Pedagogies of the Best Dressed: School-Business Relationships in New Zealand 1990-2004, Including the Case of Food

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Abstract

In the 1990s there was public speculation that New Zealand schools and businesses were establishing new and more relationships. Three broad public discourses sought to articulate this shift and its effects. They collectively represented business motives for school-business relationships as commercial, social, or operationally focused, or mixtures of these. This thesis argues with evidence from literature and original research, and with special attention on the activities of the food industry, that the prime business motive for school-business relationships was commercial. This motive is explored within the interwoven cultural contexts of changing businesses, changing childhoods and changing schools.

In recent years businesses have assumed greater power as corporate meaning-makers in childhood identities as the boundaries between the cultural categories of advertising, entertainment and education collapse and new hybrid forms emerge including new school-business relationship forms. As businesses integrate public relations with their marketing objectives, this meaning-making role in an information society has intensified and fulfils a wide range of objectives from increased sales to management of public opinion. Businesses with the most fragile public profiles have gravitated to schools the most, and school children have become both key producers and key consumers of the sign value of the socially responsible business.

Childhood is considered within a social constructionist perspective and it is argued that businesses influence childhood identity through the transgressive pedagogies of children's popular culture, and the commercialised adult discourses of child development and innocence. The tensions between these are being brought to some resolution in the increasingly popular commercialised edutainment pedagogies offered to students in schools, which simultaneously address adult and child desires.

Responding to school-business relationships in New Zealand from 1990 was the marketised and corporatised school. The structural and cultural dimensions of New Zealand's marketisation reforms enabled pervasive discourses of competitive entrepreneurialism and managerial pragmatism to jostle with educational ethics in school-business relationship decision-making. Many school-business relationships

found favour as fundraising opportunities or complex and financially advantageous relationships, limiting the potential for teacher dissent or community deliberation and debate.

Teachers maintained an influential role in the key area of curriculum-related school-business relationships, but in this research, their perceptions about sponsored materials and programmes were overwhelmingly constructed within a discourse of curriculum utility and student appeal. The corporate agenda was usually positioned as benign advertising and marketing and there was little understanding of the evolution of corporate public relations in recent years. Teachers decoupled the learning gains through school-business relationships from this corporate marketing. This steered them away from undertaking a deeper analysis of the corporate cultural agenda, limited their interest in the school's wider business relationships, and created a compelling argument for commercialised edutainment in schools.

The business-like school was less capable of a critical understanding of the education-like business, and was often disinterested in resistance to school-business relationships. This thesis argues that school-business relationships need to be rescued by teachers from a discourse of pragmatic utility, and critically reconsidered as corporate pedagogies seeking to construct a consuming childhood and further various corporate ideologies and agendas. Schools as meaning-makers themselves are vital to this cultural assessment.

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This thesis has been an endurance event for my wife too. Charity, thank you so much for your support and patience; this research would not have happened without you. And lastly, to my two young children, Grace and Gabriel: I hope you have the inclination to read this one day and discover why Dad used to bristle with obvious discomfort when you nagged him to go to *Donald's*.

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Acronyms

ANZA	Association of New Zealand Advertisers
BMI	Body Mass Index
BOT	Board of Trustees
CACE	Center for the Analysis of Commercialism in Education, University of Wisconsin
CERU	Commercialism in Education Research Unit, Arizona State University
CRM	Cause Related Marketing
EAI	Educational Alternatives Inc.
EAZ	Education Action Zone
ECNZ	Electricity Corporation of New Zealand
EEC	European Economic Community
EMO	Education Management Organisation
EMS	Education Management Studies
ENZT	Enterprise New Zealand Trust
ESP	Enterprise Studies Programme
FOE	Fight the Obesity Epidemic
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
GE	Genetically Engineered
GST	Goods and Services Tax
HETTANZ	Home Economics and Technology Teachers Association of New Zealand
ICT	Information and Communications Technologies
IT	Information Technology
ITAG	Information Technology Advisory Group
NEA	National Education Association
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NZ	New Zealand
NZBCSD	New Zealand Business Council for Sustainable Development
NZBSR	New Zealand Businesses for Social Responsibility
NZCBESD	New Zealand Centre for Business Ethics and Sustainable Development
NZCER	New Zealand Council for Educational Research
NZQA	New Zealand Qualifications Authority
NZSTA	New Zealand School Trustees Association
OAC	Obesity Action Coalition
PE	Physical Education
PNZ	Partners New Zealand Trust
PPP	Public Private Partnership
PR	Public Relations
PrEP	Primary Enterprise Programme
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
SBN	Sustainable Business Network
SBR	School-Business Relationship
SCEC	Stop Commercial Exploitation of Children
SEM	Sponsored Educational Materials
SOE	State Owned Enterprise

STAR	Secondary Tertiary Alignment Resource
TES	Times Education Supplement
TLA	Territorial Local Authority
TOPs	Training Opportunities Programme
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture
YES	Young Enterprise Scheme

Chapter 1. Introduction

In the 1990s in New Zealand, a public literature emerged promoting, observing and foretelling school-businesses relationships, indicating that schools and businesses were moving towards or had indeed arrived at new contexts for association, and fresh thinking about the benefits of such relationships. This thesis explores school-business relationships in New Zealand from 1990, with reference to international practice. In exploring the practices of businesses and schools and the critical literature on school-business relationships, it concludes about effects on schools and students.

The thesis begins in this chapter by suggesting that New Zealand schools developed a high innovation/low critique approach to school-business relationships in the 1990s. The thesis then maps and synthesises the critical analysis and commentary on school-business relationships since 1990 and further explores two particular areas of theory that inform the thesis – a social constructionist view of childhood and critical pedagogy. The critical analysis and commentary also poses two key themes for further consideration: school business relationships as pedagogies of corporate power; and the corporatised school's compromised response to school-business relationships as corporate pedagogies. With these key themes in mind the thesis then critically analyses the three dominant public discourses of New Zealand school-business relationships in the 1990s, termed here – partnership for enterprise education, not-for-profit sector interventions, and school commercialism. The school-business relationship activities of donations, sponsorships, cause related marketing, partnership and sponsored educational materials are positioned within each of these discourses. These discourses are competing claims of school and business motives and practices and the thesis goes on to examine actual practice in New Zealand and elsewhere since 1990 drawing on the assumptions of these discourses. Evidence of practice suggests that for businesses, commercial goals drove their relationship aspirations rather than the objectives of human capital development and social responsibility; and that the marketised school restrained critical and ethical responses school-business relationships at the management/governance and classroom levels. A number of problems with the commercial objective and schools' responses are discussed.

The thesis includes a special focus on food. Food is a rich case study of school-business relationships. Firstly, there is heightened public interest in the links between food, food industry marketing practices, and the health and well-being of children and young people. Secondly, food spans the gamut of business commercial motives from marketing and sales to public relations directed at students and wider publics. New Zealand Schools' apparent heightened acceptance of in-school marketing by corporations and industries that supply foods of minimal nutritional value highlights the high stakes clash of ethics, pragmatism and entrepreneurialism that characterises the corporatised school.

The research study tests and extends the findings from the literature by exploring the motives and practices of New Zealand's largest companies and primary schools through surveys, and in the case of schools, interviews with principals, teachers, and BOT representatives. An analysis of selected food-related sponsored educational materials is also undertaken to further critically explore business motives and strategy. The thesis concludes about the key characteristics of school-business relationship practice in New Zealand primary schools and some thoughts about renewed principles for school action in this area.

The remainder of this chapter explores the case for examining school-business relationships in New Zealand from 1990.

Contexts for Change in School-Business Relationships Since 1990

The decentralisation of school administration with *Tomorrow's Schools* in 1989, backed up by the introduction of market competition through de-zoning in the early 1990s, created a number of structural challenges and opportunities for schools which were subsequently linked to school-business relationships. A key thrust of the reforms was the development of responsive and authentic relationships between a school and its community. *Tomorrow's Schools* mandated that a school's individual pursuit of national education goals be set by its local community through the development of a charter. Boards of Trustees comprised largely of elected parents and relevant community representatives assumed the governance of state primary and

secondary schools. The spirit of the reforms was that schools would access the diversity of community resources available to them including business resources.

Roll based funding combined with competition for students through the removal of school enrolment zones, placed financial pressure on schools at two levels: remaining financially viable in the face of capped, and to some degree, unpredictable annual central funding; and investing in school curriculum, atmosphere and image to maintain and enhance parent confidence when other school choices existed. In the 1990s local fundraising rose substantially and the popular press profiled schools that had turned to businesses for donations and sponsorships, or were participating in a growing number of cause related marketing programmes.

In the context of this research, a third relevant element of the shift to self management with *Tomorrow's Schools* was the elevation of entrepreneurial school leadership qualities and educational management and school effectiveness generally, as key influences on student outcomes (see for instance, Caldwell and Spinks, 1988). Commentators pondered and critiqued the evolving common language and orientation to leadership between schools and businesses. The exchange of expertise and support, particularly in the direction of business to schools, was positioned in the 1990s as a key context for school-business relationships – as important as enhanced curriculum delivery (Ministry of Education, 1993).

Moving on from school administration reforms, a second major theme in 1990s education policy with implications for the nature and status of school-business relationships, was central attempts to strengthen schools' responsiveness to labour market demand and economic imperatives generally. It was held that schools needed to produce graduates with the right mix of skills, knowledge and values to successfully participate in a post-Fordist labour market and contribute to New Zealand's international economic competitiveness in increasingly unsettled economic times. Although the political rhetoric in this area progressed in the decade from *enterprise culture* to *knowledge economy*, both narratives shared a concern that New Zealand's entrance into a post-industrial workplace was being hampered through an 'industrial model' of school education which was producing workers with skills and dispositions for a kind of workplace that was rapidly disappearing.

From the 1990s, governments promoted a range of *enterprise education* initiatives including efforts to get more businesses and schools working together to assist students to develop their future economic potential. Schools and teachers came under fire for being generally ignorant of business needs and promoting an anti-business bias in the curriculum (Kerr, 1993). A key component of enterprise education, and the school-business relationships that were anticipated to arise within this umbrella, was the development of pro-business attitudes and promotion of entrepreneurial personal and institutional traits (Enterprise New Zealand Trust, 1998).

In the 1990s New Zealand education was touched by the rising public policy interest in education privatisation – perhaps the ultimate school-business relationship – as a strategy to lift student outcomes (Barrington, 1996). Related closely to privatisation was the rise of the education industry as a business sector of actual and potential economic significance worldwide. For instance, in the USA the industry doubled in financial value during the 1990s (Sandler, 2002). Several high profile for-profit private education companies emerged in the USA and the UK including Educational Alternatives Inc and Edison Schools (USA) and Nord Anglia (UK). In 1999, representatives of Edison Schools visited New Zealand and were keen to explore opportunities to expand into New Zealand (personal conversation, Deborah McGriff, Edison Schools, 1999).

In the late 1990s a privatisation agenda of sorts was reinvigorated with the popularisation of public private partnerships (PPPs) within Third Way political rhetoric – particularly with the Blair Labour Government in the UK. The PPP model was used in the UK with Private Finance Initiatives [where businesses built and owned the physical school, but leased it back to the state for educational use], and Education Action Zones (EAZs) which saw businesses contribute financial and human resources to major school improvement projects (Fitz and Beers, 2002). In New Zealand in 2000, the government established a series of 'Digital Opportunity Pilots' providing ICT resources to four clusters of low decile schools. The pilots received investments from New Zealand's leading telecommunications and IT companies, and the three-way partnership between schools, government and business was lauded as progressive at the project launch (Clark and Mallard, 2001). The more 'pure' privatisation prospect of international for-profit educational providers gaining

a foothold in New Zealand public education was ignited in the early 2000s through the addition of education to New Zealand's agreement to the GATS – General Agreement on Trade in Services. It was feared this free trade in education services would give foreign providers equal treatment with New Zealand public schools including equal access to government funding (Codd, 2002).

Curriculum change through the 1990s provided the potential for more school-business relationships. In 1995 a new learning area *Technology* was introduced into the New Zealand national curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1995b). The Technology curriculum statement stressed students acquiring skills and knowledge to be able to 'solve practical problems of society' including those related to the economic/business needs of the nation. The document also explicitly mentioned *Community and Enterprise links* as 'important to a well developed, inclusive technology curriculum' (p. 17). More generally, enterprise education, although not recognised as a separate learning area, was increasingly supported by the government in the 1990s. This included the publication of a guide to partnerships between schools and businesses (Ministry of Education, 1993; 1999), and funding to Partners New Zealand Trust [an organisation set up to promote partnerships between schools and businesses on a regional basis] and Enterprise New Zealand Trust [a sponsored organisation providing a range of enterprise programmes in primary and secondary schools].

There were apparent changes in business too that appeared to be supporting a new era of productive school-business relationships. In the 1990s the emergence of a triple bottom line philosophy of corporate social responsibility argued that businesses must assess their profitability not only in financial terms but also through their environmental and social impacts and practices – hence a triple bottom line (New Zealand Businesses for Social Responsibility, 1998). There were signs that youth and education would be in the frame for businesses subscribing to triple bottom line social responsibility. For instance, in 2001 the New Zealand Business Council for Sustainable Development (NZBCSD) released a school-business relationships 'how-to guide' for businesses – *Successful Business and School Partnerships: Making a Difference for a Sustainable New Zealand* (New Zealand Business Council for Sustainable Development, 2001). This document cited education as critical to

achieving NZBCSD's vision of sustainable development through economic growth, environmental protection and social progress.

Evidence for More and Different School-Business Relationships?

The introductory sketch above proposes that in the 1990s there were some significant currents of change occurring or speculated to occur in schools, in terms of governance, desirable student outcomes, administration and curriculum, that established potential contexts for more school-business relationships. And the emergence of the triple bottom line corporate social responsibility paradigm provided a new justification for businesses to get involved with schools beyond reasons of improved productivity or commercial opportunity. During this time some bullish and provocative headlines began appearing in the business and general media, detailing cases of emerging 'cutting edge' or novel school-business relationships, and predictions of more to come. Critically, these articles suggested a new era of openness between schools and businesses. Two cover stories in New Zealand Marketing Magazine particularly stand out in this regard. The first had the cover headline of *Marketing at the Chalkface: Targeting Tomorrow's Schools* (Teutenberg, 1994), and an inside headline of *Schools – The New Marketing Medium?* The article's opening passage was evocative of New Zealand being on the cusp of a new school-business relationship settlement and schools responding with both suspicion and excitement:

> The trickle of business sponsorship and marketing in New Zealand classrooms is likely to become a flood, as underfunded schools and corporates with money to spend and products to market link hands. Some of the school "brides" are reluctant brides in what they see as a marriage of convenience, while others embrace school-business partnerships wholeheartedly.
> (p. 14)

The article profiled New Zealand against the USA where 'corporate sponsorship has been entrenched for many years' (p. 16) and suggested that 'The time is fast approaching when many of the activities happening overseas will hit New Zealand'

(ibid). Two schools that had been very successful in courting business sponsorship funding – Avondale College, with Pepsi, and Monrad Intermediate, with pharmaceuticals company Glaxo, were featured. Monrad Intermediate declared that it had '[broken] …out of the cake stall mentality' (p. 18), and the Avondale principal said that '[schools'] …options are only limited by the vision of those involved.' (p. 19).

In April 2002, New Zealand Marketing Magazine repeated this 'new times' theme with their second school-business relationships cover: *Schools for Sale. The Sacred Last Bastion of Unbranded Space?* (Gautier, 2002). The cover image was a headshot of a primary age child with the McDonald's 'golden arches' logo circling her head creating a branded halo. Again, the USA was the reference point and it was assessed that 'New Zealand remains a school sponsorship backwater…' (p. 12). However the article suggested that the New Zealand attitude to school-business relationships was maturing and that because of our late emergence we were in a position to avoid the pitfalls of 'rampantly commercial' (ibid) overseas relationships. A number of large New Zealand companies with comprehensive programmes in schools were profiled and they expressed high levels of satisfaction with their relationships. Schools in the article generally felt they were managing their relationships well with one declaring that 'pragmatism and principles can sit comfortably together when using branded materials.' (p. 13). In 1999 the New Zealand School Trustees Association (NZSTA) in conjunction with the Association of New Zealand Advertisers (ANZA) released a set of good practice guidelines for school decision-making around sponsored educational materials and activities (New Zealand School Trustees Association, 1999). This step acknowledged the increasing commonness of businesses and schools establishing relationships and the subsequent need to help schools navigate the opportunities and risks.

Some schools with financially substantial, *cutting edge* or downright unusual relationships with businesses attained a strong public profile in the 1990s. The naming rights sponsorship of Bairds Primary School by national freight transport company Mainfreight Ltd was particularly notable in this regard[1] and became the

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[1] When discussing this thesis research with teachers, other educators, and the general public, Bairds Mainfreight Primary School would often be spontaneously mentioned.

new high tide mark for business sponsorship here, and perhaps internationally. In 1995 it was reported that an entrepreneur had signed up 21 Auckland secondary schools to carry advertising inside what he termed the 'wasted space' of their toilets. His advertisers included hair care and snack food companies, and he matched school's demographic features with his clients' target markets (Sunday Star Times, 1995). In 2001, APN Educational Media introduced *Jazzy Books*, free exercise books to primary and secondary schools with sponsored covers and 'appropriate advertisements from reputable companies, charities and government agencies' *inside* the books (APN Educational Media (NZ), 2001). By 2002, about half of New Zealand's schools had joined the programme and were receiving new sponsored exercise books each term (Gautier, 2002). If school toilets and the inside of exercise books seemed unusual places for business advertising to students, the National Bank sponsorship of New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) exams was perhaps the most audacious example of education sponsorship anywhere in the world in the 1990s. In 1993, the National Bank received advertising space on national exam papers as part of its $140,000 sponsorship of student scholarships. This advertising was more than a subtle logo – the National Bank had a message for students sitting down to their exams:

> There will always be those who stand out. They achieve more. Succeed where others fail. They try just that bit harder. We find people who think like that, usually get together.
> (Morrison, 1993, p. 6)

Not all media attention of cutting edge school-business relationships reported success. In 1999 the principal at Bayswater School in Auckland failed in his attempt to get businesses to take out naming rights sponsorships on classrooms and other school space. His bid was featured on the Television New Zealand current affairs *Holmes Show*, and the general public outcry saw him back down (Gautier, 2002).

New Zealand: Backwater or at the Forefront?

Local media reports of school-business relationships, many with reference to financially substantial school-business relationships in the USA, tended to assess New Zealand schools as cautious latecomers to a new era of school-business

relationship opportunities. However they also noted that schools faced with financial pressures and parent choice were becoming more pragmatic and even excited about working with businesses. Indeed, some especially plucky risk-taking principals were prepared to get seriously involved with businesses in these new times (Gautier, 2002; National Business Review, 1996; Phare, 1994; Teutenberg, 1994). There is some evidence that New Zealand schools moved further forward in international comparative terms than is commonly accepted. Firstly, throughout this research I was unable to find any international precedent to the naming rights sponsorship of Bairds Mainfreight Primary School or corporate advertising on national, publicly funded, exam papers. In fact, when mentioning the Bairds/Mainfreight sponsorship arrangement to a staff member at the American Center for Commercial Free Public Education, she responded 'Things aren't that bad here yet, but they're heading that way.' (personal conversation, 1998). Bayswater School's aborted attempt to sign up corporate classroom sponsors was profiled as an extreme example of school commercialism in a roundup of international commercial engagements:

> **One of the most extreme examples of school commercialism** was reported by The Daily News of New Plymouth, New Zealand. According to its June 18, 1999, story, an Auckland school planned to sell naming rights to each of its six classrooms for $3,000 per year. For $15,000 a sponsor could buy the rights to the school's name, and all sponsors would be guaranteed product exclusivity and advertising rights at school events and in school publications.
> (Molnar, 1999, emphasis added, unnumbered)

Secondly, many New Zealand school-business relationships kept pace with international trends insomuch as we received international imports [sometimes adapted] of school-business relationship programmes throughout the 1990s. Examples include Jazzy Books (UK), the Pizza Hut BOOKIT! Reading programme (USA), the tobacco industry sponsored *I've Got The Power* social studies curriculum resources (Australia), and the *Apples for Students* cause related marketing programme (USA). The breakthrough of the Internet as an information tool literally created a world wide audience for web-based sponsored educational materials and has contributed to this internationalisation of school-business relationships [see Chapter 6].

A third element that brings into doubt New Zealand's status as a backwater of school-business relationships is the rise of entrepreneurial school leadership since 1990. Commentators noted that New Zealand schools had broken new ground to enlarge and diversify their funding sources, opening for-profit operations, scouting internationally for foreign fee paying students and entering into commercial relationships with enterprises (Gordon, 1997). Boards of Trustees became more business-like, some placing job advertisements for 'school managers', engaging sponsorship managers in paid and unpaid positions, and using their co-option powers to draw in fundraising and public relations expertise [see Chapter 5].

So while New Zealand may have lacked some of the financially enormous school-business relationships operating in the USA and elsewhere in the 1990s, it is difficult to argue at this point that New Zealand schools were not breaking new ground, let alone keeping pace with overseas trends and some programmes. Although individual New Zealand schools did not have the collective sponsorship appeal of say a USA school district or a UK Local Education Authority, businesses like Telecom, the National Bank, APN Educational Media and McDonald's were working nationally, and single schools were relatively free to go out and forge their own cutting edge relationships with business.

However, it is not entirely clear from these sources how school-business relationships actually took shape across New Zealand since 1990 and what the effects were, despite apparent government support and school enthusiasm. It is problematic to extrapolate extreme examples of school-business relationships as proxies for general behaviour. Were the practices of these businesses and schools semi-representative of the whole or the wild exceptions? In addition to the lack of detail about the national school-business relationship effort since 1990, Chapter 2 shows that while New Zealand schools were apparently breaking new ground nationally and internationally in school-business relationships, critical educational analysis of these relationships remained a largely non-New Zealand endeavour.

Research Questions and Method

This thesis undertakes a broad exploration of key characteristics of school-business relationships in New Zealand since 1990, including a close examination of school-business relationships as a social practice in primary schools. It examines the types of relationships occurring over this time with close attention to the cultural and structural environments, motives and practices of businesses and schools. The key research questions are:

1. What kinds of relationships occurred between businesses and schools from 1990?

2. What were the business and school environments that influenced school-business relationships from 1990?

3. What were the philosophies, motives and processes of schools and businesses undertaking school-businesses relationships from 1990?

4. What were the actual and potential contemporary and future educational outcomes [encompassing students, schools and the school network] of the relationships between businesses and schools from 1990?

And specifically in relation to food:

5. What kinds of school-business relationships were offered by the food industry and used by New Zealand schools from 1990, and what were the key characteristics of these relationships relating to questions 1-3 above?

Research methods used to address these research questions are:

- a review of the national and international literature using technical and non technical sources[2];

- a mail survey of New Zealand's largest and most successful businesses;

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[2] Technical literature includes the research studies, and theoretical or philosophical papers associated with a profession of discipline; and non-technical literature consists of the everyday literature of a research area such as videotapes, newspaper articles, business reports and letters (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Use of non-technical literature was particularly appropriate for this thesis as some evidence for business motive and strategy associated with school-business relationships was not articulated strongly in the technical literature.

- a mail survey of the primary schools within the Wellington region and some surrounding districts;
- interviews with teachers, principals and Board of Trustees representatives from five primary schools;
- an analysis of selected food-related sponsored educational materials and related items.

Thesis Structure

This section describes how the thesis chapter structure supports the exploration of the research questions above.

Chapter 2. Mapping the Critical Analysis and Commentary on School-Business Relationships Since 1990

Chapter 2 examines and synthesises four approaches to the critical analysis and commentary surrounding school-business relationships since 1990. These approaches are termed school commercialisation, policy, corporate pedagogy/culture and anti-corporate. Two key problems emerge from this collective literature: school business relationships as a manifestation of increasing corporate power over people's identities of citizen, worker and consumer; and the contemporary corporatised school's compromised status as a site of critical and ethical reflection and resistance to school-business relationships as corporate pedagogies, and corporate power generally. The second part of this chapter presents two areas of theory that inform my exploration of the two key problems – a social constructionist view of childhood and critical pedagogy. A social constructionist view of childhood links school-business relationships as corporate pedagogies to changes and continuities in contemporary narratives of childhood. Secondly, given increasing corporate influence in childhood identity construction, critical pedagogy emphasises critique of the ideologies underpinning this meaning making, and implicates the school in a philosophy of resistance and transformation.

Chapter 3. Exploring Prominent Discourses of School-Business Relationships in New Zealand from 1990

This section proposes that in the 1990s there were three prominent public discourses constructing school and business motives and practice around school-business relationships. The chapter defines and critiques each of these with reference to the problems of corporate pedagogies and corporatised schools. The first of these discourses – school-business relationships as partnerships for enterprise education, promoted a human capital development rationale. Here schools and businesses would work together in partnership towards the common goal of lifting New Zealand's labour market performance to better meet the needs of a knowledge economy and enterprise culture. The second discourse – school-business relationships as business not-for-profit sector interventions, constructed schools as targets for businesses interested in developing engagements with non-for-profit groups to further strategic commercial objectives, and occasionally social and human resource objectives. The third – school-business relationships as school commercialism critically assessed school-business relationships as business strategies to further sales, marketing and public relations objectives to the detriment of students and a social and democratic education mission. The last part of the chapter discusses the key school-business relationship activities covered in this thesis: donations, sponsorships, cause related marketing, partnership, and sponsored educational materials, with reference to these discourses.

Chapter 4. The 'Supply-side' of School-Business Relationships since 1990: Corporate Pedagogies and Power

This chapter assesses the discursive practices and behaviours of businesses in relation to the three discourses above. It explores the case for business as an educator through commercial objectives, social objectives and human capital objectives. It concludes that businesses, through school-business relationships from 1990, pursued complex commercial agendas, integrating marketing and public relations strategies to appeal to diverse audiences. However, narratives of enterprise education and social responsibility were often invoked as a strategy of image marketing which legitimised these activities in schools and positioned schools and students as symbols of positive corporate behaviour. A number of problems with these business behaviours and semiotic tactics are discussed.

Chapter 5. The 'Demand-Side' of School-Business Relationships since 1990: The Corporatised School

This chapter assesses the approaches of New Zealand schools to school-business relationships given the findings for business motives and behaviour in the previous chapter. Chapter 2 suggested that school-business relationships should be analysed in the context of the corporatised school, and this chapter explores key features of the marketisation of New Zealand education since 1989 and how this constructed and ultimately restricted critical and ethical responses to school-business relationships. The structural and cultural features of marketisation considered are: funding and competition; consumer choice and school image; marketised relations and democratic community deliberation; managerialism; and knowledge, curriculum, and teaching. It is argued that the consumer/provider paradigm of marketised schools is potentially highly problematic to critical and ethical engagement with school-business relationships at the classroom/student, school leadership, and school/community levels.

Chapter 6. The Case of Food School-Business Relationships Since 1990

This chapter defines the dimensions of food as a special focus in this thesis. The recent international scrutiny of the food industry's relationship to schools in the context of heightened concern over childhood obesity is explored. It is shown that food is a dominant industry in school-business relationships in New Zealand and internationally, and this education presence is multi-faceted. The school and food industry relationship is assessed in the critical context of corporate pedagogies in corporatised schools. The second part of the chapter extends this examination of the case of food by presenting an analysis of food-related sponsored educational materials and related corporate items accessible by children inside and outside of school.

Chapter 7. Research Methods: Business and School Surveys, School Interviews

Chapter 7 introduces the remaining research methods used to investigate school-business relationships in New Zealand and address the key research questions. It includes a discussion of the evolving methodological approach of this thesis as the research expanded from an MA thesis to a PhD. An explanation is provided for the

selection of each method, its links to the research questions, and the advantages and limits of these methods.

Chapter 8. Research Findings from the Business and School Surveys and School Interviews

This chapter presents the key findings of the business and school surveys and school interviews. The chapter begins by exploring general characteristics of business and school behaviour including levels and types of participation, financial characteristics, and motives. The second part looks at school-business relationships as a social practice in schools and examines how teachers, principals and Board of Trustees representatives construct, adopt, adapt and resist these relationships.

Chapter 9. Conclusion

This final chapter summarises the thesis and its conclusions in relation to the key research questions. It looks at the environments of schools and businesses shaping their actions, key characteristics of school-business relationship practice in New Zealand from 1990, and the education effects of these practices. It closes by suggesting some future research directions that could inform a critical re-conceptualisation of school-business relationships as corporate pedagogies.

Chapter 2. Mapping the Critical Analysis and Commentary on School-Business Relationships since 1990

Introduction

This chapter explores four approaches to the analysis of school-business relationships from 1990 and draws out some theory that is particularly informing of my analysis of school-business relationships throughout the thesis. The chapter is in two sections. The first section analyses the four key critical approaches, labelled:

- school commercialisation
- policy
- corporate pedagogy/culture
- anti-corporate.

The second section follows on from these critical approaches with comment on their contribution to an integrated analysis of school-business relationships, and discusses two particular areas of theoretical focus guiding critique in this thesis – a social constructionist theory of childhood, and critical theory and pedagogy.

Mapping Theory

School-business relationships as a discrete endeavour of critical commentary yielded a relatively small but growing international literature from 1990 to 2004. Critics from the academic disciplines of critical educational sociology and cultural and media studies, along with anti-corporate activist-authors, pondered and challenged these activities within broader critiques of the purposes and contemporary behaviours of schools and businesses. The first of these critical approaches to school-business relationships positions them as a component of school commercialisation. The second examines school-business relationships within a state-led policy context of marketisation. The third assesses them as a corporate pedagogy or cultural practice, and part of an expanding corporate influence on childhood identity and the cultural

practices and aims of schools. The fourth critique, led by activist-authors, discusses school-business relationships within a broad attack on corporate power in contemporary social and economic life.

These critiques are presented here as four discrete approaches to considering the issues of school-business relationships, with a view to building an integrated and comprehensive approach to further analysis. In reality, there is much sympathy and borrowing of data and theory across each approach. Some authors are hard to characterise within a single critical approach. Where there are important differences these are noted. In the second part of the chapter, which explores childhood as a social construction and the importance of critical theory and pedagogy, some positions within these approaches are revisited. It should be noted that the literature used in this chapter is mostly drawn from international sources.

School Commercialisation Critiques

School commercialisation critical analysis and commentary assesses school-business relationships as fundamentally anti-learning. Learning, and the potential of schooling, is linked to the ideals of social justice and critical democratic citizenship. School-business relationships corrupt these ideals because commercial business objectives engineer student opinion to industry perspectives, diminish opportunity for the development of critical thinking in students, and instil in students the privatised values of consumption and individualism over citizenship and democratic values. Schools end up training compliant consumers and non-critical citizens – the antithesis of the democratic education project. These negative effects arise because the pursuit of profits by businesses is fundamentally incompatible with the development of critical skills and the provision of objective information through education:

> The basic skills and common body of knowledge we believe every child should have cannot be allowed to succumb to a cacophony of commercials and blatant corporate propaganda. Unfortunately, when the market perverts educational values, it is only doing what markets are supposed to do – providing opportunities for self-interested individuals to profit.
> (Molnar, 1996, p. 183)

And:

> In the final analysis, the problem with letting business interests shape our country's educational agenda isn't just their lack of knowledge about the nuances of pedagogy. The problem is with their ultimate objectives. Corporations in our economic system exist to provide a financial return to the people who own them: they are in business to make a profit.... Thus when business thinks about schools, its agenda is driven by what will maximise its profitability, not necessarily by what is in the best interests of students. Any overlap between these two goals would be purely accidental – and, in practice turns out to be minimal.
> (Kohn, 2002b, p. 7)

School-commercialisation critics scrutinise school-business relationships with three interrelated business commercial objectives in focus: sales, marketing and public relations (see for example, Consumers Union Education Services, 1995). Sales and marketing efforts 'teach' the unproblematic acceptance of consumption and values of individualism and competition. Public relations strategies are perhaps the most problematic because schools' very role of education is captured to fulfil a corporate rather than educative agenda. The Consumers Union of the United States found that nearly 80% of the 77 sets of sponsored educational materials it analysed contained '...biased or incomplete information, promoting a viewpoint that favours consumption of the sponsor's product or service or a position that favours the company or its economic agenda. A few contained significant inaccuracies.' (p. 13). Students are considered particularly vulnerable to being manipulated by corporate bias because they are 'captured' in schools, where trust in the credibility of teachers and the knowledge they impart is high (Molnar, 1998). They lack the critical capacities of an older person, making them more likely to accept the biased messages permeating these lessons and relationships (Harty, 1994).

Beyond corporate bias, and the valorisation and promotion of consumption values, school commercialisation critics are deeply concerned with the compromised learning that results when businesses enter the schooling arena with a commercial mission. Key concerns are:

- the poor overall educational quality of sponsored educational materials and curriculum-related activities, including superficiality and tawdriness (Hoynes, 1997; Molnar, 1996);

- the unhealthy products associated with school-business relationships, particularly foods of minimal nutritional value – junk food (Brand and Greenberg, 1994; Molnar, 2003c);

- the dubious ethics of schools allowing the commercial exchange of students' personal information to businesses for marketing purposes (Geary, 1999; Molnar and Reaves, 2001, p. 13);

- the higher uptake of commercial and educationally problematic relationships by schools serving poor students (Breault, 2005; Molnar, 2003a; Morgan, 1993);

- the extreme and time-consuming efforts that some schools have to go to, to reap even modest financial benefits from certain school-business relationships (Boyles, 2005; Molnar, 1996);

- schools entering into financially modest relationships and not being aware of the commercial business returns from these relationships, and consequently being exploited by sponsors and marketers (Fogarty, 2003, p. 10);

- given quality concerns, the financial and educational opportunity costs of using learning time to advance the commercial goals of businesses (Sawicky and Molnar, 1998).

School commercialisation critics document the rising incidence of commercial school-business relationships, and the increasing diversity of approaches that businesses undertake to reach students as consumers in schools (Consumers Union Education Services, 1995; Harty, 1979, 1994; Kohn and Shannon, 2002; Molnar, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2002, 2003a; Molnar and Morales, 2000; Molnar and Reaves, 2001; Pasnik, 1997). A cornerstone resource for evidence of rising and diverse commercial school-business relationships is the ongoing work of Professor Alex Molnar – Director of the Commercialism in Education Research Unit (CERU) at

Arizona State University[3]. In 1998 Molnar authored the first of a now annual report on the incidences of USA commercial school-business relationship activities in the areas of sponsorship, exclusive agreements, incentive programmes, appropriation of space, sponsored educational materials, electronic marketing [for instance school TV broadcasts with advertising], privatisation, and fundraising. Press citations from each of the popular press, education press, business press and advertising/marketing press are searched annually for the total references to commercial relationships, thereby providing a quantitative indicator of yearly change in the penetration of these activities since 1990 (Molnar, 1998). Although press citations can only be a proxy indicator for school-business relationship growth, the spectacular increase in the reporting of these activities since 1990 suggests real growth. From 1990 to 2002/03 press citations for all commercialising activities increased 500% from 991 to 5264. Privatisation and sponsored activities are the biggest categories and categories showing major growth to 2002/03 were exclusive agreements, appropriation of space and sponsored educational materials (Molnar, 2003a).

This growth of school-business relationships is seen as an outcome of rising educational costs, shrinking public funding for education, and a withering state commitment to public education generally (Molnar, 2003a; Morgan, 1993). So these critiques also look at other ways education provision and funding has shifted from a public to private concern including the areas of privatisation, voucher programmes and charter schools (Kohn and Shannon, 2002; Molnar, 1996).

To combat the commercialisation agenda, and to push for the preservation of schools as commercial-free spheres, school commercialisation critics work with parents, educators, policy makers and other interested groups in efforts to throw out or regulate schools' commercial relationships with businesses. For instance, in the USA in 1990s the Center for Commercial-Free Public Education provided support and disseminated advice and guidelines to schools and communities grappling with this issue (Center for Commercial-Free Public Education, Undated).

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[3] The work of CERU was formally undertaken by Alex Molnar at the Center for the Analysis of Commercialism in Education (CACE) at University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Policy Critiques

Policy-centred critical analysis and commentary examines school-business relationships through the lens of national or regional education reform efforts. These critics reference school-business relationships to fundamental shifts in the school/state relationship in the 1980s and 1990s in many Western nations. They argue that the recasting of the school as an economic and competitive unit in a market place of consumer choice, turned decisions, such as school-business relationship decisions, into rational, and sometimes urgent, economic choices – not the ethical ones they should be. Two elements of state reform are germane to the policy critique of school-business relationships: changing relationships between school and state through marketisation – the policies of self-management, school competition and choice; and privatisation.

New Zealand led the world in terms of the swiftness and the extent of its decentralisation and marketisation of education with the introduction of *Tomorrow's Schools* in 1989, and dezoning shortly afterwards. Reform of education was part of a wider fundamental shift by government from a welfare state model of service provision to one characterised by market principles (Olssen and Morris Matthews, 1997). By the mid 1990s New Zealand's education reforms along with other aspects of its public sector reform programme had assumed the status of a working experiment of pure neo-liberal structural adjustment for other nations to research for their own policy interests (Fiske and Ladd, 2000; Kelsey, 1997). Commentators on the marketisation of education argue that these changes embedded and legitimised a [flawed] assumption that school efficiencies, excellence and equity would accrue through school responses to the preferences of parents empowered with decision making roles and school choice. Research from this period suggests that the market model failed to raise standards or decrease inequality, and in some cases the opposite effects were apparent or held to be emerging (Gordon, 1994, 1997; Hughes et al., 1996; Lauder et al., 1995).

Marketisation elevated managerialism in schools, creating a rationale for school-business relationships. Managerialism suggests that the best scientific management methods can add the same kind of value to student outcomes that they have to manufacturing outputs, if similarly applied in schools' curriculum delivery,

assessment and general management (Grace, 1997; McKenzie, 1997). This assumption leads to schools and school systems logically having a great deal to learn from businesses in successfully operating their enterprise, and even developing curricula and assessment practices. (Block, 2005; Kaplan, 2000; Moffett, 1994; Tanner, 2000). This is refuted by school reform critics at two levels. Firstly they note, that in matters of education, corporations' education preferences and reform proposals are often conservative and simplistic. Issues include a lack of understanding of the social and cultural context in which schools and their students' families operate [and the subsequent promotion of simplistic solutions], their preferential interest in the economic goals of education, and their motivation to cut the public cost [read *tax burden*] of public education. So there is a lack of credibility here to work effectively with educators. More importantly than the lack of good ideas for education from business, is the erroneous assumption that a business *model* including its market logic will work for schools, which have a complex cultural and social mission beyond short-term efficiency of outputs.

Managerialism in education contained equal measures of pragmatism and entrepreneurialism. Therefore schools solicited school-business relationships to: ameliorate the uncertainties of central funding in conditions of roll fluctuation or decline; meet the sometimes significant costs of enhancing school image to attract parents; and also because it was the culturally sensible thing to do. Schools working for cash to expand or enhance image at both ends of this financial risk spectrum were seen as susceptible to non-ethical, non-critical, and non-democratic decision-making in their dealings with business (Gordon, 1997, 1999; Robertson, 1999).

The policy logic of marketisation is a short step from privatisation because it shares with privatisation an antagonism to state monopoly provision in education (see Treasury, 1987). Fitz and Beers (2002) define privatisation in a policy context as:

> ...a process that occurs in many modes but in one form or another it involves the transfer of public money or assets from the public domain to the private sector. It also includes the provision of services by private corporations, enterprises, and institutions that were once provided by the public sector.
> (p. 139)

So although privatisation tends to conjure up the sale of state assets [which occurred in other sectors of New Zealand's public service but not come to pass in education in the 1980s and 1990s], authors note that it actually covers a raft of policy initiatives that transfer costs and responsibilities in education to private interests. The school-business relationships of sponsorship and partnership were frequently cited as examples of privatisation in the New Zealand and international literature (Barrington, 1996; Fitz and Beers, 2002; Gordon, 1999; Levin and Belfield, 2003; Peters, 1997).

Critics of privatisation initiatives, like those of marketisation reforms, dispute these claims of efficiency and effectiveness through private provision and choice. One context for this debate with resonance for all schools working with businesses on school change, was the underwhelming performance of for-profit education management organisations (EMOs) and regular businesses drawn into education to provide fresh solutions to education problems (Fitz and Beers, 2002; Fletcher-Campbell, 2002; Miner, 2002; Sudetic, 2001). However government favourability towards the private sector in education was rejuvenated in the late 1990s through *Third Way* social democratic political theory in education, particularly in the United Kingdom with public-private partnerships around school financing, and school reform initiatives (Barber, 2001). In the late 1990s there were a number of critical evaluations of the business contribution to the UK's Education Action Zones (EAZs) on both financial and educational measures of effectiveness (Dickson et al., 2001; Hallgarten and Watling, 2001; Riley et al., 1998).

Corporate Pedagogy/Culture Critiques

Corporate pedagogy/culture critics frame their analysis of school-business relationships in a context of relations of power within the social institution of schooling, and analyse the ways corporate power is assembled and deployed within schools. Corporate power shapes the fundamental everyday reality of the corporatised school by framing the conscious *and* unconscious actions of teachers, school leaders, parents and students within a discourse of the competitive market. So in the context of school-business relationships, not only are the desires and actions of business critically deconstructed, but so too are the ways a pervasive corporate culture has shaped and constrained school responses to school-business relationships. Critics of

corporate power and its pedagogies urge schools to undertake a critical and transforming role in [radical] democracy, the pursuit of equality and social justice, the development of critical citizens and consumers, and the modelling and strengthening of public spheres[4].

Corporate pedagogy/culture critics suggest that schools are operating in a sustained period of conservative hegemony. For instance, Michael Apple's writing in the 1990s plotted school-business relationships as one manifestation of a 'hegemonic alliance' of the conservative forces of neo-liberalism [an economic agenda of less government, the primacy of the self-interested consumer, and market relations to direct all spheres of human activity], neo-conservatism [a social agenda of moral conservatism], authoritarian populists [the Christian Right], and elements of the professional new middle class [those citizens that provide the technical and professional human capital to decisions that reinforce conservative conditions for schools and other social institutions] (Apple, 1996, 1998, 2001). This 'conservative restoration' makes school-business relationships common-sense, urgent and advantageous. They fit comfortably within neo-liberal assertions of the superiority of non-government over government interventions. They are depoliticised through the discourses of pragmatism and entrepreneurialism as schools and students are recast as education market-places and consumers respectively. They also arise through a panic over the quality of public education, which ranges in scope from morally conservative positions about curriculum content, to economic fears of a declining stock of human capital – often relative to other countries (Wilson, 2005). Panic creates conservative reform measures and a society of nervous decision-making parents. Within this alignment of conservative despair, and market faith, the capacity of schools to facilitate students developing the skills to critique and transform unequal social relations, and trace school-business relationships to corporate cultural power, is viewed by Apple and others to be distracted and limited.

Other authors focusing more directly on school-business relationships discuss the 'corporatisation' of schools or the creep of corporate culture in education (Giroux, 2000, 2002; Saltman, 2000; Saltman and Gabbard, 2003). Here corporatisation is the

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[4] Giroux (2003) describes public spheres as '…those public spaces that offer forums for debating norms, critically engaging ideas, making private issues public, and evaluating judgements…'

transformation of schools into both the image and servant of the economic corporation, which diminishes the role of school as a critical public sphere. Examples of corporatisation in education include:

- prescribed, compartmentalised, and standardised curriculum and assessment regimes, divorced from the lived experiences and social, cultural and economic contexts and needs of students and school communities;
- the de-professionalisation of teachers, and the surveillance and reward of them as transmitters of information to student consumers rather than a construction of them as 'cultural workers' 'public intellectuals' or agents of 'critical transivity' who critically select and introduce knowledge and empower students to develop their self-awareness and critical and compassionate capacities;
- the elevation of the economic goals of education at the expense of the social mission of schooling;
- the adoption by schools of the language, culture and methods of corporate management, and business production processes;
- the primacy of individual 'consumer' interests over the concerns of social justice and equality;
- general cynicism towards the notion of schools as vital public spheres where authentic issues are presented and debated, and the potential for social transformation exists.

(Boyles, 2000, 2005; Giroux, 2000, 2003)

In the 1980s and 1990s with the spread of neo-liberalism and its laissez-faire structural prescriptions for economic growth, critics also situated school-business relationships within the political narrative and cultural project of *enterprise culture*. Enterprise culture was positioned by business interests and government as the 'ideal society' of economic liberalism in Western industrial nations. For an enterprise culture to be realised, citizens would need to embody the values, knowledge and

(p. xviii).

skills necessary for an enterprising life. Public institutions, functioning along commercial lines, would nurture this development – especially in the case of schools. Schools would also enhance rather than impede the enterprising impulses of citizens by employing their own enterprising behaviours (Keat and Abercrombie, 1991). Because enterprise culture required a population that abandoned the Socialist values of the Keynesian welfare state for entrepreneurial values, including initiative, energy, independence, boldness, self-reliance, and a willingness to take risks (Keat and Abercrombie, 1991) school-business relationships had to work at two levels – transforming the identities of school institutions *and* students. Critics have argued that enterprise education – the servant of enterprise culture – subordinates the social goals of education to economic goals and corporate agendas (Braithwaite, 1995), and diminishes a social democratic discourse of equality of opportunity and inequality (Peters, 2001). As a meta narrative[5], it reconstructs students as neo-liberal autonomous subjects. These subjects actually do not have free choice because, firstly their choices in education are literally narrowed by the removal of some options seen to have low economic utility, and secondly, their beliefs, dispositions, and ultimately choices are steered through constant cultural reinforcement of the need to acquire the appropriate skills, knowledge and values to become the enterprising subject (Marshall, 1997; Olssen and Morris Matthews, 1997; Peters, 1992).

Some authors observing and researching relationships between schools and corporate culture in the 1990s, centralised their analysis on the changing social worlds of childhood and adolescence (Buckingham, 2000; Cannella and Kincheloe, 2002; Giroux, 2000; Kenway and Bullen, 2001; Steinberg and Kincheloe, 1997). In asserting that childhood and adolescence are social constructions influenced by cultural, political, economic and social forces, their attention was drawn to the far-reaching ways children and young people's identities are currently constructed through the private interests of capital, especially through the media forms of entertainment and advertising, and popular culture generally. Within this conception of learning as the cultural practice of identity construction, school-business relationships can be articulated and critiqued as a corporate pedagogy. For example,

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[5] The meta-narrative of enterprise culture is defined in this case by Peters (2001) as '...a totalising and unifying story about the prospect of economic growth and development based on the triumvirate of science, technology and education.' (p. 65).

Giroux (1994) provides a definition of pedagogy which takes learning into the diverse spaces of childhood, including commercialised popular culture:

> For years I believed that pedagogy was a discipline developed around the narrow imperatives of public schooling. And yet, my identity has been largely fashioned outside of school. Films, books, journals, videos, and music in different and significant ways did more to shape my politics and life than did my formal education, which always seemed to be about somebody else's dreams.... I no longer believe that pedagogy is a discipline. On the contrary, I have argued for the last few years that pedagogy is about the creation of a public sphere, one that brings people together in a variety of sites to talk, exchange information, listen, feel their desires, and expand their capacities for joy, love, solidarity and struggle.
> (p. x)

A reading of children's relationships with corporations as cultural and identity-forming creates two challenging issues for schools in their dealings with school-business relationships. On the one hand schools' traditional practice is to spurn children's commercialised popular culture outright as anti-education. This approach is obviously far removed from a critical and engaged exploration of popular culture as a powerful pedagogy, or consideration of children as agents in their dealings with popular culture. In contemporary times this only serves to 'other' schools from childhood concerns:

> Children's access to the adult world via the electronic media of hyperreality has subverted contemporary children's consciousness of themselves as incompetent and dependent entities. Such a self perception does not mix well with institutions such as the traditional family or the authoritarian school, institutions both grounded in a view of children as incapable of making decisions for themselves.
> (Steinberg and Kincheloe, 1997, p. 17)

However the increasing influence of children's commercially-driven popular culture on values, knowledge and relationships asks schools to examine school-business relationships as an exercise of corporate power. Here consideration of school-business relationships shifts beyond a critique of the commercial motives of sales, marketing and public relations to an analysis of the ideology and power manifest in these materials and activities, and the kinds of values ultimately furthered in these cultural texts (Giroux, 1999; Saltman, 2000). In question is whether the

contemporary corporatised school is capable of acknowledging and critiquing corporate pedagogies and developing pedagogies of resistance without turning children off school [see Chapter 5].

Anti-Corporate Critiques

In the 1990s there was a steady, and at times high profile [for instance Naomi Klein's *No Logo* (Klein, 2000)], literature critically assessing the power and behaviours of corporations, and their impacts on society, the economy, political processes, cultures, and the natural environment. These accounts were sometimes represented within critiques of nation state responses to economic globalisation, and a withering of the state's role in economic and social spheres. School-business relationships were often cited as examples of increasing corporate power over democratic institutions, or as avenues for dubious corporate marketing and public relations practices. So of relevance to school-business relationships in New Zealand are three elements of the anti-corporate critique: the increasing power of large, often transnational corporations relative to the nation state, including their reach into traditionally 'corporate free' public and private domains; corporate behaviour; and the marketing and public relations practices of corporations, especially as they intersect with children and schools.

Government responses to economic globalisation have increased the functioning, wealth, freedom to operate, and relative power of transnational enterprises – those corporations that operate across national borders, and those more recently that have separated their production functions over a range of nations (Kelsey, 1999). Key concerns around the operations and growing power of transnational enterprises include:

- evasion of the regulatory parameters of a single governing nation state [including the power to shift operations elsewhere if nation-state constraints become problematic];
- exploitation of natural resources;
- political influence and the capacity to restrain states' options to act against them;

- conditions for workers;

- destabilising effects on small national businesses, local jobs and communities;

- potential negative impacts on national economies through swift changes in global production and investment;

- tax minimisation and avoidance;

- control of privatised former state assets;

- monopolistic control over certain industries – software, media, and information being three central examples; and

- international cultural colonisation, [for instance Barber (2002)].

(Kelsey, 1999, pp. 161-199)

The book titles of corporate globalisation critics reveal a core concern with growing corporate power in public domains and private lives relative to the nation state and its democratic mission: *When Corporations Rule the World* (Korten, 1995), *Captive State: The Corporate Takeover of Britain* (Monbiot, 2000), and *The Silent Takeover: Global Capitalism and the Death of Democracy* (Hertz, 2001). As corporations assume more ownership and influence over various public spheres, democratic control mechanisms are weakened or removed, and are replaced by economic organisational decisions arising from a desire to maximise shareholder wealth. Therefore as transnationals grow in size and global reach they assume more and more political power over aspects of peoples' lives including their access to and experiences of learning (Monbiot, 2000).

Anti-corporate critics either directly or by implication also address contemporary consumer society – giving more prominence to this underlying concern of school commercialisation and corporate pedagogy/culture critics. Consumption rather than production is now the dominant factor of successful capitalism, and according to Holt and Schor (2000) three central issues with consumer society have emerged – inequality, commodification, and globalisation. Businesses are integral to each of these. As social groups have become more defined by their consumption rather than their productive capacity, consumption has come to define social status – the haves

and the have nots. Corporations seek to control both the production and fulfilment of consumer desires and in the process define, structure and reproduce social conditions and social inequalities. Commodification sees the introduction of previously non-commercial goods and services into the commodity form and market relations. A variety of social relations and collectivist activities now become consumable, fundamentally changing our perceptions of responsibility to others. Globalisation as a political project advances consumption and a consumer culture by enabling the free flow of goods, including cultural goods, to international markets. Anti-globalisation critics challenge the desirability of this state by critiquing globalisation on its environmental, social and cultural consequences as well as its economic impact.

During the 1990s, authors, activists, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), and some academics monitored and publicly exposed the poor behaviours, operations and products of powerful industries and individual enterprises considered to be contributing detrimentally to labour, society, the environment, and political processes. Key concerns in the 1990s were[6]:

- Human rights abuses: for example, in the mid-1990s Shell Oil was implicated in the persecution of the Ogoni people by the Nigerian government and military. Shell was found to be funding the Nigerian government to arm its soldiers against the Ogoni, who were protesting decades of economic exploitation through Shell's extraction of oil from their lands (Klein, 2000).
- Treatment of third world workers: for example Nike in the 1990s became a major target of the anti-sweatshop labour movement. The wage and working conditions of its third world manufacturing labour force were publicly juxtaposed with its corporate profits and multi-million dollar sponsorship contracts with the likes of Tiger Woods and Michael Jordan (Klein, 2000).
- Treatment of domestic workers: for instance in 1997 the judge of the UK *Mclibel* trial ruled in favour of the defendants' claims that McDonald's was anti-union and paid low wages (Vidal, 1997).

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[6] Many of the companies mentioned in this list were active internationally in school-business relationships in the 1990s [see Chapter 4].

- Downsizing: the global shift of much manufacturing production to the developing economies of the East accelerated downsizing [i.e. laying off employees] in the 1980s and 1990s. Although these sometimes huge[7] layoffs were often positioned as inevitable and economically positive, critics such as Downs (1995) reported the severe personal, community and economic effects of these measures, and argued that the business returns were often marginal or even negative.

