Special Issue: Public Pedagogies

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The Australian Journal of Adult Learning is an official publication of Adult Learning Australia (ALA). It is concerned with the theory, research and practice of adult and community education, and to promote critical thinking and research in this field. While the prime focus is on Australia, the practice of adult education and learning is an international field and Australia is connected to all parts of the globe, and therefore papers relating to other countries and contexts are welcome. Papers in the refereed section have been blind reviewed by at least two members from a pool of specialist referees from Australia and overseas.

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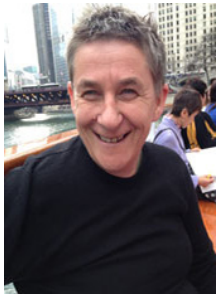
Special Issue: Public Pedagogies

From the Guest Editors' desk

Karen Charman and Maureen Ryan



This issue of AJAL explores learning and teaching beyond 'formal institutions', a determinant that is included in most definitions of public pedagogies. However, public pedagogies continues to be a richly contested term. Every day, somewhere, someone is acting to ***create*** in the public sphere learning and teaching spaces. These spaces and the people involved might inhabit a ***public space*** such as a class in a neighborhood house, a community group focusing on an issue of concern, a public art project, a museum planning an exhibition, the daily populating of a public library, a social media site or an exchange of ideas in the street. ***Pedagogy*** is relational and it is through interaction that the intangible and fragile nature of learning is enacted.

In the last fifteen years there has been a significant increase in the theorisation and along with it, problematising of public pedagogies. A salient question is how does a civic society continue to interrogate and challenge itself under the increasing pressure of the neo-liberal demand for measurement and economic determinants? This questioning has come from writers from diverse backgrounds and contexts (Burdick; Sandlin; O'Malley; Giroux; Ellsworth). Just as advocates of a shared community argue that neo-liberalism has seen the erosion of the 'public', discussions of how these spaces can be re-claimed for pedagogical purposes are emerging.

This special issue's concern is to continue these conversations through the investigation of a range of spaces that create and enact public pedagogies. These articles make a major contribution to the linkage between the theorisation of enactment and the geographical cultural situated spaces of learning. The spaces explored in this edition are local and global with several of the Melbourne based articles joined by those from other places in Australia, Taiwan and Chile. There is a visual arts focus with examples of photography and installation in Karen Charman's and Debbie Qadri's articles respectively as well as an exploration of visual communication in museum design in Meghan Kelly's article. Similarly, John Haycock presents a strong argument for protest music as adult education for social change.

Several of the articles like Ligia Pelosi's and Debbie Qadri's demonstrate the valuable intersections between schools as traditional spaces of learning and the communities in which they are located. Pelosi's article is again arts based and tells the story of the *Paint the Gardens* annual event in the Williamstown Botanical Gardens. It is an event that draws both active and passive participants across the community providing pedagogical opportunities for transformation of those involved and of the public space and perceptions and understandings of its past and future.

As such, public history is a theme in Ligia Pelosi's article and also in other articles with both Karen Charman and Debbie Qadri looking at the reciprocal role that community members play as both contributors to and consumers of public history. These articles, along with the one prepared by Anne Hickling-Hudson and Erika Hepple are forward

looking in that they address issues that confront teachers both as adult learners and in their roles in helping to shape the adult learners of the future.

Both Sally Thompson and Ya-Hui Lee raise issues around what might be regarded as incidental learning which may tend accordingly to be overlooked in formal reviews in neighbourhood houses and in older adult education programs. Thompson presents strong evidence of the important pedagogical roles played by administrative and support staff in neighbourhood houses in English learning programs. Lee in discussing shifts in older adult education programs in Taiwan notes the shift from senior citizens as targets of support and assistance to older adults being seen as valuable human resources.

The public locations described in the articles include libraries, museums, schools, universities, gardens, neighbourhood houses and spaces outside of those. For Jo Williams, it is the streets of Chile, for Debbie Qadri, it is the local railway station and for Karen Charman it is a disused shop front.

While political issues are explicit in Jo Williams' passionate description of the Chilean student movement and in Anne Hickling-Hudson and Erika Heppel's commitment to global justice in their work with student teachers, it provides a strong backdrop in most articles.

The diversity of the articles in this edition direct our attention to the rich potential that both "public" and "pedagogies" have to continue to shape adult education and open the way for ongoing interrogation of these terms.

Lastly, the book reviewed, *Problematizing Public Pedagogy* 2014 (edited by Burdick, Sandlin and O'Malley) further attests the productively difficult terrain of definition. Choosing this edited collection as the review book for this special edition creates the opportunity to continue a dialogue. We hope this edition prompts such dialogue, as well as thought and enactment and we encourage you to engage further at

www.publicpedagogies.org.

Karen Charman and Maureen Ryan

*The editors would like to thank the Office of Learning and Teaching for their initial and extension grants **Learning and Teaching in Public Spaces**, which have opened the way for the expansion of this work on public pedagogies.*

***Karen Charman's** academic research is around memory, representation and communities. Karen is a Senior Lecturer at Victoria University, Melbourne.*

***Maureen Ryan** is a Professor in the College of Education at Victoria University and Director, Gallery Sunshine Everywhere. Maureen is committed to collaborative and community focussed teaching and research. In her work she continues to explore aspects of the relationships between education and the community and the partnerships possible. She continues to develop understanding and knowledge round the skills and understanding that people working to create and build partnerships and the particular ways in which arts and activity based projects can enable these things to happen.*

People who have reviewed for AJAL in 2015

Scholarly journals depend on the contributions and support of referees in ensuring their ongoing quality. Without the generosity, wisdom, and rigour of our reviewers, the *Australian Journal of Adult Learning* could not exist. I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge and thank all those who have given of their time and expertise over the year.

Name	Institution
Andrewartha, Lisa	La Trobe University
Brennan, Barrie	University of New England (UNE)
Brigden, Cathy	RMIT University
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Clerke, Teena	University of Technology, Sydney (UTS)
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Tony Brown, Editor

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A space for memory

Karen Charman
Victoria University

In this article I examine the possibilities of reparation in an era of privatisation and de-industrialisation. I examine the effect of a recent project Sunshine Memory Space, a space, designed to evoke memories of a de-industrialised urban Melbourne suburb Sunshine. This project offered the opportunity for the effects of industrial change to be publically represented, remembered and valued. I offer an analysis of the significance of relational localised curatorial work.

Keywords: *memory, de-industrialistion, curation, psychoanalysis.*

The *Memory Space* project operated from a council run art space over two weeks. In an effort to rejuvenate a section of the suburb of Sunshine, Melbourne Brimbank City Council offered low rental on two shop fronts to be used as art spaces. One shop front houses practising artists and the other is an exhibition space. The purpose of the *Memory Space* project was to facilitate members of the Sunshine community to curate stories that were of significance to them. In effect the space would be one where the community could represent memories of the suburb. A key aim of the *Memory Space* project was to generate a space where older members of the community had the opportunity to reflect on and share their memories of the suburb. The idea for this project came from inter-generational work I initiated with undergraduate university students that would culminate in social history exhibitions. In this work I began to recognise the significance of an older person's narrative being realised

in a public setting.

Sunshine is located in the western suburbs of Melbourne and has a long industrial history. In more recent times Sunshine would best be described as post industrial changing radically the spatial dimensions of the suburb. In the past Sunshine was home to major industries, the largest of which was the Sunshine Harvester Factory, the biggest of its kind in the southern hemisphere. At its peak the Sunshine Harvester Factory employed nearly 3,000 workers. This factory is celebrated in the *Landmarks* exhibition in the Australian National Museum in Canberra as a segment of an exhibition that celebrates other milestones of industrialization as markers of progress. However, there are virtually no stories of the lives of people connected to the factory. As Tim Edensor (2005:43) notes "when 'universal', rigorous, scientific techniques are applied to the classification of objects and places, archives and archaeological traces, they tend to predominate over local memories or even efface them." Included in this installation is a harvester, early 1900s advertising posters of the harvester and photographs of suburban housing and garden[1] developments funded by the owner of the harvester factory Hugh McKay. Given the significance of this particular industry, the physical loss of the buildings that housed the factory was given scant attention in the *Landmarks* exhibition. The subsequent closure and demolishment of the factory is represented by a single image and was captured by a local resident. Industries like the Sunshine Harvester Factory contributed to the social life of the community through dances, picnics and sporting clubs. In research prior to setting up the memory space site I found articles in the 'Sunshine Advocate', the local newspaper, attesting to numerous dances, picnics and sporting clubs linked to major industries in the area. This image and text overleaf are indicative of the kind of relationship employees had to their place of work.

Nettlefolds Factory Employees
(source: Sunshine Historical Society photographer and date unknown)

NETTLEFOLDS DANCE

On Saturday evening there was a huge crowd at Nettlefolds' dance, and the financial result should substantially assist the funds. Lucas' band provided the music and Mr E. Nicholls was M.C. In addition to a dainty supper, every patron received a bottle of Coco Cola, a non-intoxicating beverage that tickled the palate. Nettlefolds Social Club arranged the dance without any expense to the special week of effort committee—a generous action that will be applauded by all residents. Mr. Ron Duxson is chairman of the club and Mr. Jack Davies secretary.

'Sunshine Advocate' Friday 23 August 1940

Now there are scant traces of these factories. Historically manufacturing and rail were two of the major determinants of everyday life in Sunshine. Living and inter generational memories of the height of industry persist amongst residents of the suburb.

The geographical area of Sunshine is split into north, south, east and west. This split is not just a cartographical separation but also a deeply felt geographical located identity marker. Indicative of this located identity are the strong opinions concerning a large railway overpass built in the early 1960's to alleviate traffic bank ups as a result of train movement. Prior to the overpass the movement from one side of the railway line to the other was regulated by a gated level crossing. One older resident told me that standing close by the gates when a steam train rushed through meant your clothes got steam cleaned. After the over pass was built it is still possible to walk from one side of the suburb to the other via an underpass. However, a number of people feel the overpass has split the suburb in half. Residents from the other side, the north side, visited South Sunshine less frequently despite the underpass. South Sunshine retains a low-density single shops village feel. On the north side are modern facilities such as a plaza and cinema complex. The main entrances to these modern facilities are all facing away from South Sunshine as though residents on the south are looking at the back of all the new development. In reality there is not a clear view of these modern facilities however the experience of those on the south side is as though the north has turned its back on them. South Sunshine is the site of the emerging Arts precinct.

Given the significance of industry, the first exhibition in the memory space was *Industrious Sunshine* consisting of a series of photos from the past depicting Sunshine. This exhibition was curated in partnership with the Sunshine Historical Society. The premise of this exhibition focus was the hope that the content would serve as a catalyst to elicit democratic determined future exhibitions. The photos used in this exhibition are usually hung at Sunshine Harvester Primary School. The memory space offered the opportunity to exhibit the photographs to a wider audience. Three photographs depicted a narrative of Sunshine over time — a shot taken from the same corner in the early 1900's again in the 1950's and lastly in the late 1980's. Further, a shot of workers leaving the Harvester Factory through massive iron gates demonstrates the number of employees at this particular industry. The railway is a significant part of Sunshine's heritage. Sunshine station or Braybrook Junction as it was formally known was the site of one of Australia's greatest rail disasters[2]. Three photographs reflected the railways, one

was of three men sitting on the platform with matching Gladstone bags, a 1900s shot of Braybrook Junction and another was of the train disaster. The other images concerned the Sunshine Harvester Factory and the associated fair wage case[3]. The photographs in the exhibition served as a prompt in the Memory Space to facilitate memories. What differentiates this concept from a social history museum, which also functions as a memory space[4], is the connection of object in and to a local place. The premise of a memory space is a community historical connection to a local place continues to be a significant emotional investment. However, certain geographical places are denied the possibility of symbolic frameworks for memory. This assertion is based on a hierarchy of cultural value whereby what becomes memoralised and preserved is thought to stand for the universal but in reality does not. Other fragments of the past persist but are considered insignificant such as industrial and de-industrialised landscapes. However, as Edensor (2008:313) notes:

> *Modern imperatives to swiftly bury the past produce cities that are haunted by that which has been consigned to irrelevance. Accordingly, the contemporary city is a palimpsest composed of different temporal elements, featuring signs, objects and vaguer traces that rebuke the tendencies to move on and forget.*

The creation of a memory space provides a located symbolic framework for memory and recognition of that which has been consigned to irrelevance.

There were many visitors to the memory space all of whom negotiated the re-calling of the past. A lot of older members of the Sunshine community came to the memory space and a memory of the railways in Sunshine was a recurring theme. One such visitor was Nigel, a man who has lived for most of his life in Sunshine and worked for the railways—most recently as a signalman. Nigel reminded me again of this absence of a symbolic framework for memory. He came to the memory space keen to offer photographs of the railways and to make an oral recording of his memories of the railways and Sunshine.

> *I joined the railway in 1985. It was really good you could get a job at the council you know if you were no good at reading and*

> *writing you could get a job as a laborer you could get a job at the railways or the dock yards…it was really easy to get a job if you weren't too good. I liked working outside I didn't like working in the factories. I was lad trainer I think that's what they called it and I was getting $7 an hour, which I thought I was quite rich I was nineteen years old. My grandfather got me the job in the railways we worked from 7.00-3.00 got morning tea lunch and afternoon tea. He was a boilermaker at Newport. My Dad's father worked in the railways as well, he was a gate keeper at Park Street. The house front door was seven feet from the train line. He retired in 1962 he had been in the railways since the Great War finished. I started as a labourer and from working as a track end I became a yard person my duties were to clean points and my other duties were working at the Sunshine G.E.B. big (wheat) silos cleaning the points and help put the trains together with locomotives which was good fun. There was over 60 shunters there but they are gone.*

In this exerpt of Nigel's recorded memories he is noting the inter-generational continuity of working for and employment with the railways. When Nigel started work in 1985 the railways was owned and operated by the State Government. Further, I can imagine his own employment in the railways would have been an affirmation of his grandfathers' working lives. What a worker invests in their work and what work has meant over generations is often a silenced and repressed aspect of industrial change. Critiques of neo-liberalism are characterised by its ahistorical propensity. As Henry A. Giroux (2013:21) notes, "History has been stripped of its critical and transcendent content and can no longer provide society with the historical insights necessary for the development of a collective critical consciousness…"

In the place of a collective critical understanding the difficulty encountered by workers to changes to a work place is often read through a neo-liberal rhetoric of failure to adapt to change. Further, in neo-liberalism there is a denial of the affective realm of what has been lost in the past. To name what it was, what it did and what it felt like is consigned to the realm of at best nostalgia. Nigel and other visitors to the memory space had a strong desire to participate in a symbolic framework for memory that is location specific. That is in part they

wanted to name what it was, what it did and what it felt like relative to Sunshine. Of course this raises questions about place and space. Analysis of modernity suggests that place is no longer influenced by localised activity. Anthony Giddens (1990:18) has argued that one of the consequences of modernity has been the separation of space from place. Place is determined by spatial forces quite removed from place. Certainly the place of the railways in Sunshine has been influenced and re-made from a space beyond the local. Consortiums made up of French and Finnish companies have owned and operated Melbourne's metropolitan railways for a number of years[5]. What a critique of neo-liberalism and the ever pressing push for economic reform reveals is the seductiveness of the teleology of progress — that demands a relinquishing of the past. What became clear in speaking with Nigel was how deeply affected he is by the privatisation of the railways, the subsequent changing of hands of ownership and the continual 'make over' of this particular industry. In part of his recording Nigel spoke of his wish for the railways to go back to government ownership:

> *I would love the railways to go back to the government but they won't do it. I find that public transport is public transport…you move people not to make money when you got to put a dollar on it, it's a bit hard. Because what happens is the railways gets fined for a certain amount of time its late that pressure goes onto the drivers to the signalmen and everyone else and its just pressure all of the time. Every time a new company come along its always hierarchy which is new but the people at the coal face are the ones that have to do the work we keep seeing all these different people and they keep having all these new ideas but we've all seen it before.*

In a neo-liberal world the people working in industry are synonymous with the other mechanisms of production. In a subsequent change of ownership the commitment on the part of the workers to the railways as a form of public service is evident in Nigel's following remark:

> *We work pretty hard like in 1999 I worked for Bayside trains it was M Train I was a union delegate we just got an agreement to get a pay rise for everybody then we got a phone call all the signal boxes in the metropolitan area got a phone call saying M Train*

> *are leaving they are pulling out National Express are pulling out they are going. So the workforce at the time could have said we could have stopped all the trains but we didn't we just kept working we were not sure what was going to happen we just kept working. I don't think the public knew that. We could of just stopped but we didn't we just kept working.*

Human agency is disregarded as though an individual should respond as a newly calibrated machine. However, a person's relationship to space is not so easily adjusted. Drawing on Henri Lefebvre, Edensor (2010:70) writes:

> *Serial features install a sense of spatial belonging, including the shops and houses passed – the street furniture – and routinised practices such as the purchase of the daily newspaper enfold social relations into the daily ritual. The daily apprehension of routine features may thus provide a comforting reliability and mobile homeliness.*

I want to put into this mix the rhythms of work in of itself a routine practice and one that also encompasses social relations. At the time of this *Memory Space* project the railway line was undergoing a substantial change that will culminate in the up grade of the line for a regional rail link but has meant the closure of the Sunshine signal box—Nigel's place of work. At the time of writing it is unclear if the signal box will remain or be demolished. If it is demolished this erasure will add to the accumulation of a triad—demise, closure and erasure of many other iconic Sunshine sites. Nigel has four hard drives full of photographs and a large percentage of these images are of the railway. Many of Nigel's images are shot from the signal box. When I asked Nigel his reasons for taking these pictures he was clear that it was to capture for the sake of memory this disappearing landscape.

Sunshine Signal Box. Photograph Nigel Gillies 2010

This is one of the few photographs Nigel took standing outside of the signal box. This photographic image of the Sunshine Signal Box functions as a memory trace a mnemonic symbol of remembrance and loss. In an analysis of Walter Benjamin's work Graeme Gilloch writes, "There is a difference between a photograph as an enduring mnemonic device and a dialectical image as an ephemeral moment of remembrance". Gilloch continues, "It is memory which opens up the past to endless interpolations, rendering it incomplete and contestable" (2002:230). For Benjamin the dialectical image captures something that is about to vanish forever – an image of an image of history – an allegory. I suggest these images of the signal box; station and the railway can be understood as a mnemonic device, an ephemeral moment of remembrance but also as allegory. The railway becomes a phantasmagorical site. Railway-yards, shunting, railway sidings, idle engines all exist at fewer locations with even fewer workers but in memory they are a site of figural affect persisting over time in both the past and the present. As allegory the photographs are more than just an image of this particular instance of loss but all of what has been lost in de-industrialisation.

Alongside Nigel's memories visitors to the Memory Space described the geography of the past. Such as vast tracts of farm land separating Sunshine from the inner suburbs of Melbourne, a station built and used when the greyhound racing was on, no longer literally there but present just the same, dedicated privately owned railway line that moved harvesters in and out of McKay's Factory, the largest factory in the southern hemisphere, gone. Hearing the memories passed down of the 1908 railway disaster, such as the living memory of an Uncle who was meant to be on that train but changed his shift. Now the railway line is changing again.

A direct result of the *Memory Space* and the exhibition *Industrious Sunshine* was *Views from a Signal Box* (2013) an exhibition of photographic shots taken by Nigel from his perspective looking out at the railway line from inside the signal box. A series of Nigel's images were hung in the art space. At the launch a number of people who are supportive of Nigel attended including his sister, brother in law, his psychologist and an industrial officer form the Railway Union. The grief Nigel carries as a consequence of the changes to the railways was given a public presence through the images but most importantly through Nigel's presence as he spoke about the photographs. As Schaffer and Smith (2004:3) write:

> *Through acts of remembering, individuals and communities narrate alternative or counter-histories coming from the margins, voiced by other kinds of subjects… These counter- histories emerge in part out of the formerly untold tales of those who have not benefited from the wealth, health, and future delivered to many others by the capital and technologies of modernity and postmodernity.*

This exhibition might be understood as a cultural intervention; an arresting of the tendency to wipe from the collective memory what the historical experience of working in an industry was actually like. Geoff Bright (2012:1) in his work with young people in a former coal mining community, writes about, "how insubordinate community histories – particularly those imagining a radical reconstitution of society – can come to be silenced and their situation rendered literally 'unspeakable' when a collective psycho-social space once redolent with hope becomes

a space of ruin". I argue Nigel's artistic intervention during the initial privatisation and subsequent changes of ownership of the railways constitutes a kind of preservation of self. In psychoanalytic terms an act of protecting and preserving work in the broadest sense as an internalised 'good object'. The term the 'good object' is associated with the psychoanalyst Melanie Klein (1882-1960). Object relations theory primarily focuses on our relationship to objects. For Klein, the term 'object' refers to a person as well as other objects. Our relationships to people or other objects are not static or wholly external but rather to a certain extent determined by our capacity to introject, to internalise a given object. Something more is occurring for Nigel in relation to the internalisation of all of what the railways are, that can be further accounted for through Freud's theory of 'Mourning and Melancholia.' Freud writes, "…the melancholic displays something…an extraordinary fall in his self-esteem, an impoverishment of his ego on a grand scale. From the analogy with grief we should have to conclude that the loss suffered by the melancholic is that of an object; according to what he says the loss is one in himself" (168). Although there has been the very real loss of his job in the signal box Nigel is deeply affected by the loss of all of what work meant as an expression of himself in the external world and as consequence of this loss he had turned in on himself. Having said this psychoanalysis is very much concerned with the internalisation of the external world. This internalisation is just as 'real' as the external occurrence. Nigel was negotiating this loss of something inside of himself as much as the loss incurred by the changes to the railways. Something of this state was repaired when he was able to give representation to what his view from the signal box had meant to him. I have written elsewhere regarding psychoanalytic interpretation of what was occurring for people when they came to the Memory Space to share a memory (see Charman, 2015 Affective spaces—the contribution of memory to place). Instead of a complete break with the attachment to everything work had represented the public representation of the photographs of the view from the signal box functions in a symbolic sense. In a psychoanalytic understanding of symbolisation Deborah P. Britzman (2006:44) writes:

> *In psychoanalytic terms…symbolisation is never simply representing more accurately the qualities of objects in the world. Nor is it a problem of decoding what is already there. Instead,*

> *symbolisation is an emotional experience… Symbolization serves to link feelings to their ideas and as such is a resource for relatedness. It bridges a lifetime of losing and re-finding objects and its vulnerability and promise lean upon two precarious resources that are often at odds even as both require construction and interpretation: internal or psychical reality and external or historical reality.*

The construction of the external reality simultaneously gives expression to an internal psychical reality. The act of taking the photograph of symbolising the railways and then exhibiting them in a public space creates the conditions for relatedness. If there is no capacity to acknowledge the affective realm of industrial change to work practices, the resultant effect on the sensibility of the work place and if the terms of a given workplace alter so radically as to make someone redundant it makes what was once valued become meaningless. The onus is on the individuals to re-conceptualize themselves within the newly structured work place, to argue their own 'worth'. However, the terms of 'worth' are so narrow as to exclude the way in which an individual's work has been valued before and significantly for this article to silence the affective and relational realm of work. This demands such a negation of self-hence the internal damage. So the act of Nigel exhibiting his photos can be seen as reparation — to repair the damaged internal object in this instance the railways.

V-Line Country Train Photograph Nigel Gillies 2010

In Nigel's photographs there is a double framing occurring. This shot is framed through his compositional gaze and an additional frame through the window of the signal box. The image when read this way is as much about the interiority of Nigel in the signal box as it of what is outside of the box. As such these photographs can be understood as Britzman (2006:44) notes above, "... internal or psychical reality and external or historical reality." Further, the public iteration of this intervention brings the demoralising change in the railways to a space that enables broader community engagement. Something that Bright (2012) notes as a necessity for young people a generation on from the coal mining closures, "Basically, I argue for the importance of community youth support being equipped to help speak 'unspeakable' community histories, thus making them available for a re-envisioning of aspiration, resilience and wellbeing in a way that challenges the received confines of the neoliberal imaginary".

A selection of photographs from *Views from a Signal Box* was subsequently picked up by the local council's Community Arts Centre and were included in the *Sunshine Line: Photographs documenting change around the Sunshine Line*. At the launch of this exhibition Nigel's young daughter and son were in attendance. There was a sense of surprise and pride on their part at the focus on Nigel and his work. In these moments of public exhibition there is a merging in Nigel's identity—distressed, grief stricken and artist. However, there was a very different sensibility to this exhibition. The other photographs that sat along side Nigel's were more abstract. These photographs were a technical rendering of photographic proficiency and their compositional elements more abstract and therefore less readily situated as local. The power of Nigel's work is in part the context the photos were taken in and in order to bring the fullness of his work to the fore it is this broader context this article is addressing. The implications of this localised positioning of a particular worker in the prevailing neo-liberal discourse has required attributing the photographic work and therefore naming Nigel. To do otherwise would be to further anonomise his experience. Grant Krester (2011:143) draws on the anthropologist James C. Scott concept of metis as an analytic frame to understand localised knowing:

> *Metis is differentiated from episteme—knowledge that is generic, repeatable, and codifiable—and tech, or technical know-how. It has the implication, instead, of a form of knowing rooted in the specific conditions of a given site and the aggregated wisdom of the inhabitants of that site over time. Compared to the generalizing and abstract knowledge of Western science, imposed unilaterally on site, metis makes no claims for universality; it is "place specific," inflected by particular conditions and histories.*

Nigel's photographic work is localised, situated and inflected by particular conditions and histories. The country, freight and suburban trains all move through this station. The place from which Nigel saw them is his views from the signal box. These photographs are indicative of how Nigel inhabited space and time in that he not only noted the trains as he regulated their passage through the respective platforms he recognised their aesthetic value as they made their slow pondering movement through the suburban landscape. He confessed to changing a train's passage through the platforms in order to get a better shot. He

initially used the computer in the signal box to store his images until they became too many. As a young boy, before the railways employed him, he walked with his father down to the railway line. His father was blind but he liked to listen to the trains. His grandfather had worked for the railways. His own father could not. The changes in the workplace instigated by the private operators, over determined by a neo-liberal imperative that could not recognise the importance of the affective inter-generational realm of the station and the signal box.

In *Views from a Signal Box* Nigel's photographs worked as a further catalyst for the local social context already established in the Memory Space of the centrality of trains in Sunshine. This is the essence of what can be thought of as a dialogical and therefore relational aspect of public curatorial work. *Industrious Sunshine* and *Views from a Signal Box* can be described as a form of relational aesthetics. In his own exhibition he was keen to talk to other people in the community who had experience of the trains. I had been fortunate to meet the signal box predecessor. A visitor to the initial Memory Space exhibition Frank, now 90 years old, was keen to get a photograph of the old railway gates. He really wanted one that showed an ephemeral moment of remembrance from just after the Second World War where recent immigrants to Sunshine would leave their bikes leaning against each other, as he said "If you got to the station first but didn't get home last you would not be able to ride home on your own bike you took what ever bike you could get but eventually you would get yours back. We never thought to take photos then well you couldn't afford to." Nigel had a photograph of the gates but not the bikes.

Conclusion

Setting up a memory space was a public expression of the importance of the past in an urban area where what had gone before had almost been completely negated. In the Memory Space project a collective sensibility began to emerge where people spoke to each other about Sunshine over time. In this way, collective memory not only reflects the past but also shapes present reality by providing people with understandings and symbolic frameworks that enable them to make sense of the world. (Misztal 2007:383) Experience then is re-constituted as being of value. The forced internalisation of discarded parts of the self through industry

change can be catastrophic as well as the loss of what was such as the satisfaction of routine sometimes boring but constant. Creating a memory space re-focuses community and "...community is the sense of belonging that comes to those who are part of it and that, through association with communities, individuals conceptualise identity". (Watson 2007:3) Public representation such as what occurred in the Sunshine Memory Space is generative as it enables the revisiting of a space where remembering the nuances of affect is allowed the possibility of expression.

