

**Advertising Advantage: The International Baccalaureate, social justice and
the marketisation of schooling**

Paper WHIO5426

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**Presented to Australian Association for Research in Education Annual conference,
Parramatta, 27 November -1 December, 2005**

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Advertising Advantage: The International Baccalaureate, social justice and the marketisation of schooling¹

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ABSTRACT: *In South Australia the introduction of the International Baccalaureate (IB) has taken place at a frenetic pace in recent years and represents a significant change in the curriculum landscape. This paper contextualises the growth of the IB as an aspect of the marketisation of schooling and then focuses on the implications of both for ongoing issues of social justice in education. Firstly, I review the history and aims of the IB and also research on marketisation of schooling. Then I explore the IB's role in marketisation through an analysis of school advertisements in South Australia's daily newspaper, the Advertiser, in 2003. The main argument is that schools who featured the IB in their advertisements were selling social advantage rather than social justice, and the IB was deployed as a commodity that increased their advantage in the education marketplace rather than a curriculum with socially just ideals.*

The introduction of the International Baccalaureate (IB), especially in private schools in South Australia, has taken place at a frenetic pace in recent years. At the end of 2002 there were thirty schools offering various forms of this curriculum and South Australia ranked 'second only to Quebec in Canada in terms of its IB school population size' (Holmes 2002). A further twenty schools, both public and private, were implementing IB programs and preparing for accreditation, and Greg Valentine, Australasia's IB representative, was quoted in the *Sunday Mail* as saying that such growth was 'quite astronomical ... I think it will only be a short time before Adelaide has the largest number of IB schools in any city in the world' (Holmes 2002). In the same article a principal claimed that the adoption of the IB was 'part of our direction to be a world-class school' that prepared students not just 'for work or higher education but to be global citizens, responsible citizens' (Holmes 2002).

This paper is set against a backdrop of significant change in the curriculum landscape and perhaps the purposes of education. Firstly, the paper reviews the history and aims of the IB, paying particular attention to its position on social justice. Then the current growth of the IB is contextualised as an aspect of the marketisation of schooling which has proceeded apace in the last decade or so. This discussion also raises concerns about the impact of marketisation on ongoing issues of social justice in education. The remainder of the paper is an analysis of school advertisements in South Australia's daily newspaper, the *Advertiser*, in 2003, focusing on those schools that mentioned the IB, that is forty out of 145 advertisements. This section begins by identifying key messages that are being promulgated by these schools and exploring the extent to which the ideals of the IB are represented in their advertisements. The paper then asks what these advertisements communicate about the nature of social and gender relations and discusses the implications for social justice. The main argument is that in 2003 these schools were selling social advantage rather than social justice, and in their advertisements the IB was represented as

¹ This presentation is dedicated to Peter Sullivan whose untimely death prevented him from contributing to the paper we had agreed to write based on his collection of advertisements, and which expressed his commitment to socially just schooling. The major themes of the paper draw on Peter's ideas about the IB, marketisation and social justice as expressed in an M Ed essay. The analysis of the advertisements is mostly my work, especially the discussion of gender inequalities.

a commodity which enhances the former rather than a curriculum that might contribute to the preparation of responsible citizens who are committed to a socially just society.