- Environmental impacts: the culpability of individual companies and industries in environmental damage continued to be highlighted in various media in the 1990s and beyond. Two key issues were global warming/climate change, and genetically modified foods.

- Corporate corruption: the public continued to be alerted to spectacular and systemic corporate fraud and corruption cases by large, sometimes global companies including accounting firm Author Anderson, telecommunications company World.Com, energy company Enron, and Italian food company Parmalet (Bryce, 2002).

Poor behaviour should be self regulating in that the public becomes aware of this behaviour and consumer disgust leads to events ranging from product boycotts to protests to political, regulatory or legal intervention. But authors, in examining corporate behaviour and power in the 1990s tracked the increasingly sophisticated efforts of businesses and industries to maintain public consent for their problematic agendas and moral right to operate. At heart, the critique of corporate public relations suggests that, through various techniques, PR steers a public towards a pro-enterprise agenda or view on an issue, in an effort to build and maintain public consent for activities that may be fundamentally at odds with citizens' best interests now or into the future (Beder, 1997; Lubbers, 2002a; Stauber and Rampton, 1995). Businesses highlighted by PR critics tended to have public legitimacy risks associated with their behaviour, or products and services – sometimes both.

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[7] Downs (1995) noted that in 1993 just five companies – Procter and Gamble, IBM, Boeing, Sears Roebuck and United Technologies collectively laid off 154,000 workers.

School-business relationships are almost always cited in the critique of corporate PR[8], and these follow the arguments of the school commercialisation critics (Beder, 1997; Hager and Burton, 1999; Klein, 2000; Korten, 1995; Selcraig, 1998; Wilson, 2002). The spotlight of this analysis often falls on corporate sponsored educational materials, but also on some larger sponsorship agreements. These critics add value to a critical exploration of school-business relationships through wider knowledge of the risky activities of these sponsors, and how their school-business relationships relate to broader agendas and strategies to gain public consent (for example Carter, 2003; Hager and Burton, 1999). Some relevant PR strategies are highlighted in Chapters 4 and 6.

Discussion – Building an Integrated Critical Map of School-Business Relationships

These four contexts for analysis of school-business relationships provide a comprehensive set of perspectives and some evidence of activities and effects, to integrate into a critical consideration of school-business relationships in the 1990s and beyond. Most importantly, considering them as a collective or set, allows some important links to be drawn between school-business relationships, corporate culture and behaviour, children's experiences, and currents of reforms in education. Understanding these links is crucial because as will become obvious in the later chapters, school-business relationships traverse school concerns around management, funding, image and school competition, curriculum delivery, and children's culture; and for businesses they front complex corporate agendas.

School commercialisation critiques, and in particular the work of the Commercialism in Education Research Unit at Arizona State University, provide the clearest picture of the scope and penetration of school-business relationships [albeit in another country]. By providing detailed expositions of particular activities – for instance Channel One in the USA (Hoynes, 1997; Morgan, 1993; Pasnik, 1997; Sawicky and Molnar, 1998), they reveal these activities to be driven by the commercial objectives of businesses, which establishes a number of arguments around educational quality

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[8]   Anti-corporate analyses of school-business relationships are also critical of business attempts to more directly

and the preservation of school as a vital public institution of democracy. They also investigate two very important features of school-business relationships with respect to the food focus in this thesis – the production and dissemination of biased materials and messages, and the sale and marketing of unhealthy products in schools.

Policy focused critiques provide insight into the school demand for school-business relationships and the influence of a business-friendly market agenda in education from 1990. They suggest that marketised schools are compromised as critical and ethical institutions, but also that this market model simply doesn't work. In analysing marketised and privatised school systems these authors show that schools' decision-making is bound up, not only in conditions of inadequate central funding and resources as school commercialisation critics stress, but also in changing relations between the school, its 'competitors', the state and parents. School competition, parent choice, and the new entrepreneurialism of self-management in marketised conditions, created a permissive, but unreflective environment for school-business relationships in New Zealand [see Chapter 5]. Marketisation policies appear to have drawn schools and businesses closer together as entrepreneurial school leaders chased funds to meet shortfalls, but also to invest in their image and programmes to attract more customers. Within the logic of managerialism, New Zealand schools and businesses suddenly had a language, culture and destiny in common.

Corporate pedagogy/culture critics go beyond analysis of the explicit policy framework of marketised school systems to explore a pervasive corporate culture in schooling, and how this discourse of schooling incapacitates pedagogies of resistance to school-business relationships. The corporatised school in its everyday operation serves corporate interests by producing citizens who lack the critical capacity to question corporate power, market culture, and their own consuming desires at a moment in history when these questions are vital to a critical democracy. Schools face a double challenge as institutions of social transformation. On the one hand they have been corporatised, which shifts decision-making around school-business relationships towards a pragmatic market logic, and engenders a culture of compliance and productive efficiency rather than pedagogical resistance to 'corporate culture's war on children' (Giroux, 2000). At the same time, corporate culture, as

manipulate the consumption preferences and dispositions of children through orthodox marketing in schools.

manifested through consumer-media culture, draws children's desires further away from school, and some critics suggest that schools need to reinvent themselves to children as critical learning sites, beyond censorship responses to corporate pedagogies.

Anti-corporate critics provide vital evidence of the behaviours, marketing and PR strategies of businesses and industry groups that engage in school-business relationships. These data allow critics to explore the social, economic and political dimensions of corporate power in a consumer society, and place school-business relationships within wider and sometimes global corporate projects of public consent, marketing, and as we shall see, political influence. These critics confirm that those businesses with the most problematic behaviours, products and services, are the most likely to attempt to manage these risks through their school-business relationships. The tenacity and investigative tactics of these activist-authors has led to evidence of corporate activities that are fundamentally bad for humans and the planet, which adds an important structural depth to the semiotic critique of corporate power. The discoveries of anti-corporate critics suggest that schools cannot or should not escape the hard ethical questions about their relationships with businesses – they are already key targets of immensely sophisticated corporate communication strategies.

Table 2.1 is a summary of the four critical approaches to school-business relationships evident from the literature in the 1990s.

Table 2.1   Summary of the Critical Approaches to School-Business Relationships in the 1990s

	School Commercialisation	Policy	Corporate Culture/Pedagogy	Anti-corporate
Central argument	The profit motive of businesses is fundamentally incompatible with the development of informed, critical citizens through education.	The marketisation of education creates an environment more accepting but less critically reflective of school-business relationships.	School-business relationships construct and normalise identities, relationships, values and behaviours for schools and students that further corporate interests. They are therefore an expression of corporate power.	Businesses have assumed unprecedented power over people's lives as consumers, citizens and workers.
Core concerns	Manipulation of student views. Poor quality learning. Encouragement of consumption as a way of life. Personal health and wellbeing damaged. (e.g. obesity). Equity – poor schools more at risk of commercial relationships.	The nation state withdrawal from education in favour of the private sector. Managerialism as a basis for school decision-making leads to unethical/uncritical decision-making. Businesses are poor educators because they have narrow interests.	School-business relationships as corporate pedagogies shape children's understanding of themselves and their social world – towards uncritical consumption and self-interest. The corporatised school is compromised in its reading of corporate power in school-business relationships, and in its capacity to resist corporate power.	The growing and unrestrained power of global corporations in political, economic and cultural spheres – including education. The unethical and destructive behaviours of, particularly large, corporations. The increasing complexity and reach of corporate public relations strategies, including in schools.
Wider concerns	The general commercialisation of schools through e.g. privatisation, vouchers, charter schools. The general commercialisation of childhood.	Privatisation of education. Impacts of school choice policies on traditionally disadvantaged students. Market forces don't work to improve education and reduce inequality.	Corporations have an historically unprecedented cultural role in the social construction of young people.	Nation states have established limits on their capacity to regulate corporate power and preserve public spheres.
View of schools	Vital public institutions. Key role in furthering democracy. They should be commercial-free. Under-funded, therefore vulnerable to commercialism.	Schools are public institutions – therefore they should be publicly-funded and democratically governed.	Schools are cultural institutions where relations of power are established, reinforced and resisted. Schools increasingly define themselves in the image of the successful enterprise. Schools can be sites of counter-pedagogies and re-readings of corporate pedagogies and corporate culture generally.	Schools are vital democratic public institutions. Used as a site for the exercise of corporate public relations strategies. Schools should be commercial-free.
View of students	Increasingly targeted by businesses as consumers outside of school. Susceptible to being manipulated by corporate bias (especially younger students). Should be free of commercial pressures in schools.	Students are not consumers of education, but rather social subjects.	Students' identities, relationships and values are influenced by the desires of corporations. However students can negotiate and resist their engagement with corporate pedagogies. Students find school less fulfilling of their own needs and desires.	Students are targets for corporate public relations and marketing. This threatens the development of well-informed and critical citizens. It prevents robust critique of business behaviours.
View of businesses	Businesses are driven by a profit motive which directs their behaviours. A poor educator of students because they are driven by self interest not public interest.	Businesses lack the capability to support school reform. They should not occupy a strong role in the delivery and funding of education because this is the democratic responsibility of the state.	Businesses are key meaning makers in children's culture. They are powerful cultural institutions.	Businesses exercise vast power over economic, political and cultural spheres. This power should be governed and diminished through a variety of political and sub-political means, and an informed and educated public.

Key Theoretical Considerations for an Analysis of School-Business Relationships

There are two key elements from the synthesis above which significantly inform this thesis. The first, reflecting particularly on the anti-corporate and corporate pedagogy/culture critics, is that children and young people relate to, and are affected by corporate power in new and powerful ways in and out of school. Corporate power shapes children's identities and values [including their positioning of school], and business behaviours and products contribute strongly to children's social and economic conditions. An analysis of school-business relationships therefore needs to explore the contemporary construction of childhood and the roles that corporations play in it, to begin to see school-business relationships for what they really are – corporate pedagogies transmitting particular knowledge and values.

Secondly, as school commercialisation, and anti-corporate critics show in particular, there are a lot of risks to learning, critical democracy, and ultimately quality of life to be drawn from a critical reading of school-business relationships. As corporate power and risk grow and manifest themselves in school-business relationships and elsewhere in children's lives, corporatised and marketised schools, with an ongoing aversion to engaging with children's popular culture, but a range of other drivers to engage with businesses more, are seemingly hampered to respond critically and ethically.

With these conundrums in mind, this section explores further two related theoretical concepts: a social constructionist view of childhood; and in thinking about negotiation and resistance to school-business relationships within changing childhoods, the place of a critical pedagogy.

A Social Constructionist View of Childhood

The analysis of school-business relationships in this thesis is mindful of continuities and discontinuities in the dominant Western social construction of childhood. The social constructionist view of childhood argues for a belated inclusion of childhood

within a post-structural analysis of identity, an analysis that has transformed understandings of 'others' – for instance, the identities of race and sexuality:

> All contemporary approaches to the study of childhood are clearly committed to the view that childhood is not a natural phenomenon and cannot be properly understood as such. The social transformation from child to adult does not follow directly from physical growth and the recognition of children by adults, and vice versa, is not singularly contingent upon physical difference. Furthermore, physical morphology may constitute a form of difference between people in certain circumstances but it is not an adequately intelligible basis for the relationship between the adult and the child. Childhood is to be understood as a social construct, it makes reference to a social status delineated by boundaries that vary through time and from society to society but which are incorporated within the social structure and thus manifested through and formative of certain typical forms of conduct. Childhood then always relates to a particular cultural setting.
> (Jenks, 1996, p. 7)

Adults are dominant in constructing childhood, and children are positioned in binary opposition to adulthood. As Jenks suggests, '…the contents [of child and adult identities] are marked by the boundaries.' (p. 3). Childhood is explained through biological and cognitive development theories, but remains largely un-theorised, and therefore un-deconstructed, as a social experience (Jenks, 1996, p. 8). Childhood is thus conceived by adults as a temporary stage, a growth towards adulthood, rather than a social and cultural practice. Science, through medicine, psychology, biology, sociology, and pedagogy [as teaching methods], defines the child and what is universally best for its development (Cannella, 2002, p. 8).

This developmental approach takes children from a pre-social world of nature, savagery, dependence, and innocence to a social adult world of culture, civility, and rationality. This positions children negatively – as abnormal, without agency, lacking knowledge and competence, and in need of *protection* and exclusion from social experience, [and ultimately citizen rights], and *preparation* for the adult world ahead but never present (Buckingham, 2000; Cannella, 2002). As a discourse it comforts adults and disempowers children because it positions them outside political and economic spheres (Jenkins, 1998).

Adults maintain childhood narratives through firstly, discourses *about* childhood produced by adults for adults, such as advice literature, the arts, novels, and academic and professional discourses; and secondly, discourses produced by adults *for* children including children's literature, TV, film, and music. Rarely do children contribute to either discourse in any meaningful way (Buckingham, 2000, p. 8). Development is socially regulated through certain milestones to adulthood often marked by legal ages into spheres such as consumption, criminal responsibility and voting (Jenks, 1996, p. 40). Constructions of childhood are maintained and reproduced in social institutions:

> Children are defined as a particular category, with particular characteristics and limitations, both by themselves, and by others – by parents, teachers, researchers, politicians, policy-makers, welfare agencies, and (of course) the media. These definitions are codified in laws and policies; and they are embodied within particular forms of institutional and social practice, which in turn help to *produce* the forms of behaviour which are seen as typically 'child-like' – and simultaneously to generate forms of resistance to them.
> (Buckingham, 2000, pp. 6-7)

The contemporary social construction of childhood dates to the mid 19th century when the roles of adult and child were brought into more rigid contrast, through various child protection and preparation measures. Kline (1993) and others argue that the pre-industrial child was far less distinguished from adults, participating in similar labour, family activities and cultural practices such as story telling. Essentially there were few social institutions and social practices which delineated childhood as a distinct status. The industrial child was taken out of the labour force through legislation. At the same time, basic schooling developed to further protect children from the harshness of industrial labour, but also to prepare them for this [now] adult world of industrial production. Welfare agencies also expanded to meet children's needs. The innocence and immature status of childhood was regulated and reinforced through the imagery of poetry and literature, paintings, and later through consumer advertising to adults (Kline, 1993; Seiter, 1993). Childhood psychology developed to explain the fundamental nature of children as distinct from adults. As children became literate in mass numbers, adults controlled children's views of themselves through children's texts. Through this fortification of the boundaries of childhood

and adulthood, children became excluded from the adult social world, most notably by schools. Childhood became a lengthy period of innocence and dependence.

A New (Corporate) Social Construction of Childhood?

A social constructionist perspective of childhood assesses the social, political and economic institutions that maintain and reconstruct children's social realities and regulate and disrupt the relations and boundaries between adulthood and childhood. A number of authors have argued recently that children's social status, identity, values and relationships are becoming increasingly defined through their experiences of commercial enterprises and consumer culture generally, via ever expanding and diverse media sources, children's increasing access to these media, and the subjection of children to more and more commodified childhood experiences (Cannella and Kincheloe, 2002; Giroux, 2000; Kenway and Bullen, 2001; Kincheloe, 2002b; Kline, 1993; Steinberg and Kincheloe, 1997).

Social constructionist authors such as Kenway and Bullen (2001) are clear that the boundaries that define children and adults are shifting in multiple ways:

> ...we are entering another stage in the construction of the young as the demarcations between education, entertainment and advertising collapse and as the lines between the generations both blur and harden.
> (p. 3)

Kenway and Bullen focus on the collapse of clear cultural categories within consumer and media culture and the implications for childhood identity and relationships. Children experience ever-expanding and commercially-driven hybrid forms of advertising and education, and entertainment and education, which sometimes complement (Buckingham and Scanlon, 2003) but often challenge schools as prime sites of childhood identity formation, and indeed learning. Examples include cross selling, programme length commercials, product placements and children's interactive websites. Kenway and Bullen (2001) argue that these hybrid corporate pedagogies are collectively extremely influential in children's learning and identity construction. Consumer-media cultural forms provide intense pleasure – *Jouissance*, through a hedonistic transgression of the social order. These pedagogies are likely to validate children's culture and place it in opposition to the

rigid and oppressive domination of children by adults. Parental values such as seriousness, discipline, achievement, respect for authority and complexity are subverted in these genres. In these spaces, children are separated from adults and appealed to as rational, mature, and transgressive. Consumerism therefore creates a powerful cultural sphere for children (Seiter, 1993).

While Kenway and Bullen do not retain nostalgia for the fracturing discourse of childhood innocence, they note that the pleasurable rush of *Jouissance* achieved through children's exposure to hybrid entertainment and advertising forms, inhibits critical and reflexive responses to these experiences. Consumer media culture elicits fascination rather than contemplation; an appeal to the surface features rather than depth. Corporate pedagogies create a hyperreality – a mass of images and signs without existing referents, hence the de-contextualised image becomes the received reality, preventing a critical response.

Other authors such as Kincheloe (2002b), Saltman (2000), Giroux (2000) and Steinberg and Kincheloe (1997) direct their critical attention to the ideologies and agendas transmitted via hyperreal corporate pedagogies to children and adults, and the kinds of desires, values and knowledge these corporate pedagogies construct. Corporate pedagogies are dissected for historical relativism, moral conservatism [including upholding traditional family values and notions of childhood innocence and savagery], the promotion of extreme individualism and free-enterprise, racist and sexist positions, and a culture of excessive and unquestioning consumption of products, services and signs.

Key to all analyses of the social construction of childhood is coverage of the ways children are represented to themselves and adults. While corporate pedagogies directed at children often construct them as powerful and in control of themselves and even adults, in adult media a childhood innocence discourse is at play as children are represented as *at* risk or a risk *to* others through, for instance, their engagements with popular culture (Giroux, 2000, p. 20) or presented in deference to adult authority within, for instance, images of family (Kincheloe, 1997, p. 253). There are obviously opposing forces at play here, and both are satisfied by the market. Consumer culture's address to children asserts a liberationary pleasure of freedom from adult

authority; but for adults, the market stirs their anxiety by positioning children's popular culture as at best trivial, and at worst harmful. It offers adult comfort through a range of products and services cast as educational, and links these goods, through advertising imagery to parent anxiety and guilt around their child's development and [disrupted] innocence. Seiter (1993) shows that children and adults are *sold separately* in consumer culture. Toys for instance are marketed as educational to parents and pleasurable and socially desirable to children. Hybrid forms of entertainment and education assure parents that children's desires can be satisfied at the same time as they are learning. Examples of edutainment include: educational toys; home educational software; the rise of child education programmes in cultural institutions such as museums; and children's information books (Buckingham and Scanlon, 2003).

A feature of social constructionist critiques of corporate childhoods is that they acknowledge adults' control of the discourse. This creates a theoretical challenge for analysts of children's culture. While some authors refuse to glamorise lost innocence or support adult yearning for a bygone 'golden age' of 'natural childhood' (Buckingham, 2000; Jenks, 1996) others such as Postman (1994) assert a *death* of childhood, as boundaries or symbolic markers between children and adults blur or collapse. This argument includes an attack on media influence and a call for adults [parents and teachers included] to re-protect children against the corruptive adult power of consumer and media culture. There are some problems with this position. Firstly, persisting with the protection of children from consumer-media culture denies them agency and opportunity for active interpretation and negotiation of their lived culture – it swaps one adult-determined culture for another. The singular prescription of protection is barely feasible when the actual daily cultural reality of children's lives is critically influenced by the discursive practices of consumer media culture. Secondly, adult attempts to regulate childhood threaten to further 'other'[9] them from children's culture and reduce the likelihood of proactive pedagogies of resistance. Thirdly, as Giroux (2000) points out, childhood innocence itself has been

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[9] 'Other' in this context means the social practice of removing someone or a social group from a position of conscious legitimacy in one's own social world, and to see that person or group as deviant from perceived 'norms' of cultural behaviours, habits, values etc...

commercialised and sexualised[10] within corporate pedagogies directed at adults. These pervasive images deny adult contemplation and critique of damaging social and economic conditions affecting young people, by creating a façade of a pre-social and idyllic childhood – threatened by various aspects of popular culture, rather than more fundamental structural economic, social and cultural inequalities[11]. Those who take childhood innocence to be natural, and the corporate pedagogies of popular culture as an attack on this natural state, are failing to realise that they are the victims of the very phenomenon they wish to see deleted – a commercially-produced hyperreal presentation of childhood – an 'obscene merger of aesthetics and reality' (Theordor Adorno, quoted in Giroux, 2000, p. 63).

The New Childhood and Schools

Within a social constructionist perspective, schools regulate an adult construction of childhood through social promotion, teacher-student relationships, the organisation and presentation of knowledge, assessment, timetabling, discipline, reward and exclusion (Buckingham, 2000). Childhood innocence assumes an underdeveloped mind in need of guidance, nurturing and instruction. Schools therefore provide children with the correct knowledge and competencies to emerge as adults (Kline, 1993). So knowledge is positioned positively as '...the servant of the emancipation of the child's natural self-governing capacities...' (Hultqvist and Dahlberg, 2001, p. 4) rather than the presentation of truths which govern and frame the possibilities of childhood.

Whereas development paradigms of childhood see schools and families as the two principal sites for learning, a contemporary social constructionist perspective argues that consumer culture is increasingly constructive of childhood identities, relationships and knowledge. Schools as contemporary sites of childhood development are pulled in two ways. Firstly they are called to respond to children's desires around popular culture forms. Schools have traditionally institutionalised adult anxiety about popular culture as anti-development and anti-innocence, through disciplinary enforcement, curriculum and assessment. However, the legitimacy of

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[10] Giroux provides the vivid example of the child beauty pageant industry to make this point.
[11] Many social constructionist authors do highlight declining structural economic and social circumstances of children (Jenkins, 1998) and remained concerned about the plight of contemporary children.

schools in children's culture is threatened by children's increasing learning through corporate pedagogies, and the 'othering' of schools and adults that occurs through children's popular culture forms (Steinberg and Kincheloe, 1997). Social constructionist authors argue that schools can and must play an active role in empowering children to navigate their post-modern cultural reality, a challenge which strongly suggests new thinking about pedagogies of negotiation, critical reflection and resistance, as children become less reverent of school. Prohibiting commercial culture from schools has become an incomplete solution. However at the same time as changes within children's culture call on schools to critically engage with corporate pedagogies as part of a contemporary analysis of the cultural politics of schooling, parent and adult anxiety about the collapsing boundaries between adulthood and childhood mitigate against this endeavour.

Critical Theory and Pedagogy

This section briefly introduces critical theory and pedagogy, including its relationships to the dominant 20th Century philosophical paradigm of schooling – liberalism, and the contribution of postmodern theory. Critical theory further problemitises a corporate construction of childhood, and calls more urgency to pedagogies of resistance to school-business relationships. Critical theory claims that the institution of schooling has a strong capacity to *reproduce* rather than remove social and economic inequalities and relations, foiling the liberal education project of equality, personal freedom, and democracy. Critical theorists have traditionally looked at reproduction in terms of class, but more recently have explored the social practices and structures that reproduce relations of power associated with ethnicity, gender and sexuality.

Central to critical theory and the reproduction capacity of schooling is the relationship between knowledge and power (McLaren, 1994). So, in terms of the construction of childhood, critical theorists explore the ideologies at play within the texts and discursive practices of the curriculum and schooling generally. Since the publication of *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education* (Young (ed), 1971), educational sociologists have increasingly turned their

attention to the social selection of knowledge in schools, and to the question of whose interests the hidden and overt curriculum serves. Knowledge is constructed and legitimated over time through the historical and social forces of culture and language. Knowledge processes people by enabling identities and structuring relationships between individuals and groups. It is never neutral, and official knowledge in schools is held to legitimate particular oppressive conditions by representing truths and values, in other words – ideologies, that serve the interests of a range of dominant elites – be they men, the economically wealthy, able-bodied people, Westerners, white people or heterosexuals. This legitimisation of certain forms of knowledge, customs and social conditions within school curricula and practice maintains oppressive social relations, not through force, but through hegemony. This power and control is sustained through discourses – systems of language and text which classify knowledge. Discourses remain legitimate through the everyday discursive practices in schools, including discipline policies, the authority structure, choice of curriculum materials and staff-room conversation. Discourse enables the 'truth' to be articulated, so 'truth' always operates within relations of knowledge and power, rather than being absolute, available to all, and insulated from the social context of its production. McLaren (1994) explains the impact of discourse:

> Discourse and discursive practices influence how we live our lives as conscious thinking subjects. They shape our subjectivities (our ways of understanding in relation to the world) because it is only in language and through discourse that social reality can be given meaning.
> (p. 189)

Recently critical theorists have attempted to broaden their theory of schooling beyond the tendency towards straight social reproduction or correspondence theories of economic and social relations, arguing that the hidden curriculum does not tacitly and neatly prepare different groups for different positions in the hierarchical workplace, and that students in schools are not passive recipients or 'cultural dupes' of the hidden curriculum (Apple, 1996). Cultural reproduction has become a broader basis of analysis after research such as the ethnographic study of working class 'lads' in the UK by Willis (1977) found that students *resisted* the dominant ideology of the schooling [in this case by rejecting mental work for manual work] but this cultural

behaviour of resistance actually contributed to their eventual placement into low-paid manual jobs.

Postmodernism and Critical Pedagogy

As the increasing focus on discourse and culture within critical theories of reproduction and resistance suggests, postmodernism as theory has influenced critical theory and pedagogy. Some key aspects of postmodern theory's relationship to a critical pedagogy are considered here in terms of a critical analysis of school-business relationships.

Firstly in denying all claims to grand narratives of objective truth, post-modernism is suspicious of all totalising political ideology, including Marxist accounts of oppression and Enlightenment assumptions of natural progress – seeing these as alternative regimes of truth and domination. This position has dealt a further blow to modernism's Enlightenment 'man' – the autonomous educated individual who transcends the disadvantages of his/her history through the development and application of reason (McLaren, 1997). Although critical pedagogy has tended to absorb this suspicion of grand theory by acknowledging complex identities and embracing contingent, contextual and ultimately diverse resistances to a widening range of oppressive circumstances, critical pedagogy as a progressive project is futile without some maintenance of an enlightenment view of schools as potential sites of liberation and empowerment; hence a critical pedagogy is comfortable rejecting modernism's assumption of natural progress but not the urgent need for progress and social justice.

A risk of postmodern theory to a critical pedagogy is that it can present grand narratives as fracturing and in their twilight in these postmodern times. As McLaren (1997) notes, the structural consequences of the grand narratives of science and capitalism create *real* enduring unequal social and economic conditions for individuals and groups. The discourse may be a 'fiction' perpetuated through text and discursive practices, but it nonetheless allows privileged groups to maintain their dominant positions over others (Apple, 1997; Kenway, 1997). For instance, the social and economic conditions of post-modernity see increasing local determination by traditionally-repressed groups and a rise in sub-politics – acts that transgress

hegemonic narratives which have marginalised these groups and universalised their oppression. Yet, globalisation and the post-industrial economy threaten those groups economically and socially more than most (Stuart Wells et al., 1999). Hence, working purely at the level of local truths and activism rather than linking these local circumstances and resistance struggles to the structural consequences of grand narratives, reduces the potential for collective reflection, critique and resistance to common oppressive forces and relations (McLaren, 1997).

Postmodern theory stresses the fragmentation of identities through individuals' subjection to an ever increasing network of discourses and relationships in different situations. It therefore avoids modernism's tendency to stereotype, and critical pedagogy's traditional near-silence on childhood identity and culture beyond examinations of race, class, and gender. This widening of permissible contexts from which to legitimately explore identity has enabled people to examine consumption for its meaning-making, whereas earlier approaches stressed economic and non-commercial social influences. This change is critical to analysing school-business relationships because it allows children's out of school world to inform an analysis of child and adult understandings and responses to these in-school activities.

Postmodern theory draws heavily on theories of post-industrial society to explain identity, and in particular it emphasises consumption as an organising principle to make its claims for the cultural power of texts and signs. It therefore legitimates exploration and deconstruction of corporate marketing and public relations as powerful textual practices – an approach that is fundamental to corporate pedagogy/culture critics. However there is some concern that deconstruction's centralisation of the power of text can diminish the likelihood of a robust analysis of underlying ideologies, or the advocacy of more just narratives, in favour of a limited kind of textual resistance (McLaren, 1997).

So for many theorists interested in a progressive critical pedagogy, while postmodern theory sharpens insight into the cultural power of narrative and extends understandings about identity and the 'other', its 'hyperscepticism' is not very useful for thinking hopefully about resistance, and the mobilisation of more socially-just narratives (Fletcher, 2000). However much thinking about critical pedagogy now

integrates postmodern theory, along with other paradigms to create what Giroux refers to as 'border pedagogy':

> At stake here is the issue of retaining modernism's commitment to critical reason, agency and the power of human beings to overcome human suffering. Modernism reminds us of the importance of constructing a discourse that is ethical, historical and political. At the same time, postmodernism provides a new theoretical language for developing a politics of difference. Finally, postmodern feminism makes visible the importance of grounding our visions in a political project, redefines the relationships between the margins and the center around concrete political struggles, and offers the opportunity for a politics of voice that links rather than severs the relationship between the personal and the political as part of a broader struggle for justice and social transformation.
> (Giroux, 1997b, pp. 123-124)

Implications for School Business Relationships

Social constructionist theory and critical theory and pedagogy enable a deeper exploration of the two key issues raised by the synthesis of the critical commentary and analysis of school-business relationships – increasing corporate power and increasing corporatisation in education. Social constructionist authors suggest that corporations play an increasing role in contemporary childhood identity construction. Contemporary critical theory and pedagogy links identity construction to structural relations of domination and oppression, and assesses the ideologies operating within various discourses that maintain inequalities. The school-business relationships of donations, sponsorships, cause related marketing, partnerships, and sponsored educational materials attempt to inscribe 'truths' through various discursive practices. These texts are an exercise in power – they package ideology as knowledge/truth, to an audience of adults and/or young people. For instance an SEM might support an 'overt curriculum' of official knowledge delivered through classroom lessons, and these materials may well be biased. The SEM might additionally uphold a hidden curriculum of cultural norms ultimately supportive of the corporate agenda, for instance the valorisation of consumption and an exploitation of peer effects. Hidden curriculum practices associated with classroom

and school culture may further support the cultural reproduction capacity of these materials.

Apple (1995) argues that schools produce knowledge as well as reproduce it – and a straight reproduction account of schooling ignores the cultural practices of negotiation and resistance by students and teachers to reproduction tendencies in education. Social constructionist and critical pedagogical approaches to school-business relationships argue for schools to be relevant and critical public spheres for student empowerment, producing new knowledge to facilitate new social possibilities. Because corporate culture fundamentally influences the discursive practices associated with school-business relationships, and corporate pedagogies are problematic to a transformative education project, school-business relationships are not something to be treated passively and indifferently by schools – they are not neutral. Hence schools must critically engage with the truth claims of corporate pedagogies.

Chapter 3. Exploring Prominent Discourses of School-Business Relationships in New Zealand Since 1990

Introduction

This chapter explores three dominant public narratives that seek to explain school-business relationships in New Zealand from the 1990s, and situates the particular school-business relationship activities studied in this thesis [donations, sponsorships, cause related marketing, partnership, sponsored educational materials] within each of these narratives. The chapter also considers the impacts and implications of these narratives on the two key concerns arising from Chapter 2 – increasing corporate power and increasing corporatisation in schools. Chapters 4 and 5 go on to consider the pervasiveness of these public discourses against the reported practices of schools and businesses.

School-Business Relationships within a Partnership for Enterprise Education Discourse

> Neither education, nor enterprise, are separate islands to be kept in splendid isolation in the social and economic landscape of our country. [Rt Hon Jim Bolger, Prime Minister, opening address at the *Enterprise for Education Conference*, 12 February 1992 (Bolger, 1992, p. 8)]

In New Zealand the dominant public discourse for school-business relationships, in terms of support literature[12] and political commitment in the 1990s, presented a vision of the school as an enterprising organisation producing skilled and entrepreneurial workers, in partnership with business, for a dynamic labour market and business environment. Key sources used here to examine this partnership for enterprise education discourse of school-business relationships are:

- *Working Together: Building Partnerships between Schools and Enterprises* (Ministry of Education, 1993). This report, and the revised

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edition below, was a guide for businesses and schools on establishing partnerships.

- *Working Together: Building Partnerships between Schools and Enterprises* [revised edition] (Ministry of Education, 1999).
- *Successful Schools, Successful Businesses. Innovations in School-Business Links, Based on Presentations at the Successful Schools – Successful Businesses Conferences in Auckland and Wellington, March 1993* (New Zealand Education-Business Partnership Trust, 1993). The report is a compilation of proceedings from this conference series including examples of innovative school-business relationships.
- Partners New Zealand Trust (PNZ) website. This trust existed to promote and facilitate partnerships between schools and enterprises (http://www.partnersnz.org.nz/).
- Enterprise New Zealand Trust (ENZT) website. ENZT delivers a number of formal enterprise education programmes in New Zealand primary and secondary schools [e.g. the Young Enterprise Scheme (YES)], with sponsorship support from businesses and government (http://www.enzt.co.nz).

Creating an enterprise culture in New Zealand is conceived as a two-pronged cultural project: transforming the identities of both students and their schools. Students are held to require a much stronger [re]education about the positive social role that businesses play, as well as needing to develop the rights skills and dispositions to make a future economic contribution as entrepreneurs and knowledge workers. However, students cannot be supported fully as enterprising subjects if schools do not embody an enterprising organisational structure inclusive of a pro-enterprise culture among staff. So the institution and its students both need to be put on a track of positive feelings towards enterprise and the acquisition of enterprising skills and dispositions. These two threads of cultural change – students and schools, lead logically to school-business relationships.

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[12] Support literature here refers to guidelines, research and other publications that ultimately aimed to foster school-business relationships.

A major challenge articulated by enterprise education-led constructions of school-business relationships is chipping away at institutional resistance to them – mostly from schools. The 'worlds' of schools and business are presented as historically but unnaturally isolated. A key goal of these literatures is therefore to normalise school-business relationships [and abnormalise their absence] by highlighting in detail, the benefits to schools and enterprises of working in partnership, and processes for establishing successful and sustainable partnerships (Education Review Office, 1996; Ministry of Education, 1993, 1999). The title of the African proverb *It takes a whole village to raise a child* appeared frequently in this discourse (Education Review Office, 1996, p. 8; Ministry of Education, 1999; New Zealand Education-Business Partnership Trust, 1993) signalling both a naturalness and community aesthetic to partnership. This established a juxtaposition with the apparent fossilised negative culture of mistrust between businesses and schools:

> Many schools and businesses are unsure about how to approach each other. Few understand each other's culture, environment and pressures, or the ways in which businesses working together with local schools can have a mutually beneficial relationship with wider community spinoffs.
> (New Zealand Education-Business Partnership Trust, 1993, p. 4)

Schools have constructed this 'blackboard curtain' through a culture of disinterest and mistrust. Liberal-progressive teachers are positioned as anti-business:

> ...In many of our schools it is still not 'politically correct' to teach students about our market economy and the place of business and commerce in it.
> [Doug Myers, address to the *Successful Schools, Successful Businesses conference* (New Zealand Education-Business Partnership Trust, 1993, p. 12)]

And:

> Too many young people in New Zealand have negative attitudes to business. Yesterday's anti-capitalist mentality and today's politically correct movement bear much of the responsibility for the hostility towards enterprise and wealth creation that is still found in schools.
> [Roger Kerr, Executive Director, New Zealand Business Roundtable, address to the First International Convention of the International Confederation of Principals, Geneva, Switzerland (1993, p. 7)]

This negative attitude is matched by a lack of capacity in schools to support the development of enterprising students. Businesses can help here:

> The personal qualities and the social and thinking skills businesses now need bring the worlds of education and enterprise closer together.... Schools cannot be expected to cater for all student learning needs.
> (New Zealand Education-Business Partnership Trust, 1993, p. 4)

Businesses have contributed to the cultural gulf by being cynical about the benefits for them of working with schools directly – especially around the direct enhancement of their own human capital (Houghton et al., 1994, p. 9).

It is acknowledged that schools and businesses have worked together for some time but these relationships have been of a weak form – consisting of 'financial aid' rather than human resource assistance or narrowly focused on work experience for at risk youth (New Zealand Education-Business Partnership Trust, 1993, p. 5). The revised edition of *Working Together* (1999) demoted the term 'link', to be inferior to that of partnership, asserting a break with the uneven relationships of the recent past:

> A **link** is often a casual, or sometimes a historical, association between the two parties. In a link, the majority of the benefit usually flows only one way, most frequently from the enterprise to the school.
> (Ministry of Education, 1999 p. 4, emphasis in original)

Working Together also disassociated a partnership from what it saw as the financial-aid quality of a sponsorship – inconsistent with enterprise education's focus on human and technological resource assistance:

> Another form of agreement between a school and an enterprise may be a **sponsorship arrangement**, where the main benefit to the school is financial assistance. This type of school-enterprise connection does not usually come under the definition of a partnership.
> (Ministry of Education, 1999 p. 4, emphasis in original)

Partnership was thus presented as the vehicle to bridge the worlds of school and enterprise. The enterprise education discourse of partnership is a fusion of collectivist principles of community participation, and a contractual model of relationship. The first of these elements draws on the community responsiveness rhetoric of *Tomorrow's Schools*. Enterprises and schools are conceived as part of the same

village – sometimes even abstracting this to the 'global village'. More understanding is needed by each of the other – but usually, of enterprise, by schools. Business is conceived as part of the 'wider world' for students, and they can be connected to it and prepared for it through partnerships:

> Whether a school decides to be receptive to school-business relationships depends ultimately on its commitment to the concept and its ability to identify benefits for its students. However, schools which ignore such relationships isolate themselves from the community and the wider world in which they are preparing students to take their place.
> (Education Review Office, 1996, p. 33)

A contractual model of association is consistent with reconstructing schools as enterprising organisations. Both editions of *Working Together* promoted the goals of school organisational development equally with the student-orientated outcomes as rationales for partnership[13]. The clear message from these texts is that teachers and principals, in a new era of self-management and market competition, have much to learn about being effective in their jobs from the market model of enterprise.

A fundamental contractual principle is that both sides must gain meaningful benefits from the association:

> A partnership is an ongoing, committed, mutually beneficial agreement between two parties that has identifiable, measurable outcomes for both parties.
> (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 4)

> Partnerships are defined for mutual benefit: they are a two way street arrangement.
> (New Zealand Education-Business Partnership Trust, 1993, p. 23)

> It is important that identified goals are shared at an early stage of the partnership as the success of the partnership depends upon the development of activities that meet the needs of both parties.
> (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 11)

Working together (1999) used the language of contracting when referring to schools and businesses as 'parties' and suggesting that 'negotiating teams' develop

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[13] The 1993 version called this aspect *Staff and Organisational Development* and the revised 1999 edition, *Professional Development for Staff*.

partnership 'objectives' (pp. 12-13). Whereas *Working Together* (1993) described a diversity of partnership arrangements in terms of different partners and differing intensity – for instance 'informal or formal agreements or compacts' (p. 8), *Working Together* (1999) advocated the fundamental importance of *equal* benefits.

A key challenge in this contractual win-win model of partnership, occasionally acknowledged in the literature, is trying to establish meaningful equal benefits for business. For an individual enterprise there is very little prospect of a direct increase in human resource capacity resulting from supporting students to be more enterprising workers, particularly as the focus of partnership moves away from secondary student transition. There are several ways the literature addressed this issue. Firstly, as mentioned, schools were positioned as capable of assisting with longer-term enterprise organisational learning and development activities – the message here being that schools have human resource expertise to share with businesses. Secondly, the human and physical resources of schools were offered as handy tools to meet specific short term business needs – for example the business use of school halls, sports or ICT facilities, or translation services by language teachers. A key shift from *Working Together* 1993 to 1999 is that the services of students were also offered up for business use. Suggestions included:

- a cultural welcome at an enterprise site for special guests of the enterprise
- entertainment provided at an enterprise function by school drama, dancing or music groups
- catering provided by students for 'business lunches'
- student art used to adorn office space and restaurant placemats
- maths students collecting and analysing relevant data for an enterprise
- writing articles for the local newspaper
- production of a training or promotional video.
  (pp. 16-18)

The educational merits of some of these activities are questionable. Student age seems to have a bearing on whether this process is more than a commodification and market exchange of students – with secondary students being able to undertake the

more authentic activities such as newspaper stories and data analysis, but primary students perhaps being limited to symbolic 'dial a pöwhiri'[14] type activities or the presentation of artworks.

The third way that enterprise education partnerships were constructed to ensure that businesses gain was through the seemingly ironical endorsement of commercial business activities within partnerships. As noted above, enterprise education partnerships are forthrightly opposed to the traditional 'financial aid' packages to education, which are decried as unhelpful to schools, and unfair to businesses because the benefits are one-way. No such qualms though for businesses gaining commercially within a partnership:

> While a school's objectives may be based around the three primary benefits of enhancing curriculum delivery, assisting students with career planning, and staff professional development, enterprise objectives generally focus on benefits for employees, such as personal and professional development, or the "bottom line" of the organisation, such as enhanced public profile.
> (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 5)

The reference to commercial benefits is generally limited in this discourse to a positive community profile, rather than more direct sales or marketing benefits. Consideration of school-business relationships as not-for-profit sector interventions which follows, and Chapter 4 both highlight that positive public profile has become an increasing strategic concern of business and should not be seen as a business benefit that is neutral or benign for schools. Chapter 4 also confirms that in practice, enterprise education partnerships sometimes integrated *harder* commercial benefits.

Students learning the skills, knowledge and values to be successful in an adult world characterised by constant economic change, labour market uncertainty, and global competition, is the second key element of the enterprise education discourse on school business relationships:

> The nature of work and of the workplaces which students can expect to enter is rapidly changing in response to technological developments and changes in trade relations and the economy. In response to these changes,

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[14] A powhiri is a formal Maori welcome ceremony. The expression 'dial a powhiri' refers to the regular but somewhat tokenistic, insincere and rote use of this cultural practice by some institutions.

schools need to develop in students the knowledge, skills and attitudes[15] which will enable them to be self-reliant and adaptable participants in working life, whether paid or unpaid.
(Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 4)

School-business relationships were broadened from the school-to-work transition needs of non-academic or 'at risk' students [who were traditional participants of school-business links], to the learning needs of students of all ages, abilities, and vocational aspirations. This shift was strongly evident in changes to *Working Together* from 1993 to the 1999 revised version. The 1993 version was '...designed for secondary schools, but also suggests directions for primary and intermediate schools and colleges of education.' (p. 6). The front cover featured a senior secondary student on a work placement, stacking wood in a timber yard. By contrast the 1999 version '...has been designed for primary, intermediate, and secondary schools, but tertiary institutions, such as colleges of education and polytechnics, can also participate in enterprise partnerships.' (p. 3). This front cover, in complete contrast to the school-to-work transition image of 1993, featured: a primary school girl playing a violin; a principal standing with some of his primary students who were holding sports balls and books; a primary-age child on some playground equipment; what appears to be a business person working with some primary-age children on an art project; and an adult in a tie being coached by another person in an office[16]. Not one image of a school-to-work transition activity is apparent here. Instead business is being constructed as a partner and general educator of high merit.

The Enterprise Education Taxonomy of School-Business Relationships
Figure 3.1 below is a taxonomy of an enterprise education-led discourse on school-business relationships. It includes the motives of businesses and schools [with links between them where these are seen to be strongly consistent], the key articulated objective of enterprise education, the principles of partnership in this model, and examples of school-business relationship activities that may emerge from this

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[15] Interestingly the word 'attitudes' was removed from this quote in the 1999 revised edition of *Working Together*.
[16] It is unclear in this last image whether the school person is the coach or the person being coached, but given that the image is backgrounded by two high rise buildings, the connotation is that the school representative is receiving the coaching at the business premises of the partner.

process of partnership. In keeping with the negotiation ethos of this discourse, these activities are not themselves defined – that is for the partners to decide.

Figure 3.1   A Taxonomy of School-Business Relationships Within a Partnership for Enterprise Education Discourse

Partnership:
"A partnership is an ongoing, committed, mutually beneficial agreement between two parties that has identifiable, measurable outcomes for both parties."

(Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 4).

Principles:
- Mutual gains
- Sharing resources
- Negotiation
- Flexibility
- Stringent objective setting, management, implementation, monitoring and evaluation
- Long term
- Not financially based

Sponsorship
- Financial aid to school
- One way benefit to school
- Therefore not a partnership

Link
- Focused on transition/at risk students
- Casual
- Historical
- Therefore not a partnership

Achieved through

Key Objective:
Students develop the skills, knowledge and values, to become positive contributors to an enterprise culture. This key objective is applied to:
- Enhancement of curriculum delivery
- Career planning and development
- Professional development for staff (schools and businesses)

Business Motives   Business and school motives joined by lines indicates that these motives overlap   **School Motives**

Enhanced human capital of New Zealand's workforce

More positive understanding of the role of enterprise by teachers and students

Enhanced public profile

Enhanced capability of staff

Use of student, teacher and physical resources

Better understanding of how schools work

Short term operations benefits

School Reform Agenda

Authentic learning opportunities to meet a range of learning needs

Positive transition from school to work/ further study

Enhanced capability of staff

More teacher knowledge about how enterprises work

Stronger governance and management practices

Students more knowledgeable about how enterprises work

Closer links to community/ enhanced community profile

Discussion

Enterprise education is a self-consciously cultural project to change student dispositions and skills. This cultural project positions critical examination of corporate power as subversive, deviant, old fashioned, and damaging to student futures. Students are cast in a deficit position, lacking entrepreneurialism and therefore holding the country back. Their teachers are anti-business, and/or lacking the skills to facilitate the enterprising subject because they are not in the 'real world' of business. In contrast to this unnatural state of affairs, the 'real' broad goals of education and business are cast as identical [see figure 3.1]. Enterprise education asks the enterprising school 'party' to negotiate mutually beneficial partnerships, and to set activities including the further development of enterprising school qualities.

Chapter 2 argued that businesses' political, economic and cultural power is *not* unproblematic for students as current and future workers, consumers and citizens – a position that goes against the enterprise education view of learning as the structured and uncritical journey into the adult worlds of consumption and work. Chapter 2 also suggested that the corporatised school, furthered in this discourse, lacks the critical edge to examine corporate power. Students, beyond liking businesses, also need to become enterprising subjects. This autonomous subject too lacks a critical stance towards corporate power because the individualistic and competitive values inherent in this identity privatise social and economic concerns and prevent a critical trail being attempted from the individual to social and cultural structures and institutions of power, including businesses.

This discourse constructs schools as businesses, and businesses as logical consultants to these education enterprises. Presumptions that businesses have the skills to support school leadership and change are contentious and recent research supports claims that businesses struggle to provide an effective contribution to education reform efforts [see Chapter 2]. The bigger issue for this research is the shaping influences of an enterprising model on both school-business relationship decision-making and schools' assessments of the problems and educational implications of corporate power.

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School-Business Relationships within a Not-for-Profit Sector Intervention Discourse

The enterprise education taxonomy of school-business relationships upholds an agenda to fit education outputs more to the needs of businesses within an enterprise culture. It constructs businesses as organisations of human capital and production. A reading of school-business relationships within a discourse of not-for-profit sector interventions introduces social and commercial business motives more explicitly as relationship objectives for business. This literature, mostly directed at business itself, reveals that since the 1980s, businesses have begun aligning their corporate philanthropy efforts more closely to their broader objectives, ranging from marketing and public relations goals (Hood, 1996), to agendas of corporate social responsibility (New Zealand Businesses for Social Responsibility, 1998). This revised narrative of corporate giving has been articulated as a shift from altruistic to strategic philanthropy (Collins, 1993).

A business literature has emerged around the financial and social desirability of intervening in the not-for-profit sector, including the specific business 'returns' on different types of interventions. Two key sources used below for the development of a not-for-profit sector intervention taxonomy of school-business relationships are:

- *Dimensions of Business and Nonprofit Collaborative Relationships* (Wymer and Samu, 2003). This article develops a taxonomy of general business not-for-profit sector interventions including the business and partner benefits and risks associated with different intervention activities.

- *Successful Business and School Partnerships: Making a Difference for a Sustainable New Zealand* (New Zealand Business Council for Sustainable Development, 2001). This report is a guide for businesses wishing to develop school-business relationships from a sustainable business perspective. It categorises different types of school-business relationship and looks at the advantages for schools, students and business of working in partnership. It is unique in the literature of not-for-profit sector interventions because it focuses exclusively on school

relationships. As will become apparent below, in some respects it is not representative of the general discourse.

Contemporary literature on business/not-for-profit sector relationships strongly promotes their potential commercial benefits when successfully aligned with marketing and public relations goals and strategies. Whereas indirect commercial benefits were vaguely articulated and generally low-key in enterprise education literature, here they are detailed extensively. By contrast, human resource enhancement – so much the explicit priority of enterprise education partnerships, has very low status and tends to be linked to short-term employee benefits. In Wymer and Samu's (2003) typography of seven categories of non-profit and business relationships, the commercially orientated motive of 'public relations' appeared as either the first or second-highest business motivation four times, with 'target market relations' appearing first or second five times. Every relationship had at least one of these motives as the first or second strongest business motivation. By contrast, 'human resource enhancement' appeared as the lowest motivation factor in five categories and not at all for the remaining two categories (p. 8) [see figure 3.2].

However for schools, this finding needs to be read with some caution. Most not-for-profits are irrelevant to businesses' human resource skill levels. Schools, by exception, possess a distinct potential within the human resource objectives of business and this is strongly articulated as a business benefit in the *Successful Business and School Partnerships* report (NZBCSD, 2001). Even so, arguably commercial benefits still dominate in this construction of school-business relationships, as the following list of benefits to businesses of school-business relationships from *Successful Business and School Partnerships* reveals:

Objectives for Business [Note – the types of business benefit for each objective have been added in brackets next to the objective]

1. Goodwill towards businesses that make a positive contribution to the community. [public relations]
2. Increased support from customers, suppliers, shareholders and other stakeholders. [marketing to target markets]

3. Existing employees learning more about their community and thereby learning about their current and future customers. [human resource enhancement]

4. New skills for existing employees from interaction with educators and students. [human resource enhancement]

5. Enhanced ability to attract the best employees because of demonstrated social responsibility. [public relations, human resource enhancement]

6. Better relationships with Government because Ministers will appreciate businesses supporting their policy directions. [public relations]

7. The skills offered by students through projects, activities and creative problem solving. [operations support]

8. Assisting with the education of future employees, to build higher skills in a future workforce which will be better able to contribute to a sustainable New Zealand community. [human resource enhancement]

9. Developing a competitive business advantage through being based in a better-educated, socially-healthier, clean and green New Zealand. [stronger business environment]

(p. 9)

Wymer and Samu (2003) provide four categories of non-profits motivations for engagement with businesses with extra funding being the most highly ranked of these. Of interest to this research on schools in a marketised environment, the second strongest motive is the positive publicity from being selected as a partner of business. According to Wymer and Samu this association can give the non-profit and its mission credibility and potentially enable it to attract more funding and support. The remaining two motivations are accessing other non-financial business resources, and operational support – both lower motivations in this taxonomy, in direct contrast to the partnership for enterprise education discourse. These two motives, and resulting activities requiring the human resource contribution of business, are much more in evidence when schools are the focus nonprofit cause [see figure 3.2]. For instance, of the six categories of relationship identified by the New Zealand Business Council for Sustainable Development (2001) – governance, mentoring, education enhancement, vocational, scholarship, sponsorship, all but scholarship and sponsorship imply an

active human capital contribution by business. The listed benefits for students also imply *active* support rather than the more *passive* and indirect instruments of financial support:

1. Possess a positive attitude towards life and learning.
2. Set goals and possess the skills needed to achieve them.
3. Succeed and excel, regardless of the odds.
4. Have pride in their country and the contribution they can make.
5. Care for the environment and the community they live in.
6. Possess an enhanced understanding of the world beyond school.
7. Recognise opportunities for future education and employment.
   (p. 9)

A taxonomy of School-Business Relationships as Not-For-Profit Sector Interventions

Figure 3.2 below is a taxonomy of the not-for-profit sector intervention-led discourse on school-business relationships based on the discussion above. It includes the motives of businesses and schools. For businesses, the general motives and those specific to education interventions [human capital enhancement and short term operations benefits], are linked to particular activities. Likewise for schools the generic not-for-profit sector motives from Wymer and Samu (2003) of additional funding, additional non-financial resources, and positive publicity have been added, and the generic motive of operational support has been reclassified for education into 'student-focused' and 'governance and management support'.

