s educational or work objectives, knowledge of the New Basics is the foundation of success for the after-school years and, therefore, forms the core of the modern curriculum” (p. 24).</p> <p>A=suggestion for new educational materials</p> <p>“New instructional materials should reflect the most current applications of technology in appropriate curriculum areas, the best scholarship in each discipline, and research in learning and teaching” (p. 29).</p> <hr/> <p>R= a connection between economic wellbeing and educational excellence</p> <p>“We do not believe that a public commitment to excellence and educational reform must be made at the expense of a strong public commitment to the equitable treatment of our diverse population. The twin goals of equity and</p>

high-quality schooling have profound and practical meaning for our economy and society, and we cannot permit one to yield to the other either in principle or in practice” (p. 13).

R= education requires the volunteer assistance of individuals and business

“It is our conviction that the essential raw materials needed to reform our educational system are waiting to be mobilized through effective leadership: ... the voluntary efforts of individuals, businesses, and parent and civic groups to cooperate in strengthening educational programs” (p. 15-16).

R= current education system is damaged and must be reformed

“Our present plight did not appear overnight, and the responsibility for our current situation is widespread. Reform of our educational system will take time and unwavering commitment. It will require equally widespread, energetic, and dedicated action” (p. 36).

I= stressing the student as an individual

“This promise means that all children by virtue of their own efforts, competently guided, can hope to attain the mature and informed judgment needed to secure gainful employment, and to manage their own lives, thereby serving not only their own interests but also the progress of society itself” (p. 8).

I= Local and State governments are primarily responsible for funding education

“State and local officials, including school board members, governors, and legislators, have *the primary responsibility* [text italics] for financings and governing the schools, and should incorporate the reforms we propose in their educational policies and fiscal planning” (p. 32).

I= Federal Government decides the national interest in education

“The Federal Government has *the primary responsibility* to identify the national interest in education” (p. 33).

I= predecessors have ruined the education system

“If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war. As it stands, we have allowed this to happen to

	<p>ourselves. We have even squandered the gains in student achievement made in the wake of the Sputnik challenge. Moreover, we have dismantled essential support systems which helped make those gains possible. We have, in effect, been committing an act of unthinking, unilateral educational disarmament” (p. 5).</p> <p>I= parents have the right to deem the education of their children</p> <p>“You have the right to demand for your children the best our schools and colleges can provide. Your vigilance and your refusal to be satisfied with less than the best are the imperative first step” (p. 35).</p>
<p>Task Force on Education for Economic Growth. (1983). <i>Action for Excellence: A Comprehensive Plan to Improve Our Nation’s Schools.</i></p>	<p>A= Recommends greater business involvement in education</p> <p>“This report calls for new alliances in America to create a new ethic of excellence in public education. We believe especially that businesses, in their role as employers, should be much more deeply involved in the process of setting goals for education in America and in helping our schools to reach these goals” (p. 3).</p> <p>A= more task forces should be formed</p> <p>“Each governor should appoint a broadly inclusive task force on education for economic growth” (p. 10).</p> <p>A= greater standardization</p> <p>“Student progress should be measured through periodic tests of general achievement and specific skills” (p. 11)</p> <p>A= greater accountability</p> <p>“States should set higher standards for recruiting, training and monitoring the performance of principals... Schools should use more effective management techniques” (p. 11).</p> <p>A= expand definition of basic skills</p> <p>“...our definition of basic skills must expand to include more of the skills that will be demanded in tomorrow’s technologically-sophisticated workplace” (p. 17).</p> <p>A= private sector should provide resources to schools</p> <p>“They [business leaders] must help marshal the resources needed to pay for quality education” (p. 35).</p> <hr/> <p>R= There is a correlation between educational effectiveness and business involvement in education will enhance economic performance</p> <p>“If the business community gets more involved in both the design and</p>

delivery of education, we are going to become more competitive as an economy” (p. 17).

R= private sector involvement in education improves education

“The question of whether the time and energy to develop partnerships is worth it to public schools or to the business community has become moot. It is working” (p. 29).

I= Private sector as improver of education and economy

“If the business community gets more involved in both the design and delivery of education, we are going to become more competitive as an economy” (p. 17).

Appendix C: Table of Major Governance Themes

Item of Discourse	Governance
Reagan, R. (1982). Proclamation 4892— National Consumers’ Week, 1982.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1983a). Proclamation 5016— National Consumers’ Week, 1983.	<p>“It is clear that the greatest fairness for consumers can be achieved through the active cooperation of business, government, and consumers themselves working to insure equity, increased competition, and safety in our free market economy.”</p> <p>This does not address how education should be governed specifically, but re-emphasises Reagan’s preference for the shared role of government, competition, business, and consumers. (Government; Private Sector; Competition; Choice)</p>
Reagan, R. (1983b). Proclamation 5112— National Year of Partnerships in Education 1983-1984.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1983c). Remarks at a white house ceremony marking the beginning of the national partnerships in education program.	<p>“But we all know there's much more to be done. Everyone must get involved. So, I'm directing the Federal Government to promote partnerships in education in every way that it can.”</p> <p>Collaboration across all strata is required to improve education (Collaboration)</p>
Reagan, R. (1983d). Radio address to the nation on education.	<p>“There are things the Federal Government can and must do to ensure educational excellence, but bigger budgets are not the answer. Federal spending increased seventeen-fold during the same 20 years that marked such a dramatic decline in quality. We will continue our firm commitment to support the education efforts of State and local governments, but the focus of our agenda is, as it must be, to restore parental choice and influence and to increase competition between schools.”</p> <p>State and local governments should have direction over education, however choice and competition are the ultimate forms of governance. (Choice; Competition)</p>
Reagan, R. (1984a).	“Recently, many schools have developed private sector partnerships in an

