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Revija za teorijo in raziskave vzgoje in izobraževanja

Šolsko polje

The Language
of Neoliberal Education

ed. Mitja Sardoč

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Šolsko polje je mednarodna revija za teorijo ter raziskave vzgoje in izobraževanja z mednarodnim uredniškim odborom. Objavlja znanstvene in strokovne članke s širšega področja vzgoje in izobraževanja ter edukacijskih raziskav (filozofija vzgoje, sociologija izobraževanja, uporabna epistemologija, razvojna psihologija, pedagogika, andragogika, pedagoška metodologija itd.), pregledne članke z omenjenih področij ter recenzije tako domačih kot tujih monografij s področja vzgoje in izobraževanja. Revija izhaja trikrat letno. Izdaja jo *Slovensko društvo raziskovalcev šolskega polja*. Poglavitni namen revije je prispevati k razvoju edukacijskih ved in interdisciplinarnemu pristopu k teoretičnim in praktičnim vprašanjem vzgoje in izobraževanja. V tem okviru revija posebno pozornost namenja razvijanju slovenske znanstvene in strokovne terminologije ter konceptov na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja ter raziskovalnim paradigmam s področja edukacijskih raziskav v okviru družboslovno-humanističnih ved.

Uredništvo: Valerija Vendramin, Zdenko Kodelja, Darko Štrajn, Alenka Gril, Igor Ž. Žagar, Eva Klemenčič in Mitja Sardoč (vsi: Pedagoški inštitut, Ljubljana)

Glavni urednik: Marjan Šimenc (Pedagoški inštitut, Ljubljana)

Odgovorni urednik: Mitja Sardoč (Pedagoški inštitut, Ljubljana)

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Lektor (slovenski jezik, tehnični urednik, oblikovanje in prelom): Jonatan Vinkler

Lektor (angleški jezik): Jason Brendon Batson

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Resisting the Iron Cage of ‘the Student Experience’

Sarah Hayes
Petar Jandrić

As higher education (HE) has come to be valued for its contribution to the global economy, priorities have been placed on study for a degree to directly meet the needs of industry (Hayes, 2015: p. 125). Furthermore, in UK policy, students have been defined as ‘customers’ by the government since the introduction of tuition fees (Dearing, 1997; Browne, 2010). Together, these developments have emphasized the role of a degree as a consumer ‘product’, purchased to secure future employment (Peters, Jandrić and Hayes, 2018a), rather than an experiential learning ‘process’, that continues well beyond student life (Hayes, 2015 : p. 130). We examine how the student-as-consumer approach in HE policy has recently developed into a strong rhetoric emphasizing ‘the student experience’ as a package, including leisure, well-being, future employment and other ‘extras’. This could be perceived as positive, where all elements of student life are acknowledged. Alternatively, policy discourse concerning ‘the student experience’ could also be critiqued as a concept that now transcends the notion of a degree as a utilitarian product. A disturbing impression is then generated, where universities are now delivering a packaged experience of ‘consumption itself’, to students (Argenton, 2015: p. 921). What students would individually experience, such as a ‘sense of belonging and pride in the university’, is delivered to students, not developed by them. To examine such concerns more closely, we analyse a sample of 20 UK university ‘student experience’ strategies, via a corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Drawing on themes from these texts, we question who ‘the student experience’ rhetoric really benefits? If a rationalized experience is constructed on behalf of students, then universities as ‘cathedrals

of consumption' (Ritzer, 2010) align themselves with any other provider of consumer experiences, where the 'production' of academic life has all been taken care of. In such a discourse, students are not necessarily conceptualized as empowered consumers either (Brooks, 2017) but trapped instead within an 'iron cage', even before they set foot in the workplace. Yet, despite a distorted picture that neoliberal HE policy discourse may portray, a postdigital understanding of 'the student experience' could yet offer helpful insights into possible routes of resistance.

Introduction

The 'student-as-consumer' approach in HE policy has been critically examined by a multitude of authors in the last two decades (Driscoll and Wicks, 1998; Clarke, Newman, Smith, Vidler, and Westmarland, 2007; Molesworth, Nixon, and Scullion, 2009; Brooks, 2017; Bunce, Baird and Jones, 2017; Peters, Jandrić and Hayes, 2018; Hayes, 2018a; Hayes, forthcoming, 2019). Students were described as 'customers' in *Higher Education in the Learning Society* (Dearing 1997) and since then, higher education institutions (HEIs) 'have increasingly had to operate under forces of marketisation which demand competitiveness, efficiency and consumer satisfaction' (Bunce, Baird and Jones, 2017: p. 1958). To place these developments within a broader context of 'neoliberalism', authors have suggested that this manifests as 'a specific economic discourse or philosophy which has become dominant and effective in world economic relations as a consequence of super-power sponsorship' (Olssen and Peters, 2005: p. 314). Whilst at an economic level, neoliberalism is linked to globalization, 'it is a particular element of globalization, in that it constitutes the form through which domestic and global economic relations are structured'. (Olssen and Peters, 2005: p. 314). It should therefore be understood as 'a politically imposed discourse' (Olssen and Peters, 2005: p. 314).

The rhetoric that accompanies neoliberalism in HE tends to comprise 'common sense' but powerful forms of reasoning. It has been described by some as the language of 'new capitalism', which is characterized 'by a 'restructuring' of the relations between the economic, political and social (Jessop, 2000; Fairclough, 2000; Simpson and Mayr, 2010). This term is helpful in the word 'new' because it demonstrates that significant changes have taken place in our language, in order to accommodate new corporate policies within UK HEIs (Hayes, 2019 forthcoming). This means that alternative values can become hushed, along with other ways of organising academic labour (Couldry, 2010: p. 12). Indeed, a neoliberal agenda in HEIs has been supported for some time now by commodified forms of language referred to as buzz phrases (Mautner, 2005; Feek, 2010;

Gibbs, 2014; Scott, 2014). In previous studies, it has been pointed out that buzz phrases do not 'act alone' so to speak. The linguistic arrangement of words around buzz phrases is also significant, as it is often inferred in policy statements that these socially constructed phrases enact academic labour, rather than human beings themselves (Hayes and Jandrić, 2014; Hayes and Bartholomew, 2015; Hayes, 2016; Hayes, 2018a; Hayes, forthcoming, 2019). What this means in practice is that it is not at all unusual now to find functions related to teaching and learning discussed in policy as if these were detached marketable entities, rather than the processes of human academic labour (Hayes, forthcoming, 2019). However, this is also a discourse that no longer resides within policy documents alone, but is amplified across media channels and digital fora, via processes that might be considered complex and cumulative in a postdigital society (Jandrić, Knox, Besley, Ryberg, Suoranta and Hayes, 2018).

These concerns have become enmeshed with the 'student-as-consumer' arguments that now include pressure on HEIs to demonstrate 'value for money' (Dickinson, 2018) in exchange for student fees. Though important, this logic can also become skewed. The press may focus on generalized impressions of students as complaining customers receiving a bad deal, whilst institutions may look to address a perceived under performance by academics. Yet the reasoning that students are part of a culture where they simply seek to 'have a degree' rather than 'be learners' (Molesworth, Nixon, and Scullion, 2009) is far from proven. Some authors suggest there is a lack of empirical evidence about the extent to which students express a consumer orientation alone, and that where they do, this approach is often detrimental to their academic performance (Bunce, Baird and Jones, 2017: p. 1958). A more recent development still is the expansion of the neoliberal vocabulary and buzz phrases described above to incorporate a range of egalitarian ideas, including fairness, justice, equality of opportunity, diversity and well-being. This has recently developed into a strong rhetoric that emphasizes 'the student experience' as a package, including leisure, well-being, opportunity, future employment and other 'extras'. For example:

Our commitment extends well beyond the student learning experience to embrace all aspects of a student's time at Newcastle (Learning, Teaching and Student Experience Strategy, Newcastle University).

An initial question comes to mind: *but should it?* Should universities 'realign their strategies based on changing government policies and pressures from the external operating environment' (Shah and Richardson, 2016: p. 352) to extend beyond learning experiences? If they do make such

fundamental changes, then it is also worth questioning: *who these changes are for?* Furthermore, we could ask: *does this change of policy alter what higher education is?* Before we know it, ‘a packaged experience of consumption itself’ (Argenton, 2015: p. 921) could be what is delivered to students by universities as a product that their fees have purchased. Yet the many important topics that now reside under ‘the student experience’ cannot simply be applied to students in equal measures, when students themselves arrive from different backgrounds, life experiences, levels of ability and resilience.