Figure 3.2   A Taxonomy of School-Business Relationships within a Not-For-Profit Sector Intervention Discourse
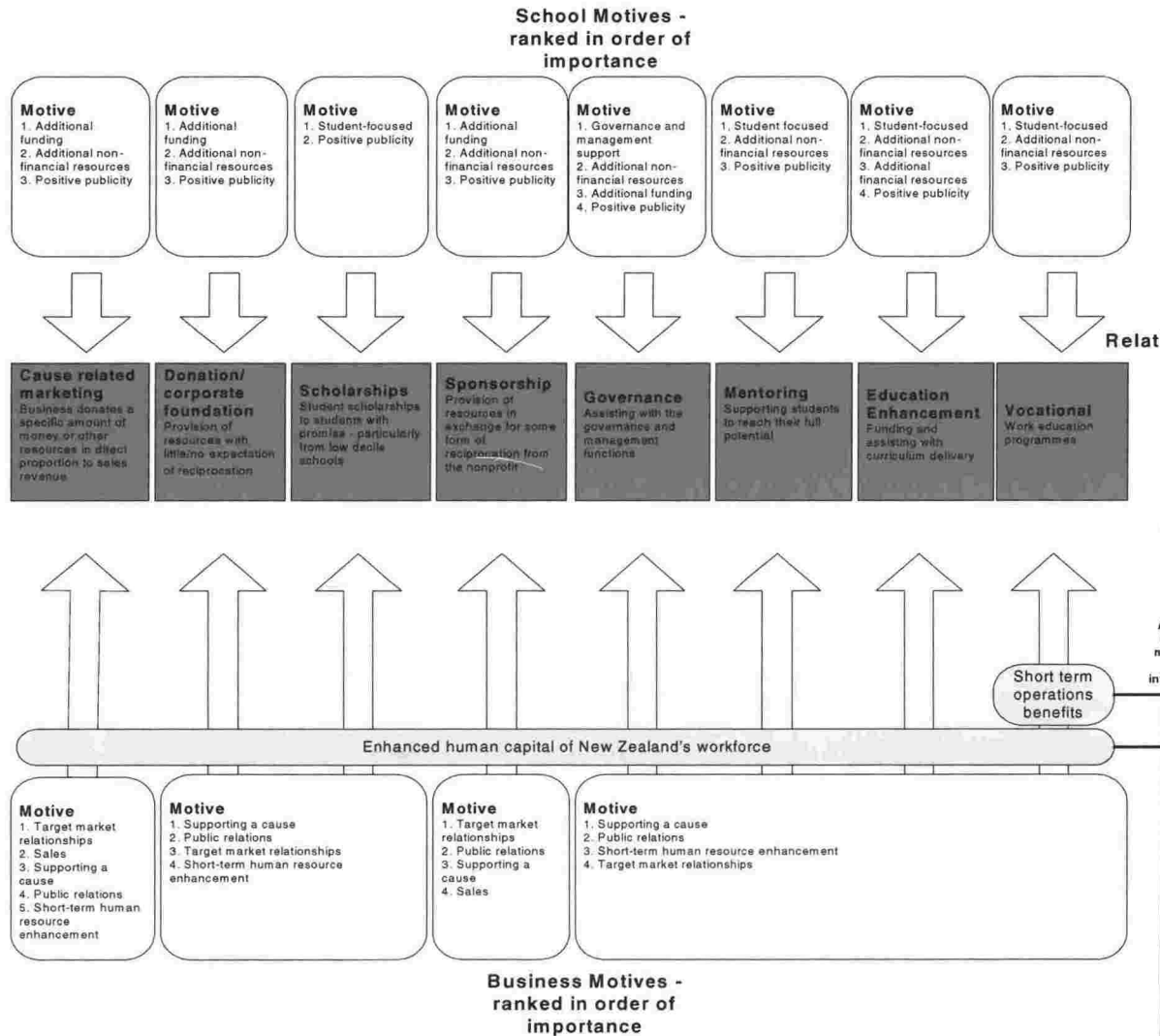
Discussion

This discourse of school-business relationships suggests that the business interest in schools is more diverse and complex than the primacy of human capital motives represented in enterprise education literature. Whereas the commercial motive was quite subtle and secondary in the partnership for enterprise education discourse – here it is in the forefront, even when schools are the exclusive consideration. Business benefits are more central and specific in this literature. The key goals of improving relationships with target markets and furthering public relations objectives have nothing to do with education for social transformation. Here the goal is not to change the institution of schooling but to present to an external audience an image of community support, with the aim of positively disposing publics to the operations or products/services of the business [see Chapter 4]. This increases the likelihood of public tolerance and support for school-business relationships as businesses symbolically present themselves as good corporate citizens. This uncritical environment is concerning given that those businesses that have the most problematic ideological and economic agendas are more likely to position themselves as socially responsible [see Chapter 4].

Having said that these social interventions are commercially inspired, the *Successful Business and School Partnerships* report (New Zealand Business Council for Sustainable Development, 2001) echoes much of the rhetoric from the enterprise education literature: students needing to become more enterprising and skilled; schools needing to understand business needs better; and the necessity for schools to improve their business performance to lift education outcomes.

School-Business Relationships within a School Commercialism Discourse

This section overviews the oppositional narrative of school commercialism that featured in public debate [for instance newspaper articles] about school-business relationships from the 1990s in New Zealand. Chapter 2 introduced this critical position. In both the enterprise education and not-for-profit taxonomies, schools gain from businesses through: resources; assistance with governance and management;

and direct support for meeting student needs. School commercialism taxonomies stand well clear of these encouraging literatures by centralising the commercial business motive, and arguing that negative, rather than positive, student and school outcomes are the result. School commercialism taxonomies contain fairly specific definitions of school-business relationship activities to assist research, education and critique. In considering the school commercialism-led taxonomy of school-business relationships, three key sources are referred to:

- Annual reports of the Commercialism in Education Research Unit (CERU). As mentioned in Chapter 2, CERU has tracked commercial activities in USA schools since the early 1990s, and produced annual reports of the previous year's press citations of school commercialism activities.

- The USA report, *Public Education. Commercial Activities in Schools* (United States General Accounting Office, 2000). In 2000 two USA Democrat politicians asked the General Accounting Office to produce this report to '…identify laws, regulations, and policies that regulate commercial activities in schools and … describe the nature and extent of these activities.' (p. 3).

- The Consumers Union of America report, *Captive Kids: A Report on Commercial Pressures on Kids at School* (Consumers Union Education Services, 1995). This report analysed sets of sponsored educational materials and other related materials and programmes produced by businesses and trade associations, categorising them as part of this analysis.

The overarching concept of 'partnership' which features strongly in enterprise education and to some degree in not-for-profit sector intervention taxonomies, is absent from this literature. Instead, schools are in many cases forced to solicit commercial arrangements with business to make up for declining public funding and rising education costs. Students are also aggressively targeted by corporations through school-business relationships for various commercial ends (Kohn, 2002a; Molnar, 1996). Even more than the not-for-profit sector intervention discourse,

resource assistance in terms of money and physical resources such as ICT, is seen as the dominant school motive.

The business motives cited within school commercialism taxonomies follow the broad mix of motives articulated by not-for-profit sector authors, with the exception of human capital enhancement, and supporting the recipient, which are absent. Consideration of commercial activities thus often excludes altruistic or philanthropic programmes and those focused on school-to-work transition or general support for at-risk students. In fact, school commercialism critics argue that there has been a shift away from partnerships and altruistic activities, towards those that are unmistakably driven by public relations and marketing imperatives (Consumers Union Education Services, 1995, p. 3; Molnar, 1996, pp. 16-17).

The business motives of sales, marketing and public relations are treated far more problematically by theorising and analysing the effects of these on students [in particular] and schools. Public relations functions are contextualised as corporate attempts to pervert the education role of schools by presenting carefully crafted representations of an enterprise or industry position to engineer student consent for operations. These attempts to persuade are most strongly associated with sponsored educational materials (Harty, 1979), but are also seen to operate within sponsorships and even donations and grants, particularly with wider audiences outside the school (Freedman, 2002; United States General Accounting Office, 2000, p. 5).

In the same critical fashion, school commercialism critics link business sales and marketing objectives to negative outcomes for students and schools. Sales objectives sit behind a diverse range of school-business relationships including, the literal sale of products in schools [e.g. vending machines], cause related marketing programmes, fundraising activities, incentive programmes and contests offering product vouchers as rewards or prizes, and longer term brand loyalty initiatives (United States General Accounting Office, 2000). For businesses, meeting school needs is purely a means to keep the relationship functioning so that the commercial exploitation of this market can continue. This is a departure from thinking of school needs as an explicit relationship goal for businesses within the not-for-profit intervention discourse, or as

part of the enterprise education rhetoric of mutual benefits and the united goal of developing an enterprise culture.

The fundamental critique of commercial business motives applied here shapes the rhetoric of this taxonomy quite strongly. Business motives drive labels such as 'electronic marketing', 'direct advertising', and 'market research'. For example, the USA for-profit student TV broadcast Channel One, which would be categorised as 'enhancement of curriculum delivery' in *Working Together* (Ministry of Education, 1999) or as 'education enhancement' in *Successful Business and School Partnerships: Making a Difference for a Sustainable New Zealand* (New Zealand Business Council for Sustainable Development, 2001), is here labelled by its commercial motive of electronic marketing. This negative positioning of school-business relationships is extended by the publication and promotion of a range of guidelines for limiting the infiltration of various commercial activities in schools, and assessing levels of commercialism (Consumers Union Education Services, 1995; Molnar, 1995).

A Taxonomy of School-Business Relationships as Commercial Activities in Schools

Figure 3.3 below is a taxonomy of the school commercialism discourse on school-business relationships. It identifies the school and business motives which are completely distinct. The business motives are tied to five broad categories of commercial activity, and specific commercial activities are grouped under these broad categories. Some activities respond to a range of commercial motives, for instance cause related marketing and sponsored educational materials.

Figure 3.3　A Taxonomy of School-Business Relationships within a School Commercialism Discourse

Business Motives

| Immediate sales to the child and teen markets | Long term brand loyalty | Market products and services to key external audiences (including parents) | Maintain student and public consent for industry/business operations, products, and services |

Child 'nag factor'

Categories of commercial activities in schools

| Market research | Sales | Direct Advertising | Indirect advertising | Public relations |
| Relationships to gather student data for commercial exploitation. | Relationships to sell products or services to students and publics through schools. | Relationships to explicitly advertise a business, its brands, and products/ services. | Relationships where business advertisements are embedded as part of a wider activity/ resource/event. | Relationships to communicate particular business messages of strategic importance to teachers, students, parents, communities or wider publics. |

Surveys/polls
Businesses conduct market research using students as participants.

Internet tracking
Students' Internet surfing is monitored to ascertain certain dispositions and preferences.

Product fundraising
Sale of a business product or service by schools for a percentage of returns.

Corporate donations, grants, gifts
Business donates a specific financial sum or resource to a school in exchange for some form of public acknowledgement from the school.

Cause related marketing
A business pledge to donate an amount of money or other resource to a nominated school whenever a particular product or service is purchased by the public. Note - can be a competition with limited prizes.

Exclusive agreements
Formal agreements that give businesses the exclusive right to sell and promote their goods and/or services in a school/ s. School/ s receive a percentage of the profits derived from the arrangement.

Sponsored contests and incentive programmes
Businesses reward students for reaching some academic target or winning an academic competition.

Samples
The free provision of product samples to students and teachers.

Sponsorship of programmes and activities
A business funds an event, activity or resource in exchange for the right to associate its name/brands/products with this relationship.

Sponsored educational materials
A business or industry association funds and/or develops educational materials for use in the classroom by teachers and students.

Advertising on school property
The placement of corporate logos and/or advertising on school facilities.

Advertising in classroom resources/ publications including electronic media
The placement of corporate logos and or/advertising on student materials - e.g. student television, textbooks, web browsers, exercise book coverings.

Easy integration of readymade resources/ programmes

Perceived higher quality including multimedia qualities

Additional non-financial resources

Additional financial resources

School Motives

Discussion

The school commercialism narrative centralises the business commercial motive rather than a mixture of business motives evident in the first two discourses. It also advocates for the primacy of the social and democracy-building role of schooling rather than enterprise education, and as such it argues for the preservation of schools as a vital public sphere.

As was indicated in Chapter 2, the critique tends to position schools as vulnerable, financially strapped, and threatened last bastions of commercial-free space, rather than extending its analysis to implicate the corporatised school which may eagerly embrace school-business relationships for governance and management purposes or because of perceived benefits to students. Its strong focus tends to be on marketing, sales and public relations activities directed at children in schools, rather than those aimed at families and other publics through the exploitation of the sign value of school-business relationships. Hence, the complex issue of social responsibility marketing tends to feature less in this analysis except where a major business or industry risk is being mitigated through a school-business relationship. Even here it tends to be the effects of these strategies on students that remains the focus, rather than an analysis of the wider hegemonic project sometimes at work. Lastly because of this narrative's attention towards school commercialism, it makes fewer connections between school-business relationships and corporate pedagogies outside of school, except to use these non-school relationships as a further argument for commercial-free schools. Making connections between corporate pedagogies in and out of school and children's learning does not diminish the need for a critical and ethical approach to school-business relationships, but does call into doubt commercial-free schools as a comprehensive contemporary strategy of school resistance to corporate power [see Chapter 2].

Table 3.4 below summarises each of the public discourses of school-business relationships. The table notes their key features and how they position schools, students and businesses.

Table 3.4   Summary of the Public Discourses on School-Business Relationships From the 1990s
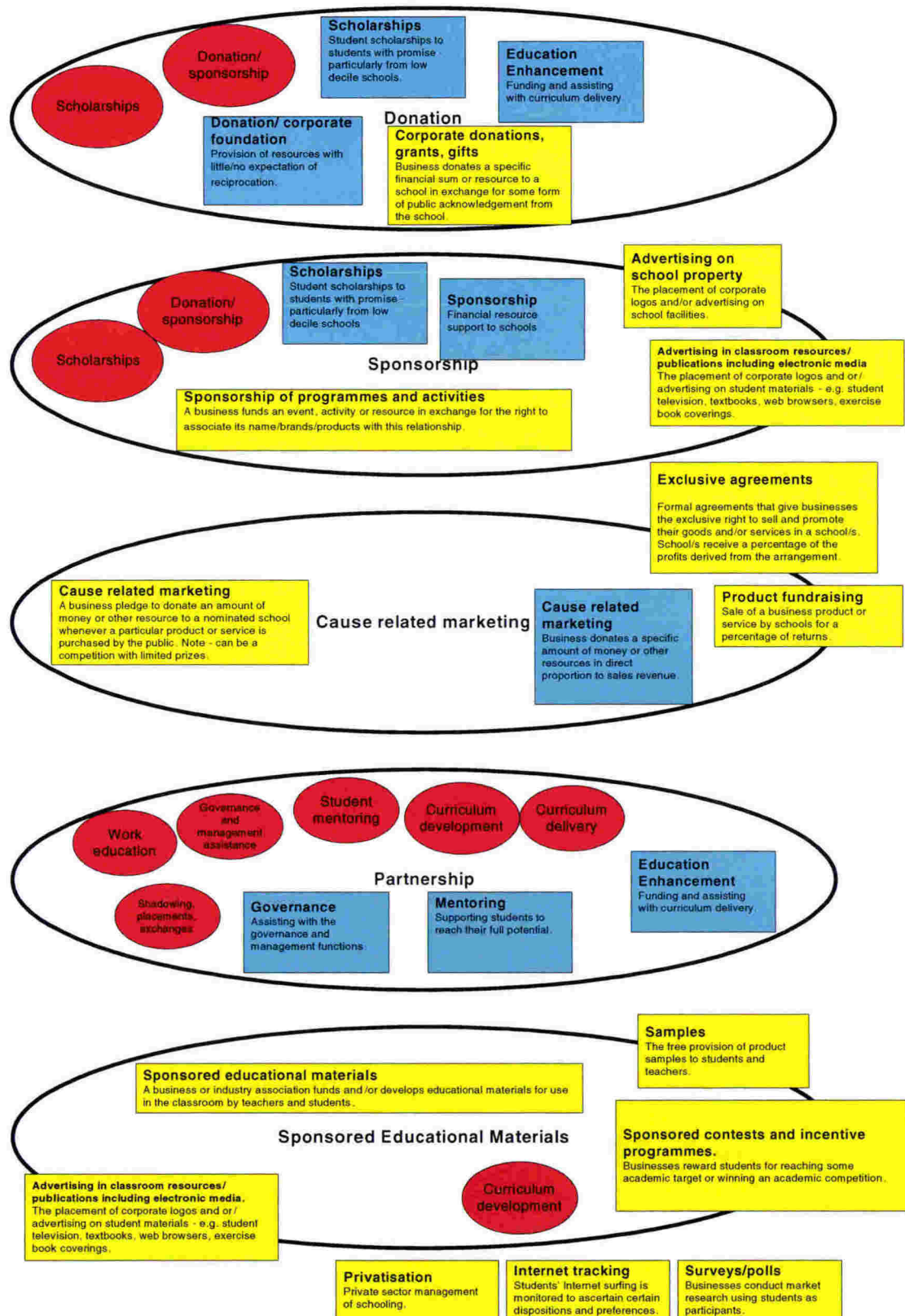
	Partnership for Enterprise Education	Not-For-Profit Sector Interventions	School Commercialism
Central argument	Schools need to work with businesses to ensure they produce students with the right skills, knowledge and values to meet the current and future demands of enterprise and a knowledge economy/enterprise culture.	School-business relationships, if aligned effectively with corporate objectives, can be a powerful business strategy to meet the commercial, social and human capital objectives of businesses.	The commercial interests of businesses drive school-business relationships, be they sales, marketing or public relations objectives. This leads to poor educational outcomes and ultimately non-critical citizens and poor democracy.
Core concerns	School is divorced from the new 'real world' of enterprise and is failing to meet its human capital commitments to enterprise. Schools as discourage the enterprising student by being un-enterprising and anti-business. Partnerships must provide mutual benefits for both parties.	Strategic recipient selection and management of school-business relationships is vital to yield positive marketing and public relations benefits. Social outcome effects for business are long term and commercial benefits can be short or long term.	The manipulation of student views. Poor quality learning. Encouragement of consumption. Harmful and unhealthy products and risky businesses are prominent participants. Equity – i.e. poor schools compromise the most.
Wider concerns	It is hard for business to achieve human capital benefits directly, therefore commercial benefits are OK. The public education system is an inefficient monopoly which leads to un-enterprising schools.	Schools are struggling to meet their human capital commitments to enterprise. However, they need a 'hand up' – not a 'hand out' to become more effective.	Concern over the general commercialisation of schools through e.g. privatisation, vouchers, charter schools. Children's ever increasing exposure to the commercial desires of businesses out of school means that schools need to be a commercial-free.
Positioning of schools	Schools exist to meet the human capital needs of enterprise. They have increasingly failed to do this as businesses have shifted from fordist to a post-fordist mode. Schools are complex enterprises that can benefit from business assistance to run more efficiently and foster enterprising behaviours in teachers and students.	In general, schools are like any other not-for-profit sector entity for businesses to work with – their semiotic value is of most importance. Schools however have an extra value as producers of labour market inputs.	Schools are vital public institutions and must remain public. They have a key role in furthering democracy by producing critical citizens. They should be commercial-free to allow the development of critical citizens. They are under-funded, therefore vulnerable to commercialism.
Positioning of students	Students are inherently enterprising but are not supported by schools to develop these talents. Students are individual rather than social subjects. They have a strong identity as future workers. Students are vital to the nation's future economic performance as subjects of human capital. New Zealand's egalitarian education philosophy discourages student's competitive instincts.	Students have semiotic value which can further business commercial agendas. School-focused literature positions students as 'the future' – future citizens and workers.	Children are increasingly targeted by businesses as consumers outside of school – they are under attack from the commercial desires of corporations. They are susceptible to being manipulated by corporate bias (particularly younger students) and therefore should be free from these influences in their learning so that their citizenship capabilities can be developed. They are at risk of personal negative outcomes (e.g. obesity) through the marketing activities of businesses.
Positioning of businesses	Business is a positive force with respect to employment, the economy, and social outcomes. Business is a key client of education outputs. Businesses need highly skilled, knowledgeable and enterprising workers to be successful in a knowledge economy.	Businesses are profit-making institutions and interventions in schools can support a range of commercial benefits. Businesses must create public meaning to maintain consent and promote their commercial objectives. Business can make an active social contribution and benefit commercially at the same time.	Businesses are driven by a profit motive, not a social motive. They are a poor educator of students because their interest is constrained by the private profit imperative. They are a weak substitute for public institutions in education – they do not really understand the education process.
Key implications from this discourse	Enterprise education as a cultural project shifts school-decision-making from the ethical and critical to the pragmatic and entrepreneurial. It constructs and reconstructs the enterprising school and student. This is supported by an uncritical narrative of business as a positive economic and social force.	The semiotic work of these interventions, which cast businesses as socially responsible, inhibits critical and ethical responses from schools. Students are still constructed as enterprising future workers in need of business assistance, rather than social subjects with a range of needs.	Doesn't strongly acknowledge the SBR motives of the corporatised school. The focus tends to be on student effects and not a wider corporate agenda of PR to wider publics. Doesn't incorporate a strong cultural analysis of students' wider engagement with corporate pedagogies and the implications for educator responses to school-business relationships.

Selecting School-Business Relationship Activities for this Research

The three discourses described above introduce diverse school-business relationship activities and motives. Figure 3.5 below is literally a 'paste' of all the school-business relationship activities from Figures 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3, onto the five specific activities [represented as large ellipses] featured in this research. A red oval activity indicates that the activity is from the partnership for enterprise education discourse. A *blue* square activity comes from the not-for-profit sector intervention discourse, and a *yellow* square is from the school commercialism discourse. The placement of an activity in relation to the ellipses represents its relevance to that key activity. Those pastes appearing completely inside an ellipse border are very consistent with the main activity. Those activities that are positioned only half inside the ellipse border are different to the main activity but share some common elements. Those pastes completely outside the ellipses are not related in any significant way with any of the five main activities. These are briefly discussed at the end of the chapter.

Almost all activities from each discourse can be related to at least one the five selected key school-business relationships activities of donations, sponsorships, cause related marketing, partnerships and sponsored educational materials. Figure 3.5 also confirms that the key activities can accommodate a reasonably diverse range of particular activities, and therefore ultimately a variety of school and business motives and strategies. The next section considers these five activities and how they are appropriated by each of the three key discourses of school-business relationships.

Figure 3.5   School-Business Relationship Activities 'Pasted' to the Five Key Activities in this Research

Scholarships
Student scholarships to students with promise - particularly from low decile schools.

Scholarships

Donation/ sponsorship

Education Enhancement
Funding and assisting with curriculum delivery.

Donation/ corporate foundation
Provision of resources with little/no expectation of reciprocation.

Donation

Corporate donations, grants, gifts
Business donates a specific financial sum or resource to a school in exchange for some form of public acknowledgement from the school.

Scholarships
Student scholarships to students with promise - particularly from low decile schools

Donation/ sponsorship

Sponsorship
Financial resource support to schools

Advertising on school property
The placement of corporate logos and/or advertising on school facilities.

Scholarships

Sponsorship

Advertising in classroom resources/ publications including electronic media
The placement of corporate logos and or/ advertising on student materials - e.g. student television, textbooks, web browsers, exercise book coverings.

Sponsorship of programmes and activities
A business funds an event, activity or resource in exchange for the right to associate its name/brands/products with this relationship.

Exclusive agreements

Formal agreements that give businesses the exclusive right to sell and promote their goods and/or services in a school/s. School/s receive a percentage of the profits derived from the arrangement.

Cause related marketing
A business pledge to donate an amount of money or other resource to a nominated school whenever a particular product or service is purchased by the public. Note - can be a competition with limited prizes.

Cause related marketing

Cause related marketing
Business donates a specific amount of money or other resources in direct proportion to sales revenue.

Product fundraising
Sale of a business product or service by schools for a percentage of returns.

Governance and management assistance

Student mentoring

Curriculum development

Curriculum delivery

Work education

Partnership

Education Enhancement
Funding and assisting with curriculum delivery.

Shadowing, placements, exchanges

Governance
Assisting with the governance and management functions

Mentoring
Supporting students to reach their full potential.

Samples
The free provision of product samples to students and teachers.

Sponsored educational materials
A business or industry association funds and /or develops educational materials for use in the classroom by teachers and students.

Sponsored Educational Materials

Sponsored contests and incentive programmes.
Businesses reward students for reaching some academic target or winning an academic competition.

Advertising in classroom resources/ publications including electronic media.
The placement of corporate logos and or/ advertising on student materials - e.g. student television, textbooks, web browsers, exercise book coverings.

Curriculum development

Privatisation
Private sector management of schooling.

Internet tracking
Students' Internet surfing is monitored to ascertain certain dispositions and preferences.

Surveys/polls
Businesses conduct market research using students as participants.

Donations

Donations from businesses to schools appear in the enterprise education and not-for-profit sector intervention discourses, but are virtually absent from the school commercialism discourse. Although the enterprise education emphasis is on human resource support to schools rather than 'financial aid' activities, both donations and sponsorships, along with scholarships, feature as examples of negotiated activities within partnerships (Ministry of Education, 1993, 1999).

As a not-for-profit sector activity, donations are the traditional instrument of corporate philanthropy (Suwanawihok, 1994, p. 23). They are often regarded as activities that accrue greater returns to the recipient rather than the business (Wymer and Samu, 2003). However, as noted earlier, when schools are the not-for-profit sector focus, donations, along with scholarships, are positioned as supporting long-term business productivity and human resource enhancement. Although donations do not have an explicit profile in school commercialism writings, donations have themselves become more commercially orientated in the shift from altruistic to strategic philanthropy. It is now difficult to clearly distinguish them from a sponsorship as they both have a value in terms of marketing and public relations objectives. In an environment of increasing strategic philanthropy, enterprise donations to education that fulfil the altruistic philanthropy criteria of a voluntary reduction in income and benefits exclusively accruing to an autonomous recipient, are rare (Roberts, 1994).

Collins (1993) argues that donations remain distinct from corporate sponsorships for three reasons. Firstly, they have less business emphasis on exploiting the association publicly for commercial gain. Secondly, there is a weaker or non-existent connection between the donation's characteristics [including its recipient] and the operations of the business. Thirdly, the financial return to the business is less a focus of the relationship. However other literature suggests a high degree of strategic alignment between donations, business goals and recipient selection. Firstly, some enterprises have targeted donations to support, influence or promote a not-for-profit organisation whose agenda is favourable or potentially favourable to its operations, a tactic which has its precedent in political party donations by business (Beder, 1997). These

associations can give donators access to the information and resources of these organisations as well as the image benefits of their public credibility[17]. Secondly, in the USA at least, corporate philanthropy has been strongly aligned with a right-wing school reform agenda. In fact, many American corporations channel their education donations to school reform interest groups and think tanks rather than schools (see Wilson, 2005; Molnar, 1996).

Sponsorship

Business sponsorship appears in all three taxonomies of school-business relationships, along with donations, the only activity to do so. Like donations, they have low status in the partnership for enterprise education discourse, however they are very popular as a not-for-profit sector intervention. In the USA, CERU data shows that sponsorship has been the most cited [in print media] school-business relationship activity a total of seven times between 1990 and 2002/03 – more than any other activity (Molnar, 2003a, p. 4).

Assessing sponsorships against the marketing mix of businesses reveals that they fit within public relations *and* advertising strategies (Short, 1996; Suwanawihok, 1994; Walters, 1997). This versatility is referenced by Marconi (1996) in his assertion that there are two major types of sponsorship. The first are 'commercially orientated' sponsorships undertaken as a programme to achieve an explicit identifiable marketing goal. These sponsorships are large scale and recipients include high profile sports teams and sports competitions, television programmes, and substantial entertainment and artistic events. They comprise a high degree of planning and management by the sponsoring enterprise. The second category Marconi labels as 'community orientated' sponsorships, and here money and resources are provided by a business to not-for-profit organisations in the community. These sponsorships are characterised by smaller budgets, 'one-off' payments, and less concern with recipient selection, planning, and management. Community orientated sponsorships tend to exclude the pursuit of specific marketing objectives but are intended to generate the public relations outcomes of public goodwill and positive community relations.

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[17] Beder (1997) asserts that in some instances these alliances have resulted in a corruption or 'buy-out' of the not-for-profit organisation's agenda by the business or industry partner.

A key weakness of Marconi's distinction is that it implies that not-for-profit sponsorships are community-orientated and low key. In fact, in their emergence as strategic business activities, not-for-profit sector sponsorships are often are highly planned (Wymer and Samu, 2003) and financially large (Laurence, 1997). Roberts (1994) noted that in education sponsorships, there was a 'spectrum of motivations' from the narrow recognition of commercial opportunities, to a genuine concern for education, suggesting mixes of community and commercial objectives rather than sponsorships being one or the other.

Sponsorships provide a number of commercial benefits to business. Firstly, they allow businesses to access non-traditional advertising mediums such as schools, and therefore operate in a sphere free of the 'advertising clutter' of traditional media such as television (Short, 1996, p. 12). Secondly, they are seen as effective at creating, reinforcing, rebuilding, or repositioning a brand or corporate image (Wymer and Samu, 2003). Thirdly, it is possible to target a particular audience to receive a desired external communication message by carefully selecting the sponsorship recipient and gauging the target audience's feelings about that recipient and its mission. In some cases, the target market of the business brand may be the sponsorship recipient (Short, 1996, p. 15&17) but in the case of schools, the audience may be parents, a wider public, or even government [see Chapters 4 and 6]. Fourthly, sometimes there are opportunities for free media coverage of the sponsorship, and general positive publicity. Lastly, although sponsorships are generally seen as vehicles to improve long term sales (Short, 1996, p. 147) in some situations they are versatile enough for the enterprise to negotiate a variety of immediate 'hard' reciprocation benefits such as sales promotion or direct selling (Suwanawihok, 1994, p. 29).

Recipient selection is vital to realise these commercial benefits. Potential recipients, including schools are considered against the following criteria:

- overall value for money and affordability;
- level of promotional and media opportunities;
- the relevance of the sponsorship to the sponsor's target markets;
- the consistency between the sponsored party and a desired corporate image;

- the consistency with existing communications/promotions mix activities;

- sales generation potential.
  (Marketing Magazine, 1991; Short, 1996; Suwanawihok, 1994)

Research into corporate sponsorship behaviour suggests that enterprises commonly sponsor education but that the amounts contributed trail other recipient categories. A survey of New Zealand's 200 largest public companies found that 37% of respondents undertook sponsorships in education compared to 55% in sports and 31% in arts. However the total financial value of all education sponsorships was comparatively very low: $461,433 compared to sport [$7,346,699], arts [$1,116,099], community health [$896,005], and community welfare [$771,850]. The average size of each sponsorship to education was also very low: $21,973, compared to sport [$229,584], arts [$74,407] and community health [$64,000] (Laurence, 1997, p. 33). Short (1996) in a survey of 121 large businesses found the same pattern of wide support for education but relatively low financial contributions. Interestingly, by contrast in both the USA and UK, education is the leading recipient in dollar terms of corporate giving (Monin and Edmiston, 1999).

Cause Related Marketing

Cause related marketing (CRM) programmes are those activities that provide money or resources to schools through a percentage of each sale price of a nominated product or service. Sometimes the programme is competitive so returns to schools are more varied. CRMs appear in the school commercialism and not-for-profit sector intervention discourses on school-business relationships, but not at all in the enterprise education discourse. Unlike sponsorship and donations, there is no expectation of a human resource contribution from the business to these programmes and there is no pretence of a focus on raising the human capital of New Zealand's workforce – it is absolutely a 'financial aid' package for schools in enterprise education terms, and a sales promotion strategy for businesses. It is often associated with school fundraising and CERU in the USA categorises it as such. For business, it is widely accepted that sales and marketing objectives dominate over the goal of

assisting a cause or organisation (Hood, 1996; Molnar, 1996; Roberts, 1994; Suwanawihok, 1994; Wymer and Samu, 2003; Young, 1996).

Cause related marketing appeals to businesses as a not-for-profit sector intervention over sponsorships and donations because of its 'win-win-win' nature. Firstly the business receives enhanced goodwill and brand recognition for supporting a not-for-profit organisation, while simultaneously increasing sales. Secondly, schools and other non-profit recipients benefit through additional funds or resources. And thirdly, the consumers that support the cause related marketing activity are not financially penalised for their support as they are receiving a product or service, usually at no extra price, while financially assisting a worthy cause.

Although cause related marketing activities are more complex and therefore less common than sponsorships or donations, they have become a strong feature of business activity in education nationally and internationally (see Molnar, 1996), and they have the potential to raise considerably higher sums of money and resources for schools in comparison to other activities. New Zealand's two major telecommunications companies, TelstraClear [as it is now known] and Telecom New Zealand, established major national CRMs in schools during the 1990s. In each programme customers were able to nominate a school to which a percentage of their monthly toll bill was donated. The more the customer used their toll service, the more money the school received within a capped national limit. Between 1993 and 1997, Telecom donated $28 million to schools through their scheme and from 1987 to 1997 it had accounted for approximately 30% of Telecom's entire community support payments. By 1998 the annual value of this engagement to schools had reached $9 million (Telecom New Zealand Ltd, 1997a, p. 18).

Similarly, in 1993 two national grocery retailing enterprises, Progressive Enterprises and Foodstuffs each introduced cause related marketing programmes called 'Apples for Students' and 'Acorns[18] for Students' respectively. In both these programmes, schools received a percentage of the value [in computers] of all till receipts assigned to their school by customers. In 1993 Apples for Students paid $2.5 million in computer hardware and software to participating schools from $276 million in till

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[18] Acorn was a brand of computers briefly marketed to schools in the 1990s.

receipts collected. In 1994 the programmes jointly paid approximately $7.5 million to schools (Phare, 1994; Teutenberg, 1994).

Cause related marketing programmes are particularly suited to education because not only do they exploit the charitable impulses of consumers wishing to assist education, but they can also harness the fund-raising expertise and enthusiasm of parents, students, teachers, trustees and community supporters to increase the returns for the school and therefore the business. Strategies include students collecting till receipts and schools encouraging parents to consume the sponsor's product or service through the school newsletter and other school communications.

Partnership

Partnership appears in the partnership for enterprise education and not-for-profit sector intervention discourses. It does not feature at all in school commercialism taxonomies because these critics do not see the pursuit of commercial business objectives as reconcilable with collaborative and authentic support for education, and the metaphor of partnership is therefore flawed. Despite its common usage in these first two discourses, partnership is difficult to discuss as a school-business relationship *activity* because, as shown in the first part of this chapter, partnership is positioned as an *umbrella* relationship for the *facilitation* of mutually-agreed diverse activities rather than a discrete activity (Education Review Office, 1996; Ministry of Education, 1993, 1999; New Zealand Education-Business Partnership Trust, 1993; Price, 1991).

Putting this dominant umbrella construction of partnership aside, partnership also connotes an active, more hands-on contribution from business, and a more explicit focus on improving student outcomes. Partnership literature stresses the allocation of businesses' physical resources, knowledge and skills to directly support curriculum delivery, student career planning and development, the professional development of staff, and school governance and management. Although donations, sponsorships and cause related marketing initiatives may enrich learning indirectly through the provision of extra resources, the education outcomes of these activities are not dependent upon the skills and physical resources of the business, but rather its financial resources and its commitment to part with these. Financial resources may be

included within partnerships, but a core interest is the human resource value that business partners can add. There are a number of specific activities that meet this construction of partnership, some of which are included in figure 3.5. These include mentoring, work experience/exploration, internships, careers advice, authentic projects, shadowing, and curriculum development and delivery.

Sponsored Educational Materials (SEMs)

SEMs feature prominently in school commercialism taxonomies. They are also implicated within curriculum development and education enhancement activities within the partnership for enterprise education and not-for-profit sector intervention discourses respectively (Ministry of Education, 1999; New Zealand Business Council for Sustainable Development, 2001).

SEMs are a leading concern of many school-business relationship critics (Boyles, 2000; Harty, 1979, 1994; Molnar, 1996; Olson, 2002) because of the educational and democratic implications of merging marketing and public relations objectives *directly* with the content and activities of students' learning. Three major analyses and critiques of sponsored educational materials assessing commercialism and bias have been produced in recent decades in the USA. The first of these, Harty's *Hucksters in the Classroom. A Review of Industry Propaganda in Schools* (1979) found that 29% of Fortune Magazine's top 500 industrial companies and 47% of trade associations sent curriculum resources to schools. In its sample, this study found numerous examples of corporate bias, and corporate marketing strategies. In the 1980s Rudd and Buttolph (1987) compared business and trade association SEMs with those from government and nonprofit organisation on various measures of commercialism. They found that business and trade association SEMs contained twice as many advertising statements as the other resources, and very high counts of references to company names, brands, models, products and logos. They concluded that these materials were indeed commercial and recommended more education for teachers about the intent of corporate SEMs. The most recent large scale study, *Captive Kids: A Report on Commercial Pressures on Kids at Schools* (Consumers Union Education Services, 1995) analysed 77 SEMs and found that about half were commercial and nearly 80% contained biased or incomplete information. The report

also highlighted a number of 'middlemen' companies specifically developing and distributing SEMs to schools on behalf of business clients. Lastly, the report drew attention to the growing diversity of media that SEMs appeared in, including video, CD Roms, posters, or kits containing a mixture of materials. More recently, the Internet has become a popular vehicle for SEM distribution (United States General Accounting Office, 2000, p. 29).

Figure 3.5 shows that SEMs are connected to a range of associated activities. The first of these are learning support items and services containing business marketing and advertising including student television, student websites and web browser services, textbooks, and exercise book protective coverings (Morman, 1997; United States General Accounting Office, 2000). The second related category is product samples and product information provided to students for promotional purposes (United States General Accounting Office, 2000). The third category is sponsored contests and incentive programmes (Consumers Union Education Services, 1995). Here, businesses reward students for reaching an academic target [incentive programme] or succeeding in academic competition [contest]. They draw together promotional advertising [which can be quite low in orthodox SEMs], and learning activities, which themselves are often associated with the sponsor and its products or operations (Blundell, 2003). A final sub-category emerging as this research was concluding was commercial fieldtrips to business operations, which crossed brand promotion with hands-on visits to business sites.

Although quite a lot is known about the *supply* of SEMs, not as much is known about the nature and extent of teacher use or student response to sponsored educational materials. The USA General Accounting Office report *Public Education. Commercial Activities in Schools* (2000) found that SEMs were widely available to schools, but the teachers they interviewed used very few titles, and this use tended to be for a short or one-off time, and integrated with other materials. In New Zealand the NZSTA/ANZA guidelines and the Ministry of Education's own guidelines for curriculum developers highlight concerns around SEMs in the areas of: potential balance/bias; fact versus opinion; and the provision of up to date information (Ministry of Education, 2002a; New Zealand School Trustees Association, 1999).

Other School-Business Relationship Activities

There are three school-business relationship activities raised in school commercialism critiques which are not covered in this research – the market research strategies of Internet tracking and student surveys/polls, and privatisation. Internet tracking is where students' Internet surfing is monitored by a business to ascertain behaviours and preferences. These data are subsequently sold to other businesses for marketing purposes. Internet tracking developed a high profile in the USA in the late 1990s with the advent of ZapMe!, a programme that provided computers to schools. For this resource, students viewed advertising and had their web surfing monitored – data that was subsequently made available to ZapMe! advertisers (Molnar and Morales, 2000). There was no evidence of such programmes operating in New Zealand during this research. The second category – surveys and polls of students, carries a similar purpose of gaining student data for commercial purposes. It was also absent from the New Zealand school-business relationship literature however, one principal during the school interviews for this research, did mention one past instance of it at his school.

Privatisation, specifically defined as the transfer of responsibility for school management and delivery to commercial providers, is characterised as a commercialising activity in education by school commercialism critics (Kohn and Shannon, 2002; Molnar, 1996). Chapter 2 also noted that school-business relationships that transfer costs and responsibilities in education from public to private interests [e.g. sponsorships and curriculum delivery programmes] fall within a broader definition of privatisation. A third view of privatisation, more broadly associates it with marketisation's transfer of the unit of education concern from the public to the private. While these latter two constructions of privatisation inform the analysis of school-business relationships in this thesis, the structural transfer of major responsibilities in the schools sector to business interests [for example, for-profit management of schools] is not considered, as again it was not apparent in New Zealand during this research.

Table 3.6 below considers how each of the key school-business relationship activities discussed above – donations, sponsorships, cause related marketing, partnerships,

and sponsored educational materials – is positioned within each of the discourses of school-business relationships

Table 3.6   Summary of Positioning of Key School-Business Relationship Activities within the School-Business Relationship Discourses

	Donation	Sponsorship	Cause Related Marketing	Partnership	Sponsored Educational Materials
Partnership for Enterprise Education	Donations are generally not appropriate because they are not targeted and are a passive 'throwing money at the problem' approach. They can be a negotiated component of an umbrella partnership.	Sponsorships are generally not appropriate because they are not targeted and are a passive 'throwing money at the problem' approach. They can be a negotiated component of an umbrella partnership. They can be useful for realising business commercial gains.	CRMs are totally inconsistent with this discourse as they are a straight commercial exercise for both parties – there is no focus on human capital development.	Partnership is an umbrella relationship that permits diverse activities to be negotiated within set objectives. They are designed to yield equal mutual benefits to the partners. Partnerships encourage the use of business human and material resources to provide active support.	SEMs do not feature strongly, however they could be a strategy to support curriculum delivery, and career guidance and support.
Not-For-Profit Sector Interventions	Donations are a traditional tool of corporate philanthropy but not as flexible and governable by business as other activities – including sponsorship. Can be a useful public relations strategy – particularly for reaching wider publics.	Sponsorships are a key strategy as they provide a range of commercial opportunities inside and outside the relationship through planned reciprocation and external promotion.	CRMs are very useful because they yield sales, marketing and public relations benefits, while providing financial benefits to schools. Schools are excellent participants because they get their community behind the programme.	Generally partnership does not feature, although some complex sponsorships might share similar features. In school-focused literature, partnership is an umbrella term for diverse activities.	SEMs do not feature. However they could fall within education enhancement activities in the school-focused literature.
School Commercialism	Donations as 'no strings attached' corporate giving are preferable to the more commercial activities. Sometimes corporate donations are used to further a school-reform agenda.	Sponsorships are used to advertise to students, to encourage consumption, and to foster the desires and values of uncritical consumption. This is inconsistent with a school's role to encourage critical thinking and social values.	CRMs are used to advertise to students, to encourage consumption, and to foster the desires and values of uncritical consumption. This is inconsistent with a school's role to encourage critical thinking and social values. These are time-intensive activities and often involve unhealthy products.	Partnership is not assessed to any great extent in this taxonomy. However it would take issue with relationships presenting themselves as 'partnerships' where the benefits were commercial to the business. Businesses have become less interested in genuine partnerships to support education.	SEMs feature prominently in this discourse. They are seen as fundamentally incompatible with learning and the educational mission of schools. They are often biased, incomplete, and present a view that encourages consumption of the sponsor's products. They sometimes contain advertising and poor quality learning activities. Unhealthy products and risky industries often sponsor these materials.

Chapter Discussion

Chapter 2 argued that discourse creates and reproduces identities and relations by constructing certain 'truths' and suppressing other truths. Discourse therefore frames possibilities for action and further discursive practices within institutions. However, discourses are never totally fixed and hegemonic; they are both maintained and challenged through these ongoing discursive practices and social actions. Each of the public discourses presented in the first part of this chapter promoted a template of how school-business relationships should or supposedly did work and what their likely outcomes were. The differences between these discourses are apparent in the diverse positioning of school-business relationship activities. Each discourse sought to set the agenda for implementing or [in the case of the school commercialism critique] rejecting school-business relationships. Along the way these discourses stated truths about the purposes and operations of schools and businesses, the purposes of education, and what is good for children and young people.

The enterprise education discourse provides a background of separation and suspicion, including teachers who are basically anti-business and un-enterprising. Generally then, the school is positioned negatively, in need of transformation, and lacking the internal capacity – both managerially and pedagogically, to make this transformation. The enterprise education aspiration of creating through schooling workers who embody the skills, knowledge and values for successful enterprise is promoted as the unproblematic united goal of businesses and schools. Ironically the mutual gains philosophy of a contractual 'umbrella' partnership opens the door for businesses to pursue commercial returns and diverse relationships. Within this narrative a successful school is a corporatised school – a school that both embodies and serves business by producing enterprising subjects for a competitive labour market. As I have begun to argue, this corporatised school is lacking both a critical language to question corporate power in school-business relationships and an inclination to resistance.

Whereas business commercial gains are permissible in the partnership for enterprise education discourse, the not-for-profit sector intervention discourse centralises

commercial objectives and introduces social objectives. When education is treated as just one of a range of potential recipients of corporate intervention, improving learning becomes largely irrelevant; instead the school's semiotic value dictates its exchange value to business. However, when schools are the focus of consideration (for example, New Zealand Business Council for Sustainable Development, 2001) the link is again made between students as workers, and enterprise success. Again, schools are cast as needing to do better, the difference being that the social context [e.g. low decile schools and high-risk students] of this performance is presented as a barrier for business to assist with. Students can be put on the right track with support from business [e.g. mentoring]. There is no pretence of critically transitive education within this discourse; it is about mending deviance from an enterprising subject. The social acceptability of this narrative is enhanced by the image of corporate social responsibility that surrounds and legitimises it.

The school commercialism discourse of school-business relationships, as a critical reading, centralises the commercial goals of business, and argues that these fundamentally distort the education process. Schools seek commercial relationships because of a primal need for resources – cash and materials, in an environment of stagnant or dwindling state support. Businesses are the means to an end and ethical compromises are made – this desperation makes schools vulnerable. Schools cannot bite the hand that feeds them by taking oppositional ethical and critical stances, and businesses exploit this with increasingly dubious commercial strategies. The activities often fulfil the immediate resource needs of schools, but damage students' learning, weaken the potential of schools to support critical citizenship and social values, delude politicians that these are viable school-resourcing strategies, and distract schools from more worthwhile activities. Students are cast as consumers, and schools as marketplaces by these businesses.

These taxonomies each construct school-business relationships and claim its effects. They also attempt to define the specific activities of donations, sponsorships, cause related marketing, sponsored educational materials and partnerships, creating sometimes widely diverse readings of these relationships and their effects. Collectively they traverse student identities as a consumer, worker and citizen and constructions of schools as market places, learning spaces, work preparation

institutions, and a powerful sign. Chapters 4 and 5 by focusing on the actions and environments of businesses and schools look at the ways these discourses permeated practice. Chapter 4 explores corporate pedagogies and power, and Chapter 5 the corporatised school.

Chapter 4. The 'Supply-Side' of School-Business Relationships Since 1990: Corporate Pedagogies and Power

Introduction

This chapter explores key characteristics of the school-business relationship activities of businesses since 1990, with a leading reference to New Zealand businesses where possible. The previous chapter outlined three narratives of business behaviour. This chapter assesses how these discourses were represented in the actions of businesses since 1990. Each of the three key business interests of commercial, human capital and social objectives are considered in turn. The chapter makes conclusions about the prevailing and evolving nature of school-business relationships as an expression of corporate power in New Zealand education since 1990.

Educating Consumers: The Commercial Business Motive

This section analyses the commercial motive as a driving force for businesses in school-business relationships. The first part of this section looks at the business commercial motive in terms of the sales and marketing imperative around child consumers. This is followed by the public relations imperative associated with the child as a current and future citizen, and finally the further public relations appeal of school-business relationships in the context of external publics and customers.

The Rise of the Child Consumer

Western children's changing relationship with corporate interests through consumption, is a fundamental element of changing childhoods. In the mid 19th century, children were removed from the spheres of economic production and consumption, and placed into schools where they could be protected and prepared for their adult future of labour and citizenship. Throughout the 20th Century children have gradually become a more significant consumer market, and spending *on* and *by* children have both increased.

Demographic, economic and technological changes have impacted significantly on children as consumers. As children were stripped of much of their economic value to the household in the late 19th Century, they assumed unprecedented sentimental and emotional value, which, combined with rising concerns about child development, established powerful advertising themes to sell parent and child products and services, to mothers in particular (Seiter, 1993). The post World War Two baby boom, a strong economy, and the advent of television supported the development of the child consumer market from mid-century (McNeal, 1992). In the 1950s children became shoppers and a youth market was established, along with segmentation of advertising along adult and child lines (Kenway and Bullen, 2001). More recently the social changes of smaller and more single parent families, and the general 'valorisation of children' have given children more power in family spending decisions and more impetus to children as a business marketing opportunity (Buckingham, 2000; Buckingham and Scanlon, 2003).

Corporate interest in the child market begun in earnest in the 1980s. McNeal (1992) calls the 1980s the 'decade of the child consumer', with the rapid growth of children's media[19] and child-focused retailers, and the ubiquity of consumer technologies within financial reach and expectations of children for the first time. Marketing to school age children increased substantially during the 1990s. For instance, Molnar (1998) reported that in the USA, budgets for advertising to children increased by 2000% between 1987 and 1997 to an annual total of US$2 Billion. More recently, the Christian Science Monitor reported that the annual advertising figure for USA children under 12 years old was US$15 billion – up 100% in the last 10 years (Wolcott, 2004).

Children are currently a large population group and therefore consumer market, in New Zealand. In the mid 1990s New Zealand's child population [0-14 years] was one of the highest in the industrialised world (Statistics New Zealand, 1995) and just under 23% of all New Zealanders were of school age in 1996, as the following table shows.

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[19] In the 1960s children's media comprised TV, radio, records, movies and books. By 2005 it additionally included broadcast, cable and satellite TV, Video/DVD, broadcast, satellite and cable radio, tapes, CDs, digital recordings, PCs, Internet, email, instant messaging, online gaming, video streaming, video games, and mobile phones (Roberts et al., 2005).

Table: 4.1   New Zealand's Child and Teenage Population 1996

Age	Population 1996	Percentage of total population
0 to 4	279,603	7.70%
5 to 9	288,294	8.00%
10 to 14	264,186	7.30%
15 to 19	262,977	7.30%
Total	**1,095,960**	**30.30%**

(Statistics New Zealand, 1998b)

Between 1991 and 2001 the 5-14 age group increased by 14%, and by 2001 there were more people in the 10-14 age group [290,739] than any other five-year band with the exception of 25-39 year olds [297,462][20]. School enrolments likewise increased nationally by 14.3% from 1993 to 2003 (666,560 to 761,755 students) (Ministry of Education, 2004a).

After consideration of the size of the child/student population, the next exciting aspect about New Zealand children and teenagers to marketers is their increasing spending power. Unfortunately there was no *public* data[21] on New Zealand teen and child spending for the 1990s; however international estimates are financially impressive [although quite variable]. Geary (1999) cited an estimate of the diverse spending power of American 4-12 year olds in 1997: $25 billion of their own spending; directly influencing another $188 billion of their parents' spending; and indirectly influencing a further $300 billion of their parents' spending. For the United Kingdom, children were recently estimated to spend 10 billion pounds annually but influence 130 billion pounds of parental spending (Buckingham, 2000). Not surprisingly given these figures, children have become incredibly well served by consumer culture. For instance, Zanker (2001) cites data from *Licensing Now* (1998) showing that in 1998 in the USA: 44 of the 45 key product promotions were directed

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[20]   Interestingly, the child population is expected to decline into the mid 21st Century, making up just 16% of the population in 2051 compared to 23% in 2001 (Statistics New Zealand, 2002).

[21]   A study was produced in 2003 by Nielson Media Research called *Panorama NZ Teen I.D.* that contained information on the demographics, media habits, activities, attitudes, and consumption preferences and patterns of teens. The promotional material for the report boasted that the reader could 'Investigate the latest in teenage trends and analyse the impact and power teenagers hold over the advertising, retail and media world.' (Nielsen Media Research, 2003). However, to receive this knowledge, purchasers would have to part with $4,500 plus GST for the first copy and a further $1,000 for each subsequent copy. The executive summary alone was $500 plus GST.

at children; there were between five and six thousand new toys launched; 761 children's shows were aired; and 5,000 new children's books were launched.

Qualitative evidence that children were being taken seriously by marketers in New Zealand in the 1990s can be evidenced from a 1998 conference called *Capturing Kids: Marketing to New Zealand Children, Teenagers and their Parents*, hosted by marketing company Research International Ltd (New Zealand Herald, 1998). Speakers' topics included: '"Mum, I want one!" – unlocking the wallets of parents', 'Pester power and the nag factor', and 'Keeping kids happy, hooked and coming back for more'[22]. The conference promotional material also promised an '...up to date briefing about the purchasing and pestering power of kids'. The conference addressed the three commercially appealing aspects of children as consumers: their spending power; their developing brand loyalties; and their influence on parental spending decisions (McNeal, 1992).

Child Consumers in Schools

It is not surprising that a demographic group that has become so populous, autonomously consuming, and increasingly influential on adults' spending, would be approached by advertisers and marketers through school. The potential of the school as a context for reaching children is articulated in these sales pitches to potential clients of a sponsored educational materials producer:

> School is... the ideal time to influence attitudes, build long-term loyalties, introduce new products, test market, promote sampling and trial usage and – above all – to generate immediate sales.

And:

> Kids spend 40 percent of each day in the classroom where traditional advertising can't reach them. Now, YOU CAN ENTER THE CLASSROOM through custom-made learning materials created with your specific marketing objectives in mind. Communicate with young spenders directly and, through them, their teachers and families as well. (Lifetime Learning Systems Ltd in Consumers Union Education Services, 1995, p. 4; Molnar, 1996, p. 35)

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[22] '...coming back for more' in this context is the intent of establishing long-term brand loyalty in children. A speaker at the conference from Cadbury Chocolates told *The Herald* "It's very important to get them at a young age because it establishes brand loyalty early."