<p>Proclamation 5197—Year of Excellence in Education.</p>	<p>effort to broaden available resources and reach out to their communities for support. The private sector has much to offer the growing national movement to improve our education system”</p> <p>Reagan is encouraging an increased social relationship between the private sector, communities, and schools. (Private sector)</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1984b). Radio address to the nation on education.</p>	<p>“This entire reform movement proves how wrong the people are who always insist money is the only answer to the problems of our schools. Well, leaving aside the fact that the 20 years they kept shoveling money in was the same 20 years in which the schools deteriorated, I think it's fair to say they missed the essential point. Money was never the problem. Leadership was— leadership in getting the schools back to basic values, basic traditions, and basic good sense... With the leadership of plain American citizens, we're getting back on track.”</p> <p>Involvement of American citizens, not government. (Choice; Private Sector)</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1985a). Proclamation 5417— National Consumers Week, 1986.</p>	<p>“The regulatory reform of recent years is spawning innovation and reinvigorated competition; by opening new markets, it has resulted in even more choices for consumers.”</p> <p>Reagan later states, “This (competition) will enable them (consumers) to make wise choices whether they are shopping for food, shelter, clothing, transportation, recreation, health care, entertainment, and so on.” As he has included services such as health care, we can presume education would also fall under these categories. (Competition)</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1985b). Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Independent Schools.</p>	<p>“Now, our fifth and perhaps most important guidepost is parents. Parents care about their children's education with an intensity central authorities do not share. A widely respected educator, Dr. Eileen Gardner, has written: "The record shows that when control of education is placed in Federal hands it is not control by the people, but by small, yet powerful lobbies motivated by self-interest or dogma. When centralized in this way, it is beyond the control of the parents and local communities it is designed to serve. It becomes impervious to feedback... Well, the answer is to restore State and local governments and, above all, parents to their rightful place in the educational process. Parents know that they cannot educate their children on their own. We must recognize, in turn, that schools cannot educate students without the personal involvement of parents.”</p> <p>Federal involvement is intrusive and should be replaced with state and local governments, with an emphasis on parental choice. (Choice)</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1985c). Remarks at</p>	<p>“And then, you know what? He tried water on a board— [laughter] —and it sounded just like water on a board. [Laughter] Well, in a way, then, that's</p>

<p>the presentation ceremony for the “C” Flag Awards.</p>	<p>what all of you have done—the simple and obvious thing that somehow had been forgotten. You just went to people; you asked them to lend a hand. And you discovered that that's just the question they needed to hear. And because you did, you've helped change America.”</p> <p>Very evident antagonism between Federal government bureaucracy and American spirit (human cooperation, freedom). Cooperation between private sector and education is renewing education, while federal bureaucracy caused educational decline. (Private sector involvement)</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1987a). Proclamation 5737—National Community Education Day, 1987</p>	<p>“Parents and other citizens examine their schools and determine how they can contribute to learning. Businesses and industries become aware of what local educational institutions are offering students and consider how they can contribute their own resources and practical skills to enhance learning and provide educational opportunities for learners of all ages and educational backgrounds. Through outreach, receptiveness, and cooperation, our communities can and do become more firmly interwoven with our schools in a commitment to better education for all generations.”</p> <p>Reagan is reinforcing the social relationship between parental involvement, businesses, and schools. (Parents [choice]; Private Sector)</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1987b). Message to the congress on “A Quest for Excellence”</p>	<p>“In addition, our colleges and universities should adopt more rigorous standards and higher expectations for academic and student conduct.”</p> <p>School standardization should be further implemented into schools. (Standards)</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1988). 1988 Legislative and administrative message: a union of individuals.</p>	<p>“In addition to "back to basics" reforms, American education would benefit from greater parental involvement. In July 1987, as part of my Economic Bill of Rights, I stated that we must recognize the right of parents to have their children educated, publicly or privately, without unreasonable regulation or interference from State or Federal governments. To that end, I am establishing a working group in the Domestic Policy Council that will examine the parental role in education and make recommendations for strengthening parents' rights.”</p> <p>Parents should have ultimate say in education, without State or Federal interference (Choice)</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1989). Remarks at a briefing for the white house workshop on choice in</p>	<p>“And choice in education is the wave of the future because it represents a return to some of our most basic American values. Choice in education is no mere abstraction. Like its economic cousin, free enterprise, and its political cousin, democracy, it affords hope and opportunity. Can anyone doubt that, after hearing these splendid young people testify about how choice has changed their lives? Choice recognizes the principle that there is</p>

<p>education.</p>	<p>no one best way for all of us. It allows schools to excel at something special, rather than trying, and failing, to be all things to all people.”</p> <p>Choice requires diversity of schools, which implies that schools offer different programs/have different structures (etc.) Education should be structured upon the foundations of free enterprise and democracy (Competition; Choice)</p>
<p>National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983). <i>A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform.</i></p>	<p>“Standardization tests of achievement...should be administered at major transition points from one level of schooling to another and particularly from high school to college or work” (p. 28).</p> <p>There should be an increase of testing to ensure learning [Standardization]</p>
<p>Task Force on Education for Economic Growth. (1983). <i>Action for Excellence: A Comprehensive Plan to Improve Our Nation’s Schools.</i></p>	<p>“We recommend that boards of education and higher education in each state...put in place, as soon as possible, systems for fairly and objectively measuring the effectiveness of teachers and rewarding outstanding performance” (p. 39).</p> <p>Accountability measures to monitor teacher performance [Accountibility]</p> <p>“We recommend that fair and effective program be established to monitor student progress through periodic testing of general achievement and specific skills” (p. 39).</p> <p>Standardiation to measure student learning [Standardization]</p>