Acknowledgement

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Endnotes

1. For an over view of the gardens see http://www.onmydoorstep.com.au/heritage-listing/11984/hv-mckay-memorial-gardens

2. 1908 train collision between two inward bound trains from Bendigo and Ballarat in which forty-four people died. See Cave, Buckland & Beardsell, *Steam Locomotives of the Victorian Railways-Volume 1: The First Fifty Years,* Australian Railway Historical Society, Vic. Div., Melbourne 2002.

3. The Harvester case is a landmark Australian labour law on a living wage for workers. For a broader discussion of Sunshine Harvester Factory see Ford, Olwen (2001). *Harvester Town: The making of Sunshine 1890-1925*. Sunshine & District Historical Society Incorporated.

4. See Kavanagh, G. 2000 *Dream spaces, memories and museums*. New York: Leicester University Press.

5. M>Train and Connex initially operated half each of Melbourne's metropolitan rail service from 2001-2004. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M-Train accessed 22/5/2013. Connex Melbourne was a wholly owned subsidiary of French company Veolia Environment.

Connex operated Melbourne's metropolitan rail service from 2007-2010 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Connex_Melbourne accessed 22/5/2013

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About the Author

Karen Charman's academic research is around memory, representation and communities. This research has been undertaken in a variety of different ways—education and museums and memoir and archives. This article reflects work undertaken in an approach to civic cultural engagement called a Memory Space. This concept provides a process whereby people attend a physical space consisting of memory prompts such as old photographs and recount stories that are generated not just by the physical objects but by the openness of a space to reflect and re-tell memories.

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Memories in Motion: learning, process, history and art in public space

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This essay presents an art project as an example of two aspects of public pedagogy. The first, is that the project critically examined how history is made, and through art-making and installation it performed an alternative publishing of history. Secondly, the art project was utilised as both a process and outcome within public space, and through this contributed to raising awareness for both participants and audience about the politics of public space. Through both aspects the project shed light on acts of public pedagogy as a process of questioning our normal relationships with history and public space. Memories in Motion *was a project where learning took place within a particular public space by moving through, documenting and researching it. This learning was generated into artworks, which were then taken and placed back into that space. These actions disrupt the normal conventions of learning about history and of public space, and shift the agency of telling history and using public space to the students.*

Keywords: *public art, history, community, public pedagogy*

Introduction

Learning in public space involves moving out of the classroom, into and through another space. The *Memories in Motion* project, used

a particular physical space - the three blocks between the Sunshine Primary School and the Sunshine Railway Station - to explore the idea of history and how it is made. Art making processes were also used to reflect on and develop the students' learning which were placed back into that space as installations. These two learning processes, of action research and art making fed into one another. Both began by physically walking around the space and then returning again and again and again. My role as artist in the project was to facilitate the student's use of art to re-interpret and render their own version of history and the placing of that art into public space. As part of my art practice I am interested in how artworks by the community can disrupt the norms of public space and provide new ways of thinking about identity, history and culture.

It could be argued that history is formed by memories, but few of these memories end up being published and incorporated into the official stream of history. Whose points of view and memories are recorded for posterity, are often those who have access to the means of production of history, those with literacy, money to print, access to the means of communication and those considered to have the authority to tell the story. Henry Giroux states, 'History is not an artefact to me merely transmitted, but an ongoing dialogue and struggle over the relationship between representation and agency' (Giroux, 2004:68). Through *Memories in Motion*, the students used their own memories and research to explore the history of the space and its relationship to themselves. They wrote their own versions of local history, and through their artwork it was 'published' into public space. They became their own cultural producers (Giroux, 2004:68) and through the inclusion of their own memories, their versions became personal and local.

This model of learning in public space uses a range of forms of knowing, such as discussion, documentation, research, interview and being there. This documentation was re-interpreted using a range of actions; clay-making, drawing, painting, arranging, writing, photographing, recording, and filming. Here the artwork is a process not product. The artwork is a learning tool for generating thoughts in an open way that allows many (student) historians to speak and a diverse range of narratives to surface. The artwork demonstrated the plurality of history and an open-ended instead of defined approach. The use of public space as a place of learning and also as a place to publish their learning was part of a larger political

attempt in relation to 'citizenship' and 'democracy' and can be seen in the light of Giroux's possibility for pedagogy outside of the classroom as 'an attempt to explain how learning takes place outside of schools' (Giroux, 2004:60). At the same time, by placing artwork into public space and disrupting its norms, we draw attention to the power structures that exist. For example, I made clear to the students how I asked the owners of the properties and those in charge at the train station for permission to install the artwork, and although I returned the train carriages to the school, the display at the train station was gradually removed by vandals and the wheat-pasted concrete poetry was cleaned-up by the council.

The project - Memories in Motion

The *Memories in Motion* project was made by the 70 grade four students of Sunshine Primary School, in Melbourne (Australia). There was an interest in involving students with local people who had knowledge, memories and skills to share, and in the idea of immersive learning within the actual public space that was being studied. The plan was to have an art outcome which would be placed in that space to reflect the learning. The reconstruction of three stations on the local railway line, and significant changes in the physical spaces around them provided a reason to re-examine local history and how the new changes affected the community. I had an art studio in the area which enabled conversations with the locals. Many of them had expressed to me their bewilderment of the new station which had entailed a loss of an underpass which had facilitated easy access to both sides of the train line. The other side of the line is the major town centre of Sunshine. The shopkeepers experienced a decline in trade and one local character made satirical posters which claimed that the new station was a lost oil rig from the Bass Strait. In recognition of the loss of familiar aspects of the place the project sought to give attention to the importance of local history and memory and respond to this sense of loss.

The project was designed for year four students at Sunshine Primary School, who undertook a local history study as part of their curriculum. The public space to be used for this learning was the three blocks between the school and the recently rebuilt Sunshine station, which included many historical sites. The school principal applied to The Cass Foundation and was successful in obtaining a grant for the project. Local

photographer Nigel Gillies was invited to be involved. He had worked at the Sunshine train station for many years, and had an extensive collection of railway memorabilia, his own photographs of the area taken over the many years that he worked in the Sunshine station signal box and was a goldmine in terms of his entertaining stories and local historical knowledge. Two teachers, a community historian and artist began the project in term two of 2014 and the sessions took place over ten Wednesday mornings with about 70 year four students.

Making history

The project incorporated the local history of the space between Sunshine Primary School and Sunshine station with students taking on the roles of the researchers/historians of this place. History was regarded as a fluid entity which was continually evolving and being made. Gathered through primary and secondary evidence it also included the recording of memories. The students documented, researched and introduced their own memories and observations to make new renderings of history. Their work was 'published' as artworks in public space and also in a book which was placed in the school and local Sunshine Library.

As an integral part of the learning, excursions of walking around the space between the school and the station were used. Historical sites were viewed and discussed, including the signal box where Nigel worked, the first cinema (the start of Village Cinemas), the site of the old municipal offices, the Masonic Hall, City Place where the original rail crossing had been and the new station. The space was documented as the children walked through the area, thinking about what they remembered, what they learnt, what they saw and heard. These utterances of history were recorded in many ways, photography, drawing, writing, film, audio, discussions, making digital documents and presentations. There was also an excursion to Ballarat on a V-line train in order to experience using the station and train.

> *…Motion becomes a metaphor for learning in a new way; documenting, walking, doing, thinking and discussing as they move through the space transpires into a knowing. The space impacts on them as they move through it. They interact, touch the space, talk about it with others, shout, jostle and meet the locals…*

The artwork process

The art process utilised this documentation and transformed it into a series of interpretations using clay to make words, texts and imagery. These were assembled, curated collaboratively by the students and glued onto some plywood train carriages and installed in the public space between the school and the train station in five different locations. A wheat paste-up of concrete poetry was installed onto a wall in the park between the school and the station and the students' reflections of the project were collaged on paper trains, laminated and installed on the station concourse. The artwork was a presentation of their learning, but it moved back outwards into public space.

Community members do not usually participate in the field of public art. They are instead the audience for public art. Along a similar trajectory, community made art does not often get placed into public space. Jane Rendell in *Art and Architecture: A place between,* describing two types of art, suggests that public art is usually designed to solve a problem and is object-based, whereas artwork made by an artist is more free from the parameters of public art, is more process based, but needs to engage the audience. She imagines public art practice should be a place between these two things and she calls this work *critical spatial practice* (Rendell, 2009: 8,9,17). *Memories in Motion* occupies this same place of 'critical spatial practice', moving into the site where process based art practice and public space meet.

Memories in Motion, engages in a public pedagogy both through its concern for learning within a public space and its intervention of placing the learning outcomes back into the site of learning. The role of art in this project is to reflect and process learning about the history of the place but also to communicate this with others. To move into the space, to 'talk' about the space to the people who travel through it. The students' artwork becomes an historical document in two ways. First of all their textual and visual rendering of history was published in public space for people to view and secondly the artwork placed in public space became another historical event. This history was open to read in a number of ways and provoked questions such as: *what is this about?* and *what is it doing here?*

It was a useful and important act to place the students' work back into

the site. The artwork placed into public space became something to have conversations about. A destination for families to go, to find their children's work and to discuss the content. Rendell says we could say that art is functional in providing certain kinds of tools for self-reflection, critical thinking and social change. Art offers a place and occasion for new kinds of relationship 'to function' between people (Rendell, 2009:15,16). In this context the project also had something to say to the locals about placing community generated artwork into the space. The art was a disruption of the normal way that people would encounter their own history or the artwork of children. Because it was created locally and by locals, it created local conversations.

> *Art is the expression of an individual or, if the process has been a collective one, an expression of a community. Democracy, social justice and civil society all depend on the individuals who make up the community and their ability to speak their hearts and minds. Often community-based arts projects involve members of communities who are acquiring the skills and/or confidence to tell their own stories, with their own voices. (Community Partnerships work guide, Arts Victoria, 2013:15)*

This project critically engaged with public pedagogy by using the artwork to enact citizenship within and beyond the school, using public space as an educative arena and by performing an alteration to the dominant social discourse about how we receive history and the norms of public space (Sandlin et.al 2011, from Sandlin's five domains of public pedagogy).

Process in public space

It is not often that an artist gets the time to explore making art with the community in an organic manner without a designed outcome of an art object. The *Memories in Motion* project was designed as a learning process and the art-making part of this as an organic development. The outcome specified in the grant application was an artwork installed into public space which would reflect the learning. This freedom of not having a pre-designed outcome is very rare in community projects where usually the artist is engaged in order to make an art object. It means that the process of researching and the making the work could take precedence over the final object and its aesthetics, emphasised in past movements of

dialogical art and community art, and more recent movements of social art, new genre art and relational aesthetics.

> *All art posits a space between the artist and the perceiver of the work, traditionally filled with the art object. In new genre public art, that space is filled with the relationship between artist and audience, prioritised in the artist's working strategies (Lacey, 1994:35).*

Involving communities in the actual making of public artworks gives priority to *process*. If process is allowed to be the important part of the journey of the artwork and its final destination is not prescribed, then the process becomes more of an open enquiry. It also follows that at certain stages there will be choices or options for the path to deviate and the work to change shape. New Genre public art considers process important because it allows a stronger relationship between the art and the audience to be developed. Joanne Sharp points out that 'new genre public art' 'focuses not on the end product but rather emphasises the importance of the process through which people become engaged in the production of the work' (Sharp, 2007:277). When local people become involved in the process of making art it also produces a greater connection with community and the conversations, research and exploration deepen the outcome of the artwork. Another effect of giving precedence to process is that more voices and variables are included, thus it becomes more difficult to find a consensus or conclusion. Perhaps the final artwork is not cohesive or traditionally aesthetic, but it is valued for its plurality of meanings, complexities and layers.

The students involved had most likely never had any of their writing or artwork in public space. The artwork created a disruption of the normal patterns of public space. By being inserted, it created a dialogue about what it was, why they were in public space and also why it is usually absent.

Politics of public space

We could learn in public space, walk through it, talk about it, live in the houses within it, but can we place our learning into that space? Can we add our own stories to that space?

> *Some art educators effectively create an intersection between the space of public educational institutions, despite their limitations, and public spaces beyond school grounds and university campuses. Their pedagogy leaks from the classroom to the streets and town square. (Duncum, 2011:348)*

Though publicly owned and used, schools also represent the private. The local community does not easily see what goes on in a school. But by placing the learning outside in a public space, ideas that are expressed by children in the classroom can have a new agency in being seen or heard outside in their community. Ideas other than what we see in public space (advertising imagery and the urban landscape) can be an expression of our culture. Art made by community members has something to say about culture, belonging, history and how we know ourselves and each other and these things are not often represented in public space.

Multiple voices, play and restlessness

> *If there is such a practice as public art, and that in itself is debatable . . . . . then I argue that public art should be engaged in the production of restless objects and spaces, ones that provoke us, that refuse to give up their meanings easily but instead demand that we question the world around us. (Rendell, 2009: 8,9)*

The process-driven practice of *Memories in Motion* provided a sense of play. Paul Duncum suggests that the pleasure of play is a tool that needs to be used when addressing issues such as social justice and placing or critiquing public space.

> *. . . . a playful pedagogy engages students' own values and beliefs, exposes them to the critique of their peers, and through the process of making art also provides a means for them to further work out their understandings in a way that has the potential to be empowering (Duncum, 2011).*

Duncum (2011:360) says 'many forms of community, environmental, and activist art are playful. They play with ideas; often in a transgressive way, they entertain possibilities.' This project afforded the space to play, and so the outward expressions of the children's learning journeys were playful artworks, paste-ups of their concrete poetry, train carriages

jogging along fences and train collages at the station. Handmade, drawn and sculpted works alive against the functional, ordered and straight lines of the suburb. Alive with the writing and imagery by children. Our acts of installation conjured an acquiesced space between the power of ownership and control of public space and the illegal acts of graffiti. Ephemeral installation imagines a place in between where community members can contribute to the public landscape. It can challenge learned assumptions about our role in changing public space.

We wanted the students to understand that there are many histories of a place. By prescribing value to their own versions of history and presenting them in public place, we endorse the idea of a multitude of ways of knowing about our culture and who we are. The artwork undertakes two roles; to present student's interpretation of the history of the place and also visually move into public space in order to share these alternative and personal histories. Duncum says, 'First, the use of a public site is also a sight. It is inherently visual' (Duncum, 2011). The artwork is firstly encountered as a sight, which is its visual sense and then also it becomes a site, a place which might have other meanings in the context of the use and ownership of public space. The sight/site speaks to the viewer, telling them there can be a place in public space for expressions of history by the community, particularly young people and their ideas.

Conclusion

Memories in Motion is an example of how public space can be used to represent and celebrate the process of learning. But also this project challenged learnt assumptions about our role in public space. In this project art was used to open the field of enquiry and to broaden the student's understanding of history, instead of narrowing it down and shaping it into a singular historical narrative, challenging ideas of who writes and makes history.

This approach contains agency for community members to use their own voices and the opportunity to shape their own meanings from the past and present of a place. Re-interpreting history and presenting it in public space signifies a disruption of the normal conventions of history and of public space. By placing community made artwork into public space, we entertain the possibility that this space might be used more often for

the learning and expression of the community about its own culture and history.

How we bring learning into public space and acknowledge the way that public space affects our learning and understanding of who we are raises questions not only for teachers and artists but also for the inhabitants of and those in control of public space.

> *Later that year I was sitting an exhibition in the same area. I had curated an exhibition of photographs by a local character, Desmond Johnson, whose work documented local places from the 1940's. I looked out into the street and saw a horde of children coming towards me. It was the 70 year four students, out on their fifth excursion into their 'Memories in Motion' space. They had gone to see their reflections, which were on display inside Sunshine station. What a joyful coincidence and meeting! They noisily streamed into the exhibition, witnessing yet another historical moment and another example of how history is made by a community member, and then steamed out the other end and shunted off towards their paste-up of concrete poetry and other sites to re-read their own history in public space.*

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This project began as an idea developed by Professor Maureen Ryan, Dr Karen Charman and Debbie Qadri (myself) under the umbrella of *Gallery Sunshine Everywhere,* an organisation which exhibits the artwork of school children in the gallery and other public places. **http://www.gallerysunshine.com/.** The project was adapted to suit the school's needs and curriculum by Principal Lyn Read, teachers Karen Bustamante and Andrea Hennessy; Karen Charman as community historian and Debbie Qadri. We would like to thank the CASS Foundation for making this project possible through their grant program. **http://www.cassfoundation.org/**

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About the Author

Debbie Qadri works as an artist in the Western Suburbs of Melbourne. She makes collaborative artworks with communities and schools, mainly ceramic murals. Her current research interest is about Communities making their own Permanent Public Art and she is undertaking a PhD at Victoria University in the School of Education. Debbie also has a personal art practice and exhibits and publishes under the name of Debbie Harman.

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Visual Communication Design as a form of public pedagogy

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This paper identifies visual communication design as a form of public pedagogy. Communication design practices aim to achieve the successful transmission of a message to a recipient in a visual mode. Understanding the theories and practices of visual communication design can assist in enhancing the reception of the communication, as these practices become a tool to increase the effectiveness of learning in a public space. To demonstrate this, I will use the example of museums as an informal place of public learning, and argue design, and in particular visual communication design strategies, are extremely important in the creation of successful learning. If participants are not engaged or entertained, their capacity for learning will diminish. Engagement depends on the representation of the information and the successful interpretation of that information by the visitor. Further, this paper will emphasise the vital role communication design plays in all forms of public pedagogy, not just within the museum context. However, non-designers create many public learning environments and although this paper argues the benefits of communication design to increasing the effectiveness of learning, it recognises the narrow opportunities of applying this knowledge.

Introduction

Visual communication design acts as a form of public pedagogy. Communication design aims to achieve the successful transmission of a message in a visual mode and as such forms a synergy with learning practices. When creating a form of communication, understanding the principles of design can enhance the reception of the communication, which will, in turn, increase the learning of the recipient. This paper will begin with an explanation of public pedagogy and design, followed by a demonstration of the relationship between visual communication design and learning as revealed in museum exhibition strategies. Drawing on the shift in focus of museum studies from that of curatorial control to one of the visitor experience, improvements made to the design of exhibitions and visual communication approaches can be seen to impact positively on engagement and the interest of visitors, increase learning. This paper will argue that these connections can be extended to other forms of public pedagogy but limitations exist when much of the creation of public pedagogy is by the public itself and commonly not design driven.

Public pedagogy is an area of research that examines the educative force of media, popular culture and society and the diverse ways in which culture functions as an educative entity (Biesta, 2013). This may include learning in libraries and museums, through popular culture, media and commercial spaces or via the Internet. In addition to this, activist sites and social movements fit the framework of public learning (Sandlin, Schultz, & Burdick, 2010). Spaces that shape a person and are locations of learning can involve the home, family, culture, sub-culture and community. It may include devices that send messages to individuals through television, movies, games, books and magazines. All hold an educative responsibility beyond traditional schooling, impacting adults, community and popular culture, while influencing outlook and opinions (Sandlin et al., 2010:14). Learning can occur anywhere at any time and is determined by the physical setting, the social interactions, personal beliefs, existing knowledge and attitudes of the person.

There are no clear definitions of the term public or of the boundaries that separate the idea of public from the private. The public, for instance, does not exist without private citizens (Roberts & Steiner,

2010:21). Savage posits that the term *public* in *public pedagogy* refers to the accessible general population, those citizens who either by choice or through incidental exposure are able to consume what is available to them (Savage, 2010:106). Yet to assist with how one might understand the term public in public pedagogy and to appreciate what kind of learning can be enacted in the interest of the public, Biesta (2013:16) identifies three categories of public pedagogies; "a pedagogy *for* the public, a pedagogy *of* the public and a pedagogy for publicness". Investigating this further, pedagogy *for* the public is pedagogy aimed at the public and is based on instruction. Pedagogy *of* the public is a pedagogy created by the public. Pedagogy for *publicness* is a pedagogy enacting an interest in human togetherness or an activist form of pedagogy being typically experimental and demonstrative in nature. This paper will reflect further on these categorisations demonstrating their usefulness in explaining variations of communication design effectiveness in public learning. It identifies where designers have limited input in the creation of the learning collateral, for example in the category pedagogy *of* the public, there will be a reduction in the impact of communication design theories and practices on learning.

Design as a discipline crosses many subject and discipline areas and is embedded in countless facets of life (Fuad-Luke, 2009). The focus of this paper will be on one area of design, visual communication design, traditionally referred to as graphic design. Peuersson, defines visual communication design as "the art and craft of bringing a functional, aesthetic, and organised structure to groups of diverse elements" (2004:8). Designers make a difference; they know how to make things look appealing and are experts in imaginative communication that can work with a broad audience as they channel social discourse into the public domain, offering cultural representations to the broader public. Presented in a positive sense, design can be considered as a problem solving tool and a visual language with the ability to activate "a critical sensibility instead of merely triggering buying impulses" (Bruinsma, 2002:59). People generally understand that design adds value just as people generally value appearances and effective communication (Poynor, 2001). Products have been enhanced, organisations have grown and cultures have developed as a result of what design can offer. "The world outside design heard the message and design literacy is at an all time high" (Poynor, 2001:115). The fundamental premise is design

is important to enhance the effectiveness of communication, increasing the capacity of the recipient to engage with the information and learn from the communication. For this reason, visual communication design can be identified as a form of public pedagogy.

Designing learning in museum spaces

The strong connection between visual communication design and learning can be demonstrated in museums, where design strategies are recognised as essential to creating engaging visitor experiences. There has been a shift in focus of museums from a location of collecting and classifying content, to a place for communication and learning, dialogue and debate (Insulander & Selander, 2009:8). Museums have moved beyond a place for learning facts or skills into a place for learning about identity and the representation of self (Charitonos, Blake, Scanlon, & Jones, 2012:805). As Witcomb describes it, there is a shift in focus from objects to people (2014:50). This emphasis on user-centred engagement has resulted in a transformation of design processes and communication strategies within museums (Charitonos et al., 2012:805). Therefore as Duke identifies, "the aim of museums should not be to create lessons, but rather to create thoughtfully designed learning experiences" (2010:272).

The transformation of museum focus has led to increasing opportunities for visitors to choose what they want to experience and how they wish to engage with artefacts. Visitors now seek instant access to information and a personalised, customised, individualised experience. Learners have a desire to feel in control of activities, test ideas by performing experiments, ask questions, collaborate with other people and seek out new knowledge. Museums provide a location where visitors come with the intention of participating in an education experience in a social context and are stimulated through activities that are directed by the visitor (Fontaine, 2014:52). In our complex world where social, political and environmental difficulties are often contradictory and multi-layered, museums are places for people to engage with these difficulties and learn about them (Duke, 2010:277).

Although formal institutionalised learning still occurs in museums, they are also defined as informal learning spaces. Informal learning can be classified as learning that has occurred by default as a result of

daily work-related, family or leisure related activities (Halliday-Wynes & Beddie, 2009:2). "When visitors are in museums, they expect to have enjoyable and intrinsically motivating experiences, experiences that include learning" (Perry, 2012:40). Learning originates and is processed through curiosity, observation and activity (Königschulte, Araújo, & Erb, 2010; Ramey-Gassert, 1997). Individuals do not recognise much of this learning as it is not tested or quantified in any formal arrangement. It is difficult to determine results of informal learning due to the continuous, ongoing nature, and stimulating active engagement without definable, assessable outcomes (Halliday-Wynes & Beddie, 2009:7).

Much of the literature surrounding public pedagogy in museum engagement discusses the multimodal means by which museums endeavour to create entertaining, informal ways for learning. The challenge is to find a balance between the entertainment requirements of visitors and the educational role of the museum (Stogner, 2009:386) understanding that "everyone engages with an experience much more fully if they've invested in to it and they enjoy it" (Fellows, 2011:129). With this in mind, Bautista (2013:8) acknowledges the 'bumpy' road to finding the balance to achieving greater inclusion and also acknowledges the efforts of museums as they continue to respond to the diverse and competing voices that form the stakeholder base.

Design impacts on representation.

The shift of museum practices from pure content delivery to a focus on engagement and learning for the visitor highlights the need to consider design practices to achieve effective communication. Designers consider the visual representation of the information and the interpretation of that representation to ensure the visitor receives the intended message. In museum practices, representation is the creation of a constructed image negotiated between the curator and the designer (or design team) as they create the outward visible sign to form the depiction the visitor will engage with. Visitors make their interpretation based on that composed image, and as a result, meaning is created through both processes (Diamantopoulou, Insulander, & Lindstrand, 2012:12). The aim of the visual communication is for the visitor, who will engage in his or her own meaning making in response to the exhibit, to receive the intended message defined by the curator and created by the designer.

The question becomes how one can determine success in achieving the desired transmission of information.

These primary concerns of representation and interpretation embed design as a major consideration to effective learning in museum public spaces. Yet, there are two challenges impacting on the relationship between representation and interpretation, each of which design practices can address. The first is understanding where representation is positioned in the timeline of culture, a transitional ever changing narrative, and the second is addressing the diversity of the audience who will engage with the information.

To begin with, museum curators and designers must contend with both the shared understanding of culture and the constant transition of cultural identity in their representation of history and then the subsequent interpretation by the visitor. Stuart Hall (1997) notes that the relationship between history and cultural identity can be explicated in two ways. The first is in terms of one shared culture and a collective view formed through a shared history and ancestry where history plays a role in the creation of culture. Cultural identities reflect common codes and historical experiences that shape our meaning and frame our terms of reference. Secondly, while cultural identity shares many points of similarity there are also points of difference reflecting what a culture has become. The ongoing interplay of history, culture and power create a constant transformation, positioning people within the narratives of the past and the future. The past continues to influence a culture and impact on the politics of positioning and understanding of identity. Museums, therefore, operate on multiple levels to preserve views embedded in complex, partial visions of the world where only a section can be illustrated at any one time. This may also be influenced by historically defined educational mandates of the museum predetermining representations (Trofanenko, 2006:310).

In addition, museums must respond to the needs of a hugely diverse audience with varying ages, educational levels and experiences and therefore each with unique approaches to meaning making. The communication strategy created needs to resonate with all user groups (Fontaine, 2014:50) understanding that much of the behaviour of visitors who attend museums is reactive as they unconsciously respond

to space, colour, shape and form; essentially the design of the exhibits (Falk & Dierking, 2000:113). The dramatisation of the presentation using these elements, and including a variety of materials, lighting, explanatory devices and guidance systems, influences how the visitor will engage and respond to the content. The central goal is to seduce the audience and offer a special experience while successfully transmitting the intended communication (Schittich, 2009:9).

This significant shift of focus by curators and designers to that of user engagement is also reflected in changes in the practices of visual communication design. In 2006, Katherine McCoy introduced this emphasis to design practices when she referred to the nature of changes in the business of design. For over 150 years design worked to satisfy the Industrial Revolution's need for mass communication. Mass production was based on the principle of one product, one communication strategy and all problems solved. "The economies of mass production reduced diversity and individuality but produced lots of affordable goodies" (2006:201). According to McCoy, we are experiencing the end of mass communication, "narrowcasting instead of broadcasting, subcultures instead of mass culture, and tailored products instead of mass production" (2006:201). Diversification, decentralisation, downsizing and disunity have led us to a user centred system with specifically tailored communication processes through precisely tailored channels. As a result, the communication process has changed and the process of sender – message – receiver needs to be reconsidered. Designers must understand their audiences, their needs, their values and their unique methods of communication. No longer can we rely on the mass communication methods for all of the communication design problems we face. Instead we must more closely consider the receiver and use their differences and diversities to enrich the message. Poynor in his book 'Design without Boundaries' states that we need "design that talks to diverse groups in specially made visual languages each group will understand" (Poynor, 1998:28). Communication experts, as with museum experts, must continue to negotiate their way through the myriad of considerations and the broad range of stakeholders, working with design, to achieve effective communication.