Schools have a number of contemporary advantages as an institutional medium for advertising, marketing and sales to children. A first key advantage is that they provide a captured market of child consumers in the sense that all students must spend frequent and compulsory time in this space. Schools are therefore a premier opportunity for lucrative placed-based advertising opportunities – advertising in environments that customers must keep returning to (Abbarno, 2001). Advertisers and marketers have a guaranteed audience for their products or messages – a privilege not possible with other sales and advertising mediums such as television, particularly as children's media options diversify. Businesses leverage this captured market through particular reciprocation agreements with schools, including mandatory student participation and exclusive agreements.

Schools' enclosure of child consumers allows corporations to segment this market by age, school roll size, location, the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood, gender, and ethnicity. This allows for differentiated marketing [tailoring the marketing mix to different segments of the market] or concentrated/niche marketing [tailoring the marketing mix to one segment of the market] (Walters, 1997). APN Educational Media through its client advertising, promoted this opportunity for targeting markets through its *Jazzy Books* exercise book coverings:

> Targeting. Our database of schools contains school type and age ranges as discrete data fields, allowing you to tailor your distribution to target the audience with zero wastage[23].
> (APN Educational Media (NZ), 2001)

Another advantage of the school as an advertising and marketing medium is the lack of existing advertising clutter in its physical space. Advertising clutter and the intense competition for the child consumer dollar has made the task of establishing brand loyalty a greater business challenge, especially for products in competitive markets with little room for price competition (Bulkeley, 1997). Schools are a rare sphere in childhood – an uncluttered media environment:

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[23] 'Wastage' is a telling choice of words here. It reveals that failure to match the right kids with the marketing priorities of the business is a poor outcome for this relationship. It highlights the commercial criteria for success of such relationships and how little these criteria have to do with changing educational outcomes for kids.

JazzyBooks deliver the advertising power of TV for the cost of press. That's because JazzyBooks are used daily for over 3 months, in an **uncluttered media environment**. Research indicated high advertising recall and sharp, sustained increases in brand awareness, brand imagery, product usage, and propensity to purchase.
(APN Educational Media (NZ), 2001)

While the school environment is literally low on 'media clutter', its peer culture means that the commodities of popular culture are never far from the relationships and interactions of children, thus fuelling their consumption desires while limiting a critical detachment from these desires (Abbarno, 2001).

Schools have proved to be highly motivated and effective sales and promotional agencies for businesses, where the school-business relationship is fundraising orientated [for instance in CRM programmes]. Visitors to Board of Trustees meetings in the 1990s were likely to be handed a Telecom School Connection Programme application form to complete, giving the school a percentage of that person's monthly toll bill. Students knocked on doors to get householders to register for this and similar programmes, or stood outside supermarkets hustling for dockets. Schools also sent mailouts to households advising them to shop at a particular store to support the school's efforts.

To assist with the sometimes sophisticated task of reaching child consumers in schools, there has been a growth of 'middle men' – firms specialising in producing and implementing commercial strategies in schools on behalf of clients. Harty (1994) argued that a proliferation of education consultants, intermediaries and marketing companies with an exclusive focus on school marketing had dramatically increased the presence of SEMs since her landmark study *Hucksters in the Classroom* in 1979. The growth of an industry whose financial viability is reliant upon convincing enterprises to develop marketing initiatives within schools foretells more growth. There was some evidence of use of speciality school marketing organisations by New Zealand businesses in the 1990s. The Apples for Students programme which operated here in the 1990s, originated in America and is the product of New York-based Service Marketing Group of Garden City (see Molnar, 1996). The Philip Morris sponsored educational materials *I've Got The Power* were produced by an Australian 'education consultant', Education Strategies on behalf of Philip Morris.

APN Educational Media's *JazzyBooks* was a substantial example of a business in the business of connecting the advertising messages of other businesses with schools for its own profit. (APN Educational Media (NZ), 2001).

In terms of the relationships themselves, during the 1990s school-business relationships were becoming increasingly characteristic of hybrid advertising, education and entertainment forms ultimately pursuing a child consumption agenda. For instance, student television stations such as Channel One (USA), and Youth News Network (Canada) combined news, entertainment and commercial advertising, and ZapMe! mixed web-searching and targeted youth advertising. These programmes, and the *JazzyBooks* example from New Zealand, were provided by larger entertainment and media corporations. These companies, by blurring the physical and cultural boundaries between various entertainment, advertising and education forms created numerous new contexts for child marketing, and opened up traditionally closed channels such as schools. Zanker (2001) shows that much of this expansion and diversification of commercial forms and media is driven by the consolidation of toy manufacturers, broadcasters and movie/TV production houses that has occurred since the 1970s. Today, four key business empires – Disney, AOL/Time Warner, News Corporation, and Viacom, dominate children's entertainment markets, and through cross selling, reach into increasing spheres of childhood. *Each* of these transnational empires operates or produces Hollywood movies and/or movie distribution networks, television networks, including cable and international networks, television programmes, publishing companies, including children's publishing, licensing and merchandising operations, and theme parks. Additionally, Disney runs the local school in its purpose built community of *Celebration* (Giroux, 1997a). This business consolidation and subsequent hybridisation of entertainment, education and advertising categories means that when children read books, go to movies, shop, purchase home education materials, eat, participate in leisure activities, or surf children's entertainment websites anywhere in the Western, and increasingly, the 'non-Western' world, there is a reasonable chance they will be addressed as consumers by one of these business networks, or another smaller consolidated network.

Discussion: The Consequences of Children as Consumers, and Schools as Markets

A range of arguments against the encroachment of child marketing into schools was articulated in the 1990s. Education quality arguments charged that marketing activities failed to meet acceptable criteria of quality learning. Of great concern within the educational quality argument was that many commercial school-business relationships provided superficial and trivial, 'second best' learning experiences. For instance, Hoynes (1997) assessed 36 Channel One programmes and found: breaking news made up only 25% of the 12 minute broadcast of this supposed student news source; 42% of time was devoted to advertisements, a 'pop quiz', contests, presenter chatter and music; the news itself was unbalanced in terms of gender [women were under-represented], and race [55% of Blacks featured were either sports people or prisoners]; much time was spent on Channel One self-promotion; and the news content contained deficiencies in presentation, sources and depth. Hoynes concluded that this result hardly measured up to Channel One's mission '…to use news and current events information as a tool to educate and engage young adults in world happenings…' (p. 1). Pasnik (1997) found similar problems with the online version of Channel One: a mixture of self-promotion, sponsor advertising and in terms of news and information – 'a modicum of content' (p. 1). There is some evidence that these educationally dubious relationships were more heavily taken up by poorer schools struggling for funds and resources (Molnar, 2003b; Morgan, 1993). Morgan (1993) found that American schools with the greatest concentration of low-income students were more than twice as likely [37.7% versus 16.6%] as wealthy schools to be using Channel One, a programme that provided these schools with the loan of audiovisual resources.

Of particular interest to this research, are quality concerns around the actual products being marketed in schools, and foods of minimal nutritional value in particular have become a key case within this argument [see Chapter 6]. Brand and Greenberg's (1994) analysis of advertisers on Channel One over a four week period revealed a predominance of junk food, soft drink and confectionery advertisers including: Burger King, Mountain Dew, Pepsi, M&Ms, and Snickers. These marketing practices were held to be undermining of nutrition education in schools. For instance, when discussing the Pizza Hut BOOKIT! reading programme Molnar (1996) noted:

Even as children are being taught that a healthful diet is low in salt, fat and sugar, they are offered a salty, high fat meal that will probably be washed down with a sugary soft drink as a reward for reading.
(p. 45)

Another way that commercial activities were regarded as an affront to educational quality was through the opportunity costs associated with student and school participation (Sawicky and Molnar, 1998). Sometimes this cost was in the time and energy required for the school to measurably gain from the activity. For instance, Molnar (1996) highlighted the amount of till receipts, and therefore time required to receive computer resources in the Apples for Students cause related marketing programme. One school had collected US$500,000 worth of till receipts for just $3,000 worth of computer equipment. In New Zealand the ratios were similar – one school collected a staggering $2.5 million in receipts and received $25,000 worth of computer equipment[24] (Phare, 1994). Sometimes the opportunity cost was directly in lost class-time. For instance, Sawicky and Molnar (1998) quantified the financial tax-payer cost of the lost class time to Channel One television viewing in 12,000 USA schools. The financial value of the lost class time was US$229 per pupil per annum, or an average of $157,989 per school, and a national total of US$1.8 billion – US$300 million for the two minutes of daily advertisements alone. The total lost class time averaged between 6 and 7 days [3.6% of the average school year] per school per year. In exchange the participating schools received the daily 12-minute programme and the use $25,000 worth of free equipment for the duration of their [usually three year] contract with Channel One.

Underpinning educational quality concerns is a fundamental argument that commercial school-business relationships are incompatible with the school's role to develop critical citizens [see Chapters 2 and 3]. This critique has a strong view of the school as an institution to develop the critical capacities of students. This capacity is compromised when advertising both cultivates and addresses consuming desires. The difficulty with this educational quality position is that it tends to sharply delineate the spheres of learning and consumption and therefore risks downplaying current relationships between commercialised children's culture and childhood identity. A

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[24] Assuming that each receipt was for $150, this totals to nearly 17,000 receipts, a collection effort that would have required extensive time in terms of management and student/parent/community participation.

range of authors to different degrees further assess these school-business relationships as pedagogies shaping the values, identities and relationships of children. A critique of school-business relationships as corporate pedagogies looks at underlying ideologies and how these further a cultural project implicating adult/child relationships and childhood identities, and social and economic inequality. For example, Saltman (2000), looks at the cultural project of Coke in its relationships with schools and suggests that its cultural power shapes desires, needs, and in the case of schools, decisions about how resources are allocated and how education is justified. Coke drives for a ritualisation of its product, offering a utopia through consumption. Through addressing children as consumers in schools, the spectacle of the image of Coke divorces the viewer from its economic, social and cultural power. In his critique of the *Coke in Education Day*[25], Saltman re-poses questions about Coke's cultural, economic and social framework, and therefore its goals for education:

> Corporatisation also does a stealthy job of erasing the reality of certain social relations and producing certain fictitious narratives in their stead. For example in the Coke day scandal the reality of the production process of Coca-Cola was erased and replaced with a deceptive facsimile of this process, followed by an enactment of the image of the product. Students took economics classes about Coke marketing and studied the sugar content in Coke in chemistry class. Such simulations of lessons of the product's history avoid broader economic, political, and power-sensitive questions such as what class, race and gender of people drive Coke trucks and what class, race, and gender sit on the board of directors? Do bottling-plant workers get decent pay, benefits and job security?... Does the dumping and heavy marketing of a product with no nutritional value in poor countries struggling for nutritional food suggest Coca-Cola is involved in international exploitation?
> (p. 65)

Kincheloe (2002b) in looking at the semiotic power and ideologies of McDonald's argued that in a post-modern condition of hyperreality, citizens are more vulnerable to images or signs – signs *become* the reality rather than a *representation* of reality as references to the real disappear altogether. By engaging children and adults through their desires, emotions and affective needs rather than through reason and

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[25] This school-business relationship became notorious because student Mike Cameron was suspended for revealing a Pepsi shirt during preparation for a Coke photo in front of Coke executives. The school was

contemplation, producers of corporate pedagogies are able to deceive more easily – a *climate of deceit* results. Secondly, the explosion of signs and images creates a *discomfort with the profound*, as fascination with surface features replaces a contemplation of deep problems and issues related to power. The entertainment or spectacle factor of corporate pedagogies is so attractive that it disrupts the capacity of individuals to critique social, cultural and economic realities. Kenway and Bullen (2001) sum up this problem of superficiality, its potential for deceit and ultimately social and cultural reproduction, within children's consumer-media culture:

> Seldom here are children offered the pleasures of reflexive knowing or of having a sense of agency derived from recognizing how their meanings, identities and affective investments are produced. The potential pleasures of becoming informed and active citizens within the politics of consumption are usually overridden by the pleasures of fantasy. Equally, in anti-political correctness – youthful revenge genres – the pleasures of knowing are outweighed by those of retaliation, reversal and transgression. Further the historically decontextualising and self-referential processes of consumer-media culture also mean that the knowledge that children do achieve is contained within the bubble. This means that a critical insider/outsider stance is difficult to gain...
> (pp. 75-76)

This learning makes children particularly vulnerable to the education quality concerns raised earlier because these relationships construct consent through pleasure.

Educating the Child Citizen

In the discussion above of business as a marketer to the child consumer, the focus is on a construction of children as consuming subjects in the narrow sense of products and services, and more broadly as subjects whose very identity is constructed through their experiences of consumption. However this section argues that in addition to appeals to the child as a consumer, school-business relationships from the 1990s were often characterised by an appeal to the child as a future citizen. This is not to deny that the ultimate goals of such appeals were usually consumption orientated, but here the business project was to address and manufacture children's worldviews on issues associated with business viability and legitimacy. Businesses in the 1990s

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attempting to win a $10,000 prize from Coke (USA Today, 1998).

turned more and more to schools to serve their public relations interests, which is explored below.

Enterprise Customer Relationships and Corporate Image

Internationally, from the 1990s, business consideration of the ultimate marketing question of how to motivate a consumer to purchase a product or service, increasingly turned to consumers' feelings of goodwill towards the business. The traditional emphasis in marketing theory of successfully manipulating the four marketing mix components of price, product, communication/promotion and distribution to make sales, was heralded as simplistic and limited in its assumptions about consumer purchasing behaviour (Marconi, 1996; Payne et al., 1995; Young, 1996). One result of this changed emphasis, mentioned in Chapter 3, was that not-for-profit sector interventions as strategies to generate customer and public goodwill, assumed more prominence as a business marketing strategy. More fundamentally, the paradigm of *relationship marketing* proclaimed the inadequacy of the traditional marketing-mix model by centralising the importance of positive relationships between customer and business:

> The fundamental principle upon which relationship marketing is founded is that the greater the level of customer satisfaction with the relationship – not just the product or service – then the greater the likelihood that the customer will stay with us.
> (Payne et al., 1995, p. vii)

The relationship marketing paradigm stresses that consumers do not decide to purchase products and services based on price and quality alone. Rather, in many cases, they need to feel a sense of well-being about their purchases. Consumers are far more likely to punish than reward companies for their behaviour, and consumer boycotts – the ultimate destruction of a relationship, which are common[26], are often precipitated by company actions that have little or nothing to do with product quality or price (Young, 1996). Businesses must therefore adopt a strategy to nurture positive relationships with consumers to cement long-term loyalty. Relationships are referenced within a staged 'ladder of customer loyalty' with the aim of moving

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[26] A national survey of American consumers in 1994 discovered that three quarters of respondents were currently boycotting at least one business (Young, 1996).

customers up the ladder from prospect to customer to client to supporter to advocate to partner (Payne et al., 1995). The link between relationships and marketing success extends beyond customers. To facilitate these close customer relationships, businesses are required to foster positive relationships with a number of other publics that contribute to or influence business operations, including those that could affect a customer's perception of the business (Payne et al., 1995). These 'influence markets' include employees, trade unions, media, regulatory bodies, government, local authorities, political pressure groups, environmental groups, consumer advocacy organisations, consultants, distributors and suppliers (Peart and Macnamara, 1996).

The increased emphasis by businesses on strengthening customer relationships through building and maintaining reputation, and considered management of their macro environment, has elevated the public relations function as a marketing strategy. Ries and Ries (2002) argue that public relations has replaced advertising as the leading strategy to develop brands, as sophisticated consumers realise that advertising does not represent reality and develop a cynical attitude to it; but these consumers enthusiastically respond to the third party information and endorsements of products and brands through PR. Terms such as Marketing Public Relations (Belch and Belch, 1995) and Image Marketing (Marconi, 1996) characterise this blurring of public relations and marketing.

At the same time as successful public relations has become critical to the marketing effort of businesses, commentators have also noted that the management of corporate communication is more problematic because the public has unprecedented access to a wide range of information in the public domain through various textual and electronic media (Peart and Macnamara, 1996; Webster, 1995). An 'information society' has arisen from the fusion of telecommunications and computer technology; increasing participation in education at all levels, and the expansion and diversification of media sources and communication channels (see Webster, 1995). For businesses in an information society, the knowledge creation/education role of corporate public relations has become both more critical and more complex:

> Public relations specialists and other professional communicators will be
> needed more and more in our social systems and subsystems to act as
> nodes, liaisons and gatekeepers in information networks, whether these

networks are human-relationship networks or electronic networks. Public relations specialists' power and their ethical responsibility is escalating at the same exponential rate that information availability is burgeoning, because these people will be the sources and designers of information for the public at large.
(Peart and Macnamara, 1996, p. 12)

As consumers have become tougher on business behaviour, and business and non-business information flows ever more freely across diverse media channels, public relations strategies to influence publics including influence markets have become ever more sophisticated in response. Contemporary strategies include:

- Strategic alliances or targeted sponsorships with those non-governmental organisations (NGOs) operating in areas of weak legitimacy for the business – for example industries and businesses with environmental legitimacy risks partnering with environmental NGOs. Critics note that these alliances can serve to silence industry criticism from the partnering NGO, and present a public image of corporate concern and support for the issues being championed by the partner. Often the business will publicise this relationship to its target publics.

- Intelligence gathering, such as spying and infiltration of opposition groups to develop a better understanding of the oppositional information flows.

- *Greenwashing* – cultivating a public veneer of environmental responsiveness and care while continuing to embark on controversial environmental practices.

- The establishment and funding of front groups to present a seemingly impartial agenda; or strategic donations to existing think tanks with a sympathetic agenda, in the hope that these groups will produce publicly-palatable research that supports the industry/business position.

- Strategic lobbying of political decision-makers and other influencers of public opinion.
  (Beder, 1997; Hager and Burton, 1999; Lubbers, 2002b; Stauber and Rampton, 1995; Wilson, 2002)

The following section looks more specifically at the characteristics of contemporary corporate public relations strategies in schools, mainly since 1990.

Educating for Student Consent in Schools

Public relations activities in schools are an appeal to students as learners and future citizens, underwritten by a commercial goal of establishing sustained mutual meanings supportive of a corporate agenda. Schools are major targets of corporate public relations efforts from businesses and industries – often through sponsored educational materials. Two major studies of sponsored educational materials (Consumers Union Education Services, 1995; Harty, 1979) have found that businesses with legitimacy risks around their operations, products or services, are especially likely to produce sponsored educational materials for schools. Twenty one of 77 sets of materials analysed by the Consumers Union of the United States (1995) were themed around ecology/energy/environment and related subjects. Sponsors included the Chlorine Institute, the Polystyrene Packaging Council, and the American Coal Foundation. In Harty (1979), the environment was the most common theme for sponsored educational materials with 21% of respondent businesses providing environment-focused materials. Wilson (2002) also noted this pattern of high legitimacy risk/high incidence of relationships with schools, in her analysis of environment-focused school-business relationships in New Zealand. A similar roster of individual businesses and industry groups operating in areas of public concern were found to be sponsoring these materials.

Analyses of these materials and programmes in schools reveal attempts at re-education of students by businesses. For example, in the early 1990s oil company Exxon produced a school video called *Scientists and the Alaska Oil Spill* in the wake of the 1989 Valdez oil spill. It attempted to downplay the environmental damage caused by this ecological disaster and promoted the work being done to rectify the severe ecological effects (Molnar, 1996). The video's inaccuracies and bias towards Exxon's position so enraged critics that the video was featured in a critical *60 Minutes* television piece in the USA (ibid). In another case reported by Harty (1994) a nuclear energy company distributed simulated uranium pellets with reassuring information to local schools, prior to the company's attempt to gain approval for construction of a nuclear power plant in the community. In a New Zealand example, Hager and Burton (1999) disclosed the planning, by a public relations company, of a school resource kit on sustainable logging for Timberlands, a State Owned Enterprise

(SOE) which was at the time defending its logging of native forests on the West Coast against national opposition from environmentalists. The strategy behind these planned materials covered the following key public relations drivers and tactics:

- The desire to produce and distribute the materials was governed by a singular goal to re-educate students, whom it was felt were developing a position that negatively impacted on the operations of the Timberlands;

- Timberlands' native forest logging was positioned as *positive* for the environment;

- Explicit links were made to the New Zealand National Curriculum – in this case science, to create an aura of educational relevance and legitimacy, as well as ease of teacher use;

- It was planned to partially bypass teachers [who could disseminate negative messages about Timberlands' operations to students] by promoting the Timberlands website on a postcard distributed to students, and by advertising in student magazine *Tearaway*;

- There was discreet branding of Timberlands as the materials' sponsor, so as not to over-emphasise that the materials were an industry position;

- Timberlands promoted that they were developing the materials as a commitment to their communities.
  (Hager and Burton, 1999)

A revealing example of sophisticated management of public opinion posing as education from a business with high legitimacy risks was provided by Sky City Limited, which owns Sky City Casino and the Sky Tower in Auckland. In partnership with Auckland Teacher's College, they produced a Sky Tower education programme for schools. Sky City's 1997 Annual Report contained the following comment to shareholders:

> In marketing terms, Sky Tower is positioned for the long-term as a 'must-do' family and tourist experience, as a key contributor to our multi-entertainment and leisure destination positioning and as a key economic contributor to Auckland. A broad-based programme of participatory activities for a wide range of audiences has been designed - from a "fastest person up Sky Tower" event to **educational programmes for schools**.
> (Sky City Ltd, 1997, p. 19, emphasis added)

Here a business, whose operations create a range of negative personal and social effects, particularly for poor people, is reconstructing itself to students through the educational legitimacy of school, as a family-orientated entertainment experience. It is attempting to shift its sign value or image away from its core operation – gambling, towards positive family entertainment – but with the ultimate goal of increasing the consumption of its gambling services. The materials themselves are not explicitly pro-gambling, but the agenda of this corporate pedagogy is to reposition Sky City's gambling business as entertainment with the end goal of raising its gambling revenues – hence the boast to shareholders.

Many corporate PR strategies to students and wider publics did not deal directly with the business's products or operations in any explicit way, but aimed to build a positive corporate image through brand association with social or environmental causes. For instance in New Zealand in the 1990s Ronald McDonald, along with the police, visited over 700 schools a year sponsoring the road safety campaign 'Make it Click'. The Bank of New Zealand established a website with educational materials for school children relating to its sponsorship of the Kiwi Recovery conservation programme. Pupils visiting the site observed a photo of the chief executive of the BNZ hugging a kiwi. Telecom New Zealand achieved a prominent and positive profile in the minds of young school children by using the star [SPOT the dog] of its commercial advertising in an anti-bullying video and related school initiatives. Some businesses wrapped their public relations strategies within complex sponsored educational programme. For instance, McDonald's and Pizza Hut both provided comprehensive literacy programmes in New Zealand schools and internationally [see Chapter 6]. In the cases of McDonald's and Telecom, their programmes featured appeals to children's affective desires through what Buckingham (2000) calls 'trans-media intertextuality': the spokes-characters of these companies, Ronald McDonald and Spot the Dog, crossed media formats into education, strengthening their brands through children's pleasure at the spectacle of these advertising products.

Discussion: The Consequences of Corporate PR in Schools

Businesses and industry groups whose operations are perceived as risky, harmful to individuals or groups, or unethical, have since the 1970s at least, been the leaders in

the attempt to manage the opinions of young people through school-business relationships. Ultimately these businesses are attempting to control discourses that are sensitive to their corporate risks. They have attempted to graft themselves onto the curriculum in the public sphere of schooling to exploit the education process in the hope of facilitating citizens who possess values and views that will enable the business or industry to operate successfully for profit. To achieve this they have positioned their materials as informative and truthful, but critical readings reveal these materials to be anything but impartial.

As Jurgun Habermas argues, critique and dissent suffers in the process of PR, as does the capacity of institutions like schools to be critical public spheres:

> Private advertisements are always directed to other private people insofar as they are consumers; the addressee of public relations is "public opinion", or the private citizens as the public and not directly as consumers. The sender of the message hides his business intentions in the role of someone interested in the public welfare. The influencing of consumers borrows its connotations from the classic idea of a public of private people putting their reason to use and exploits its legitimations for its own ends. The accepted functions of the public sphere are integrated into the competition of organised private interests.
> (Habermas, 1989, p. 193)

The public relations strategies of businesses in schools are fundamentally about ending debate, not undertaking the un-enterprising project of acknowledging problematic social, economic and political issues that might limit their own interests. Even when the subject matter deviates from corporate self-reference, for example, McDonald's sponsoring a Black History Curriculum in the USA, a critical presentation of these issues is absent in favour of a sanitised, celebratory and user-friendly account (see Spring, 2003, pp. 200-202). Hence, like orthodox corporate marketing activities the 'learning' that students receive from these pedagogies has a two-fold and reinforcing educational impact – transmission of problematic corporate content, and deficient acquisition of the critical skills to address such agendas.

Schools give these businesses extra mileage for their PR investment when they engage with them at face value through what Abbarno (2001) calls the 'associational conditioning' role: teachers' status and integrity as gatekeepers of official knowledge

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in classrooms ratchets the impact of the message particularly to younger children. This credibility accorded to corporate messages aligned with classroom curricula, was used by specialty marketing firms in the 1990s to pitch school-business relationships to businesses:

> IMAGINE millions of students discussing your product in class.
> IMAGINE their teachers presenting your point of view.
> (Lifetime Learning Systems Ltd promotional material to clients, in Consumers Union Education Services, 1995 p. 4)

Many of the businesses working their PR strategies in schools hold immense power to shape global and local environmental, economic and social futures. In a society characterised by risk – including ecological risks (Giddens, 1998), and increasing corporate power in environmental, economic and social spheres, schools need to reflect on their status as key sites for the presentation of corporate truths.

Educating the public

The relationship marketing paradigm confirms the assertion in Chapter 3 that a strong motivator for New Zealand businesses developing relationships with education and other not-for-profit sector groups in the 1990s was actually to manage relationships with *external* publics, rather than to further particular corporate objectives with the recipient. Schools were therefore often selected as a recipient of business support to further corporate image building strategies to external audiences and to positively dispose target markets towards the business (Belch and Belch, 1995; Marconi, 1996). The extensive and costly external promotion of school-business relationships by businesses in the 1990s was a comprehensive sign of this approach.

As part of the review of literature for this research, approximately 50 company annual reports were searched for their references to, and promotion of, school-business relationships. Three themes were evident in this promotional rhetoric: support for the community; equipping students for the information age/knowledge economy; and rewarding excellence in education. [see Appendix A for some examples from these reports]. In terms of supporting the community, Countrywide Bank Ltd choose to promote their sponsorship of a school in the Books in Homes

programme by presenting an image of its local bank manager posed teacher-like, reading to children in the school playground. The caption read:

> As a nation our strength lies in the talent and energy that exists in our communities. Countrywide Bank is proud to be part of these communities through its sponsorship at local and national levels.
> (Countrywide Bank Ltd, 1997, p. 22)

Similarly, Mainfreight Ltd. had a picture of some young students at Bairds Mainfreight School in its 1997 annual report along with the quote: 'Teach them today, and they'll lead tomorrow.' (Mainfreight Limited, 1997, p. 14).

Equipping New Zealand school children for the information age/knowledge economy was a second popular image. Telecom New Zealand's 1997 annual report had as its key cover image two young school children working on computers. Inside, under the title 'Telecom in the Community' the report read:

> Our largest investment is in education. Education is the key to our children's future and Telecom's programmes in this area are helping teachers and students keep up-to-date with technologies so that today's children grow into technology-educated adults.
> (Telecom New Zealand Ltd, 1997a, p. 18)

The Electricity Corporation of New Zealand (ECNZ) also positioned itself as developing knowledge workers for the economic and social benefit of New Zealand:

> Science and technology are at the heart of ECNZ's industry and we are dedicated to nurturing the talents of young New Zealanders in this field. The young people involved in the ECNZ Science and Technology Fairs will grow to be the Rutherfords of the future and their contribution will benefit all of our communities.
> (Royal Society of New Zealand and Electricity Corporation of New Zealand, 1997, back cover)

Excellence in education was associated with the National Bank through its sponsorship of the Top Scholar Awards for bursary and scholarship examinations (Morrison, 1993; The Dominion, 1998). Similarly, the Goodman Fielder 'Top School' awards rewarded school excellence.

These sponsorship associations were clearly directed at the external publics of customers and segments of the general public. However in the case of Tobacco Multinational Philip Morris's provision of sponsored educational materials to New Zealand schools, it was argued that the semiotic value of supporting schools was being drawn on to enhance relationships with Government and in particular to manage the risk of further regulation (see New Zealand Herald, 1999 p. 1)[27]. The materials gave no clue to parents, students, teachers and school leaders that they were funded by the tobacco industry; in fact the programme was '…designed to empower Years 7-8 students by providing an environment in which they can develop decision-making skills.', and it explicitly aimed to '…motivate students to, for example, say 'no' to illicit drugs, **smoking** and drinking.' (Education Strategies, 1999, p. 2, emphasis added). So while the materials explicitly aimed to discourage teen smoking, the ironical wider strategy was consent to operate – to continue selling this product as freely as possible [see also Chapter 6].

As the Philip Morris example illustrates, businesses have associated themselves with schools, sometimes reactively, to re-establish public credibility and legitimacy when their corporate image was threatened. Walters (1997) uses the example of Telecom New Zealand:

> When Telecom announced a record profit, the general public was dismayed that little benefit came to them in the form of lower charges or community support. Telecom was quick to respond by issuing statements that detailed how New Zealand had benefited since the operation was privatised **and also launched a public relations campaign that saw many schools get free Internet access.**
> (p. 32, emphasis added)

Discussion: The Education Effects of Externally-Focused PR

Analysing these heavily promoted relationships often revealed a rhetoric-reality gap in terms of what businesses claimed for their relationships versus what schools received. The scope of this support was often quite modest despite the flashy and expensive promotion and the connotations of substantial investment and support. The

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[27] This approach did not work with the Labour Government's Minister of Education, Trevor Mallard, who came out strongly against the Philip Morris-sponsored *I've Got the Power* resources [after the previous Minister

public were assured that business was an active and substantial investor in education but key examples do not support this. Countrywide Bank Ltd in its 1997 Annual Review devoted a page to promoting its sponsorship of Books in Homes in three schools. The level of business sponsorship for this programme in the 1990s was typically $2,000 per annum, per school. Countrywide's total contribution was therefore in the region of $6,000 to $10,000. In 1997 Countrywide increased its net profit after tax by 30% to 54 million dollars and held assets of 7.5 billion dollars. Despite Books in Homes gaining a very high profile as an example of businesses helping schools, the Government is its single largest funder. In 1998 it added 1.468 million dollars of taxpayer funding to sponsor the remaining 20,000 students in decile 1 schools who had up to then been unable to participate due to a lack of sponsors (Peters and Birch, 1998). The high profile National Bank Sponsorship of the Top Scholar awards in the 1990s amounted to approximately $140,000 per annum in student scholarships. For this, the National Bank undertook extensive advertising to promote the association and also received advertising on student exam papers, [the value of which is anyone's guess because this activity was a world first]. This scholarship funding only benefited a tiny minority of students, yet the National Bank advertised its support to every bursary candidate and nationally to wider publics.

The reality that business funding of education might have fallen short of the 1990s promotional rhetoric is a problem for fund-seeking schools. But assessing these promotional activities also reveals a commercial exploitation of discourses of schooling and childhood. Holt and Schor (2000) note that marketers operating in a contemporary culture characterised by commodification, symbolism and sophisticated consumers, do not have to create meaning; but rather they need to mobilise current meanings for their commercial ends. Thus taking control of the public channels of communication is more critical than initiating meaning. Kline (1993) and Seiter (1993) note that since the early 20th Century, childhood innocence and development has been invoked by advertisers to stir parental anxieties about their performance as guardians of children. These externally-focused public relations strategies not only exploited existing commercially efficacious images of schooling,

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had said it was up to each school to decide whether to use the materials] and the British American Tobacco

but in the process perpetuated certain myths and publicly palatable values about education. Excellence in education, in the face of school's 'anti-competitive' ethos celebrated the pinnacle of meritocratic development – those best prepared to meet the adult demands of the workforce – the *Rutherfords of the Future*. In Countrywide's case, they were removing the barriers of 'booklessness' in homes to give children a chance at a future. Booklessness evokes despairing images of social deprivation – the empty bookcase. Telecom assisted children to develop the ambiguous but vital skills for effective participation in the new economy. These messages tugged at parent and public anxieties about the status and future of children, preventing deeper public consideration of motive or the actual educational work being done by these businesses let alone the consequences of these discourses. Opposition was snookered because who would want to be the person or group that stood up against, for instance, children's literacy?

Kenway and Bullen (2001) note that businesses have increasingly positioned themselves as promoters of traditional values and core education concerns, which disarms critics and shifts the critical lens away from the advertising intent. More broadly, the comforting imagery of happy, literate, ICT savvy, and achieving students also inhibited critical consideration by adults of the underlying problems within the social, economic and educational spheres of childhood, and their adult responsibilities in their private and public capacities (Giroux, 2000). In terms of the link between PR and risky corporate behaviours, and products and services, the images of benevolent business support for tomorrow's citizens served to inhibit contemplation of what schools were sometimes legitimating by accepting these relationships: passive children and corporate knowledge.

Educating Future Workers

Chapter 3 argued that a dominant public narrative for school-business relationships in the 1990s in New Zealand was that of enterprise education pursued through a framework of contractual partnerships between schools and businesses. This was part of a bigger discourse around the acceptable relationship between education and the

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sponsorship of the anti-drugs school programme *Life Education Trust* (Mallard, 2000, 2003)

economy and labour market. This section examines whether businesses in the 1990s were motivated to undertake school-business relationships to improve their own operational performance and/or contribute to the future economic well-being of the nation. The section begins by arguing that the education/economy relationship has indeed shifted from a paradigm of state manpower planning towards a market-led approach with selective interventions by the state to support education outputs for an enterprise culture. The section then considers whether this shift ultimately influenced business behaviour in schools. A review of the evaluation data suggests that this discourse gained little traction in terms of business action, and some probable reasons for this are discussed.

Economic Nationalism and the Education/Economy Relationship

Although business groups in the 1990s lamented an entrenched separation of the spheres of schooling and work (for instance Ball, 1991; Kerr, 1993) public schools have always served the economy[28]. The industrial revolution justified schools as both protecting children from, and preparing them for, the adult world of work. The degree to which education should serve enterprise and economic needs, against competing education ideals has however remained an area of theoretical tension through the years (Marshall, 1997; Shuker, 1987; Watts, 1985). Brown et al. (1997) position the post World War 2 education/economy relationship within a framework of 'economic nationalism' in Western industrial societies. Under economic nationalism, governments exercised widespread interventions to govern economic growth and social efficiency. In New Zealand, this intervention proved relatively un-problematic politically until the 1970s, as this was a period of 'unsurpassed prosperity and social tranquillity' (Dunstall, 1992, p. 451). Education was a critical feature of economic nationalism because its outputs were perceived to be instrumental in achieving these twin goals of economic and social prosperity (Brown et al., 1997). State education expenditure, provision and participation increased significantly throughout the 20th Century (Hawke, 1992), and in New Zealand and other Western economies, there was a strong political consensus about the state's

responsibility to intervene in education to secure national economic and social outputs (Brown et al., 1997).

The Collapse of Economic Nationalism: Towards a New Education/ Economy Relationship

Social tranquillity and economic prosperity preserved a political consensus about central planning for meritocratic selection as the basis of the education/economy relationship. However by the end of the 1960s there were signs that New Zealand's economic position was fragile. Britain's alignment with the EEC in 1973 severely damaged New Zealand's exports of meat and dairy to this traditional market. Britain's action exposed the risk of New Zealand's reliance on traditional markets and agricultural exports when the 'engine room' of future economic growth in the international economy lay in manufactured goods (Hawke, 1992). The oil crisis of 1973-74 derailed attempts at export growth because overseas funds became increasingly diverted to oil producing nations. New Zealand's response was to borrow heavily, first to offset the loss in export income, and later to finance the 'think big' national energy projects of the late 1970s. In addition, unemployment and importantly, youth employment, became a feature of New Zealand's social pattern.

The oil shocks and a weakened trading position illustrated New Zealand's growing economic vulnerability to events outside of its domestic economy and the state's shrinking ability to insulate the nation from global economic events. Rapid economic globalisation[29] in the 1980s and 1990s impacted on the labour market and

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[28] In the New Zealand context Harker's (1990) analysis of parliamentary debates leading up to the 1877 Education Act, revealed that 'the enhancement of economic productivity' was one of the four major themes promoted by supporters of broadened public education (Harker, 1990). The relationship goes back much further according to Watts (1985) who records that the first English schools in the late 6th century had a 'primarily vocational intention'.

[29] The OECD defines economic globalisation as follows:

As an economic phenomenon, globalisation is manifested in a shift from a world of distinct national economies to a global economy in which production is internationalised and financed capital flows freely and instantly between countries. Multinational enterprises wield vast economic power, while anonymous institutional investors influence currency, the availability and price of international capital, and interest rates. And the framework of rules within which economic activity takes place is increasingly defined in the international framework of the WTO, the IMF, the World Bank, the OECD, and G7 summits, and is heavily influenced by regional trading blocks, such as APEC, the European Union and NAFTA. (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1996, pp. 3-4).

education/economy relationship in several inter-linked ways. Firstly, human capital[30], as a factor of production, assumed unprecedented importance to the future success of enterprises and economies (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1989). Secondly, employment that involves the exploitation of technology increased while unskilled or semi-skilled jobs continued to decline. Thirdly, trade liberalisation and the relocation of much industrial production to low-wage economies by transnational enterprises forced nations to reconsider their sources of domestic and export production.

The Fordist labour market was characterised by protected national markets, mass production of standardised commodities, bureaucratic hierarchical enterprises, fragmented, specialised and standardised tasks, low staff turnover, rigid divisions of labour, low trust relationships between managers and workers, and little investment in on-the-job training (Brown and Lauder, 1997). However in the global knowledge economy, many writers argue that a new type of worker and therefore education 'output' is required. The move to global free trade and the consequences of unprotected domestic labour markets, the unpredictable global labour requirements of transnational companies, and the sensitivity of domestic economies to global economic conditions, encourages the rise of flexible enterprises, providing high value specialised products to niche markets. Their workers possess a flexible range of specialist skills and are able to work as part of a close team but also autonomously. The new worker is liable to change occupations frequently and therefore needs to be a life long learner (Brown and Lauder, 1997; McQueen, 1992).

In the 1990s these changing economic and labour market conditions galvanised and intensified industry dissatisfaction with the post World War Two education/economy relationship. Price (1991) noted that in the 1980s and 1990s the variously titled 'divide', 'gulf', 'waterway', 'separate worlds', or 'blackboard curtain' between

Although the key characteristics of economic globalisation are commonly acknowledged as apparent, the extent to which the nation states should prime their labour markets and economies to participate in a global economy is contentious. Critics contest the inevitably of benefits from trade and financial capital flow liberalisation, and the increasing powers of transnational corporations relative to national governments (Kelsey, 1999; Korten, 1995).

[30] The OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1998) defines human capital as 'the knowledge, skills and competencies and other attributes embodied in individuals that are relevant to economic activity.' (p. 9).

education and industry was criticised by businesses and industry interests with a new activist stance:

> Industry personnel have always considered it their right to express opinions about what schools are doing – they are taxpayers and, therefore, are entitled to know how the public money allocated to education is spent. Further, as one of the main 'users' of students who leave school after twelve years, industry is beginning to assert its right to have input into what happens in schools, and is demanding that the work of both teachers and students be 'productive'.
> (p. 25)

Evidence for this business dissatisfaction in New Zealand is fairly numerous. McQueen (1992) who interviewed 70 opinion leaders and practitioners from education and industry, about the education/economy relationship, noted a climate of mutual mistrust and suspicion between educators and industry, and that industry interests wanted more emphasis on achievement and less on social goals. Tocker (1993) also undertaking interviews with a smaller group noted a consensus from interview subjects that New Zealand's education system was in need of adaptation to the employment demands of the global economy. Schools and the tertiary system came in for 'scapegoating' for continuing with a meritocratic and elitist system rather than focusing on new skill development for the global economy. Submissions to the *Education for Enterprise* conference (1992) from industry and employer groups expressed a consistent desire to bridge the divide between the worlds of education and work. The influential Porter Project (Crocombe et al., 1991) detected similar frustration about an over-emphasis on the 'social goals' of education and industry bitterness with the education-economy relationship in the recessionary climate of the day:

> As the full extent of New Zealand's economic difficulties have become apparent to even to the most optimistic observer, the debate on the mix of objectives in our education system has become more intense. Our research has found a widespread and deep-seated dissatisfaction in industry with the contribution that our education system is making to New Zealand's economic development. There is a large body of opinion in industry that our education is not equipping people with the skills necessary to compete successfully in the global economy.
> (p. 105)

So education in a period of economic transformation was both saviour and scapegoat and much government reform in education in the 1980s and 1990s either attempted to remove the state as an impediment to education's outputs being in tune with labour market demand, or saw to active interventions in some areas to make education more relevant and responsive to the needs of industry[31]. Brown and Lauder (1992) note that while governments have set limits for themselves in their interventions including fiscal restraint they have heavily supported the universal improvement of their human resources to meet the challenges of economic competition and unpredictable labour markets. Thus, the state has changed the social contract with its citizens from ensuring employment, to encouraging employability (Brown and Lauder, 1997).

Prime Minister Jim Bolger's opening speech at the *Education for Enterprise Conference* (1992) was demonstrative of the state's zeal for a new education/ economy relationship where the needs of industry would be positioned as a priority in education:

> Education and enterprise are not separate and distinct phases in our lives.
> They are part of a continuum of our experience.... For years, our
> economic growth has lagged behind too many developed and developing
> nations of the world.... We simply can't make progress trying to compete
> in the low-price, high-volume, unprocessed commodity markets of the
> world. We can be farmers or manufacturers or suppliers of services – but
> the only way we can stay ahead of our international rivals is through our
> ability to innovate, improve and upgrade our products constantly. That
> kind of enterprise requires one, solid foundation: high quality education.
> We need one of the world's most effective education systems, and we
> must achieve it with less than many nations who have overtaken us in the
> race for skills and growth.

And:

> I convened this conference because I see a gap between the world of
> education and the world of work in New Zealand. This gap has been
> acknowledged by both leaders in enterprise and leaders in education –
> and we must bridge it. Neither education, nor enterprise are separate

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[31] State led initiatives in the 1990s to boost the economic contribution of education were a mixture of facilitating industry led education, and new interventions in the school and tertiary sectors. Government actions included: the Skill New Zealand Strategy; Industry Training Act (1992); the National Qualifications Framework; the Training Opportunities Programme (TOPs); the Secondary Tertiary Alignment Resource (STAR) and Gateway programmes; modern apprenticeships; and additional funding to Private Training Establishments (PTEs).

islands to be kept in splendid isolation in the social and economic landscape of our country.... The traditional mission of education has been to develop each person to full potential.... I am sure there are new ways that education and enterprise can work together to expand the services that our education system offers to the community.
(Bolger, 1992 pp. 2&15)

Nearly ten years later, Prime Minister's Helen Clark's opening address at the *Knowledge Wave* conference in 2001 painted the same stark picture of a national economy characterised by low value commodity exports and weak human capital:

There can be no doubt that over a number of decades, New Zealand's economic performance has not kept pace with that of other first world nations. The reasons are obvious. While others have been transforming their economies and societies through the application of knowledge and innovation, we haven't kept up with them. Our export profile resembles that of developing countries, not that of a developed one.
(Clark, 2001b, p. 2)

In Clark's closing speech she stated that part of New Zealand's necessary economic transformation process was attitudinal and noted that the conference had considered 'how the schools might do more to advance interest in entrepreneurship, commerce and business' (Clark, 2001a).

The 1990s saw a range of education-led initiatives to promote enterprise education through school-business relationships[32]. In 1992 the government announced a strategy to encourage greater numbers of schools and enterprises to develop relationships to contribute to an enterprise culture vision. The strategy included teacher development programmes [including teacher placements in industry] and the utilisation of the Careers Service as an information brokerage and registration point for schools and enterprises wishing to establish relationships. In 1993 (revised 1999) the Ministry of Education produced *Working Together: Building Partnerships*

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[32] Aside from Ministry of Education enterprise education initiatives, in 2002 government agency New Zealand Trade and Enterprise launched its Enterprise Culture and Skills Activities Fund, which aimed to support the development of a 'culture of enterprise and business success'. Schools were a focus for this fund and proposals were expected to contribute to the following objectives:
- A social culture that positively supports entrepreneurial activity and business success
- A climate which recognises and reinforces business success amongst existing and potential businesses
- A culture in education where business is seen as a positive contributor to society and a worthwhile career
- Students developing enterprising attitudes and behaviours including business-related skills (http://www.nzte.govt.nz/section/11770.aspx accessed 31 August 2004).

between Schools and Enterprises, a guide to school-business relationships for schools and businesses. The Education and Training Support Agency contracted the Partners New Zealand Trust to establish regional development of school enterprise relationships and in 1999 the Ministry of Education supported further regional development by Partners New Zealand. The Enterprise New Zealand Trust also received government funding to support their enterprise education programmes and teacher professional development.

Discussion: Assessing the Impact of Enterprise Education-Led School-Business Relationships

As Chapter 3 and this section have shown, there was vocal national business support and a number of initiatives backing school-business relationships focused on student skills, knowledge and values for a knowledge economy and enterprise culture. And yet there is reasonable evidence that the human capital focus within school-business relationships never really took root in business action in the 1990s. Studies of school-business relationships aimed at developing human capital noted a number of challenges and ineffective practices including:

- ongoing mutual mistrust between businesses and schools
- poor planning and management
- a lack of clear goals[33]
- a lack of assessment measures
- superficiality
- a lack of commitment by one or both parties
- a short term or ad-hoc focus
- concentrating on 'non-academic' pupils only
- an excessive reliance upon certain personalities within both institutions for the success of the partnership.
  (Brace, 1997; Education Review Office, 1996; Price, 1991; Sutherland, 1997)

Houghton et al. (1994) evaluated the services provided by the Careers Service to facilitate school-industry links. Although Careers Service records were lacking, the

evaluators concluded that it appeared that few businesses had registered as willing to participate in school-industry links. Interviews with businesses found that smaller businesses perceived they did not have time [and presumably the human resources] to participate in such links. This is a significant finding in light of the fact that 99.5% of New Zealand businesses are 'small', having less than 100 employees, with 85.7% having less than five employees (Statistics New Zealand, 1998a). Over half of all employment in New Zealand is in businesses with less than 20 employees (Department of Labour, 2003), so a significant element of the potential market for school-business relationships appears to be reluctant to participate.

The Education Review Office (ERO) in its 1996 evaluation of school-business links found that all 65 secondary school interview respondents had school-business links operating. However the majority of the relationships were in the traditional vocationally orientated school-to-work transition areas of work experience, work exploration, and work-based training modules, courses or course components. Table 4.1 shows the prevalence of these relationships compared to the organisational development and general curriculum delivery foci of *Working Together* (1999).

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[33] ERO (1996) found that of the 52 schools which had formal or extensive school business links, only 12 had established specific defined objectives, with a further 10 producing 'broad aims' (p. 26).

Table 4.2   Incidence of Various School-Business Links in 65 Secondary Schools (from ERO, 1996)

Category of School-Business Link	Number of times mentioned by respondents (Schools, n=65)	% of total mentions (Mentions, n=184)
Traditional, school-to-work transition activities		
Work experience	44	23.9%
Work exploration	20	10.9%
Work based training module, course or course component	16	8.7%
Careers advice to students	13	7.1%
Newer enterprise education relationships		
Mentors for projects or enterprise schemes	13	7.1%
Assisting teachers in classroom-based instruction of students	9	4.9%
Work shadowing	5	2.7%
Management training for principal and or senior staff	4	2.2%
Students doing assignments or fieldwork at the business site	3	1.6%

Activities being provided by the students or schools to support business, seen as crucial within this narrative for relationships to be sustainable, numbered just 12 compared to the 198 business activities. ERO concluded that:

> There are certainly instances of effective, innovative programmes being offered through carefully planned school-business partnerships. For the most part, however, school-business links appear to consist of informal or semi-formal work experience or work exploration arrangements for senior students. Some specific programmes are being developed in the areas of science and technology, but few in other curriculum areas or of a cross-curricular nature.
> (p. 3)

In 2001 the Ministry of Education evaluated the penetration of enterprise education in schools (Renwick and Gray, 2001). The evaluation looked specifically at government funding to Partners New Zealand Trust and Canterbury Development Corporation for co-ordinating links between schools and businesses in nominated regions, and funding for Enterprise New Zealand Trust to support its Primary Enterprise Programme (PrEP) and Enterprise Studies Programme (ESP). The evaluation undertook telephone interviews with 29 schools and site visits to a further 20. Of 19 primary schools interviewed none were taking part in a formal programme

by one of the providers; five had established their own links with businesses, which were rarely formal or linked to the curriculum. For secondary/area schools the data were not much better: of nine interviewed, two were participating in Ministry-funded programmes and six had their own independent links. The evaluators concluded that enterprise education partnerships were having little impact in schools. The government response to the 2001 report was a blow to the coupling of enterprise education with school-business relationships, because it discontinued the funding for partnership facilitation and expanded the emphasis on teacher professional development and greater curriculum integration of enterprise education (Enterprise New Zealand Trust, 2002; Mallard, 2001).

The research and evaluation studies above suggest that partnerships for enterprise education never really gained traction in the 1990s despite the push from government and business. There is also evidence of a loss of government interest in partnerships as a vehicle for enterprise education, as evidenced by funding decisions and the de-emphasis of work-related outcomes in the revised edition of *Working Together* (1999). There appeared to be a lack of interest *on the ground* on both sides. For businesses, Jamieson (1985) provides an explanatory framework for this mismatch between the pervasive narrative of enterprise culture and the willingness of businesses to work with schools in a practical way towards these ends. Jamieson presented two settings or contexts for the 'schools-industry movement' – the national and local environments. The national environment comprises political, educational, and industry interests, promoting and implementing their individual and collective agendas within the national arena. In the 1990s the government and the Ministry of Education acted within the national environment by, for example, producing *Working Together* and funding and supporting various initiatives. Business interests were also strong at a national level through representative organisations and interest groups such as Partners NZ Trust, Enterprise Education New Zealand Trust, the Employers Federation, and the Information Technology Advisory Group (ITAG).

Jamieson noted that larger individual companies could be prominent in the national environment, with some having dedicated business units to promote school-business relationships within their community relations function. In New Zealand, businesses in this league included BP New Zealand [BP Educational Services], Telecom [the

Telecom Education Foundation], ECNZ [science fair sponsorship], and brewer Lion Nathan [Lion Nathan Education Partnership]. Written submissions to the national *Education for Enterprise* conference in 1992 were dominated by large individual businesses followed by industry groups[34] (Education for Enterprise Conference, 1992). Some large businesses partially funded the enterprise education discourse: for instance McQueen (1992) in his analysis of the school/business interface received 'principal funding' from BP Ltd. In 1991 BP New Zealand also sponsored a series of lectures by English academic Sir Christopher Ball who advocated a renewed education/economy relationship.

However, Jamieson regards the local level, where school-business relationships actually happen, to be the crucial context. Here the localised circumstances of the school and business participants have a far greater bearing on the character of engagements than factors within the national environment. In the United Kingdom, Jamieson noted that the socio-economic characteristics, and in particular, the community employment patterns and local human capital requirements of businesses largely determined the nature and prevalence of school-industry links. The divergence between the national and local environments was seen clearly by Tocker (1993)[35] in her New Zealand study. She discovered a relative consensus of the need for new education-economy relationship when talking to the national representative interests of capital and labour:

> During an interview with Angela Foulkes of the Council of Trade Unions, I remarked how similar her ideas were to those of Roger Kerr of the Business Roundtable, an organisation which is considered to represent a view at the other end of the ideological spectrum. Angela suggested that I was not getting a view from the typical New Zealand business and was in danger of finding only the good news in the "big picture".
> (p. 11)

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[34] The exact number of submissions were:

Individuals in industry	21
Industry Organisations	16
School Sector	11
Government agencies	9
University Sector	7
Polytechnics sector	7
Colleges of Education	2
Maori interests	2

(Education for Enterprise Conference, 1992)

[35] Tocker researched opinion on the education/economy relationship by interviewing a selection of opinion leaders representing education, labour and industry interests.

Consequently Tocker interviewed the financial controller of a small and struggling business. While, the opinion leaders conveyed a strong consensus of the value of improving New Zealand's human capital in the face of changing economic conditions, at the local level, this person wanted employees with specific relevant skills, and could not foresee investing in employee training as the costs could not be justified unless the training was 'essential' to operations.