Idealism, pragmatism and the IB

The International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO) was founded in 1968 as a non-profit educational foundation based in Geneva, Switzerland. Its website states that 'its original purpose was to facilitate the international mobility of students preparing for university by providing schools with a curriculum and diploma recognized by universities around the world' (History of the IBO). In the early years grants from UNESCO, the 20th Century Fund and the Ford Foundation were used to develop the IB Diploma Programme for use in international schools, of which there were two types. Some schools were established to bring together students of different nationalities with the aim of 'breaking down national prejudices' (Peterson 1972, p. 19) while others provided education for diplomats' children as well as other children who were in transience by nature of their parents' occupations. According to one of its early advocates, Alec Peterson, the IB was therefore marked by a mixture of the 'idealism of those who see international education the best hope of promoting international understanding ... and the pragmatic realism of those who demand more international schools to serve the growing mobile business community' (Peterson 1972, p. 122). In 1972 he registered his disappointment that no socialist countries and 'no developing countries in Africa' (Peterson 1972, p. 104) were involved in the IB. Thus from the outset it seems that the IBO was an organization that catered the wealthy and socially advantaged, and the pattern of IB take-up in Australian schools since the mid-1980s bears this out. 'Of the twelve schools in Australia offering the IB up until November 1991, ten were non-government schools' (Bagnall 1997, p. 134). Currently there are seventy-two registered IB schools in Australia, among them thirteen public schools. Thirty-seven schools offer the IB Diploma, and eighteen and seventeen schools offer the Middle Years and Primary Years Programmes respectively. As far as South Australia is concerned, there are seven registered IB Diploma schools, eleven Middle Years and eight Primary Years schools. Some IB schools are registered for more than one IB programme. This paper will show that South Australian schools that used the IB as part of their advertisements in 2003 catered for wealthy and socially advantaged students.

Although the IBO grew out of efforts to establish a university credential for socially advantaged students, the IB Diploma has always sought to provide them with 'a truly international education – an education that encouraged an understanding and appreciation of other cultures, languages and points of view' (History of the IBO). Those who established the IB 'believed that a "balanced" education was needed to prepare students for university' (Bagnall 1997, p. 130) and they hoped that critical thinking and exposure to multiple perspectives would encourage intercultural understanding by young people. To these ends the humanities subjects and language studies are strongly represented in the IB curriculum. The IB also claims a civic function, namely the development of 'responsible, compassionate citizens' (The Diploma Programme curriculum) and to this end 'IB programmes inspire in students concern for the environment and community' (Bunnell 2003, p. 14). The understandings that underpin the IB, therefore, draw on a liberal orientation towards social justice, as distinguished from the conservative or socially critical perspectives. Starr (1991, p. 22) argues that 'liberals emphasize the need for individuals to develop a strong sense of self-esteem and individual worth. With this social thinking, it is believed, there will develop an ethos of tolerance, acceptance, and a valuing of all people', whatever their class, gender, race or ability. According to the liberal ideal it is possible to redress the marginalisation of individuals and groups and achieve social justice within current social and political structures. Given that the IB was developed within this framework, it has the potential

to educate its socially advantaged students to be responsible citizens who are committed to building more socially just society.

Whatever the ideals of the IB, it is clear that it has been caught up in the growing marketisation of schooling. Internet searches reveal a plethora of information promoting the IB in Australian schools. School brochures, home pages and other advertising material can easily be found with the logo 'IB World School', but all seem to be designed to promote the school rather than the ideals of the IB (Sullivan 2004). As previously mentioned, the IB has become very popular in Australian schools in recent years but there has been little analysis of this phenomenon aside from Bagnall's research. He concluded that IB students 'were interested in attaining global cultural capital that would help put them ahead of the "pack"' (Bagnall 1997, p. 142), an indication that their engagement with this curriculum was more of a market relationship than a commitment to its socially just ideals. The following section situates the growth of the IB in a broader context by providing a general discussion of the marketisation of schooling and considering its impact on social justice in education.

Education markets and social justice

Schools in recent years have been extensively involved in marketing their 'product'. Readers of both state and local newspapers can see that schools are spending thousands of dollars to occupy space specifically for marketing purposes (Sullivan 2004). While it might be argued that it has always been a role of schools to promote their products and that to varying degrees this occurred in the past (Reid 2005), especially among private schools, Blackmore and Thorpe (2003, p. 581) argue that 'global structural change based on market relations has led Australian governments over the last decade or so to redesign educational institutions along market lines. This restructuring in Australia has been characterized by the privatization of educational costs, the marketisation of education as a commodity and the managerialisation of governance', and similar trends have occurred in the United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand and the United States (Kenway & Bullen 2001; Whitty, Power & Halpin 1998). Symes (1998, pp. 133-134) claims that 'the entry of competition into education has led to a blossoming of an entrepreneurial culture; which is most marked in school advertising and prospectuses', the former being the subject of subsequent analysis in this paper.