In this article, we examine firstly some parallels between the ‘experience economy’ (Pine and Gilmore, 1999, Argenton, 2015: p. 922) and the discourse of ‘the student experience’ in HE policy. Just as research on consumer behavior has revealed a shift from consumption as a utilitarian function, to a more experiential emphasis (Holbrook & Hirschman, 1982), we note the way that extended patterns of consumption based around a ‘student experience economy’ have emerged in universities. We suggest that whilst prior concerns about commodified forms of language and buzz phrases in HEIs remains an issue, ‘the student experience’ discourse risks trapping students within ‘an iron cage of control’ (Weber, 1905/1958), as their experiences have become packaged for them into commodities. The human autonomy associated with personal and academic forms of experience are at risk if the only design available has been mass produced for students. Furthermore, in postdigital society, this entrapment within a neoliberal product is not pure bureaucracy. It may take the form of a ‘velvet cage’ (Ritzer, 2011), as it is delivered seamlessly back and forth between digital and physical sites of production and consumption, at the hands of human and non-human technologies. Here the labour of students themselves furthers ‘the student experience’ commodity. Students provide financially unrewarded labour yielding rich information by completing surveys and providing opinions, thus acting as ‘prosumers’ (Ritzer, 2015) manipulated by neoliberalism in HE.

Therefore, to better understand how ‘the student experience’ is constructed linguistically in policy (and how it might be otherwise...), we present some example extracts from a sample of 20 UK university student experience strategies we analysed, via a corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). We then discuss these findings and we consider what it means to package human senses, experience and culture into ‘the student experience’. On the one hand, it could be argued that this places students within a form of ‘iron cage’ where universities appear to be packaging experience itself for students. Yet, given the complexities of a postdigital society, this may be more of a ‘velvet cage’, where students and student

unions are co-creating 'the student experience' with institutions. Either way, given the growing number of human senses discussed in this endeavour, it is important to raise the question of exactly: *who the student experience is for?* Finally, as we draw some initial conclusions on what it means to package 'the student experience' for students to *consume*, we invite others to join us in considering whether as a society, we are prepared to actually allow time for students themselves, to *produce* diverse and creative contributions to their own academic experience.

The 'Experience Economy'

Argenton (2015: p. 918) argues that experience is 'one of the major paths to growth and autonomy and as such, is of outstanding educational value'. However, experience also has a much wider sociocultural context, rooted in life itself:

It is about learning that which cannot be taught, learning to think, which precedes all other defined forms of education. It is an encounter with the unknown, where we learn to cope with uncertainty. Though, in the same way that growth does, experience takes time. (Argenton, 2015: p. 918)

These reflections on the nature of 'experience' itself suggest that it cannot be reduced to a predictable, scheduled and assessable programme of events. Indeed, attempts to control experience risk 'flushing the unknown away, along with the formative potential of experience' Argenton, 2015: p. 918).

These are observations that create a problematic for university strategies that are based on the notion of 'the student experience', particularly when such a concept seems to be closely interwoven with 'experiential consumption' (Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982). This is where commodities called 'experiences' or 'adventures' are provided through an extended service economy in a process that is closely related to the leisure and entertainment markets (Argenton, 2015). This experiential side of consumption has been said to be the hidden paradigm underpinning many aspects of modern life where even human feelings are commercialised (Bryman, 2004; Hochschild, 1983; Ritzer, 2010; Argenton, 2015).

This move from experiential consumption as concrete functions that goods can provide, towards experience-laden commodities that draw human senses into the market raises many issues, but Argenton points in particular to the issue of 'time' (Holbrook & Hirschman, 1982; Argenton, 2015). If the contemporary consumer cares less about the quality of goods they can purchase than the quantity, then when this relates to appliances there may be implications for the environment. However, when an

enhancement of the senses is involved there are also time limitations to consider. If a consumer is concerned only with ‘the quantity of experience-laden commodities one can consume in a certain amount of time’ (Argenton, 2015: p. 922), then there are implications when this logic is applied to academic experiences. The experience economy appears to be extending such patterns of consumption into universities as a ‘student experience economy’. Furthermore, the messy post digital era we now occupy in society enables an ease of ‘delivery’ seamlessly back and forth between digital and physical sites of production and consumption, at the hands of both human and non-human technologies (Jandrić, Knox, Besley, Ryberg, Suoranta & Hayes, 2018).

If universities have moved into the enhancement of human senses as part of their strategy, then this begins to alter what HE is. If the labour of students themselves also furthers ‘the student experience’ commodity, via students completing feedback online and participating in ‘the student experience’ committees for free, they act as ‘prosumers’ (Ritzer, 2015). In so doing, they may be extending their own entrapment in time-limited forms of experiential education. Argenton therefore asks an important question of his readers in modern society: *Do we still have time for experience?* We would like our readers to consider this question adapted to the HE sector, as we ask: *Do we still have time for the diversity and creativity of individual student experiences?*

What Themes are Prioritised in ‘the Student Experience’ Policy Documents?

To aid us in considering this question, we analysed a sample of 20 UK university student experience strategies, via a corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). A corpus of words is ‘net-like’ (Hoey, 1991) and can reveal the values of those producing policy texts, whether the authors are aware of these or not. Searching a corpus (a large bank of words) does not explain why particular patterns occur, but it does yield significant empirical content to examine and discuss certain patterns in more detail. The university strategy documents we examined are freely available on university websites to download. The PDF files were converted into text files and these were examined through software called *Wordsmith* to observe patterns that emerged through corpus linguistics (Scott, 1997). Whilst not a particularly large corpus (54, 271 words), themes can be picked up via this form of analysis and then interpreted more closely through CDA to see what assumptions these grammatical patterns reveal (Halliday, 1994, Fairclough, 2000). Although it is important not to read too much into the examples provided below, they do provide useful illustrative content from

current strategies to explore alongside theory. For a more detailed explanation of corpus-based CDA, please see Hayes & Bartholomew (2015).

In *Wordsmith* the frequencies of words can be examined in the form of keywords. Keywords are words that are statistically significant when measured against a comparison corpus, in this case, the British National Corpus (BNC) which contains 100 million words of written and spoken English from a wide range of sources for comparison purposes. Below the top keywords and their frequencies are shown.

The	2531
Students	874
Student	826
Experience	450
Strategy	312

It is interesting to notice that the top keyword is 'the'. The is a word that enables a certain generic quantification, when placed in front of other words. For example:

The delivery of
The development of
The enhancement of

These arrangements of words can be examined more closely in concordance lines, which show how words and phrases are ordered alongside each other in their actual context of use. The numbers at the side of the lines below are provided through the searches in *Wordsmith*, so that these examples are easily retrieved. So, it then becomes possible to see what patterns emerge across all 20 university student experience strategies.

Perceptions of 'the Student Experience' as Something Generic that can be 'Delivered'

When searches were performed to look at words that followed 'the delivery of' examples showed a form of 'strategic theme' or 'vision'

- 6 the delivery of the University's three strategic themes
- 19 the delivery of our vision

The student experience tends to be shaped within a corporate university vision or ambition. In this first set of examples, the student experience is 'delivered' with the ease of an online shopping order:

- (14) It is vital that every member of staff fully understands their contribution and that of their colleagues in delivering the Student Experience
- (24) The purpose of this Student Experience Strategy is to deliver the student experience ambitions of the University as set out in Strategy 2020
- (78) Deliver an excellent student experience that is an exemplar of good practice in the higher education sector

In the concordance lines above, the examples are from different universities, but ‘the student experience’ is noticeable across all as a recognisable buzz phrase which can be ‘ordered’ (Hayes, forthcoming, 2019). In (14) it is emphasized that all colleagues should understand their contribution to this packaged experience. Universities can then ask the same question that any other commercial provider, such as Amazon or Argos, might ask: *what did you think of your purchase?* However, this also raises a problem in understanding staff contributions. How is such an expectation (to deliver a form of consumer experience) to be quantified and measured, when more and more features seem to be included in the deal:

- (20) This wider student experience includes a sense of involvement in the life of the University, within its local communities and globally, an attractive social and residential experience, active participation in cultural, sporting and work experiences, and a sense of wellbeing and support

Indeed, how many of these features really come under a university’s control, let alone under that of an academic member of staff to be able to ‘deliver’? If, as an academic, I am to deliver ‘a sense of involvement’ or ‘a sense of wellbeing and support’, how will I (and indeed those responsible for my performance) know that I have delivered this across a diverse group of students? Unless there is another solution. Perhaps a ‘strategy’ will do it for me. As argued elsewhere, university documents are often accredited with human academic labour, as above in (24) where ‘this Student Experience Strategy’ is ‘to deliver’, rather than a person (Hayes and Bartholomew, 2015, Hayes, 2016, Hayes, 2018a, Hayes, forthcoming, 2019).