Appendix D: Table of Major Legitimation Themes

Item of Discourse	Legitimation
Reagan, R. (1982). Proclamation 4892— National Consumers’ Week, 1982.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1983a). Proclamation 5016— National Consumers’ Week, 1983.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1983b). Proclamation 5112— National Year of Partnerships in Education 1983-1984.	<p>Private sector involvement in education is necessary for American future</p> <p>“America's future is dependent upon the health and vitality of her education system... The private sector has much to offer the growing national movement to improve our education system.”</p>
Reagan, R. (1983c). Remarks at a white house ceremony marking the beginning of the national partnerships in education program.	<p>Predecessors failed in education and neoliberal reforms have been working</p> <p>“Between 1963 and 1980, Scholastic Aptitude Test scores were in a virtually unbroken decline.”</p>
Reagan, R. (1983d). Radio address to the nation on education.	<p>Predecessors failed in education</p> <p>“The study indicates the quality of learning in our classrooms has been declining for the last two decades—a fact which won't surprise many parents or the students educated during that period. Those were years when the Federal presence in education grew and grew. Parental control over local schools shrank. Bureaucracy ballooned until accountability seemed lost. Parents were frustrated and didn't know where to turn.”</p> <p>Choice is a right</p> <p>“Well, government seemed to forget that education begins in the home, where it's a parental right and responsibility.”</p>

	<p>Overly funding education has deteriorated education</p> <p>“There are things the Federal Government can and must do to ensure educational excellence, but bigger budgets are not the answer. Federal spending increased seventeen-fold during the same 20 years that marked such a dramatic decline in quality. We will continue our firm commitment to support the education efforts of State and local governments, but the focus of our agenda is, as it must be, to restore parental choice and influence and to increase competition between schools.”</p> <p>American future depends on reforming education</p> <p>“For the sake of all our children, our country, and our future, we must join together in a national campaign to restore excellence in American education.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1984a). Proclamation 5197—Year of Excellence in Education.</p>	<p>Future of America requires that more people become involved in helping education</p> <p>“America's future is dependent upon the health and vitality of her education system. Although thousands of businesses, industries, individuals, organizations, teachers, administrators, and government at all levels have been involved in the education of our youth, there is more work to be done. More people must become active in improving the quality of education in our Nation.”</p> <p>Education must be improved and private sector can help</p> <p>“The private sector has much to offer the growing national movement to improve our education system... In order to encourage this trend, I call upon businesses, organizations, individuals, and agencies to become involved with their local schools.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1984b). Radio address to the nation on education.</p>	<p>The new direction taken upon by Reagan is justified in that it is very different from his predecessors</p> <p>“This entire reform movement proves how wrong the people are who always insist money is the only answer to the problems of our schools. Well, leaving aside the fact that the 20 years they kept shovelling money in was the same 20 years in which the schools deteriorated, I think it's fair to say they missed the essential point. Money was never the problem. Leadership was— leadership in getting the schools back to basic values, basic traditions, and basic good sense.”</p> <p>Reforms mark a transition to the ‘right direction’</p>

	<p>“With the leadership of plain American citizens, we're getting back on track.”</p> <p>Glorifying past to validate reforms/Pursuing recreation of greatness</p> <p>“But we can be proud of the progress we're making. And I think this is only the first chapter of a marvellous story about how the people of America came together to recreate a school system that was once the envy of the world. Let's all write the next chapter together.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1985a). Proclamation 5417— National Consumers Week, 1986.</p>	<p>N/A</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1985b). Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Independent Schools.</p>	<p>Failure of predecessors</p> <p>“Well, from 1963 to 1980, scholastic aptitude test scores showed a virtually unbroken decline. Science achievement scores showed a similar drop. Most shocking, the report stated that more than one-tenth of our 17-year-olds could be considered functionally illiterate.”</p> <p>Reforms are working</p> <p>“When our administration began its first term in 1981, we had to clean up the mess we'd inherited. And today we're creating a new nation. Our economy is growing, our spirit is renewed, our country is stronger, and America is at peace.”</p> <p>Deregulation has helped teachers</p> <p>“We've rolled back regulations that were hampering educators with needless paperwork.”</p> <p>Failure of predecessors/Reduced funding is actually leaving states with a financial surplus</p> <p>“Under the previous administration, even though Federal education budgets soared, overall spending on education throughout America, adjusted for inflation, actually declined by \$17 billion, dragged down by the weakening economy. But with inflation down and the economy now growing again, education spending throughout the country, despite restraint at the Federal level, has actually gone up by almost \$18 billion. And today many States are running a surplus and are in a better position to help fund our public schools and universities.”</p> <p>Communities and schools benefit from controlled (reduced)</p>