Designers are well placed to work with both the creation of representation in the timeline of history and in addressing the diverse

needs of the audience as they are well versed at working with the cycle of cultural production and meaning making. Designers play the role of cultural intermediary in their design practice, a term coined by Pierre Bourdieu (1984) to define a person who holds cultural authority with influence over the tastes, beliefs and understandings of others, determining the representation to be presented to the broader audience. Mills (1963) in his essay entitled *Man in the Middle: the Designer,* discusses the concept of a circuit of culture and explains that the everyday life experiences presented to us are not solid or immediate facts, but constructs delivered by witnesses we have more than likely never met and never shall meet. In other words, our view of reality is not based on pristine experiences as much as it is exposure to culture strategically delivered to us by someone else. Haslem explains: "As communication designers we create a visual text that contributes to the creation of the social world" (2009:25). Matt Soar (2004) revisited the term 'cultural intermediary' when he suggested the graphic designers' role is to expose themselves to the very latest styles, films, books and gadgets and everything that is new in the world and use this information in their own work to communicate and engage a wider audience.

Curators are also defined as cultural intermediaries. The devices used in museum spaces are social constructs, created by someone and interpreted by another. The aim of the curator is to link the vision of the stakeholders with that of the visitors and, through design, complete the circuit of culture. This cycle locates both the curator and the designer as significant participants in cultural production within a museum and with visitor learning.

Moving from the dated method of extraction of knowledge to a more collaborative relationship, the *'First Peoples'* exhibition at the Bunjilaka Gallery, Melbourne Museum, which opened in 2000, demonstrates the results of where the lead curator, Genevieve Grieves, was prepared to rethink outdated practices. In this example, power was relinquished to the Indigenous community to determine the representation of Indigenous knowledge, settlement history and the impact this has had on Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations. Recognising that Indigenous culture is something that is continually changing, and diverse, the aim of the exhibition was to clearly represent the strong ongoing and changing connection between people, Country and culture

(Witcomb, 2014:54). Of significance, Witcomb (2014:54) identifies the end result is a well designed exhibition creating a 'pedagogy of feeling' (Witcomb, 2014:49) where Indigenous and non-Indigenous people can come together to learn. The design of the exhibition, that being the structure, labelling, and visual representation of the exhibits, created an experience for the visitor that encouraged an engagement for understanding, pride and awareness in Indigenous culture by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous visitors. The representation, through design, addresses both the historical and visitor diversity inspiring learning.

Design impacts on interpretation.

The *'First Peoples'* exhibition at the Bunjilaka Gallery demonstrates the strong connection between representation and design. Significantly, the interpretation of that representation was as the curator intended. The interpretation of the communication is based on the perception of the museum exhibit and the way in which the visitor understands the communication. Theories of semiotics have proven helpful in addressing the process by which images relate to meaning and can be applied to improve our understanding of how museum exhibitions are engaged by visitors. Semiotics, defined as a research methodology that examines the use of what are called signs to produce meaning, is an analytical approach to the construction and interpretation of visual communication (Barry, 1997:117). Theories of semiotics attempt to view the exchange of communication as an interactive process that involves the production and exchange of meanings between participants (Fiske, 1990). According to Gibson, "human beings are sign-using, sign-generating and sign-interpreting creatures - even though we may not be fully aware of the fact that we are doing so" (1950:210). The linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure, was influential in the development of semiology as a theory of signs. Signs, according to Saussure, acquire meaning through their difference from other signs, the implication being that semiotics is a culturally determined system that will differ across cultures (Berger, 2005:11). Saussure divided signs into two parts, the signifier (the sound or object) and the signified (the concept that it presents). The item of communication, the written, drawn, printed or displayed piece of visual communication, is the signifier. This would include the shapes, lines, colours, textures and layouts used by

the visual communicator to produce the message. Depending on the context in which these signifiers appear and the codes being used in that appearance, the signified or associated message would change. Signs and codes can only be explained in relation to learned and variable cultural rules. Semiology, then, considers communication as a cultural phenomenon (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1998:61). This places design under the same umbrella as language, as both disciplines have the meaning of communication socially and culturally constructed and negotiated.

The codification of signs such as words, images and sounds are learnt as we grow up in a culture (Berger, 2005:168). Since all cultural objects convey meaning and all cultural practices depend on meaning, they also make use of signs and underlying codes and conventions. Cultures have a complex set of rules, prohibitions, permissions, values and classifications. Kress (1988:12) explains that these codes appear as normal and natural to the general population. As a result we accept these sets of rules as the natural order of how things should be. It can be said that culture embodies the best that has been thought or said of a group in society maintained through shared values and systems of representation (Hall 1999:2-4). People who share a language, a history and a way of life, have connections that run very deep. According to Usunier (1996:383) our own thought framework is established automatically and unconsciously and reflects the values of our national culture, something we do not choose. This allows us to evaluate people, interpret situations, and defines the attitude we should adopt to communicate and negotiate with others from our culture.

Mental processes allow meaningful connections to be made between what people see and what they understand. The balance between the amount of information offered to the reader and the information required to achieve legibility varies according to the requirements of the communication strategy. “Some types of visual communication clearly need structure and order; signs which because of their practical application need to be read and understood quickly. In other cases where the practical application is less important there are signs which merely seek to give information as opposed to meaning” (Laungani, 2007:165). Crowe (2003) explains the distinction between information and meaning when he clarifies to read a road sign is to understand the

message or a piece of information, whereas, to read a form of visual communication is to respond to the aesthetic qualities and be engaged with the process of interpretation and create meaning. Signs that require a quick understanding and speed in communication must put a priority of information over meaning. Alternatively, signs that open the possibilities of meaning will move away from common and known forms of signs and introduce messages to offer the reader options on how to interpret the communication. The aim is for the recipient to receive and understand the message intended. Any message received that is deemed different to that which was sent is seen as a failure in the communication process and as the fault of the sender who formulated the message (Fiske, 1990).

Insulander & Selander (2009), in their research, investigate the impact of semiotics in exhibitions as museums shift attention from collecting and classifying to exhibition design aimed at enhancing learning and communication. Their research scrutinises meaning making through documenting the interest of visitors and their social interactions in the museum space. Using videos of visitor engagement in the exhibition along with interviews, photographs and the mapping of visitor interest and interactions with each other and the artefacts, their research was able to identify various levels of engagement. As an example, one participant highlighted how he perceived the exhibition design, commenting on the colours and materiality of the exhibition and the positive difference this made to the communication of the exhibits. Others made note of different considerations that they found appealing such as the artefacts on display or their reaction to objects prompted by different semiotic resources in the exhibition. Noted were difficult panels that could not be easily read or complex displays that could not be easily interpreted. The implications of these results highlight the process of transforming signs into meaning, shifting the focus from how the spaces are created to how the visitors receive them. Identified as a shortcoming in this study was the failure of making the connection between the engagement of the visitor and their ability to learn what the curators intended. Instead, the research needs to recognises the interpreter as the determinant of success in the interaction and success occurs when the recipient understands the message the sender intends to deliver as Fiske (1990) has previously identified.

Insulander, in her work with Diamantopoulou and Lindstrand (Diamantopoulou et al., 2012), identifies that 'interest' is a common principle underlying meaning making. The creator of the exhibition chooses the form and meaning of the exhibition based on their own interests and the recipient or visitor brings another set of interests and motivations to the reading of the exhibit. Different technologies and methods of communication offer different possibilities to the reception of the message. As an example, Insulander et.al refer to participants who used an audio guide to assist in their attendance at the museum. The audio guide, created to offer informative information, frames the interests of the visitor by suggesting points to stop and listen, instructs choices and as a result restricts engagement. Other participants, taking a different approach of working through the space and by following their interest, were influenced by the social nature of negotiating their direction with those they came with. As one participant remarked, she was taken by a colourful dress that caught her attention and wanting to share her thoughts and excitement, followed her partner in his direction, thus not taking control over her own progress. In these examples the design created by the curator and curatorial team becomes a prompt for the visitor engagement to establish the framework for visitors to choose their path. Visitors in fact shape their own engagement based on their interest and motivations which are an interpretation of the curator's interests and motivations.

How the non-designer impacts on public pedagogy.

Each of Biesta's (2013:16) three areas of public pedagogy; *for* the public, *of* the public and for *publicness*, can be analysed in terms of their relationship with design. The discussion of museums fits within the first category of public pedagogy *for* the public, where learning is created for the public. Designers have a significant role to play in the creation of suitable, engaging spaces to appeal to visitors and increase the effectiveness of learning. Yet, whilst the focus of this paper is on museum spaces and the levels of engagement museums use to create engaging learning environments, it must be understood that these initiatives are not possible for all museums. Smaller community museums are limited in their ability to create strongly designed solutions. Volunteers may be restricted in their capacity to implement long-term strategies and may not create suitable display ideas. "Graphic

panels may be over laden with tiny text, or exhibitors may place objects and labels at heights that are not accessible to everyone" (Simon, 2010:296). Design will have a positive impact on learning however, is not always possible to employ design knowledge in every application as the public, who may not be design educated, create many public learning spaces.

Similarly, pedagogy *of* the public by its nature being created by the public may not recognise the design requirements to engage the variety of stakeholders in learning and would generally not employ the skills, knowledge and practices of professional designers. Local community centres, homes, or the playground, are public spaces where visual communication design knowledge and skills may not impact significantly. In these instances, representation and interpretation are not critical for effective communication and instead the focus may be quick sign reading of information over meaning as explained by Crowe (2003) and Laungani (2007). Outcomes will vary based on the aims of the communication and the level of consideration given to the learner's ability to understand and interpret the information.

The final category identified by Biesta is public pedagogy for *publicness*, acting in the interest of human togetherness and based on activism and change. This category aligns with the practices of design as an agent of change where design practices are employed to create impactful messages. All activists who aim to incite change endeavour to transform their target audience, or larger social groups, by encouraging social, cultural or political transformation (Fuad-Luke, 2009:6). Design is implicitly embedded in the process of questioning and creating change. The ability for visual communication design to make an impact and create innovative solutions to varied problems can also work "to unlock the vast reservoir of human creative potential" (Brown & Katz, 2009:222) and motivate change. The opportunity for socially engaged design, as a form of public pedagogy, is available everywhere as communities create critical mass to address difficult problems (Brown & Katz, 2009:216).

The level of design skills and knowledge required to enhance learning outcomes strongly relates to the level of engagement necessary to communicate with the receiver. Formal learning can be conceived as

constructed, managed and controlled learning with enforced levels of engagement and defined outcomes. Informal learning can be constructed however engagement is not enforced and occurs more by default. As previously presented, museums are considered sites of both formal and informal learning. Offering a different reflection on the type of learning in museum spaces, Falk and Dierking (1992:99) state that informal learning dating back to the 1970s is not a useful term and does not do justice to the complex level of engagement required in museum spaces (Falk & Dierking, 1992:99). A more useful term introduced by Falk (2005:272) is free-choice learning recognising the unique characteristics of learning which can occur in a multiplicity of different settings. Free-choice learning is often non-sequential, self-directed and voluntary as individuals exert choice and control over their learning.

Linking again with Biesta's (2013) categorisations and reflecting on how this may impact on understanding design as a form of public pedagogy, both the definitions of informal learning and free-choice learning work in the context of museums where situations are set in place for visitors to explore and engage with new knowledge at their leisure in both an informal or free-choice manner. Design is used as a means of attracting and entertaining the audience, or as Schittich (2009) explains, seducing the visitor into engaging with the communication. In other pedagogical examples, free-choice learning can be considered a more suitable definition of the process of learning where the public have greater choice and control of their learning and stronger governance of the resources to support this message transfer. In those instances, design practices, although evident, may be difficult to detect.

Conclusion

This paper demonstrates how visual communication design can be identified as a form of public pedagogy. It puts to the forefront the significant role design plays in assisting learning. Museums understand the importance of design and are increasingly employing design strategies to engage their visitors and consequently increase learning. Applying this knowledge to other areas of public pedagogy would impact positively on learning experiences in the public arena.

However, employing design theories and practices to learning in the public space is not always possible. Identified in this research is the role

of the public as an agent of creating the communication for learning. Non-designers are strong contributors to the field of public pedagogy, predominantly creating learning *of* the public. Recognising this leads to two areas for further research; the first investigating the role of the non-designer in public learning, and the second investigating the impact of introducing design knowledge and skills in learning *of* the public and the bearing this may have on the recipient. Having identified the strong link of visual communication design and learning, further investigation into the effectiveness of visual communication design practices in the discipline of public pedagogy will strengthen our appreciation and advance our understanding of public learning environments.

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Reaching for the arts in unexpected places: public pedagogy in the gardens

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What constitutes public pedagogy? The term is broad and can be applied in so many situations and settings to the learning that occurs outside of formal schooling. In this article, the author explores how a community event – a painting competition held in a Melbourne suburb's botanic gardens – constitutes public pedagogy. The event centres on appreciation of the gardens, and on fostering the arts in the community. Local schools and residents have shown their appreciation of the competition through increased participation over the past five years. However, there is much learning that is unexpected and far less tangible, which flourishes beneath the surface of the event. Capturing a collective memory of the suburb is one aspect of such learning that is historically significant. The author argues that the event can also be seen as activist in a political sense, through the way it has restored the arts to the community in a way that education in a neo-liberal climate is currently unable to do.

***Keywords**: Arts, curriculum, community, public pedagogy*

Background

It's been five years since the launch of the *Williamstown Paint the Gardens Art Competition*. The annual event is held in autumn in the elegant Williamstown Botanic Gardens, which were opened in 1856, and

are still a source of great pride in the community.

Paint the Gardens is a nostalgic event. It allows the community to return to a familiar space and be instantly re-engaged. Local residents might come in for the art, but they then remember what the Gardens are all about. This strengthens the locals' sense of ownership and brings delight in sharing all *their* Gardens have to offer. There is an element of reawakening in the encounter. A sense of belonging is fostered, or restored. It is like meeting an old friend, rekindling a friendship, or a romance, and a sense of *aren't we lucky?*

Behind the curly, wrought iron gates that are a hit with bridal parties all year round, the Gardens are a microcosm of the kind of grand botanic Gardens that were established in all the major Australian cities (and some of the smaller ones) in Victorian times. Separated from the beach by a plantation of tall Monterey cypresses, the Gardens are in summer a welcome relief from the heat and sun of the waterfront. There is a grand, central avenue lined with large palms, several meandering paths that curl their way around the separate lawn areas, which are bordered by a rich variety of trees and shrubs, many of them flowering.

As I stroll along the central avenue of the Gardens, where the adults' competition is on show, my gaze sweeps from side to side. The paintings are displayed on easels in two rows, flanking the palms. This is still a somewhat awkward feature of the competition. In order to properly view all the adult entries, one has to either zig-zag from one side of the path to the other, or view one row, then return to the beginning and start again. That is if one isn't keen on giving backward glances to each painting as they complete a return loop. Still, this organisational decision doesn't really pose a problem. At no time in the day is there ever such a crush that either zig-zagging, back-tracking, or returning to the beginning and starting again would not work. And being able to view the paintings in a non-linear, non-sequential way, adds something to the experience. You get to bump into people, this way, and start impromptu conversations, which are generally to do with the art, the Gardens, or the general wellbeing that's in plentiful supply on such days.

As a backdrop for an exhibition, the setting is sublime, radiating the kind of formality and grandeur you'd expect from an outdoor art gallery. There is a feeling of destiny and timelessness in the air. It is perhaps

because of the Gardens' 19th Century heritage, rather than despite it, that this modern event fits so well here. Grand old buildings lend a sense of dignity and style to contemporary events, and the Gardens are no different. Though a long time has passed since the Gardens' inception, it's as though they were made to host this event.

Getting the community to engage respectfully with the Gardens was an important consideration for the organisers. For visitors, and particularly the children, this means appreciating and learning about the space, the plants, and for them to become part of the ongoing continuum of the Gardens as an investment in their own futures. In terms of aims for the artists participating in the competition, it's about exhibiting, but to do so in a way that brings the community together subtly, away from the noise and congestion of other aspects of contemporary life.

In fact, a goal of *Paint the Gardens* was not to bring masses of people in, but to encourage engagement on a deeper level. In the event's narrative, it was reasoned that by attracting local artists to the competition, more time would be spent on site looking closely at the plants in order to represent them. Requiring artists to paint *in situ* facilitates a more intimate and reflective relationship with the Gardens. In turn, the resulting artworks would mirror the beauty and contemplative quality of the Gardens on the day of the competition.

The words *benign*, and *low-key*, are mentioned in reference to the nature of the event, and I agree they provide an apt description. Standing here among the palms, with music from a string quartet floating across the lawns and easels lining the great palm avenue, I cannot think of a more benign way to spend an afternoon.

Enacting public pedagogy

Whilst the idea of public pedagogy is not formally in the minds of the organisers of the *Paint the Gardens*, it is very much a presence in spirit. It is defined and evidenced in the many positive facets of community engagement and learning that are enacted in the lead-up, in the immediate aftermath, and which filter into the community's year in non-linear ways. Whilst public pedagogy is not officially a guiding principle of the event, the organisers are united and steadfast about their purpose. Their singular vision of the benefits of *Paint the Gardens* easily

transposes to the inclusion of other collaborators, which has resulted in the expansion of the event.

One example of a project that has joined the art competition is *Voicing Our Gardens*, an oral history project initiated in 2014 by the Friends of Williamstown Botanic Gardens Inc. and supported by a grant from the local council. As part of the project, many older residents were approached about sharing their memories of living in Williamstown. Interviews were subsequently recorded, photos and artefacts collected, and the resulting narratives were shared with the community. Thus, a treasure trove of memories and important objects were brought out of private possession and into the public sphere. The project is about re-igniting the passions; re-introducing the narrative of the Gardens in the shape of a formal voicing of collective memory. On the day of the competition, a trestle table has been devoted to the oral history project. As one gazes at the old photos, it's easy to become immersed. The Gardens are instantly recognisable in their formality and majesty; a perfect setting for casual leisure times, formal events like weddings featuring ladies in long dresses and intricate up-dos.

As an event, *Paint the Gardens* has expanded and developed over the past five years in ways that appear rhizomatic (Deleuze & Guattari 1998; Honan & Sellers 2006). The inclusion of the oral history project on the day of the competition is but one offshoot. Another is *Art in Public Places*, a city-wide event that sees the work of artists from the west of Melbourne exhibiting their work in local businesses and various venues around the municipality over the space of a month. Its launch takes place in the Gardens on the day of the competition. Using critical mass, a number of activities that share a common agenda are thus brought together in one place.

The support and collaboration that is evident between the different groups and individuals on the day is a remarkable example of community growth and strength. Those who work to make this happen are not just doing so perfunctorily. They are committed, enthused, and passionate about what they are providing to the community. The most striking feature of my informal conversations with four of the organisers on the day was their shared sense of purpose, their common ideology.

The council funds the hire of marquees, trestle tables, and the sound system, whilst from the *Friends* group, there is a lot of *hands in pockets*. On the day there are a number of fundraising initiatives: botanic artists have donated cards, a group is raising money for cancer research, and there are stalls selling plants and garden books. Other community groups also tap into the event, some with a focus on fitness, others on providing refreshments. In addition to the competition, art classes are held, and an artist is at work on a painting. There has been suggestion of establishing a mural-making activity on the day, though this is still in the planning stage. And literacy has found its way into the zone, with a book corner set up where primary aged children and their parents can enjoy some contemplative reading time or participate in the more performative story time.

> *'A staged public event becomes pedagogical and pedagogy becomes a public event when, together, they create a space between that reforms both the self and the other, the self and its lived relations with others.*
>
> *Taking a closer look at several places of learning through the lenses of these ideas, we can see how the designs of particular objects, environments, and social gestures do just that: They actualise, in objects, spaces, and event times, the abstract pedagogical pivot point that sets inner realities in relation to outer realities' (Ellsworth 2004:48).*

In terms of different groups of people using the Gardens (young children, students, adults, artists, lovers of art, and the elderly), a richer demographic element is introduced. Engaging the community in a more connective and meaningful appreciation of the Gardens is hence embodied creatively through the production and exhibition of the works of art. It is not unusual for institutions to use arts based methods as a way to reinvigorate their operations. Sabeti (2015) has written about the public pedagogy of museums in the UK. The focus of the article was a creative writing project that was initiated by staff in a museum with the aim of injecting new life into the institution's identity and role in the community. *Paint the Gardens* adheres to a similar public pedagogy; the art competition is a vehicle for renewed interest and involvement in the Williamstown Botanic Gardens as a resource and site of contemplation.

In the UK example, the generation of writing pieces was intended as a fitting counterbalance to the creative works housed in the gallery; artworks not experienced purely for themselves, but as a source of inspiration for new creative products (the writing).

> *'...the educational role can stem from its function as a place of gathering, or public togetherness, a place where both objects and persons, or the network of their interactions, can be equally inspirational' (Sabeti 2015:126).*

Redressing the imbalance

Attempting to define the role of *Paint the Gardens* as a site of public pedagogy seems at once concrete and undefinable. What we have is a public event that in its humble and fledgling status, held the kind of promise that was widely recognised and embraced by those *seeking* something particular, or who were just *exploring*.

Burdick, Sandlin and O'Malley have given the following definition of public pedagogy:

> *'Public pedagogy has been largely constructed as a concept focusing on various forms, processes, and sites of education and learning occurring beyond or outside of formal schooling. It involves learning in institutions such as museums, zoos, and libraries' (2013:2).*

Paint the Gardens in many ways represents a site of education and learning that is outside of formal schooling. In this sense, it fully embodies the spirit of public pedagogy. Nonetheless, the learning that occurs through such an event is exceptionally difficult to quantify.

It has been argued (Burdick, Sandlin & O'Malley 2013; Sandlin, O'Malley & Burdick 2011) that public pedagogy is, in the literature, not accurately defined nor clearly understood in terms of theoretical frameworks. Generating a definition of arts-based public pedagogy seems a particularly elusive endeavour. Ellsworth (2004) has written eloquently of the problematic elements of defining public pedagogy's specificity in terms of the aesthetic experience.

> *'Aesthetic experience "speaks" as if to say: "I know, but I can't explain what I know through propositional language. Let me 'tell' this knowing through paint, sound, metaphor, media, built forms, sensation, emotion, or silence." The experience of the learning self "speaks" as if to say: "I know, but I can't explain how I came to know this. I came to know this in a non-conscious time/space. What I now 'know' happened in the interval, in the continuous space of crossing from one way of knowing to another. I can't decompose my movement/sensation of that crossing into an explanation of it, but I can gesture toward the coordinates of its passage and invite you along an itinerary – a pedagogy – designed to open an interval for you to fall outside of what we already know. If that interval opens for you, and if you fall, my itinerary will be transformed by yours as it emerges, in the making, and on the way to a destination uniquely your own."*
>
> *'This is the burden that pedagogy bears. What it knows of the experience of the learning self cannot be shared through telling, explanation, or propositional knowledge, but what it knows of the experience of the learning self can be shared in other terms. What makes for a pedagogical masterpiece is how it bears this burden' (2004:162).*

There is much about the public pedagogy of Paint the Gardens that remains unspoken, or difficult to define. I have no doubt there are facets to the learning gleaned out of *Paint the Gardens* that has not occurred to me or to the organisers of the event at all. And maybe at this point in time, not even to the learners themselves. Informal learning carries with it the element of surprise. This is not to say that surprises are not a part of structured, in-school learning, and that despite rigidly structured curriculum, unexpected learning events are thankfully inevitable.

Even the most obvious learning to be gleaned from *Paint the Gardens*, which is in regard to enabling and encouraging artists to practise and hone their skills, encompasses many spheres. These range from the technical to the analytical; painters improving the use of their medium, subject composition, and analysing the symbolic meaning that may be attached to a piece. Younger and less experienced artists will be concerned with different challenges to those more experienced. The

aspect of collaboration and sharing that is inherent in socio-cultural learning is another obvious benefit of the collaboration among fellow artists and their audience.

Learning benefits for visitors and spectators are many. But this is where lines can become blurred, and long essays could be written on any one of the specific benefits that participating in such an event can generate. The popularity and resulting expansion of the event has strengthened its public pedagogy in terms of community participation and development. This includes enabling and expanding dialogue among residents and the various stakeholders. Through dialogue, shared values become apparent, and these can initiate and flow on to other projects or collaborations that may be unrelated to *Paint the Gardens*.

Then there is learning that will remain unquantified. Wildemeersch and Von Kotze (2014:322) have written about '…an "ignorant pedagogy" that intervenes or interrupts without precisely knowing how the participants will respond as singular beings…'. This refers to the venturing into arts spaces, where the creation of art works is primarily an experiment. Creative endeavours necessitate risk-taking, but are buoyed by a faith in the process. *Paint the Gardens* relies on such faith.

Outside curriculum

Many parts of the world are currently experiencing a historical phase where education is deeply ensconced in neo-liberalist values (Goodson & Lindblad 2011). Compliance is a necessary component of this new order (MacDonald 2003; Wilkins 2011), and so teachers are incentivised to follow government-mandated guidelines, some of which are rigidly imposed. The manifestation of these values is a narrowing of the curriculum and an increase in standardised testing, resulting in a downgrading of the arts (Darder 2011; Geist & Hohn 2009; Goodson 2006). Similarly, Robinson (2001) has written about the growing imbalance in the curriculum that is driven by economic concerns which, in a misguided way, have been aligned to raising learning outcomes.

> *'I am not arguing against academic standards in themselves nor would I celebrate a decline in them. My concern is with the preoccupation with these standards to the exclusion of everything else' (2001:200).*

Sadly, the arts are a casualty of the neo-rationalist reality, and what is more regrettable is the underlying irony. The arts have been (both anecdotally and through research) shown to be a positive force in learning throughout the curriculum (Caldwell & Vaughan 2012; Gibson & Ewing 2011). This is not to suggest in any way that the arts are only useful in schools because they have the potential to improve outcomes in what are considered more important – or more essential – curriculum areas, and Dinham (2011) rightly warns against the dangers of using the arts as *handmaidens*.

The focus of curriculum should be on developing life skills, and preparing young people for the challenges of the 21st Century. Thus, the public pedagogy of *Paint the Gardens* works on the principle that the arts should be accessible to all. Though the community is not a disadvantaged one in economic terms, the issue of the arts being devalued is a real one. As such, the event can be seen in political terms, as activist – restoring the arts to the community in a way that schools are currently unable to do.

> *'The concern for a public pedagogy is a reaction against the way dominant educational practices and policies continue to reproduce inequalities and undemocratic and unsustainable conditions in society' (Wildemeersch & Von Kotze 2014:321).*

The popularity of *Paint the Gardens* thus demonstrates the thirst, indeed, the very basic human need, for involvement in the arts. If adequate place or sufficient time cannot be found for the arts in schools, then it is important to locate the arts where they are accessible and free of constraints.

It is interesting to note that though public pedagogy is defined as being learning that is outside of educational institutions, the pull, or power, of the classroom is still tangible.

One of the positive developments of *Paint the Gardens* has been the growing participation by local schools. Almost without exception, the children's pieces are refreshingly effortless, in a natural, unassuming kind of way. They have that casual, slapdash brilliance that is difficult to achieve in the presence of self-awareness, and that can come across as laboured in the work of older artists. With seemingly little deliberation,

the young artists throw up snapshots of the Gardens, of the foibles of childhood, and of the symbolism that emerges when young minds and bodies engage with nature.

Overall, more than 200 children have exhibited this year. The involvement and partnership with local schools means a developing sense of ownership in the Gardens as a public resource, which fosters tremendous good will in the community. The Williamstown Botanic Gardens are not locked at night, and yet there is minimal vandalism.