Perceptions that a Strategy or the University can do the Development for Us

When searches were performed to look at words that followed ‘the development of’ examples like the one below showed the intention for wider curriculum:

37 This strategy will support the development of a curriculum which makes links across and beyond the University

However, note that in (37) it is 'this strategy' (and not people) that will support the development. Furthermore, it is 'a curriculum' (and not people) that makes the links across and beyond the University.

As demonstrated in prior research, 'the strategy' or 'the student experience' is often said to enact something (Hayes, 2018a, Hayes, forthcoming 2019). Linguistically, we tend to place the student experience in the hands of entities like 'curriculum' and 'strategy', in our written policies, rather than explicitly reinforce the people (staff and students) whose individual labour actually effects change.

548 The Strategy targets the development of a high quality estate and an environment populated with facilities and services

In (548) it is 'the strategy' that targets 'the development' of a range of facilities and services. Exactly who will make this happen is not mentioned, but at some point, actual human labour is required to develop these facilities.

564 The University is committed to supporting the development of all its staff and to the enhancement of the staff experience

In (564) 'the university' is credited with the commitment to enhance 'the staff experience' too. People provide 'commitment' though, not organizations or buildings. Once more, in an age where so much emphasis is placed on metrics and measurements, it is important to ask exactly how enhancement of 'the staff experience' is understood, in relation to academic autonomy. Categories of staff contracts have never been more variable, leading to important questions on widening participation for progression of diverse university staff (Hayes, 2018b). Yet it is assumed in the discourse that something generic entitled 'the staff experience' can be enhanced across the board, by 'the university'.

In wider consumer culture, it is not unusual to find many commercial products such as cars, holidays and other possessions invested with human qualities in order to sell these. However, along with the notion that 'the experience' a university wishes us to have can be 'delivered' to students or staff, comes the concept that this can also be provided by an 'environment' and indeed that a 'sense of' something (whatever that may be) can be 'enhanced' by an environment (not by people) for all students.

Perceptions that Students' 'Senses' can be Collectively Enhanced

Instead of treating 'a sense' of something as personal and diverse, it is inferred in the next set of examples that students' senses are collective, rather than individual:

- (13) We will seek to design and establish an attractive and sustainable environment that enhances students' sense of belonging and pride in the university
- (23) Well-resourced, inclusive learning environments will support our educational provision and enhance student life
- (25) The university will improve transition experiences to enhance students' sense of belonging to our university community
- (39) Developing shared spaces to enhance the sense of community, encourage group learning, and support people from across academic disciplines to come together

In this set of examples, notice firstly, in (13) how it is an 'environment' (and not people) that enacts the process of 'enhances'. In (23) it is the 'well-resourced, inclusive learning environments' (not people) that will 'support our educational provision and enhance student life'. Then it is assumed that students as a collective group will have a 'sense of belonging and pride in the university' in which they study. It is indicated that it is this students' sense that is being enhanced. This is repeated in (25) when 'the university' (not staff) is credited with improving transition experiences. This is then expected 'to enhance' students' sense of belonging to a university community. In (39) it is 'shared spaces' (not people) that are expected 'to enhance' rather a lot of things: 'the sense of community, encourage group learning, and support people from across academic disciplines to come together'. If 'shared spaces' can really achieve all of these things then it is a wonder that we keep staff on the payroll at all!

Surely what a student 'senses' cannot be assumed, and certainly not placed collectively with what other students may 'sense'. In the example below an article describes a hotel as a 'teenager' and discusses the 'sense of grandeur' guests will experience:

While it's a mere teenager as a hotel, the long history of the building provides it with a genuine sense of grandeur (Northamptonshire Telegraph, 2012).

There are similarities to be found in line (20) mentioned earlier. Not a sense of grandeur perhaps, but certainly the idea that 'a sense' of something that a human would 'experience' can be included in a social construct called

'the' 'student experience'. If university strategy comes to resemble hotel advertisements, then before we know it, 'a packaged experience of consumption itself' (Argenton, 2015: p. 921) could be what is delivered to students by universities as a product their fees have purchased.

Surely 'a sense of involvement' and 'a sense of wellbeing' are deeply personal and individual experiences and therefore can only be discussed in the plural. These 'senses' of something cannot be sprinkled into 'the student experience' buzz phrase, like ingredients into a cake.

Packaging Human Senses, Experience, Culture and Belonging into 'the Student Experience'

Human senses, in relation to experience and belonging, are a complicated matter. What students and staff encounter as 'experience' will be influenced by vision, touch, sound, smell and taste which enable people to give meaning to, and to form an attachment with, places and material things (O'Neill, 2001, Leach, 2002). What people 'see' is based on individual experiential knowledge of the world (Gibson, 1979). Together with sight, the other human senses help us gain multidimensional understanding (May, 2013: p. 134). Yet despite such complexities around what influences human experience, the broader context of 'neoliberalism' can yield rational, common sense discourse concerning what 'experience' entails and 'contains'.

Many important topics that now reside under 'the student experience'. Cultural experiences, for example, cannot simply be applied to students in equal measures, when students themselves arrive from different backgrounds, life experiences, tastes, levels of ability and resilience even. Taking the example of music as one cultural experience, what tunes we hear can evoke strong memories and emotions linked to places and situations. May suggests that music can offer a sense of 'embodied (in)security' with musical experiences playing an important part in identity, relational and cultural belonging (May, 2013: p. 135). Through digital technologies, music is now widely available alongside the devices and software to personalize our collections. Yet, the 'digital shift' or 'digital revolution' still happened 'under the watchful eye of capitalist rulers' and so this tends to serve and augment neoliberal capitalism (Mazierska, 2018). That said, 'manufactured' forms of music now exist alongside live performances in postdigital society. Just as 'digitalisation has made live music more important and has expanded its variations' (Mazierska, 2018), we will now speculate on how a postdigital understanding of 'the student experience' could offer helpful insights into routes of resistance.

The Iron and Velvet Cages of Policy Discourse in Postdigital Society

Fawns (2018) argues for a postdigital perspective to draw in all of education and not just that which is considered to lie outside of digital education. As such, 'the digital and non-digital, material and social, both in terms of the design of educational activities and in the practices that unfold in the doing of those activities' all need to be taken into account (Fawns, 2018). We suggest that HE policy discourse does not sit outside of these arguments either because discourse can frame human understanding within both iron and velvet cages. In times when quality is measured via excellence frameworks for teaching and research, policy must also be subject to scrutiny (Hayes, forthcoming 2019). This is even more important when policy discourse concerning 'the student experience' appears to encapsulate the very senses and experiences of human beings in HE.

These days many of us assume the role of a 'prosumer' (Toffler, 1980, Ritzer and Jurgenson, 2010) undertaking both production and consumption in digital and material spaces, rather than focusing on either one (production) or the other (consumption). This is apparent in user-generated content online, where control and exploitation take on a different character than in other historic forms of capitalism (Ritzer and Jurgenson, 2010). The concept of the 'postdigital' helps to provide insights into our augmented realities as prosumers, who provide our unpaid labour to wealthy organisations. This takes the form of many voluntary activities people now undertake, such as generating our own customer orders, providing feedback on what we purchase, sharing opinions and 'likes' that constitute valuable information within algorithmic frameworks. Facebook, Amazon and Starbucks are examples amongst many, where people produce valuable demographic details for no salary, but in HE staff and students are also engaging with these forms of algorithms and analytics.