	<p>government spending</p> <p>“From the State university that has new funds for research to the community that can afford a new school bus, economic growth is giving education throughout America a powerful lift. Continuing this economic growth will prove invaluable during the 4 years to come. And that's why we intend to provide more incentives, cut personal income tax rates further, and keep America the investment capital of the world. And that's why we can and must bring Federal spending under control.”</p> <p>Reduced funding to education is morally right</p> <p>“Our budget proposal is prudent; it's reasonable and just.”</p> <p>Parents have the right, not the federal government, to choose school/education</p> <p>“Well, the answer is to restore State and local governments and, above all, parents to their rightful place in the educational process.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1985c). Remarks at the presentation ceremony for the “C” Flag Awards.</p>	<p>Private sector involvement in education is needed because it embodies the essence of what it means to be American</p> <p>“Our country is great because it is built on principles of self-reliance, opportunity, innovation, and compassion for the others. Private sector initiatives embody this spirit and are a vital part of the Nation's character.”</p> <p>Private sector involvement in education is common sense</p> <p>“And then, you know what? He tried water on a board— [laughter] —and it sounded just like water on a board. [Laughter] Well, in a way, then, that's what all of you have done—the simple and obvious thing that somehow had been forgotten. You just went to people; you asked them to lend a hand. And you discovered that that's just the question they needed to hear. And because you did, you've helped change America.”</p> <p>Private sector involvement is a form of patriotism</p> <p>“I want to thank each of the winners for their enormous commitment and dedication and patriotism.”</p> <p>Education can only be restored if private sector becomes involved</p> <p>“The challenge is before us to make better use of all our resources. We can only do this by working together. No one sector can do it alone.”</p>

<p>Reagan, R. (1987a). Proclamation 5737— National Community Education Day, 1987</p>	<p>Education is a community project that requires that all members contribute towards</p> <p>“Public education is a community project, and the lifelong mission of education involves everyone in the community.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1987b). Message to the congress on “A Quest for Excellence”</p>	<p>Reforms will contribute to American greatness</p> <p>“To achieve this, I have asked all Americans to commence a new Quest for Excellence that will produce the third great American century. I said about America: her best days have just begun.”</p> <p>America’s international stature will remain self-perceivably negative if educational reforms are not implemented</p> <p>“The National Commission on Excellence in Education concluded in its report, A Nation at Risk, that "our once unchallenged pre-eminence in commerce, industry, science, and technological innovation is being overtaken by competitors throughout the world...If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war.” Much progress has been made since the Commission's report, but much remains to be done.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1988). 1988 Legislative and administrative message: a union of individuals.</p>	<p>The reforms mark a return to American tradition/fundamentals</p> <p>“In the past 7 years, our Administration has worked to restore a vision of government that was the Founders' own—a vision of a free and self-reliant people, taking responsibility for its own welfare and progress through such time-tested means as individual initiative, neighbourhood and community cooperation, and local and State self-government. The return of responsibility and authority to the individual American is now leading to a virtual renaissance in America of liberty, productivity, prosperity, and self-esteem.”</p> <p>Parents have the ultimate right to choose schools/education. Government interference is unreasonable/infringing</p> <p>“In July 1987, as part of my Economic Bill of Rights, I stated that we must recognize the right of parents to have their children educated, publicly or privately, without unreasonable regulation or interference from State or Federal governments.”</p>

	<p>Choice helps children succeed</p> <p>“Study after study has found that when parents have a say and are involved in their children's education, the children do better in school.”</p> <p>Choice in education is democratic</p> <p>“Polls show that millions of Americans would like, but do not have, the ability of choosing the education program and institution that is best for their children.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1989). Remarks at a briefing for the white house workshop on choice in education.</p>	<p>Reforms adhere to values of the Founding Fathers, while also securing the future of American prosperity</p> <p>“The Framers proscribed both as inconsistent with limited, constitutional government. Thanks in large measure to their wisdom, America has enjoyed the blessings of liberty for two centuries. It is my belief that the policies presented in this message will contribute to the continuing restoration of the Federal government to a sound constitutional footing and thus preserve these same blessings for our posterity in the 21st century.”</p>
<p>National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983). <i>A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform.</i></p>	<p>The strategies of predecessors has damaged education</p> <p>“If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war. As it stands, we have allowed this to happen to ourselves. We have even squandered the gains in student achievement made in the wake of the Sputnik challenge. Moreover, we have dismantled essential support systems which helped make those gains possible. We have, in effect, been committing an act of unthinking, unilateral educational disarmament” (p. 5).</p>
<p>Task Force on Education for Economic Growth. (1983). <i>Action for Excellence: A Comprehensive Plan to Improve Our Nation's Schools.</i></p>	<p>Business involvement in education will improve economy</p> <p>“If the business community gets more involved in both the design and delivery of education, we are going to become more competitive as an economy” (p. 17).</p>

Appendix E: Table Showing Uses of Authorization

Item of Discourse	Appeal to Sensibilities of Tradition (Authorization)
Reagan, R. (1982). Proclamation 4892— National Consumers’ Week, 1982.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1983a). Proclamation 5016— National Consumers’ Week, 1983.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1983b). Proclamation 5112— National Year of Partnerships in Education 1983-1984.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1983c). Remarks at a white house ceremony marking the beginning of the national partnerships in education program.	“America's always had a love affair with learning. From polished men of letters like Thomas Jefferson to humble self-taught people like Abe Lincoln and from inventors like Thomas Edison to visionaries like Martin Luther King, Americans have put their faith in the power of education to enrich lives and to make our nation strong. We see the evidence of this in many fine schools, like Congress Heights, with thousands of dedicated superintendents, principals, and teachers. But we also face tremendous problems.”
Reagan, R. (1983d). Radio address to the nation on education.	For the sake of all our children, our country, and our future, we must join together in a national campaign to restore excellence in American education. At home, in school, in State government, and at the Federal level, we must make sure we have put our children first and that their education is a top priority. "Train up a child in the way he should go," Solomon wrote, "and when he is old he will not depart from it." Well, that's the God-given responsibility of each parent and the trust of every child. It is a compact between generations we must be sure to keep.
Reagan, R. (1984a). Proclamation 5197—Year of Excellence in Education.	“As a free and democratic people, we depend on the sound judgment of our fellow citizens. Quality education contributes in a major way to that judgment. There are few more important issues before us, for, as Thomas Jefferson once wrote: "I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them but to inform their discretion.”