If the local needs of business are centralised, the rhetoric of new labour market requirements for a knowledge economy becomes less legitimate. A reality that faces the local business deciding whether to work with schools to support human capital development is that children and young people are becoming *less* relevant to the post-industrial workplace. Firstly, as a general rule more young people are putting off the start of their careers by staying at school longer and pursuing further tertiary study after school. In 2003, 62% of NZ students leaving secondary schooling were doing so after a stay of five or more years. School leavers have become more qualified, linking them to further study. A or B Bursary recipients and National Certificate recipients [level 3 and above] increased from 20.4% of school leavers in 1998 to 28.7% in 2003 (Ministry of Education, 1998, 2003). For many careers, the school-to-work transition is becoming a tertiary to work transition – particularly those jobs requiring high skill levels or entry credentials. All enrolments in New Zealand tertiary education have grown massively in recent years. In the four years 1999-2001 all enrolments increased from 319,841 to 452,421, a 41% rise (Ministry of Education, 2002b). The advice from the Department of Labour is clear that post-school qualifications are critical:

> If you're finishing school or considering study or training, it's worth
> thinking about what you can do to protect yourself against changes in the
> economy by building in the best qualifications base you can.
> (Department of Labour, 2003, p. 15)

Likewise, students are taking longer to make up their minds about what they want to do, and young peoples' identities as future workers are becoming less fixed in an era of rapid structural changes to labour markets and employment patterns (Kenway and Bullen, 2001). Vaughan (2003) noted that young people are postponing the

development of their work identities in favour of other identities, and not locking themselves into a vocation early.

Narratives of enterprise education and the knowledge economy forecast significant shifts in labour market demand and in particular stress the decline of low-skill low-wage jobs, and a corresponding significant increase in knowledge-intensive jobs that exploit technology. Greater education levels are critical to moving more workers into high-skill high-wage arenas. The general glamorisation of the variously titled post-fordist, post-industrial, knowledge economy, in much of the enterprise and political futurist literature (for example Cairncross, 1997; Davis and Botkin, 1995; Drucker, 1993; Gates, 1995; Ministry of Research Science and Technology, 1998) places passionate emphasis on education's contribution to economic success. However these claims are simplistic and somewhat misleading upon analysis, which may also partially explain a divergence between the national rhetoric and local business action. For instance the Information Technology Advisory Group (ITAG) report *Impact 2001: How Information Technology Will Change New Zealand* opened with the following:

> New Zealand is rapidly becoming a 'knowledge society' with a workforce largely composed of 'knowledge workers' rather than industrial workers. These workers have special skills which require continual updating, so a top quality education system is essential.
> (New Zealand Futures Trust, 1996, p. 2)

The report claimed that 60% of America's workers are now knowledge workers and most new jobs are in information intensive fields. However this vision of a future labour market is not accurate. Low-skill and semi-skilled jobs in industrial manufacturing are, and will continue disappearing as technology replaces manual labour and more manufacturing production shifts to low-wage economies. Employment involving the manipulation of technology is also very definitely on the rise (International Labour Office, 1998). In the 1990s across the OECD employment in agriculture, manufacturing, and construction decreased while areas to show the biggest growth, including in New Zealand, were the services sector areas of wholesale and retail trade, finance and business services, and community, social and personal services (Department of Labour, 2003; Wolf, 2002). Services sector

employment can be knowledge intensive such as finance, insurance, real-estate, and communications related work but also low-skill low-wage such as cleaning and hospitality, transport, storage, and some elements of retail.

Drucker (1993) asserts that the new division of labour is knowledge workers and service workers and that service workers are the *majority*. Some of these service jobs will incorporate new technologies and skills, but the execution of these tasks will not require substantial investment in human capital, and by implication, support for schools via enterprise education-focused school-business relationships. While information technology-related employment is growing at very fast rates, low-skill service sector jobs continue to rise and dwarf knowledge work employment. Wolf (2002) in describing these trends in the UK noted that 'Low-skilled openings still exist in their millions for people to do things like cleaning streets and offices, packing and delivering boxes, staffing call centres, or operating supermarket checkouts.' (pp. 48-49). The projected ten largest US occupations to 2005 [all of which continue to show growth] are salespersons, registered nurses, cashiers, general office clerks, truck drivers, waiters/waitresses, nursing aides/orderlies/attendants, janitors/cleaners, food preparation workers and systems analysts. Eight of these ten occupations require little human capital investment and are not knowledge work (see Apple, 1996, pp. 83-84). This labour market change can be summarised as less, [but more highly-skilled] jobs in manufacturing and increasing service sector jobs in both high and low-skill areas with some deskilling in low-wage service areas through technology.

While generalisations to local business contexts are difficult, these data suggest that school-business relationships as strategies of human capital development are an inefficient intervention given that labour market demands for very high-skill and very low-skill work are both escalating. Employers in low-skill, low-wage, high staff turnover occupations have little incentive to [over] invest in preparing these workers[36], and businesses after skilled workers require highly qualified and

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[36] Although this research found no examples from the New Zealand literature of low-skill service businesses undertaking school-business relationships to *explicitly* prepare future workers, Kenway and Bullen (2001) note that this was the case with 'Burger King Academies' attached to schools in the USA. There was criticism of the economic reproduction function of these academies, which tended to be located in poor, ethnic minority neighbourhoods, versus the 'Microsoft academies' type programmes that prepared wealthy kids for knowledge work.

experienced staff – not school-leavers. Both circumstances would suggest a reluctance to engage in the voluntary and loss-leading action of school-business relationships, once these were assessed against local human capital requirements.

As Chapter 3 showed, the support literature for enterprise education acknowledged that the human resource business benefits of these relationships were predominantly long-term, including improvements in the human capital of future workers, staff development, a greater understanding of what happens in schools, and a role in the curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1993; New Zealand Education-Business Partnership Trust, 1993). However the evidence from New Zealand supports Jamieson's (1985) contention that businesses are driven more by their short-term needs. Chapter 3 also showed that the partnership for enterprise education literature offered a commercial angle to businesses as an inducement to enter school-business relationships. Hybrid school-business relationships have resulted from this mix of enterprising rhetoric and commercial business objectives, where in exchange for the school receiving support around student career planning and development, curriculum delivery and organisational development, businesses have attended thoroughly to short or medium term commercial needs.

Press coverage of school-business relationships in the 1990s reveals apparently unproblematic slippage between human capital development and commercial business goals. For instance Teutenberg (1994), which was an article about school-business relationships as a corporate marketing strategy, interviewed the director of the New Zealand Education Business Trust[37] who confirmed that business marketing in schools was a 'legitimate business activity' and thus acceptable within a partnership, even though his organisation was supposedly promoting a human capital development rationale to relationships. In the same article, the Pepsi sponsorship of Avondale College was explained: Pepsi provided work experience, speeches from company representatives, and money. In exchange, Pepsi received permission to exploit the students for promotional purposes, the placement of the Pepsi logo on school uniforms, and Pepsi vending machines in the school – all commercially focused opportunities. Gautier (2002) interviewed the marketing manager from *The*

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[37] This Trust became Partners New Zealand Trust in 1996.

New Zealand Herald regarding their competition for schools to design their own newspaper. The manager regarded the event as a commercial success for the Herald:

> He claims the programme met its objectives: to get into the hearts and minds of kids; to introduce them to the Herald website; and to tap into the next generation of Herald readers. Wilson & Horton is considering another initiative, aimed at secondary schools, to run in the third term. "We want to create a pathway for young readers."
> (p. 13)

Gautier also profiled Compaq's support for education, and again, the Compaq representative talked of the benefits to them exclusively in commercial terms [branding] rather than improving the human capital of New Zealand's future workers.

The irony of hybrid relationships is that they perpetuate a narrative of enterprise education through image marketing, while at the same time furthering the commercial, not human capital motives of business. The previous section suggested that commercially motivated relationships are seriously compromised as activities to enhance student outcomes. These hybrid relationships raise a fundamental doubt about the supposed new alignment between the 'worlds' of business and education. Quite the opposite appears to be operating within the school-business relationship designs of business in the context of enterprise education – schools are becoming less relevant to businesses' explicit human resource needs, and commercial desires are substituting for operational goals. While strategies persist for the development of an enterprise culture through education, as does business rhetoric about education needing to do better for businesses, school-business partnerships appear to be diminishing as a vehicle for this. Instead they are becoming a legitimising narrative for commercial activities. In this respect the enterprise education narrative is a powerful trojan horse for business commercial objectives.

Educating Social Citizens

The previous sections have explored school-business relationships as strategies to advance the commercial or operational aspirations of businesses and argued that the commercial motive dominates the business interest in education. This section explores the contested terrain of corporate social responsibility. In particular it

analyses the emergence of the triple bottom line paradigm of corporate social responsibility – a framework that broadens the view of business 'profit' to encompass social and environmental returns [hence *three* areas of return]. A triple bottom line approach argues that the actions of businesses, beyond their profit making, employment and taxpayer roles, affect peoples' social, economic and environmental realities in powerful ways. This creates obligations on businesses to be a 'good neighbour' to stakeholders who are affected by their actions, and also creates a broad rationale for intervention in various social and environmental contexts. To this end, it provides a third business motive for school-business relationships removed from productivity or commercial concerns. However, the triple bottom line paradigm of social responsibility is challenged within business by an alternative self-interest model, which has also strongly informed business intervention in education since 1990 and has given rise to social responsibility *marketing*. This tension and how businesses appeared to interpret social responsibility in the context of school-business relationships is explored below.

The Contemporary Debate in Corporate Social Responsibility

In this section, two contemporary opposite poles of corporate social responsibility are examined: an adaptation of the classical model (von Tunzelmann, 1996), which holds that the sole social responsibility of businesses is to legally maximise shareholder wealth within the 'rules of the game'; and the triple bottom approach which argues that businesses should assess their success in social and environmental terms as well as financial performance. The classical model of social responsibility receives its intellectual inspiration from liberal economist Milton Friedman's 1970 essay, in which he stated that there was no social responsibility of business beyond the legal pursuit of profit:

> There is one and only one social responsibility of business – to use its resources and engage in activities designed to increase its profits so long as it stays within the rules of the game, which is to say, engages in open and free competition, without deception or fraud.
> (in von Tunzelmann, 1996, pp. 6-7)

Within this paradigm, social benefits accrue from company taxes, the private spending decisions of shareholders, and benefits from the business simply existing such as employment and advances in technology (von Tunzelmann, 1996).

Supporters of the classical model acknowledge that Freidman's 'rules of the game' have changed because the public have become far more informed of and sensitive to corporate behaviour, which impacts on financial returns. As indicated earlier, enterprises have realised that effectively branded acts of social responsibility represent a competitive advantage. This modification of commercial strategy rather than ethical philosophy brings shareholder wealth and good works into alignment, and the revised classical model has morphed with the times into the self-interest model of social responsibility (see von Tunzelmann, 1996).

It was argued above that school-business relationships as image management strategies distort the real educational work being done [or not being done] by these businesses, and exploit public and parent anxieties about their children's education for commercial purposes. It furthers traditional and acceptable images of schooling and children, which diverts attention from real educational problems and their causes. More pragmatically, it also promotes a culture of short-term support because corporate image management priorities shift. Most critically in the context of corporate social responsibility, the justification for these relationships is still firmly fixed in terms of financial gain – not social or environmental gains. As Wilson (2002) and others show, the paradox of social responsibility marketing is that the businesses who are causing the most problems socially and environmentally, are all the more likely to be simultaneously presenting images of ethical behaviour, including through school-business relationships.

The self-interest paradigm was opposed in the 1990s by the triple bottom line approach. It stressed that business obligations to society do not end with the legal pursuit of profit within the 'rules of the game'. The rising influence of corporations relative to governments in social and economic life contributed to this inward reflection on the social role of business. New Zealand's structural economic reforms since 1984 radically liberalised the operating environment for businesses and challenged and blurred the traditional divisions between the roles of the state,

business, and community sectors. Bunke (1988) argues that with the removal of regulatory barriers to free enterprise, businesses have assumed greater control over various social outcomes [for instance, the power to influence wages, prices and specific characteristics of our lifestyle such as media options], which amplifies the political dimension to business activity. Contributing to this perspective is growing recognition of the increasing economic power of global transnational corporations under conditions of globalisation, in conjunction with the relative weakening of nation states to influence economic and social activity in many industrialised countries (see Korten, 1995). There has also been growing public and political disillusionment with market liberalism's failure to create economic efficiency and equitable economic and social prosperity (see Henderson, 1999) including the promised trickle down social benefits of economic growth and business profitability (McMurtry, 1998, pp. 105-108). The patchy ethical behaviour of enterprises in a deregulated national economy has also inspired derision from the public and to an extent governments. Issues include poor environmental practices, fraud and general illegal behaviour, tax avoidance, unethical financial transactions, and a general perception that some businesses and industries have exhibited a disregard for a variety of citizen stakeholders and communities (Collins, 1993; Grant, 1997). Enterprises have also recognised that poor behaviour in an age of minimal government intervention in business activity might precipitate re-intervention: a return to 1970s 'mandated social responsibility', when a flurry of legal reforms in consumer protection, environmental legislation, and advertising standards *regulated* the assertion that businesses were part of a complex social and political environment (Enderwick, 1994).

Not surprisingly, in a decade of small government, corporate social responsibility became a politically popular notion. It tied in with interest in improving the social capital[38] of nations (see Putnam, 1995), and more recently with a *Third Way* social democratic politics of closer coordination between the state and business sectors around social priorities. Governments in the 1990s endorsed and/or financially

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[38] Putnam (1995) defines social capital as:
> By analogy with notions of physical capital and human capital – tools and training that enhance individual productivity – "social capital" refers to features of social organisation such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit. (pp. 2-3)

supported school-business relationships that were consistent with strengthening social capital and social outcomes, including the Books in Homes programme, and Project K [a scheme targeting 'at risk' secondary students].

In 1998 businessman Dick Hubbard founded New Zealand Businesses for Social Responsibility (NZBSR) to promote the triple bottom line paradigm of social responsibility for New Zealand businesses. In 2002 NZBSR merged with the Auckland Environmental Business Network to form the Sustainable Business Network (SBN). Within the SBN mission statement is the following commitment to working in partnership with community stakeholders:

> Social Equity – to operate as a good corporate citizen, encourage respect and dignity to all stakeholders by developing mutually beneficial partnerships with local community stakeholders.
> (Sustainable Business Network, 2004)

Also during this period the New Zealand Business Council for Sustainable Development (NZBCSD), the New Zealand Centre for Business Ethics and Sustainable Development (NZCBESD), and strategic philanthropy organisation the Robin Hood Foundation were established. NZBCSD confirmed its commitment to school-business partnerships by producing its own guide to them in 2001 [see Chapter 3].

The triple bottom line paradigm, far from being a new settlement in the social role of business, was vigorously denounced[39] by supporters of the self-interest paradigm as ultimately bad for business and society, as exemplified in the following statement from Business Roundtable executive director Roger Kerr:

> One thing we don't need is more talk of 'social responsibility', where 'social responsibility' is a code for softening business's profit orientation.... Business can contribute best to the general welfare by concentrating on using resources as efficiently as possible.... Pursuing projects that generate goodwill in the community, for instance, may be completely consistent with profit maximisation. But business generally won't do much good by softening its emphasis on making profits.
> (Kerr, 1993, p. 233)

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[39] See Harris and Twiname (1998) for a discussion of this ideological conflict between the self-interest and triple bottom line paradigms of social responsibility, acted out principally [and acrimoniously] between the New Zealand Business Roundtable and NZBSR in the late 1990s.

The Triple Bottom Line

Putting aside these debates within contemporary corporate social responsibility, the triple bottom line approach appeared promising for schools – businesses working with schools to promote education outcomes in fulfilment of social obligations with no commercial strings attached. Assumptions of the social role of business within this paradigm are described by Buchholz (1991):

- Corporations have responsibilities that go beyond the production of goods and services for a profit.

- They involve helping to solve social problems especially those they helped to create.

- Corporations have a broader constituency than just stockholders.

- Corporations have impacts that go beyond their direct marketplace activities.

- They serve a wider variety of human values than those related to economic values.
  (p. 19)

These tenets stress social obligations, rather than commercial opportunities and the triple bottom line approach creates two potential motivating factors for school-business relationships. Firstly, as positive social conditions are a prerequisite to effective business activity and prosperity (Putnam, 1995), and because schools remain publicly recognised as institutions of social reproduction and change, school-business relationships can have a broad positive social impact. This perspective takes a wider view of education goals than a skilled workforce, and jettisons a narrow focus on developing the skills, knowledge and attitudes for future employment. Businesses, in co-operation with educators, use their available resources to assist with diverse education goals.

The second potential motivating factor for school-business relationships would come from a reflective analysis by a business or industry of its social and environmental impacts. Within this analysis the operations of schools and businesses could intersect at certain points conferring 'good neighbour' obligations on both parties to avoid undesirable outcomes from this shared space, and to and enhance its positive aspects. Business responses to identified risks within the shared space of businesses and

schools would focus entirely on addressing these risks – not developing an elaborate public relations response to exploit the image value of the school or situation.

The shared space between businesses and schools could arise from risks created through student use of the products and services of a particular business within and outside of school. Tranz Rail's *Railsafe* railway station safety education programme in the 1990s responded to a social relationship created by the need for school children to travel to school by train. Telecom's Safe Number programme aimed to educate students about responsible telephone use. The shared social space of businesses and schools could create obligations the other way – from schools to businesses. The ERO (1996) study of school-business links provided an example of this:

> A secondary school offered assistance to local orchardists after hailstorms had severely damaged crops. One of the orchardists wished to contribute something to the school in return for work students did to help him. As he was unable to provide financial support, he offered to help with the school's horticulture courses.
> (p. 30)

Discussion: Issues with the Triple Bottom Line

While a triple bottom line paradigm of social responsibility apparently offers hope for quality, commercial free school-business relationships, there are questions over the extent to which businesses supported this paradigm in principle *and* practice. In terms of whether businesses got behind a triple bottom line paradigm, Roper et al. (2003) noted that NZBSR's membership list of 180 was dominated by one or two person businesses [mostly consultants who had likely joined to access new consultancy opportunities] and that very few large companies had joined the organisation by 2000. von Tunzelmann (1996) interviewed representatives from 13 large public companies and found that social responsibility activities were strategically managed to enhance the participants' economic agendas, rather than being led by a social obligation focus. In short, strategic philanthropy was evident:

> A very evident, and for most companies, comparatively recent development is their increasing sophistication in managing sponsorships and other forms of community involvement. Companies are applying skills in strategy, planning, communication and evaluation to improve their sponsorship and community relationships. Compared with the ad

hoc ways most companies have dealt with sponsorship projects in the past, this new approach is consistent with the evolution towards social responsibility as a component of strategy rather than as a 'good thing', reflecting the growing focus on the economic value expected to be added from all business operations.
(pp. 35-36)

While the companies in her study were very advanced in assessing sponsorship requests by exploring the links between the sponsorship arrangement, the recipient, and business objectives, the same could not be said for linking the relationship to positive social change and obligations:

In a small number of cases the company focused on how to ensure maximum community benefit as well as maximising the benefit to the company, which the overseas literature suggests is a relatively new phenomenon.
(p. 35)

Roper et al. (2003) argued that in New Zealand, organisations supporting a triple bottom line social responsibility paradigm, such as NZBSR had to take a 'big tent' approach to membership criteria to avoid a minuscule membership of compliant businesses. This approach suggests a movement that is permissive of social responsibility marketing approaches, and inclusive of organisations whose public image diverges form the reality of their behaviour – a situation that feeds a hyperreality of ethical business behaviour and concealed commercial motives.

A number of practical issues impede a triple bottom line approach to school-business relationships. Constructing business social obligations is a necessarily subjective process and will invariably be constrained and shaped by the personalities and worldviews of those with decision-making power and the resources available to address a particular social issue. The state has democratically forged legal obligations to the public for education, and taxpayer funded resources and regulatory power to address these obligations in diverse ways. Businesses on the other hand must undertake a subjective and imperfect process to establish social obligations with limited capacity to make a difference, as this comment from Dick Hubbard illustrates:

...we put a lot of emphasis here at Hubbard Foods on employment because we're a manufacturing company where we can employ a lot of unskilled or semiskilled labour and we're right next to a Polynesian housing community. So we can do a lot in that area. If you're a real estate agent in Remuera you're very limited in what you can do in employing long-term unemployed Polynesian youths.... One of the messages that comes through is that the important thing is to have a social responsibility ideology, but quite what you do and how you go about it can vary a lot. (Dick Hubbard of NZBSR, in Harris and Twiname, 1998, p. 158)

Shareholder obligations impose a further constraint on public company action in this area. All public companies are hamstrung to some degree by a fundamental and legal commitment to maximise shareholder wealth, particularly in recessionary economic climates.

The NZBCSD report *Successful Business and School Partnerships: Making a Difference for a Sustainable New Zealand* highlighted the constraints and internally focused logic businesses are working from when considering relationships to meet social obligations. Instead of commencing with a critical assessment of what the broad and specific social obligations of a business might be, the report recommended that businesses first determine their resource commitment, then what kind of partnership would suit the resources and capacities of the businesses, then find out what other businesses are doing, and only then make contact with a potential recipient to set objectives and undertake the relationship. This process is the reverse logic of an analysis of social obligations.

The triple bottom line arguably suggests a focus on school as a social institution within the orbit of businesses' social obligations first and foremost, rather than an economic input to enhance business performance. However, schools hold a unique position within the aspirations of businesses because of their capacity to feature in considerations of social *and* operating performance. As argued in Chapter 3, the literature on socially-driven business interventions in schools shows strong slippage into enterprising desires to improve what are seen to be lagging education outputs. *Successful Business and School Partnerships* is full of the language of financial returns and human capital development, in the process constructing students as enterprising subjects:

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> Investing in education provides substantial returns. The NZBCSD
> Successful Business and School Partnerships initiative seeks to promote
> this investment by New Zealand businesses to create a win-win for
> business and society. As a country we want to earn more and to do this
> we need to learn more. To help this dream become reality NZBCSD
> members and other businesses are encouraged to become involved in
> school partnerships.
> (New Zealand Business Council for Sustainable Development, 2001, p.
> 6)

In further respects the narrative shares a similar approach to the enterprise education prescription. For example a focus on strengthening governance and management, an ethos of providing a 'hand up, not a 'hand out', producing outcomes that are 'measurable' and 'auditable', and establishing 'win-win' relationships, which in practice incorporate business commercial objectives.

A reading of the NZBCSD prescription suggests that businesses following it would have fulfilled social obligations by developing relationships focused on building students' skills, knowledge and values for enterprise, while attending to commercial objectives through their image marketing of social responsibility and enterprising schools. This approach has two fundamental elements missing that would support a genuine commitment to triple bottom line social responsibility in education – critical consideration by businesses of their social impacts and resulting social obligations, and how these might encompass schools; and secondly, the construction of students as social rather than commercial or enterprising subjects. Although, the NZBCSD paper asked businesses to focus on 'at risk' youth in low decile schools, these children and young people were constructed as at-risk of failing to make a positive future contribution to an enterprise culture. The discourse itself left no room for a critical engagement with business behaviour, products and services – business was positioned as fundamentally good and helpful. It also pointed to managerial solutions for both schools and students [e.g. mentoring from business personnel], a school change philosophy that has been increasingly discredited as a magic bullet for school reform, but one still over-sold in corporate rhetoric.

Chapter Discussion

Chapter 2 presented two key issues for exploration – corporate power and the corporatised school. Chapter 3 considered three popular public discourses on school-business relationships that were constructing business and school behaviour in this area and theorising effects. The first of these, partnership for enterprise education, centralised businesses' human capital objectives, and cast students as enterprising subjects, being stifled in anti-business schools. The second, not-for-profit sector interventions, suggested a business focus on commercial objectives by matching the image value of school-business relationships to the dispositions of publics and customers. Concern with social outcomes also figured within this discourse, as did the education/economy link. The third, school commercialism argued that commercial objectives were the key business driver for school-business relationships, casting students as consumers of the products *and* ideologies of businesses in the market place of schools. This chapter has considered how these discourses from Chapter 3 were integrated, adapted and reconstructed through the behaviours and discursive practices of businesses in the area of school-business relationships. It argues that the commercial motive dominated the business interest in schools, but this motive was multifaceted and produced complex strategies.

The evidence is compelling for increasing corporate interest in children and young people as a consumer market over this period, and a shift towards using the school as a legitimate and advantageous context for reaching these consumers. The commercial aims ranged from basic and complex marketing and sales strategies to encourage consumption, to sophisticated public relations efforts to engineer student consent for particular business activities. Sometimes both objectives were at play in the same activity.

Schools as a market place have unique advertising and promotional features for business. Further, schools are joining a sophisticated web of child marketing as corporations cross formats between the traditionally separate discursive genres and public spheres of learning, entertainment, and advertising. As distinctions between marketing and public relations collapse, schools and school-business relationships are becoming the objects or signs of elaborate image marketing strategies to pursue

diverse, and often socially problematic, corporate agendas with different publics. While the evidence for enterprise education suggested a lack of strong interest by businesses in strengthening education's human capital outcomes, businesses have increasingly invoked this rhetoric in their promotional positioning of relationships. The same practice is evident with narratives of social responsibility. In fact public support for enterprising and social business agendas enabled businesses to promote their enterprise education as socially responsible as well, while in practice exhibiting weak social or human capital aspirations in their work with schools. So at the same time as businesses are seeing schools as less relevant to their operations, they are faking this imperative through an image which appeals to anxious adults, to further a public relations agenda and increase their access into schools for commercial purposes.

A disturbing consequence of commercial strategies promoted as educational and socially responsible, is that aside from managing the information flows associated with problematic business behaviours and products, critical public consideration of the educational value of these relationships was inhibited by the emotive imagery of supporting schools and students – the image limited critical interrogation of itself. Children and adults were being addressed differently through corporate PR. The public sphere of schooling was commercially exploited to deliver particular social, cultural and environmental agendas to children. For these children, corporate bias was compounded by the pleasures of consumer culture infused in these relationships. As the commercialised cultural symbols, knowledge and methods of their non-school popular culture spilled over into schools, their desires were fulfilled and their critical capacities kept in check. A complementary image marketing effort at times simultaneously suggested something profoundly educational and socially responsible to wider publics. The corporate promotional narratives of innocent but enterprising children are profoundly effective in an environment of adult anxiety about their children. These adult-to-adult commercialised images of schooling present romantic and idealised images of childhood innocence and development, and excuse businesses from detailing the actual difference they are making in education, or even to prioritise difficult education issues. Even if parents do not take some of the bold promotional claims seriously, the general idea appeals to their contemporary

sensibilities. The perverse irony is that as these images were being sold to parents in the 1990s, businesses were becoming less interested in the child as a future worker and arguably as a social subject as well.

In conclusion, the practices of businesses over this period suggest a commercial business motive underpinning much school-business relationship activity in New Zealand. These practices are however becoming more complex, multi-faceted, full of contrary imagery, and facilitative of consumption and cultural effects. Strategies range from social responsibility marketing, classic marketing and cross selling to children, edutainment programmes and materials, public relations efforts to students and wider publics, and fusions of each of these. Social responsibility and enterprise education rhetoric has become a promotional discourse of business to legitimate these practices and manage public dissent, with pockets of genuine practice of each. Chapter 5 looks at how the corporatised school is positioned to interpret and challenge these complex discursive practices and actions.

Chapter 5. The 'Demand-Side' of School-Business Relationships Since 1990: The Corporatised School

Introduction

This chapter looks further at the forces of marketisation and corporatisation in New Zealand schools and how these connected to the rationalisation, normalisation, and de-politicisation of school-business relationships in the 1990s. It is argued that marketisation has structural and cultural dimensions constructing school perspectives and actions around school-business relationships. Aspects of marketisation considered below are school funding and competition, consumer choice and school image, democratic relations between schools and parents, the reconstruction of school-leadership towards managerialism, and the status of teaching, knowledge and the curriculum within a cultural framework of marketisation.

The Challenge of Corporate Pedagogies and Power for Schools

Chapter 4 argued that the leading business motive in school-business relationships since 1990 was commercial, and that strategies to exercise this motive with multiple groups have become more sophisticated. This complexity is facilitated by the collapse of clear cultural categories for children's advertising, entertainment and learning, and the blurring of business marketing and PR functions. From these changes have emerged multi-faceted pedagogies in schools addressing different markets and, through promotional imagery, elevating particular corporate ideologies and constructions of children. The first dimension of the business commercial motive was addressing students as consumers. It was argued that this marketing effort gives corporations an expanding role in childhood identity construction, and furthermore the pleasurable nature of these pedagogies inhibits self-reflection and critique of corporate ideologies and the interests served by them. Secondly, corporate public relations exploited and corrupted the public sphere of school to promote 'unproblematic' corporate agendas, the project here being to facilitate student

consent for various corporate behaviours and discourses. Sometimes both these aspects of commercialism – sales/marketing and public relations were at play within particular school-business relationships [see also Chapter 6]. Thirdly, the sign value of schooling was exploited to further the commercial objectives of businesses. This included the exploitation of adult-friendly childhood development and innocence discourses. One effect of this PR activity was to position businesses as vital helpers in education from a social and economic perspective, opening the way for further encroachments by business generally.

Saltman and Goodman (2003) and others argue that there are two key levels [beyond advertising and promotion] to the educational problem of school-business relationships: the explicit corporate agenda at play; and the broader ideological project of corporatisation. They describe this in the context of an examination of a BPAmoco sponsored educational programme:

> Like other corporate curricula, Amoco's sprightly lessons do more than provide entry for corporate advertisements into public space. The curriculum serves a dual function. Firstly, it serves to divert public attention from what Amoco is actually doing around the world. Second it serves an ideological function, constructing a corporate-friendly worldview that defines youth identity and citizenship through consumption and nationality as the corporate interest rather than the public interest.
> (p. 38)

Hence school-business relationships always express corporate ideological power and should be considered pedagogies – an attempt to transmit, within the public sphere of education, particular knowledge, values and ideologies, and ultimately construct, and utilise particular social realities that support these ideologies. As Hewitt (2005) describes, corporations through school-business relationships, influence particular conditions that '…feed shared habits and therefore in varying degrees, command impulse, need, want and desire.' (p. 57). All knowledge has this capacity but corporations are more resourced than most to exercise this power in contemporary times in clever ways. As Chapters 2 and 4 suggest, there are personal and social risks associated with corporate power and its expression through school-business relationships. If education is to be socially transformative in an environment of

increasing corporate power and more sophisticated avenues for expression of this power through education and other media, schools need to become critical readers of corporate pedagogies. Schools and teachers need to problematise the apparent 'commonsense-ness' of school-business relationships through a process of frank exploration and critique of the business motives and strategies in a context of changing children's culture.

There are challenges for schools embarking on this critical cultural project. Firstly, deconstructing the image marketing of corporate social responsibility and human capital enhancement is difficult when these discourses are so neatly aligned with adult sensibilities and education policy rhetoric. It is acceptable to talk about the economic contribution of education at all levels of the system, and there is strong public support for corporate social responsibility. It appears to be accepted inside and outside of schools that New Zealand has 'moved on' from a culture of mutual suspicion between schools and business which opens up a range of possibilities for schools and businesses working together – including on commercial grounds (Gautier, 2002).

Secondly, within schools, school-business relationships have reached a sophistication and normalcy, which is arguably steps ahead of the critical contemplation and analysis – perhaps particularly in New Zealand with its culture of high innovation/ low critique in this area [see Chapter 1]. Critics of the corporatisation of education argue that corporate culture, integrated within a wider socio-political status quo characterised by Apple (1996) as the 'conservative restoration', created a new commonsense view about the purposes of education and learning away from a critical mission of social transformation towards the narrow development of skills, knowledge and values for an existing social and economic order – a process that does not so much deny the cultural and economic reproduction potential of schools, but rather craves its return. The ubiquity of this discourse was held to frame the conscious decisions and unconscious actions of teachers and school leaders towards de-ethical, non-critical behaviours.

Further, as mentioned, school-business relationships are part of a multi-site/multi-media childhood marketing effort occurring as boundaries between the cultural

categories of education, advertising and entertainment collapse, and the business marketing and public relations functions similarly blur and merge. While schools are but one site for children's engagements with consumer culture, schools' traditional mission of preserving and transmitting high culture forms and useful knowledge has rendered them disadvantaged in children's culture which takes much of its identity – i.e. learning, from other media. This makes classic deconstruction of, for instance, advertising and commercial media, problematic because it risks alienating children further from schooling and teachers (Buckingham, 2003). New pedagogies are needed which acknowledge the powerful place of consumer media culture in children's desires and identity, but which also create a space for 'insider' reflexive readings, interrogation, and resistance to these forces (Kenway and Bullen, 2001; Lankshear and Knobel, 2003).

With these challenges for schools in mind, the discussion below looks at both the structural/policy dimensions of marketisation, and its cultural imperative which rises from and legitimates the policy changes and embeds and reproduces an orthodoxy about the purposes of education. This orthodoxy is problematic to a critical reading of school-business relationships.

Marketisation and Corporatisation

"My ideology has just shot out the window."
[Comment by a secondary principal who was about to sign a 'big corporate deal' [Sponsorship] for his school. (Anon, 1999, p. 3)]

Since 1989, New Zealand along with numerous other countries has reconstructed schooling within a competitive business model of self-management, competition and choice, in response to a crisis of nation state legitimacy in governing and delivering equality of opportunity and economic efficiency through education (Brown, 1997; Power and Whitty, 1996). Driving this policy project has been the dominant discourse of neo-liberalism, which centralises the economic goals of education and argues that the market mechanisms of free consumer choice and autonomous schools will maximise educational efficiency and outcomes. Marketisation has therefore recast, structurally and culturally: schools as service providers; principals as CEOs;

teachers as employees; and parents [on behalf of their children] as the consumers of education and therefore the clients of schools.

While the general literature on the marketisation of education is vast, there is little recent research about teacher and principal reactions and beliefs around commercial school-business relationships in this environment, beyond the reported anecdotal evidence from individuals [who author or are profiled in commentary] and proxy evidence of rising commercialism in schools (for instance Molnar, 2003a). This latter data strongly implies greater, but sometimes reluctant, acceptance of these relationships by schools. This lack of research is despite academic critique and reasonably strong organised opposition and political interest, particularly in the USA. Di Bona et al. (2003) surveyed 174 high school principals in North Carolina to gauge the level of commercialism within their schools and their views about it. 63.2% of respondents believed that commercial activities added to overall school objectives and 74.5% were mostly or somewhat positive about the effects; 75.9% were aware of very little or no opposition to school commercialism in their local area. In New Zealand Hutchinson (2002) found a similar acceptance of the idea school-business relationships in her survey on school marketisation which was completed by 44 secondary school principals: 72.7% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that 'Schools should foster sponsorship and business links with the wider community' (p. 54). Di Bona et al. (2003) in concluding that principals were very supportive of commercialism, provided this explanation:

> It is not that principals are unaware of the dangers of commercialism in their schools, but rather that they place the immediate needs of their students ahead of the long-term and less-certain health and psychological damage.
> (p. 59)

Pragmatic and weighed responses that supported student learning over commercial effects were common in the literature when principals were asked about their approach to school-business relationships:

> Anything we do, we're careful about – we'd always be cognisant of where [material] has come from. But we'll make decisions based on a bit of common sense.
> [New Zealand secondary school principal in Gautier (2002, p. 13)]

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It is argued below that the structural and cultural project of marketisation, has corporatised schools, facilitating a decision-making milieu of ethics, pragmatism and entrepreneurialism, thus creating a space for commercial school-business relationships to become acceptable.

Funding and Competition

"The issue is when the government funds us so we don't have to do these things, then we can adopt the high moral ground."
[Principal defending soft drink vending machines at his school, in Mussen (2002, p. A4)]

School commercialisation critics have argued that much of the increasing acceptance by schools of school-business relationships arises from pressure for resources – cash and materials, as public funding and overall government commitment to the ideals and management of public education stagnates or dwindles. Corporate support has 'strings-attached' but schools are between a rock and a hard place, and sometimes reluctantly, choose financial and educational viability over a steadfast ethical stand. In New Zealand *Tomorrow's Schools* and the related marketisation measure of de-zoning created a school environment of unprecedented financial control and equally unprecedented financial insecurity. Site based financial management was strongly consistent with many of the 'Essential Features' of quality education administration mentioned by the Picot Report: simplicity; decisions made at appropriate levels; school control over resources; and openness and responsiveness (Picot, 1988, p. 41). The parent Board of Trustees became responsible for the setting of a yearly budget and ensuring that the school remained financially viable. The new funding and financial operating framework gave schools opportunities to provide education environments that reflected the circumstances and aspirations of their students and community, and schools generally approve of the *principle* of decentralised operational funding (Wylie, 1998, p. ii). However two major and perennial issues evolved from the early 1990s: firstly, criticism of the perceived inadequacy of government operational funding; and secondly, the severe financial effects on certain schools with unstable and/or declining rolls in a dezoned environment. For many

schools, these problems created a need to inject new vigour into school fund-raising, including the hunt for new funding providers.

Wylie (1999b) tracked primary and intermediate school principal perceptions of the adequacy of operational funding in the 1990s and found a dramatic deterioration in satisfaction with government funding levels. In 1990 20% of principals believed their operational funding was inadequate, however by 1999 the figure had risen to 87% with just over 65% of trustees also claiming inadequate operational funding. Many schools experienced financial difficulties with 60% of all primary schools being in deficit for at least one of the three years from 1993 to 1995 (Wylie, 1997b). In Wylie (1998) survey respondents from 1130 Boards of Trustees collectively rated the adequacy of the operations grant as the top priority issue for government action. As late as 2003, the New Zealand School Trustees Association was lobbying for a significant increase to school operational funding and commissioned a study into school financing that begun reporting in 2004 (Wylie and King, 2004). Wylie (1997b) noted that adjustments to the operational grant had tracked well below the Consumer Price Index [a key indicator of inflation] since 1989. Although government funding of the operations grant increased by 10% between 1999 and 2003 [adjusting for inflation and roll growth], from 1990 to 1999, in real terms government funding increased by just 4.4% (Wylie and King, 2004). There also seems little doubt that education became more costly during this period[40]: between 1995 and 2001 all government operational grants [adjusted for inflation but not roll growth] to schools increased by 32.4%, but all school expenditure increased by 39.4% in real terms (Murphy, 2002, pp. 5-7).

Local fund-raising became a crucial feature of financial management in many schools, particularly in those that perceived that central funding was not sufficient to cover costs. In Wylie (1997b) 47% of schools that perceived their funding to be inadequate had increased their fundraising effort compared to 13% of those that perceived their funding as adequate. Fundraising data for New Zealand state primary and secondary schools showed increasing numbers of schools raising higher sums under self-management: the percentage of schools in Wylie's study that raised more

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than $15,500 had nearly quadrupled during the period 1990 to 1999 from 10% to 38% while schools raising less than $6,500 annually had decreased from 61% to 34%[41] (Wylie, 1999). Between 1995 and 2001 local funds raised doubled in dollar terms and were approaching half the amount of all government grants per annum – $539 per student compared to all Government grants of $1,244 per student (Murphy, 2002, p. 7). By 2004, one quarter (26%) of New Zealand secondary schools were collecting more money from locally raised funds than government operational funding (Hipkins and Hodgen, 2004).

Enrolment dezoning compounded financial problems for some schools and increased the imperative to seek alternative funding sources. School choice and competition for students destabilised some schools' rolls, and in the worst cases schools lost a large enough number of students for the resulting cuts in central funding to seriously undermine their financial and educational viability[42] (Gordon, 1994, 1997; Hughes et al., 1996). In Wylie (1997b) only 17% of primary and intermediate school principals said that their rolls had remained much the same over the period 1989 to 1996; 25% of respondent schools had lost pupils since the reforms – 11% indicating a substantial decrease and 14% a slight decrease. 19% of schools said that changes in their roll were the result of changing student preferences under conditions of parental choice, a response that is likely to be conservative. Schools that lost students for this reason were more likely to be low decile, have a high percentage of Maori enrolments or have a small roll – characteristics which lessen a school's capacity to extract extra financial support from non-business sources such as school fees and school fairs.

Collectively these data above show that locally raised funds played an increasingly vital role in school financing in the 1990s, and despite a significant increase in government funding in the late 1990s, locally raised funding grew at faster rates. Importantly, this extra money was all spent indicating rising cost pressures for schools. The ethical educational issues around accepting corporate resource support

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[40] One likely cause of rising costs was the large investments many schools made in ICT including networking, hardware and software, and professional development. Wylie and King (1994) found that locally raised funds from community trusts and local businesses tended to get put into ICT and building expansion/refurbishment.

[41] These figures are not adjusted for inflation.

[42] In some schools the impact of changing parent preferences under dezoning [introduced in 1991 then liberalised in 1992] was disastrous. For instance, one secondary school in the *Smithfield Project* study lost one third of its previous year's third form intake number in 1991, and by 1995 its intake was down to just above one quarter of the 1990 level (Hughes et al., 1996, p. 9)

were joined by pragmatic issues of survival in the market-place. Hipkins and Hodgen (2004) found that for secondary schools, seeking outside sponsorship was the second most common fundraising response [behind seeking international fee-paying students] to government funding shortfalls with 10% doing this in the previous three years. For these schools, 'Donations/Grants/Sponsorships from Organisations and Businesses' comprised 9% of locally raised funds – third behind international students and school fees/donations.

A somewhat alternative reading of the anxieties of limited school funding was that some schools reconstructed their fundraising, not as a cap-in-hand measure of desperation, but as an advantageous and natural extension of the 'business operations' of a corporatised school. In the process financial school-business relationships were normalised and celebrated. Chapter 1 provided some examples of audacious financial leadership behaviour including schools establishing or attempting to establish naming rights sponsorships with businesses. Principals were cited as saying that *Tomorrow's Schools* had helped them to break out of the 'cake stall mentality' and that schools should 'get off their chuff' and join the action of business sponsorship rather than grumble about a lack of government funds (Teutenberg, 1994). In the thinking of those principals who had been successful, the others who remained standoffish about school-business relationships were not 'thinking progressively' (Jellard, 1998). A New Zealand Country Paper to a 1995 OECD conference called *Changing Directions, Roles, and responsibilities in Education,* prepared by the Ministry of Education, positioned financial school-business relationships as exciting and empowering for schools:

> ...the government retains the responsibility of funding New Zealand's system of state schooling.... Some state and private schools are looking to develop innovative arrangements with potential sponsors to provide some extra financing flexibility.
> (Ministry of Education, 1995a, p. 9)

Hutchinson (2002) found an association between financial autonomy and the *necessity* for entrepreneurialism: 90% of secondary principals in her school marketisation survey agreed or strongly agreed that Boards of Trustees and Principals must be 'more entrepreneurial in style' in response to Ministry of Education funding

shortfalls (p. 54). Nowhere is this financial entrepreneurialism more evident than in the export education 'industry' that supported over 15,000 foreign fee-paying students in New Zealand schools in 2002. Codd (2004) noted that 10 state schools were earning over $1,000,000 in revenue from foreign fee-paying students in this year, with the largest earning $2,000,000. Part of the cultural impact of marketisation then has been to excite school leadership with the possibilities of financial freedom and control through entrepreneurial wheeling and dealing, and in the process break down the language and cultural barriers between business and education.

Consumer Choice and School Image

Marketisation as a path to efficiency and equity in education was premised on the market dynamic of parents being active consumers of education – shopping around for the best product, thus raising school performance and removing poor performers from the market place. Parents' base power in marketised systems is therefore the power to exit schools. In the 1990s consumers were supported in their decision-making by more 'market' information including ERO reports, the media publication of 'league tables' of secondary school assessment results and ERO report summaries, and the higher visibility of school promotion measures such as advertising, good-news stories in newspapers, and promotional school websites. Parents as informed potential customers 'window-shopping' for education, shifted schools' concerns to varying degrees from the inside world of learning to the surface features of image (Kenway and Bullen, 2001). Schools just like other modern commodity producers attempted to build a strong brand in the marketplace. To meet these demands, principals had to become PR men and women for their schools (Wylie, 1997a). Hutchinson (2002) found that 81.8% of secondary principals in her survey (total, n=44) had increased their marketing budgets in the last few years and 66% approved of using marketing strategies in the context of school management.

Wylie (1997b) showed that primary schools in competitive situations for students favoured a response in line with external promotion rather than pedagogy: nearly 50% of surveyed schools had changed school practices as a result of the actions of other schools. These schools were more than twice as likely to respond with 'school

promotion' than changes to student assessment and curriculum (p. 155). This bears out the warning of an OECD study of school choice (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1994) that site based financial management in an environment of consumer choice might lead to school investment in the window dressing activities of image, promotion, marketing, branding, and public relations activities, which could draw funds and professional energy away from a school's core activity of education. Image building exercises by schools included the introduction of more formal uniforms, re-branding as, for instance, a bicultural school, creating a veneer of exclusivity with the introduction of an enrolment scheme, niche marketing by offering specialised courses, or prospecting for international students (Gordon, 1997).

Power and Whitty (1996) suggest that although self-management promised diversity and community responsiveness, schools have tended to embark on conservative and symbolic, rather than transformative, change to meet consumer demand. Fiske and Ladd (2000, pp. 249-250) additionally reported that to attract the greatest number of students, New Zealand schools often deferred to a familiar, traditional product appealing to as wide a group of parents as possible, rather than risk a move into innovative niches. Hutchinson (2002) found a strong prevalence for what she called a 'selling orientation' to school marketing, in that the prime motive of principals was to improve the resource base of the school by promoting and ultimately selling the school to parents, rather than responding to customer preferences by linking market research [i.e. soliciting and analysing parent preferences] to school planning and implementation. She concluded that with the pressures of roll-based funding in a competitive environment, principals were 'selling' rather than 'serving' their schools.

It is difficult to envisage the image conscious school going out of its way to position itself as critical of school-business relationships, particularly to the key customer group of the professional middle class, who often work for and are therefore supported by corporations (see Apple, 1998), and who may err towards a high standards emphasis rather than socially radical education for their children. Apple (2001) notes that a section of the middle-class do rally against some school-business relationships as an intrusion of popular/low culture in education and mentions liberal opposition to Channel One as an example. However, Seiter (1993) shows that parents

have traditionally responded positively to corporate products and services that address their generational anxieties about child development. In Chapter 2 Wymer and Samu (2003) noted that positive publicity around particular relationships was a strong motivator for *recipients* of business interventions as it could enhance image. In this environment then, school-business relationships could potentially become a positive promotional tool for the school, making resistance totally contradictory and irrelevant.

The extent to which school-business relationships in the 1990s could strengthen a culture of school compliance rather than resistance was demonstrated through two examples of the swift repression of student anti-corporate dissent. In the USA, the *Coke in Education Day* took a sour turn for the high school involved when a student, Mike Cameron ripped off his shirt to reveal a Pepsi logo T Shirt in front of Coke executives and embarrassed school officials. Cameron was promptly suspended (Saltman, 2000). Kincheloe (2002b) relates the similar example of student Tristan Kading. Kading was asked to participate in a mock job interview with McDonald's representatives in front of a school assembly. He proceeded to publicly denounce McDonald's for its environmental practices and the poor nutritional quality of its food. He was removed from the assembly and forced to publicly apologise. Disillusioned with the school he tried to leave a month later. In an example from New Zealand, the contract that Mainfreight and Bairds Primary School signed to give Mainfreight naming rights of the school, allowed Mainfreight to cancel the agreement if the school brought Mainfreight into disrepute through its 'discipline or standards of behaviour' and management. That would include a bad ERO report, damaging media coverage or major complaints from the community (Good Teacher Magazine, 1997).

There are examples from the literature suggesting that parents were accepting of the commercialisation of their schools when this was weighed against the perceived benefits to their own children of school-business relationships. Bairds Mainfreight School said that 85% of parents backed a school name change including branded schoolwear when they realised the financial benefits it would bring to the school (Good Teacher Magazine, 1997). The Office of the Commissioner for Children received 'relatively few' enquiries from parents about commercial activities in their

children's schools (Personal conversation with Jenet Upton, Office of the Commissioner for Children, 1998). The tentative conclusion, to be explored further in Chapter 8, is that an emphasis on image in a competitive market facilitates a conservative parent-pleasing approach which can lead to the promotional alignment of school-business relationships with parent preferences and dispositions.

However the literature suggests that principals were not entirely comfortable participants in a promotional culture that elevated school image and drew school and community attention towards surface image. Hutchinson (2002) found that one third of secondary principals (34.1%) considered themselves 'externally motivated' to undertake marketing [i.e. responding to economic and political pressures in their school] and held personal concerns about the environment of school choice and competition and the subsequent high costs of marketing. As the following quotes from principals show, her survey uncovered anxiety about this transfer of energy and resources from teaching and learning towards pushing a school brand through marketing:

> "Need to market has led to some loss of focus on ordinary students in classrooms."

> "An inordinate amount of money, time and emotional energy has been/is devoted to marketing schools. All of this should be diverted to students' learning."

> "It has a positive effect on school morale *but* can distract one from the more important matter of education."

> "There is a conflict between what I consider right in a moral sense and the demands of marketing the school"

> "More energy and time spent by the school leader in marketing that should be spent reviewing and challenging pedagogy. Danger that the school believes its own marketing material – "the emperor has no clothes" scenario is therefore a possibility"

> "A fine line between promoting, celebrating, working towards making kids feel they are valued and marketing, using student achievements to build the 'brand'!"

While some principals recognised this tension and were uncomfortable, they also tended to acknowledge that school marketing was a fact of life in marketised systems:

> "Shouldn't have to do it, but in the real world it is now a necessity."

> "Parents like it – they think they have choice. Some schools like it – they get choice. I am an extremely reluctant participant."

> "I think it's now a fact of life."

> "A necessary evil."
> (pp. 63-64)

A final point about image is that it creates its own costs, for example advertising and property development, making it a part of the fundraising dynamic covered earlier. Chapter 8 then looks at whether school-business relationships were explicitly used to fund image and/or whether they were a component of the image marketing of the school.

Marketised Relations and Democratic Deliberation

Marketised schools in New Zealand are symptomatic of a post-modern paradox which sees local collectives including historically disadvantaged groups, advancing their interests through autonomous and diverse social institutions, while at the same time political responses to economic globalisation have homogenising and stratifying effects on these people and their institutions. Stuart Wells et al. (1999) in considering charter schools in the USA [which are similar in many respects to the idealised *Tomorrow's School* school] describe this tension:

> Thus charter schools are on the one hand, fragmented and decentred localised projects that celebrate difference over uniformity and fight for cultural recognition, and, on the other, are conceptualised within and connected to larger global trends of less redistribution and more privatisation, greater inequality between the rich and the poor, and of increased commodification of culture via images of mass marketing.
> (p. 99)

Fiske and Ladd (2000) noted the same dynamic at the micro level of schooling within *Tomorrow's Schools* – a 'democratic populist' impulse which sat uneasily and was contradicted by strands of managerialism, school competition and choice. While the reforms were justified as enhancing the local and providing grass roots solutions to community needs, this was never realised to this utopian sense when at the same time parents were reconstructed as individualised consumers and principals were reconstructed as strong managers of atomised schools. The recasting of education as a private good and schools as education service providers in a national education system was the prevailing mechanism 'steering' education rather than community control. Grace (1990) notes that the assumption of this position is:

> ...that once we have placed education in the market-place, we will come to the realisation that certain self-steering mechanisms of the market-place and the idea of consumer sovereignty will provide optimal solutions for the problems both of equity and efficiency in education.
> (p. 29)

This approach of course ignores the way power and social position work to construct and limit the decisions of 'sovereign consumers' and how schooling privileges certain cultural capital, and therefore advances the 'collective' interests of privileged groups. Fiske and Ladd (2000, p. 246) also note that parents' consumer power of exit paradoxically threatens to reduce their interest in making their children's school a better place – they can simply pack them off to another school if they are unsatisfied. The important point here though is that marketisation breaks down the potential for collective association within the school and replaces it with individualised consumer mechanisms (Whitty, 1997, p. 307). Schools therefore lose an imperative to create a critical public sphere to explore the issues, share information, and debate the ethical dilemmas raised by school-business relationships and other complex cultural and social issues.

The Board of Trustees structure promised to further community-led democratic practice in schools through a 'partnership' between education professionals and the community (Lange, 1988, p. 1). However, the BOT's complex business role of school governance inhibited this forum's capacity to construct itself in this way. Many Boards, particularly those serving poorer communities, struggled with the

complexity of governing a sophisticated competitive enterprise and being the employer of the individuals [teachers and principal] that they were supposed to be in partnership with. Some principals were able to 'manage' their struggling boards. Just as significant was the settlement of self-management within a much tighter framework of accountability to the state relative to local flexibility and community responsiveness. Boards were pressured, through national goals and evaluation mechanisms from their 'shareholder', the state, to be compliant with particular education outcomes, while endeavouring to manage the consumer preferences of parents, and to be community focused and socially responsive.

Many boards smartly shifted towards the business model to navigate these pressures. Gordon (1994) noted that the ethos of community representation that underpinned the Board of Trustees structure in *Tomorrow's Schools* had given way in the 1992 Board elections to composition that favoured business expertise including lawyers, accountants, and middle managers, to facilitate the business of school administration. To strengthen their business practices, including their fund-raising efforts, Boards used co-option widely. In Wylie (1997b), 17% of respondent trustees were co-opted and 62% of schools had co-opted at least one trustee. In Wylie (1999b) 20% of co-opted trustees were chosen to fulfil a role in finance/fund-raising – the third most popular co-option reason behind property/maintenance 26%, and treasurer 22%. A further 10% were co-opted for 'public relations/school promotion' (p. 77). More recently, Hipkins and Hodgen (2004) found that 'financial/fund-raising' roles were the second most popular skill area for co-option in New Zealand secondary schools behind 'Maori issues' (p. 81). Some Boards in the 1990s went as far as taking on official sponsorship managers in paid and unpaid positions (Gautier, 2002, p. 12; National Business Review, 1996, p. 25).