Yet, whilst these observations may sound negative, we understand the postdigital as a space of learning, struggle, and hope. In recognizing that 'old' and 'new' media are now 'cohabiting artefacts' that enmesh with our economy, politics and culture, we can gain valuable insights into the direction concepts such as 'the student experience' may be taking us in HE. Policy discourse and educational practice are deeply intertwined:

In entering this postdigital age, there really is no turning back from a convergence of the traditional and the digital. However, this is not simply a debate about technological and non-technological media. The postdigital throws up new challenges and possibilities across all aspects of social life. We believe this opens up new avenues too, for considering

ways that discourse (language-in-use) shapes how we experience the postdigital (Sinclair and Hayes, 2018).

Given these ideas, even when time seems forever short, it is necessary to question who our written policies in HE are really for.

Who is 'the Student Experience' for?

In problematizing the buzz phrase of 'the student experience', we hope that we have given readers some reasons to pause for thought and consider who policy concerning 'the student experience' is really for. If it is really aimed at improving the experiences of students then the language needs attention. Discussing 'students' experiences' in the plural immediately makes it clearer that the intention is to address diverse needs and not simply deliver a packaged experience for one and all. As this discourse is currently presented, 'the student experience' is a construct to which all manner of expectations can be attached (Hayes, forthcoming 2019). It is also an entity that can be said to 'act' on behalf of people.

Articulated as 'a packaged experience of consumption itself' (Argenton, 2015: p. 921) this begins to change the very nature of HE when experience is delivered to students by universities, as a product that their fees have purchased. How many additional extras might then be attached to such a package is open to whatever government and media hot topics emerge. Yet this package deal then diminishes the realities of individual student experiences, such as bereavement, mental health and wellbeing, as these are experienced in diverse ways by people. The many important topics that now reside under 'the student experience' cannot simply be applied to students in equal measures.

Conclusions

We have examined through a corpus-based CDA of policy what it means to package 'the student experience' for students to *consume*. We have shown that instead of treating human senses as personal and diverse, HE policy discourse treats students' senses as collective, as if 'belonging' and 'pride' are experienced uniformly by all. We argued that these assumptions suggest that 'a sense of involvement' and 'a sense of wellbeing' can simply be included in 'the student experience' deal that gets delivered to students. As such, academic experience is treated as if it were any other generic adventure or leisure deal on offer at a local hotel.

In relation to manufactured forms of 'experience' provided by commercial organisations, Argenton asks an important question. In modern society: *do we still have time for experience?* We would like to leave

our readers with the same question, but adapted to ask: *in our universities do we still have time for the diversity and creativity of individual student experiences?*

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Povzetki/Abstracts

Mitja Sardoč

The Language of Neoliberal Education

For over two decades now, neoliberalism has been at the forefront of discussions not only in the economy and finance but has infiltrated our vocabulary in a number of areas as diverse as governance studies, criminology, health care, jurisprudence, education etc. Interestingly enough, education has been at the very center of the neoliberal public policy agenda as it allegedly represents one of the main indicators of future economic growth and individual well-being. While the analysis of the neoliberal agenda in education is well documented, the analysis of the language of neoliberal education is at the fringes of scholarly interest. In particular, the expansion of the neoliberal vocabulary with egalitarian ideas such as fairness, justice, equality of opportunity, well-being etc. has received [at best] only limited attention. This introductory article to 'The Language of Neoliberal Education' journal special issue presents some of the main delineating features of this shift of emphasis associated with the language of the neoliberal agenda in education. It also introduces the articles and the interview that are part of this journal special issue.

Keywords: neoliberalism, education, OECD, ideology

Jezik neoliberalnega izobraževanja

Neoliberalizem je že več kot dve desetletji v ospredju razprav ne samo v gospodarstvu in financah, temveč se je vključil v naš besednjak tudi na številnih drugih področjih kot so politična teorija, kriminologija, zdravstveno varstvo, pravo, vzgoja in izobraževanje itd. Hkrati je tudi zanimivo,

da je izobraževanje v samem središču neoliberalnih javnih politik, saj naj bi predstavljalo enega od glavnih kazalnikov prihodnje gospodarske rasti oz. individualne blaginje. Medtem ko je analiza neoliberalne agende v vzgoji in izobraževanju dobro dokumentirana, je analiza samega jezika neoliberalnega izobraževanja na robu zanimanja. Še posebej zanemarljive pozornosti je bila deležna razširitev samega neoliberalnega besednjaka z egalitarnimi idejami kot so pravičnost, pravičnost, enakost možnosti, blagostanje itd. Ta uvodni članek v tematsko številko 'Jezik neoliberalnega izobraževanja' predstavi nekatere od glavnih značilnosti te premesitve poudarka, ki je povezana z jezikom neoliberalne agende v vzgoji in izobraževanju. Prispevek hkrati predstavi tudi članke ter intervju, ki so del te tematske številke.

Ključne besede: neoliberalizem, vzgoja in izobraževanje, OECD, ideologija

Vasco d'Agnese

Concealment and Advertising: Unraveling OECD's Educational Ehetoric

Over the last couple of decades, extensive analysis have been provided about both the role and influence OECD has in the international educational landscape, and its main tool, namely, PISA, is one of the most discussed topics in education. However, despite the amount of studies provided, little attention has been given to OECD's language and rhetoric. In this paper, by analysing OECD's public documents—including publications, reports, videos, and brochure—I go deep into OECD's linguistic choices. It is my contention that such choices and rhetoric play a pivotal role in the expansion and success of the Organization. Specifically, I shall argue that, on the one hand, OECD conceals its normative and performative role, thus presenting its products as – just – responses to pressing needs already present in schooling and society; on the other hand, the Organization shows a remarkable prowess in communicating its ideas and mastering diverse communicative registers, such as a scientific register, on the one hand, and a language more in line with advertising style, on the other—thus making, as I wish to argue, a problematic mix.

Keywords: OECD's rhetoric, neoliberal language, advertising, educational policies, PISA

Prikrivanje in oglaševanje: razvozlavanje izobraževalne retorike OECD-ja

V zadnjih nekaj desetletjih so bile opravljene obsežne analize o vlogi in vplivu OECD na mednarodnem področju ter njegovega glavnega orodja,

in sicer PISA, ki je ena izmed najbolj razpravljanih tem v izobraževanju. Kljub številu opravljenih študij, je bilo malo pozornosti posvečeno jeziku in retoriki OECD. V tem članku se z analizo javnih dokumentov OECD – vključno z objavami, poročili, videi in brošuro – postavim globoko v OECD-jeve jezikovne izbire. Moja trditev je, da imajo take izbire in retorika ključno vlogo pri širjenju in uspehu organizacije. Natančneje, trdim, da na eni strani OECD prikriva svojo normativno in performativno vlogo ter tako predstavi svoje izdelke kot pravične odgovore na nujne potrebe, ki so v šolstvu in v družbi že prisotne. Na drugi strani pa Organizacija kaže izjemno moč pri sporočanju svojih idej in pri obvladovanju različnih komunikacijskih registrov, na primer znanstvenega registra na eni strani in jezika, ki je bolj v skladu s slogom oglaševanja na drugi in tako – kakor želim trditi – predstavlja problematično mešanico.

Ključne besede: retorika OECD, neoliberalni jezik, oglaševanje, izobraževalne politike, PISA

Rodolfo Leyva

Unpacking the Usage and Implications of Neoliberal Language in the Russell Group's Education Strategies

The Russell Group constitutes an association of twenty-four elite British public universities, and plays a leading role in influencing the values, ambitions, and practices of domestic and international higher education institutions. Correspondingly, this quantitative content analysis examines the latest education strategy statements of said group's individual members to identify pedagogic and institutional trends and trajectories. Findings show that these statements are predominantly rife with neoliberal discursive inflections of global competitiveness, instrumentalism, employability, and customer satisfaction, which effectively and principally equate a university education with professional development and research with economic utility. Conversely, virtually absent from the majority of these statements are the traditional university mission and goals of nurturing intellectual curiosity, promoting academic freedom, generating pure scientific knowledge, and fostering character and conscientious citizenship. This study suggests that the Russell Group's current and long-term plans for pedagogy and research strongly reflect the language of the neoliberal policy agenda for higher education, and have largely abandoned the academy's historically humanist and enlightenment principles and commitments. What this indicates for teaching and learning in British universities is further discussed.