The infiltration of market forces in determining the function of education is problematic. Marketisation is not merely a technology and educational markets are not neutral mechanisms. Rather, they are a set of practices and relationships that reflect particular ideologies about the purposes of education, curriculum and social relations. Symes (1998, p. 134) argues that the 'attachment of market criteria to its functions challenges the traditional idea of education as a cultural asset that makes an indispensable contribution to nationhood and whose values and worth transcend economic accountability and instrumentalism'. Competition and consumerism are subsuming the civic functions of education (Reid 2005). Furthermore, 'far from contributing to diversity, the operation of market forces appears to be leading to the consolidation of traditional academic models of schooling' (Whitty, Power & Halpin 1998, p. 14) where the focus is on the basic subjects in primary schools and success in the competitive academic curriculum in the final years of secondary schools. If the IB and the marketisation of schools are linked then it might be deployed a marketing tool rather than a curriculum that is underpinned by humanitarian and civic ideals. It could also be that the IB's goal of producing responsible citizens who understand and appreciate individual and social diversity has become more problematic as students' identities are reconstructed along more individualistic and competitive lines by a

market-driven curriculum. Indeed Meadmore and Meadmore (2004, p. 376) have argued that ‘the incitement to perform in a market calls for a re-shaping of educational identities in a culture where competition and accountability are valorized as necessary aspects of enterprise’.

While the impact of the marketisation of schooling on the IB is one focus of the paper, of greater concern are the further segregation of society and the escalation of social injustice as market forces drive schools and their curriculum. In Australia and other western countries schooling is already heavily stratified by wealth and area of residence – ‘selection by mortgage’ is the term used by Gorard, Fitz and Taylor (2001, p. 18). And there is compelling evidence that a marketised education system exacerbates class, race and ethnic differences among students, schools and society generally. Whereas ‘a non-market system enables prior social inequalities to be modified by the provision of high quality education to all students ... a market system reinforces prior social inequalities and creates new and worse inequalities’ (Marginson 1997, p. 6). This can be seen at the level of individual schools and students, where already wealthy and popular schools increase their market advantage by enrolling the ‘cream’ of available students, namely those who are academically and/or culturally distinguished and who can add value to the school. The more students these schools attract, the greater the schools’ capacity to choose among them. As Dwyer (1998, p. 27) states, ‘selectivity means selection of students, not selection by students’. This is of particular importance in Australia, which has the largest private school system in the western world. Approximately one third of Australia’s students, its most wealthy among them, attend private schools, and these are the schools most likely to have adopted the IB. Although there is a substantial Catholic school sector that caters for a diverse range of students, private schooling is generally represented as the prerogative of the wealthy, and marketisation has resulted in private schools consolidating their advantage while at the same time maintaining their independence (Blackmore & Thorpe 2003; Meadmore & Meadmore 2004; Reid 2005; Teese 1998). However, for members of low-income groups who are more likely to be attending public schools, marketisation and the withdrawal of government funds have compounded their economic and social disadvantage. In essence, the marketisation of schooling does nothing to ameliorate the segregation of society or address issues of social justice. As Connell (1998b, p. 93) states ‘market reforms do not tend towards social justice. Simple local markets aside, the commodification of education does not eliminate the social hierarchies that created the problem of social justice in education. Rather, commodification changes the way inequalities are expressed, and eliminates some of the most important strategies for challenging them... Though the precise effects vary from locality to locality, the broad effect is to increase social stratification between schools. The main beneficiaries are the already privileged – families with money, know-how and mobility’. Given that these families are also the ones who have historically had greatest access to the IB it is pertinent to enquire into its role in the contemporary education marketplace. The following sections focus specifically on those schools that mentioned the IB when they marketed their products in the *Advertiser* in 2003.