Competition between schools broke down a vital opportunity to share experience, knowledge and collectively deliberate about school-business relationships across a group of schools that might be facing similar overtures, or had had recent experience of school-business relationships. Fiske and Ladd (2000, pp. 243-245) cited research that showed that competition had worsened professional collegiality across schools with 30% of principals saying that relationships between other *local* schools had worsened – the biggest negative impact of the New Zealand reforms. However Wylie

(1999b) showed that relationships between primary schools were mixed depending on the particular school and the context of the relationship. Wylie (1999a) suggested that schools generally have become much more self-interested under *Tomorrow's Schools*, and cited the examples of contributing schools applying for re-capitation [thereby threatening the viability of the local intermediate], failing to provide for hard to serve or expensive students [e.g. special needs students], and quietly 'moving on' poor teachers rather than dismissing them and reporting them to the Teacher Registration Board [now known as the Teachers Council].

Fine (1997) noted how challenging it was to create a public sphere of authentic democratic and critical participation between parents and educators because of the inherent power relations between these groups. Doing so in an environment of marketisation and heightened, rather than diminishing state control and expectations, compromises this effort further. Although the Board of Trustees promised to fulfil a democratic role, its responsibilities for school educational and financial viability, and its national accountabilities decreased the capacity of this forum to support the messy process of deliberation and debate about the ethics of school-business relationships. There is reasonable evidence that parents have become quite isolated from any substantial direct engagement with the cultural politics of schooling: 67% of secondary school parents in Hipkins and Hodgen (2004) had no involvement at all in their child's school and about half were satisfied with their current level of involvement. For primary schools parents the figures were better with 65% of parents being involved in some way, however this was down from 89% in 1989 (Wylie, 1999b). The main forms of engagement for these parents were 'contributed to fundraising' (50%), 'helped with school trips' (48%), 'helped with sport' (25%) and 'helped in classroom' (22%). Only 2% said they helped with curriculum development.

Managerialism

Principals are required to navigate marketisation's pressures of financial autonomy, consumer sovereignty, and national accountabilities at both a strategic and day-to-day level. The discourse of marketisation idealised school leadership as business

leadership, a clear break from the post World War Two social democratic settlement of professional leadership. As Grace (1995) noted in the mid 1990s:

> ...the language, assumptions and ideology of management has begun to dominate the language, consciousness and action of many of those working in the education sector.
> (p. 5)

Codd (1993, p. 158) too argued that managerialism explicitly underpinned leadership assumptions within *Tomorrow's Schools*, as principals assumed the roles of employer and manager of human resources, and strategic developer and manager of organisational objectives.

Wylie (1997b) found that primary and intermediate principal workloads had increased dramatically with their new leadership role. In terms of hours worked, by 1999 42% of principals were working more than 60 hours per week – up from 18% in 1989. The average working week was 59.5 hours (Wylie, 1999). The *Today's Schools* project noted that secondary principals' new managerial and administration roles had led to a general decrease in time devoted to professional leadership (Mitchell et al., 1993, p. 50). International studies reveal that New Zealand principals now have among the largest administrative workloads in the world. For instance, of 35 countries, New Zealand principals reported the second highest amount of time [34% of principal time – equal with Scotland and England and just behind the lead country Norway on 36%] on administrative duties, well above the country mean of 23% (Mullis et al., 2003). Other results across 14 OECD countries show that New Zealand principals spend about twice as much time [average 83 hours per month, the highest of any country in this study, and well above the OECD average of 51 hours] on administrative duties than for instructional leadership [39 hours], or communicating with parents and education officials [45 hours] (Chamberlain and Caygill, 2002). Wylie (1997a) also found that in terms of educational roles such as staff development, principals' actions were characteristic of planning, facilitation, motivation and resource provision rather than direct teaching or support for teachers.

Workload aside, critics of managerialism assert that as a cultural practice it reduces trust and moral agency – essential characteristics of collegial relationships between

educators (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 192). It creates an 'ethic of structure' – a belief by the individual that he/she cannot effect change because of the 'existing political structures and power relationships.' (ibid, p. 195). The argument here is that managerialism as a basis for school leadership furthers a de-ethical environment where school-business relationships will be considered reductively for their educational utility, rather than dwelling on vague and tricky moral and ethical values. As Grace (1995) argues below, marketisation's reinforcing structural and cultural elements have made ethical and contemplative decision-making difficult:

> [Principals]…in general did not feel well equipped to deal with the range and complexity of the moral and ethical dilemmas which confronted them. If leadership was expected of them on these matters they were less sure that they had the professional resources to make appropriate responses but they were certain that the necessary spaces for discussion and reflection on these issues were not available to them…. From a position in which school leadership was primarily defined in terms of its capacity to give moral and ethical direction and was culturally and professionally resourced to do so, contemporary school leadership appears weakened on both counts. It is now much more difficult in a pluralist and secular society to give leadership on moral and ethical questions…. The combination of management and market preoccupations when placed along side this change in the domain of values, may result in the final triumph of commodification over moral purpose in schooling.
> (p. 156)

Marketisation also celebrates the risk taking and entrepreneurial principal indicating that some school leaders would have had less ethical qualms about their school-business relationships than the quote above suggests. Media coverage of New Zealand school-business relationships in the 1990s often profiled principals who had successfully negotiated apparently lucrative deals with businesses (Teutenberg, 1994).

Marketisation's conditions of hierarchy, financial responsibility, central accountabilities, heavy administration, and celebration of entrepreneurialism clashed with ethical and critical considerations around school-business relationships. Managerialism raised the status of principals as organisational leaders and created a host of new accountabilities, responsibilities and relationships. The enhanced educational leadership preoccupations of administration and management

paradoxically took principals further away from professional engagements associated with leadership in knowledge, teaching and the curriculum. This environment is likely to have attuned principals more to the financial and relationship-driven activities of donations, sponsorships and partnerships, while lessening their critical interest in activities related to curriculum implementation such as sponsored educational materials and programmes.

Knowledge, Curriculum and Teaching

The chapter so far has focused on how principals, Boards of Trustees and parents are structurally and culturally positioned in marketised schools and what this infers for their thinking and actions around school-business relationships. Teachers too are crucial in this environment, particularly for those activities focused more directly on learning such as sponsored educational materials which may not come to the attention of the leadership and governance of the school. Teachers are also in the exclusive position of being able to problematise corporate pedagogies and corporate power with their students. This section looks at some general theorised consequences for teaching within a corporatised school, and subsequent implications for school-business relationships.

Some authors have critiqued the changing construction of teachers and teaching in reforming times. For instance, Sullivan (1997) argued that New Zealand's school reforms challenged a settlement on the ideology of the modern teacher, a settlement which included the social democratic emphases on valuing difference and diversity, teacher autonomy, collegiality and addressing inequality. Marketisation reconstructed relations between parents and teachers as consumer/provider relationships [and in some cases employer/employee relationships[43]] which individualised education concerns, and demoted the social goals of education[44]. Changing the unit of concern reduced the legitimacy of discourse and action around the collective social, historical and cultural conditions that shaped children's realities and experiences of learning. In

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[43] This arose through parents being the governors of the schools and the employers of teachers and principals within the Board of Trustees structure.

[44] One powerful example of the new expectations of teachers and education within a discourse of consumer/provider relationships was that 'social justice' had literally disappeared from schooling policy discourse in Australia (McInerney, 2003).

some of the reform rhetoric, teachers were accused of being fundamental inhibiters to quality education because the system was held to be vulnerable to 'provider capture' – serving the needs of teachers rather than those of the true clients of education – parents and their children. Whitty (1997) argues that the shift to consumer/provider relationships has challenged the professional status of teachers, led to more teacher work, and embedded low trust relationships between teachers and parents/society. Additionally managerialism is regarded as embedding control mechanisms of accountability and monitoring over teachers rather than collegial mechanisms of autonomy and trust.

Boyles (2000) has considered school-business relationships within a context of changing teachers' work in the arena of the corporatised school. Drawing on critical pedagogy and in particular the work of Paulo Freire, he argued that teachers and schools are susceptible to ethically problematic school-business relationships because their professional environment entrenches learning as the transmission of knowledge to suit the demands of a fixed industrial order, rather than as a process of student empowerment and social transformation of unequal social relations. He suggested that schools have become sites of 'consumer materialism' where knowledge itself is reductively commodified into content/truth to be discovered. Learning it follows, is a process of transmitting facts from an expert teacher to passive students. This supports 'intransitive consciousness' [a belief that the individual teacher cannot make a difference to their own or others' individual and social existence] because teachers defer to the measurable comfort of learning as the acquisition of certain knowledge. Knowledge thus becomes a commodity that is exchanged, in the case of schools, between teacher [supplier] and student [user]. Teachers are drawn to decide about the utility of certain knowledge, taking into account the particular curriculum end point (see Lankshear and Knobel, 2003, pp. 162-165). Schools are thus no longer positioned as sites of social and cultural development, but rather as suppliers of useful knowledge, and ultimately useful workers for a post-industrial economy.

Some teachers according to Boyles (2000), reach a state of 'semi-transitiveness' – that is, they see the world as changeable but do not connect individual social problems to structural forces of domination and oppression. Problems are compartmentalised into unrelated segments, rather than connected to root problems,

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and 'solutions' are therefore short-term. Boyles and others cite numerous cultural and structural conditions supporting intransitive and semi-transitive practices including national testing, surveillance of teachers, a focus on traditional subjects or 'basics', and elements of teacher education[45]. These features reduce learning to the end goal of knowledge acquisition and validate de-skilled practices. Kohn (2002d) concurs with this view in arguing that teaching has joined the discourse of economics, including the rhetoric of learning as working. Learning, rather than being a process of making meaning, is reduced to a series of culturally selected products, which are packaged, delivered and assessed using standardised tests. This ultimately fits education outputs to the wider world of economics – the workplace (Kohn, 2002c, p. 64).

As marketised schools are recast as institutions that serve individual rather than collective interests, commodified knowledge is increasingly judged on the one hand by consumer preferences in education – parents, anxious to improve the human capital of their children in anxious times – but also strongly influenced by a political environment sympathetic to the human capital rationale for curriculum and education. In this latter context, valuable knowledge becomes that which has perceived economic utility, and is preferably measurable (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 180-181). One by-product noted by Breault (2005) is that it encourages teachers to seek 'answers' in education products [including SEMs] that provide readymade quasi-integrated learning experiences [see Chapter 6].

Some authors look at broader institutional norms and practices in schools that support and legitimate links between schooling and consumption, and which have arisen independently of recent marketisation reforms. For instance Milner (2004), in responding to the adult question of 'why do teenagers behave they way they do?' including in the arena of excessive and superfluous consumption, argued that schools are key institutions for stimulating consumer demand. They physically assemble large cohorts of children and teenagers – groups who have virtually no political and economic power, or micro-political power over this environment. Students thus attain

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[45] O'Neill et al. (2004) in introducing an edited collection of critical essays on the New Zealand Curriculum Framework, argued that curriculum reform had reconstructed teacher education towards a transmissive agenda of curriculum content and teaching skills and had wiped away a critical tradition of exploration of the relationships between social, historical and political forces and the legitimation of official knowledge. They also noted that the recent history of curriculum reform itself had covered its tracks by being absent from teacher education.

and exercise power through their status relationships with each other, which elevates the importance of consumable status symbols such as clothes, toys, and leisure.

While Milner sees student status relationships as the critical link to consumerism rather than the overt curriculum, Spring (2003) in reaching the same conclusion that schools serve consumer capitalism, looked at curriculum change throughout the 20th Century and how this change both created and supported emerging consumer markets. For instance schools' attempts to condition and control male sexuality created new consumer markets associated with sports, dating and sex education, and the reform of the home economics curriculum positioned women as consumers of an increasing range of processed foods rather than producers of food. In Spring's view, even curriculum reform associated with greater equality of opportunity for racial minorities integrated these people into new consumer markets by addressing wealth inequalities and the unequal consumption opportunities inherent in these inequalities. Like Milner he concludes that schools are fundamental to consumer capitalism:

> The ideology of consumerism makes increased production dependent on increased consumption. Within this framework, increased consumption requires motivating consumer desires through advertising. Advertising becomes the driving force of the economy. Every space, including public spaces, becomes an advertising opportunity. The promise of increased levels of schooling is not greater happiness, but increased levels of consumption. Equality of opportunity means equality of opportunity to consume. Schools are now training grounds for consumer-citizens.
> (p. 208)

Jolley and O'Neill (2001) reached the same conclusion in their specific examination of the food technology curriculum in New Zealand. They argued that the teaching of basic food nutrition and cooking skills characteristic of the previous home economics curriculum was replaced by education about the production and marketing of [often processed] food. This supports consumption in two ways: by producing citizens that cannot produce and cook food for themselves; and by valorising food producers [including junk food producers such as McDonald's which featured as a learning activity in one Ministry of Education funded food technology resource (Ministry of Education, 2000)] and the 'mindless' consumption of these heavily processed foods. These effects are mutually reinforcing because deskilling in home cooking and

promotion of processed foods, both lead to a stronger reliance on and preference for these commercially-produced foods.

Boyles (2000) argues that Freire's state of critical transitivity offers teachers a powerful ethical approach to the corporate pedagogies of school-business relationships. In this teaching, students are facilitated to connect their personal experiences to wider social issues and knowledges that shape this reality, and are therefore able to begin to reinterpret and transform their reality. This requires teachers to address questions about what kind of society ought to be fostered through the curriculum and what and whose knowledge should be selected to pursue this mission (O'Neill et al., 2004). Fundamentally teachers need to acknowledge and understand links between personal consciousness, social relations and power. They also need to see the world as changeable. The work of authors like Milner and Spring also importantly implies that teachers need to have a strong understanding of the links between the social practices of schooling and consumption. Marketisation's theorised effects of: the reinforcement a transmission pedagogy; the selection and commodification of useful knowledge through consumer preferences and utility; and the individualisation and privatisation of educational concern, disrupt this critical project.

Chapter Discussion

This chapter has argued that the structural and cultural dimensions of marketisation construct school-business relationships as necessary and often positive, and facilitate an environment that lacks an imperative to explore these relationships as corporate pedagogies furthering corporate power. Marketisation and corporatisation in education cement consumer/provider relationships between schools and parents, which commodifies learning and weakens schools' interest in the collective goods of social justice and critical citizenship. Parents as the anxious consumers of education negotiate school branding practices to select the right choice for their children. This parent role overwhelms an alternative idealised construction of parents as members of an inclusive public sphere where their private concerns are connected to and debated within, a wider context of the school's social educational mission. This

messier paradigm of schooling is discredited as a bogus alternative and an impediment to the real shaping force of educational improvement and change – utility through the invisible hand of individual consumer choice.

Both parties know they have a lot to lose in a market of school choice – parents making wrong choices, and schools failing in the market place. These pressures have conservative effects on both sides, leading to de-ethical and non-critical responses all round. Teachers are compromised as cultural workers as learning is reductively defined as the transmission and assessment of content deemed valuable through the narrow arbiters of economic utility and parental taste. Principals are reconstructed as managers of risky enterprises, which introduces the pragmatic issue of viability and a culture of entrepreneurialism and image. Boards struggle to provide a critical public sphere as they assume the business form to navigate the expectations of parents and the state in a sink or swim environment. Parents find comfort in the child development and innocence imagery of corporate support for education.

The marketised environment creates a range of rationales and openings for school-business relationships:

- Schools require more money to survive and thrive in the market place and promote themselves effectively.
- In some cases, parents may be impressed with a school's success in soliciting school-business relationships, and the apparent educational promise of such relationships.
- Managerial leaders require knowledge from the business world to hone their leadership skills.
- School-business relationships can be rationalised within the community responsiveness thrust of self-managing schools.
- The pre-packaged utility and unproblematic content of school-business relationships suits transmission of commodified knowledge.
- Financial relationships provide a neat and potentially lucrative alternative to traditional, parent-intensive fundraising.

The corporatised school is in a weakened position to respond critically and ethically to school-business relationships for the following reasons:

- The competitive environment and funding pressures strengthen the economic utility argument for these relationships. A variety of school-business relationships are conceived as means to an end.

- The managerial principal upholds the business model as ultimate good practice in school leadership. The culture and discourse of school and business leadership are aligned.

- Challenging corporate power, through for instance a principal taking a public ethical stand against a sponsorship, or a teacher deconstructing sponsored educational materials, appears to have low appeal to parents focused on quality and progress, not tricky moral issues.

- If teachers are not encouraged as professionals to: understand the relationships between constructed knowledge, power and identity; see the world as changeable; understand the links between learning, schooling and consumption; or conceive of their professional mission in terms of social justice and the development of critical citizens, they are unlikely to make or act on connections between school-business relationships, corporate power, ideology, student identities, and inequality.

- Marketisation appears to promote a measurement of professional worth in the domain of intransitive practices. This pedagogy assumes that knowledge and the cultural norms and practices of schools are devoid of the interests and ideologies of particular groups.

- A marketised environment does not value, and makes it increasingly difficult to facilitate, a critical public sphere of professional discussion or community deliberation about the ethics of school-business relationships, within or across schools.

- The image conscious school valorises the spectacle of promotional imagery. This school will have a compromised perspective or ambivalence to the semiotic positioning of schools in business promotional rhetoric, and how these messages further particular

narratives of childhood and/or support particular corporate behaviours and ideologies.

- The marketised school understands its commodity as a learning service for citizenship and economic production. It does not to the same degree, contemplate its contribution to consumer capitalism and therefore does not analyse its school-business relationships within this reference.

The marketised school is facilitative of school-business relationships and entrenches a culture where the likelihood of the important work of critical reflection and resistance to school-business relationships as corporate pedagogies is hampered. The business-like school is a deficient response to the education-like business discussed in the previous chapter. However Apple (1995) argues that dominant discourses like marketisation never reach a state of complete hegemony – students, teachers and school leaders, partially accept, reinterpret and sometimes reject the orthodoxy of the day. The literature on marketisation often reveals educator anxiety, ambivalence, and sometimes hostility to marketisation's prescription for school progress and the values and actions it precipitates. There is virtually no research and commentary on the resistance practices of teachers, parents and schools to school-business relationships in the context of marketised schools. However from the analysis above it is clear that schools have shifted onto an enterprise footing. They have taken on structural and cultural elements of the enterprising school favoured in a school-business relationship discourse of enterprise education – but not always willingly. Marketisation then has facilitated a complex schooling enterprise to confront the cultural pedagogies of business. This construction challenges but does not extinguish possibilities for critique and resistance.

Chapter 6. The Case of Food School-Business Relationships Since 1990

Introduction

> 'Schools Teach 3 C's: Candy, Cookies and Chips' – Headline, *New York Times,* 14 September 2002
> (Brody, 2002)

Since the 1970s at least, the food industry has consistently rated as a leading participant in school-business relationships globally. Moreover, in the 1990s and 2000s, with rising world-wide concern about a child and youth obesity epidemic, food has become the number one contentious context for school-business relationships. In the USA, resistance and opposition to food marketing practices in schools is a flagship issue for school commercialisation critiques (see Molnar, 2004). Anti-corporate and school commercialisation critics have attacked the presence of this industry's products in schools and the accompanying marketing and PR, for its negative contribution to children's current and future health, and corporate bias. Corporate pedagogy/culture critics have also drawn attention to the huge cultural power wielded by the largest food and beverage multinationals and their integration into numerous spheres of childhood.

This chapter examines food-related school-business relationships. The first part of the chapter looks at the presence of food-related school-business relationships relative to other industry areas. The second part critiques food-related school-business relationships drawing on the critical position developed in the previous chapters. The third part of the chapter further explores the supply of food-related school-business relationships in New Zealand schools by analysing a sample of 24 food-related sponsored educational materials and associated items from business and industry associations.

The Food Industry Presence in Schools

The food industry is arguably the leading industry presence in schools internationally today. Three major USA studies of sponsored educational materials since the 1970s confirm that food has been a dominant context for these activities at least. The report *Hucksters in the Classroom: A Review of Industry Propaganda in Schools* (Harty, 1979) which solicited SEMs from the *Fortune 500* top industrial companies, found that nutrition-related materials were provided to schools by 18% of the 298 respondents. This result was only slightly lower than the top two categories – Environment (21%) and Science (20%), and higher than Economics Education (14%). As part of Harty's research, the National Education Association (NEA) surveyed its teacher members about their use of SEMs, and in response to the question 'What companies provide the materials to you?' the food was the most common response with 29.3% of respondents receiving materials from 'Food processors, retail outlets, etc'. Only one other category – 'Commercial products' reached above 20% (24.6%).

Nearly a decade later, Rudd and Buttolph (1987) used Harty's categories of Nutrition, Energy, and Economics Education in their systematic analysis of commercialism in 71 sets of SEMs from businesses and trade associations. They did not provide a breakdown of responses by category as their initial analysis found little difference in commercial content across the categories. Although this lack of differentiation is not helpful for highlighting food, their preference for Harty's category of Nutrition signals that the researchers anticipated and presumably received a strong supply of these SEMs. The third substantial analysis of USA SEMs, *Captive Kids: A Report on Commercial Pressure on Kids at School* (Consumers Union Education Services, 1995) analysed 111 sets of sponsored educational materials, sponsored contests, and incentive programmes, and found that 21 (18.9%) of the SEMs were nutrition-related – all of which were sponsored by food companies or industry associations. This number was first equal with the 'Ecology/Environment/Energy' category. However food companies also appeared as providers of SEMs unrelated to nutrition and in the other categories of sponsored contests and incentive programmes, a total of 16 more times, meaning that the food industry was the sponsor of one in three (33.3%) items, clearly the most strongly represented industry.

In addition to SEMs, internationally the food industry has established or strengthened a range of other school-business relationships focused around schools' resource needs and subsequent fundraising. These include:

- The installation of soft drink vending machines in schools with a percentage of sales going to the school (Brownell and Battle Horgen, 2004).

- Related to soft drink vending machines in schools, the growth in the USA of soft drink 'pouring rights' contracts in school districts. Coca Cola and Pepsi extended their 'cola wars' marketing battle into schools in the 1990s by setting up, sometimes multi-year, multi-million dollar exclusive contracts to supply their soda to schools[46] (Brownell and Battle Horgen, 2004; Nestle, 2002). In New Zealand's smaller national market of self managing schools Coke and Pepsi still had a foothold from the 1990s (see Chamberlain, 2004; see Teutenberg, 1994). Coca Cola for instance was distributing its products in 128 primary schools and 240 secondary schools by 2004 (Chamberlain, 2004).

- In the USA, Channel One, which operates in one quarter of the nation's schools, became a premier advertising medium for food marketers. Brand and Greenberg (1994) found that junk food and soft drinks accounted for 69% of all advertising minutes on Channel One over the four-week period they studied. In general, school advertising of its food sponsors become more common-place and explicit in the 1990s (Schlosser, 2002).

- Cause related marketing fundraising programmes that utilised the products of food companies became very common (Brownell and Battle Horgen, 2004; Consumers Union Education Services, 1995).

- Fast food businesses appeared often as sponsors of school incentive programmes – often focused on literacy. The USA Consumers Union (1995) examined five literacy-related sponsored incentive programmes, three of which were sponsored by food businesses [McDonald's, Minute Maid/Coca-Cola, Pizza Hut]. In New Zealand Pizza Hut [BOOKIT!],

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[46] For instance in 2003 the Hillsborough County (FL) school district signed a $50 million 12-year exclusive agreement with Pepsi covering 62 schools (Molnar, 2004).

McDonald's [McDonald's reading programme] and Nestle [Nestle Write Around New Zealand competition] likewise sponsored literacy programmes.

The Childhood Obesity Epidemic in New Zealand

The apparent rising and increasingly varied presence of the food industry in schools was occurring at the same time as heightened concerns around child health, and child obesity in particular across Western nations. Obesity, according to the Ministry of Health, at the turn of the 21st Century is New Zealand's leading health problem with over half of all adults overweight (35%) or obese (17%)[47] (Ministry of Health, 2003b). These combined rates rise to 85% for Pacific males and 61% for Maori females (ibid). The increase in obesity in recent years is dramatic – up by 55% between 1989 and 1997, with expectations that it will increase a further 73% by 2011, meaning that 29% of the population are expected to be obese at this time. The Ministry of Health has estimated that in 1997 up to 11,000 deaths [40% of all deaths] were attributable to the effects of sub-optimal diet [8000-9000] or physical activity levels [2000-3000] (Ministry of Health and University of Auckland, 2003). Smoking by comparison killed approximately 5,000 people in 1997 (ibid). The public financial cost of obesity is conservatively calculated at $247,000,000 per annum (Ministry of Health, 2003b).

It is now clear with recent national research on 3275 children aged 5-14 (Ministry of Health, 2003a), that New Zealand child obesity rates are at alarming levels, and that these levels and food consumption patterns for poorer children, and Maori and Pasifika children are significantly worse than those for the general population. Table 6.1 shows the comparative rates of obesity for various sub-groups in the survey. It shows that the poorest children are about twice as likely to be overweight or obese as the wealthiest.

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[47] Being overweight in this analysis means that your body mass index (BMI) is above 25. Being obese means that your BMI is above 30.

Table 6.1   Rates of Overweight and Obese for New Zealand Children 5-14, 2003

Group	Overweight	Obese	Combined
New Zealand European and Other	M: 18.4% F: 18.8%	M: 4.7% F: 6.0%	M: 23.1% F: 24.8%
Maori	M: 19.6% F: 30.6%	M: 15.7% F: 16.7%	M: 35.3% F: 47.3%
Pasifika	M: 33.9% F: 32.9%	M: 26.1% F: 31.0%	M: 60% F: 63.9%
Poorest Children[48]	M: 24.0% F: 27.2%	M: 16.1% F: 19.5%	M: 40.1% F: 46.7%
Wealthiest Children	M: 14.2% F: 22.9%	M: 5.1% F: 4.3%	M: 19.3% F: 27.2%

(Ministry of Health, 2003a)

In terms of what children ate, although fruit and vegetable consumption patterns were not too different across sub-groups, poorer children ate larger quantities of snacks and sweets – potato crisps, corn snacks, chips, popcorn, chocolate, candy coated chocolate and 'other sweets', and soft drinks. While children who were poor, Maori or Pasifika were more likely to eat foods of low nutritional value and be overweight, they were also much more likely to be in households that sometimes or often ran out of food. The poorest children were six times more likely to *sometimes* run out of food than the wealthiest children [36.3% versus 5.6%] and nearly 15 times more likely to run out *often* [8.9% versus 0.6%]. 37.5% of Maori respondents' households and 53.9% of Pasifika respondents' households ran out of food sometimes or often. Pasifika children were the least likely to *usually* eat and drink at home before school – 53.3% of males, and 50.3% females compared to Maori males at 74.7% and Maori females at 66%, and New Zealand European and Others, males at 94.4% and females at 87.7%. The differences were similar between the wealthiest and poorest children. The poorest children were also less likely to bring *most* of their food consumed at school from their home: poorest males 71.5% and poorest females 69% versus wealthiest males 92.4% and wealthiest females 94.9%. The poorest children were far more likely to source *most* of their food consumed at school from a canteen or tuckshop: poorest males 7.7% and poorest females 8.9% versus wealthiest males 2.8% and wealthiest females 1.6%.

School Junk Food Marketing Under Scrutiny

The first part of the chapter showed that the food industry including junk food corporations, increasingly targets children in schools with marketing and sales strategies designed to get them to consume greater quantities of foods of minimal nutritional value. Chapter 4 suggested that this effort is part of the growing targeting of young consumers by businesses in and out of schools, and utilises new hybrid advertising, entertainment and education forms. The food industry along with Disney and toy makers were the first businesses to specifically target advertising to children before the child advertising boom of the 1980s (Schlosser, 2002). Approximately one third of the annual USA food-advertising budget of thirty billion dollars is targeted at children, and McDonald's alone targets 40% of its advertising budget to children (Brownell and Battle Horgen, 2004). Food is a dominant category for cross selling and promotion and food marketers have established sponsorships and cross promotions with toys, games, clothing, stationary, magazines, children's clubs, Internet sites, and celebrities and sports-people who connect with youth [e.g. basketballer Michael Jordan] (Nestle, 2002; Schlosser, 2002). In the USA Brownell and Battle Horgen (2004) counted 27 different food endorsements by Nickelodeon and Disney characters alone. In 1997 McDonalds signed a global ten-year deal to cross sell with Disney products, and Burger King has a similar arrangement with Nickelodeon (Kincheloe, 2002b; Schlosser, 2002).

These companies through their advertising and cross selling have elevated themselves from suppliers of fast food to iconic entertainment institutions within children's popular culture, and in the process have sold a lot of unhealthy food to children. Unsurprisingly, child obesity concerns have precipitated an intense international critique of the child marketing practices of the junk food industry, including in schools (Hawkes, 2004). Schools have been positioned within this debate as both a key site for positive nutrition and physical education to counter the corporate rhetoric and persuasive marketing; and because of this education role, as a

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[48] The terms wealthiest and poorest in this research result from the categorisation of respondents into five quintiles representing the range of deprivation across the New Zealand Index of Deprivation. The Index is based on eight dimensions of deprivation: income, access to a car, living space, home ownership, employment, qualifications, support and access to a telephone (Ministry of Health, 2003a). 'Wealthiest' is quintile 1 in the report – those children living in the least deprived areas, and poorest is quintile 5 – those children living in the most deprived areas.

public sphere that should be free from the intrusion of the marketing desires of the junk food industry. Hence two strands have emerged for dealing with the issue in schools – education and regulation. Two prominent public interest groups in New Zealand – Fight the Obesity Epidemic (FOE), and the Obesity Action Coalition (OAC), from the early 2000s led calls for both more control around how food marketers can interact with children in schools, and more nutrition education through schools. FOE's goals are directed at influencing the environmental factors that contribute to children's consumption of unhealthy foods, including supporting healthy food choices in schools, and regulatory-type measures such as restricting advertising and improving the food offerings in schools (Fight the Obesity Epidemic, 2004). The OAC, a Ministry of Health funded advocacy group representing approximately 70 non-profit groups was established with a similar goal of '…working towards reducing the incidence of obesity in New Zealand.' (Murphy, 2003). Like FOE they see schools as a key site for positively addressing obesity through nutrition education, the sale of healthy foods, and increased physical activity. They also see schools as at risk from the food industry and advocate for 'appropriate' sponsorship and fundraising in schools and tighter school food policies. In 2004 New Zealand's main consumer rights advocacy organisation – the Consumers Institute – developed an action plan for a community campaign aimed at reconstructing various environmental factors contributing to obesity. Proposals with relevance to schools included increasing physical activity, banning public figures [e.g. sports people] from advertising unhealthy foods to children, and encouraging groups seeking sponsorship to avoid sponsors whose food products are of poor nutritional value (Allan, 2004).

The introduction of groups like the Consumers Institute, FOE and OAC into the obesity debate is significant. In focusing heavily on the environmental influences of obesity, they have publicly targeted the food industry, accusing it of attempting to manipulate consumer preferences towards poor food choices for commercial gain, at the ultimate expense of children's health. In particular these critics have called public attention to the activities of food marketers in schools. Schools are in the compromising position of being both a market place/advertising medium for unhealthy food, and an educator of healthy eating and physical activity. FOE and

OAC from the early 2000s advocated neutralising this compromise by dismantling the market place in particular, and strengthening education for healthy living.

The obesity/food marketing debate generated a great deal of media attention in New Zealand. Feature length magazine and newspaper articles appeared, all including references to the intimate presence of companies like McDonald's, Pizza Hut, Cadbury's and Coca Cola in schools (Blundell, 2003; Chamberlain, 2004; Smith, 2003). In 2003, New Zealand's *60 Minutes* covered the issue in a story called *The Big Picture* (Silvester, 2003). It featured spokespeople from Coke and McDonald's defending their roles in schools as a win-win situation, and in the case of McDonald's, an educator. Two conferences in 2003 also aired the debate. The first, called *Obesity and Children, Possible Causes, Possible Solutions and the Role of Advertising* was organised by the Advertising Standards Authority and held on March 4 2003 in Wellington. It will best be remembered for a boycott by several high profile groups[49], who were concerned over its perceived agenda to defend the status quo of industry self-regulation of food advertising. Perhaps not surprisingly, there were no recommendations for further regulation. The second conference: *Childhood Obesity Symposium: Partnerships for Action* was hosted by Massey University and included representatives from the fast food industry. Again, the conference concerned itself with the environmental causes of obesity, including the role of advertising, public relations and the media generally, and again, the food industry defended its role in schools, and disputed the causal connection between food industry marketing practices and childhood obesity.

The Ministry of Health has contributed both data and ideas to the obesity debate in recent years including inviting discussion on regulatory measures to prevent the health consequences of poor nutrition. The Report *Nutrition and the Burden of Disease: New Zealand 1997-2011* (Ministry of Health and University of Auckland, 2003) floated the strategies of taxing fast food and soft drink manufacturers, introducing advertising restrictions, and intervening through school canteens. Likewise, the discussion document for a new Public Health Bill (Ministry of Health, 2002) asked the public to consider regulation to restrict advertising to children and

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[49] Groups reporting to the media their boycott of the event were the Cancer Society, FOE, Diabetes NZ, and the Land Transport Safety Authority (Betts, 2003).

restrict or prohibit child access to certain foods in particular environments. The report also suggested that a mix of education and regulatory approaches was desirable for a public health strategy. The *Healthy Eating – Healthy Action* strategy released by the Ministry of Health in 2003 acknowledged environmental factors – including the activities of the media and food industry, as being critical factors to the goals of improving nutrition, increasing physical activity and reducing obesity (Ministry of Health, 2003b). The strategy stressed a socio-ecological approach to nutrition, physical activity and body weight issues because so many environmental factors such as urban design, transportation, work changes, and the price and availability of food were outside individuals' control. The report added that the role of food industry groups was '…essential in the development of environments that are supportive of healthy eating and increased physical activity.' (Ministry of Health, 2003b).

While the *Healthy Eating – Healthy Action* strategy and the related documents above presented the investigation of regulatory approaches as one element of a spectrum of public policy options, the New Zealand government ultimately shied away from legislative measures such as 'fat taxes', tougher regulation of food advertising to children or mandated restrictions on the food available in schools. Instead it endorsed education in *co-operation* with the food industry. In September 2004, the Minister of Health and leading food marketers [including junk food marketers] and media interests, signed the Food Industry Accord which aimed to put in place collective measures to support an environment of healthy eating including a social marketing advertising strategy. The Minister indicated it was perhaps the last chance for an approach to childhood obesity that centralised public/private collaboration:

> This is the chance for the industry to show that it can become a positive influence in promoting better health for New Zealanders, and in providing the environment for that to happen.
>
> Legislation can also provide an important framework for general and specific public health objectives, but I am a strong advocate first and foremost for education ahead of prescription.
>
> In saying that, however, I am reliant on those who are most opposed to prescription and coercion having the foresight and determination to help make education and promotion work.
> (King, 2004, p. 2)

In terms of why schools submit themselves to the food marketing practices of businesses against evidence of unhealthy outcomes and heightened public concern, Brownell and Battle Horgen (2004) put forward three barriers to school resistance to the presence and marketing of junk food in schools. Firstly and perhaps most seriously, schools do not accept that what children eat is part of their educational concern. Secondly, junk food is a lucrative fundraising opportunity. Molnar (2004) cited the report *School Meal Programs: Competitive Foods are Available in Many Schools* (General Accountability Office, 2004) which found that school financial pressures compromised efforts to offer a healthy alternative to the popular revenue-generating junk foods. Thirdly, children like it and prefer it to healthy options that might be available at the same time.

Food-related School-Business Relationships as Public Relations

Concerns about the obesity/food marketing link have drawn critical attention to the corporate behaviours of the food industry as well. This section argues that food-related school-business relationships have been used to address industry legitimacy risks, risks which as the previous section showed, are increasing in an environment of public scrutiny of food marketing. Hence school-business relationships are becoming part of a strategy to disarm critics and manage the public discourse on the links between corporate marketing activities, food consumption, and child obesity and health. Schools have become key environments for the engineering of student consent and managing external publics as well. In other words, the food industry has used public relations to preserve the current permissive scope of its *other* commercial strategy of child marketing.

Although the link between poor health and food marketing to children is perhaps the industry's biggest contemporary legitimacy risk, other issues include:

- The dehumanising, technology driven, assembly-line regimentation of the fast-food workplace, the associated concerns of low wages, poor working conditions, and worker safety; and a heavy reliance on a teenage workforce committed to long 'part-time' low-wage hours.

- The industrialised food production process including the use of additives to enhance flavour, and food safety risks. A prominent example from this period is the advocacy for genetically engineered foods from the food biotechnology industry – in particular Monsanto's leading advocacy of GE foods.

- The control the food industry has over agricultural production, and the impacts of this on the economic fortunes of food producers and manufacturers and the natural environment. This includes power over the economic fortunes and welfare of third world food producers and processors.

- Animal welfare concerns.
  (Brownell and Battle Horgen, 2004; Morse, 2002; Nestle, 2002; Schlosser, 2002; Vidal, 1997).

These critics have also documented a diverse and sophisticated range of corporate public relations strategies and communication messages used by the food industry to frame the public discourse and extinguish dissent around its products and behaviours. These include:

- The cooption of nutrition professionals to bolster public confidence in the nutritional value of a particular food industry or business. This includes sponsoring education, research, nutrition conferences, academic positions and university departments, and partnering with NGOs.

- Particularly for junk food and soft drink interests, alignment with physical activity programmes to develop an image of concern for children's health, while shifting the public's attention from junk food to a lack of physical activity as the key environmental driver of obesity.

- At the government level, heavy lobbying to influence government positions and decisions on health, dietary advice, regulation, and global participation in health initiatives (Nestle, 2002).

- The development of research and nutrition advice conforming to 'eat more' of the food product or food type in question.

- Litigious responses to critics who attack the business or industry on nutrition and health issues or corporate behaviours. Responses include threats of legal action to silence critics, and legal suits (Vidal, 1997).

Obesity-related corporate rhetoric has found its way into SEMs and other public communications as food businesses and industry groups attempt to set the terms of the children's health debate. These positions chiefly include:

- *Advertising and marketing affects brand share not consumption.* Therefore when McDonald's persuades children to purchase their foods, this merely shifts consumption preferences from other food businesses rather than increasing food intake[50].

- *The real problem is a lack of physical activity in children – not what they eat.* As mentioned, the junk food industry is prominent in the sponsorship of physical activity programmes in schools (Fogarty, 2003).

- *There are no good or bad foods.* Moderation and balance are the keys to good health. Nutrition critics holding extreme and unrealistic positions have demonised the fast food industry. Implicit in this message is parental and individual responsibility.

- Putting nutrition issues aside: *the food industry supports children's health and welfare through a range of community support programmes. The food industry is therefore a positive force in children's lives overall.*
  (Brownell and Battle Horgen, 2004; Mulvey, 2002)

Studies of content bias within SEMs are one indicator of the public relations project of the food industry. The table below shows the frequencies and percentages for bias and commercialism in SEMs assessed by the Consumers Union (1995), separated for food and non-food sponsors. The results clearly show that although commercialism [i.e. advertising, brand promotion, links to sales and promotional activities] remains consistently apparent across food and non-food sponsors [a finding also apparent in Rudd and Buttolph (1987)], bias is more apparent in food sponsors with only one in six food-related SEMs considered objective and complete.

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[50] This argument is particularly flimsy with food because following its own logic, children's preference for McDonald's in a consumer society will at some point reduce their consumption of healthier foods. However this apparent logic is further countered by the food industry balance/moderation argument.

Table 6.2   Presence of Bias/Incompleteness and Commercialism for Food and Non-Food Sponsors of SEMs

	Biased and/or incomplete	Objective and complete	Commercial or highly commercial	Not/low commercial
Food	83.3% (n=25)	16.7% (n=5)	53.3% (n=16)	46.7% (n=14)
Non food	67.4% (n=31)	32.6% (n=15)	54.3% (n=25)	45.7% (n=21)

(Consumers Union Education Services, 1995, pp. 44-56)

Harty (1979) found a similar propensity for bias – especially unsupportable claims of nutritional quality, in her study of food-related SEMs. McDonald's was a case in point:

> McDonald's coverage of the four food groups includes, among other items, milkshakes in the Dairy Group, hamburgers in the Meat and Protein Group, and hamburger buns in the Bread and Cereal Group. One is surprised that "hot apple pies" did not make the Fruit and Vegetable Group.
> (pp. 26-27)

Students have become both the targets of this public relations effort [through for instance SEMs] and symbolic objects within the total food industry effort at engineering wider public consent for its discourse of child health. As noted above, the Consumers Union found that food companies were extremely likely to develop materials and activities in schools that were outside of their business activities or products – for instance in the literacy area. The use of schools in this manner is under-theorised in the school-business relationship literature, however there are lessons from analysis of tobacco marketing to youth. For instance Carter (2003) reviewed 492 tobacco industry documents from the 1950s to the 1990s to build up a picture of the changing marketing practices of this industry. Carter found that in contrast to the open cigarette marketing to youth of the 1950s and 1960s and the industry's denials of the harmfulness of its products, the 1990s and beyond have been characterised by the industry shifting blame onto other groups such as parents and smokers' peers, and reframing itself as anti-youth smoking and hence socially responsible. Anti-youth smoking school programmes such as the Philip Morris sponsored *I've Got the Power* social studies resource are an example of this

positioning and Carter concludes that youth have become a bargaining chip in the industry's public relations strategy of attempting to limit further commercially detrimental legislation. New Zealand initiatives such as the Food Industry Accord between government and business play into the industry's hands in the same way by providing it with the symbolic moral legitimacy in childhood health to defend itself against critique of its marketing practices – practices which continue absolutely unabated within the terms of the Accord. As Carter argues with smoking, perversely the food industry is working the public environment of concern about childhood obesity to its own commercial advantage by presenting itself as part of the solution to a problem, while shifting the socio-ecological arguments away from food consumption and marketing.

The public relations effort of the food industry creates important health and pedagogical considerations for schools. Schools are increasingly targeted with materials and activities that support further consumption of foods of minimal nutritional value and cloud nutrition education with biased material. At the same time, schools and their students are also pawns in a broader public relations agenda that ultimately seeks a permissive environment for child marketing – including in schools. Food-related school-business relationships as discursive practices, shift the blame for childhood obesity in every direction but food marketing, and position the industry as blameless and socially responsible. When schools allow the food industry into their space they are offering up their students as consumers of its products and producers of its socially responsible sign value.

Food-Related School-Business Relationships and Cultural Power

Deconstructing the marketing and public relations strategies of the food industry exposes problematic objectives, complex commercial strategies, and the vast economic and political power of this industry. Food multinationals are among the world's largest companies. Nestle (2002) identifies just four food companies – Kraft, General Mills, PepsiCo and ConAgra that between them own at least 66 large USA and international food brands. Critics of corporate power outside of the obesity

debate have drawn attention to the huge cultural power wielded by global food and beverage enterprises. Schlosser's (2002) analysis of the fast-food industry acknowledges it as a producer of physical *and* cultural commodities:

> During a relatively brief period of time, the fast food industry has helped
> to transform not only the American diet, but also our landscape,
> economy, workforce, and popular culture. Fast food and its consequences
> have become inescapable, regardless of whether you eat it twice a day, try
> to avoid it, or have never taken a single bite.
> (pp. 3-4)

Kincheloe (2002b) argues that the power of, in his case, McDonald's, needs to be thought of not just in terms of food consumption preferences, but as meaning-making in cultural and social spheres. McDonald's as a corporate meaning maker upholds and promulgates particular commonsense truths beyond its corporate position to preserve its dominant economic position. This cultural pedagogy is produced through its manipulation of signs and images in a diverse and integrated array of media – including educational materials and programmes for children. As Kincheloe puts it, McDonald's produces its *power via pleasure.*

Therefore the collective drive of these businesses to redefine children as consumers is both an economic project, the goal being to sell more products immediately, and a cultural project to orientate the values and dispositions of children towards a lifestyle of unquestioning consumption (Saltman 2000). This cultural project requires acceptance of corporate power in a free enterprise system, including global expansion, and economic inequalities between low-paid service workers and business owners (Kincheloe, 2002b). It requires an erasure of consideration of the corporation or industry as fallible in its behaviour or its human and environmental impacts (Saltman, 2000). For instance, for the McDonald's fast food/entertainment business to work, third world workers must be hired on extremely low wages, in very rough working conditions to assemble toys for happy meals. Individuals must be culturally programmed to accept this 'logic of capital'. One outcome of this meaning making is that particular social norms are also strengthened through this meaning-making. For instance, in the case of the ideology of McDonald's, conservative and traditional family values have featured strongly in its advertising, which emanated from the political, social and economic values of its founder Ray Kroc (Kincheloe, 2002a,

2002b; Schlosser, 2002). Children in these narratives are innocent rather than critical subjects and when transgressive childhood behaviour does occur, its end result is consumption.

While these cultural critiques are not exclusive to the food industry, the prevalence of food corporations such as McDonald's and Coca Cola in these critiques indicates their prominence as corporate meaning makers in contemporary childhood. The blurring of entertainment, education and advertising forms means that food pedagogies are nearly everywhere in childhood. Food is de-differentiated from entertainment and education when it combines marketing with play and learning. Food is interwoven into children's popular culture at a moment when childhood identity and learning is increasingly mediated through the pleasures of popular culture forms. These two positive pastimes – eating and entertainment lead to what Kincheloe terms a *hegemony of pleasure*. Our pleasure is our critical undoing.

Critically examining food-related school-business relationships as corporate pedagogies is vital to understanding the complex contemporary links between the practices of the food industry and child health and wellbeing. So positioning food businesses as corporate meaning makers is not just about adding a new 'non-obesity argument' against this industry presence in schools. It is also about problematising the impact of these marketing and public relations practices further. In social constructionist terms, the food industry has become part of the learning of schools – not just a tacked on promotional extra fuelling short-term consumption. The corporatised school discussed in Chapter 5 is in a weak position to respond critically to corporate power because its mission of transmitting curriculum content and skills does not oblige teachers and students to deconstruct the commonsense truth claims of signs and explore the underlying social and economic conditions that these businesses require in order to maintain their economic and cultural position. It similarly does not oblige teachers to consider the ways these corporate pedagogies themselves, through their content and form, promote immediate responses and longer term dispositions that make this critical project of student deconstruction less likely.

An Analysis of Food-Related SEMs in New Zealand Primary Schools

This section seeks evidence of the supply and nature of food-related school-business relationships in New Zealand in terms of SEMs and more general business/industry items purporting to be educational and appealing to school-age children.

Two main strategies were used to locate potential items. The first was to search New Zealand business and industry association websites for references to, or the actual hosting of items directed at children. For businesses a database of 373 New Zealand businesses was created in mid 2002. The database initially comprised the 27 respondents that provided SEMs from the 1998 survey of the 'top 200' businesses and 'top 30' financial institutions [see Chapter 7]. The 2002 top 200 businesses and top 30 financial institutions (n=230) were then added and cross-referenced for duplicates with the initial 27 entries. Finally, all the companies listed on the New Zealand stock exchange in mid 2002 (n=210) were added and again, cross-referenced against the existing list for duplicates. Once duplicates were removed the final database stood at 365. During the course of searching business websites a further eight food businesses were added to the database bringing the total to 373.

Industry associations are a prominent component of the food industry presence in schools (Harty, 1979), and a key focus of corporate public relations critiques (Beder, 1997). Six industry association categories were selected to assess the relative prominence of food-related SEMs and general items for these organisations. Apart from food, these were:

- chemicals pharmaceutical
- manufacturing
- oil, gas, minerals, electricity, water
- primary production
- transportation.

Eighty-seven New Zealand industry associations fitting within one of these industry categories were located from an electronic library database (n=39) and a New Zealand website of industry associations (n=48).

For each of these businesses and industry associations an Internet search was conducted to locate and view their website. Websites for 320 businesses and financial institutions and 54 industry associations were located. Each of these websites was viewed for the presence of SEMs or materials of a more general education/entertainment nature available and appealing to school-age children but not necessarily addressing them as students. It was not my initial intention to locate this second type of item, however as I searched for SEMs they were common and sometimes appeared when SEMs did not. Chapter 4 showed that businesses blur the lines between children as consumers and learners, and these items provided useful comparison data for the analysis.

Table 6.3 below shows the numbers of businesses and industry associations searched by industry category and the presence of SEMs and non-school items. The food categories are bolded.

Table 6.3 Businesses, Financial Institutions and Industry Associations with Sponsored Educational Materials and Associated Items Aimed at School-Age Publics

Business/Industry Type	Total	Sponsored Educational Materials	%	Non-school items aimed at school-age children	%
Businesses and Financial Institutions					
Banking and Finance	55	0	0%	1	2%
Chemicals Pharmaceuticals	8	0	0%	1	13%
Communications Media	15	2	13%	3	20%
Construction Trade Services	6	0	0%	0	0%
Diversified Corporates	13	0	0%	0	0%
Food (processed) Beverages	**24**	**9**	**38%**	**9**	**38%**
Industry and Community	27	2	7%	2	7%
Information Technology	17	0	0%	0	0%
Insurance	12	0	0%	0	0%
Investment (property)	10	0	0%	0	0
Manufacturing	20	1	5%	2	10%
Oil Gas Minerals Electricity	42	5	12%	5	12%
Primary Production	15	3	20%	4	27%
Research	3	0	0%	1	33%
Retail Wholesale Distribution	28	2	7%	1	4%
Tourism Entertainment	8	1	13%	2	25%
Transportation	17	4	24%	1	6%
Total	**320**	**29**	**9%**	**32**	**10%**
Industry Associations					
Chemicals Pharmaceuticals	6	2	33%	1	17%
Manufacturing	11	2	18%	2	18%
Food (processed) Beverages	**12**	**4**	**33%**	**7**	**58%**
Oils Gas Minerals Electricity	5	3	60%	1	20%
Primary Production	16	5	31%	5	31%
Transportation	4	0	0%	1	25%
Total	**54**	**16**	**30%**	**17**	**31%**

Table 6.3 supports the consistent finding from the international literature that the food industry is a dominant sponsor of SEMs. Food-related businesses and industry associations are clear leaders in additionally addressing young people outside of school. The figures above actually slightly under-represent the prevalence of food sponsors because some food-related businesses and industry associations are counted under the primary production category. Three food-related primary production businesses or industry associations in this sample produced SEMs [Meat NZ, New Zealand Pork Industry Board, New Zealand Seafood Industry Council]; one produced non-school items [Sealord Group]; and two produced both [Zespri International, New Zealand Vegetable and Potato Growers' Federation Inc.].

A second strategy used to develop a sense of the quantity of food-related SEMs, and develop an initial impression of their reception in schools, was a search of the health and physical education curriculum shelves of the resource rooms of four of the five

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interview schools in this research [see Chapter 7]. Table 6.4 itemises the food-related SEMs discovered in these four resource rooms and provides notes about them from observation, and in how many of the schools they appeared. The list includes all SEMs found that were sponsored by food businesses or industry associations, so it includes items that are not about food specifically[51] [for example road safety].

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[51] The amount of items found that related to other curriculum areas may under-represent the actual number of these items present in these schools because the search was mostly restricted to the health and physical education sections of the resource rooms.