That schools have become involved in the event, and have subsequently incorporated it in the curriculum is an accolade for the organisers. A positive consequence of the large number of entries is a validation that the arts are valued at least in the blurred space that exists between school and outside curriculum. However, in terms of formal schooling, the arts have much ground to cover. Indeed, a significant element of the public pedagogy inherent in the competition may be not so much to foster participation in, and a love of the arts, but to raise awareness of *why* participating in the arts is essential. It is not simply a matter of enjoying the arts on an unthinking, subliminal level, but of understanding *how* exactly we connect with the arts, and of the distinct elements inherent in arts practice.

Eisner (2002:25-40) contested the notion that the arts are perceived as a 'soft' subject in schools by identifying several elements of arts education that are significant to human perception and growth. These include the development of artistic skills that relate to perceiving and creating an artistic product, as well as fostering creative problem solving, which is a crucial element of design. The cognitive benefits of involvement in the arts are to do with enhancement of thinking skills and criticality, despite common perception that the arts are not connected with complex thought processes. Of great importance is also the ability to understand, decode and place value upon visual elements of our society, in popular culture and in the fine arts.

If we are to take Eisner's view of the benefit of integrating the arts in people's lives, and of the importance of arts education, the link between the public pedagogy of *Paint the Gardens* and people's yearning for involvement in the creative arts endeavours is palpable. Whether or not schools make room for the arts in the curriculum, teachers are taking

matters into their own hands by tapping into community networks and organisations (Jeanneret & O'Toole 2012).

Paint the Gardens exemplifies the great desire of people of all ages to participate in the arts. Thus, viewing *Paint the Gardens* as a public pedagogy acknowledges the collective community desire that must underlie this endeavour. If not for the recognition of the importance of the arts as the connective fabric of a community, why would the event have experienced such effortless success? Why would the local council fund and support such an event, and why would so many artists seize the opportunity to make art, and with such zeal put themselves *out there* for public scrutiny?

A reason for this could be that the arts, with their inherent scope for creativity and self-expression, are fundamental in the lives of children and adults alike (Eisner 2002). But there is more. The other, equally important element in this equation is the Williamstown Botanic Gardens in itself as a community place of belonging and of shared history. When art connects with such a community mainstay, there is a significant degree of exponential strength in the combination. It is a formidable alliance, one that confirms *Paint the Gardens* as a public pedagogy central to the development and wellbeing of a community. What has been created inadvertently, and with support from the local schools, is an outside curriculum (Schubert 2010) where learning occurs in an out-of-school context. The Williamstown Botanic Gardens, as a location for this learning, has hence become an unofficial educational institution.

Adult learning

Once we leave school, many of us seek out the arts for self-expression, personal enhancement or purely for leisure. *Paint the Gardens* is one opportunity to delve into artistic creativity in a gentle, non-threatening way, and within a setting that connects residents deeply and meaningfully to other artists and with the wider community. Artists want to be seen, and this is a low-key competition without high stakes prizes or snobbish, judgemental curators to make anyone feel inadequate. Paint the Gardens as a public pedagogy connects deeply with the situated learning identified by Wenger (2000), where individuals who share a common interest engage in 'communities of practice' in order to enhance their personal and collective learning in a context of shared values and collaboration.

In this sense the 'community of practice' generated by *Paint the Gardens* becomes the public pedagogy; the vehicle through which participation is enabled. Artists are but one community of practice inhabiting that space. But the space is one where multiple levels of engagement are possible. Looking back on five years of *Paint the Gardens*, a pattern of providing incentives to new and established artists is strongly in evidence. But the day is about so much more than just the exhibiting artists. Most of the people who frequent the event have probably never held a paintbrush. They just want to get into the space, to experience, feel, ponder, chat with friends, perhaps meet new people, and importantly, to have a close encounter with nature, and to connect that encounter with what they see portrayed artistically on the day.

This dynamic exemplifies the connective elements of the arts; how arts-based events are a unifying force in communities. Such events can be transformative for communities, as outlined by Finley et al (2014), in an article that explored a Belgian mural art project through the lens of public pedagogy. The objective of the community arts based project was to foster a sense of belonging for the participating students. The authors argued that the dialogue between participants during the creation of the mural was equally important to the finished work. Similarly, it is not so much the generation of art that is to be valued in *Paint the Gardens*, but the myriad possibilities for dialogue, collaboration, self-discovery and inspiration that have been enabled as the event has gathered momentum. Schools becoming involved in arts-based projects that connect to local community sites enable a wide range of pupils and their families to access facilities they may not have felt were available to them. Hence this event, as an arts-based project, effectively provides a vehicle for inclusion and access, and is conducive to practices of social justice in the community.

Conclusion

Public pedagogies are convincingly enabled and enacted through *Paint the Gardens*, and extend well beyond the event; beyond the realm of the arts. Greene wrote eloquently about the function and the needs of communities.

> *'In thinking of community, we need to emphasise the process words: making, creating, weaving, saying, and the like.*

> *Community cannot be produced simply through rational formulation nor through edict. Like freedom, it has to be achieved by persons offered the space in which to discover what they recognise together and appreciate in common; they have to find ways to make intersubjective sense. Again, it ought to be a space infused by the kind of imaginative awareness that enables those involved to imagine alternative possibilities for their own becoming and their group's becoming. Community is not a question of which social contracts are the most reasonable for individuals to enter. It is a question of what might contribute to the pursuit of shared goods: what ways of being together, of attaining mutuality, of reaching toward some common world' (1995:39).*

Greene's sense of community is in complete harmony with the philosophy and physical embodiment of *Paint the Gardens*. There are also firm echoes to her position on the need to rethink pedagogy, replacing those of thoughtlessness to pedagogies of imagination (Greene 2010). If the idea of nurturing community spirit is synonymous with such concepts as *imagination*, indeed imaginative *awareness*, making intersubjective sense and the contribution to the pursuit of shared goods, then all these elements are embodied as public pedagogy in *Paint the Gardens*.

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Ligia Pelosi has worked in primary schools as a classroom and LOTE teacher, but most extensively as a music specialist. She is a passionate advocate for the need to embed literacy learning within a creative arts framework in order to create a meaningful and authentic language experience for students. Ligia's interests in education centre on literacy, creativity and narrative research methodologies. She is keen to explore creativity not only within the arts realm, but as a necessary catalyst for the ideas, skills and thinking processes needed to negotiate the rapidly-changing technological, economic and environmental factors of the 21st Century and beyond. In her work with VU since 2007, Ligia has taught and coordinated in the Bachelor of Education (P-12) Year 1 program and currently teaches and coordinates Year 4 core education units and the primary pedagogical content knowledge unit, Imagination, Creativity and Design.

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Protest music as adult education and learning for social change: a theorisation of a public pedagogy of protest music

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Since the 1960's, the transformative power of protest music has been shrouded in mythology. Sown by musical activists like Pete Seeger, who declared that protest music could "help to save the planet", the seeds of this myth have since taken deep root in the popular imagination. While the mythology surrounding the relationship between protest music and social change has become pervasive and persistent, it has mostly evaded critical interrogation and significant theorisation. By both using the notion as a theoretical lens and adding to scholarship in the field, this article uncovers understandings of the public pedagogical dimensions of protest music, as it takes place as a radical practice and critical form of contemporary mass culture. In doing this, this article provides a theorisation of public pedagogy as it encapsulates protest music, and those who are conceptualised as the critical and radical public pedagogues who produce this mass cultural form.

Keywords: *public pedagogy; protest music; adult learning; education for social change*

Maybe it's just the time of year
Maybe it's the time of man
I don't know who I am
But life is for learning…

Joni Mitchell, *Woodstock*, (1970), [side B, track 5].

Introduction

The emergence of protest or a political popular music in the 1960s has been inextricably linked in the popular imaginary and public history with social change and youth revolt. At the forefront of this linkage are persistent and enduring myths connecting social protest produced as popular music with resistance, rebellion, rejection of the status quo and social norms, and oppositional politics. This is particularly the case in mass-mediated, advanced capitalist and later neoliberal democracies, as both protest music and activities and movements for social change have been associated with progressive politics of 'the left' (Berger, 2000). Mythology connecting protest music with social change can be seen in claims made by folk musician Pete Seeger, that "if used right", protest songs might "help to save the planet" (Seeger, 2009 as quoted in Pareles, 2014).

It is little surprise that these myths about protest music and social change have claimed some hold in mass consciousness. They are ideas reflected in the popularity and commercial success, particularly from the early 1960s and beyond, of artists who answered Seeger's call to 'save' or change the world for the better with their music. Bob Dylan and Joan Baez, for instance, became iconic for writing and performing what have been known as 'finger-pointing', 'topical', 'message' or 'protest' songs (Denisoff, 1983). Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison (1998:2) have located some of the mythology around such artists, and the protest music they produced, in their notion of "the sixties of popular consciousness". This phenomenon is expressed, they argue, as a longing for "a better, more innocent time 'when we were good'" (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998:2, authors' emphasis retained). Akin to these authors, Ray Pratt (1990:viii) sees the 1960s as a watershed moment in (popular) protest music-making and, through this, "an expression of more fundamental social longings". Yet, while referring to a "nostalgic fetishisation" of the much-reproduced and mediated versions of the

decade, Pratt cautions against dismissing "efforts to establish a political popular music" as merely nostalgia. As Eyerman and Jamison (1998:2) similarly warn, viewing such expressions in this way tends to overlook or downplay some "fundamentally important connections between culture and politics".

Key in the contentions of these authors is the critical linkage they make between protest music and social change in mass consciousness. Eyerman and Jamison (1998) argue that while protest music may not have significantly moved people into direct social action, it has functioned to highlight the causes of the Civil Rights, Anti-War and Women's Liberation movements. I want to add that it is not only protest music itself, but the persistent myths around this mass cultural formation that have greatly contributed to the notion, in public consciousness, that protest music can make people more socially conscious. More importantly, however, is what these myths reveal about the public pedagogical dimensions of protest music as a radical practice and critical form of contemporary mass culture.

It is in such terms that this article explores the relationship between protest music and social change, as it occurs through processes and practices of adult learning and teaching, as public pedagogy. As a component of the wider context of popular music, protest music is examined as a mass cultural practice and form. In this respect, protest music is considered as social protest produced and exchanged as a form of commodified popular music, or popular protest music, meaning that it has been made commercially available to audience-consumers through the global mass-(multi)media. The term adult learning, as it relates to this context, denotes pedagogical processes and practices as they take place through the production and exchange of popular protest music, beyond the bounds of formal, institutional education. Lastly, the exploration of these processes is undertaken as an analysis of protest music, its producer/performers and audiences, as they can be seen to take part in a public pedagogy, in mass-mediated, capitalist or later neoliberal consumer culture.

Framework for theorising the radical practice and critical public pedagogy of protest music

The relationship between protest music and social change, particularly as this might occur through processes of adult learning and education or public pedagogy, is under researched and under theorised. Most notably, such relationships have not been significantly explored in terms of the coinciding mythologies and underpinning philosophies of both protest music and adult education for social change, as the latter context resides at the foundations of more recent '*public pedagogy scholarship*' (Sandlin, O'Malley & Burdick, 2011). As it is engaged with in this article, this latter-named field of inquiry refers primarily to relatively recent research represented by definitive engagements with the notion of public pedagogy by Robin Wright and Jennifer Sandlin (2009); Sandlin, Brian Schultz and Jake Burdick (Eds.) (2010); Sandlin, Wright and Carolyn Clark (2011) and Sandlin, Michael O'Malley and Burdick (2011). In this sense, public pedagogy or pedagogies is broadly defined by Sandlin, Schultz and Burdick (2010:1) as "spaces, sites, and languages of education and learning that exist outside of the walls of the institution of schools" and other formal and institutionalised educational settings.

The linkage between public pedagogy and the broader field of adult education for social change comes via two concepts, forming the epistemological foundations of these discourses. They are Antonio Gramsci's (1971) concept of '*hegemony*', together with Paulo Freire's (1970) notion of '*conscientization*'. Where these two theoretical concepts intersect with public pedagogy is in the understanding of mass, popular and media culture as an educative or pedagogical site that reinforces hegemony, while also offering spaces where this might be critiqued, contested and reimagined (see, for example, Sandlin, O'Malley & Burdick, 2011). Gramsci (1971) and Freire's (1970) concepts provide for an examination of protest music, in its potential to take place or be facilitated by protest musicians, as a form of critical pedagogy and radical education. Public pedagogy scholarship adds a relatively fresh epistemological lens that enables an interrogation of protest music as it is produced and exchanged in mass culture with the intention of bringing about social change. From this perspective, this article is chiefly concerned with the inherent knowledge and cultural production and exchange processes of protest music as a form of mass/popular music;

how musicians as performers and producers of popular/protest music texts might be understood as public pedagogues; how the texts produced through performance by protest musicians might be considered pedagogical; and how audiences, consumers or users of protest music texts might be considered adult learners.

Finally, as to this last point and what might occur for audiences as learners, or what learning from protest music might look like: the possibilities for this reside at the crux of public pedagogy scholarship, again in the theory of Gramsci and the practice of radical adult education. Gramsci's (1971) theory suggests that, while remaining a product of popular culture that is produced hegemonically, protest music has potential counter-hegemonic effects and influences in public consciousness. As Abrahams (2007) has argued, it is public or mass consciousness that represents contestable terrain in mass-mediated consumer culture, essentially for a critical pedagogy of music to exploit. Protest musicians can be (re)imagined as radical adult educators, working within yet against the capitalist system which is, to the greatest extent, responsible for the production and exchange of social protest as commodified popular music. It is in this respect that some protest music can provide other narratives about contemporary mass mediated consumer culture, potentially giving voice to alternate views in and of society, offering possibilities for individuals to think critically and learn about the world in which they live, and possibly act to change it. As Wright and Sandlin (2009:133) have proposed in their conception of public pedagogy as a product of popular culture, protest music holds the hope for listeners to "imagine a world that is less self-destructive", and a cultural horizon less inhibited than that presented by the prevailing capitalist or neoliberal hegemony.

Popular protest music

The 1960s, and particularly the early years of that decade, were undoubtedly a watershed moment in the production and exchange of social protest as commodified popular music (Pratt, 1990). As Ian Peddie (2006:xvi) suggests, however, sixties popular music–like all popular music since its inception in the mid-1950s - "emerges already grounded in the social, as an avenue of cultural contestation or social and political engagement". A key contention is that popular music beyond the strict confines of the sixties' protest song has worked to inform, educate and

raise popular consciousness since the 1950s. While, more recently, it has been co-opted and somewhat overwhelmed by the production processes of capitalism, what I am referring to here as popular protest music presents similar possibilities into the 21st century. In this sense, protest music is an under-theorised source of and practice in public pedagogy, through which adult or other learners outside the realm of schooling and formal educational contexts might learn skills required to participate actively and effectively in processes of social change. This section is a brief examination of the evolution of this contemporary popular protest music as a source of counter-hegemonic messages and learning, followed in the remainder of the article by a theorisation of this cultural form and practice as public pedagogy.

Working to perpetuate myths about the resistance and rebellion of rock'n'roll and (later) other genres of popular music, is its derivation from, emergence out of, and colonisation of the culture of slave work songs and 'the blues' of African-American people. As David Szatmary (2004:ix) discusses popular music's social history, this followed the migration of African-Americans from the southern U.S. states to Chicago, and started as an "urbanised, electric rhythm and blues". The rising popularity of this form of commodified popular culture is intrinsically linked to television replacing radio as the dominant mass medium and dramatic economic, educational, political and social changes in industrialised nations in the 1950s (Miller, 2000). As far as the emergence of a political or protest music is concerned, one key area of social change was the 'baby-boom generation' providing a rapidly growing audience of listeners, viewers and consumers for this burgeoning form of Western mass culture (Szatmary, 2004). Initially, this growing crowd of consumers was driven by and formed around teenagers in the 1950s; and then as this social group, as Frith (1981) describes, overly represented by white working class males, transformed to youth culture into the 1960s.

Critically, it was with this change in the nature of its audience that the topics for popular songs also changed and the commodified protest song, born out of the folk revival of the early 1960s, burst to prominence, particularly in North America and the UK. Instead of being mostly about 'girls', cars and going to the '*sock hop*' (Szatmary, 2004), lyrics took on issues that had been largely suppressed in the 1950s. The subject matter

of so-called '*songs of social significance*', as Denisoff (1983) refers to them in the title of his book - like those of Bob Dylan that are definitive of this era - included: McCarthyism ('*Talkin' John Birch Paranoid Blues*', 1962); the Civil Rights movement ('*Pawn in Their Game*', 1963), the Cold War ('*Talkin' World War Three Blues*', 1962); potential threat of nuclear annihilation ('*Let me Die in my Footsteps*', 1963); and more broadly social justice and change ('*Times They Are A Changin*'', 1963). In doing this, artists - to a large extent led by Dylan into the realm of folk-as-commodified-popular-music, and those acts that recorded his songs, such as Peter, Paul and Mary ('*Blowin' in the Wind*', 1963) - dramatically redefined what popular music could be written about and used for, in transmitting ideas and propaganda. In these terms, the public pedagogical dimensions of popular music were radically expanded. Moreover, it is these dimensions of protest music that intersect with the radical and critical dimensions, along with the mythologies, philosophy and purpose of adult education for social change.

Later in the decade, "the sixties of popular consciousness" (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998:2) takes place in the popular imaginary and public history as rebellion against and subversion of conservative social norms, led by the growing 'counterculture' and the 'hippies'. Initially coming out of North American college campuses, the counterculture movement sought to end the war in Vietnam with peace marches, rallies and civil disobedience, at times developing into riots. Across the Atlantic, there were the events of 1968 which also escalated to riots in France, starting with youths protesting against a restrictive education system and growing US military involvement in Vietnam (Kurlansky, 2004). Kurlansky (2004:182) reports that *Life* (magazine) defined the prominent popular music emerging at this time as "the first music born in the age of instant communication".

The early 1970s saw the post-war boom come to a crashing halt with the oil embargo of 1973, resulting in slumps in national economies that ended a long era of full employment. England had not enjoyed all the spoils of this boom time, having incurred a large foreign debt in order to 'win' the war. By 1975, England was in recession and unemployment, particularly amongst school leavers, was at its highest since before World War II (Savage, 1991). The tabloid press, such as Murdoch's *Sun*, served notice on the libertarianism of the 1960s. The new language of fear

about social issues, such as pornography, education and vandalism, saw middle-class Britain seeking refuge in a Conservative Party moving to the right, led by Margaret Thatcher and her assertion of the individual over society (Savage, 1991).

The optimism and utopian idealism of the 1960s had seemingly died from an excess of part two in contemporary music's 'unholy trinity' (sex, drugs and rock 'n' roll): three of the decade's big stars - Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin and Jim Morrison - expired within months of each other in 1970 and 1971. The rebellious edge of the previous decades' music had been blunted, having been increasingly marketed as an acceptable commodity and purchased into the mainstream by the maturing 'baby boomers'. This environment in 1977 London spawned punk, with young people rejecting mainstream conformism and corporatism (the 'politics of boredom') as an angry rebellion against consumerism and 'as a deliberate reaction to the mass commercialism of music' (Oh, 2002). While the directly educative power of punk is debatable - lyrics were often sung quickly, mispronounced and screamed over distorted guitars - there is a strong anti-authority/corporatist theme, both stylistically and when the angry and 'chaotic' noise is stripped back to reveal the lyrics. Punk, however, serves more as an historical and strident expression of anarchism, if not revolution, set against the backdrop of emerging neo-conservatism and commercialism. Artists like The Clash, lingering on into the early 1980s with their socialist overtones, raised the awareness of a young adult audience about the Spanish Civil War ('*Spanish Bombs*', Strummer & Jones, 1979), US imperialism and the Sandinistas ('*Washington Bullets*', Strummer & Jones, 1980).

Punk significantly influenced later artists and sharpened the rebellious edge of popular music up to today. At least on some level, it seems much of the political and resistant forms and genres of popular music coming after the 1970s was inspired or influenced by punk. Clearly, punk's attitude and loud and raucous style goes into the 1990s and beyond with grunge bands such as Pearl Jam, Soundgarden and Nirvana, who became famous for their resistance to authority and rejection of the system and status quo in their versions of protest music. However, as Szatmary (2004:271-284) observes, the popular myth of protest music remained ever-present with whom he refers to as the 'children of the sixties' in the mid-to-late 1980s. Those he includes as examples of producers of

music with a social conscience, and artists who had returned to and re-awakened "1960s idealism" in their brand of popular music, are Tracy Chapman, Suzanne Vega, REM, The Indigo Girls and Australian band Midnight Oil. Sixties idealism has continued in the musical styles of performers and songwriters like Neil Young, Bruce Springsteen and other artists from the 1960s and 1970s, who have continued to tour and record protest music. Punk and artists such as these have also inspired overt protest music bands like Rage Against the Machine, who became popular in the 1990s.

Musical movements led by people of colour - including 1970s' reggae and hip-hop or rap, popular from the late 1980s - have provided a significant source of informal learning that has crossed racial, cultural and geographical lines to influence (mostly young) adults on a global level (Oshun, 2005). With its strong social liberation theme, reggae brought to the forefront many of the issues that people of colour had been singing about since the 19th century, including oppression at the hands of white people, black spirituality, and religious freedom -often with an attempt to raise the critical and political consciousness of the listener. While its name is now a marketing term applied to 'softer', more commercially acceptable, music of this genre, 'hip-hop' is more a culture than just music: 'it is the heartbeat of American ghetto youth who claimed their own self-expression and used it to rise above their physical circumstances' (Oshun, 2005).

Hip-hop is one of the few forms or genres of protest music that has captured the attention of public pedagogy inquiry (Savage & Hickey-Moody, 2010; Dimitriadis, 2001). One of the more significant contributions to this field comes from Lance Williams (2010), who argues that some hip-hop

> *has various aesthetic contributions which allow it to operate as a springboard for discourse surrounding youths' attitudes and beliefs about issues such as identity, violence, marginalisation, hegemony, resistance, and social justice. (Williams, 2010:221, citing Cohen, 2007)*

Williams examines this cultural formation as protest music that is potentially a catalyst for the transformation of society through the empowerment of marginalised groups. By making these connections,

he is linking together protest music with education for social change, by conceptualising this form of hip-hop as counter-hegemonic and, in some ways, a critical public pedagogy of protest music. What is perhaps more important about hip-hop, however, is that it is this genre that has taken the baton for protest music from the 1980s and bands like Public Enemy, and most likely still offers counter-hegemonic resistance today. Even locally, the Australian variation on the theme called 'skip-hop', with bands like The Herd, hold the most promise for continuing to produce music expressing political and social change sentiments into the 21st Century.

Protest music as adult education for social change

Social protest produced as popular music, whatever era or genre it comes from, is protest music because it is intended to be such by its authors or those who produce and perform it. Critically, it is in this intent, purpose or philosophy where protest music coincides with the underlying hope and ontological intent of adult learning and education for social change. Serge Denisoff, a pioneering sociological researcher on protest music, is cited by Lawrence Berger where he argues "that social protest, intended to achieve social change, is the fundamental purpose of music" (Berger, 2000:58, citing Denisoff, 1970). As Berger further outlines the foundational roots of this cultural formation, music produced as 'social protest' is educative or pedagogical in its intent. It is meant to "raise consciousness and awareness" in its listeners, and "build solidarity through its emotional and intellectual appeal" (Berger, 2000:58). Crucially, this literature suggests that protest music as a cultural form and practice is ideally about education for social change.

The mythology, philosophical foundations and intent of protest musicians to change the world, through the protest music they produce, is clearly linked with the hope and ontological foundations of adult education for social change. For the latter cultural field, this takes place in its seeking to bring about societal transformation through critical pedagogical (Freire, 1970) and radical educative and counter-hegemonic interventions in civil society (Gramsci, 1971), or critical pedagogy and radical adult education. For protest music, such interventions occur in mass-mediated consumer society by way of the critical, radical and public pedagogical dimensions of this mass cultural formation. Thus,

protest music and those who produce it become an educative or public pedagogical form and practice, seeking to transform society. At the core of this process of production and exchange, and in line with adult education for social change, protest music seeks to: highlight social injustices and inequality (Foley, 2001); empower listeners to name and critique their circumstances (Shor, 1992); and inspire people through learning to act in processes of social change to redress oppression (Freire, 1970).

This ontological linkage, along with the evident coinciding mythologies between protest music and adult learning and education for social change, is one of two key distinctions that make protest music a form and practice of public pedagogy; or *a critical and radical public pedagogy of protest music*. The other distinction is that protest music is produced and exchanged in mass-mediated consumer culture, to take place as a form of mass-popular music. It is this mass cultural form and the practices that go into producing it which embody the central organising and operational dimensions of protest music as critical public pedagogy. In this sense, protest music can essentially be seen as *popular protest music*: it takes place as a popular cultural or media product and form of commodified music that is produced, as "social protest, intended to achieve social change" (Berger, 2000:58, citing Denisoff, 1970).

I am arguing that hegemony and counter-hegemony operate, or are facilitated in, contemporary mass-mediated neoliberal culture through a process of learning and teaching; in part, by way of a public pedagogy or, indeed, a *public pedagogy of media* and *popular culture*. As "products of popular culture", protest music becomes, as Wright and Sandlin (2009:135) contend, a "facilitator of, and catalyst for" adult learning which is potentially "far more powerful, lasting, and lifelong than learning in formal educational settings and other traditionally researched areas of teaching and learning". Taking this contention further, I want to argue that, in these public pedagogical transactions, protest music texts become the catalyst, and protest musicians—those who produce protest music through performance, whether that is live or recorded—become facilitators of adult learning. Indeed, through their protest music that is produced to raise critical consciousness and awareness, protest musicians are essentially facilitating critical pedagogy, and in this sense become critical public pedagogues. How protest musicians and protest

music function as a critical public pedagogy, and what goes on behind the scenes of Wright and Sandlin's (2009) pivotal contention - that popular culture takes place, is facilitated and becomes a catalyst for adult learning - is the focus of discussion in the next section.

Popular protest music as a radical practice in critical public pedagogy

The idea that protest music - and for that matter, *all* popular music - is inherently pedagogical, can at first be located at the centre of a theorisation of *pedagogy itself*. Such a theorisation of the possibilities of pedagogy is found in David Lusted's (1986:3) frequently drawn on and most useful working through the term. Lusted's engagement is based on what he refers to as the application of his "prism of pedagogy" to the "*process* through which knowledge is produced" (author's emphasis retained) and learning can be seen to occur. For Lusted, pedagogy becomes not only central in addressing questions of how knowledge is transmitted or (re)produced; but along with this, it enables the interrogation of the "conditions and through what means we *come to know*" (Lusted 1986:3, author's emphasis retained). Lusted's (1986:2) theorisation thus provides, what he theorises, is a "prism of pedagogy" that functions to highlight the interactions between agencies in a "process of production and exchange" (Lusted, 1986:3). Crucially, as Lusted (1986:3) further argues, pedagogy is "the transformation of consciousness", taking place "in the interaction of three agencies – the teacher, the learner and the knowledge they together produce".

As this article has argued, there is a teaching and learning from which knowledge is produced, occurring through and within the performative cultural production and exchange processes of popular protest music. This occurs as a result of the activities, practices and interactions of conceptually the same three pedagogical agencies Lusted (1986) invokes in his theorisation of pedagogy: the teacher, the learner and the knowledge produced as a result of the pedagogical processes, activities and practices of the three agencies. These pedagogical agencies can be seen to occur in the knowledge and cultural production and exchange of protest music in the following three ways:

1. *Teachers or pedagogues* in the knowledge, cultural production and exchange of pedagogy itself, become the musicians, artist-performers and composers of protest music and can be known as

pedagogues of popular protest music.