Reagan, R. (1984b). Radio address to the nation on education.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1985a). Proclamation 5417— National Consumers Week, 1986.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1985b). Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Independent Schools.	“In this work, Mark Twain presents the humor, the openness, and purity of hearts so characteristic of the American spirit. I believe the book says much about the moral aims of education, about the qualities of heart that we seek to impart to our children... Well, in the decades to come, may our schools give to our children the skills to navigate through life as gracefully as Huck navigated the Mississippi.”
Reagan, R. (1985c). Remarks at the presentation ceremony for the “C” Flag Awards.	“Some of you've heard me talk about de Tocqueville's reflections on 19th century America and his astonishment at the extent to which Americans made their society work—not by relying on government but by helping each other. You all know that this tradition—one of the driving engines of social progress in our country—was in serious jeopardy some years ago when the idea took hold that the only way to handle a social problem was a huge new Federal spending program, an army of functionaries and consultants to administer it... And it was very successful for the bureaucrats. Government bureaucracy reached gargantuan size. And because nothing stifles initiative and imagination like bureaucracy, America's self-help tradition lost much of its force and energy... But any modern-day de Tocqueville looking over America would see a return now to that tradition and a revival of the idea, which all of you embody, that compassion with ingenuity works, that the American people are anxious and ready to help each other. They just need to be asked.”
Reagan, R. (1987a). Proclamation 5737— National Community Education Day, 1987	N/A
Reagan, R. (1987b). Message to the congress on “A Quest for	N/A

<p>Excellence”</p>	
<p>Reagan, R. (1988). 1988 Legislative and administrati ve message: a union of individuals.</p>	<p>“In one sentence of 52 words, the Framers of our Constitution announced the proper ends of government in a free society:</p> <p>"We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." ... The six purposes listed in the Preamble for establishing the Constitution serve as a lasting measure of the legitimate role of government. An American President has no more sacred duty than to ensure that the government stays within the constitutional limits that protect individual liberty. In assessing this Administration's policies and proposals now and for the future, the fundamental blueprint remains the Preamble of the Constitution...In the past 7 years, our Administration has worked to restore a vision of government that was the Founders' own—a vision of a free and self-reliant people, taking responsibility for its own welfare and progress through such time-tested means as individual initiative, neighborhood and community cooperation, and local and State self-government. The return of responsibility and authority to the individual American is now leading to a virtual renaissance in America of liberty, productivity, prosperity, and self-esteem.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1989). Remarks at a briefing for the white house workshop on choice in education.</p>	<p>“All Americans can consider the particular triumph of those who have immigrated to our shores from scores of lands, scores of cultures, speaking a hundred different tongues. The struggle to make their way in a country whose language they didn't speak was a hard one, and almost every sociological study of American immigrants tells the same story: those that did best economically are those whose passion for education drove them and their children. The—I get tangled up in my bandage every once in a while here— [laughter] —but as I say, drove them and their children, and that meant paying attention. It meant making sure homework was done, report cards were signed, and that their children were always challenged and never bored. In this way, they knew, their children would make it as Americans...For too long, I think, we were content as Americans to imagine that our nation and our society were so inherently strong and successful that they could continue to run on automatic pilot. The schools had done well and should continue to do well; we could turn our attention elsewhere. Well, if we were on automatic pilot in the past, we've learned we have to work the controls by ourselves every day. And that's why a choice in education is so important. Parents are at the controls.”</p>
<p>National Commission on Excellence</p>	<p>“Education helps form these common understandings, a point Thomas Jefferson made long ago in his justly famous dictum: “I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves;</p>

<p>in Education. (1983). <i>A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform.</i></p>	<p>and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them but to inform their discretion” (p. 7).</p>
<p>Task Force on Education for Economic Growth. (1983). <i>Action for Excellence: A Comprehensive Plan to Improve Our Nation’s Schools.</i></p>	<p>“Tocqueville shrewdly senses that this unlettered sailor, with his ebullient faith in progress, spoke for America. And surely Tocqueville was right: a cheerful belief in change and progress has been a marked trait of Americans through most of our history. We Americans, moreover, have not only believed progress to be inevitable, we have embraced it: for we have taken for granted that our country would always be in the very vanguard of change” (p. 13).</p>

Appendix F: Table Showing Perception of Education Undergoing a Renewal

Item of Discourse	Education Undergoing Renewal
Reagan, R. (1982). Proclamation 4892— National Consumers’ Week, 1982.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1983a). Proclamation 5016— National Consumers’ Week, 1983.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1983b). Proclamation 5112— National Year of Partnerships in Education 1983-1984.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1983c). Remarks at a white house ceremony marking the beginning of the national partnerships in education program.	“To quote Secretary Bell: "What's going on now represents the greatest, most far-reaching, and most promising reform and renewal of education since the turn of the century." One aspect of this great renewal is the reason we're gathered here today.”
Reagan, R. (1983d). Radio address to the nation on education.	“I think most parents agree it's time to change course. We must move education forward again, with common sense as our guide. We must put the basics back in the schools and the parents back in charge.”
Reagan, R. (1984a). Proclamation 5197—Year of Excellence in Education.	“The report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education and a number of other studies urgently advocate a national effort to revitalize teaching and learning in the 15,800 local school districts and thousands of private schools in our land.”
Reagan, R. (1984b). Radio address to the nation	“Just seeing their proud faces spoke a world of words about the importance of education to our country's future and the spirit of renewal that's underway.”