Table 6.4   Food-Related Sponsored Educational Materials Found in the Resource Rooms of Four Primary Schools

Item	Sponsors	Notes	Schools with SEM
5+ a Day Kit	"A United Fresh Initiative". This group is a representative body of businesses and other organisations from the fresh produce industry.		1
New Image Rugby Resource Kit	Mars Chocolates		1
The Anchor Child Nutrition and Health Programme: A Health Education Resource for Primary and Intermediate Teachers in New Zealand	Dairy Foods Ltd in conjunction with the NZ Nutrition Foundation and the Auckland College of Education.	Anchor Mission Statement includes: "To provide today's children with the opportunity to maintain their health and physical wellbeing through the provision of healthy products and by comprehensive support for their education in this vital learning area." Two strategies are highlighted – education and healthy foods. Contains units on food advertising and the media.	1
Stepping Out: A Road Safety Education Programme Years 0-3.	McDonald's NZ Police.	The map in the package includes a McDonald's store and character as part of the streetscape.	3
Kelloggs Wake up for Breakfast	Kelloggs	Flyers	1
From Canefield to Crystal and Beyond: Educational Resource Kit for New Zealand Schools	Chelsea Sugar		1
The Living Sea	New Zealand Seafood Industry Council		1
Riding By: A School Road Safety Education Programme for Years 4-6	McDonald's NZ Police		1
Introduction to Coaching of McDonald's Small Black Rugby. Coaches Handbook	McDonald's	By-line is "McDonalds – helping kids enjoy rugby."	1
The Breakfast Club	Watties Quality Bakers NZ Ltd ENZA NZ Cheese Promotions Ltd Kiwi Bacon Co Ltd Anchor Fresh Milk Eggs Incorporated Buttermark NZ Ltd Flemings Fisher and Paykel.		2
Real Food Teaching Notes	National Heart Foundation Yoplait.	"Yoplait supports nutrition education in the community."	1

Item	Sponsors	Notes	Schools with SEM
Techno Food	New Zealand Nutrition Foundation. Sponsorship from: Buttermark NZ NZ Dairy Foods Ltd Anchor NZ Beef and Lamb Marketing Bureau Kelloggs Australia United Fresh Ltd Vegfed.	Directed at "the food technology teacher". Sponsors' logos appear on the worksheets, and the information sheets contain references to these sponsors' products.	2
Lunch for Life	New Zealand Nutrition Foundation. Sponsorship from: New Zealand Dairy (Foods Division) Bluebirds Foods Ltd Butter Mark NZ Cheese Promotions Ltd.		1
Food is Fun. Food and Nutrition Starter Kit for Primary and Intermediate Schools.	Waikato Education Centre. Sponsorship from: ENZA Elfin NZ Beef and Lamb Dairy Advisory Board.	Contains individual posters promoting the sponsors' products in the context of nutrition	2
Veggies are Fun	Vegfed.	Older version of V for Vegies	1
Eggs: The Inside Story	NZ Poultry Board		1
Marvellous Me Two. Guide to Sport and Energy – Nestle Milo	Nestle Milo		2
An Educational Resource: Meadow Lea Sunflower Margarine Spread	Meadow Lea		1
Beat the Street. A Game to Accompany Out and About for Years 7&8.	NZ Police, McDonald's and Street Skills	Game board includes a McDonald's restaurant	1

Table 6.4 lists 25 instances of 19 different items relating to: food and nutrition (n=12); sport (n=3); safety (n=3); and industry information (n=2)[52]. During this search for SEMs, three general observations were made. Firstly, there was a dearth of *non-sponsored* materials relating to nutrition; SEMs were the majority type of educational materials within an overall low number of materials. There are at least two possible explanations for this aside from the obvious one that SEMs dominate the available resources in this curriculum area. Firstly, many newer non-sponsored items may be exclusively or mostly available as online resources on the Internet. Secondly, non-sponsored resources may have been in use by teachers in classrooms at the time of my visit or stored in teachers' personal resource collections. These explanations are unlikely to completely explain the low level of non-sponsored materials, as other curriculum areas appeared to be healthily stocked with such materials. When non-sponsored materials were found, they tended to be older, with low production values, and were usually entirely print based such as teacher books. The SEMs by contrast were typically colourful and contemporary looking; often being a 'kit' with an assortment of integrated items [including videos, CD Roms, posters, and games]; and sometimes contained stickers or other sponsor-related promotional material.

A second key observation was that many of the sponsored materials appeared not to have been extensively used, or used at all. There were few signs of wear and tear on a number of items, and in some cases, kits were still sealed or otherwise looked unused. Some of the materials had obviously been sent unsolicited and 'filed'.

The third key observation was that there was a variety of sponsorship arrangements connecting the food industry/business to the SEM. Items such as *Marvellous Me Two* from Nestle, and *The Living Sea* from the New Zealand Seafood Industry Council were unambiguously 'owned' by the sponsor. In the case of the various McDonald's road safety resources, McDonald's was a joint sponsor with the Police. In other cases like *Food is Fun. Food and Nutrition Starter Kit for Primary and Intermediate Schools*, the business or industry sponsorship was apparently funding the intellectual effort of a speciality writer – in this case, the Waikato Education Centre. These last

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[52] One resource *Marvellous Me Two* covered both the food and nutrition, and sport categories and was counted in each.

two sponsorship arrangements raise issues around editorial impartiality and control of the discourse, and this is considered below.

The SEM Analysis Method

To develop a richer understanding of New Zealand food-related SEMs as corporate pedagogies, an analysis of 24 items was undertaken, sourced from: the resource room search; the database of businesses and industry associations; and in one case [the *McDonald's Reading Programme*], a participant teacher who was using the programme. Industry associations sponsored five of these items with the remaining 19 sponsored by business. In developing an analytical approach, the methodologies of existing SEM analyses (Consumers Union Education Services, 1995; Harty, 1979; Rudd and Buttolph, 1987) were reviewed along with recent literature on the nature of food-related SEMs. To look at commercialism, each SEM was assessed for the presence of sponsor logos, sponsor advertising statements, statements about products and brands, and links between the resources and promotional and sales activities. To assess for public relations strategies – and in particular the presence of bias, the analysis assessed the items for the verifiability of the information offered, completeness, consistency with established facts and/or expert opinion, and whether the information was up-to-date. To make the PR analysis more specific to the food industry, particular key messages and tactics were searched for that have been shown by Brownell and Battle Horgen (2004) and Nestle (2002) to be favoured by the food industry. These key messages, paraphrased, are:

- Claim a commitment to public health
- Focus on physical activity – not nutrition
- Divert attention from the sponsor
- Alignment with nutrition professionals
- Selective emphasis/de-emphasis of nutritional benefits or risks
- Promoting the base food value versus the processed food value
- *There are no good or bad foods*
- Parental responsibility for children's health and nutrition.

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For each resource it was noted whether the business or industry had any particular legitimacy issues associated with its behaviours or operations in the areas of environment, human rights, labour practices, animal welfare or an 'other' category. For each item details such as the sponsor, media format, how the items were intended to be used and by whom, as well as general style features were noted. Lastly, to be able to see if there were any patterns between the nutritional status of the item's sponsor and the other factors mentioned, the food type associated with each item was plotted on the USDA Food Guide Pyramid and the New Zealand Heart Foundation Real Food Pyramid. The analysis sheet used is in Appendix B. Data from the analysis sheets were entered and analysed in an Excel spreadsheet.

Table 6.5 lists each item that was analysed, its sponsor or sponsors, its basic content type, whether it was an SEM or non-school item, and a brief description.

Table 6.5   Items used in the SEM and Related Items Analysis

Resource Name	Sponsor	Content Type	SEM or Non-School Item	Description
Take a Peek into Our Nest (Nestle New Zealand Ltd, Date Unknown)	Nestle.	Product or brand promotion. Product or industry information.	SEM	PDF student information sheets about Nestle products including history and processing. Also has an interactive online version.
Lunch for Life (New Zealand Nutrition Foundation, 1995)	"A New Zealand Nutrition Foundation Initiative". "Supported by Bluebird Foods Ltd, New Zealand Dairy, Buttermark (NZ) Ltd, NZ Cheese Promotions Ltd."	Nutrition related.	SEM	Resource kit supporting the draft Technology Curriculum years 7-10 and aimed at promoting healthy school lunches. The kit contains student activities, food fact sheets, sponsors' product fact sheets, nutrition guidelines, lunch ideas, posters, and a teacher evaluation form.
Marvellous Me 2. Guide to Sport and Energy (Nestle New Zealand Ltd, Date Unknown)	Nestle.	Nutrition related. Product or brand promotion.	SEM	Kit for Health and Physical Education Curriculum. Contains posters, teachers guide, activity sheets for children, and certificates.
Choice Action. A Resource for Teachers of Health Education, Physical Education, and Home Economics (Osteoporosis New Zealand Inc., 2001)	Produced by Osteoporosis New Zealand with "financial support and commitment" from Mainland Products Ltd.	Nutrition related.	SEM	Teacher resource booklet, and supporting materials around calcium intake [for individual use].
Iron Brion's Gold Hunt and the Beef and Lamb Resource Kit (New Zealand Beef and Lamb Marketing Bureau et al., Date Unknown)	New Zealand Beef and Lamb Marketing Bureau.	Nutrition related. Product or brand promotion. Sponsored educational programme.	SEM	Kit containing supporting materials for the sponsored education programme (Iron Brion road show) and supporting nutrition programme focused on the nutritional value of iron and meat's role.
Chook Book (Nagle and Gregory, Date Unknown)	Poultry Industry Association of New Zealand & Egg Producers Federation. Endorsed by the Animals in Schools Education Trust.	Product or industry information. Nutrition related.	SEM	Information booklet for students and teachers.
McDonald's Reading Programme (McDonald's New Zealand, Date Unknown)	McDonald's.	Product or brand promotion. Sponsored educational programme.	SEM	A reading programme aimed at 8-11 year olds. Contains an incentive programme for reading with McDonald's product prizes, McDonald's-themed reading activities, student certificates.
The Living Sea (New Zealand Fishing Industry Board and Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission, 1996)	New Zealand Fishing Industry Council and the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission.	Product or industry information.	SEM	Series of fishing industry-themed activities with achievement objectives matching to levels 2 and 3 (years 3-7) of the Science and Technology Curriculum areas. Each activity contains background information, activities, suggestions for reporting, references, and assessment suggestions.
From Canefield to Crystal and Beyond.	Chelsea Sugar.	Product or industry information.	SEM	Student and teacher resource which profiles the sugar

Resource Name	Sponsor	Content Type	SEM or Non-School Item	Description
Including: *Sugar and its Role in a Healthy Diet*. (Chelsea Sugar, Date Unknown)		Nutrition related.		industry, sugar production, types of sugar, and contains "facts about sugar and health". Also includes 'design briefs' – lesson plans with links to the food technology curriculum.
V for Vegies (New Zealand Vegetable and Potato Growers' Fed. Inc., Date Unknown)	VegFed – the New Zealand Vegetable and Potato Growers Federation Inc.	Product or industry information. Nutrition related.	SEM	CD Rom that contains a virtual town called 'vegeville'. It has links to various sections that present information on Maori and vegetables, nutrition, vegetable farm management and trade, restaurant operation and trade, retailing vegetables and budgeting, and preparing, storing and cooking vegetables.
Activity – Balance – Choice (Coca Cola Amatil New Zealand, Date Unknown)	Coca Cola Amatil New Zealand.	Nutrition related.	SEM	Nutrition, physical activity and Product information booklet given out to schools as part of a Coca Cola [and related products] vending machine sales pitch. Not strictly a teaching resource. Argues for increased physical activity, moderation and balance in diet, and profiles the diversity of drink brands offered by Coke.
Eat Smart Be ACTIVE (McDonald's Restaurants (NZ) Ltd, 2003)	McDonald's.	Nutrition related.	SEM	Booklet featuring Olympic cyclist Sarah Ulmer [who provides an introduction] that discusses increasing physical activity, balance and moderation in diet, and McDonald's support for physical activity.
A Winning Diet: Nestle Good Life Programme (Burke et al., 2002)	Nestle.	Nutrition related. Product or brand promotion.	SEM	Booklet which provides a guide to eating well for top sports performance. Includes advertising for Nestle products and positioning of some brands in the content material.
The Yummy Fruit Company (website) including the sports orientated cause related marketing programme *Healthy Eating, Healthy Living* (Yummy Fruit Company, 2004)	Yummy Apples.	Nutrition related. Product or brand promotion.	SEM	Cause related marketing programme where in exchange for collecting stickers and barcodes from Yummy Apple brand apples, schools receive sports equipment.
NZ Cyber Guide to Flour Milling and Baking (Crop and Food Research Ltd, 2002)	Produced by Crop and Food Research with sponsorship from the NZ Flour Millars Association and the New Zealand Association of Bakers.	Product or industry information.	SEM	CD Rom about flour and baking containing information and activity sheets (PDF), a teachers guide which links the activity sheets to the science and technology curriculum areas, links to recipe books and related websites, and careers information.
Tip Top Fun Zone (Tiptop Ice Cream, 2004)	Tip Top Ice Cream.	Product or brand promotion. Product or industry information.	Non-school item	Interactive children's website featuring a game, e-cards, and an animated [but not interactive] presentation of the manufacturing process.
Kelloggs Nutrition Camp (Kelloggs, 2004)	Kelloggs.	Product or brand promotion. Nutrition related.	Non-school item	Interactive children's website featuring games, facts and activities, and information about the nutritional benefits of cereal breakfasts.

Resource Name	Sponsor	Content Type	SEM or Non-School Item	Description
Sanitarium (Sanitarium Health Food Company, 2004)	Sanitarium.	Product or industry information.	Non-school item	Website containing basic information about the history and production process of some icon brands [for example, Weetbix].
Fruitbursts (Pascall, 2004)	Pascall.	Product or brand promotion.	Non-school item	Children's Interactive website containing e-cards, downloadable wallpapers and promotional information [including competitions].
Anchorville (Anchor Milk, 2004)	Anchor Milk.	Product or brand promotion.	Non-school item	Children's interactive website with password entry. Requires input of codes from Anchor milk to maintain access. Contains games, information about Anchor Milk products and links to external websites.
Activities and Games (McDonald's New Zealand, 2004)	McDonald's.	Product or brand promotion.	Non-school item	Interactive children's website with downloadable colouring in activities and online games. Has information about Happy Meals, Ronald McDonald and related characters, and birthday parties. Strongly entertainment focused.
Coke and Coke Fridge (Coca Cola, 2004)	Coca Cola.	Product or brand promotion.	Non-school item	Youth interactive website with password protected member area. Magazine style with information about music reviews and downloadable music, computer games, youth events, music concerts. Has competitions and tie-ins with Coke sponsorships.
Cadbury Land (Cadbury Confectionary Ltd, 2004)	Cadbury Chocolates.	Product or brand promotion.	Non-school item	Children's interactive website with password entry. Entertainment orientated with games, cartoon stories [using Cadbury characters], profiles of Cadbury products, e-cards, and feedback form.
Kids Area (New Zealand Pork Industry Board, 2004)	New Zealand Pork Industry Board.	Product or brand promotion. Product or industry information.	Non-school item	Children's interactive website. Contains various facts about pigs and pig farming, as well as a pig quiz, crossword, jokes and a colouring in activity.

The next sections discuss these items grouped by the content types that emerged –
nutrition related, product or industry information, product or brand promotion. The
two sponsored educational programmes are also discussed. Many resources covered
more than one content category, and the implications of this are discussed at the end
of the section.

Nutrition Related Items

Twelve of the 24 items emphasised or were wholly focused on nutrition. All of these
items promoted the nutritional value of the foods or beverages associated with the
sponsor. Sometimes this connection was so explicit that the nutritional information
doubled as brand promotion. Such was the case in the Nestle *Marvellous Me Two*
resource:

> If you are running late for the game a honey sandwich with a glass of
> Milo and milk is a quick and nutritious breakfast.
> (Nestle New Zealand Ltd, Date Unknown, unnumbered)

The nutrition-focused materials displayed key contemporary public relations
messages and tactics noted by Nestle(2002) and Brownell and Battle Horgen (2004).
Firstly it was evident that some materials were supporting a discourse centralising
physical inactivity rather than food consumption as the key environmental driver of
obesity. Five of the 12 items focused on nutrition and physical activity rather than
nutrition alone: *Marvellous Me Two. Guide to Sport and Energy* (Nestle New
Zealand Ltd, Date Unknown), *Activity - Balance – Choice* (Coca Cola Amatil New
Zealand, Date Unknown), *Eat Smart Be ACTIVE* (McDonald's Restaurants (NZ) Ltd,
2003), The Yummy Fruit Company (website) (Yummy Fruit Company, 2004), and *A
Winning Diet: Nestle Good Life Programme* (Burke et al., 2002). These sponsors
aligned themselves or their brands with a community service ethos of supporting
children's health, while promoting the nutritional qualities of their food, and
generally associating their brands with good health and nutrition.

McDonald's clearly pursued the physical inactivity argument with *Eat Smart Be ACTIVE*[53]. It used popular Olympic gold medal cyclist Sarah Ulmer to set an activity tone throughout this resource. Ulmer's explanation of her participation emphasised activity, and praised McDonald's social responsibility in children's health by getting children to be more active:

> Earlier this year I approached them with an idea of how we could work together – to teach people about the importance of exercise and a balanced diet, how McDonald's fits in with that, and how McDonald's can help with my passion to encourage children to become more active. (Unnumbered)

The Coca Cola booklet *Activity – Balance – Choice*, was similarly forthright in positioning activity – not nutrition, as the key to health and a healthy weight:

> Being more active is the key to good health as well as helping us fight the battle of the bulge. Through our active lifestyles programme we hope to encourage New Zealand families to become more active. (Unnumbered)

Some sponsors took a physical activity emphasis further by *explicitly* positioning their foods as nutritionally positive for sports and active lifestyles. *A Winning Diet* by Nestle featured numerous sports nutrition related advertisements for Nestle products and the content featured Nestle brands as well. So for instance, in the 'Winning Diet Plan', meal options included: 'MAGGI Apricot Chicken with rice', 'MAGGI 2 Minute Noodles with tuna and vegetables...' and 'Crumpets, fruit salad, NESCAFE decaf latte or milk.' (p. 19, emphasis in original).

Complementing the activity argument was a balance/moderation argument. Despite the food pyramid clearly advocating that there *are* good and bad foods in terms of appropriate nutrition intake, five of the nutrition-themed resources espoused the food industry discourse 'there are no bad foods'. McDonald's emphasised eating 'smart' in its *Eat Smart be ACTIVE* resource. Eating smart in this context meant not eating too much of one thing, enjoying 'sensible' quantities of foods of minimal nutritional value, not going overboard, and balancing everything out with exercise:

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[53] Note the capitalisation of ACTIVE to leave no doubt about McDonald's emphasis on physical activity.

As an athlete I watch my diet carefully. I eat a range of foods, including burgers – always in appropriate amounts and in keeping with exercise as part of a healthy lifestyle.

It's common sense really – eat a range of foods and get lots of exercise. Eat plenty of fresh fruits and vegetables – go easy on high fat and high salt foods. Keep it all in proportion and perspective.
(McDonald's Restaurants (NZ) Ltd, 2003, unnumbered)

Coke also positioned its brands as able to fit into a wide variety of lifestyles:

Our products can be enjoyed by the majority of people as part of a healthy balanced diet and active lifestyle. …. The Coca-Cola Company and Coca-Cola Amatil NZ produces a range of beverages suited to different ages, stages, lifestyles and occasions.
(Coca Cola Amatil New Zealand, Date Unknown, unnumbered)

The balance/moderation argument shifts responsibility for nutritional intake firmly on to the individual or parents or even school. At the same time that Coke is denying the power of its promotional effort to facilitate a lack of moderation, Coke is also positioning itself as being able to provide that balance through a diverse product range. The moderation argument therefore doubly assists the likes of McDonald's and Coke who then claim they offer such a diverse variety of nutritional foods.

Ten of the nutrition-related items made direct or implied claims to be committed to public health. McDonald's and the Yummy Fruit Company used popular sports figures – Sarah Ulmer and Wynton Rufer respectively to carry a health and activity message on behalf of the sponsor. McDonald's and Coca Cola both reported being concerned about inactivity and were 'committed' to doing something about it. Several sponsors underwrote resources produced by a credible health-orientated non-profit organisation. The sponsors of *Lunch for Life*, including Bluebird Foods Ltd were positioned as supporting and funding this Nutrition Foundation-authored resource to support healthy eating at lunchtime, even though the sponsors' products [some of which were of dubious nutritional value such as muesli bars] were explicitly promoted in the resource itself. Nestle's *A Winning Diet* was authored by four nutrition professionals from the Australian Institute of Sport, and adapted by a New Zealand Nutrition professional for use here. Nestle described itself in 'partnership'

with the New Zealand Millennium Institute of Sport and Health as part of its health 'commitment':

> In keeping with our ongoing commitment to provide New Zealanders with good food for good living every day, Nestle is proud to be a foundation sponsor of the Millennium Institute of Sport and Health. (Burke et al., 2002, unnumbered)

Lunch for Life and [particularly] *A Winning Diet* were laced with advertisements and advertorial promotion. So despite these businesses positioning themselves as motivated by public health and explicitly citing their involvement as funding and support, their intrusion into content raises doubts about the distance between the intellectual capital of the professional nutritionists and the marketing/public relations objectives of the sponsors, and ultimately the rigour of the information.

Not surprisingly given the international evidence for bias in food-related SEMs, nine of the 12 items provided nutritional information that emphasised the nutritional value of the particular food-type in question at the expense of balance and reasonable discussion of the nutritional downsides or limits to this product or brand as a nutritional source. A first approach was simply to ignore, play down or dispute the nutritional legitimacy issues. The *Iron Brion Gold Hunt and The Beef and Lamb Resource Kit* (New Zealand Beef and Lamb Marketing Bureau et al., Date Unknown) avoided discussion of the need to maintain low levels of animal fat intake and maintain a high fruit and vegetable intake in its celebration of beef and lamb's iron value. Coca Cola's *Activity – Balance – Choice*, only indirectly acknowledged concerns about the high sugar levels in soft drinks and did not detail any links between sugar and obesity. Instead it provided contrastingly comprehensive research evidence of declining physical activity. A discussion of 'energy intake' replaced a discussion of 'sugar intake'. Staying with sugar, the *From Canefield to Crystal and Beyond* (Chelsea Sugar, Date Unknown) resource after claiming that 'Sugar is sometimes made out to be the 'baddie' when it comes to tooth decay' (fact sheet 4), went on to provide three ways to reduce tooth decay, none of which involved reducing sugar intake.

A second related tactic of nutritional bias was to ignore or denigrate complementary foods that provide similar [or enhanced] nutritional benefits, to create an aura of the perfect or complete food. Milo (Nestle New Zealand Ltd, Date Unknown) positioned by Nestle as the energy drink of healthy children was an aggressive example of this. The *Iron Brion* resource positioned non-meat sources of iron very negatively:

> You need to eat 2kg of silverbeet to get the same amount of iron provided by 100 grams of lean beef.
> (p. 11)

The *V for Vegies* CD Rom (New Zealand Vegetable and Potato Growers' Fed. Inc., Date Unknown), used the public awareness of the '5+ a day' [vegetables *and* fruit] concept by providing a 5+ a day game for children in which only three of 15 choices were fruit – the other 12 being vegetable varieties. Children also had to see if their *vegetable* intake reached the '5+ a day' target.

A third approach of the emphasis/de-emphasis ilk was to promote the base food nutritional value, along with or instead of, the nutritional value of the processed version of this food. The *From Canefield to Crystal and Beyond* resource exemplified this in its discussion of the place of sugar in the four food groups:

> Most food in the first three food groups[54] contain sugar either as a natural part of the food such as with fruits and milk or as an important added ingredient as is the case with breads.
> (fact sheet 3)

A final nutritional bias tactic, which draws on the others, was the manipulation of the food guide pyramid to suit the food type or brand in question. Since its introduction in 1992 the food guide pyramid has become an iconic symbol of nutrition education and has been adapted by various organisations including, in New Zealand, the Heart Foundation with its *Real Food Pyramid* (Heart Foundation of New Zealand, Date Unknown). Pictures of the USDA food pyramid and the Real Food Pyramid are in Appendix C. Examples of pyramid adaptations in these items are listed below:

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[54] The four food groups here are: vegetables and fruit; breads and cereals; milk and milk products; and meat poultry and fish.

- *From Canefield to Crystal and Beyond.* This pyramid had three tiers with sugar in an 'eat small amounts' category in the top third. This is a more positive title than 'eat little' [real food pyramid] or 'use sparingly' [USDA pyramid], especially for sugar, which is a physically small item, and is added in 'small' quantities to other products.

- The *Iron Brion* resource used a three level adaptation of the food guide pyramid which they called the 'My Healthy Food Pyramid'. Instead of meat being in the third level up of five [USDA pyramid] it is now comfortably in a middle category. The middle category is called 'Meat and Alternatives, Milk and Milk Products'. This titling is positioning meat [along with the non-competitive food milk] as the central and normal nutritional item of this food group, which should read 'Meat, Poultry, Fish, Dry Beans, Eggs and Nuts'.

- Nestle in its *Marvellous Me Two* resource draws a similar three tier pyramid to the *Iron Brion* one, however in this case, the middle category, to which Milo belongs is called 'OK' – again much more affirming and permissive than 'eat some' [real food pyramid]. The Milo logo itself is drawn into the pyramid, the only brand to have this profile[55].

The Chelsea Sugar item *From Canefield to Crystal and Beyond* was the only sponsor to confront its nutritional legitimacy issues directly. Its 'commitment' to public health included dispelling the public 'myths' about sugar's health effects, from tooth decay to diabetes, hyperactivity, obesity and heart disease:

> Sugar is often linked to health issues in the media and at times reported incorrectly. Below we outline some of these issues and put the record straight.
> (Unnumbered)

The nutrition related items overall, featured moderate levels of commercialism. Seven of the 12 items had the sponsor logo prominently in the item. Only two featured advertisements for the sponsor's products or brands, but all of them contained general promotion of the sponsor's brands or products. It was evident that the presence of nutritional information had a tempering effect on the level of commercialism, reflecting that most sponsors wanted this content to have high

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[55] The same brand promotion within the pyramid is evident for Kelloggs Cornflakes in the food pyramid provided on their website (Kelloggs, 2004).

legitimacy as an educational resource and were not always primarily concerned with encouraging immediate consumption. The exception to low commercialism was apparent with sponsors that had large child markets for their foods. For instance *Marvellous Me Two* from Nestle contained very high amounts of brand promotion for Milo, as did the *Kelloggs Nutrition Camp* website for Kelloggs cereal foods.

Product or Industry Information Items

A second category for this analysis was items that provided non-nutrition information about a product, business or industry sponsor. Product *information* is distinguished from product or brand *promotion*, although in some cases it was difficult to separate the two types, and some items were counted as both. Nine items provided product or industry information as an integral part of the resource. Four of the five industry associations in this sample provided items in this category whereas only five of the 19 businesses did.

The industry information in these resources usually centred on the production process of particular products or brands from producer to manufacturer to consumer. Tip Top (website), Nestle *Take a Peek into our Nest,* and Nestle Milo *Marvellous Me Two* each provided colourful production process flow diagrams. *The Living Sea* resource looked at various aspects of fishing industry operations across different fish species and at different points in the business chain [for instance catching fish, processing, and community employment]. *From Canefield to Crystal and Beyond* looked broadly at the 'business' of sugar, the 'manufacture' of sugar and the 'varieties' of sugar. New Zealand curriculum links, where made in these resources, were typically science and technology related. Only one item, *NZ Cyber Guide to Flour Milling and Baking* (CD Rom), contained careers information.

The levels of commercialism in these resources were generally quite low. Explicit brand promotion or advertising is not the prime goal of product or industry information, and having a less commercially explicit resource is likely to increase its educational credibility with teachers. Five items had sponsor logos appearing for identification purposes only, with the remaining four using the logo more prominently for promotional purposes. Only one item contained advertisements – *Marvellous Me Two*, but five resources explicitly promoted the sponsor's products or

brands. One item contained a link to a promotional activity of the sponsor – the Sanitarium website for its *Kiwi Kids Tryathlon*. No items were directly linked to sales activities.

In keeping with the alignment of these resources to the economic interests of the sponsors, they were generally, as critics have described, 'sanitised'. So Nestle in discussing the coffee bean production process did not mention the collapse of world coffee prices and its crippling impacts on coffee growers in developing countries who have moved to this monoculture crop only to lose their livelihoods while margins and profits rise for the world's rich coffee marketers. Similarly, although the *V for Vegies* CD Rom involved itself with the business and social impacts of the fresh vegetable industry, it failed to engage with the organic versus non-organic debate or the GE versus GE-free debate. These sponsors tended to address children as recipients of indisputable truths rather than constructors of new knowledge and interrogators of truth claims. For instance, Nestle's *Take a Peek into our Nest* never asked children to explore Nestle as a company for themselves. As Giroux (1999) suggests of the edutainment pedagogies of Disney and Saltman (2000) likewise with Coke, the learner was being provided with a sanitised, palatable, and 'complete' package of self referential information that erases any consideration of the downsides to these businesses' environmental, social, cultural and economic contributions.

Two items that did make forays into public debates were the *Chook Book*, the *Living Sea* and the *Kids Area* of the New Zealand Pork Industry Board website. The *Chook Book* acknowledged, in a very low key manner, public concerns about the impacts of battery hen farming on animal welfare and preceded to reassure the student or teacher that good farmers [regardless of whether they use battery hen cages or not] have their chicken's welfare at heart:

> People have different opinions on the way in which animals should be farmed. Good farmers look after their birds in a welfare-friendly manner. ...There are three reasons for looking after animals in a welfare-friendly manner: 1) so they do not suffer, 2) so they are not damaged, and 3) if we are unkind to animals, people may not respect us. New Zealand has laws to protect the welfare of all animals in the country.
> (Nagle and Gregory, Date Unknown, p. 19)

There was no mention of the substance of the opposition to battery farming including major attempts in New Zealand in recent years to legally reconstruct what is an acceptable level of welfare for chickens, by banning battery hen farming. Just prior to this barely perceptible but one-sided justification for battery hen farming, the reader had already been assured that cages provide a safe, comfortable and healthy life for laying hens versus the disease, predator and cannibalism risks of uncaged chickens:

> Layer Hens are usually kept in cages indoors in sheds. Hens were first put in cages for animal welfare benefits. The cages gave them protection from predators (hawks, stoats, ferrets and foxes). They also gave protection from diseases and parasites and prevented cannibalism in large flocks. The sheds make it easier to control the temperature in cold weather. They are given water and feed all the time.
> (p. 18)

So here we have the Poultry industry telling children that there are different views about this issue, but that chicken welfare is legally protected, and actually enhanced through battery hen farming. The economic benefits and overall utility of battery methods for the egg producers are not mentioned. Nor are any ill effects for chickens' welfare. There is simply no presentation of alternative evidence or arguments.

The same approach of: presenting the issue subtly; promoting the industry position rather than a range of arguments and data for and against; and claiming the high ground on welfare concerns, was evident in the reference to pig sow crates by the New Zealand Pork Industry Board on their website:

> Breeding sows in particular, require special attention to stop them fighting, and to ensure they all obtain their fair share of feed. This is why they are sometimes kept in individual pens or stalls during certain stages of their breeding cycle.
>
> Whilst there are some obvious welfare and production benefits of housing sows in stalls, New Zealand producers are striving to maximise the welfare of sows and meet society's expectations as to how pigs should be housed. In this regard practices are changing to ensure sows are housed in stalls for only a limited time during critical periods of the breeding cycle.
> (http://www.pork.co.nz/farming_in_nz/housing.asp accessed 8 August 2004)

Product or Brand Promotion Items

The third major category in this analysis was items that were strongly focused on product or brand promotion. Thirteen items fitted this category and ten of these items were websites. Not surprisingly, eight items were from sponsors who marketed foods of minimal nutritional value to children. Two industry associations – the New Zealand Pork Industry Board, and the New Zealand Beef and Lamb Marketing Bureau, sponsored items that contained explicit product or brand promotion, confirming that for some of these associations, marketing [including to young consumers] as well as representing industry positions, is important.

Only four of these items were explicitly directed at teachers and students: Nestle Milo *Marvellous Me Two*, Nestle *Take a Peek into Our Nest*, *Iron Brion* and the *McDonald's Reading Programme*. 'Kids' rather than 'students' were the target identities for the remaining items which were all Internet websites. As the literature suggests, adults including teachers were 'othered' in these website environments. Children were invited into special spaces – sometimes literally described as different worlds – for instance *Cadbury Land*, and *Anchorville*. Most shared a common element of escapism from the adult worlds of family and school, and into a zone of learning made pleasurable and pleasurable products. Three of the websites had password-only access meaning that children had to join this special community to participate in the private activities within them. Other websites with no password such as the New Zealand Pork Industry Board *Kids Area* still made it very clear that this was a special space for children:

> Kids Area. Piglets only! Strictly no Adults!
> (New Zealand Pork Industry Board, 2004)

These items provided dazzling blends of education, entertainment and advertising. Several of the websites presented extremely sophisticated animations and sounds. Common elements were online animated games – often featuring spokescharacters and brands, downloadable computer screen wallpaper featuring the sponsor's brands, e-cards featuring the sponsor's brands for emailing to friends, interactive quizzes, product/brand-related trivia, competitions, colouring-in activities (online or downloadable) featuring spokescharacters and brands, and links to other sponsor

promotional activities. The password only communities sent email updates to advise members of the latest website changes including new competitions and brand promotions.

Four of the items had sponsors informing about their products as well as promoting them: Nestle *Take a Peek into Our Nest*, Tip Top *Fun Zone*, *Sanitarium*, and New Zealand Pork Industry Board *Kids Area*. In keeping with the dominance of fun over serious learning, only two items *Kelloggs Nutrition Camp* and *Iron Brion* had a strong nutrition focus. When education was an acknowledged component of these items, this experience was contrasted with traditional 'un-fun' learning. For instance Nestle positioned its edutainment offering *Take a Peek into Our Nest* (website and PDF) as educational and fun – perfect for a teacher trying to engage children:

> Welcome to our school projects area, where learning is fun!
> (http://www.nestle.co.nz/schoolprojects/body.asp, accessed 8 August 2004)

> Believe it or not, a lot of the fun stuff at Nestlé online is also educational!
> (http://www.nestle.co.nz/kidscentral/parents/body.asp, accessed 8 August 2004)

The remaining items focused more clearly on entertainment and advertising blends. Children's brand websites such as *Cadbury Land*, tended to be the strongest on providing a discursive experience that was sympathetic to children's culture:

> Yo! Yo! Buzz is in the house! Come rap along with me.
> 'They call me "Skate Lord" cos a skate on my board.
> (Spokescharacter for a Cadbury chocolate brand,
> http://www.cadbury.co.nz/cadbury_home/index.asp accessed August 2004)

By their nature, these items were highly commercial. All 13 featured the sponsor – two for identification purposes only, and the remaining 11 extensively throughout the item. Five contained advertising statements and all 13 promoted brands or products. Brands dominated some activities entirely such as e-cards and online games. Nine contained links to other promotional activities such as competitions, TV advertisements, and new product promotions. Just two, *Anchorville* and *McDonald's Reading Programme* were directly connected with a sales activity. For *Anchorville*,

children had to enter special codes from Anchor Milk products on an ongoing basis to keep their membership of the community active – their participation was thus directly tied to their consumption. For the *McDonald's Reading Programme*, children received vouchers for McDonald's products when they met reading targets, thereby providing a loss-leader for McDonald's.

Sponsored Educational Programmes

Two items, *Iron Brion* and the *McDonald's Reading Programme* were categorised as sponsored educational programmes. These resources took the mixture of education, advertising and entertainment to a new level because they were fully developed and self-contained educational programmes with close ties to the sponsors, rather than teacher or student resources for use in wider programmes. In the case of *Iron Brion*, representatives from the New Zealand Beef and Lamb Marketing Bureau delivered the *Iron Brion* show in schools complete with the 'singing rap dancing character' Iron Brion, and a free barbeque for students. Teachers were advised in the programme notes to settle the children for the start of the show before the event was handed over to the Beef and Lamb people. The *Iron Brion* show identified with children's popular culture [rap music] and food desires [eating burgers], to promote the consumption of beef and lamb. It managed to present a biased nutritional message about the benefits of beef and lamb in the process, and endear itself as a public educator.

The *McDonald's Reading Programme* worked on several levels. Firstly it provided teachers with a pre-packaged literacy programme that could be slotted into a crowded curriculum and completed in one school term. Its added benefit for teachers was that it provided an extrinsic reward to motivate children to read – McDonald's vouchers and Ronald McDonald achievement certificates. Children's desires for the entertaining and eating experiences of McDonald's were triggered by the programme. An analysis of the content of the reading activities reveals a third agenda. Many of these activities positively positioned McDonald's on issues where they suffer legitimacy risks. McDonald's promoted the 'more activity' position by profiling its junior sports sponsorship in one reading activity. McDonald's positioned itself as environmentally conscious by profiling the McDonald's Rainforest Exhibit at

Auckland Zoo in another reading activity. McDonald's positioned itself as waste conscious and anti-litter by profiling its support for the 'Clean up New Zealand' campaign. The resource itself became part of a public portfolio of good corporate works – McDonald's the literacy educator. Children, along with teachers and perhaps parents, were being educated about McDonald's apparent social responsibility at the same time as they were furthering their literacy. Children's consumption desires were not forgotten either in the content; in one reading activity, the story described a boy's excitement at receiving McDonald's for his birthday:

> He wondered if McDonald's did candlelit dinners, but he didn't feel comfortable wearing a tie, so that was out. Hamburgers however were in; they were essential...
>
> Everyone helped to hang up the balloons, Daniel put his favourite tape into the recorder, and Dad arrived with bags and bags of McDonald's goodies.
> (McDonald's Reading Activity 3)

The McDonald's programme in particular was a clear example of corporate power working at multiple but complementary levels, with the ultimate project of channelling the immediate desires and longer-term dispositions towards unquestioning consumption of McDonald's.

Chapter Discussion

The SEM analysis produced evidence supporting a number of critical concerns raised in the first part of the chapter. It was very evident that the 'war on food marketing' was being engaged in by sponsors producing nutrition-related items for schools. Many clearly conformed to the PR tactics and messages that the food industry has recently become renowned for internationally. The nutritional advice provided in the items never presented an 'eat less' message (see Nestle, 2002), instead encouraging more consumption of the food at hand, selectively presenting nutritional advice, and replacing an eat less message with narratives of choice, moderation/ 'there are no bad foods', and 'exercise is the real problem'. This rhetoric represents the industry position in the battle for commonsense in the nutrition/obesity debate. These materials were not just a selective presentation of facts to promote consumption –

they were in some cases [for example, McDonald's and Coca Cola] also a *reaction* to claims against the legitimacy of the nutritional value of the sponsor's products. In a number of cases they were also trying to shift the obesity debate away from junk food and soft drinks, and onto lazy children and undisciplined parents. Opponents of food marketing were positioned as radical in contrast to 'commonsense' advice on 'moderation' from these sponsors. Supporting physical activity programmes not only took the focus off food but also constructed these sponsors as socially responsible and health conscious. These nutrition-related items wanted to be taken seriously by educators and only a minority contained overt commercial features. Given the lack of non-sponsored nutrition education materials found in the resource rooms of the four schools, it is concerning that so much biased material was passing itself off as comprehensive and complete, and making it this far into schools.

Materials that addressed the sponsor's operations and behaviours were sanitised and self-referential, or in areas of legitimacy risk, reassuring in their defence of these practices. Again, these items lacked explicit commercial content with only two containing brand or product promotion, although they tended to have high production values and often contained fun activities – learning was fun. Touchy subjects like battery hen farming and sow crates were addressed by assuring children that views differed but that a commonsense and pro-animal welfare approach was being taken, rather than the inhumane practices claimed by critics. These resources left no apparent avenue for debate because the argument was closed off. What would be required in this situation, as with the nutrition-themed items, is a critical teacher to turn the focus onto the business or industry and ask students to examine these truth claims. Chapter 5 suggested that a corporatised school might lack this critical interest and edge to its pedagogy.

While the search uncovered a lot of items heavily promoting brands through entertainment and edutainment activities, most of these were lavish and sophisticated interactive websites and consciously did not address student identities, but rather children's identities as autonomous, sophisticated, transgressive, pleasure seekers. Schools, teachers, and adults generally were 'othered' in these items as children's communities were created. These sponsors were exercising their power via pleasure. In terms of both nutrition education and children's consumption values generally, the

apparent growth of these pedagogies is problematic. Businesses such as Nestle and McDonald's were moving across 'formats'. By addressing children's consuming identities these pedagogies were potentially undermining of schools' efforts to support healthy eating, but they pulled themselves back to educational credibility through curriculum links and teacher-friendliness.

The food industry is incredibly significant to children's learning and life in the 21st Century. A corporate pedagogy of food reaches into schools and increasingly addresses children through their popular culture references points and media, combining advertising with edutainment experiences. The food industry develops its pedagogies with public relations and marketing goals in mind – sometimes both are manifest in a particular item. These agendas are not supportive of children's health and well-being; they instead serve corporate profit. The food industry requires a climate of immediate consumption from its huge children's market, and more broadly a *culture* of consumption where individuals question as little as possible the nutritional merits of processed food, industry behaviours, the ultimate social consequences of their own consumption, or their internal desires for certain foods of low nutritional value. So there are two educational outcomes at stake here – one quite clear – healthy children, and the second quite ambiguous but integrally related to the first – consuming children. As food has become entertainment and edutainment, all sorts of learning is happening. The food industry is using its school-business relationships [such as its sponsorship of physical activity programmes] to publicly justify itself as a social good, while at the same time using those very activities to maintain discourses in schools that preserve and enhance long-term economic interests and manage legitimacy risks. This is corporate power at work. Assuming these food industry pedagogies are successfully integrated by educators, schools have become both a key public sign in the food industry hegemonic project of 'eat more' and a producer of that very reality for children by allowing these activities from fundraising to literacy programmes, to advertising, to nutrition programmes, to nest within this sphere of childhood.

Educators need to consider carefully the links between children's social status as consumers and their food consumption, and how schools might be contributing to furthering a food industry agenda in all its diversity and sophistication. This

consideration has a social justice imperative as it is now very evident in New Zealand that people who are poor, Maori or Pasifika have more to lose in this 'food-fight'. This chapter also suggests that traditional nutrition education and regulation is an insufficient school response. Reaching beyond these solutions may be difficult for the business-like school that has pragmatically or enthusiastically welcomed the food industry into its environment. The school interviews in Chapter 8 look at how schools construct and act in their engagements with food-related corporate pedagogies

Chapter 7. Research Methods: Business and School Surveys, Interviews

Introduction

This chapter introduces the remaining research methods for this thesis, links these methods and analysis to the research questions, and discusses some methodological issues. This thesis used five methods to address its questions. Two of these were evident in Chapters 2 to 6: a review of the literature, and an analysis of a sample of food-related SEMs and related items [Chapter 6 only]. Chapter 8 presents findings from a survey of large businesses, a survey of primary schools, and interviews with principals, BOT representatives, and teachers from five schools. The first section of this chapter introduces my methodological 'journey' as a context for explaining the choice of methods and their relationship to each other. The second section provides a brief review of how the research questions have been addressed in Chapters 1-6. Next the research methods for Chapter 8 are introduced and the research questions are mapped to all the methods used. Finally, methodological issues are raised and discussed.

A Methodological Journey

It would be convenient to discuss the range of research methods used in this thesis as purely a mixed method approach enabling complex issues to be explored through data triangulation. However, the choice of methods and my analysis in Chapter 8 is as much a result of my evolving thinking and theoretical approach to the topic, and an expanding and evolving research endeavour, as it is an exercise in mixed methods. This research began as a smaller project in 1998 – an MA thesis. At that time the methodological scope was limited to an exploration of the business-side context of school-business relationships. I sought to probe business motives and relationships with schools by testing three possible scenarios of business behaviour – commercial, social responsibility and enterprise education. By analysing the business motive I could hypothesise effects on students, schools and the schools network, drawing on

the critical literature for each of the scenarios. The school context of school-business relationships in the 1990s was covered in less detail.

In 2002, when my proposal for further research was accepted into a PhD programme at Victoria University, I was starting to have a 'cultural turn', and having some doubts about my positivistic approach to the 'problem' of school-business relationships. Something I began to notice more and more was that people I discussed the research with, including educators, were little surprised about my early findings that business motives clustered around commercial concerns. The commercial motive, so problematic to a range of critical education writers, seemed hegemonic – it had reached the status of accepted reality and common sense. This raised questions about how people constructed this business motive and rationalised it against the role of schools. At this time I became particularly impressed with Jane Kenway and Elizabeth Bullen's book *Consuming Children: Education-Entertainment-Advertising* (2001). Their assessment of school-business relationships transformed the simple logic of the business commercial motive by arguing that in contemporary times businesses' marketing relationships with adults and children were cultural and constitutive of identity. This led me to more deeply consider school-business relationships as cultural acts between children and corporations, and to explore scholars such as Henry Giroux, Michael Apple, Joe Kincheloe and Kenneth Saltman who work from critical cultural studies perspectives and have theorised corporate power in their writings. I was interested to find out if and why educators had become 'comfortable' with the commercial motive and how they constructed this motive and its effects. It also led me to reflect on an appropriate method to carry out a project that did not just seek to 'measure' the problem but also to understand how school-business relationships were both constructed *through* and supported *by* particular discourses, discursive practices and social actions in schools.

However I did not entirely abandon the effort to quantify the scope of school-business relationship activities in New Zealand schools, and develop a recent history. Cultural critics often engage with high profile extreme examples of school-commercialism [for instance Channel One in the USA] to illustrate their arguments, but the risk with this highlighting of the iconic cases is that the analysis and theorising can become detached from the scope of the real social situation. The work

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of Alex Molnar at CERU in the USA demonstrates the value of quantifying the scope of SBR activities – providing evidence of fundamental trends. The school and business surveys in this thesis proved very useful in addressing some key gaps in the New Zealand literature with respect to history and scope, as well as providing some directions for the exploration of school-business relationships as a social practice in schools. To provide a bridge between breadth and depth of business activity, food was chosen as a case of school-business relationships. This enabled more detailed explorations of generic and particular issues, motives and strategies for this industry; thus yielding data that enabled more robust links to be made between the practice and theory of school-business relationships.

The Research Questions

The thesis has five broad questions:

Question 1. What kinds of relationships occurred between businesses and schools from 1990?

Question 2. What were the business and school environments that influenced school-business relationships from 1990?

Question 3. What were the philosophies, motives and processes of schools and businesses undertaking school-businesses relationships from 1990?

Question 4. What were the actual and potential contemporary and future educational outcomes [encompassing students, schools and the school network] of the relationships between businesses and schools from 1990?

Question 5. What kinds of school-business relationships were offered by the food industry and used by New Zealand schools from 1990, and what were the key characteristics of these relationships relating to questions 1-3?

The research methods to date have chiefly supported questions 1, 2 and 4. The remaining methods primarily address questions 1, 2, 3 and 5. Question 4 about the effects of school-business relationships is discussed in the analysis of school-

business relationships throughout the thesis, and is returned to in Chapter 9. The research methods for Chapter 8 are:

- a mail survey of New Zealand's largest and most successful businesses and financial institutions (n=107);
- a mail survey of the principals of primary schools within the Wellington region and some surrounding city districts (Territorial Local Authorities – TLAs) (n=120);
- interviews with teachers, principals and Board of Trustees representatives from five primary schools (Principals n=5, BOT reps n=3, Teachers n=11).

Table 7.1 below shows the research questions, their finer characteristics and the research methods addressing these characteristics. A bolded method indicates that this is a dominant method in addressing the question characteristic.

Table 7.1   Mapping the Research Questions to the Research Methods

Research Question	Question Characteristics	Research Methods to Address This
1. *What kinds of relationships occurred between businesses and schools from 1990?*	Categories of school-business relationship activity	Literature, SEM & Related Items Analysis
	Relative popularity of each activity	**School Survey,** School Interviews, **Business Survey**
	Financial value	School Survey, Business Survey
	Education recipients	School Survey, **Business Survey**
2. *What were the business and school environments that influenced school-business relationships from 1990?*	Business environment	**Literature,** Business Survey
	School environment	Literature, School Survey, School Interviews
3. *What were the philosophies, motives and processes of schools and businesses undertaking school-businesses relationships from 1990?*	Business motives & philosophy	Business Survey, Literature
	Business processes	Literature
	School motives and philosophy	School Survey, **School Interviews,** Literature
	School processes	School Survey, **School Interviews**
4. *What were the actual and potential contemporary and future educational outcomes [encompassing students, schools and the school network] of the relationships between businesses and schools from 1990?*	Student effects	**Literature,** School interviews
	School effects	Literature, School Interviews, School Survey, Business Survey
	School network effects	Literature, School Interviews, School Survey, Business Survey
5. *What kinds of school-business relationships were offered by the food industry and used by New Zealand schools from 1990, and what were the key characteristics of these relationships relating to questions 1-3?*	Categories of food-related school-business relationship activity	Literature, SEM & Related Items Analysis, School Survey, School Interviews
	Relative popularity of each food-related activity	SEM & Related Items Analysis, School Survey, School Interviews
	Business motive for food-related SBRs	Literature, SEM & Related Items Analysis
	School motive for food-related SBRs	Literature, **School Interviews**

The Research Methods

The Business Mail Survey

(See Appendix D)

This survey gathered data about the overall level of school-business relationship participation by New Zealand businesses, the types of school-business relationship activity undertaken, the total financial value of these activities, the education recipients, and the reasons/motives for participation and non-participation in school-business relationships. The survey participants were from the New Zealand Management Magazine's annual list of New Zealand's Top 200 public companies and Top 30 financial institutions of 1997 (Management Magazine, 1997).

At this time there was no sizeable broad national quantitative study of the school-business relationship activities of New Zealand businesses in the 1990s despite the high interest within political, business and education circles. Instead the research tended to be case studies of particular relationships (Brace, 1997; Sutherland, 1997). Media coverage consisted of interviews with spokespeople from business organisations or particular businesses that were active in this area (Gautier, 2002; Phare, 1994; Teutenberg, 1994) – business opinion that does not necessarily reflect local business action [see Chapter 4].

Pre-Testing

Once a draft had been generated, pre-testing occurred in two ways. Firstly, a copy was distributed to five Victoria University academic staff members [four School of Education personnel and one from the Department of Maths and Statistics]. They were asked to examine the draft for textual ambiguity, methodological issues, and characteristics that might hinder the response rate and the accuracy of responses. From this feedback and personal follow up with the five individuals, some changes were made. This second draft along with the original feedback form was pre-tested with two business people, a sponsorship manager from a large national enterprise, and the owner/manager of a smaller consultancy business. This pre-testing resulted in some changes to length [shorter], wording of the attitude statements and behaviour questions, and the general presentation.

Finding Respondents

A key strategy to improve the response rate was to send the survey and covering letter to an actual person rather than just a job title. Locating a respondent within each of the companies and financial institutions was problematic because of the number and variety of people that could have been responsible for school-business relationships within the business. Phone contact was attempted with each of the 230 business and financial institutions. Businesses that were successfully contacted were asked for the name, job title and mailing address of the person who was principally involved with the business's school-business relationships. This request was generally insufficient to produce a contact name so the person was asked to provide the name of a person significantly involved with the business's engagements with the not-for-profit sector. At this stage the final sample was reduced to 210 (182 public companies and 28 financial institutions) due to four factors: refusals to participate, the business no longer operating, disconnected or unanswered telephones, and failure to locate an operational telephone number.

Data Collection

In July 1998 the survey and covering letter were mailed to each respondent. Each questionnaire was numerically coded for anonymity and a reply-paid envelope was provided. One week after the original deadline for returning surveys a reminder letter and identical survey form were mailed to those respondents that had failed to send back their completed questionnaire at that point. A further twenty-two respondents completed the reminder survey. The data from completed returned surveys were entered into a Microsoft Excel Worksheet for collation and analysis.

Response Rate

Miller (1991) stresses that a low response rate is an inherent risk in mail surveys: 'Every researcher who chooses the mail questionnaire should consider its value in a highly competitive environment in which the majority of respondents will probably not complete and return the questionnaire.' (p. 140). However, Cohen & Manion (1994) argue that this position is pessimistic and that surveys can exceed the response rates of interview methods. Of the 210 companies and financial institutions that were sent a survey, 107 returned a usable survey yielding a response rate of 51.0%. This

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result compares reasonably well to similar survey research[56]. The response rates of the Top 200 Companies and Top 30 Financial Institutions were similar: 50.6% (92 of 182 surveys mailed) for companies and 53.6% (15 of 28 surveys mailed) for financial institutions.

The Primary School Mail Survey

(See Appendix E)

When the research was upgraded to a doctoral thesis in 2001 a key element of the expanded research was exploring the school context for school-business relationships in more depth. It was decided to undertake a comparable survey with primary school principals followed up by interviews with principals, teachers and BOT members in a small number of primary schools. The school survey enabled a comparison of the basic supply and demand characteristics of school-business relationships using stable categories and definitions. The school survey collected data about the types of school-business relationship activities schools participated in, the financial value of these activities, school motives for undertaking school-business relationships, and the decision-making roles of various people in the school. Additionally the principal respondents were asked about their perceptions of the importance of commercial, social responsibility and human capital motives to *business* participation in school-business relationships. A second key difference to the business survey was the inclusion of a section relating to food-related sponsored educational materials and programmes. Principals were asked to indicate whether they had or currently were participating in any of a sample of food-related school-business relationships.

Primary Schools Only

It was decided to select an entire primary school population from a series of city districts (TLAs) including and surrounding the Wellington region: Wellington City, Lower Hutt City, Upper Hutt City, Porirua City, Kapiti District, South Wairarapa District, Carterton District, Masterton District, and Tararua District. Primary age children [5 years to 13 years] have become an increasingly desirable commercial

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[56] Suwanawihok (1994) achieved a response rate 49% for a survey of the Top 200 companies' corporate giving activities. Short (1996) achieved 60.5% in a mail survey about business sponsorship, [although a one-week

consumer market in recent years (McNeal, 1992), and the literature shows this includes in-school marketing and public relations efforts. The disadvantage with primary schools as a research focus is that, despite the attempt to push school-business relationships for enterprise education downwards into primary schools during the 1990s (Ministry of Education, 1999), the uptake of these kinds of relationships is highly likely to be lower in these schools as school-to-work transition activities still dominate (Education Review Office, 1996; Renwick and Gray, 2001). However, while primary schools may not have been the ideal context to look at enterprise education relationships, these are particularly well addressed in existing evaluation research [see Chapter 4]. On balance, primary schools were considered to be the better choice to allow a strong exploration of diverse issues while managing the scope of the research.