2. *Knowledge* that gives way to a possible state of '*becoming*' through learning, as described by Ellsworth (2005); and the knowledge which at first makes possible the '*pedagogical transformation of consciousness*' described by Lusted (1986) is what *musicians-as-pedagogues* produce in the form of *popular/protest music texts*. These texts can be seen as the *content* or *curricula* in a pedagogy of popular/protest music.

3. As embodiments of knowledge, encodings of values, ideologies (Giroux 2004a) and, critically, imbued with the pedagogy of their producers, protest music texts give way to the possibility of learning by audiences. As a result, the audience, listeners or consumers of popular music can be located in a pedagogy of popular/ protest music as *(adult) learners*.

Bridging the divide between Lusted's (1986) theorisation of pedagogy itself and the production of protest music as public pedagogy is Walter Gershon's (2010) contribution to public pedagogy scholarship. Here, Gershon refers to 'all musicians' as 'public intellectuals' (as the title of his chapter suggests). Where Gershon is most salient is in his part-conceptualisation of the function of musicians as "public pedagogues whose interactions are explicitly designed to educate". Gershon usefully inserts musicians into what he sees as the position and place of public intellectuals in society. He refers to musicians and public intellectuals collectively, describing them as "performers who speak to audiences in an effort to move them, to entertain for the pleasure of thought through the senses" (Gershon, 2010:635). Though he never makes it exactly clear what these musicians as public intellectuals actually do with their pedagogy, other than bring pleasure through the entertainment their music might provide, Gershon does give insight to the possibilities for protest musicians as pedagogues or public intellectuals: the music protest musicians produce has other purposes in "speaking to audiences and moving them through their senses", not only for pleasure or entertainment (Gershon, 2010:635) but also for resistance, to express oppositional politics, highlight injustices and possibly move audiences to social action.

Further implied in Gershon's (2010) work - and in what emerges perhaps more explicitly from other engagements with music and social change (Pratt, 1990; Berger, 2000) - is the foundation or basis provided for the possibilities of pedagogy through social protest produced as popular music. While he does not frame them as such, pedagogical possibilities clearly reside in the texts musicians as public intellectuals produce. Protest music texts become the central component and agency in the cultural and knowledge production and exchange processes of protest music. As a result, it is the performative production and exchange of these texts by protest musicians that undergird a pedagogy of protest music. Music, as Gershon (2010:628) argues - protest music texts as they are conceptualised here - becomes "organised/emergent sounds" capable of passing "implicit and explicit ideas" to listeners.

Taking this notion of popular and protest music texts a little further and into the realm of learning from - and by implication - teaching with and through music, Gershon (2010) notably cites Elizabeth Ellsworth (2005), whose work is pioneering in the field of public pedagogy (see Sandlin, O'Malley & Burdick, 2011). Drawing on Ellsworth, Gershon argues that music, as a way of knowing becomes a "literal" way of "making sense" (Gershon, 2010:628, citing Ellsworth, 2005), of "understanding the world and our relation to it". Critically, Gershon then adds, "[w]hen we remember lyrics that resonate with us or when the hair stands up on our necks at a particular song, we are learning" (Gershon 2010:628).

For Gershon, music contains knowledge or, as music occurs in textual form: protest music texts represent "a way of knowing" that can be "understood both cognitively and affectively" (Gershon 2010:628). Music texts thus become the foundation and operational core on which a pedagogy of protest music takes place. Protest music texts become not only the vehicle for the transfer of knowledge, but also the texts and pedagogy made available to audiences for learning. Protest music texts come to represent, contain and are the vehicle for the explicit encodings and transmission of meanings, values, ideologies, constructions of teachings (Giroux 2004a). Moreover, it is through this process in protest music production and exchange that these texts are made available for interpretation, decoding and meaning making by audiences as learners.

Protest music texts, together with the knowledge, cultural production and exchange practices that produce them, come together in what I have drawn on (Giroux, 2004b) to name *mass-mediated neoliberal consumer culture*. A broader definition is also provided by Giroux (2004a:59), when he describes this context as a "social field where goods and social practices are not only produced, distributed, and consumed but also invested with various meanings and ideologies implicated in the generation of political effects". In part, he further defines the "culture" of "everyday life"

> *as a circuit of power, ideologies, and values in which diverse images and sounds are produced and circulated, identities are constructed, inhabited, and discarded, agency is manifested in both individualized and social forms, and discourses are created. (Giroux 2004a:59-60)*

Here, Giroux provides a framework for a critical, radical and public pedagogy of protest music, both in its practice or facilitation by protest musicians as public pedagogues, and as it takes place in the catalytic learning spaces that protest music texts open up, in the public pedagogical context of mass-mediated everyday culture.

What is 'produced, distributed, and consumed' in the wider context of popular music can be located in Giroux's (2004a:59) description as the 'goods and social practices'. These 'goods' are predominantly recordings of performances as they are made available on various media, mostly via the Internet nowadays, but traditionally on CD, and before that cassette and record. What Giroux (2004a) also reveals here are the possibilities for how protest music is produced and exchanged as public pedagogy; and, in effect, how popular music texts are politicised or encoded with the social change sentiments of their producers to become protest music. The implication from Giroux is that a public pedagogy of protest music takes place as the "goods and social practices" - in this case popular music - are encoded with "meanings and ideologies implicated in the generation of political effects" (Giroux 2004a:59). Thus, popular music becomes protest music or social protest that is expressed through the "diverse images and sounds" (Giroux 2004a:59) of popular music. This is done, moreover, by musicians who practice in the tradition and underlying philosophy of protest music: "to educate, motivate, and raise

consciousness by" seeking to affect audiences "both emotionally and intellectually" (Berger, 2000:57).

What is transmitted and made available through these products of popular culture is the embodied and encoded knowledge in protest music texts, along with the pedagogy of their author/performers. Protest music texts become knowledge, content or curricula. More precisely, in terms of Lusted's (1986) theorisation of pedagogy, these texts become the means by which knowledge is produced and through which learning by audiences potentially occurs. Therefore, it is these texts and the practices that produce them that become the *front-end* of the production and effective facilitation of a public pedagogy of protest music.

In Wright and Sandlin's (2009:134) conception of public pedagogy, protest music texts become a 'catalyst for' critical and counter-hegemonic adult learning by opening up spaces in hegemonic neoliberal consumer culture, and potentially transforming mass consciousness. It follows that, by seeking to politicise, raise awareness, disturb, disrupt and resist dominant ideologies and contest hegemony, through their popular cultural products, protest musicians become, in Wright and Sandlin's (2009:135) terms, 'facilitators of' a critical public pedagogy of protest music. Lastly, as Wright and Sandlin again suggest, audiences or consumers and users of protest music become adult learners through their potential to experience a "powerful, lasting, and lifelong" learning that most likely cannot be found in traditional educational contexts.

Conclusions: Protest music as critical public pedagogy

This article began by highlighting some of the enduring myths associating protest music with social change. While these myths have seemed obvious in their association of protest music with social change, they have remained relatively untouched as a serious, critical research concern. In this regard, the connection this article has drawn is that social protest produced as popular music can be understood as fundamentally pedagogical, in that it is intended by its producers to bring about social change. In one sense, this means that the production through performance of popular music as a form of social protest is radically underpinned by the philosophy of protest music itself: it is intended to raise awareness and consciousness on social issues (Berger, 2000).

Most visibly, this link or relationship occurs through what I have termed the coinciding mythologies and philosophies of protest music and adult education for social change. While clearly more evident in the popular/protest music-making of the 1960s and the popularly accepted myths writ large about this decade, these links are dialogic: there is a crucial dialogue between music makers and audiences, on and around the production of protest music. In that this thread is dialogic, it is also inherently pedagogical. It springs forth from the emergence of rock out of the culture, slave work songs, and the blues of African-American people, melded together with folk and protest songs produced by troubadours, such as Woody Guthrie earlier in the 20th century, who was a very big influence on Bob Dylan. Undoubtedly, this musical dialogue and pedagogical thread—particularly as it is linked to education for social change—is difficult to see in prominent forms of pop(ular) music at the forefront of production and exchange through the music industry and global mass-(multi)media today. However, even this form of mass culture is inscribed with and bears signs of identity, resistance and social change politics, which have been inherent to popular music since its inception.

Given the inherent, dialogic thread running through it, its production and exchange in global mass-(multi)media spaces as popular music, together with its aim of raising critical consciousness, protest music is *a critical form and radical practice in public pedagogy*. More significantly, and specifically, not only is protest music a public pedagogical form and practice, it also takes place as critical pedagogy and as adult learning and teaching that potentially brings about the Freirian (1970) condition of conscientisation.

Finally and more broadly, one of the key, pivotal contentions coming from scholarship in this field, which has enabled my theorisation of protest music as public pedagogy, has come from Wright and Sandlin (2009:135). These authors argue that popular and media culture act as a "facilitator of, and catalyst for, self-directed learning". What this article adds to knowledge in this regard, is a theorisation of what takes place behind the notion of public pedagogy; or what, specifically, goes into making protest musicians 'facilitators of' and protest music a 'catalyst for' adult learning. Undoubtedly, this has been an analysis carried out from the top of the production processes of protest music and as such,

leaves considerable scope for taking research on this topic further with regard to how protest music is used by audiences. What this article has found, however, is that a public pedagogy of protest music is not only a starting point for Knowles' notion of self-directed learning (Knowles 1980 as cited in Wright & Sandlin 2009), but offers the possibility of involving audiences directly in critical public pedagogy, as adult learners.

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"Come in and look around." Professional development of student teachers through public pedagogy in a library exhibition.

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This paper describes a public pedagogy project embedded into The Global Teacher, a subject within the Bachelor of Education program for student teachers at an Australian university. The subject provides a global perspective on socio-political issues that shape education. In 2013, The Global Teacher introduced an approach that asked student teachers to create a museum-style exhibition depicting six global education themes. This exhibition was displayed in the State Library and the public were invited to engage with the installations and the student teachers who created them.

Our paper describes how the project was implemented by means of close collaboration between the QUT teacher educators, curators at the State Library of Queensland (SLQ), and student groups working on visually translating their understandings of global educational issues into a public exhibition. We discuss what was learned by our students and ourselves, as teacher educators, by engaging in this public pedagogy.

Keywords*: global education, public library, group work, transformative learning, social justice, public learning space.*

Introduction

The public pedagogies project, which is described in this paper, was embedded into *The Global Teacher*, a subject within the Bachelor of Education program for student teachers at an Australian university.

As part of the process of globalisation, schools and colleges across the world are undergoing a transition from being nation-centered to becoming institutions that engage with diversity in a more interconnected world. Since 2004, *The Global Teacher* subject has been included at Queensland University of Technology (QUT) as part of the Bachelor of Education course because it helps educators prepare students to live and work interculturally, with a greater global understanding of socio-cultural, educational issues of planetary significance.

In 2012, QUT's *Global Teacher* subject became part of a project on 'Learning and Teaching in Public Spaces' led by Professor Maureen Ryan and Dr. Karen Charman at Victoria University. The focus of this library/ museum research project, funded from the Australian Office of Learning and Teaching, was that of organising and implementing 'collaborative exchanges with museums/ libraries in experiential learning and citizenship'. The project was implemented in four Australian universities which were partners in the project: Victoria University, Deakin, Charles Sturt and QUT.

As the two teacher educators leading *The Global Teacher,* in 2013 we developed an approach that asked student teachers to create a museum-style exhibition as the outcome of their professional learning in this subject. They were asked to bring together six inter-related global education themes into a coherent exhibition, which would be displayed in the State Library for the public to interact with. The student teachers were therefore being invited to engage in public pedagogy as part of the 'Learning and Teaching in Public Spaces' project. Through the project, we were able to ask two research assistants to help us by documenting the development of the student exhibition, and interviewing the students and teacher educators about how they experienced it.

In our paper we outline the close collaboration with curators at the State Library of Queensland (SLQ) through which we scaffolded the student

teachers' learning with the help of experts in the pedagogy of exhibiting, while we carried out our role of extending their knowledge of global education perspectives. We discuss the learning of the student teachers in this project and also reflect on our own learning as teacher educators instituting a new pedagogical element into our Global Teacher subject.

The words "Come in and look around" in the title of this paper are those of the students themselves. Having mounted their six installations comprising the Global Teacher exhibition, they extended to members of the public at the State Library the invitation to 'Come in and look around' the exhibition room, so that these visitors could participate in viewing and discussing the learning displayed in the group installations.

Linking public pedagogy with the project 'Learning and Teaching in Public Spaces'.

Public pedagogy is a concept that explores the learning opportunities made possible through different processes and spaces of education being offered outside formal schooling, for example in institutions such as museums and libraries. In our study, the collaboration between the teacher educators in a Faculty of Education and curators at the State Library Queensland, offered new learning opportunities to the student teacher participants, who were asked to recontextualise their knowledge of global educational issues as a public exhibition at the State Library. Burdick, Sandlin & O'Malley (2013) rightly note that the concept of public pedagogy focuses on *pedagogy*, as distinct from curriculum, and hence emphasises the theory and practice of teaching and learning with a particular focus on the experience of the learner (Sandlin, O'Malley, & Burdick, 2011). The philosophy shaping the concept of 'public pedagogy' has provided a natural synergy with the professional development focus of the Global Teacher on social justice and transformative pedagogy. Like Giroux (2004), we reject the limited definition of pedagogy as a set of applied methods limited to the classroom, and instead acknowledge that pedagogy constitutes both a form of cultural production and of cultural criticism, which is crucial for questioning dominant social and educational discourses:

> *As a critical practice, pedagogy's role lies not only in changing how people think about themselves and their relationship to others and the world, but also in energizing students and others to*

> *engage in those struggles that further possibilities for living in a more just society. (Giroux, 2004:64).*

This understanding of public pedagogy has at its centre a focus on 'identifications' in a globalised society and how we interact with 'difference', civic responsibility and notions of belonging that accentuate the agency of individuals and the power of community. As Hall has expressed this:

> *By using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from' so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves. (Hall, 1996:3)*

We take up these broader definitions of public pedagogy and relate them to the specific context of teacher education in Australia and a concomitant focus on educational practices around the globe. Such an approach can, for example, elucidate the nature of 'race' and advance the idea of 'whiteness' as social constructs arising in particular historical and social contexts, opening them up for analysis and critique (Kaillin, 2002). These understandings can then be considered in relation to social action and how teachers can incorporate anti-racist strategies within their teaching (Dadzie, 2000).

Having briefly outlined the theoretical basis of our approach to public pedagogy, it can be seen as a logical step to seek a public forum for the student teachers in *The Global Teacher* to share their global learning. In this case, the public arena took the form of an exhibition at the State Library Queensland, which contains public exhibition spaces and is located in the cultural centre in Brisbane city. The ethos at State Library Queensland dovetailed with our approach to public pedagogy, reflecting a contemporary self-awareness of the State Library's role "as an intricate and potentially powerful instrument of communication, [which] will make available to the community and for the community's purposes, its profound expertise at telling stories, eliciting emotion, triggering memories, stirring imagination, and prompting discovery – its expertise in stimulating all those object-based responses" (Weil, 2007:36). In this collaborative 'Public Spaces' project, the State Library demonstrated its community-centred approach, providing their exhibiting expertise

to support the student teachers in finding appropriate and powerful ways to express their global teacher understandings through group installations. As Race (2013:83) has noted, "Teaching methods are as important as content and it is how teachers are given opportunities to develop their practice which matters".

The students in our *Global Teacher* elective were in the first, second or third years of their Bachelor of Education degree, some specialising in early childhood and primary education, others in secondary education. Their reasons for enrolling in this elective were generally because they were interested in studying education in a global context, an approach not systematically offered in most other subjects within the B.Ed program. *The Global Teacher,* which started in 2004, engages students as future teachers in understanding and designing strategies for tackling problems of racism, poverty, violence, environmental sustainability and conflict/resolution in their classrooms in a context of understanding how other education systems across the world have been tackling such problems (see Hickling-Hudson, 2011, for an account of the themes and goals of the subject). The subject has offered between 30 and 50 undergraduate student teachers each year the opportunity to engage with these global education issues, which are expressed in the subject outline through the following topics:

- Identity and cultural representation
- Racism and anti-racist strategies in education
- Poverty and anti-poverty strategies in education
- The role of education in tackling violence
- Education for environmental and community health
- Changing schools for a changing world.

The Global Teacher subject thus helps educators prepare students to live and work interculturally and as globally aware citizens. This subject is informed by a postcolonial theory framework which provides a much needed focus on global justice:

> *to help us tackle the challenge of current crises, including the failures of capitalism, the devastation of the environment, the intensification of injustice for the poor and for women, the escalation of ethnic, religious and political conflicts, skewed migration and refugee flows, and the threat of nuclear war.*

> *Without studying a critical global context, it is difficult for teachers and researchers to analyse fully the intellectual and material violence of the traditional model of schooling inherited from European colonialism and perpetuated today….,or to have a foundation for alternative ways of thinking about and changing education to work towards social justice. (Hickling-Hudson, 2011:453)*

The syllabus of *The Global Teacher* is designed to engage students in critically studying these global issues and their relationship to education (see also Hickling-Hudson 2010, Hickling-Hudson 2006, Hickling-Hudson, Matthews and Woods 2004). The program starts by asking the student teachers to consider the distortions and omissions that occur when the dominant discourses of cultural identity articulated within many cultures are predominantly and uncritically heroic and exclusive. For example students examine and uncover the biases inherent in the discourses underlying the portrayals common in history and literature of 'benevolent' European societies bringing to the 'Other' the benefits of western civilisation, 'discovering' 'new' worlds, 'giving' aid to 'poor' countries, and helping them to become 'modernised'. We ask students to critically analyse these portrayals by considering these questions as: What messages are being sent by this discourse? What elements are left out? What elements are distorted? How well do selected curriculum areas (for example, literature, history, languages, art, drama, music), deal with these messages of cultural identity?

From the basis of immersing students in analysing cultural identity and representation, which was a foundational part of the subject, we were able to move directly into the goals of the 'Learning and Teaching in Public Spaces' project. These goals challenged us to expand the Global Teacher subject by means of getting students to think about public pedagogy – that is, extending their pedagogy beyond the classroom into the public sphere.

To prepare the students for this, we asked them to consider the role of public places in opening up discourse, and encouraging new ways of seeing. Selecting from the Internet examples of innovative and provocative public display spaces, including museums, libraries and art galleries, we asked students: "How do public places like these challenge

biased cultural discourses, and get people thinking otherwise?" The students were asked to consider the role of museums such as the Immigration Museum in Melbourne, the Te Papa Museum in Auckland, and the Museum of Slavery in Liverpool, England, in helping visitors to explore cultural ideas. They were invited to think about how they could as future 'global teachers', organise for their own students to visit local museums and explore how curators represent themes by displays of selected objects and artifacts. The technique of critical analysis would be employed to understand which stories are being told by the display, which are omitted and why, and how all of this represents cultural identity discourse. We arranged for students to visit local museum displays and analyse their approaches, and discuss how they might design their own class 'museum' to illustrate themes of cultural diversity and inclusivity.

Until involvement in the 'Public Spaces' project, the pre-service teachers in our elective had had no experience of a three-dimensional representation of information. They had communicated their study of 'Global Teacher' themes through two tasks on which they were assessed, (a) a group-based curriculum development project, and (b) an individual, research-based, theoretical essay. The curriculum project was carried out by six small-groups, each one presenting a seminar on an issue that it selected from the six Global Teacher theme options. The seminar involved skills of researching and designing an interactive lesson, and communicating it to their peers. The dialogic nature of this group task enacted the type of collaborative pedagogy that we as the teacher educators were advocating. The second assessment task was an essay that asked students to reflect on their experience of studying selected themes in the subject.

With the 'Public Space' project, we were now asking students to translate their knowledge into arranging objects in an exhibition involving visual and sensory modes. We explained that the exhibition would not itself be graded, but would be an experiential project upon which the students could draw to inform their reflective essay. In this way we sought to embed reflections on the Global Teacher Exhibition as a central learning outcome for this subject.

We also undertook a collaborative consultative process with educators at the State Library Queensland to establish the framework for this new public pedagogy within the existing Global Teacher curriculum.

Dimensions of a public pedagogies approach

Protocols for collaboration

The stages of the collaborative process that underpinned the mounting of the Global Teacher Exhibition were first sketched out in a Memorandum of Understanding, drawn up between the coordinator of learning and participation at the State Library Queensland and the two teacher educators at QUT. This MOU confirmed the protocols for collaboration so that the expertise of both parties was brought together in innovative and creative ways. A testament to the positive outcomes of this collaboration is that this MOU has been re-established along very similar lines each year since its inception in 2013. At the heart of this collaborative project is the commitment to ensuring that the student's professional learning experiences should benefit from the different pedagogies underpinning the professional work of the State Library and the Education Faculty at QUT.

Tour of SLQ

The Public Pedagogies process in our project commenced with a tour of Queensland museum and the State Library Queensland exhibition spaces to study how socio-political and historical issues were represented in these public spaces. From this overview, the State Library then provided more finely detailed discussion of the key elements and concerns associated with mounting an exhibition. The aim was for the students to develop their own ideas about how they could represent the topics in *The Global Teacher* in a visual, three-dimensional way. The overall objective of the subject remained, in that they were asked to present their interpretation of education problems and solutions in a framework that is both global and local, taking account of critical post-colonial perspectives.

Workshops

At regular intervals during the nine-weeks of the Global Teacher subject, the students attended workshops led by State Library curatorial staff in which the students were introduced to elements of the technique of curating an exhibition. These workshops were held at both institutions and also included an online session in which students accessed an overview of SLQ resources pertinent to their Global Teacher studies and the framing of their group installations for the exhibition.

Supervision of students

The mounting of the exhibition within one of the SLQ public display spaces was supervised jointly by members of both institutions. The QUT teacher educators provided input and feedback on the global education content that was the focus of the exhibition. Meanwhile, the SLQ staff provided expertise and advice on the theoretical and practical aspects of successful exhibiting. The exhibition itself took place at the State Library on 1st May and was open to the public.

Student-teachers' learning through the exhibition

The student groups presented six installations in the library exhibition, each one representing one of the topics from 'The Global Teacher' subject. Given the limitations of space in this paper, we describe only two of these installations in detail. We show how these two groups decided to deal with the content and presentation of their topic and their reflections on their associated learning, using these three sub-headings:

1) *Knowledge and content*– how the group interpreted and represented the topic

2) *Exhibiting in 3 Dimensions* – how the group used symbolic objects, how they linked these objects to create a statement, and how they interacted with the public, inviting visitors to examine and interact with their exhibition

3) *Reflections* on their learning through this experience.

Group 1: Violence and Peace Studies

Knowledge and Content

This group chose to focus on three dimensions of the 'Violence and Peace Studies' theme. Their exhibition showed how violence can be manifested in three sites: war (they chose the example of war in Syria), in the curriculum (for example, by the actual teaching of ethnic hatred for the 'other' as between communities of Greek and Turkish heritage in Cyprus, 1963-1974), and by school violence, including gender bullying and cyber bullying. They designed a Peace Studies curriculum program to suggest how the violence in schools could be countered by ethical teachers.

Exhibiting in 3 Dimensions

The group used the symbolic visuals of hanging two large umbrellas from the ceiling – these represented, in their words, "a metaphor for shelter away from the violence". They attached three-dimensional objects to the spokes of the umbrellas to communicate their messages. One student described this installation vividly in his final essay:

> *My group's exhibit, titled 'Violence Suspended', [used] two large suspended umbrellas hung from the exhibition space ceiling to act as a metaphor for visitors to gain some insights into the Cypriot civil conflict and the implicit teaching of violence against the 'other' to students. [We] attached laminated documents including pictures, graphs, personal stories from those who experienced the civil war, and explanations of peace/future studies as strategies to redress the teaching of hatred for the 'other' in Cypriot schools." (Student essay, 2013)*

The objects hanging from the umbrellas were clearly linked to make implicit statements that illustrated the theme. The ability of this installation to engage visitors' attention on a number of levels was well explained by one of the group members:

> *People are drawn to ...the artifacts: pictures, information about violence in Cyprus & Syria, information about violence against women. Also a look at a peace studies program. So it's all just hanging there....drawing in people like a moth to the light so they*

> *can* ***come in and have a look around.*** *(Student interview, 2013).*

Reflecting on their learning

This opportunity of exhibiting their group's work on violence and peace studies as an installation at the State Library was a novel experience for these student teachers, and enabled them to see new pedagogic possibilities as the visitors to the exhibition spanned a range of ages, from young children to retirees, all of whom showed active interest and engagement:

> *Through the library exhibition I have learnt how teachers can effectively change the way they present a topic to convey a message and engage an audience irrespective of their age.*

Group members were also able to relate their new pedagogic skills to their future work as classroom teachers:

> *I found viewing this exhibition has taught me to think outside the box when it comes to representing ideas and information in classrooms.*

Group 2: The Environment and Community Health

Knowledge and content

Like the other groups, Group 2 found that doing the exhibition helped them to think about overlapping points. Their interpretation and recontextualising of the content of their topic, showed how they could visually relate environmental issues to those of community health. Their mounting of the installation allowed them to display themes of concern to them including Environmental Footprints**,** Sustainability**,** Recycling and Community Health**.**

Exhibiting in 3 Dimensions

Creating a visual argument by their sequencing of photos and maps, this group displayed the connection in several countries between poor water supplies, inadequate sanitation and death rates. They symbolically represented the concept of recycling by displaying their exhibition on

cardboard boxes instead of tables. They created a tree of sustainability, and invited people to write their goals about sustainability and hang them on the tree. Once the visitors had done that, they would look at the group's photos of the problems that were being experienced globally in community health. One of the group members, in a recorded interview, described the rationale for designing their installation in this way:

> *We are using cardboard boxes instead of tables to reinforce the concept of recycling… Our sustainability tree… is basically for people who walk into the exhibit to think about something they can do to promote sustainability. So the onus is back on them to write their goal down to display on the tree. So the tree will have everyone that comes in; it will show all the different goals they have and by reading that other people will be able to see what else they can do to live more sustainably. We've also got photos all around our exhibition with issues of different populations around the world… [For example] one of the things our group focused on with community health is water, and how sanitation influences the death rates around the world.*

It is clear from these words, that the group are primarily concerned with actively engaging members of the public in their display. They saw that this could be applied when as teachers they would have to engage their students in what they were learning:

> *I thought that putting things together for the exhibition was more reflective than written work for me. It was more visual so I could look into it deeper and use my senses more, which is how I learnt as a kid and it was more powerful and I'd like to share that with my students.*

Reflecting on their learning

Students had been introduced to curating as a new way of inviting an active engagement through the senses, not just through reading or listening to authoritative texts, as in usual classroom pedagogy. This broader appeal to the senses made an impact on the students' own learning experiences, with group members noting they were "immersed" and "involved" in questions of environmental sustainability and community health:

Instead of keeping myself sheltered from the issues and problems happening around the world, I was immersed in a global setting, given the chance to explore dilemmas faced by many countries so I could absorb the sort of information I'd need to teach overseas.

The main insights I gained are the effective solutions to classroom engagement and the importance of encouraging students to get involved with the environmental initiatives and programs.

Overview of Participants' learning in this Public Pedagogy project

Student teachers' learning

In the reflective comments of the students in the two highlighted groups, it can be seen that the task of mounting an exhibition of global education themes had a notable impact, invoking *deep* professional learning in the participants (Biggs & Tang, 2011). Their comments are indicative of the student participants as a whole. Interviews conducted by research assistants with all of the student groups at the end of the semester showed each group expressing strong learning outcomes from having created the Global Teacher Exhibition. They learnt to see themselves more clearly as teachers in a global context, realising that this involves connecting with the community – both with the State Library Queensland and a range of visitors. Some of the student teachers interviewed looked forward to possible long-term relationships with the library, bringing their own future students into the library space.