on education.	
Reagan, R. (1985a). Proclamation 5417—National Consumers Week, 1986.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1985b). Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Independent Schools.	“Choice, teachers, curriculum, setting, parents—if we concentrate on these five guideposts, then I know American education will enjoy a great renaissance of excellence and enable us to achieve new strength, freedom, and prosperity in the century to come.”
Reagan, R. (1985c). Remarks at the presentation ceremony for the “C” Flag Awards.	“You have helped renew and enrich America by awakening one of her oldest and most noble traditions.”
Reagan, R. (1987a). Proclamation 5737—National Community Education Day, 1987	N/A
Reagan, R. (1987b). Message to the congress on “A Quest for Excellence”	“Tonight, I have come personally before the Congress to report on the State of our Union and outline how we can meet the goal of renewing the American spirit—a spirit of excellence.”
Reagan, R. (1988). 1988 Legislative and administrative message: a union of individuals.	“We have sought to revitalize the principle of federalism by reforming the institutional processes of the national government.”
Reagan, R. (1989). Remarks at a briefing	“And choice in education is the wave of the future because it represents a return to some of our most basic American values.”

<p>for the white house workshop on choice in education.</p>	
<p>National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983). <i>A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform.</i></p>	<p>“This report, the result of 18 months of study, seeks to generate reform of our educational system in fundamental ways and to renew the Nation's commitment to schools and colleges of high quality throughout the length and breadth of our land” (p. 6).</p>
<p>Task Force on Education for Economic Growth. (1983). <i>Action for Excellence: A Comprehensive Plan to Improve Our Nation's Schools.</i></p>	<p>“There are few national efforts that can legitimately be called crucial to our national survival. Improving education in America—improving it sufficiently and improving it now—is such an effort” (p. 3)</p> <p>Not about education in renewal, but implies that adopting the recommendation in the text will rescue education (and America itself)</p>

Appendix G: Table Showing One Example Per Document that Differentiates Education Between Reagan and his Predecessors

Item of Discourse	Differentiating Education Between Reagan and his Predecessors
Reagan, R. (1982). Proclamation 4892— National Consumers’ Week, 1982.	“Too much government regulation, however, simply adds to the costs to business and consumers alike without commensurate benefits. We are striving to correct excesses, at the same time recognizing that informed and educated consumers are our best hope for prosperity, efficiency, and integrity in the marketplace”
Reagan, R. (1983a). Proclamation 5016— National Consumers’ Week, 1983.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1983b). Proclamation 5112— National Year of Partnerships in Education 1983-1984.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1983c). Remarks at a white house ceremony marking the beginning of the national partnerships in education program.	“One of our administration's first priorities was to establish a National Commission on Excellence in Education. And we asked it to help us chart a new course that would permit us to correct the mistakes of the past.”
Reagan, R. (1983d). Radio address to the nation on education.	“For too many years, people here in Washington acted like your families wishes were only getting in the way. We’ve seen what that “Washington knows best” attitude has wrought.”
Reagan, R. (1984a). Proclamation 5197—Year of Excellence in Education.	“Every child is a precious resource whose potential should be realized to the fullest. Only informed citizens can preserve our priceless legacy of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law...Our modern technological society is imposing new demands on schools. The report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education and a number of other studies urgently advocate a national effort to revitalize teaching and learning in the 15,800 local school districts and thousands of private schools in our land.”

Reagan, R. (1984b). Radio address to the nation on education.	“This entire reform movement proves how wrong the people are who always insist money is the only answer to the problems of our schools. Well, leaving aside the fact that the 20 years they kept shovelling money in was the same 20 years in which the schools deteriorated, I think it's fair to say they missed the essential point. Money was never the problem. Leadership was— leadership in getting the schools back to basic values, basic traditions, and basic good sense.”
Reagan, R. (1985a). Proclamation 5417— National Consumers Week, 1986.	“The regulatory reform of recent years is spawning innovation and reinvigorated competition; by opening new markets, it has resulted in even more choices for consumers.”
Reagan, R. (1985b). Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Independent Schools.	“When our administration began its first term in 1981, we had to clean up the mess we'd inherited. And today we're creating a new nation. Our economy is growing, our spirit is renewed, our country is stronger, and America is at peace.”
Reagan, R. (1985c). Remarks at the presentation ceremony for the “C” Flag Awards.	“Some of you've heard me talk about de Tocqueville's reflections on 19th century America and his astonishment at the extent to which Americans made their society work—not by relying on government but by helping each other. You all know that this tradition—one of the driving engines of social progress in our country—was in serious jeopardy some years ago when the idea took hold that the only way to handle a social problem was a huge new Federal spending program, an army of functionaries and consultants to administer it...And it was very successful for the bureaucrats. Government bureaucracy reached gargantuan size. And because nothing stifles initiative and imagination like bureaucracy, America's self-help tradition lost much of its force and energy...But any modern-day de Tocqueville looking over America would see a return now to that tradition and a revival of the idea, which all of you embody, that compassion with ingenuity works, that the American people are anxious and ready to help each other. They just need to be asked.”
Reagan, R. (1987a). Proclamation 5737— National Community Education Day, 1987	N/A