Keywords: neoliberal education, content analysis, Humboldtian model, employability, Russell Group, instrumentalism

Razpakiranje uporabe in posledic neoliberalnega jezika v strategijah izobraževanja Russell group

Russell Group združuje štiriindvajset elitnih britanskih javnih univerz in igra vodilno vlogo pri vplivanju na vrednote, ambicije in prakse domačih ter mednarodnih visokošolskih ustanov. Ta kvantitativna analiza vsebine torej ustrezno preučuje najnovejše izjave o izobraževalnih strategiji posameznih članic omenjene skupine, da bi identificirale pedagoške in institucionalne trende ter smernice. Ugotovitve kažejo, da so te izjave pretežno prežete z neoliberalnimi diskurzivnimi primerami o globalni konkurenčnosti, instrumentalizmu, zaposljivosti ter zadovoljstvu strank, ki učinkovito oz. primarno izenačujejo univerzitetno izobrazbo s profesionalnim razvojem in raziskovanje z gospodarsko koristnostjo. Nasprotno pa v večini teh trditev skorajda ni prisotno tradicionalno poslanstvo univerz ter cilji negovanja intelektualne radovednosti, ki promovira akademsko svobodo, ustvarja čisto znanstveno znanje in spodbuja značaj ter vestno državljanstvo. Ta študija kaže, da sedanji in dolgoročni načrti Russell Group za pedagogiko in raziskave močno odražajo jezik neoliberalne politične agende za visokošolsko izobraževanje in so v veliki meri opustili zgodovinsko humanistična in prosvetiteljska načela in zaveze univerze. Nadalje je obravnavano, kaj to pomeni za poučevanje in učenje na britanskih univerzah.

Ključne besede: neoliberalno izobraževanje, analiza vsebine, Humboldov model, zaposljivost, Russell Group, instrumentalizem

Mark Olssen

Neoliberalism and *Laissez-faire*: The Retreat from Naturalism

This article starts by restating the core theoretical differences between liberalism and neoliberalism, most essentially concerning the principle of the active or positive state that I have claimed characterizes neoliberal governmentality, premised upon a distinction between naturalistic and anti-naturalistic views of state functioning and entailing the abandonment or severe qualification of *laissez-faire*. Of the differences between liberal and neoliberal government, I will recommit to my original thesis of the distinction between the positive state and the erosion of *laissez-faire*, as well as to the distinction between naturalism and anti-naturalism as being important to understanding the two variants of liberalism and to understanding as well the anti-democratic tendencies of the neoliberal variant. Here I will maintain that the key neoliberals in a theoretical sense are the European *ordo* liberals, such as Walter Eücken and Wilhelm Röpke; as well as US writers such as James Buchanan (Public Choice theory) and

Henry Simons, while others, such as Friedrich Hayek although politically mobilizing for and actively supporting the advent and ascendancy of neoliberalism, as witnessed by his formative role in establishing the Mont Pelerin society, was, I will argue, much more cautious about jettisoning *laissez-faire* and of adopting an anti-naturalistic perspective. After setting out the distinctive features that characterize neoliberalism, the consequences for education will be briefly investigated.

Keywords: laissez-faire, naturalism, ordo liberalism, state planning, free-markets, Walter Eücken, Wilhelm Röpke, Henry Simons, Friedrich Hayek, Lars Cornelissen

Neoliberalizem in *laissez-faire*: umik iz naturalizma

Ta članek se začne s ponovitvijo temeljnih teoretičnih razlik med liberalizmom in neoliberalizmom, ki se večinoma nanašajo na načelo aktivne ali pozitivne države, za katerega trdim, da označuje neoliberalno vladovanje, ki temelji na razlikovanju med naturalističnimi in proti-naturalističnimi pogledi na delovanje države, ki hkrati zajemajo opustitev ali hudo kvalifikacijo *laissez-faire*. Pri razliki med liberalno in neoliberalno vlado bom ponovno poudaril mojo izvirno tezo o razliki med pozitivno državo in erozijo *laissez-faire*, pa tudi distinkcijo med naturalizmom in anti-naturalizmom, ki je pomembna za razumevanje dveh različic liberalizma in razumevanje tudi antidemokratskih tendenc neoliberalne različice. Tu bom poudaril, da so ključni zagovorniki neoliberalizma v teoretičnem smislu evropski ordo liberali, kot so Walter Eücken in Wilhelm Röpke; kot tudi ameriški avtorji, kot so James Buchanan (teorija javne izbire) in Henry Simons, medtem ko so drugi, kot je Friedrich Hayek, čeprav politično aktivirajo in dejavno podpirajo prihod in vzpon neoliberalizma, kakor priča njegova formativna vloga pri ustanovitvi združenja Mont Pelerina, kakor trdim, preveč previden pri odvajanju *laissez-faire* in sprejemanju anti-naturalistične perspektive. Po določitvi posebnih značilnosti, ki označujejo neoliberalizem, so na kratko predstavljene tudi posledice za izobraževanje. *Ključne besede:* laissez-faire, naturalizem, ordo liberalizem, državno načrtovanje, prosti trgi, Walter Eücken, Wilhelm Röpke, Henry Simons, Friedrich Hayek, Lars Cornelissen

Mitja Sardoč

The Language of Neoliberal Education: An Interview with Henry Giroux

In this interview, Prof. Henry Giroux engages with some of the most challenging issues associated with the neoliberal educational agenda. In the

introductory part, he discusses neoliberalism's different operating registers including the 'war over ideas'. In particular, he examines how the neoliberal ideology came to dominate some of the commanding institutions of contemporary societies. At the same time, he also discusses the centrality of education under neoliberal modes of governance as well as the role of large-scale assessments and quantitative data in educational research. In the central part of the interview Prof. Giroux examines neoliberalism's strategy of appropriating ideas and concepts that lie outside its gravitational orbit and its transformative influence on our way of thinking about education and public policy in general. In the closing part of the interview, Prof. Giroux identifies the most pressing negative effects of neoliberalism for democratic societies.

Keywords: neoliberalism, critical pedagogy, active citizenship, education

Jezik neoliberalnega izobraževanja: intervju s Henryjem Girouxom

V tem intervjuju se prof. Henry Giroux ukvarja z nekaterimi najbolj zahtevnimi vprašanji, ki jih povezujemo z neoliberalno agendo v vzgoji in izobraževanju. V uvodnem delu razpravlja o različnih operativnih registriranih neoliberalizma, vključno z 'vojno nad idejami'. Poseben poudarek je namenjen temu, kako je neoliberalna ideologija prevzela nadzor nad nekaterimi vodilnimi institucijami sodobnih družb. Hkrati obravnava osrednji položaj izobraževanja v okviru neoliberalnega načina upravljanja kot tudi vlogo obsežnih raziskav in kvantitativnih podatkov v izobraževalnih raziskavah. V osrednjem delu intervjuja prof. Giroux proučuje strategijo neoliberalizma v okviru katere prevzame ideje in koncepte, ki ležijo izven njegove gravitacijske orbite ter s tem povezan vpliv na način razmišljanja o izobraževanju in javnih politikah nasploh. V zaključnem delu intervjuja prof. Giroux opredeli najbolj pereče negativne učinke neoliberalizem za demokratične družbe.

Ključne besede: neoliberalizem, kritična pedagogika, aktivno državljanstvo, izobraževanje

Michael A. Peters

Neoliberalism as Political Discourse: The Political Arithmetic of *Homo oeconomicus*

This essay is a discussion of neoliberalism as a form of political discourse – 'the political arithmetic of *Homo Oeconomicus*'. In the first half, the essay begins with a genealogy of political discourse with an etymology from late Middle English and medieval Latin to denote a process of reasoning

and a means to order our thoughts on a topic. Although the term can be traced to the early Greeks concerned with the problem of truth and rhetoric in democracy, it gains foothold in the 17th century with Böckel (1677) and a determinate reading in the twentieth century with Foucault (1970). In the second half, the essay traces the emergence of the figure of *Homo Oeconomicus* and the rise of rational choice theory by focusing on its application to education as a commodity. In this context, the essay discusses the twin discourses of Individualism and Community with associated concepts of Freedom and Equality. Finally, the paper turns to a discussion of Foucault's understanding of neoliberalism.