Selecting socially advantaged students

Kenway and Fitzclarence (1998, p. 664) state that ‘direct advertising is now considered a normal and uncontroversial practice through which schools seek to attract students and thus finance and to extend their reputation’. Advertising is an integral part of the marketisation of schooling and in 2003 there were 145 school advertisements in South Australia’s daily newspaper, the *Advertiser*, 136 of which were placed by private schools. Although these schools only attract thirty per cent of the state’s students, it is clear that private schools are more likely to use this particular print media to stake their claims in the education marketplace. School advertisements, like any others, are selective and strategic in the images and messages that are promoted to their customers. Schools present what they consider to be their most desirable features to persuade

buyers and in so doing they shape expectations about contemporary education and the kinds of students who might be produced as a result of attending their schools (Blackmore & Thorpe 2003, Kenway & Fitzclarence 1998). In 2003 forty of the advertisements mentioned the IB in their texts and they came from nine private and one public school. Although there are many other IB schools in South Australia they did not choose to promote the IB in the *Advertiser* in 2003 and thus they are not included in the following analysis.

There is some diversity among the ten schools that used the IB in their advertisements but they share an important feature, namely a relatively wealthy middle class population. Twenty-nine advertisements came from three schools: St Andrews, a 'leading independent' primary school that charges very high tuition fees placed fifteen large advertisements. It was followed by two boys' schools, Prince Alfred College (eight advertisements) and St Peters College (six advertisements), whose annual tuition fees are \$10,950 and \$12,020 respectively (Chapman 2003). A base rate for of \$2,000 for these kinds of advertisements, plus loadings of thirty-five per cent for a Saturday publication, for example, indicate the substantial investment these three schools are making in marketing their products in this newspaper alone (Sullivan 2004). All of St Andrews' advertisements were 26cm x 10cm and appeared on a Saturday, as did most of St Peters'. St Peters featured one large uncluttered photo and used text sparingly, and both schools gave the impression that they were so wealthy that they could afford to waste advertising space. Three more IB schools, namely Walford Anglican School for Girls, and the coeducational Immanuel College and Pembroke School also charge fees in excess of \$9,000, while tuition at the remaining three private coeducational schools, Mercedes College, Concordia College and Woodcroft College, is more modest (\$4,000-\$6,000). The only public school, Glenunga International High School, completes the list of schools that used the IB as part of their promotion in the *Advertiser*. Although there is some diversity in terms of tuition fees and students, all of these schools are located in Adelaide's most prestigious suburbs. Thus their 'natural catchment areas' (Gewirtz, Ball & Bowe 1995, p. 58) are those populated predominantly by socially advantaged families. Only one advertisement from Mercedes College acknowledged the segregation of society by wealth when it appealed to consumers to subscribe to an education that 'doesn't cost the earth'. Here, however, education is being represented as 'a pecuniary asset' (Symes 1998, p. 139), much like an insurance policy that provides buyers with future security rather than a vehicle for social justice. The general impression, therefore, is that the ten schools that were selling the IB as part of their educational product are wealthy middle class schools. And as Connell (1998b, p. 92) points out, 'what families are buying in this market is not an educational service as such – that is available to them free of charge in state schools. They are buying an educational and social advantage'.