Reagan, R. (1987b). Message to the congress on “A Quest for Excellence”	“For too many years our Federal welfare policies have assumed that all of the answers could come from experts in Washington, D.C. Those policies have had 20 years to work and have failed.”
Reagan, R. (1988). 1988 Legislative and administrative message: a union of individuals.	“In 1981, however, our educational system was suffering from a 20-year decline in academic achievement. Yet spending per pupil had nearly doubled since 1970, and Federal spending for education had increased over 3,000 percent since 1960. It has now risen to more than \$20 billion. But while funding is very important, money without genuine commitment does not lead to educational excellence.”
Reagan, R. (1989). Remarks at a briefing for the white house workshop on choice in education.	“For too long, I think, we were content as Americans to imagine that our nation and our society were so inherently strong and successful that they could continue to run on automatic pilot. The schools had done well and should continue to do well; we could turn our attention elsewhere. Well, if we were on automatic pilot in the past, we've learned we have to work the controls by ourselves every day. And that's why a choice in education is so important. Parents are at the controls.”
National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983). <i>A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform.</i>	“Moreover, we have dismantled essential support systems which helped make those gains possible. We have, in effect, been committing an act of unthinkable, unilateral educational disarmament” (p. 5).
Task Force on Education for Economic Growth. (1983). <i>Action for Excellence: A Comprehensive Plan to Improve Our Nation's Schools.</i>	“It's time to stop building barriers between education and labor and business and start building bridges” (p. 46)

Appendix H: Table Showing One Example Per Document of Role of Private Sector Involvement in Education

Item of Discourse	Private Sector Involvement in Education
Reagan, R. (1982). Proclamation 4892— National Consumers’ Week, 1982.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1983a). Proclamation 5016— National Consumers’ Week, 1983.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1983b). Proclamation 5112— National Year of Partnerships in Education 1983-1984.	“America's future is dependent upon the health and vitality of her education system. Although thousands of businesses, industries, individuals, organizations, teachers, administrators, and government at all levels have been involved in the education of our youth, there is more work to be done. More people must become active in improving the quality of education in our Nation.”
Reagan, R. (1983c). Remarks at a White House ceremony marking the beginning of the national partnerships in education program.	“But let's remember, all those partnerships already established still involve only a few thousand American schools out of a total of some 110,000. So, today I'm issuing a challenge to America to ensure our children get the education they deserve. Let us resolve that every one of our country's public, private, and parochial schools and community colleges—all 110,000 of them—will have formed a partnership in education. The goal is lofty, but well within the reach of the Nation that can send men to the Moon.”
Reagan, R. (1983d). Radio address to the nation on education.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1984a). Proclamation 5197—Year of Excellence in Education.	“Parental and community involvement must be enlarged, and there must be greater participation by business, industries, and individuals. One way to facilitate the involvement of the private sector is to widen the Adopt-a-School and partnership programs that seek to link a company or companies to an individual school... This same report stated that the declining educational achievement of our schools had left America "a nation at risk." It went on to emphasize that our determination to address this challenge successfully would determine whether America's place in the world will be

	secured or forfeited. As a free and democratic people, we depend on the sound judgment of our fellow citizens. Quality education contributes in a major way to that judgment. There are few more important issues before us, for, as Thomas Jefferson once wrote: "I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them but to inform their discretion."
Reagan, R. (1984b). Radio address to the nation on education.	"The private sector, too, is playing a big part in the reforms. Local businesses are adopting local schools, sending in their executives and employees to work with students and teachers to make education more exciting and more pertinent to the 1980's."
Reagan, R. (1985a). Proclamation 5417— National Consumers Week, 1986.	"Businesses and industries become aware of what local educational institutions are offering students and consider how they can contribute their own resources and practical skills to enhance learning and provide educational opportunities for learners of all ages and educational backgrounds."
Reagan, R. (1985b). Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Independent Schools.	"I should add that one of the most effective Federal actions has been the growth of the economy, that I mentioned a moment ago...Private contributions to schools, especially colleges and universities, are up. Indeed, in 1983 the colleges and universities that responded to a survey conducted by the Council for Financial Aid to Education reported endowments totaling some \$29.6 billion, the largest 1-year figure since the council began conducting its surveys in 1966...Under the previous administration, even though Federal education budgets soared, overall spending on education throughout America, adjusted for inflation, actually declined by \$17 billion, dragged down by the weakening economy."
Reagan, R. (1985c). Remarks at the presentation ceremony for the "C" Flag Awards.	"Our country is great because it is built on principles of self-reliance, opportunity, innovation, and compassion for the others. Private sector initiatives embody this spirit and are a vital part of the Nation's character."
Reagan, R. (1987a). Proclamation 5737— National Community Education Day, 1987	"Businesses and industries become aware of what local educational institutions are offering students and consider how they can contribute their own resources and practical skills to enhance learning and provide educational opportunities for learners of all ages and educational backgrounds. Through outreach, receptiveness, and cooperation, our communities can and do become more firmly interwoven with our schools in a commitment to better education for all generations."
Reagan, R. (1987b).	"In the past 6 years, my Administration has worked to inspire private