Teacher educators' learning

Whilst the focus in this paper has been primarily on the student teachers, their perspectives and their learning, we as teacher educators have also learnt much from this project. One insight was a deeper understanding of the nature of public pedagogy, including the strategies for organising and implementing student engagement in it. We learnt how effective this approach could be in helping student teachers to integrate content and pedagogy. Public pedagogy enabled a 'real world' outcome – the exhibition – as a product of the assessment process. We realised from the students' feedback how stimulating such an authentic task could be, and how it could influence their understanding of effective pedagogy. For example, a student told one of the interviewers:

> *The exhibition has given us an extension. Normally the end point would be to write an essay, access some peer-reviewed literature, but this exhibition has sparked an interest and depth of understanding. It makes more impact on what we've been researching. It could be replicated in the classroom – it doesn't have to be in the State Library.*

In changing our pedagogy within The Global Teacher we needed also to change the assessment focus to include directly the goals of public pedagogy. We had initially thought it undesirable to directly assess the group installations in the exhibition. These student teachers were not art students and therefore we felt it inappropriate to evaluate the quality of their exhibition work. This was a misguided stance to take, as we realised once the students began detailed preparations for the exhibitions in their groups. Creating a coherent group installation and then bringing these six group installations together as a cohesive and meaningful exhibition at the State Library involved a large commitment of time and effort from the students. The learning outcomes from each stage of the process needed to be acknowledged as part of the assessment, rather than being only indirectly addressed through a broad-based reflection on the experience in the final essay. The students understandably felt that their hard work and creativity in mounting the installations needed to be more precisely accounted for in a way that acknowledged and rewarded their demonstrated professional development. We have changed the assessment practice in The Global Teacher subsequently.

We found that public pedagogy stimulates new learning for educators, as well as their students. This collaborative project has demonstrated to us that teacher educators and library/museum staff can negotiate strategies for sharing cross-institutional expertise in the preparation of teachers. Stepping outside of one's familiar educational discourses to create new pedagogy is an unsettling experience for academics and specialist curators, all of whom are used to being regarded as experts in their field. At the outset there was uncertainty about what roles to take and what strategies to use. Negotiation and a collaborative approach to achieving a successful exhibition opened up new ways of working together that have contributed to our professional development.

Conclusion

Educators striving to promote an intercultural, global philosophy and environment for pre-service student teachers, face complex tasks. These involve educating future teachers to analyse global problems and possible solutions in areas such as: violence stemming from socio-cultural, ethnic, racial and gender conflicts; environmental devastation; and narrow, insular traditions of representation and pedagogy. Student teachers have to be introduced to skills of refashioning curricula and assessment systems, and designing pedagogies that deal creatively with the controversies between hegemonic traditions versus plural ways of seeing the world.

While the global teacher subject has been committed to these goals and strategies since its inception in 2004, we found that our particular role in the project "Learning and Teaching in Public Spaces" added a valuable dimension to the subject, giving the students the opportunity of working with library curators to create a public pedagogy exhibition. This experience engaged the students in a powerful strategy of communication, stimulating imagination, emotion, and discovery. Students learnt to communicate a detailed message in the public learning space of a library exhibition, using a different kind of creativity in conceptualising and representing ideas three-dimensionally. Mounting the exhibition showed them how teachers could engage the community, ranging from the SLQ curators to library visitors. They learnt to see themselves as teachers who could take their ideas beyond the narrow confines of a classroom into the public sphere.

As teacher educators, it was valuable for us to negotiate, with SLQ staff, strategies for sharing cross-institutional expertise in the preparation of teachers. The State Library became not only a resource for information, but also helped to develop the pedagogical skills of the student teachers by guiding them in exhibiting and curating themes of global education that were of interest to a wider public. Students and teacher educators alike learnt from the project the value of developing in future teachers an approach to public pedagogy.

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Older adult education: new public pedagogy in 21st century Taiwan

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The lifelong learning concept of "never too late to learn" advocated by Confucius has gradually become rooted in the lives of Taiwanese adults and seniors. In response to the impact of population ageing and low fertility rates, numerous elementary schools, junior high schools, and universities have allocated resources and space to establish learning centers and learning camps for senior citizens, providing them with the opportunity to learn. Older adult education extends beyond the classroom and into society, forming a new public pedagogy in Taiwan. Its important elements include: (1) the changes in population structure and the rising number of older adults, (2) the government's formulation of older adult education policies based on learning enhancement, (3) the joint promotion of older adult education activities by numerous academic institutions, and (4) the theoretical bases of program design to help senior citizens achieve active ageing and popularise older adult education in communities. Future challenges to older adult learning becoming the new public pedagogy include (1) the public's skepticism concerning the necessity of older adult education and its efficiency, (2) the need to establish diverse sources of funding to ensure the sustainable development of older adult education, (3) the necessity to develop various program designs to satisfy senior citizens' needs due to the heterogeneity of senior citizens, and (4) the urgent necessity for research to confirm the effectiveness of older adult education.

Keywords: Lifelong learning, new public pedagogy, older adult education

Introduction

In 1993, the population over the age of 65 accounted for 7 percent of the overall population in Taiwan. This figure is anticipated to rise to 14 percent in 2017, which would shift Taiwan into an aged society. Recently, the phrase, "joyful learning, forget ageing," has been circulating among senior citizens, implying that participating in learning has become a symbol of happiness among older adults. In Taiwan, older adult education is currently expanding and gaining popularity, becoming this century's new public pedagogy.

Pedagogy initially referred to the science and art of teaching. However, following the rise of lifelong learning, the implications and applications of pedagogy gradually expanded. There were two reasons for this. First, Taiwan was influenced by lifelong learning trend in the 1990's; lifelong learning gradually became available to adults, enabling them to return to school and possibly attain graduate or post-graduate degrees. This trend expanded the group of people seeking an education from traditional students to adults and older adults who had left formal education. Second, Taiwan has experienced population ageing and low fertility rates over the past two decades, reducing the number of young students. In response, universities have begun to encourage older adults to return to school. In recent years, an increasing number of retirees have returned to school to receive formal and informal education (Lee & Yeh, 2012).

The promotion of lifelong learning, declining fertility rates, and the progressively ageing population in Taiwan have broadened the scope of educational efforts, which were initially aimed at children and young adults, to include adults and senior citizens. To assist the ever-increasing number of senior citizens to achieve active ageing, the Taiwanese government has been encouraging adults over the age of 55 to continue learning to help them prepare for old age. This has significantly increased the number of senior citizens engaging in learning activities in Taiwan. However, as the types of learners continue to diversify, researchers must rethink the content and application of pedagogy. Based on the course and context of senior citizens' participation in education activities, the

researchers of the present study examined the development of older adult education in Taiwan through microscopic and macroscopic pedagogy. Microscopic pedagogy refers to the emphasis of classroom learning in older adult education prior to 2006, when teaching methods and learning content were relatively more conservative. By contrast, macroscopic pedagogy refers to the period following 2006, when the Taiwanese government introduced its older adult education policies (Ministry of Education, 2006). The government combined older adult education with social networks to provide diversified learning to senior citizens, increasing the conformity of the learning programs and application of older adult education to the needs of senior citizens, and thereby generating social influence.

Microscopic pedagogy: older adult education in the classroom

"Never too late to learn" is a concept introduced by the historical Chinese philosopher Confucius. This concept reflects the importance of lifelong learning and emphasises that learning must be valued, regardless of age. However, older adult education is undervalued in Taiwan. No older adult education institutes existed in Taiwan until 1978, when the Evergreen Club, the first institute for older adult education, was founded by the Taipei Young Women's Christian Association. Numerous older adult universities and senior citizen academies soon followed. Although these institutes are long-established, relatively few senior citizens attend. For example, among the 319 senior citizen academies recorded in 2012, only 65,214 seniors enrolled in courses offered by these academies (Ministry of Interior, Department of Social Affairs, 2012); nonetheless, over 90% of the budgets for these older adult education institutes were subsidised by the Ministry of Interior and other social welfare organisations (Wei, 2011).

Between 1978 and 2006, the most common teaching method employed in older adult education institutes was classroom lectures, while teaching methods such as traveling, the Internet, and service learning were rarely used. Subsequently, the majority of the courses offered at these institutes were based on interest or entertainment (Wei, Hu, & Chen, 2010). During this period, course options were scant and highly repetitive, focusing on leisure, languages, computers, and health (Wei, 2011). In senior citizen academies, older adult universities, and senior citizen

groups, which are the institutes with the longest history in Taiwan, 70% of the courses offered are related to karaoke (Wei & Shih, 2009).

The majority of the administrators (53.8%) serving in older adult education institutes were untrained, and teachers of older adult education were not required to possess specific qualifications or academic backgrounds. Therefore, the number of trained older adult education teachers was low, with only 22% of the teachers having received proper training (Tseng, 2010). During this period, teachers who were passionate and possessed a "know-how" level of knowledge were deemed qualified. They were not required to possess professional knowledge in older adult physiology, psychological development processes, or older adult education. In terms of the business aspect of older adult education institutes, each institute maintained approximately 101-300 older adult learners each year, which is considered small-scale education. The majority of these students were retired civil servants (Huang & Lin, 2008; Wei, 2011).

The unpopularity of older adult education during this time was due largely to the government's and the public's insufficient understanding of related concepts and their significance. Thus, older adult education was not actively promoted by the government. Although the Taiwanese government introduced the Senior Citizens Welfare Act in 1980, this act and its subsequent article amendments in 1997 focused on the welfare measures of senior citizens, only indicating concern for senior citizens from a social welfare perspective. In 2003, the government further introduced the Policy for the Elderly. Although this policy mentions the importance of older adult education, leisure activities, and social participation, it still primarily focuses on the promotion of healthcare and only deems the provision of older adult education activities in relevant institutes as an added benefit. In other words, the government only considered the educational "wants" of senior citizens and only provided courses that interested them. This is also the primary reason why courses were based on interest and entertainment at that time. Course content included singing, dancing, exercise, chess, and calligraphy. During this time, the number of senior citizens who participated in older adult education was low, confined to only a minority of retired military and civil servants, as well as citizens of higher social statuses (Wei, 2011). Thus, this period in the history of older adult

education is considered microscopic pedagogy because relevant activities were confined to the classroom and only a small amount of people were involved in relevant teaching and learning. Although the influence and impact of older adult education cannot be observed during the period of microscopic pedagogy, unresolved problems during this period are evident.

Macroscopic pedagogy: announcing older adult education policies, connecting social networks, and enhancing the social impact of older adult education

As of 1993, the senior population over the age of 65 was over 7 percent in Taiwan. It is estimated that this percentage will increase to 14 percent by 2017, making Taiwan an aged society as defined by the United Nations. In contrast, the fertility rates in Taiwan have rapidly declined from 25.93 percent in 1976 to 8.99 percent in 2014 (Ministry of Interior, 2015a). The ageing population combined with the low fertility rates has reduced the number of students in the formal education system, impacting the operations of formal education. This has been particularly apparent in higher education, as multiple colleges and departments have failed to recruit a sufficient number of new students, thus forcing the Ministry of Education to consider the feasibility of older adult education in schools.

In response to the advent of an aged society, the Taiwanese government announced the "Toward Aged Society White Paper on Senior Education Policy" in 2006, which outlined the concept that older adult education was "education for all" and should facilitate senior citizens in achieving a self-sufficient, independent, and active lifestyle through their participation in education activities. This policy confirmed the government's intentions of promoting older adult education, and older adult education became formally planned and promoted as of 2007. Since 2008, 306 senior citizens learning centers have been established under the cooperation of elementary and junior high schools, local governments, and non-profit organisations, and 101 senior citizen learning camps have been established in colleges and universities. The development of older adult education in Taiwan in recent years is discussed below.

Programs designed based on the concept of active ageing

The Taiwanese government anticipates that senior citizens may achieve the goal of active ageing through learning. Therefore, program designs have focused on the three dimensions advocated by active ageing, specifically, safety, health, and participation. That is, learning content was planned based on the educational needs of senior citizens (McClusky, 1971; WHO, 2002). Wei, Chen, and Lee (2014) considered the needs of senior citizens in Taiwan and defined 27 learning themes based on the three dimensions of active ageing in considerable detail. These learning themes were provided to senior citizens learning centers and camps as a reference for program design.

Diversified sources of subsidies

Previously, older adult education in Taiwan was primarily funded by the Ministry of Interior. However, following the formulation of the "Toward Aged Society White Paper on Senior Education Policy" in 2006, the Ministry has gradually increased subsidisation for older adult education each year. To encourage their participation, senior citizens have been enabled to enroll in senior citizens learning centers and camps free of charge. However, due to the increasing demand for older adult education each year, the government has encouraged organisers to integrate external resources to promote the development of older adult education. The government anticipates that investment from the private sector in addition to government subsidization will ensure the sustainable development of older adult education.

Training provided for older adult educators

Specialisation in older adult education is a recent development. Therefore, the most urgent necessity is to elevate the professional knowledge of workers involved in older adult education. To achieve this, the Ministry of Education has collaborated with relevant university departments to intensively arrange basic and advanced training programs for older adult educators and counselors, in addition to providing assessments to evaluate their performance (Ministry of Education, 2012; Wei & Shih, 2009). Promoting specialisation in older adult education not only ensures that relevant workers and educators possess the appropriate knowledge in ageing and older adult education,

but also elevates the education quality of older adult education institutes.

Expand learning opportunities in the communities

To overcome the obstacles deterring senior citizens from participating in older adult education, such as immobility and inconvenient transport, the older adult education activities in Taiwan have transcended previous classroom-based lectures to include flexible lessons taught directly in communities. Specific practices include the utilisation of labor and space in schools, community activity centers, and non-profit organisations, encouraging these facilities to deliver learning activities to senior citizen groups and thereby integrating education into the lives of senior citizens. Mobile learning offers senior citizens with mobility or transportation difficulties the opportunity to receive education. In addition to the 400 fixed senior citizen learning centers and camps currently available, mobile learning has delivered learning activities to over 1000 locations, including schools, temples, community activity centers, and private associations (Ministry of Education, 2013).

Free course offered by older adult education institutes for senior citizens

Successful active ageing in late adulthood requires preparation; therefore, the Taiwanese Ministry of Education has encouraged senior citizens over the age of 55 to participate in the courses offered at senior citizens learning centers and camps. In 2013, over 1.39 million learners participated in older adult education activities (Ministry of Education, 2013). The Ministry has also encouraged citizens under the age of 55 to become volunteers at these institutions, enabling them to not only learn knowledge required to achieve active ageing in advance, but also to assist senior citizens, thereby increasing understanding and integration between different generations. Currently, there are over 10,000 volunteers at older adult education institutes (Ministry of Education, 2015).

Assistance and guidance provided to older adult education institutes by academic units.

To improve the operational performance of older adult education institutes, the Ministry of Education has invited four academic institutes that have established adult or older adult education divisions in Taiwan to collectively counsel older adult education institutes with regard to their operations. The assistance provided by these academic units includes at least two visitations per year, assessing the program design of the institutes and the compliance between their education activities and active ageing concepts, and assisting institute owners or educators in resolving difficulties through forums or seminars. Through the assistance of university professors, the utilisation of resources invested by the government into older adult education in Taiwan can be maximised.

Increased exposure of older adult education and its impact in the society

The development goals of senior citizens should include the integration of life experiences and making contributions to society, thereby allowing seniors to obtain more meaning and value in life (Erikson, 1959; McClusky, 1971) Based on the observations of researchers, senior citizens who learn about transportation safety, food safety, and medicine typically share their learning outcomes with others at elementary schools, in communities, and at nursing homes (Lee, 2015) Older adult learners become contributors to society by helping other senior citizens and their communities (Lee, Lu, & Yeh, 2015) These services and contributions provided by senior citizens have become a “silver force” in Taiwan, consequently changing how Taiwanese media report on senior citizens. Media reports have shifted their portrayals of older adults from indicating that they are “impaired” and “in need” to indicating that they are “active” and “energetic,” thus further promoting successful ageing (Hsu & Lee, 2013; Lee & Hsu, 2013)

Reasons for older adult education becoming the new public pedagogy

Older adult education has gradually expanded from the classroom into township communities, allowing for the formation of a new learning trend in Taiwanese society. The reasons for the emergence of this trend are discussed in the following section.

The ageing population and low fertility rates have promoted the development of older adult education

Between 1993 and 2014, the proportion of the Taiwanese population aged 65 and over increased from 7.11 to 11.99 percent, which constituted an increase of approximately 1.32 million people (Ministry of Interior, Department of Statistics, 2015a). Conversely, the fertility rates dropped from 32,000 births in 1993 to 20,000 in 2014 (Ministry of Interior, Department of Statistics, 2015b) This low fertility rates have caused a decline in the number of students in elementary and junior high schools, while the increase in senior citizens has stimulated schools to allocate resources and space to accommodate older adult education. Subsequently, the government realised that senior citizens can play a positive role in society. These are all reasons for the emergence of older adult learning.

Announcement of senior citizen policies: enhancing learning through welfare subsidisation

Both the Senior Citizen Welfare Act and the Policy for the Elderly, which were announced, respectively, in 1980 and 2003 in Taiwan, indicated concern for the needs of senior citizens based on their social welfare, health promotion, and the provision of care measures. Older adult education activities, however, were only actively planned and promoted following the 2006 announcement of the "Towards Aged Society White Paper on Senior Education Policy", which introduced four key goals, including lifelong learning, health and happiness, independence and dignity, and social participation. As a result, the policy perspective of the Taiwanese government towards senior citizens took a dramatic turn, such that senior citizens were no longer merely the targets of support and assistance. Senior citizens were thus made more able to improve themselves through learning, and consequently to contribute back to society. The policy perspectives of the government gradually shifted from welfare-oriented perspectives into those that promoted self-enhancement, anticipating that older adults in Taiwan can become valuable human resources through the implementation of older adult education.

Program design with a theoretical approach focused on educational needs of older adults

The basis for older adult education program design in Taiwan has gradually shifted from educational wants to educational needs. Early older adult education institutes focused on providing senior citizens with courses that they enjoyed, such as leisure, entertainment, and art courses. In recent years, program designers have instead designed course content based on the developmental needs of old age. In particular, current programs offered by older adult education institutes are based on the 27 learning themes for active ageing that were developed based on the three active ageing dimensions advocated by the World Health Organisation. In summary of the development of older adult education program designs in recent years, course content is designed to reflect active ageing and comply with older adults' needs when entering old age (Wei, Chen & Lee, 2014).

The government has integrated resources, focusing and expanding older adult education into society

Not only must the government establish a clear promotional direction in its policies in order to successfully promote older adult education in Taiwan – such as, for example, by confirming policy objectives, establishing and expanding the location of older adult education institutes, and subsidising expenses – providing assistance to academic units and professors is also important. The Ministry of Education has integrated academic resources, such as by having relevant professors serving in adult education departments, older adult education research institutes, and older adult education research centers; organised training for older adult educators and program designers; and invited professionals to audit and provide counseling to various older adult education institutes. In addition, the government has invited relevant professionals to provide policy suggestions during key meetings. In the process of promoting older adult education, university professors were the think tanks for policy formulation and execution.

Increasing popularity of older adult education: making learning activities available in all townships

Numerous factors, such as physiological degeneration, inconvenient transportation, and unfamiliarity with the locations of education institutes, may hinder the learning participation of senior citizens. In response to these factors, the Ministry of Education has set a goal of establishing an older adult education institute in each township. Currently, 407 active learning centers and camps have been established in 368 townships. In addition to the courses offered at these institutes, learning activities are also delivered directly to senior citizen groups. These institutes do not passively wait for learners to attend, but actively deliver learning activities to senior citizens, thereby increasing the opportunities for senior citizens to learn. This communalisation and localisation of older adult education has provided an increased number of senior citizens the opportunity to learn. These are also key factors explaining why older adult education in Taiwan has become the new public pedagogy.

Future challenges facing older adult education

Under the booming exterior of Taiwan's older adult education efforts there remains considerable opposition. The primary arguments and future challenges are discussed in the following section.

Remaining skepticism towards the necessity of older adult education

Many people believe that learning is for young people, and that it is not necessary for senior citizens to learn. However, during the later years of career development, people may transition into retirement or adapt to the empty-nest phase. Lee and Yeh (2012) found that people entering old age are required to face two challenges, specifically, retirement and the impact of ageing. Transitioning into retirement requires two to three years, and learning can teach senior citizens appropriate coping strategies when they find difficulty in transitioning. During the ageing process, the majority of senior citizens typically experience a decline in physical functions and financial security, as well as changes in social networks (Bode, DeRidder, & Bensing, 2006). Senior citizens can consequently prepare for the future through learning (Lee & Lu, 2014; Liang, Wei, & Lee, 2014). Ageing preparation courses facilitates

senior citizens in understanding and adapting to old age, enhancing their confidence when handling problems (Bode, De Ridder, Kuijer, & Bensing, 2007; Lee & Wei, in press). These arguments suggest that learning is an integral part in the later years of career development, and is therefore essential for senior citizens.

Probing on low efficiency of older education with government funding

The sensory functions and responses of senior citizens gradually degrade as they age, consequently influencing their learning efficiency. Due to this low learning efficiency of senior citizens, questions are raised concerning the essentiality of investing education funds into older adult education. However, the experiences, knowledge, and abilities accumulated by adults throughout their lives aid them in learning (Knowles, 1980). The findings of numerous previous studies indicate that senior citizens who participate in learning activities, even those living in rural areas with low literacy, exhibit improved health and less depression, seek less medical attention, demonstrate increased positivity and activity, have more friends, and are on better terms with their families (Hsieh & Lee, 2015; Lee & Huang, 2015). The National Health Insurance program of Taiwan offers exceptional medical resources. However, these resources are occasionally misused, particularly by senior citizens. Although no large-scale empirical studies have confirmed that older adult learning reduces health insurance expenses, extant research does show that senior citizens who participate in learning activities are typically healthier and require less medical attention (Wei, Hu, & Li, 2012; Hsieh & Lee, 2015).

Allocating diverse sources of funding to sustain the development of older adult education

The Taiwanese government has actively promoted older adult education in anticipation of the notion that the senior citizens of Taiwan can achieve active ageing. Although investments into older adult education have increased in recent years, the number of participants has also increased. In other words, although an ostensible increase in the overall funds for older adult education can be observed, the resources allocated to each participant have, in actuality, decreased. Therefore, under limited funding conditions, maximising the effectiveness of resources to benefit more senior citizens and identifying new sources of funding

to maintain the sustainable development of older adult education are inevitable problems that await resolution in the future.

Provide specialised programs to meet the needs of different groups of older adults

There is great heterogeneity among older adults, with educational levels ranging from illiterate to higher education and residential regions ranging from rural to metropolitan, and these differences result in considerable differences in their learning needs. To assist senior citizens in achieving the goal of active ageing, regardless of heterogeneity, the course content and teaching methods must focus on the differences between senior citizens, and subsequent research must be conducted. This is a challenge for all older adult education workers and is an inevitable problem awaiting resolution in the future.

Verifying the efficiency and impact of older adult education through research and studies.

The number of older adult education institutes and the number of participants in older adult education in Taiwan have increased in recent years. However, numerous issues pertaining to the impacts of older adult education remain unclear, such as whether:

i. the government health insurance expenditures for senior citizens have decreased;
ii. the psychological conditions of senior citizens have improved;
iii. the social participation levels of senior citizens have increased; and
iv. the impact that senior citizens' contributions and services have on society, among others.

Research focusing on these issues should be conducted to obtain tangible evidence regarding the influences of older adult education. The evidence obtained through empirical research can serve as a basis for the formulation of future older adult education policies and course design, and also facilitate older adult education in gaining social support and recognition.

Conclusion

Older adult education has become a new learning trend in Taiwan, transcending classroom-based older adult education to now include educational activities that are rooted in society. The key significance of the development of older adult education is the change in the perception of older adult learning. Not only is learning a benefit for senior citizens, it is also their right; senior citizens can improve themselves through learning. In addition, the communalisation of older adult education institutes has increased the number of participants, consequently forming a learning trend that cannot be ignored. Through this evolutionary process, older adult education has been deemed the new public pedagogy in Taiwan because the necessity of lifelong learning is reflected in the development of older adult education. The concept of lifelong learning advocates that people must engage in learning at various stages in life to promote career development and prepare for various challenges. The process through which older adult education became the new public pedagogy in Taiwan can serve as a reference for the development of older adult learning in other countries.

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Literacy mediation in Neighbourhood Houses

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Interactions between staff in Neighbourhood Houses, and the socially and educationally disadvantaged community members who visit Neighbourhood Houses, have been viewed through many lenses, including community development, social support, caring and compassion. This paper looks at Neighbourhood Houses as sites of pedagogical practice. More specifically, it explores the role of Neighbourhood House administrative staff as literacy mediators — as people who assist others with reading and writing.

Literacy mediation has gained attention as part of a focus amongst New Literacy Studies researchers on the social uses of literacy. In this case study of four staff members working across two neighbourhood houses, I identify that literacy mediation in the neighbourhood houses is common, complex and growing in demand.

A further area of focus of the paper is the invisibility of the literacy mediation in Neighbourhood Houses — to funding bodies, committees of management and even to other staff. It also identifies the role of emotional labour in both facilitating mediation but also as a contributing factor to the lack of recognition of informal literacy work in Neighbourhood Houses.

***Keywords**: adult literacy, literacy mediation, neighbourhood houses, informal learning*

Introduction

This paper looks at the nature of informal literacy work in community settings by focusing on a case study of two Victorian Neighbourhood Houses. While Australian houses and centres often provide formal adult literacy classes, which form part of a nationally recognised qualification, or non-formal structured literacy classes, the subject of this paper is the literacy activities and interactions that occur outside these formal classes, in the foyers and kitchens and hallways of two neighbourhood houses.

The paper draws on an analysis of a sample of qualitative interview data conducted in 2014 with four staff from two different Victorian Neighbourhood Houses, one located in the outer suburbs of Melbourne and one located in a small town in regional Victoria. Both houses were chosen because they were situated in communities where high proportions of the population are from low socio-economic backgrounds and have limited education completions. All four staff worked in administrative or management roles. The purpose of the interviews was to identify the social practice of literacy between these staff and attendees at the houses who have low levels of literacy.

Such interactions are of interest to me, because they are spoken of extensively in the public discussion of neighbourhood houses but almost never in relation to adult literacy development. Neighbourhood House public documents, and indeed, the responses of the interview subjects in this study use terms like “friendly”, “welcoming”, “help” and “support” to describe their work, which downplay the intensity and complexity of the interactions. This study explores these interactions as informal literacy events and more specifically, literacy mediation, that is, interactions where less powerful community members are inducted into texts and discourses of power by intermediaries or brokers (Papen, 2010).

“Literacy mediation” has gained traction as a concept within New Literacy Studies (NLS), which looks at literacy as a set of social practices. A number of ethnographic studies have identified the role of brokers or intermediaries who have developed knowledge across different language and cultural codes and are able to use these skills to assist others (Kalman,1999; Kral & Falk, 2004; Mihut, 2014). While many of these

studies involve immigrant or non-English speaking communities, others have focused on English language communities where code shifting occurs between different genres (Papen, 2009; Theriault 2013) mediated by people who have developed skills in these multiple codes or genres. This study suggests that there are resonances between the work of the neighbourhood house staff interviewed and the mediators observed in some of these other studies.

The second focus of this study is the lack of visibility of Neighbourhood House literacy work and the ways that the work is positioned in the view of the workers, the participants, their committees of management and funding bodies. In the interviews, the subjects identified that informal literacy work takes up large amounts of their daily time and that the workload appears to be growing, particularly as bureaucratic texts and processes become digitised and only accessible online. However, they also identified that others construct this work as less time consuming than it is, and in some instances, as a lack of efficiency or effectiveness.