Although each of these schools was trying to persuade consumers to buy education from their school, most deployed techniques suggesting that there were limited places available and thus that they could afford to be very selective about the kinds of students they were prepared to enroll. The 'Open Day' was the most frequent subject of these advertisements, followed by music and academic scholarships. 'Interested families' were invited to 'meet the Headmaster [or Principal] and senior staff' and see 'outstanding facilities' at St Peters College, 'be entertained by our talented musicians' at Concordia College, and find out about 'gifted and talented' classes, but most schools required consumers to formally register interest before the event. As far as scholarships were concerned, these schools were searching for academically able students 'who stay in the system longer and thus bring in more money, as well as making the school appear successful in terms of test scores' (Whitty, Power & Halpin 1998, p. 117). The music scholarships were also indicators of the schools' academic and cultural elitism. Only students who could participate in choirs or demonstrate talent in instruments such as 'strings, oboe, bassoon, trumpet and horn' were welcome to apply. There was no place for the potential rock

star or country and western musician. Potential students had to establish 'fitness for the school's purposes' (Whitty, Power & Halpin 1998, p. 119) at an interview, and selection usually included a written examination and also audition in the case of music scholarships. These schools' selectivity was also apparent in their use of visual images as part of their sales' pitch. Every student was wearing school uniform and engaged in sedentary activity; every student seemed to be able-bodied and almost all students were of European appearance. The images suggest that the schools are unable to countenance individual differences, let alone social differences. The only exception was that some were prepared to accept the Eurasian musician as a scholarship student. It seems that only the socially advantaged need apply, and that the kind of selectivity that operates in these schools 'is narrowly reproductive and serves to stratify schooling and society in an undemocratic way' (Dwyer 1998, p. 28).

As far as the IB is concerned, there is virtually nothing in the advertisements to suggest that these schools are embracing its humanitarian, civic and socially just ideals. Instead, the focus is on international mobility, academic and social advantage. In thirty-six of the forty advertisements a small 'IB World School' logo was assigned to a corner of the text and no further reference was made to the IB. The lone advertisement for Glenunga International High School's open day was the only one in which the IB featured prominently and was integral to the school's *raison d'être*. St Andrews alluded to the IB by promoting its 'internationally recognized curriculum' and Mercedes College offered a 'world-class education' in one advertisement. Together, the logo and these fleeting references indicate that the IB is a commodity that facilitates international mobility and excellence in a competitive academic curriculum. Indeed, the IB is a package that is sold to enhance these schools' social advantage in the education marketplace.

There were no explicit references to the IB's commitment to a liberal education for intercultural understanding and responsible citizenship. Walford Anglican School for Girls did position its product as a 'progressive' education offering a balance of 'academic, cultural and sporting' activities but the focus was on 'excellence' rather than intercultural understanding. St Andrews fostered 'intellectual curiosity, creativity and self esteem' but no understanding and appreciation of other cultures, languages and points of view. One advertisement from Mercedes College offered a 'well-rounded education' and requested a 'commitment to service' from its scholarship winners, and another from Concordia College suggested an interest in community by promoting the 'Unley Way to Go Fair'. These are but isolated examples detached from the IB. Furthermore, these schools do not indicate commitment to any form of social justice. Even schools who chose to declare their religious affiliation did not do so consistently, and except for one advertisement from each of Mercedes and Concordia Colleges, there was no indication that Christian ideals informed their educational programmes. These schools do not seem to be interested in producing students who identify with the ideals of intercultural understanding and responsible citizenship promulgated by the IBO. However, in a marketised environment their texts and images are forcefully communicating about the gendered nature of social relations and student identities (Kenway & Bullen 2001, p. 31). The final section of the paper attends to the ways in which individual students are being constructed in these advertisements.

What are little boys and girls made of?

As previously mentioned, there is little indication in the forty advertisements that education serves civic as well as individual purposes, or indeed that schools are embedded in communities of diverse social relationships and family structures. Rather, in more than half of the advertisements the 'notion of school as family' (Symes 1998, p. 138) is either stated or implied. St Andrews constantly refers to its 'caring family environment' and the important role played by parents, while Walford promotes its 'family ethos', and most schools acknowledge the