<p>Message to the congress on “A Quest for Excellence”</p>	<p>individuals and companies to play a more active role in their communities. We will continue this successful effort, which is now being copied around the world. If individuals and community groups take more responsibility for public affairs, we are less likely as a Nation to cede our freedom and opportunity to the Federal government.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1988). 1988 Legislative and administrative message: a union of individuals.</p>	<p>“When I became President, one of my earliest priorities was to try to re-establish the proper relationship between the Federal government (which had grown much too large and too powerful) and the State and local governments; and between government and the private sector. In 1981, through our federalism and deregulation initiatives, we placed greater responsibility at the State and local level and in the private sector. We are continuing those efforts.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1989). Remarks at a briefing for the white house workshop on choice in education.</p>	<p>N/A</p>
<p>National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983). <i>A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform.</i></p>	<p>“It is our conviction that the essential raw materials needed to reform our educational system are waiting to be mobilized through effective leadership: the voluntary efforts of individuals, businesses, and parent and civic groups to cooperate in strengthening educational programs” (p. 15-16).</p>
<p>Task Force on Education for Economic Growth. (1983). <i>Action for Excellence: A Comprehensive Plan to Improve Our Nation’s Schools.</i></p>	<p>“If the business community gets more involved in both the design and delivery of education, we are going to become more competitive as an economy” (p. 17).</p>

Appendix I: Table Showing One Example Per Document of Competition and Choice in Education

Item of Discourse	Choice and Competition
Reagan, R. (1982). Proclamation 4892— National Consumers’ Week, 1982.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1983a). Proclamation 5016— National Consumers’ Week, 1983.	“Everyone is a consumer, but too often this role is the most neglected in terms of preparation and training. In our complex market economy major decisions have to be made about living within our means; protecting our futures through insurance, pension plans, and investments; choosing goods and services from our global marketplace; and voting on issues directly affecting our public and private consumption. Because consumer and economic education can contribute immeasurably to our competence as consumers and citizens, it should be started in the schools at the earliest possible time.”
Reagan, R. (1983b). Proclamation 5112— National Year of Partnerships in Education 1983-1984.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1983c). Remarks at a white house ceremony marking the beginning of the national partnerships in education program.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1983d). Radio address to the nation on education.	“We will continue our firm commitment to support the education efforts of State and local governments, but the focus of our agenda is, as it must be, to restore parental choice and influence and to increase competition between schools.”
Reagan, R. (1984a). Proclamation 5197—Year of Excellence in Education.	“Parental and community involvement must be enlarged, and there must be greater participation by business, industries, and individuals.”

Reagan, R. (1984b). Radio address to the nation on education.	“Parents and teachers got together, marshalled their resources, and began to turn the situation around. So now, one year later, we can report that together we have met the rising tide of mediocrity with a tidal wave of school reforms.”
Reagan, R. (1985a). Proclamation 5417— National Consumers Week, 1986.	“Indeed, American businessmen and women are becoming aware that the broadened competition of a global marketplace necessitates attention to quality if they are to succeed. They must do more than just build better products -- they must strive to improve marketing, sales, warranties, and service. Quality demands efficient management, productive use of human resources, and responsiveness to consumer needs and preferences.”
Reagan, R. (1985b). Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Independent Schools.	“The first [“guidepost”], choice: Parents should have greater freedom to send their children to the schools they desire and to do so without interference by local, State, or Federal levels of government. Diversity and competition among schools should be encouraged, not discouraged.”
Reagan, R. (1985c). Remarks at the presentation ceremony for the “C” Flag Awards.	N/A
Reagan, R. (1987a). Proclamation 5737— National Community Education Day, 1987	“National Community Education Day reminds us that schools and colleges are institutions strongly woven into the fabric of our cities and towns and that they should command the sustained interest of the citizenry. Public education is a community project, and the lifelong mission of education involves everyone in the community...Many areas do use community resources in education. Parents and other citizens examine their schools and determine how they can contribute to learning.”
Reagan, R. (1987b). Message to the congress on “A Quest for Excellence”	“America's competitiveness in world markets is critical to maintaining and expanding our standard of living and the national security. I have established a national goal of assuring American competitive pre-eminence into the 21st century. Achieving that goal is the responsibility of all Americans.”
Reagan, R. (1988). 1988 Legislative	“Improving choice in education continues to be an important goal of this Administration. Study after study has found that when parents have a say and are involved in their children's education, the children do better in

<p>and administrative message: a union of individuals.</p>	<p>school. For example, the Congress should authorize a program of giving parents a choice of schools when providing Federal funds to benefit students.”</p>
<p>Reagan, R. (1989). Remarks at a briefing for the white house workshop on choice in education.</p>	<p>“And choice in education is the wave of the future because it represents a return to some of our most basic American values. Choice in education is no mere abstraction. Like its economic cousin, free enterprise, and its political cousin, democracy, it affords hope and opportunity. Can anyone doubt that, after hearing these splendid young people testify about how choice has changed their lives? Choice recognizes the principle that there is no one best way for all of us. It allows schools to excel at something special, rather than trying, and failing, to be all things to all people.”</p>
<p>National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983). <i>A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform.</i></p>	<p>“These raw materials, combined with the unparalleled array of educational organizations in America, offer us the possibility to create a Learning Society, in which public, private, and parochial schools; colleges and universities; vocational and technical schools and institutes; libraries; science centers, museums, and other cultural institutions; and corporate training and retraining programs offer opportunities and choices for all to learn throughout life” (p. 16).</p>
<p>Task Force on Education for Economic Growth. (1983). <i>Action for Excellence: A Comprehensive Plan to Improve Our Nation’s Schools.</i></p>	<p>“The implications for educational policy then, are clear: our commitment to democratic values, to free individual choice and to equality of opportunity forbid us to establish an educational caste system” (p. 17).</p>