Keywords: neoliberalism, political discourse, *Homo Oeconomicus*, education

Neoliberalizem kot politični diskurz: politična aritmetika *Homo oeconomicus*

Ta esej je razprava o neoliberalizmu kot obliki političnega diskurza – »politična aritmetika *Homo Oeconomicus*«. V prvi polovici, esej začne z genealogijo političnega diskurza z etimologijo iz poznega srednjeveškega angleškega jezika in srednjeveškega latinskega jezika, ki označuje proces razmišljanja ter sredstvo za ureditev svojih misli o temi. Čeprav je izraz mogoče zaslediti pri zgodnjih Grkih, ki se ukvarjajo s problematiko resnice in retorike v demokraciji, se je v 17. stoletju uveljavil z Böckelom (1677) in odločnim branjem z Foucaultom v dvajsetem stoletju (1970). V drugi polovici leta, esej obravnava nastanek figure *Homo Oeconomicus* in vzpona teorije racionalne izbire, s poudarkom na njeni uporabi na področju izobraževanja kot blaga. V tem kontekstu se v eseu razpravlja o dvojnih diskurzih individualizma in skupnosti s povezanimi koncepti svobode in enakosti. V zaključku članek preide na razpravo o Foucaultovem razumevanju neoliberalizma.

Ključne besede: neoliberalizem, politični diskurz, *Homo Oeconomicus*, izobraževanje

Urška Štremfel

European Neoliberal Discourse and Slovenian Educational Space

In the article we address political and educational science relevant questions about influence of educational (neoliberal) governance in the European Union (EU) on the development of national educational policies and practices. The identified question is examined by theoretical dispositions of new modes of EU governance as governance of goals,

comparisons, problems/crisis and knowledge (e.g. Grek, 2009; Nordin, 2014; Ozga, 2011) and discursive institutionalism (e.g. Schmidt, 2008; 2012) as a promising “multifaceted set of concepts to explore the lending and borrowing of transnational education policies and their application at the national and local levels” (Wahlstöröm and Sundberg, 2018). Applied theoretical framework explains how policy discourses can perform coordinating and communicative functions and lead to institutional change. Concretely, it contributes to understanding how certain EU (neoliberal) policy model (involving cognitive scripts, categories and ideas about EU strategic goals and solutions to identified policy problems) shape identities, structures and behaviours at the national level of EU member states (e.g. Alasuutari, 2015). As such article tries to recognise “how the global discourses of neo-liberalism have been made possible through the re-articulation and re-contextualisation of local historical contestation and politics” (Takayama, 2009) and provides understanding how neoliberal cognitive and normative discourses (Schmidt, 2008) motivate national level actors to comply with the EU agendas instead of protecting sovereignty of the national educational space. The theoretical dispositions are demonstrated on the case study of Slovenia, which presents an interesting case of studying interference between traditional post-socialist values and western EU (neoliberal) model of education.

Key words: discursive institutionalism, EU, neoliberalism, education, Slovenia

Evropski neoliberalni diskurz in slovenski izobraževalni prostor

V središču članka je politološko in edukacijsko znanstveno relevantno vprašanje o vplivu (neoliberalne) vladavine v Evropski Uniji (EU) na razvoj nacionalnih izobraževalnih politik in praks. Vprašanje naslavljam s teoretskimi predpostavkami vladavine EU kot vladavine, ciljev, primerjav, problemov/križe (npr. Grek, 2009; Nordin, 2014; Ozga, 2011) in diskurzivnim institucionalizmom (npr. Schmidt, 2008; 2012) kot večplastnim sklopom konceptov, ki skuša pojasniti prenos globalnih izobraževalnih politik in njihovo sprejemanje na nacionalni ravni (Wahlstöröm and Sundberg, 2018). Uporabljeni teoretski okvir ponazarja, kako koordinacijske in komunikacijske funkcije javnopolitičnega diskurza vodijo do institucionalnih sprememb. Konkretno, prispeva k razumevanju, kako določeni EU (neoliberalni) javnopolitični modeli (podprti s konkretnimi politikami, programi in paradigmami) oblikujejo identitete in vedenje nacionalnih akterjev (npr. Alasuutari, 2015). V tem okviru članek pojasnjuje, kako je uresničevanje globalnega neoliberalnega diskurza na nacionalni

ravni odvisno od specifičnega zgodovinskega, političnega in kulturnega ozadja nacionalnih držav (npr. Takayama, 2009) ter omogoča razumevanje, kako neoliberalni kognitivni in normativni diskurz (Schmidt, 2008) spodbuja nacionalne akterje, da se uskladijo z agendami EU, namesto da bi zaščitili suverenost nacionalnega izobraževalnega prostora. Teoretska izhodišča so prikazana na študiji primera Slovenije, ki predstavlja zanimiv primer prepletenosti post-socialističnih vrednot in zahodnoevropskega (neoliberalnega) modela izobraževanja.

Ključne besede: diskurzivni institucionalizem, EU, neoliberalizem, izobraževanje, Slovenija

Sarah Hayes and Petar Jandrić

Resisting the Iron Cage of 'the Student Experience'

As higher education (HE) has come to be valued for its contribution to the global economy, priorities have been placed on study for a degree to directly meet the needs of industry. Furthermore, in UK policy, students have been defined as 'customers' by the government since the introduction of tuition fees. Together, these developments have emphasized the role of a degree as a consumer 'product', purchased to secure future employment, rather than an experiential learning 'process', that continues well beyond student life. In this paper we examine how the student-as-consumer approach in HE policy has recently developed into a strong rhetoric emphasizing 'the student experience' as a package, including leisure, well-being, future employment and other 'extras'. A disturbing impression is then generated, where universities are now delivering a packaged experience of 'consumption itself', to students. To examine such concerns more closely, we analyse a sample of 20 UK university 'student experience' strategies, via a corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Drawing on themes from these texts, we question who 'the student experience' rhetoric really benefits? If a rationalized experience is constructed on behalf of students, then universities defined by George Ritzer as 'cathedrals of consumption' align themselves with any other provider of consumer experiences, where students are trapped within an 'iron cage' even before they set foot in the workplace. Yet, despite a distorted picture that neoliberal HE policy discourse may portray, a postdigital understanding of 'the student experience' could yet offer helpful insights into possible routes of resistance.

Keywords: higher education, neoliberalism, critical discourse analysis, student experience, cathedrals of consumption, iron cage

Odpor do železne kletke “študentske izkušnje”

Ker je visokošolsko izobraževanje (HE) postalo vrednoteno zaradi svojega prispevka k globalnemu gospodarstvu, so bile prednostne naloge namenjene študiju, ki bo neposredno zadostilo potrebam industrije. Vse od uvedbe šolnin so bili študentje v politikah Združenega kraljestva opredeljeni kot ‘stranke’. Skupaj so ti dogodki poudarjali vlogo diplome kot potrošniškega ‘proizvoda’, kupljenega za zagotovitev prihodnjih zaposlitev, ne pa procesa izkustvenega učenja, ki se nadaljuje tudi po koncu študentskega življenja. V tem članku preučujeva, kako se je pristop študentov kot potrošnikov v politikah visokega šolstva nedavno razvil v čvrsto retoriko, ki poudarja ‘študentsko izkušnjo’ kot paket, ki vključuje prosti čas, blaginjo, prihodnjo zaposlitev in druge ‘dodatke’. Nato se generira moteč vtis, kjer univerze študentom sedaj podeljujejo zapakirano izkušnjo ‘same potrošnje’. Da bi te skrbi natančneje preučili, z analizo kritične analize diskurza (CDA) analizirava vzorec 20 univerzitetnih študentskih izkušenj. Na podlagi vsebin iz teh tekstov postavlja vprašanje, komu ‘študentska izkušnja’ resnično koristi? Če je racionalizirana izkušnja zgrajena v imenu študentov, so univerze, ki jih George Ritzer opredeljuje kot ‘katedrale potrošnje’, usklajene z vsemi drugimi ponudniki izkušenj potrošnikov, kjer so študenti ujeti v ‘železni kletki’, še preden vstopijo na delovno mesto. Kljub izkrivljeni sliki, ki jo lahko predstavi neoliberalni diskurz visokošolskih politik, lahko postdigitalno razumevanje ‘študentske izkušnje’ še vedno nudi koristen vpogled v možne poti odpora.