importance of the family in promoting their open days. However, these schools seem to have a particular kind of family in mind as they sell their educational product, namely the middle class, heterosexual, two-parent family in which the male is the primary wage earner. This family is most powerfully represented in the Prince Alfred College advertisements, which feature a father engaged in conversation with the eldest son while mother is being pulled towards the camera by the younger son. There are multiple representations of stability and tradition in these images. Consumers are reminded that this school was 'founded in 1869' and the family is pictured in front of the arches of one of the College's old buildings. The boys are wearing school uniform of course, and father in his business suit is a reminder not only of social class but also the flexible working hours of executives in the corporate world. Mother, however, is not dressed for paid work in the corporate workplace. She is wearing casual trousers, sandals, top and cardigan, that is the contemporary equivalent of the 1950s middle class mother's twin set and pearls. While Prince Alfred College promotes the most traditional of patriarchal families, the mothers at Mercedes College and St Andrews are wearing corporate clothing, thereby acknowledging the dual income middle class family. There are no images or texts in any advertisements that attempt to portray these schools as satisfying the needs of single parents of disadvantaged backgrounds or those lacking family support structures (Sullivan 2004). In essence, the notion of school as family that is portrayed in these advertisements upholds unequal gender relations.

Not only do 'markets in schooling construct and articulate the gendered power relationships within families' (Kenway & Fitzclarence 1998, p. 671) but it also seems that these relationships are replicated at school. Women do the secretarial work, taking bookings for school tours and distributing enrolment information at Prince Alfred, Mercedes, St Peters, Concordia and Immanuel Colleges, along with Pembroke School and St Andrews, but it is the Headmaster or Principal and senior staff whom parents meet when they visit (Gewirtz, Ball & Bowe 1995, p. 128). Women teachers have no presence at all in the advertisements, thereby reinforcing the conservative social relations among adults that are promulgated by these schools.

Although the advertisements concentrate on family rather than community and communicate much about adult social relations, the prime focus, of course, is the children who are mostly referred to as 'students' in the texts. The coeducational St Andrews primary school is the most explicit of all schools about the kind of student it intends to produce and the sheer size and number of its advertisements suggests that its message resonates with socially advantaged families in the education marketplace. Consumers are repeatedly told that the educational product here 'caters for the individual'. Buying an education at St Andrews means that individual students are 'motivated and challenged' to learn and they are taught 'research skills, reasoning skills, communication skills and self-management skills'. These are precisely the skills required of the entrepreneurial individual who will provide leadership in corporate workplaces. 'Success in a competitive market is contingent on a positive, flexible and adaptable disposition towards change' (Meadmore & Meadmore 2004, p. 377). Positive 'self esteem' is a valued learning outcome and every student in every advertisement at St Andrews and elsewhere is happy and on-task. It seems that there are no angry or unruly individuals in these schools. Giroux (1999, p. 143) argues that this 'excessive celebration of individual sovereignty ... feeds a value system in which a definition of education as exclusively a private good displaces compassion, solidarity, cooperation, social responsibility and other attributes of education as a social good'. There are no images of students working in groups, participating in their local communities or even playing team sports for example. The only sign of unsupervised interaction in the forty advertisements is a group of well-behaved students sitting in a circle on the well-manicured lawns of Concordia College. Aside from two mentions of community service the texts are devoid of references to citizenship or social responsibility. It seems that these schools have reneged on their 'responsibilities for creating a democracy of citizens' (Giroux 1999, p. 146), constructing 8

instead the entrepreneurial individual whose only commitment is to the corporate workplace. The fleeting presence of the IB in the advertisements, however, gives the impression that such an individual will be able to move from country to country in pursuit of employment.