Some researchers have identified that the feminised workforce and the similarities between the neighbourhood houses and domestic home environments has led to a devaluing of the work done in Neighbourhood Houses (Rooney, 2011, Clemans, 2010). The findings from this case study would suggest that supporting disadvantaged adults with increasingly complex literacy tasks is an example of the 'invisible work' undertaken by the predominantly female staff of Neighbourhood Houses.

Neighbourhood House practice

The community development ethos that underpins Neighbourhood House practice involves local community members taking action on the issues that impact their lives and the lives of others in their immediate community (Rooney, 2011). Neighbourhood houses are open to all members of a local community but have a particular emphasis on encouraging participation by socially isolated and disadvantaged members of their communities. Where adult literacy courses and classes form part of the activities, they are usually targeted at adults who have left school early, some of whom will have been diagnosed as having learning disabilities or will report having had difficult and unpleasant experiences of schooling (Brackertz, 2007).

The two neighbourhood houses in this study are in many ways typical of the sector. The urban house, Beachside House, is situated in a street adjacent to an outer suburban shopping strip. The rural house, Orchard Community House, exists in a purpose built facility, next door to the public library. While it looks less like a domestic house than Beachside House, the décor and furnishings of Orchard Community House are homelike and visitors are immediately ushered into a large kitchen at the centre of the building upon arrival. While Beachside House runs a government funded adult literacy course, Orchard Community House does not. Both communities have high populations of adults with low school completion and low socio-economic status (ABS, 2011).

Methodology

The data analysed in this case study was gathered through semi-formal interviews with staff in their own workplaces, the neighbourhood houses. The interview transcripts were analysed, coded and interpreted by the researcher in the manner suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994). The analysis consisted of a combination of text segments, verbatim quotes from the cases, and/or summaries of participants' responses. The analyses helped to identify patterns emerging within the data. This was then organised around the two themes i) the nature of informal literacy work and (ii) the perceptions of this work.

All four staff worked in administrative or management roles. None had formal qualifications in adult literacy teaching or in education more broadly, although 'Jan' from Orchard Community Centre and 'Tracey' from Beachside Neighbourhood House both have graduate level qualifications in social work and community development respectively.

There are a number of ways to describe people who interact with others with low levels of literacy. Reikman and Budderberg (2013) use the term "confidantes", and emphasise that these relationships are not necessarily felt as a dependency by the adult with low skills (Reikman & Budderberg, 2013:19). Kral and Falk (2004) use the term "literacy brokers" in the context of a remote Indigenous community to describe "a reader who can play a mediating role as 'textual interpreter' for a less literate group" (Kral & Falk, 2004:52). Papen uses the term 'literacy mediators' (2010) to describe similar processes at work in health environments. Drawing on the work of Papen, Theriault also uses the

term "literacy mediators" to describe staff working in community based youth centres as it "emphasises the interactional nature of this type of literacy event and practice" (Theriault, 2013:2).

Papen has identified that in an increasingly textually laden and complex world, gaining assistance from others with particular genres or texts with which one is not familiar is increasingly common (Papen, 2012:79). According to Papen (2010), literacy mediators can be professional service providers, employers or members of a social network. Further, people will often need the support of a literacy mediator while 'enter[ing] new spheres of social and/or economic activity, which demand of them new roles, understanding of new practices and familiarity with new discourses' (Papen, 2010:79). Literacy mediation is often a means by which socially and economically disadvantaged groups can gain access to discourses of power.

There are a number of features of "literacy mediation" that make it a quite specific category of informal learning. Firstly, the literacy remains 'distributed' across the social relationship and is not simply transferred from one person to another (Papen, 2010). A second feature is that the mediators tend to be people with "bi-institutional knowledge" (Mihut, 2013), that is, they are fluent in the genres or codes of the people for whom they are mediating and the genres or codes that these people are seeking to understand or access for some purpose. Commonly the genres or codes that are being sought out in the mediation process, derive from the dominant culture and its institutions.

Perceptions of informal literacy 'work'

Neighbourhood House work is characterized by high levels of volunteerism and low paid, highly casualised work suggesting a perception of the work as of low value. Clemans (2010), drawing on feminist theory, identifies the centrality of the notion of the 'domestic' or home space in the ways that educational work in community settings is constructed and perceived. She suggests that a consistent emphasis on "care" overlays notions of unpaid, private and domestic work onto those who work in the community learning space, undermining the complex work that occurs supporting disadvantaged learners.

The Neighbourhood House staff interviewed for this research saw informal literacy support for adults with low skills as an important part of the professional work of a Neighbourhood House staff member. Even so one of the interview subjects indicated that she did very little of this work herself and was more likely to refer it to more senior, experienced staff. Supporting disadvantaged adults with bureaucratic documents was identified as the most common informal literacy activity. The main Australian agency responsible for administering welfare and social support payments, Centrelink, was reported to be a significant generator of texts that adults with low literacy skills struggle to interpret and respond to accurately. Respondents also identified a range of other bureaucratic documents such as those related to housing, immigration and seniors' cards that adults brought into the house. The Neighbourhood House staff showed a high level of skill in understanding both the codes of bureaucratic texts and those commonly used by participants.

The staff from Orchard Neighbourhood House also suggested that a trend by Government agencies to move their systems and forms online had created an additional barrier for people with low literacy, many of whom also had poor digital literacy skills. The two Orchard Neighbourhood House staff both felt that the volume of people asking for assistance with reading and writing had grown in recent years and that the texts themselves were becoming less accessible.

> *I think Centrelink are crossing over more to using technology and making people responsible for themselves…So now, here's your password, here's your log-on, now you deal with it. So if it's wrong, that's your problem, not mine. And so here you go. I'm not sure that they're catering for most of their clientele who would have literacy problems. (Jan)*

A related factor, however, is that the computer based systems appeared to provide an avenue for people to seek support with texts. Adults would often ask for support with using the computer, rather than with the text itself. In this way, the stigma attached to low literacy that holds many people back from seeking support was removed because not being able to use a particular computer program or having a general query about technology, provided a less stigmatising way to initiate a request

for literacy support. Struggling with digital literacy did not seem to attract the same self-consciousness as struggling with more traditional literacies and so the former could be used as an easy means of engaging with Neighbourhood House staff to gain support.

> *They will definitely come and ask us. They don't seem too embarrassed about it, or worried about it. Sometimes they'll just say, "I don't understand the computer," or "It's not working." (Jan)*

It was evident from the interviews that visitors to both neighbourhood houses were seeking assistance with texts that have the potential to significantly impact on their lives and livelihoods. Lyn spoke of a visitor living on a disability pension who thought that his elevated electricity bills were the result of an electrical fault. Lyn "got a volunteer down" to methodically work through the bills with him to discover that he "had direct debits going everywhere." Jan spoke of a woman coming to the centre for assistance in filling in a form and then coming back later with a letter saying that her income had been stopped.

> *Because the form has been-- you ticked yes and yes to these little things and I said, "Oh dear God!" and she said, "Am I not getting paid today?" (Jan)*

Tracey spoke of a participant who mows lawns for a living, who made significant demands on her time because "even writing down people's addresses and names and what day he's got to go, he has to be very careful to make sure that that's right."

Tracey, Lyn and Jan indicated that the literacy support they were providing was more than just a narrow decoding of individual words but rather, was an induction into the genre of bureaucratic documents and support to navigate the power dynamics that surround these texts. They reported that while the people seeking support with texts may have been capable of decoding individual words and sentences, that their understanding of the broader purpose of the text, the way the words, phrases and sentences and the layout of the text interacted within the genre of a bureaucratic document was often not understood.

> *You open that Centrelink office screen and its all different options…– like if that's me I could just sort of glance at that, like that, I can just glance at that and go, "Okay you've to do that" Whereas they're there really painstakingly trying to read every word instead of just looking for the bit that's underlined which is the web address or whatever. (Lyn)*

A strong theme running through all four interviews was a belief that the neighbourhood house model of operating leant itself to literacy mediation because Neighbourhood Houses, unlike other places where adults with low skills might congregate, are generalist services, with an emphasis on managing diversity and adjusting to the particular needs of community members. The four interview subjects spoke about their approach using different language including "relaxed", "friendly", "safe", "welcoming", and "we don't judge.

> *I just think that it's the history of this place. It's the way that it has always been… that if someone comes through that door, if we can help them, we do it. (Lyn)*

> *It's hard to say whether it's the building or just the people who are employed. We know that there are all people with all different abilities and try not to judge them. (Leeanne)*

Lyn describes the process as starting with encouraging people to do things for themselves, through to scaffolding texts by putting ticks next to key information, rephrasing texts into more colloquial language, right through to "jumping in" and completing sections of the text for the person, based on a judgment about how much support the person needs. The interactions described by Lyn, Tracey, Jan and Leeanne are less about filling an arbitrary gap based on a predetermined notion of what people should be able to do, than about getting a particular process done. If they can transfer those skills to a participant, then this is ideal, but if they can't due to time or perceived skills of the participant, then they will finish the task with the person, advising or following the process where they can.

Beachside House runs a regular non-formal adult literacy course funded by the state government, while Orchard Community House does not. Interestingly, there appeared to be very little difference in

the demand for informal literacy support between the two Houses, and some evidence that offering the class increased the demand for non-formal individual literacy support as well as for literacy mediation. These demands for support presented the staff of Beachside House with somewhat of a dilemma because, of all the literacy practice occurring in the House, it is only the class that attracts funding. Yet the community development ethos of the staff means that they feel obliged to offer the unfunded informal support if it is asked of them. Staff will tell visitors to the centre who seek support with literacy about the literacy class but they will not pressure them to join. Tracey says: "If they just wanted to come in for their whole life and have support with filling out forms then we would just continue to do that".

Invisible work

The interview subjects felt that their Boards and funding bodies recognised that adults with low skills attended the houses and that staff spent time supporting them with literacy tasks. However, all four felt that the volume of time required to support adults with low skills was not understood.

When asked to estimate how much time is taken up supporting adults with low skills, Leeanne says; "I think only about 20% is really recognised". Tracey suggests that her work with adults with low skills would be "at least a couple of hours a day". Jan says that the work is sporadic, "some weeks you can spend four or five hours on it and then some weeks there's nothing". Lyn also suggests that the time required fluctuates enormously but that "a couple of hours a day, 10 hours a week.... I don't think that would be an exaggeration."

Some also felt that the complexity of the work was not understood. Tracey talked about how supporting adults with low literacy was subtly integrated into a range of activities in the centre, but that often the purposefulness of these activities looked to outsiders more like socialising than work.

> *I think a lot of people here would say that's what I spend most of the day sitting around drinking coffee and talking to people, because it is but there's a lot more going on than that. (Tracey)*

Lyn talks with some frustration of how the funding bodies and the Board say they recognise the amount and complexity of informal work that occurs in the houses but that "it's reflected in our funding that they don't understand the work we do, and it's reflected in the demands placed on us by funding bodies, by committees of management."

All four of the Neighbourhood House workers recognise that the work they do is valuable, but they speak passionately about how stressful it is to have their work go unrecognised.

> *Why isn't this work recognised? I want people to come here for help and I would like to have a designated person …I'd like to attend to them fully every time. (Jan)*

A recurring theme is that administrative work such as completing reports or filling in forms is recognised as work but that the work with human beings is ignored, or dismissed. Tracey tells of working with an adult learner in the tea room on a particular text and having it described by other staff as her "tea break". Lyn talks about starting the day with the goal of completing a report, working hard all day and then the distress of realising that none of the work that you have completed "count(s) as an achievement for the day – in terms of what's measured".

Tracey, Lyn and Jan in particular were very aware of their own advanced skills in navigating bureaucratic texts and how this knowledge would assist the visitors seeking help. While Leeanne was less likely to recognise these skills in herself, she recognised them in other staff working in the neighbourhood house. Nonetheless she felt that her workload was much higher than an administrative role in another organisation that did not have such a large volume of participants with low literacy.

Networks of support

Reikman and Budderberg (2013) suggest that the deficit view that is commonly held of adults with low literacy is created, in part, by the fact that most research focuses on those who have presented in programs designed to address a perceived deficit. They contend that when research attention is turned to the overwhelming majority of adults with low literacy who don't participate in formal literacy programs,

then a different perspective emerges. Most adults with low skills, they suggest, are supported by networks of "confidantes" who can be found in workplaces but also "in families, circles of friends or within leisure clubs and community associations" (Reikman & Budderberg, 2013:7). Further these relationships are often reciprocal or mutually reinforcing in nature so that it is unnecessary for each member of a network to develop every skill personally.

There is some resonance in Reikman and Budderberg's suggestion that "the clichés of functional illiteracy people do not fit reality. In the working place and in their private life, people affected often have strong networks of support" (Reikman & Budderberg, 2013:1) and Jan's statement that "*They will definitely come and ask us. They don't seem too embarrassed about it, or worried about it."* In many ways, the neighborhood house staff, through their creation of a homelike environment in a publicly funded service where "no one is judged", have positioned themselves as "confidantes", removing the need for adults who attend the houses to develop particular forms of bureaucratic literacy.

The neighborhood house staff suggest that the demand for support with bureaucratic texts is growing as more government services move online, to be accessed independently. They contend that today's literacy demands are both more prolific and more complex. This aligns with the views of many researchers in the area of literacy mediation who point out that in an increasingly textually dense world, relying on one's networks rather than expecting to be across all text types will become increasingly common (Barton, 2009).

The lack of hesitation or embarrassment that visitors to the neighbourhood house appear to display when seeking literacy mediation can perhaps be explained by the newness of the texts that they are encountering and the growing number of people within their networks who also struggle with them. Papen (2012:79) explains that we are now living in 'highly textually mediated social worlds' and that asking someone else to mediate with particular genres and texts is a widespread practice. Indeed Mace (1998) suggests that literacy mediation is nowadays so common that people do not even notice it.

The literacy mediation in the neighbourhood houses appears to largely occur around codes and genres of power where mistakes carry high risks for already economically and socially vulnerable people. These require a sophisticated handling of different literacies; what Mihut calls "bi-institutional knowledge" and an ability to code shift. Tracey's description of assisting a visitor to the centre with an application for housing shows features of this code shifting and "bi-institutional knowledge". In this instance, the visitor explains that her living arrangements are changing and she is not sure how to represent this in text to a relevant authority. Tracey says: "Sometimes they have to do a little side calculation and that's why they come to us." This "side calculation" consists of determining from prior knowledge of bureaucratic documents what information is essential, what information is private and not disclosable and what information is potentially dangerous to the person. The risks to the visitor in completing the document incorrectly are significant and Tracey shows that she is aware of this significance throughout the interaction.

Both Tracey and Lyn talked about their own extensive past histories of working with people with low literacy, including within their own families, as essential to their literacy mediation work. Stories of literacy journeys were told with warmth and laughter suggesting that affinity and empathy are central to the process. Mihud suggests that this type of mediation involves significant emotional work that replaces the "emotional fabric" so essential to successful language and literacy interaction but which is stripped out of bureaucratic texts.

Mihut uses the term "literacy affinity' to describe the emotional work of literacy mediation defined as "a discursive repertoire comprised of language of empathy, personal experiences, and even social relations embedded in the literate experience" (Mihut, 2012:58). This description is close to the language that the Neighborhood House staff use which also emphasises empathy and personal experiences. However, while Mihut suggests that "literacy affinity" involves a more complex mix of communication and advocacy skills than "brokerage" or "mediation" would suggest, the neighborhood house staff indicate that it is these personal and social skills that lead to their work being minimised and described as socialising or as a lack of efficiency.

Mihut recognises the political challenges of an emphasis on the emotional, personal and social elements of literacy work, "precisely because it has been historically defined as oppositional to rationality" but insists that emotions are "integral components in the fabric of everyday life, entangled in how people think, speak, and act socially and historically" (Mihut, 2012:58).

Clemans (2010) study of the Adult and Community Education Sector in Victoria (which includes neighbourhood houses like Beachside), suggests that there is a gendered element to the language used to describe educational work in the sector, which "renders work conducted in it closer to home and to domestic-related activity than to legitimate educational work" (Clemans, 2010:157). Clemans suggests that the homelike spatial elements of the centres and the domestic related activity leave the centres in a position of "both strength and vulnerability". Strength because of the success of their work in engaging otherwise educationally disadvantaged adults but also vulnerability to having their work dismissed as "not work" because of its caring and domestic associations and broadly held assumptions about the low value of domestic and emotional labour.

Similar to Mihut's rejection of the separation of empathy from literacy mediation, Clemans rejects the assumption that care and compassion can be separated from the success of the literacy activities of the centres.

> *If educational work catering for disadvantaged learners is necessarily overlaid with care and compassion, and evokes symbols and practices of home, does it need to still carry assumptions of work of lesser value than that undertaken elsewhere? (Clemans, 2010:167).*

Clemans suggests that further research into, and articulation of, the creativity, complexity and sophistication of the work of the centres can provide valuable insights into a learning process that has strong benefits to individuals, their communities and the broader economy. Further, that additional investigation could reclaim the value of the work and challenge traditional dichotomies of private and public spaces, work and care.

Distributed literacies

Research into literacy mediation within a social practices view of literacy presents a challenge to the human capital view of adult literacy, which dominates public policy development in Australia. Firstly, mediation suggests that literacy is "distributed" amongst a network, that is, the literacy is not simply "a property or an attribute of an individual, but … shared knowledge and expertise" (Papen, 2009:27). This undermines the individualistic notions of teaching and learning as skills transfer from one person to another that are inherent in Human Capital Theory.

Secondly, a social practice view of literacy research is less interested in an abstract set of skills that learners 'should' have, than in the ways that adults actually use reading and writing in particular contexts for specific aims. It doesn't confine itself to a study of the literacy practices, which have been determined by policy makers as having economic value and are therefore codified in national training package standards. It is interested in multiple literacies "varying according to time and space but also contested in relations of power" (Street, 2003:77). It therefore questions the value of widespread testing in order to determine the populations' position in relation to a very narrow set of literacies that are unlikely to be applied outside their contexts.

By focusing on the wide array of means by which adults develop their literacy, a picture starts to emerge of literacy development in which formal competency based adult literacy and numeracy training forms one very small portion. This opens up policy debates about the best approaches to building literacy across the population and the efficacy of putting so much public resource into one aspect of learning, that is formal, competency based training. As Tusting states: "As soon as one begins to think in these terms, it becomes clear that the vast majority of learning that people engage in occurs outside formal institutions …this raises questions about the current focus of most education research and funding on formally accredited provision" (2003:7).

Powerful texts

Critics of social practices views of literacy suggest that they valorise vernacular forms of literacy and by doing so, leave disadvantaged people marginalised from dominant literacy practices (McCabe, 1998). While

literacy practices may be diverse and rapidly expanding in increasingly globalised, technology enhanced and multicultural countries like Australia. Nonetheless, some literacies hold more power than others, and independent mastery of these literacies by disadvantaged people should be the ultimate aim of any service provider genuinely interested in community development or empowerment. Dominant literacies in Australia are generally assumed to be related to the workforce, determined by industry and encapsulated in accredited curriculum.

Applying this criticism to the Neighborhood House literacy mediation practices identified in this study, a policy maker might be tempted to view the informal literacy mediation occurring in the kitchens and hallways as a short term fix that would be best solved by encouraging participation in the literacy programs on offer at Beachside House or by the referral of visitors who present at Orchard House to nearby courses and classes. Critics of a social practices view of literacy might not view positively Tracey's approach: "If they wanted to come in for their whole life and have support with filling in forms, then we would just continue to do that."

Researchers into social views of literacy refute this argument. Papen (2005) suggests that rather than undermining the case for the formal provision of literacy training, a social practices study of literacy can give insights into the most effective means of supporting learners to develop English language literacy, including within a formal program. Also, there are some approaches to the formal teaching of adult literacy classes that share a social practices view of literacy, notably critical literacy and participatory education models (Papen 2005:134). The Beachside House approach to literacy development involves learners attending formal literacy classes but it also includes individual sessions with a volunteer to go over the material from the class, and to customise and personalise it to their own experiences. In this way, a social practices approach to literacy informs and supports the formal approach. Instead of undermining the formal provision of competency-based literacy programs in the neighbourhood houses, it could be argued that the informal literacy support adds value that would be unlikely to be achieved in more formal institutions of learning.

Also, as Papen points out, in a rapidly changing, globalised and multicultural world, the accepted view of dominant and marginal literacies is, itself, worthy of critique (Papen 2005:130). If a disconnect occurs between the texts that are taught in literacy classes, and the texts for which large groups of the public are seeking literacy support, this brings into question whose needs are being served by the formal adult literacy classes. One of the underpinning principles of critical literacy studies is the study of texts within contexts, including in the political context. The goal of a critical literacy class should be for learners to move beyond being passive recipients of the written word, to an understanding of the role that particular texts play in the broader economy and society and ultimately to an ability to use texts purposefully to achieve their own ends. The Beachside House experience suggests that the classes are not replacing the need for literacy mediation. However, if the classes were able to respond more flexibly to learners' needs, perhaps the need for literacy mediation would reduce.

Conclusion

Literacy mediators work across socio-political systems and structures in order to bridge divides for marginalised people. In many instances, that marginalisation is a result of a lack of proficiency in English language. However, in other instances, the marginalisation occurs within the English language, as the apparatus of the state turns to increasingly complex and textually dense means of managing governance and services. The Neighbourhood House staff in this study, like the youth workers in Theriault's study and Aboriginal store workers in Kral and Falk's study, operate at the literacy interface. Their work has significant impacts on the lives of vulnerable people. Yet this study indicates that their work is barely recognised as work at all, and where it is, it tends to be spoken of with the language of the personal and domestic, thus rendering it of lesser value than the many other administrative, organisational or text based tasks that are part of the work of a neighborhood house administrator.

The consistent role of empathy, understanding and trust in the mediation relationships described in this study suggests that these skills and behaviors are inherent in literacy mediation. Yet it is these skills and behaviors that appear to be leaving the staff vulnerable to

suspicion as to their effectiveness and commitment. This study suggests that literacy mediation in the two neighborhood houses is complex and sophisticated and that it thrives, in part, because the staff have created an environment in which the accepted boundaries of domestic and workplace, private and public are eroded. Further research across the Neighbourhood House sector would be required to determine whether staff commonly holds these skills across the broader Neighbourhood House sector.

An additional area of research attention could be the extent to which literacy mediation occurs in neighbourhood houses that are situated in areas with much lower proportions of residents with limited educational completions and low literacy. The work of Neighbourhood Houses in newly arrived migrant communities and in Indigenous communities is also worthy of further attention.

The literacy mediators' emotional work, outlined in this study, challenges us to rethink the ways that marginalised adults with low skills are supported in our communities. Mihut suggests that literacy mediation shows that "emotions have social and political dimensions" (Mihut, 2012:75). The Beachside House and Orchard House experiences suggest that personal, social and political factors are inherent in the development of adult literacy. The provision of state funded programs that deny the existence of these factors, does not remove them. It merely moves them further out of sight, out of the classrooms and into the hallways and kitchens of the neighbourhood houses.

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Remaking education from below: the Chilean student movement as public pedagogy

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This article considers the Chilean student movement and its ten-year struggle for public education as an example of public pedagogy. Secondary and university students, along with the parents, teachers, workers and community members who have supported them, have engaged in the most sustained political activism seen in Chile since the democratic movement against the Pinochet military dictatorship between 1983 and 1989. The students have successfully forced a nationwide discussion on education, resulting not only in significant educational reform, but also a community rethinking of the relationship between education and social and economic inequality in a neoliberal context. Framed through Giroux's conceptual definition of public pedagogies and drawing on field research conducted throughout 2014 as well as existing literature and media sources, this article considers the role of the student movement in Chile in redefining the concept of 'public' and the implications for radical perspectives on learning and teaching.

***Keywords**: students, activism, Chile, public pedagogy.*

Introduction

> *More than ever the crisis of schooling represents, at large, the crisis of democracy itself and any attempt to understand the attack on public schooling and higher education cannot be separated from the wider assault on all forms of public life not driven by the logic of the market (Giroux, 2003:7)*
>
> *"Fin al lucro en educación, nuestros sueños no les pertenecen"*
>
> *(end profit making in education, nobody owns our dreams [1])*
>
> *(slogan of the Chilean student movement, inspired by the French student uprisings of May-June 1968)*

Over the past four decades, as the economic and ideological depravity of neoliberal policy and its market-driven logic (D. W. Hursh & Henderson, 2011) has been brought to bear on every aspect of education, the very concept of 'public' has been negated. Characteristics such as user-pays, competition, assaults on teachers, and mass standardised-testing and rankings, are among the features of a schooling, which is now very much seen as a private rather than public good (Giroux, 2003). The question of public education as a democratic force for the radical transformation of a violently unjust society seems rarely if ever asked, and a dangerous co-option and weakening of the language and practice of progressive pedagogy has occurred to the extent that notions of inclusion and success are increasingly limited to narrowly conceived individualist and competitive measures of market advantage. As Giroux notes "the forces of neo-liberalism dissolve public issues into utterly privatised and individualistic concerns (2004:62), and despite ongoing official rhetoric "the only form of citizenship increasingly being offered to young people is consumerism" (2003:7). Neoliberal education sees students and young people as passive consumers, the emphasis of schooling on learning how to be governed rather than how to govern (Giroux, 2003:7).

In such a context the space for a public pedagogy, based on challenging the hegemony of neoliberal ideology and aligned with collective resistance, appears limited at best. And yet, every day people, teachers, students and communities do engage in political struggle, enacting pedagogies that seek to unveil rather than continue to mask the political

structures and organisation that ensures power remains in the hands of the few, and at the service of the few, at the expense of the rest of us.

Giroux characterises public pedagogies as defined by hope, struggle and a politicisation of the education process. He argues for

> *...a politics of resistance that extends beyond the classroom as part of a broader struggle to challenge those forces of neo-liberalism that currently wage war against all collective structures capable of defending vital social institutions as a public good (Giroux, 2003:14).*

Central to Giroux's argument is the need for critical educators to look to, value, and engage in and with social movements as they emerge and develop as sites of resistance. To

> *...take sides, speak out, and engage in the hard work of debunking corporate culture's assault on teaching and learning, orient their teaching for social change, connect learning to public life [and] link knowledge to the operations of power (Giroux, 2004:77).*

He argues that "[p]rogressive education in an age of rampant neo-liberalism requires an expanded notion of the public, pedagogy, solidarity, and democratic struggle" (Giroux, 2003:13), and that moreover, educators need to work against a "politics of certainty" and instead develop and engage in pedagogical practice that problematises the world and fosters a sense of collective resistance and hope (2003:14).

A neoliberal vision of the 'good citizen' and 'good student' presumes passivity, acceptance of the status quo and an individualistic disposition. Critical pedagogues must seek out and embrace opportunities to support and celebrate collective political action, not only because it develops a sense of social and political agency but also because it constitutes a powerful basis for authentic learning and active and critical citizenship in an unjust world (Freire, 1970).

The Chilean student movement stands as one such example of challenging and inspiring counter-practice and a reclaiming of pedagogy as political and public. For ten years students have filled Chile's streets, occupied their schools and universities, and organised conferences, public

meetings, political stunts, creative actions and protests. Students and young people have been at the centre of the largest and most sustained political action seen in Chile since the democratic movement of the 80s, which eventually forced out the Pinochet dictatorship. Despite global trends in the opposite direction, the Chilean students have fundamentally influenced a nationwide education reform program constituting significant changes to the existing system which has been described as an extreme example of market-driven policy (Valenzuela, Bellei, & Ríos, 2014:220). Most importantly, they have forced and led a nationwide dialogue on the question of education and social justice in Chile and an interrogation of the current, grossly inequitable and elitist model (Falabella, 2008).

This article begins by reviewing the experiences of the Chilean student movement to date and offering a brief explanation of the historical development of the education system it seeks to dismantle. It then considers the movement as an example of public pedagogies, concluding with a discussion of how it might inform notions of radical educational practice and a return of the student and pedagogue as authentic and critical subjects.