Ključne besede: visokošolsko izobraževanje, neoliberalizem, kritična analiza diskurza, študentska izkušnja, katedrale potrošnje, železna kletka

Avtorji/Authors

Vasco d'Agnese

Vasco d'Agnese (PhD), is associate professor of Education at the Department of Psychology, University of Campania Luigi Vanvitelli, with interests in educational philosophy and theory, educational policies, Heidegger, Dewey and postmodernism. His latest publications include *Reclaiming Education in the Age of PISA: Challenging OECD's Educational Order*, London, Routledge (2017); Openness, Newness and Radical Possibility in Deweyan Work: A Response to Jasinski. *Ethics and Education* (2018); 'Not-being-at-home': Subject, Freedom and Transcending in Heideggerian Educational Philosophy, *Studies in Philosophy and Education* (2018); Courage, Uncertainty and Imagination in Deweyan Work: Challenging the Neo-Liberal Educational Agenda. *Journal of Philosophy of Education* (2018).

Vasco d'Agnese je izredni profesor vzgoje in izobraževanja na Oddelku za psihologijo na Univerzi v Kampanji, Luigi Vanvitelli. Njegovi interesi vključujejo filozofijo in teorijo vzgoje, izobraževalne politike, Heideggerja, Deweyja in postmodernizem. Njegove najnovejše publikacije so *Reclaiming Education in the Age of PISA: Challenging OECD's Educational Order* (Routledge, 2017); Openness, Newness and Radical Possibility in Deweyan Work: A Response to Jasinski. *Ethics and Education* (2018); 'Not-being-at-home': Subject, Freedom and Transcending in Heideggerian Educational Philosophy, *Studies in Philosophy and Education* (2018); Courage, Uncertainty and Imagination in Deweyan Work: Challenging the Neo-Liberal Educational Agenda. *Journal of Philosophy of Education* (2018).

Mark Olssen

Mark Olssen, FACSS, is Emeritus Professor of Political Theory and Education Policy in the Department of Politics at the University of Surrey. His most recent books are *Liberalism, Neoliberalism, Social Democracy: Thin Communitarian Perspectives on Political Philosophy and Education* (Routledge, 2010); *Toward A Global Thin Community: Nietzsche, Foucault, and the Cosmopolitan Commitment* (Paradigm Press, 2009). He is also co-author (with John Codd and Anne-Marie O'Neill) of *Education Policy: Globalisation, Citizenship, Democracy*, (Sage, London, 2004) and author of *Michel Foucault: Materialism and Education* (Greenwood Press, New York, 1999/Paradigm Press, Boulder, 2006). He has also published many book chapters and articles in academic journals in Britain, America and in Australasia. Most recently, an interview by Raaper, Rille, titled, 'Mark Olssen on the neoliberalisation of higher education and academic lives: an interview,' *Policy Futures in Education* and 'Neoliberalism and Higher Education Today: Research, Accountability and Impact', *British Journal of Sociology of Education* (2016).

Mark Olssen, FACSS, je zaslužni profesor politične teorije in izobraževalne politike na oddelku za politologijo na Univerzi v Surreyu. Njegove najnovejše knjige so *Liberalism, Neoliberalism, Social Democracy: Thin Communitarian Perspectives on Political Philosophy and Education* (Routledge, 2010); *Toward A Global Thin Community: Nietzsche, Foucault, and the Cosmopolitan Commitment* (Paradigm Press, 2009). Skupaj z Johnom Coddom in Anne-Marie O'Neill je tudi soavtor knjige *Education Policy: Globalisation, Citizenship, Democracy*, (Sage, London, 2004). Je tudi avtor knjige *Michel Foucault: Materialism and Education* (Greenwood Press, New York, 1999/Paradigm Press, Boulder, 2006). Objavil je tudi številna poglavja in članke v znanstvenih revijah v Veliki Britaniji, ZDA in v Avstraliji. Nedavno je Rille Raaper v reviji *Policy Futures in Education* z njim objavila intervju z naslovom 'Mark Olssen on the neoliberalisation of higher education and academic lives: an interview'. V reviji *British Journal of Sociology of Education* je objavil tudi članek 'Neoliberalism and Higher Education Today: Research, Accountability and Impact' (2016).

Rodolfo Leyva

Rodolfo Leyva has a Ph.D in Political Sociology from King's College London. He is currently a fellow in media and communications at the London School of Economics and Political Science. His research employs experiments, quantitative, and qualitative methods, and draws on sociological and cognitive science theories. His main area of research concerns the development and empirical verification of a systems theory that can help

describe and predict a) the cognitive-affective and social-structural mechanisms through which individuals consciously and non-consciously acquire and reproduce neoliberal ideology. And b) the distinct dispositions and behaviours that can be said to typify a neoliberal subject.

Rodolfo Leyva ima doktorat iz politične sociologije na King's College v Londonu. Trenutno je sodelavec za medije in komunikacije na London School of Economics and Political Science. Njegove raziskave vključujejo eksperimentalne, kvantitativne in kvalitativne metode ter se opirajo na sociološke in kognitivne teorije. Njegovo glavno področje raziskovanja zadeva razvoj in empirično preverjanje systemske teorije, ki lahko pomaga opisati in napovedati a) kognitivno-afektivne in socialno-strukturne mehanizme s pomočjo katerih posamezniki zavestno in nezavedno pridobivajo in reproducirajo neoliberalno ideologijo ter b) različne razprave in vedenja, za katere je mogoče reči, da tipizirajo neoliberalni subjekt.

Michael A. Peters

Michael A. Peters is Distinguished Professor of Education at Beijing Normal University Faculty of Education PRC, and Emeritus Professor at the University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign. He is the executive editor of the journal, *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, and founding editor of five international journals, *Policy Futures in Education*, *E-Learning and Digital Media* (SAGE), and *Knowledge Cultures* (Addleton), *The Video Journal of Education and Pedagogy* (Springer), *Open Review of Education Research* (T&F). His interests are in philosophy, education and social policy and he has written over one hundred books, including most recently: *Wittgenstein and Education: Pedagogical Investigations* (2017) and *Neoliberalism and After? Education, Social Policy and the Crisis of Capitalism* (2011). He has acted as an advisor to governments and UNESCO on these and related matters in the USA, Scotland, NZ, South Africa and the EU. He was made an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Society of NZ in 2010 and awarded honorary doctorates by State University of New York (SUNY) in 2012 and University of Aalborg in 2015.

Michael A. Peters je profesor na Fakulteti vzgoje in izobraževanja na Pedagoški fakulteti Beijing Normal University ter zaslužni profesor na University of Illinois v Urbana–Champaign (ZDA). Je izvršni urednik revije *Educational Philosophy and Theory* in ustanovitni urednik petih mednarodnih revij, in sicer *Policy Futures in Education*, *E-Learning and Digital Media* (SAGE) ter *Knowledge Cultures* (Addleton), *The Video Journal of Education and Pedagogy* (Springer), *Open Review of Education Research* (T&F). Njegovi interesi so v filozofiji, izobraževanju ter socialnih politikah. Napisal je več kot osemdeset knjig, med njimi tudi *Wittgenstein*

and Education: Pedagogical Investigations (2017) ter *Neoliberalism and After? Education, Social Policy and the Crisis of Capitalism* (2011). O teh in s tem povezanimi zadevami je deloval kot svetovalec UNESCO ter vladam v ZDA, na Škotskem, v Novi Zelandiji, Južni Afriki in EU. Leta 2010 je postal častni član Kraljevskega društva Nove Zelandije. Leta 2012 je prejel časten doktorat na Državni univerzi v New Yorku (SUNY) in leta 2015 na Univerzi v Aalborgu (Danska).