Aside from the single sex schools, there are few references to students as boys and girls but all the same, the advertisements reveal much about the construction of gender in the student population as well as among adults. All boys are good-looking and have short hair. Their neat uniforms are usually emblazoned with the school coat of arms in the tradition of the early twentieth century corporate boys' schools, and demonstrate their allegiance to their schools' values. Some of the current anxieties about boys' education are played out in the advertisements of the two boys' schools. Prince Alfred College offers but does not define 'Best Practice Schooling for Boys'. Nevertheless, best practice seems to begin at the "'Little Princes" kindergarten', include 'Gifted and Talented Programs', use the 'new Library / IT complex' and culminate in the production of an entrepreneurial leader. All of St Peters College advertisements feature a handsome and vulnerable young man focusing intently on fashioning a pot on a pottery wheel. Meadmore and Meadmore (2004, p. 381) point out that in contemporary 'promotional materials it is not uncommon for private schools to present a case that young men in particular need to develop soft skills in order not only to prosper as leaders but also to survive in a personal sense'. This is the case at St Peters but the accompanying text is a reminder of such schools' traditional preoccupations with sport and male leadership as signified by the nomenclature of 'Headmaster' rather than principal. These schools' texts and images are consistent with the entrepreneurial individual. Indeed, the entrepreneurial individual is gendered male.

While little boys are made of the skills required to follow their fathers as leaders in the corporate world, little girls, especially those at Walford Anglican School for Girls develop the 'finesse and decorum associated with middle class womanhood' (Symes 1998, p. 145) in a 'dynamic and progressive school renowned for its long tradition of academic, cultural and sporting excellence'. Walford girls are the same as the girls in every other advertisement. All have long hair tied back to reveal fresh, attractive and cheerful faces. There is no short hair, traditionally associated with dangerous and mannish women but more recently with lesbianism. Girls' uniforms are modest and traditional, consisting mostly of calf-length skirts, shirt, tie and blazer, and they do not adorn themselves with makeup or jewelry. Walford is typical of girls' schools in that its advertisement has a photo of a science laboratory, traditionally used to signify equivalence with boys' education, and another of a violinist to uphold the feminine accomplishments. Its images are appropriated from history not contemporary feminism (Symes 1998). While entrepreneurial attributes such as communication skills and self-management skills are consistent with constructions of middle class femininities, the absence of qualities such as caring and compassion indicate that the entrepreneurial individual is more likely to be gendered male than female. Furthermore, although St Andrews' advertisements provide compelling evidence of the entrepreneurial individual, girls' and women's attachment to domesticity is demonstrated in the image of a little girl being escorted to school by her mother. As has traditionally been the case, little boys are made for leadership in the corporate world but little girls are made for service to the corporate workplace and to family. In essence, these schools communicate powerfully about the reproduction of social advantage, valorize the entrepreneurial individual and provide equally strong messages about unequal gender relations.

Conclusion

Meadmore and Meadmore (2004, p. 381) assert that 'promotional materials in the public domain should not be dismissed or underestimated' for they make important claims about the values being promulgated by contemporary schools in the education marketplace. This paper's focus 9

on advertisements in South Australia's daily newspaper has confirmed research about the impact of the marketisation of schooling in recent years. Firstly, among the schools that used the IB in their advertisements, traditional models of schooling that focus on academic excellence are being consolidated. In this context pragmatic realism overrides the IB's humanitarian and socially just ideals. Secondly, it seems that student identities are being reconstructed along individualistic lines as these schools teach the skills required of the entrepreneurial individual in the corporate workplace rather than a socially responsible citizen. In this situation the IB is a commodity that fosters the entrepreneurial individual's international mobility rather than a curriculum that enhances intercultural understanding and a commitment to community and social justice. Thirdly, marketisation reproduces class and gender inequalities. These relatively wealthy schools are in the business of selecting a socially and culturally homogenous population of compliant and academically able students, and the IB as an educational product reinforces social advantage. Of equal importance is that hegemonic masculinities and femininities are upheld, along with the traditional nuclear family, in the gendered construction of the entrepreneurial individual. In essence, the forty promotional materials that have been the subject of this analysis are not only selling an educational product which includes the IB. They are telling much about the purposes of education in contemporary schools and the nature of social relations. What is missing however, is a commitment to social justice from these schools. Such a commitment might be revealed if the humanitarian ideals of the IB underpinned their advertisements rather than the reproduction of social advantage in the education marketplace.

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