The students and their struggle

2006: the penguin rebellion and where it all began

The movement was born in April 2006 when thousands of secondary students took to the streets, at first with demands around better and cheaper access to public transport and free access to the university admissions exam (PSU). Spontaneous action turned into more conscious protest as the students raised broader questions of educational equity and expanded their demands to include free education for all and an end to some of the worst practices of educational discrimination (Bellei & Cabalin, 2013). Within months, angered at the slow pace and inadequate nature of the government's response, up to one million students across the country were involved in mass anti-government actions, and around 250 schools were occupied (Chovanec & Benitez, 2008; El Mercurio, 2006b). These national protests, coined by the media as 'the penguins' revolution' (a reference to students' navy and white uniforms), gained the support of tertiary students, teachers, parents, academics and the wider community and brought about the first recognised political crisis of the

social-democratic government. As the mobilisations grew in numbers and support, the students were faced with alarming levels of police repression, with tear gas and water cannons used to dispel protestors. Bachelet first joined the conservative mainstream media in condemning the students for their 'violence', but later denounced the police actions and was pressured to dismiss the then Head of Special Forces of the Chilean Police (El Mercurio, 2006) amidst significant community anger at the level of police aggression.

The students' actions in 2006 resulted in some small victories however the process ultimately left the neoliberal character of education in Chile untouched and the students without voice or power in any meaningful sense (Falabella, 2008). The movement was largely demobilised after several months, but the secondary school students had successfully focused the country's attention on the link between the market-logic of the education laws and Chile's growing social and economic inequality.

Education in Chile: the source of the students' anger

Since 2006 there has been almost a decade of more or less sustained struggle against what one Chilean educationalist has referred to as "educational apartheid" (Waissbluth, 2011:35). The current system is the legacy of neoliberal reforms introduced by the Pinochet dictatorship at the end of the 1980's and, despite some tinkering, further entrenched by both 'social democratic' and conservative governments since (Cabalin, 2012; Cavieres, 2011). Based around minimal legislation and low taxes, the LOCE (*Ley Organica Constitucional de Enseñanza* – Organic Constitutional Act of Teaching), introduced in 1989, initiated the creation of a fully marketised system with a heavily reduced role for the state. Calls for its removal remain at the centre of the student movement's platform.

These reforms, although couched in the language of access and choice, led to a highly segregated and deeply inequitable education system (Cabalin, 2012; Cavieres, 2011). Dramatic drops in enrolment in under-resourced public schools followed the reforms, from "78 per cent in 1981 to 53 per cent of the total enrolment in 2002" (Mizala & Torche, 2012:132), to 37.5 per cent in 2012 (Fundación Sol, 2011:4). 84 per cent of university education and 100 per cent of technical education is privatised. Most critically, a pay-per-pupil voucher system was introduced, described in one document released by a broad coalition of student organisations,

teachers, academics and educational functionaries, as a system which "has as its principal characteristic the governance of the market, relegating the concept of education to consumer good rather than social right… provoking an education system that acts as a reproducer of social inequality and hegemonic knowledge." ("El primer Encuentro de Actores Sociales por la Educación," 2014) Seven per cent of school students attend fully private colleges, with public and subsidised institutions competing in the 'education market' for the per capita education vouchers from the government. Only 10 per cent of poor and working class students use the government vouchers to attend private schools, and the majority of students attending government schools are from the poorest sections of Chilean society (Strauss, 2012). In the tertiary sector, although the market model has increased access, only 20 per cent of students who attend university are from low socio-economic backgrounds (Cabalin, 2012:223).

The secondary students' struggle paved the way for a national discussion around the role the education system plays in reproducing Chile's social and economic inequality. The richest 10 per cent of Chileans own almost 70 per cent of the country's wealth (Credit Suisse Research Institute, 2014). The monthly wage of the 1700 most wealthy Chileans is CLP$460,000,000, while 53 per cent of Chilean workers earn on average less than CLP$300,000 per month (Durán Sanhueza & Kremerman Strajilevich, 2015). Not dissimilar to Australia, a mining boom in Chile has inflated official employment and growth figures for several years, but in reality the bulk of 'new' jobs are short-term, underpaid and insecure. Currently Australia comes second only to Chile in terms of high numbers of temporary workers (ACTU, 2013), and Chilean youth know that they will enter a job market where it will be increasingly difficult to find secure, well-paid employment.

2011: the question of political strategy

The next significant and most decisive period for the Chilean student movement was the mass struggles of 2011 (sometimes termed the *Chilean Winter,* a reference to the Arab Spring) against the new conservative Piñera government. Again characterised by mass mobilisations and student occupations, this period also saw a conscious broadening of the nature of the protests to widen participation and sustain activity. Under the leadership of the confederation of university student unions

(CONFECH), a strong alliance has been fostered, with the aim of drawing distinct groups together in united action, and winning larger layers of public support.

Performances and creative actions including mass kiss-a-thons; a large flash mob of 'Zombies' performing Michael Jackson's Thriller; an eight month non-stop relay marathon around the national parliament building; and the innovative use of social media to disseminate plans and ideas (Bellei, Cabalin, & Orellana, 2014) were all utilised by the movement to increase participation and build popular support. Conferences and public meetings were also held regularly in schools, on campus and in local neighbourhoods to develop community participation structures to further deepen the movement.

The mass mobilisations again faced heavy police repression, with the Piñera government attempting to evoke national security laws to demobilise the students. This move generated public opposition from both supporters and those critical of the students' actions, with some likening the police violence to that experienced under the military dictatorship of the 1980s (Ebergenyi, 2011). Despite this, significant political gains were made. Largely as a result of the political pressure from the student movement, a 'centre-left' alliance again led by President Bachelet won the 2013 elections. Several high profile leaders of the student movement were also elected to parliament.

Given the political pressure it faced, the (current) Bachelet government moved very quickly on its reform program. The first phase claimed to introduce free primary and secondary education for all students, a gradual end to the public funding of private schooling and the removal of elitist selection practices in all but the 'emblematic' public secondary schools (Vargas, 2014). Furthermore, a recently approved corporate tax reform bill worth US$8.2bn will ostensibly fund free higher education from 2016. Current discussion around the second wave of reforms is focusing on the teaching workforce.

To date, the students have rejected the reforms as insufficient, noting that in some cases they deepen rather than dismantle the current neoliberal system (Achtenberg, 2015). One mass protest in August 2014 highlighted what the movement saw as attempts by the government to 'negotiate' with the conservative side of parliament, the very actors who engineered the

existing system and have always championed it. Students have repeatedly argued that the reforms leave the fundamental nature of corporatised and competitive education untouched and as such are unable to bring about any real change in terms of equity and quality (Cooperativa.cl, 2014).

The Chilean government has claimed otherwise, and additionally some ex-student leaders, now parliamentarians, have played a key role in the consultation process, arguing widely that the reforms constituted a positive response to the student movement's demands. Given this, it seemed possible, perhaps even likely that the movement would suffer demobilisation. While there has been some realignment of leadership, and the movement has reduced in its scope and level of activity in some cases, 2014 saw a continuation of mobilisations drawing up to 100,000 students each time and a strengthening of the movement's key political demands. This has continued to date in 2015.

What are the demands of the student movement?

In 2014, the movement released five demands (Confederación de Estudiantes de Chile, n.d.) in a document undersigned by all major student unions. Student leaders argued that the demands mirrored those being discussed in schools and universities across Chile, with one student leader noting "of course there are different views, but we [have] managed to agree on this proposal we are putting forward… through which we are questioning the form of [the government's reforms] and how they have been created and implemented" (Pacheco, 2011).

The call for a serious strengthening of public education is the first of the five points and continues to be the key demand of the movement today. The students are demanding a quality public education system that would be the first and best choice for Chilean families and accessible to all, highlighting the need for a break from the current dominant emphasis on 'freedom of educational choice' to a fundamental commitment to education as a basic human right. They squarely place education as a public good, at the centre of the development of a new, more fair and equitable Chilean society, and include a call for curriculum and research to focus on national development towards a just and dignified life for all Chileans. The students' demand is completely counter posed to the present system which privileges the choice of an elite minority at the expense of the educational opportunities and aspirations of the masses of

Chilean youth (Cabalin, 2012).

The students have highlighted how the reforms essentially leave the current public system untouched, focusing instead on 'buying out' the existing subsidised semi-private schools. The likely effect, rather than improving public education, is a reduction of quality in those previously subsidised schools, as the promised government funding focuses on purchasing buildings and infrastructure with little mention of teaching and learning and associated costs (wages, conditions, professional development, resources etc.) The sharp debate about the nature and basis of Chilean public education is particularly relevant for those arguing similarly around the globe, as any 'nationalisation' that has occurred under neoliberalism has been motivated on the basis of stimulating and insuring corporate investments and profits, or the public bailing out corporate losses (Harvey, 2007).

The reform processes to date have also continued to ignore the cultural and social impacts of decades of neoliberal education. As Cavieres (2011) explained, despite the rhetoric of inclusion and equality, the reforms have continued to "…emphasize educational practices based on competition, individualism, and accountability that divide students based on academic and class lines, as well as exclude those cultural experiences of students from urban low-income neighborhoods not considered appropriate to the goals pursued by the reform. As a result, these students have been marginalized from the educational processes promoted in their schools" (Cavieres, 2011:112).

The second demand of the movement is free and fully funded education for all. The students correctly note that ending parent contributions to public education is one thing, free and fully funded education for all is quite another. Current governmental debate, already questioning the actual possibilities of reform based on the costing of recent tax changes bring this into sharp relief, and is a key driver of the students' ongoing discontent.

The third demand is an end to the corporatisation of education and education-for-profit. A student leader in 2014 emphasised the students' view that "if education is a right, then there is no place for business in education. Any reform to the education system cannot leave happy those who have profited for years from education" (Velásquez, 2014). This is

particularly difficult for the current government given its own myriad ties to the lucrative business that is education in Chile. Among those most invested in existing private education enterprises are the Catholic Church (Orellana & Guajardo, 2014) and ex-military personnel including a number of people directly involved in the former dictatorship.

The fourth demand calls for the democratisation of educational institutions and improved conditions for education workers. While the second wave of government reforms purports to address the question of teacher wages and conditions the movement is demanding much more: improvement to the working conditions of all those involved in education and an end to the sub-contraction of support services, immediate improved wages for teachers who earn well below the average professional wage, support and respect for teachers as professionals with clearly defined career opportunities and dignified retirement options. Although highly inequitable just as it is for students, current conditions for most teachers in Chile are precarious, with many on short-term contracts and working across multiple schools to reach a full working wage. Secondary school teachers in Chile teach on average 1100 hours per year, compared with the OECD average of less than 700 (OECD, 2014).

The final demand is that student debt be revoked, highlighting the indecencies of a for-profit system which leaves students without degrees (or in some cases quality degrees) but with crippling debts while owners profit enormously (Guzman-Concha, 2012:412).

Chilean student movement as public pedagogy

Chilean students have engaged in a decade of self-education and also educated the broader community through their own kind of "permanent education" (Williams, 1967:15-16, cited in Giroux, 2004:63). The experience of sustained, collective struggle, of developing a critique of society and fighting for alternatives based on a set of ideals grounded in justice, equity and inclusion, has for the young people leading and participating in the movement, arguably constituted learning far beyond anything being offered in schools. As well as developing the demands of the movement and engaging directly with the formal political process, the students have had to develop effective and sustainable means of communication, democratic structures at local, regional and national levels, efficient organisational practices and an evolving political strategy.

The movement stands as a living example of the type of transformative learning experience grounded in struggle described by Giroux, one that implies

> *that any viable notion of pedagogy and resistance should illustrate how knowledge, values, desire, and social relations are always implicated in relations of power, and how such an understanding can be used pedagogically and politically by students to expand further and deepen the imperatives of economic and political democracy (2003:11-12).*

The students have sought to engage people in dialogue with the movement in various ways, through public artworks, music, creative acts, poetry and more. Art is understood as "a form of resistance… seek[ing] to reinterpret reality, engage it in controversy… not only a tool used as a critique, but also to glimpse into the possible future, giving us a hopeful sense of what could be" (McKenna & Darder, 2011:673) The banners, murals, community art projects, songs, drumming bands, improvisations and dances have played a critical role not just in maintaining the profile of the movement and their demands, but also in developing the collective ideas, sustaining activity and fostering courage in the face of exclusion and repression. McKenna and Darder raise the central importance of courage, noting that

> *…democracy requires the cultivation of civic courage in the flesh, taking protest to the streets, and the willingness to place one's comfort in jeopardy, if counter-hegemonic ideals are to find their way into public life, and even more so, if they are to be translated into emancipatory practice" (2011:673-674).*

Fundamentally, the students' civic courage has reignited the collective sense that real social change is possible in Chile. In a country with a very painful history, and a deep and still raw political memory of state-sanctioned abuse and extreme repression of citizen resistance, the student movement has again raised hopes of a genuinely democratic and just alternative. As Giroux (2003:6-7) notes "hope [is] a crucial precondition both for a healthy pessimism and as a source of revolutionary imagination in which the strategic gap between the promise and the reality of democracy [can] be taken seriously as an object of critical learning and practical struggle".

Redefining the 'public'

Perhaps the most important achievement of the Chilean students' public pedagogy to date is their success in redefining the very concept of 'public' to exclude profit making and commercial or market interests. The students have insisted that 'public' cannot mean government subsidisation of corporate enterprises nor government bailouts of the same. They have articulated and defended a view of 'public' that is understood as the use of taxation for the creation of non-commercial institutions for collective benefit. This insistence has pushed the entire education debate leftward, and in a global context of increased privatisation in education, where even ostensibly 'non-profit' organisations can post billions of dollars in reserve, is a significant political development.

Fully funded, quality public education for all

The Chilean students' struggle also makes explicit the need to emphasise a return to a fully publicly funded education system as central to any reform process. The students have argued for several years that this is a necessary precondition for any education system genuinely geared towards social equity and quality. Internationally there are very few examples of such systems as the global push to privatise and corporatise has relegated such a seemingly obvious and simple demand to the status of ambit claim. And yet research continues to demonstrate the absolute failing of the neoliberal education project to meet basic social justice and equity concerns, and instead reveals its role in exacerbating inequity and exclusion (Apple, 2013; D. Hursh, 2007; Valenzuela et al., 2014).

Democratisation of the public

The student movement, in working alongside and with other sectors in various alliances, has also played a leading role in developing consciousness around the need for any reform process to be based on a democratisation of the public. The student and public education movement realises that 'public' cannot simply mean a return to the old nationalised institutions that prevailed in sections of the economy where business did not want to make the initial large scale investments, for example railways, telecommunications, health etc. Instead the movement has consistently argued for a 'public' that involves community control

rather than bureaucratic-government administration and public handouts to corporations.

The many occupations of schools and universities, as embryonic examples of student and community control, are likely to have played a significant role in influencing such a perspective. Despite the conservative Chilean press' attempts to present these actions as mere vandalism and delinquency, the programs of events, student reports and media footage of the actions suggest cooperative, negotiated sites of art, culture, dialogue and cooperation. The students occupying secondary schools in Santiago held political debates and discussions about the education system and the movement's demands; organised rosters for cooking and cleaning; collaboratively painted murals and other artworks; held dance and music workshops and concerts; watched films; and drew on supportive parents and community members to provide security and other assistance.

The movement has also demonstrated how they have learnt from earlier political mistakes, highlighting throughout 2014 their rejection of government claims that the reforms had been developed through a process of participation. One student leader explained that "the reforms were made behind the backs of the students, behind the backs of the social actors… the student movement does not accept the government reforms because we understand that they were not made for us" (ADN Noticias, 2014). Such an emphasis reflects the lessons learnt from previous rounds in the struggle, and captures Giroux's understanding that "learning at its best is connected with the imperatives of social responsibility and political agency" (Giroux, 2003:9). At a rally in June 2014, one student leader stated that "students are not going to make the same mistakes, we are not willing to sit down with no guarantee to try to validate an educational reform that is already in progress" ("Miles de estudiantes chilenos marchan contra la reforma educativa de Bachelet," 2014), referencing previous student leaderships that had agreed to 'consultative' roles and mechanisms that ultimately resulted in limited reforms and co-option of the movement. In 2014 all major student unions and the teachers' union voted against participating in the government-led consultation agenda and secondary students resumed their school occupations.

Mobilised student and teacher movement

The underlying principle of democratisation has ensured that from its earliest days the student movement has emphasised that any meaningful reform is impossible without a mobilised student and teacher movement. Students and significant sections of the population have realised in practice that only mass public pressure, exerted on the streets and in workplaces through industrial and other community action is likely to have any effect on government policy. In this sense, the movement is unique internationally in its ability (and commitment) to sustain large social mobilisations over a ten-year period, and its fundamental orientation to mechanisms of struggle outside of parliamentary frameworks.

The students have learnt over the course of their struggle that the less mobilised the movement and community the more likely that governments will shape policy changes to re-weave education in the interest of business, while using the language of reform and progress. As one banner at the mass rally in August 2014 read "*the reform won't change the education of the market – ourselves organised, we will change education*."

Implications for radical pedagogy

In Chile, it is the students who have led the way in the struggle against neoliberal education. While there is now widespread support for the movement and there exist numerous think tanks, and social and community organisations theorising and advocating for change, the students have played a leadership role at every stage. Significant numbers of teachers and academics have become active in the process, engaging in protest themselves, and also supporting student mobilisations, occupations and other activities. Presently teachers and students are uniting in their opposition to the government's proposed plans for the teacher workforce, with an emphasis on solidarity as well as the pedagogical nature of struggle. One popular banner seen at mass demonstrations reads "*profesores luchando, también están educando" ("Teachers struggling, are also educating").*

Solidarity through joint political action not only strengthens the impact of the movement, it has the potential to reshape the existing relationships

between teachers and students and ultimately the nature of teaching and learning. Public pedagogies must provide a counter-narrative to the neoliberal idea that poor and working class students 'fail' due to their own lack of aspiration or motivation (Cavieres, 2011). Learning and teaching must be grounded in the lives of students and simultaneously value and investigate their own cultural and social realities and histories, which necessarily implies a critique of the ways in which neoliberalism marginalises and excludes. In turn such an approach empowers teachers to step out of their roles as agents of "control and constraint" (Grace, 1978/2014:215) and instead see themselves as critical actors in processes of change. The example of the Chilean student movement, highlights the need for teachers to reject the authoritarian and paternalistic model, and open themselves to learning from and with students as allies in the struggle for a more just and fair education system and society.

Conclusion

As Giroux has emphasised, a politicised and public understanding of learning and teaching must seek to locate schools and schooling in the broader economic, political and social framework, in order to reveal power relationships that serve to reinforce injustice and direct resources towards developing new collective and hopeful visions of alternatives. The Chilean student movement to date has offered a powerful display of youth empowerment and rebellion with significant political impact. These young people reflect the legacy of mass struggle in Chile and a growing unwillingness to accept the continuing claims that neoliberal Chile is working for everybody. They are not only worried for themselves and their futures, they are deeply concerned about the working and poor people of Chile, they are deeply affronted by Chile's economic and social inequality, and they understand and can critique the system that perpetuates it.

This is the system defended by President Bachelet, who in May 2014, was at pains to allay right-wing fears that the students unduly influenced her, or that her government was falling prey to 'populism'. She explained, "we're still committed to public-private partnerships and the free market, we're still open to foreign investment and free-trade agreements. None of that is going to change" (The Economist, 2014), ensuring that the fundamental principles of her 'social-democratic' government remain clear.

The future is less clear, but to date the strength of the Chilean student movement has been its focus on sustained mass mobilisations. The current leadership of the movement has stated their commitment to continuing to organise and protest around the demand for a community-centric public system for the people and by the people, that puts education at the heart of a new, socially-just Chile.

Endnotes

1. All translations are the author's and as such full responsibility for any errors is assumed

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Book Review

Problematizing Public Pedagogy

Jake Burdick, Jennifer A. Sandlin and Michael P. O'Malley (Eds.)
Routledge, New York, 2014, 212 pages

Reviewed by Karen Charman
Victoria University

The breadth of this edited collection on public pedagogy is testimony to the richness of the field. As the title suggests one of the appeals of this book is the very problematisation of the terms public and pedagogy. The editors begin in 'Breaking without Fixing' by signalling the intent of the collection as inhabiting an *aporia*, "a moment to ask new questions, ones that open the disquieting, yet productive, space of aporia—the intersection between meaning and unmeaning" (p.3). Signalling public pedagogy as such the editors evoke radical possibility. The subsequent chapters are framed through and engage three key terms *framing, studying* and *enacting* each as aporetic turns. The chapters question what forms of education exist beyond regulated institutional spaces? Theory allows the re-thinking in the editor's terms of "de/re/ constructing the commonsensical imaginary around educational forms/ phenomena/ephemera" (p.5).

In *framing, studying and enacting* each section respectively explores— How can public pedagogy be theorised? How is public pedagogy being researched and lastly how is public pedagogy being enacted?

When engaging with this collection it is difficult not to read each chapter against the narrowing confinements of the prevalent neo-liberal measurement of skill acquisition; to look at each piece for the possibilities of rushing out into a space where questions are not reductive and outcomes are indeterminate. Despite being largely North American in content some of the chapters offer a re-orientation away from the oppressive framing of curriculum as inert and measurable in contemporary Australian educational institutions. Other chapters offer a reminder of who determines and defines the public realm resulting in the marginalisation and seeking out of alternate public pedagogical spheres. This book needs to be read as distinct chapters despite the thematic placement and the juxtaposition of ideas. In part this is exactly what contributes to the vibrancy of the collection that each contribution shifts the notion of public pedagogy from one positioning to another.

Framing: First Aporetic Turn Dentith, O'Malley and Brady in 'Public Pedagogy as a Historically Feminist Project' note first, second and third wave feminism exemplify the ways in which women have occupied and worked these alternate spheres. Jason J. Wallin in 'Putrid Deadagogies' an interrogation of the figure of the zombie argues the zombie is a figure that critiques the primacy of identity that is afforded in public pedagogy research. This chapter is an odd juxtaposition to a feminist reading of public pedagogy relying as it does on the identity category of woman. However, 'Putrid Deadagogies' is perhaps a companion piece to Gert Biesta 'Making Pedagogy Public' in its questioning of "public pedagogy as pedagogy for the public and as a pedagogy of the public tend to work toward the reduction of plurality" he advocates through Hannah Arendt's triad of plurality, action and freedom—toward a pluralisation (p.24). The Zombie then might become, if somewhat disconcertingly so, the pluralisation suggested by Biesta. In 'Pushing Against Relationality, Intentionality, and the ethical imperative of Pedagogy' the authors in this chapter offer a discussion of the term pedagogy arguing for a return to an ethical imperative as "all pedagogy occurs within the context of some institutional form…involves relationships that are organised through the very institutionalised hierarchies that enable all pedagogical encounters to occur even within spaces we might call public" (p.55). The authors argue that this is ethics because institutions produce the possibilities of a pedagogical encounter. Drawing on theoretical frames offered by Deleuze and

Guattari, Jan Jagodzinski in 'Pedagogy in the Public Realm' draws on popular culture as a productive site to shift from being to becoming. Movement is made of an understanding of public pedagogy away from any site as such to encounters with sense events where creation of new cannot be predicted.

Studying: Second Aporetic Turn moves from the large political work of Glen C. Savage to the little Public Spheres of Anna Hickey-Moody. In 'Chasing the Phantoms of Public Pedagogy' Glen C. Savage is interested in the very terms of public and pedagogy arguing that "the term public is typically used in mythologised and totalising ways"(p.79). For Savage the term must be broken down and he cites three dominant publics: political publics, popular publics, and concrete publics. In short Savage is seeking greater clarity of the term public pedagogy. Savage may well be the sort of public intellectual Jory Brass describes in 'Problematizing the Public Intellectual'. Brass uses a Foucauldian analysis to examine the public intellectual. Rather than see the public intellectual as the locus of truth the author posits there is no real residing outside, no false consciousness to be liberated but instead the challenge is of "detaching the power of truth form the forms of hegemony, social, economic and cultural, within which it operates at the present time" (Foucault in Brass, p.97). Imagining public pedagogy without public intellectuals, Brass turns to Foucault's genealogy as a model for forgotten, localised historical struggles that by there very existence problematize prevailing disciplines of academic inquiry.
In 'Turning Down the Dead Father' Jake Burdick and Jennifer A. Sandlin interrogate public pedagogy and the problematics of using research frames applied to schooling. Instead the authors advocate 'methodologies of discomfort' a call for other ways of researching non-institutional spaces of resistance. In part this article is a response to William Pinar's forward to the *Handbook of Public Pedagogy* where he expresses concern that public pedagogies will be a reproduction of institutional forms of education and subsequent research because research methodologies cannot necessarily transcend the histories of the past. Drawing on Lacan's theorsisation of the father and subsequent anxiety this figure can cause, the writers use the symbol of the eidolon to signify the ghost of the father. This article is also a warning for the need for vigilance with regard to what echoes of past authorities inform our research practice and our institutional histories. Lastly, Anna Hickey-

Moody's 'Little Public Spheres' a discussion of the "divergent natures of young people's civic participation" (p.117) Specifically, this article initially looks at the phenomenon of Rock Eisteddfod Challenges as a form of civic engagement before examining other arts practices—all of which are about preparing text for public engagement. In this notion of little public Hickey-Moody argues the possibility of youth creating their own dialogic space.

Enacting: Third Aporectic Turn shifts the possibilities of reading public pedagogies to creating public pedagogies. 'How to Be an Artist by Night' from Stephanie Springgay and The Torontonians examines and questions thinking in both fields of art and education. Springgay offers an interesting critique of participation and what it means for those outside of professional art practices to work within them alongside an artist. 'Reclaiming the Public in Public Pedagogy' is an interview with artist and activist co-author Suzanne Lacy. The discussion in this chapter epitomises the possibilities of interrelatedness of activism, public and pedagogy. The idea of taking a law that is indicative of the prevailing neo-liberal discourse and in dialogue with others staging a public intervention is alive with possibilities. 3,417 Footnotes—Troubling the Public Pedagogy of CreATE - initially an unfamiliar acronym, I found this brief discussion of an organisation set up as a public agitation and lobbying group about schooling in Chicago fascinating. The exploration of the problematics of actioning research for the express purpose of fighting conservative education reforms just prior to elections is an exciting ethical use of academic research capability. However, as the authors note it is not without its problems. In 'Long Live the Pedagogical Turn' Jorge R. Lucero celebrates this turn as the possibility of creating something new and has longevity because it is not called art. Morna M. McDermott in 'Dolls as Dangerous Style' describes the creation by teachers and students of dolls to protest attacks on education as multi-layered. She notes despite disparate experiences each doll maker had the common concern of the dismantling of education. The author argues that through acts of creativity we are capable of pushing back against our subjection to the world being designed for us.

I want to make brief mention of the short vignettes that begin each section alerting the reader to possibilities of being in the public sphere and of disrupting expectation and coherence. Quite a few of the articles

position public pedagogy as conceptually different from the notion of critical pedagogy. For many of the authors critical pedagogy is stuck in an emancipatory project relying on a subject structured through modernity as fixed and stable. Public pedagogy is turning away from this idea of the subject toward a post-modern subjectivity.

About the reviewer

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NOTES FOR INTENDING CONTRIBUTORS

1. AJAL publishes papers in two main sections – blind peer-reviewed articles that draw on research, historical examination and/or theoretical insights and contributions; and a non-refereed section which aims to help practitioners reflect on their fields of practice, policy, improve teaching and learning and so on. These articles tend to be shorter and developmental. Articles that are more appropriate for the refereed section will not be considered for the non-refereed section. Authors should indicate in which section they want their paper to appear. In addition the Journal publishes book reviews, and from time to time special sections devoted to a theme or historical event.
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Further information about possible articles can be addressed to the Editor,

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