Mitja Sardoč

Mitja Sardoč (PhD) is a senior research associate at the Educational Research Institute in Ljubljana (Slovenia) where he is member of the 'Social Contract in the 21st Century' research programme. He is author of scholarly articles and editor of a number of journal special issues on citizenship education, multiculturalism, toleration, equality of opportunity and patriotism. He is Managing Editor of *Theory and Research in Education* [<http://tre.sagepub.com/>] and member of the editorial board of *Educational Philosophy and Theory* and the *Open Review of Educational Research*. He edited two books published by Wiley (*Citizenship, Inclusion and Democracy* and *Toleration, Respect and Recognition in Education*). He is also a contributing author to the *SAGE Encyclopedia of Educational Theory and Philosophy*. He is editor-in-chief of *The Handbook of Patriotism* [[http://refworks.springer.com/ Patriotism](http://refworks.springer.com/Patriotism)] that is to be published by Springer in 2018.

Mitja Sardoč (PhD) je zaposlen kot raziskovalec na Pedagoškem inštitutu v Ljubljani, kjer je član programske skupine 'Družbena pogodba v 21. stoletju'. Je avtor znanstvenih in strokovnih člankov s širšega področja vzgoje in izobraževanja ter urednik vrste tematskih števil domačih in tujih znanstvenih revij s področja državljanske vzgoje, multikulturalizma, enakih možnosti itn. Je glavni urednik revije *Theory and Research in Education*, odgovorni urednik revije *Šolsko polje* ter član uredniškega odbora revij *Educational Philosophy and Theory* ter *Open Review of Educational Research*. Je tudi urednik dveh zbornikov, ki sta izšli pri založbi Blackwell (*Citizenship, Inclusion and Democracy* ter *Toleration, Respect and Recognition in Education*), avtor monografije *Multikulturalizem: pro et contra* ter soavtor monografije *Enake možnosti in družbena (ne)enakost v družbi znanja*. Je urednik publikacije *Handbook of Patriotism*, ki bo izšla pri založbi Springer.

Urška Štremfel

Urška Štremfel, PhD, is a research fellow at the Educational Research Institute in Ljubljana and part-time research fellow at the Centre for

Political Science Research at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana. Her research interests include the European aspects of policy analysis, especially new modes of EU. In that framework she has devoted special attention to the role international comparative assessment studies play in development of Slovenian education policies and practices and the development of evidence-based education.

Urška Štremfel, doktorica politoloških znanosti, je znanstvena sodelavka na Pedagoškem inštitutu, pri svojem raziskovalnem delu pa sodeluje tudi v Centru za politološke raziskave na Fakulteti za družbene vede Univerze v Ljubljani. Njen znanstveno-raziskovalni interes predstavlja evropsko sodelovanje na področju izobraževanja in njegov vpliv na nacionalni izobraževalni prostor. V tem okviru posebno pozornost namenja vlogi mednarodnih raziskav pri oblikovanju slovenske izobraževalne politike in izobraževalnih praks slovenskih šol ter razvoju na podatkih temelječega izobraževanja.

Sarah Hayes

Sarah Hayes is a research Professor in the College of Learning and Teaching (CoLT), University of Wolverhampton. Previously Sarah was a Senior Lecturer and Programme Director at Aston University, where she taught in Education and Sociology and is now an Honorary Professor. Sarah has also taught at University of Worcester, at international partner institutions and is an external examiner. Sarah's research spans Sociology, Higher Education Policy and technological change. Her new book *The Labour of Words in Higher Education: Is it Time to Reoccupy Policy?* is forthcoming through Brill (March, 2019). Sarah has recently published articles on WonkHE *and undertaken consultancy for UK Parliament to produce* a resource for university lecturers. Sarah is an Associate Editor for *Postdigital Science and Education* (Springer). Her research publications can be found on her Orcid, Google Scholar *and Aston Research Explorer web pages*.

Sarah Hayes je raziskovalna profesorica na Visoki šoli za učenje in poučevanje (CoLT) Univerze v Wolverhamptonu. Pred tem je bila višja predavateljica in programska direktorica na Univerzi Aston, kjer je poučevala v izobraževanju in sociologiji in kjer je sedaj častna profesorica. Poučevala je tudi na University of Worcester ter na mednarodnih partnerskih institucijah kot zunanji izpraševalec. Sarino raziskovanje obsega sociologijo, politike visokega šolstva in tehnološke spremembe. Njena nova knjiga *The Labour of Words in Higher Education: Is it Time to Reoccupy Policy?* bo izšla pri založbi Brill (marec 2019). Pred kratkim je objavila članke o WonkHE in opravila svetovanje v parlamentu Združenega

kraljestva za izdelavo virov za univerzitetne predavatelje. Je pridružena urednica pri reviji *Postdigital Science and Education* (Springer). Njene raziskovalne publikacije lahko najdete na spletnih straneh Orcid, Google Scholar in Aston Research Explorer.

Petar Jandrić

Petar Jandrić is Professor and Director of BSc (Informatics) programme at the Zagreb University of Applied Sciences, Croatia. His previous academic affiliations include Croatian Academic and Research Network, National e-Science Centre at the University of Edinburgh, Glasgow School of Art, and the University of East London. Petar's research interests are situated at the post-disciplinary intersections between technologies, pedagogies and the society, and research methodologies of his choice are inter-, trans-, and anti-disciplinarity. His latest books are *Learning in the Age of Digital Reason* (2017) and *The Digital University: A Dialogue and Manifesto* (2018). He is Editor-in-Chief of the journal *Postdigital Science and Education*: <https://www.springer.com/education+%26+language/journal/42438>. Personal website: <http://petarjandric.com/>.

Petar Jandrić je profesor in direktor študijskega programa Informatika na Zagrebski univerzi uporabnih znanosti na Hrvaškem. Njegove prejšnje akademske povezave vključujejo Hrvaško akademsko in raziskovalno mrežo, Nacionalni center e-znanosti na Univerzi v Edinburgu, Glasgow School of Art ter na Univerzi v East Londonu. Njegovi raziskovalni interesi so umeščeni na postdisciplinarnih križiščih med tehnologijami, pedagogikami in družbo, njegove raziskovalne metodologije pa so med-, trans- in anti-disciplinarnost. Njegove najnovejše knjige so *Learning in the Age of Digital Reason* (2017) in *Digital University: Dialogue and Manifesto* (2018). Je glavni urednik revije *Postdigital Science and Education*: <https://www.springer.com/education+%26+language/journal/42438>. Osebna spletna stran: <http://petarjandric.com/>.

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The submission should be accompanied by a statement that the submission is not being considered for publication in any other journal or book collection.

The spacing of the article should be double spaced, the font Times New Roman (size 12 in the main text and size 10 in the footnotes). Paragraphs should be indicated using an empty row. There are three types of hierarchical subheadings, which should be numbered as follows:

- I.
- I.1
- I.1.1

For emphasis, use italics only. Words in a foreign language should also be italicized. Use self-numbered footnotes. Double quotations marks should be used for quotes in the text and single quotation marks for quotes within quotes. Longer quotations (more than 5 lines) should be extracted in separate paragraphs and separated from the rest of the text by omitting the rows and by having an indentation to the right. The source of the quotation should be in round brackets at the end of the quotation, e.g. (Benjamin, 1974, pp. 42-44).

Please mark in the text the place where a graphic product (tables, diagrams, charts, etc.) should be included, e.g. [Table 1 about here]. These products should be attached in a separate file (in 'eps', 'ai', 'tif' or 'jpg' format [300 dpi resolution]). The table title should be above the relevant table or the graph.

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Books:

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Journal Articles:

Kerr, D. (1999b) Changing the political culture: the advisory group on education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools. *Oxford Review of Education*. 25 (1-2), pp. 25-35.

Book chapters:

Walzer, M. (1992) The Civil Society Argument. In: Mouffe, Ch. (ed.), *Dimensions of Radical Democracy: Pluralism, Citizenship and Community*. London: Routledge.

Websites:

http://www.cahiers-pedagogiques.com/article.php?id_article=881 (5, 5, 2008).

Šolsko polje, Mestni trg 17, 1000 Ljubljana; tel.: 01 4201 240, fax: 01 4201 266,

e-pošta: info@theschoolfield.com; mitja.sardoc@guest.arnes.si

Šolsko polje, Slovensko društvo raziskovalcev šolskega polja, Mestni trg 17, 1000

Ljubljana, e-pošta: mitja.sardoc@guest.arnes.si; tel.: 01 420 12 53, fax: 01 420 12 66

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