Pre-Testing

The draft survey instrument was critiqued through the ethical approval process and also reviewed by an independent researcher and my research supervisors at the School of Education, Victoria University. Once adjustments in response to this feedback were made, the survey was given to a principal and a deputy principal at two local schools. These individuals provided excellent feedback from the perspective of a busy educator, and areas of the survey were further adjusted for clarity.

Finding Respondents

As mentioned, all primary schools from the Wellington region and some neighbouring TLAs were the initial population. This included contributing schools, intermediate schools, full primary schools, but excluded area schools [primary through secondary] or special composite schools [mixture of late primary/early secondary, e.g. middle schools]. Kura Kaupapa Maori [Maori language medium primary schools] were also removed because the survey was in English and I considered it inappropriate to send an English-language survey to a Kura. I also did

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holiday in Rarotonga was offered as a prize incentive for respondents]. Eagle (1992) surveyed 343 marketing and advertising enterprises and received a usable survey response rate of just 24.1%.

not have the language capacity to interview in Te Reo Maori and so would not have been able to research Kura further through interviews.

Once these adjustments had been made, 229 schools were surveyed. This number dropped to 228 when a school closed during the survey period.

Table 7.2 shows the total sample and respondent sample profile compared to the national New Zealand primary school profile for school type, decile and area type. It shows that the Wellington region and selected surrounding TLAs collectively are:

- representative of the national school population by type of school;
- reasonably representative of the national decile profile of primary schools, except for having slightly more high decile (8-10) schools, and slightly less low decile (1-4) schools;
- not representative of the geographical distribution of schools in New Zealand with a much higher percentage of total sample schools situated in large urban centres, and far less situated in rural areas [surrounding population of less than 1,000]. However the rural response of 18 schools still provides a good number for comparison with other area types.

The respondent sample approximated the total sample quite closely with respect to school type, decile and area type as table 7.2 below shows.

Table 7.2   Characteristics of the National Primary School Population: Total Sample and Respondent Sample

	Percentage of Primary Schools Nationally (2004)	Percentage of Total Sample (2003)	Percentage of Respondents (2003)
School Type	(n=2145)	(n=228)	(n=120)
Full primary (Year 1-8)	55.6% (1193)	56.6% (129)	53.3% (64)
Contributing (Year 1-6)	38.5% (825)	36.8% (84)	37.5% (45)
Intermediate (Year 7-8)	5.9% (127)	6.6% (15)	8.3% (10)
Uncoded	-	-	0.8% (1)
Decile	(n=2145)	(n=228)	(n=120)
Decile 1-4	38.8% (832)	32.9% (75)	30.8% (37)
Decile 5-7	28.2% (605)	28.9% (66)	30.0% (36)
Decile 8-10	30.4% (652)	38.2% (87)	38.3% (46)
No decile or missing	2.6% (56)	-	0.8% (1)
Area Type	(n=2145)	(n=227)	(n=120)
Main Urban (Population > 30,000)	49.5% (1062)	70.1% (161)	70.0% (84)
Secondary Urban (Population 10,000 – 30,000)	6.1% (131)	5.7% (13)	7.5% (9)
Minor Urban (Population 1,000 – 9,999)	9.9% (212)	7.9% (18)	6.7% (8)
Rural (Population < 1,000)	34.5% (740)	15.4% (35)	15.0% (18)
Missing	-	0.4% (1)	0.8% (1)

Data Collection

The survey and cover letter were mailed to each school principal in May 2003. Each questionnaire was numerically coded for anonymity and a reply-paid envelope was provided. One week after the original deadline for returning surveys a reminder letter and identical survey form were mailed to those respondents that had not sent back their completed questionnaire at that point. Twenty-two respondents completed the survey after being sent this reminder. The data from completed returned surveys were entered into a Microsoft Excel Worksheet for collation and then exported into SPSS for data analysis.

Response Rate

The total surveys returned was 120 giving a response rate of 52.6%, almost exactly the business survey response rate, and a satisfying if not spectacular response. A number of principals wrote back advising that they were awash with research surveys and could not respond.

School Interviews

(See Appendix F)

To understand more fully why school-business relationships occur in schools and how they are adopted and adapted by teachers, principals and Boards of Trustees, a series of interviews was undertaken in five primary schools from the survey population. While these research encounters with primary schools were interviews rather than case studies *per se*, merely by spending time in the physical space of these schools, talking to different members of each school community, chatting with respondents before and after interviews, and gaining experience of the school atmosphere and its community characteristics, further data and questions emerged which were subsequently explored with participants and considered against the literature. Chapter 8 discusses individual school-based characteristics where they appear to illuminate the social practice of school-business relationships.

The interviews contained the following elements:

- Questions about participants' understandings of the different categories of school-business relationship activities.

- Questions about what they thought had changed in the school and business environments that might alter the supply of, and demand for, school-business relationships.

- Questions about [usually two] specific school-business relationships operating in the school – their nature and what the benefits to the school were seen to be.

- Questions about participants' understandings of their school's general philosophy towards school-business relationships and its school-business relationship processes.

- Initial participant responses [principals and teachers only] to four food-related SEMs, including their potential value as learning resources and the sponsor's motive.

The sample SEMs were drawn from the wider selection analysed in Chapter 6, and Table 7.3 summarises their characteristics drawing from this analysis. A full copy of each item is contained in Appendix G.

Table 7.3   SEMs used in the Principal and Teacher Interviews

SEM	Content type	Sponsor Status	Commercial	Content
Chook Book Poultry Industry Association of New Zealand & Egg Producers Federation. Endorsed by the Animals in Schools Education Trust. Information resource book.	Product or industry information. Nutrition Related.	High legitimacy product (nutrition) low legitimacy behaviour.	Minimal Branding (industry association).	Bias/incomplete (treatment of battery hen farming).
V for Vegies VegFed – the New Zealand Vegetable and Potato Growers Federation Inc. CD Rom and booklet.	Product or industry information. Nutrition related.	High legitimacy product (Nutrition) high legitimacy behaviour.	Minimal Branding (industry association).	Mild bias (almost silent on fruit in the context of 5+ a day). Does not address contentious issues.
From Canefield to Crystal and Beyond Chelsea Sugar. Information sheets and teacher lesson plans.	Product or industry information. Nutrition related.	Low legitimacy product (nutrition), high legitimacy behaviour.	High Branding.	Bias/ incomplete (extremely one-sided on sugar and health issues).
Take a Peek into our Nest Nestle. Information sheets (hard copy or online interactive).	Product or brand promotion. Product or industry information.	Variable legitimacy product (nutrition), medium legitimacy behaviour.	Very High Branding.	Bias/ incomplete (simplistic, sanitised and often silent treatment of the social and economic factors associated with product production).

Pre-Testing

The draft interview instruments for each interviewee-type were evaluated and critiqued during the ethics approval process. My research supervisors at the School of Education, Victoria University also reviewed them and provided comment.

Finding Respondents

It was decided to solicit volunteer schools for the interview stage of the research by asking principals in the school survey to indicate whether they and their school would be willing to participate in an interview phase. Seven schools initially responded positively. That reduced to six when one principal failed to show for a meeting and subsequently did not return my communication. Another small rural full primary school pulled out after an initially positive meeting with the principal, because the school's small staff had too many competing pressures. The final five schools provided a diverse set by school type and public versus integrated[57] schools. The exceptions to this diversity were: area type – all schools were in the main urban category; and decile with schools tending to be polarised around the high and low deciles. The table below profiles each school – its name [pseudonym], the decile, authority type, and approximate roll in 2003. In the case of Blue Creek, the actual educational philosophy of this school has been omitted as this would likely make it identifiable to readers so interested in pursuing this. To preserve the anonymity of all schools, 2003 student roll numbers are approximated.

Table 7.4   Interview School Characteristics

School	Type	Authority	Decile	Roll
Stone Church School	Full Primary	Integrated: Catholic	7	Over 200
Granberg School	Contributing	State	1	Approx 200
Johnson School	Contributing Y1-6	State	1	Approx 300
Mapletree School	Contributing Y1-6	State	9	Approx 200
Blue Creek	Full primary	Integrated: philosophical special character	8	Approx 100

Interview Data Collection

All of the principals were contacted by letter in mid 2003 explaining the research in more detail and seeking confirmation of their willingness to participate. This was followed up with a phone call and a face-to-face meeting with each of the five

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[57] Integrated schools are part of the state system of education but have a special character that is often religiously based [e.g. Catholic, Anglican] or philosophically based [e.g. Montessori, Steiner]. They receive public funding for operations but the capital maintenance and development remains the financial responsibility of the provider of the special character. These schools are required to deliver the national curriculum.

principals to explain the research. At these meetings I was given names and email addresses of teachers and BOT reps to make contact with personally. Each principal undertook to mention the project to their nominated staff/ BOT reps. I then wrote to each teacher/BOT rep explaining the project and seeking confirmation by email of their willingness to participate. Positive confirmation was received from all prospective participants at which time interviews were arranged and each participant was sent an information sheet and consent form. All consent forms were completed affirmatively and collected before interviews commenced. Table 7.5 shows the participant profile for each school.

Table 7.5   **Profile of Interview Participants**

School	Total Participants	Principal	BOT Member Status	Teachers and Years Taught	Other
Stone Church	4	Not teaching regularly	Member (PTA rep)	1 Year 7&8	1 Deputy Principal – also teaching regularly [Year 7&8]. 1 Admin staff member informally interviewed.
Granberg	3	Not teaching regularly	BOT Chair	.	1 Assistant Principal – also teaching full time [Year 1&2].
Johnson	6	Not teaching regularly	BOT Chair	1 Year 1 1 Year 4&5 1 Year 6	1 Deputy Principal – not teaching regularly. 1 Admin staff member informally interviewed.
Mapletree	3	Teaching regularly	None	1 Year 5&6	1 Deputy Principal – also teaching full time [Year 5&6].
Blue Creek	3	Teaching regularly	None	1 Years 1-4	1 Deputy Principal – also teaching full time [Year 2-4].

In two schools no BOT representative was interviewed. In Blue creek, the BOT person responsible for school-business relationship matters had only just been elected and according to the principal would not have known about the school's current activity in this area. The principal at Mapletree, after initially agreeing to participate became concerned about the impact of this research on the school's busy timetable. It was agreed to limit all interviews to less than one hour and a BOT representative interview was not pursued. Numbers of teachers generally varied for school size and the disposition of the principal towards making teachers available. The principal at Johnson was happy to have a large number of teachers interviewed, and suggested the deputy principal as well, as this person was the curriculum leader of the school. At Blue creek, there were only three teaching staff including the principal so the whole staff was interviewed.

The interview questions contained a range of open [mostly] and closed questions. All interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed. The transcripts were entered into, coded, and analysed in NVivo after being sent to participants for verification. Other observations and notes from the school visits were either entered as separate documents in NVivo, or recorded on paper and then entered into a word processor for storage and analysis. Participant sets were developed in NVivo to analyse patterns by school and participant type.

Methodological Issues – Reliability and Validity

The presentation of findings in Chapter 8 aims firstly to develop a richer picture of key characteristics of the supply and demand of school-business relationships in New Zealand [predominantly through the surveys], and secondly, to build a stronger theory of how school-business relationships were constructed and executed by schools. Therefore the research findings are not only represented through a mixture of methods, but to some extent they are a fusion of positivistic and social constructionist analytical approaches [see introduction to this chapter]. Reliability and validity issues are discussed with this circumstance in mind.

Social constructionist approaches to research are suspicious of claims to objective truth because the constructed nature of knowledge and diverse social relations produce contingent rather than fixed and universal knowledge. Evidence is therefore elusive and contextual, rather than generalisable. However this does not excuse the qualitative approaches stemming from this position from having to demonstrate accuracy in their methods and research practices; nor does it mean that *arguments* or *claims* for generalisability cannot be made (Mason, 2002). Researching the way school-business relationships are constructed in schools revealed diverse and messy practices and positions – hardly generalisable to 'typical' practice. But patterns of discourse did emerge across diverse schools, and claims are made for their generalisability in Chapter 8.

Reliability

Reliability and the Surveys

Reliability classically considers whether stable data have been obtained and therefore can be relied on for being acceptably accurate. Measures were undertaken to enable reliable data to be obtained. Pre-testing with expert researchers and peers of the respondent groups ensured that questions were not ambiguous or open to widely divergent interpretations. Simple definitions were provided for the school-business relationship activity types to minimise the risks associated with the quite loose public use of terms such as donations, sponsorships, and partnerships. Earlier survey research studies of a similar nature were assessed for the quality of the data yielded. The response rates for both surveys, while not spectacular, were strong enough to remove concerns about unreliability through non-response bias. Particular reliability concerns with the surveys are itemised below.

Missing something important

A weakness of surveys as a research method is that you might miss something important like a key option for answering a particular question. This was a risk in this research because there were certain gaps in the existing research literature – particularly around school motive. However, for schools, by asking similar questions in an open-ended fashion in the interviews, respondents' unguided responses could be compared to the school survey responses.

Timing of the Surveys

The business survey was conducted in 1998 and the school survey in 2003. It is possible that business practice could have changed since 1998 therefore leading to a misrepresented 'contemporary' comparison of school and business motives and activities. This was mitigated by exploring the business literature for apparent changes in business motives and supply of school-business relationships since 1998. Chapter 6 shows that since 1998 the Internet has become an increasingly popular media for SEMs and children's edutainment. The literature also suggests that interest in both social responsibility marketing and an ethical project of social responsibility may have increased since 1998, but that business support for enterprise education relationships may have slackened [see Chapter 4]. These issues were considered

when interpreting the 1998 business survey against the 2003 school survey. The school survey also asked whether the real financial value of the school's school-business relationships had changed in the last five years [i.e. from 1998]. 23.5% said it had not, 16.8% said it had moderately increased, 10.1% said it had significantly increased, 7.5% indicated a moderate or significant decline, and the remaining 16.8% were not sure (total n=119). This result suggests there was no significant change to the overall financial contribution from business to school-business relationships between 1998 and 2003.

Respondent Bias

Anderson (1990) notes that survey research in education is predominantly directed at education's primary stakeholders such as teachers, students or parents. These respondents have a personal or professional interest in contributing to the research so they are likely to participate ethically. This characteristic was not the case for participants in the business survey. Chapter 4 showed that businesses are likely to *publicise* social responsibility motives as key drivers for their support to the not-for-profit sector, rather than commercial motives. This risk of bias was potentially enhanced by the fact that most of the contact names provided to me for survey participants had roles in public relations, community relations, marketing, communications or promotions. These individuals undertake a role to get the public to associate certain positive images with their company or brand. People in these positions are also likely to a degree to 'believe their own PR' and may not be capable of disentangling branding statements from business motives. This risk was obviously mitigated by stressing participant and business anonymity. Another more general tactic was to eliminate demand characteristics in the survey. Demand characteristics are subtle cues in research instruments that give away the perspective or desires of the researcher to respondents or subjects (Stern and Kalof, 1996). To reduce the likelihood of respondents interpreting various aspects of the survey as strategies to further my personal position, the survey consciously included a full gamut of motives for undertaking school-business relationships encompassing social responsibility, commercial and human capital motives. Respondents were able to add their own individual motive/s, although only four did.

This risk of bias was potentially similar for schools in that principals may have been compelled to highly rate education-related motives over business-orientated motives in their responses; their conscience telling them this was the 'right' answer for an educator. However Hutchinson (2002) in New Zealand and Di Bona *et al* (2003) in the USA received frank survey responses in their research that demonstrated principals' concerns and preoccupations around financial management and viability, and the exterior concern of publicity. The same honesty was evident with the principals interviewed in this research – they were frank about their self conscious responses to the 'realities' of being a principal in a marketised environment.

There was a risk of bias from a single business respondent not having a complete understanding of their organisation's school-business relationship activities. Many businesses' not-for-profit interventions are managed by a variety of units within the business (Suwanawihok, 1994). Arguably this is more pronounced with education because school-business relationships can link with the operations units of the business in addition to its marketing and public relations functions. Additionally, a single person may not have an overview of the semi-autonomous activities of local or regional branches within the business. However as not-for-profit sector interventions become increasingly aligned with organisational goals and are strategically developed and managed, the respondents [who were identified as the person who managed the business's school-business relationships], would be more likely to have a strong overview.

Again, the same issue could hold for principals as respondents. The literature on school-business relationships suggests that teachers predominantly consider SEMs, and that more complex and financial relationships are led by the principal and/or Board of Trustees. The interviews with teachers and BOT representatives provided a check on principal knowledge and views. The diversity of decision-making scenarios in schools, and principal knowledge of school-business relationships, is explored in Chapter 8 through the interviews.

Interviews and Reliability
The interviews and their analysis took a more inductive and interpretative theory-building approach rather than a hypothesis-testing of the tentative conclusions from

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the surveys and literature. The literature tends to generalise and simplify school motive and actions – often drawing on iconic examples of school-business relationships, which provides a shaky platform from which to develop let alone test hypotheses. Although the surveys gave a strong snapshot of the overall supply and demand for school-business relationships, they revealed less about school-business relationships as a social practice in schools. To support an inductive approach, questions were largely open-ended. Data analysis followed a process of open coding followed by conceptual ordering of these *free nodes* [as they are termed in NVivo] into sets or *tree nodes* to build a theory of beliefs and actions for this group of educators. Once patterns of responses had been fully coded, these were interrogated and adjusted during the writing up stage, and new insights emerged from this process.

The situation of school-business relationships indeed proved 'messy' in schools. Definitions, understandings about school philosophy and processes, and the oral reporting of specific school-business relationships, all varied within and between schools. Respondents were often uncertain about events or definitions and many wondered why I was talking to them, as they *couldn't be much help* because they did not consider themselves 'knowledgeable' in this area. Some people admitted after interview that they had never really thought about school-business relationships before my request. This made the narrative and inductive nature of the interviews all the more important because some participants were operating at a higher level of comfort and sophistication than others and interview questions and probes needed to reflect this. Interview probe questions were added as tentative theory emerged. In other words, issues were explored within interviews when these appeared to be presenting new insights or leads into schools' adoption and adaptation of school-business relationships. The base questions were held constant throughout the interviews and in fact no new questions were added – just new question probes.

Interviewing more than one participant and collecting other data from schools created opportunities for building a stronger understanding of specific actions, events, and school processes. For instance, sometimes data from one teacher in a school were crosschecked with data from another staff member. In a similar vein, teacher accounts of school-business relationship processes were able to clarify or enrich

responses from principals and vice versa. Also in two schools, administration staff were informally interviewed to get a clearer idea of workflow processes associated with their school-business relationships. The resource room search in four schools was another useful source of comparison data with teacher/principal recollections about SEMs. Sometimes findings from the interview data and other qualitative material such as observations and the exploration of the resource rooms, were used to substantiate or problematise a tentative conclusion from the survey data. This was done only after the findings from each method were considered to meet a basic level of reliability.

None of these measures made the messiness of the problem resolvable but this was not the point. The seeming contradictions, or different recollections were illustrative of the way that participants had built a personal history or narrative of events, influenced by a number of other personal narratives and institutional restraints and opportunities. These stories were shaping individuals' future thinking and actions. Different accounts showed participants' different capacities for action and how these were linked or independent from the behaviours and discourses of others. So understanding the social situation was not about getting the facts of the matter right, but trying to piece together what was informing these personal narratives, and to see if there were commonalities across these constructions.

Validity

Validity considers whether the research methods were sufficient to make conclusions about the population under study [internal validity], and generalisations to wider populations [external validity]. The intention of this research was to provide a clear picture of school-business practice from 1990 as both an historical event in New Zealand, and a diverse social practice in schools. Each research sample is considered in turn for validity.

Business Survey [population sample = 210; response sample = 107]
These businesses were not actually a sample from a total population as such, but rather an entire population. Each business shared the unique, rather than representative, characteristic of being a member of a total population of the most

successful business and financial organisations of 1997 as assessed by a business magazine. Some generalisations to smaller, and/or less successful businesses, cannot be made from this group. However big businesses are well covered when it is considered that the New Zealand stock exchange representing all of New Zealand's publicly listed companies numbers less than 400 listings. New Zealand's small overall industrial base also means that the survey list contained businesses that were strongly diverse by assets, profitability, employees and turnover. For instance the 10 largest employers from the survey respondents employed 43,335 (mean = 4333) people but the smallest 50 by numbers of employees, employed just 9479 in total (mean = 190).

Given the expectations that bigger businesses will have the capacity to be more active in education and those actions will potentially have a greater impact on outcomes, this a critical population for this research and generalisations can be made from the research findings about big businesses, and some inferences about smaller businesses where responses appear to be characteristic of size and success.

School Survey [population sample = 228; response sample = 120]
Validity issues associated with this sample have been considered above.

School Interviews [school sample = 5; participant sample = 19]
External validity is problematic, and some argue incompatible with interviews and related qualitative methods, because it disregards the uniqueness of social contexts where phenomena take place (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). External validity also errs towards a view of knowledge as neutral and waiting to be discovered instead of being localised and socially constructed (Mason, 2002). The social context of knowledge construction thus problematises transferability of findings. Anderson (1990) suggests that 'lessons learned' is a more appropriate term for treating generalisability in case studies. Likewise, Mason (2002) argues for putting forward *arguments* from qualitative data analysis. The interview sample, while obviously diverse is not representative or large enough to argue for generalisability to the New Zealand primary school population. By probing the interview data for patterns of responses within and across participant categories and schools, and referring these responses to

the literature in Chapters 4 to 6 in particular, as well as the survey and SEMs analysis data, some general arguments can be made about what appear to be widespread social and institutional factors informing beliefs and actions in this area.

The collective of methods for this research produce some findings about school-business relationships as an event in education that are likely to be generalisable to New Zealand primary schools. The research findings also make some arguments about key influences on the construction of school-business relationship as institutional and personal practices. Chapter 9 discusses key findings from the research that appear to be generalisable, or are at least strong arguments.

Chapter 8. Research Findings from the Business and School Surveys and School Interviews

Introduction

This chapter presents the main findings from the business survey, school survey and school interviews. It begins by looking at the general supply (businesses) and demand (schools) characteristics of school-business relationships in New Zealand. The second part of the chapter, drawing substantially on the interviews, explores school-business relationships as a social practice in New Zealand primary schools.

General Characteristics of New Zealand School-Business Relationships

This first section, in addressing research question one, presents key characteristics of contemporary school-business relationships in New Zealand – overall participation, financial value characteristics, and the popularity of particular school-business relationship activities. These findings are sourced largely from the school and business surveys with supporting data from the school interviews and with reference to the literature and SEM analysis.

Overall School and Business Involvement in School-Business Relationships

School-business relationships are a feature of a majority of businesses and schools in these surveys. Two out of every three business participants had undertaken some kind of school-business relationship in the latest complete financial year (63.6%, n=68). The result was similar for companies, 63.0% (n=58) and financial institutions 66.7% (n=10). For schools 90 of 120 were involved in at least one school-business relationship activity in 2003. Eleven schools reported that they had never been involved in school-business relationships of any kind, while a further 13 had been involved in at least one category of activity in the past, but were not involved at all in 2003.

Financial Characteristics

The literature shows that New Zealand schools increasingly solicit non-central funding, including from businesses. The literature for businesses is mixed about money and school-business relationships – enterprise education business drivers suggest that money is not the answer to improving schools; social responsibility drivers suggest that money can make a difference to schools and students but that businesses should not just give a 'hand out'; and commercial drivers justify business funding to education as an expense of marketing or public relations, opening possibilities for large or small contributions.

Business Financial Contributions

The literature generally suggests that businesses were increasing their financial contribution to education during the 1990s but that schools were in a competition for these funds with a range of non-profit groups. These data from New Zealand's largest and most successful businesses show a generally low investment in education as measured in dollars contributed. Table 8.1 shows the distribution of the financial value of respondents' school-business relationships for the previous year, including those that did not contribute anything. Nearly two thirds (61.0%) funded their school-business relationships with less than $10,000 in the previous financial year, and only 10 reached above $100,000. When only respondents that did have school-business relationships are considered, three quarters (74.2%) spent less than $50,000.

Table 8.1   Annual Total Financial Value of School-Business Relationships for all Business Respondents

$ Range	Percentage of Respondents	n	Cumulative Percentage
$0	37.1%	39	37.1%
Under $10,000	23.8%	25	61.0%
Between $10,000 and $50,000	22.9%	24	83.8%
Between $50,000 and $100,000	6.7%	7	90.5%
Between $100,000 and $200,000	5.7%	6	96.2%
Between $200,000 and $500,000	1.9%	2	98.1%
Between $500,000 and $1,000,000	1.0%	1	99.0%
Over $1,000,000	1.0%	1	100%
Total	**100%**	**105**	**100%**

Chart 8.1   Distribution of Financial Contribution of All Respondents by Company Top 200 Ranking
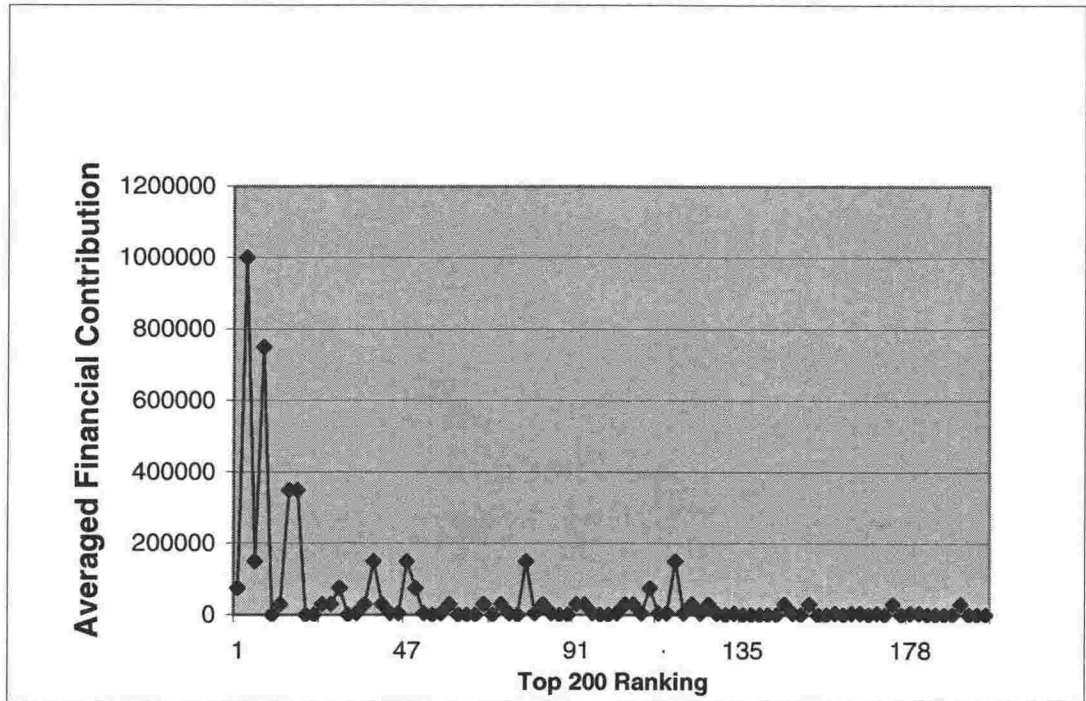
There was a clear association between the level of success of the business [as measured by its position in the Top 200] and the size of the financial contribution, with seven of the nine companies contributing over $100,000 being in the top 50, and five of these being in the top 20. Chart 8.1 shows the distribution of financial contribution by the ranking of the Top 200 company respondents. The financial values are the mid-points for each category of financial contribution, except the over $1,000,000 category which has been left as $1,000,000. One company indicated that their financial contribution was over $1,000,000. The chart clearly shows some substantial funding from the very top companies but very little beyond about halfway down the Top 200 list. Because size and profitability appear to be significant factors in the financial value of businesses' school-business relationships, this suggests that smaller businesses not in the Top 200 would be quite unlikely to make more than a modest financial contribution to education.

While the data for financial value suggest a modest business investment in education, education spending appeared to be a relatively significant percentage of many businesses' non-profit sector activities, and had in many cases increased in the 1990s.

Laurence (1997) found that, for sponsorships at least, although education was a popular recipient, the value of these sponsorships tended to be much lower than for other non-profit categories. Suwanawihok (1994) in a study of corporate giving by the New Zealand Top 200 companies found that 15% of companies gave to education, third behind Sport and Other Recreational Activities (27%) and Health (16%). Additionally, the smallest *and* largest contributors were more likely to give to education.

In this current survey, the question of the percentage of annual not-for-profit giving going to education was only answered by 48 of 68 respondents who undertook school-business relationships. For these respondents, answers ranged widely. The average percentage of not-for-profit contributions going to education was 36.9% and the median was 30%. Five respondents answered that 100% of their non-profit budget went to education in the last year. Given the findings from the previous studies, this result is likely to overstate the share of non-profit contributions that education received. However, in the previous five years, most (83.1%) businesses that were undertaking school-business relationships had maintained or increased their contributions to education as Table 8.2 shows.

Table 8.2   **Five Year Change in Real Value of Financial Contribution to Education by Businesses Undertaking School-Business Relationships**

Level of Contribution ($)	Significantly Decreased	Moderately Decreased	Approx the Same	Moderately Increased	Significantly Increased
Under $10k	1	5	12	5	2
$10k - $50k	1	3	6	10	4
$50k - $100k	0	1	1	2	3
$100k - $500k	1	0	2	4	1
Over $500k	0	0	0	0	2
Total	**3**	**9**	**21**	**21**	**12**

(n=66)

Primary Schools' Received Financial Contributions from Businesses
The literature is clear that schools have increased their levels of locally raised funds in the 1990s relative to government funding, and school-business relationships tend to be associated with contemporary school fundraising. Ninety-eight schools provided a figure of the approximate financial value of their school-business

relationships for the previous year including 20 who stated $0. The mean dollar value was $4,079.29, boosted by some very large amounts, but the median was a more modest $1,500. The top received financial contribution was $25,500. These results are likely to underestimate the financial contribution of cause related marketing programmes which principals may have considered 'fundraising' rather than a school-business relationship. For instance five principals who said their latest annual financial contribution from business was less than $115 were participating in Cadbury Chocolates fundraising. Going by the turnover that the interview schools were achieving in this programme it would be virtually impossible to earn so little even in a small school.

Table 8.3 shows the quartile distribution of school-business relationship financial value by category of school decile. It shows that in general, financial value was not strongly associated with decile except that decile 8-10 schools were more than twice as likely to be receiving more than $6,000 per annum from businesses than both the other decile categories.

Table 8.3 **Financial Value of Schools' School-Business Relationships by Decile Category**

Financial Value (Quartiles)	Decile 1– 4	Decile 5-7	Decile 8-10	Total
$0 - $114	6	8	9	23
$115-$1,499	8	9	6	23
$1,500 - $5,999	10	9	7	26
$6,000 - $25,500	5	6	14	25
Total	**29**	**32**	**36**	**97**

Tables 8.4 and 8.5 show cross tabulations for received financial contribution by roll size and area type. Again, the trends you would expect for higher amounts being received by bigger schools and city schools are apparent but not overwhelming. For the smallest schools (roll of 118 or less) 68% received $1,500 or less from school-business relationships in the previous year. Correspondingly, 62% of the largest schools received *more* than this amount per annum. However some smaller schools were doing better than larger schools financially. Likewise, some of the most remote schools were doing well financially, although they were about twice as likely to have received less than $1,500 than more than $1,500, whereas main urban schools were

about equally likely to receive above or below $1,500. Some rural schools were receiving much larger sums than urban schools.

Table 8.4   Financial Value of School-Business Relationship by Roll Size (July 2003 roll)

Financial Value (Quartiles)	Roll Size Quartiles				
	1 - 118	119 – 202	203 - 317	318 +	Total
$0 - $114	5	5	5	8	23
$115-$1,499	12	6	2	3	23
$1,500 - $5,999	3	9	6	8	26
$6,000 - $25,500	5	5	5	10	25
Total	25	25	18	29	97

Table 8.5   Financial Value of School-Business Relationship by School Area Type

Financial Value (Quartiles)	Area Type				
	Main Urban	Secondary Urban	Minor Urban	Rural	Total
$0 - $114	20	1	1	1	23
$115-$1,499	11	2	1	9	23
$1,500 - $5,999	18	5	2	1	26
$6,000 - $25,500	18	0	2	5	25
Total	67	8	6	16	97

The data for received financial contribution by decile, size and area type suggest that the financial opportunities for schools through school-business relationships are limited. The data confirm that there was not enough business resource available for all schools to receive reasonable sums from this funding source. One inference of this variance of received contributions is that there are a lot of within-school factors and community factors that drive individual approaches and returns from school-business relationships in addition to school wealth, size and location. This is backed up by the interview data which confirmed that there were a number of particular structural and cultural contributing and inhibiting factors for school-business relationships across schools. For instance, Johnson School, a large urban decile 1 school, received more money from their school-business relationships in 2003 than any other school in the sample, and these relationships were regarded as a school priority.

Gaining extra funding and other resources was a leading motive for schools to undertake school-business relationships with 73.9% of all respondents (n=111) identifying this as a crucially or very important factor in their decision-making, and only five stating that it was not very important or not important at all. Responses were not significantly diverse by decile factors or the financial value of school-business relationships – everyone was equally motivated by getting more resources from businesses regardless of the level currently received or the economic status of their community. There is unmet demand for money from business as 13 of 19 (68.4%) schools that were receiving no money from businesses listed financial return as crucially or very important to their decision-making.

While the financial value of school-business relationships appears to be small for many schools, the interviews highlighted that school economics are such that even small amounts of external funding and support were important, and hard-won:

> Some of the fundraising is done by the group of parents but like the fundraising that is organised for the camp for example, we had a trip into [name deleted] that cost $13 but we only charged the children $7 so the fundraising for the extra was done by the teachers. So we had a basic fact-a-thon, we had a disco, we had a sausage sizzle, lots of things like that.
> (Deputy Principal, Johnson)

The school data for five-year change in the real financial value of school-business relationships suggests a plateau-ing of funds being received from business since 1998. An approximately equal percentage of principals said that their received financial contribution had stayed approximately the same (24.2%) to those that either said it had moderately increased (16.7%) or significantly increased (10.0%). Only 7.5% of schools said that their financial contribution from business had declined slightly or significantly in the past five years.

Summary of Financial Value Characteristics

Money became a key feature within the varied public discourses of school-business relationships in the 1990s. The data suggest in fact that this expectation of business as a provider of substantial sums to education did not come to pass, despite a trend of increasing investments in education from the early 1990s. The returns were quite

uneven for schools and the lack of strong associations between received financial contribution and the school factors of decile, size and area suggest that relationships were influenced by school and community factors indicating a fairly immature and ad hoc market in financial terms.

While most large businesses in the survey put no or very low sums into education, many primary schools were sourcing moderate sums from businesses and considered the financial return on school-business relationships vital. In the context of school economics, these funds from business were highly valued and valuable.

School-Business Relationship Activities

The types of school-business relationships undertaken by businesses and schools give some indication of the motives of each party and the intended outcomes [see Chapter 3]. Tables 8.6 and 8.7 show the relative popularity of each category of school-business relationship activity for all businesses and schools participating in school-business relationships. For businesses the data are also cross-tabulated with financial contribution.

Table 8.6   Occurrence of School-Business Relationship Activity Type for Businesses

SBR Activity	All respondents (n=68)	Total %	Under 10k (n=25)	Under 10k %	Betwee n 10k and 50k (n=24)	Betwee n 10k and 50k %	Above 50k (n=17)	Above 50k %
Donation	34	50.0%	12	48.0%	12	50.0%	9	52.9%
Sponsorship	46	67.6%	12	48.0%	20	83.3%	12	70.6%
CRM	3	4.41%	1	4.0%	1	4.2%	1	5.9%
Partnership	21	30.9%	7	28.0%	4	16.7%	9	52.9%
SEMs	27	39.7%	8	32.0%	8	33.3%	11	64.7%

Table 8.7   Occurrence of School-Business Relationship Activity Type for Schools

SBR Activity	Total in 2003		In the past but not in 2003		Never	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Donation (n=108)	54	50.0%	24	22.2%	30	27.8%
Sponsorship (n=111)	49	44.1%	16	14.4%	46	41.4%
CRM (n=109)	45	41.3%	23	21.1%	41	37.6%
Partnership (n=107)	9	8.4%	14	13.1%	84	78.5%
SEM (n=106)	31	29.3%	16	15.1%	59	55.7%

The dominance of the 'passive' [in enterprise education terms] categories of sponsorships and donations is clear from both the school and business data. This is a blow for the enterprise education narrative of transforming schools and students through school-business relationships because partnerships were by contrast not a common option for business and are virtually absent from primary schools. For businesses, sponsorship was a more popular activity as the financial value rose suggesting that businesses were undertaking more 'commercially-orientated' sponsorships in education as their investment grew (Marconi, 1996). Donations, which do not provide the variety of commercial opportunities, were by contrast static in popularity as business financial contributions increased. Donations were, however, surprisingly popular as an intervention from business given their low status within social responsibility (NZBSCD, 2001) and enterprise education (Ministry of Education, 1999) paradigms of school-business relationships. Interestingly, nearly two thirds (61.8%) of donation respondents from the business survey also undertook sponsorships suggesting that donations are not indicative of an altruistic corporation, but rather as Wymer and Samu (2003) suggest, one intervention for particular situations from a suite of business options. Businesses appeared to be undertaking a small number of large managed sponsorships as nearly half of all sponsorship businesses (45.6%) had just one sponsorship and a further 23.9% had two. Fifteen sponsorship businesses undertook no other type of school-business relationship activity.

State primary schools were the leading education sector recipient [ahead of the early childhood and tertiary sectors, and secondary schools] of sponsorships and donations from businesses. Fifteen of 34 businesses making donations included primary schools as did 17 of 46 sponsorship businesses. Larger schools were much more likely to be

receiving business sponsorships (roll size >317 = 60.0% (18 of 30)) than smaller schools (roll size <317 = 38.8% (31 of 80)) the only activity to differ significantly by roll size. This difference suggests that larger schools are a more attractive sponsorship target because the size of the community/market is bigger; but also that a bigger school might be better connected to business interests and sponsorship opportunities and/or be more willing to undertake this more complex arrangement to secure funding to meet its larger resourcing requirements.

Donations were the most common school-business relationship in primary schools. The interviews suggested that donations typically received by schools were not likely to be strategically managed acts of corporate philanthropy from large businesses. Rather many donations were of a traditional low-level 'goodwill' nature from smaller businesses [e.g. donated surplus stock such as paper from a printer, or aging stock from a local supermarket] with some donating businesses being connected to parents of the school. In describing a donation the principal of Mapletree related the low level nature of these investments and also highlighted that these gifts often came through the community:

> ... we've had so little because of Mapletree's uniqueness[58] I think, we can't actually identify a business but the local dairy has given us donations in kind. We'll get subsidies, like an extra piece of fish if we're ordering something or we might get a little bit of money or morning tea biscuits or things like that or they'll donate a box of chocolates, things like that. So we've had it in-kind rather than straight money.

However the survey data showed that schools that had donations or sponsorships were more likely to be making larger amounts of money from their school-business relationships: 30 of 42 (71.4%) schools that had sponsorships were in the top two quartiles for received financial contribution, and the figure was 32 of 43 (74.4%) for donations.

Partnership in the school survey was defined openly as:

> Schools and businesses cooperatively developing and/or implementing learning activities or staff development programmes.

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[58] Mapletree is a relatively modern 'dormitory suburb' with virtually no local businesses – just one small block of shops.

Somewhat surprisingly, only nine schools from the survey were working with businesses in this way, and only five businesses of a total of 21 that undertook partnerships were doing so with primary schools. These five partnerships included a safety programme associated with the business's product [essentially sponsored educational programme], participation in the Duffy Books programme [effectively a sponsorship], a programme supporting the development of business, science and technology skills in schools, and a school being paid to undertake public tours of the business's site. The weak labour market link between these institutions appears to be a factor in the low incidence of partnerships as schools and businesses also both lowly related motivating factors associated with human capital development [see below].

Chapter 3 showed that during the 1990s the discourse of partnership shifted from being associated with work transition towards being identified as a negotiated mutually beneficial agreement between parties that could contain a range of activities supporting the school and business partners. During interviews, when I asked participants to describe their understanding of partnership in the context of school-business relationships, the school-labour market link was only once offered as a core characteristic. Instead responses emphasised a contractual discourse of partnership [complexity, negotiation, a good deal for the school, and distinctive mutual benefits], the closeness of the relationship [long term/ongoing, link to community, common purpose], the resources potential, and access to business expertise for school development and curriculum activities. Although schools' contemporary understandings of partnership were conceptually aligned with a contractual and enterprising model, hardly any were in place.

Cause related marketing was only undertaken by three businesses in the survey but was close to donations and sponsorship as the most common school-business relationship activity for schools. The overall school participation figure of 41.3% is likely to be conservative. Firstly, 42.6% (46 of 108) of survey respondents were participating in the Cadbury Chocolates fundraising programme alone in 2003. Secondly, all the interview schools were or had been involved in cause related marketing programmes, some very intensively. All five were participating in programmes where they [parents and students] were selling the product as well, and

at least four of the five were fundraising by selling chocolates in 2003. Although there were a vast number of programmes previously or currently operating in these schools, many of these were from smaller businesses or mediated through niche speciality fundraising firms such as *Lollies on Line* and *Interworld Fundraising*. Hence the low provision by businesses in this survey of CRMs was not indicative of what is happening in schools or the numbers of businesses providing CRMs in New Zealand.

Sponsored educational materials proved more popular with businesses and schools than partnerships with 27 business respondents (39.7%)[59] providing SEMs to at least one area of education, and 29.3% of schools using them. A greater percentage of SEM providers targeted their SEMs to school sector recipients than for any other education category, with 66.7% providing them to secondary schools, and 74.1% providing them to primary. A majority of businesses provided these SEMs themselves however three respondents cited that they passed on financial support and content to a third party [in two cases, an industry association] for ultimate production and distribution. The media for SEMs varied from a 'road-show' to CD Roms, to Internet websites, to video, and of course print [the majority – although this is likely to be less so since 1998 with the continued rise of the Internet as a source of educational materials]. Several SEMs were part of a wider sponsored educational programme.

Four categories of SEMs were apparent from the individual descriptions by business survey respondents. These loosely conformed to the categories in Chapter 6 except that a further category was prominent: public service or public safety resources. Product or brand promotion was absent, supporting the finding from Chapter 6 that this category featured relatively infrequently in SEMs but was common in non-school items. The categories were:

1. Business information. Four respondents provided information about themselves to schools and individual students for projects, ranging in sophistication from annual reports to specially designed kits.

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[59] This result is much higher than the analysis of New Zealand business websites found in Chapter 6 where only 9% of businesses were providing or advertising SEMs online [see table 6.3]. It suggests that many businesses do not use their websites for this purpose, instead providing materials in alternative media forms.

2. Industry information. This was the most popular category with 13 examples cited. This included general industry information, and more specific material associated with the impact of economic events [e.g. deregulation] on the industry involved. This preference for industry information probably reflected the dominant market position of some of these large businesses.

3. Public service or public safety resources. This category comprised respondents that provided SEMs to support the safe or efficient use of their products and services. There were four examples in this category. The interviews suggested that these resources were highly likely to be used in schools relative to other SEM categories.

4. Business-independent resources. These were SEMs that had no apparent direct connection with the respondent's commercial or operational activities. There were six examples of this category. For instance a communications/media company provided resources on an outdoor activity. Another sponsored a school sports programme. One respondent had a student area on its website which profiled a conservation programme it sponsored. The literature shows that these resources are often produced with a wider public relations agenda in mind [see Chapters 4 and 6].

As Chapters 4 and 6 showed, businesses in the survey with connections to the environment (oil, gas, minerals, electricity, six of 10) or food (two of four) were more likely to provide SEMs than other industry types.

Thirty-one (29.3%) principals indicated that their school was using SEMs in 2003. This figure is somewhat unreliable because the interviews found that teachers, collectively or individually, sometimes made these decisions about the use/non use of these resources. To double-check this level of use of *any* SEMs, this result was compared to principals' responses to their use of specific food-related SEMs in 2003. Only 12 principals indicated that their school had *never* used any of a selection of

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eight[60] food-related SEMs, although a further 25 were not using any of these in 2003, but had used at least one in the past. There was a high 'unsure' response about individual SEM usage ranging from 9.7% to 20.9% for each item. Going by teacher interviews, the high awareness of particular SEMs such as the *5+ A Day* kit, and the healthy supply of SEMs in the resource rooms of four of the schools, it is likely that almost all primary schools are using at least one SEM in a year, however the initial result of about a third cited above should be considered a reasonable representation of more regular users.

School-Business Relationship Category and Decile Characteristics

The literature suggests that poorer schools may be more desperate for financial business resources and materials but also that richer schools are more capable of sourcing these. Table 8.8 shows the participation by schools in each school-business relationship activity by decile category.

Table 8.8   School-Business Relationship Participation by Decile

	Decile 1-4		Decile 5-7		Decile 8-10	
	Percentage participating in 2003	All schools in this category	Percentage participating in 2003	All schools in this category	Percentage participating in 2003	All schools in this category
Donation	48.4%	31	41.2%	34	58.1%	42
Sponsorship	32.4%	34	30.3%	33	65.1%	43
CRM	38.7%	31	39.4%	33	43.2%	44
Partnership	6.5%	31	6.3%	32	11.6%	43
SEM	35.5%	31	34.4%	32	21.4%	· 42

Table 8.9 shows that the highest decile schools were accessing business sponsorships and donations significantly more than mid and low decile schools. In the case of sponsorship, they were twice as likely to have a business sponsorship than the other decile groups. Partnerships were also twice as common in the higher decile schools although the overall figures are so low that this result should be treated with some caution. A weighting of business financial resources towards wealthy schools is a bad

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60   The eight were: Poultry Industry Association of New Zealand [*Chook Book, Poultry Biology* or *The New Zealand Poultry Meat Industry – An Education and Industry Resource*]; New Zealand Seafood Industry Council [*The Living Sea* or *Fish for the Future*]; *The McDonald's Reading Programme*; NZ Beef and Lamb Marketing Bureau [*Iron Brion in-school presentation and educational materials*]; Baking Industry Research Trust & Flour Milling Research Trust [*New Zealand Cyber Guide to Flour Milling and Baking CD Rom*]; *Chelsea Sugar educational materials*; New Zealand Vegetable & Potato Growers' Federation [*V for Vegies CD Rom*]; *Nestle Write Around New Zealand* story writing competition.

result for social responsibility-driven approaches that seek to support those schools in most need (NZBCSD, 2001). This result could be due to: the greater connectedness of these high decile schools to the business community through parents and contacts of the BOT; the physical location of these schools in wealthy business areas; and the general alignment of the cultures of businesses and high decile marketised schools. At interview, the BOT Chair of Granberg School (decile 1) felt that their school did not fit a cultural form acceptable to business, and its students and parents had low economic potential in marketing terms:

> Interviewer: Do you think that they [businesses] will invest in other parts of the [regional area]?
>
> Participant: Oh most definitely. Yeah, closer to the city centre, more affluent areas like [wealthy area] primary schools, and you know, some of those schools, yeah, more than happy to because they've got a, dare I say it, a white population whereas this is a brown population. So that to from in society although it's ugly, it raises its head all the time. It's something the school has to deal with and yeah we get it at the swimming pool at water polo meets everyone sort of looks down their noses at the school and these kids are doing the best that they can do, but you know it's a reality of society unfortunately.
>
> Interviewer: So what sort of attention do you think those schools get, I mean are we talking money coming their way or helping out with new computers, what's the nature of that?
>
> Participant: Yeah I think it's…. It's like that old saying "money speaks" when the parents are affluent, or you know middle class, upper middle class, you know they have the buying power, the spending power, they have companies that are quite willing to invest, they can see the return on their investment in those schools. So they are quite willing to donate computers knowing that, you know, if we donate, you know, you scratch my back I'll scratch yours. But in our situation it's not a reality, our parents don't buy computers because they can't afford them and that's the reality of it, they'll buy a sausage at a barbeque but they're not likely to go out and buy computers or have the credit rating to go out and buy bigger items.

Interview participants at decile 1 Johnson School mentioned the reality that the local business community [what there was of it] was 'stretched' financially or unwilling to provide resources through donations or sponsorships. Although they tried to work

with their local businesses the reality was that national brands were far more capable and willing to deliver resources:

> I guess we'll try and support our local like we'll look at our local community first, we try and support our local community. One of the problems that we have is that our local community isn't so good at supporting us in terms of, if we are looking for some support it's often not forthcoming.
> (Teacher, Johnson)

By contrast, at Stone Church School, a decile 7 school, the principal and BOT member both mentioned a number of school-business relationships that were essentially extensions of relationships with parents who owned businesses.

The large percentage of high decile schools receiving donations and sponsorships could also be a result of aggressive fundraising by these schools that receive less in Government operational funding than lower decile schools. However, high decile schools were only very slightly more motivated by the financial return of school-business relationships (combined crucially and very important = 77.5%) than mid-decile (combined crucially and very important = 71.4%) and low-decile schools (combined crucially and very important = 74.3%). The more probable explanation is therefore around the alignment between the cultural and economic circumstances of wealthy schools and successful businesses.

The trend for SEMs by decile follows an opposite pattern with the highest decile schools substantially *less* likely to use SEMs than mid and low decile schools. Later in the chapter this finding is explored by considering how teachers position SEMs within their curriculum decision-making. The interviews revealed that school decision-making around SEMs included consideration of the motivations of students and the cultural values of parents – both of which were represented as different for rich and poor schools.

Summary of School-Business Relationship General Characteristics and Activities

The findings above present a picture of school-business relationships in the 1990s that aligns with elements of the not-for-profit sector intervention and school commercialism discourses of school-business relationships. For an enterprise education project of enhancing the skills, knowledge and values of students within enterprising school institutions to be a driving priority, partnerships would have had to be more apparent, yet partnerships had the least presence in schools and very low support from businesses. The 'hand up, not a hand out' ethos of elements of the not-for-profit sector literature is also not supported by these findings. Instead, businesses have tended to stick to the more traditional and financially-orientated intervention options of donation and sponsorship.

The 'trickle' of business sponsorship that was apparently becoming a 'flood' in New Zealand in the 1990s (Teutenberg, 1994) has not materialised in terms of financial commitments from businesses – education remains a small recipient of business funding. Business financial contributions were low overall – most schools would make more revenue from one or two foreign-fee paying students. However as the interviews confirmed, the commodification of school fundraising is characterised by a number of businesses working with schools, and the financial value of this school-business relationship activity is likely to be under-reported in the school survey data. The economics of schools meant that even small amounts from business were gratefully received and worked hard for. Schools were very keen to secure more business funding.

The popularity of the business activity of donations and sponsorships suggests that schools have a strong semiotic value for businesses, confirming the argument in Chapter 4 that businesses have exploited their associations with schools to appeal to target markets through image marketing – sometimes on slim investments in education. SEMs were also very popular as a business activity, with most of the resources from these bigger businesses themed around business and industry information. Chapter 6 confirmed the critical literature that this kind of material tends to present sanitised, incomplete and biased material on sensitive issues, which

ultimately favours the sponsor's economic agenda. This was especially the case for businesses and industries with legitimacy risks, and the survey supported the finding from the search of business and industry association websites [Chapter 6], that these businesses were more likely to provide SEMs generally. About a third of schools appeared to be using SEMs although this finding needs to be treated with some caution – it could be higher.

Decile was a factor in school participation in particular types of school-business relationship activities with donations and sponsorships much more likely to be occurring in the highest decile schools and SEMs much more likely to be adopted by low and mid decile schools. This confirms an argument which is explored further below, that not only do high decile schools have closer economic and cultural alignment with businesses to facilitate donations and sponsorships, but this very cultural capital is averse to some SEMs. Low decile schools on the other hand may have particular preferences for SEMs connected with the cultural and social circumstances of their students, as well as a shortage of funds to provide non-sponsored alternatives, and a lack of community resistance. High decile schools were also more likely to be receiving larger financial contributions, although some low schools were also receiving larger sums.

The next section explores some of these findings further by looking at business motives across the surveys and interviews.

Business Motives for School-Business Relationships

The school-business relationships literature puts forward a spectrum of specific business motives associated with commercial, human capital development and social responsibility objectives. Chapter 4 argued that the commercial motives associated with child marketing and public relations to students and wider publics were dominant. This section considers business's declared motives from the business survey.

Motives for Those Businesses Undertaking School-business Relationships

In the business survey, respondents were asked to rate the importance of a range of statements to their decision to undertake school-business relationships. Table 8.9 shows the overall results. These are ranked by popularity as calculated by the total percentage of respondents indicating that the statement was crucially or very important to their school-business relationship decision-making.

**Table 8.9   Business Motive for School-Business Relationships from the
Business Survey**

Motive Statement	Crucially Important (1)	Very Important (2)	Of Some Importance (3)	Not Very Important (4)	Not Important At All (5)	Mean
Our business ultimately benefits from improved community/society (n=66)	10.6%	53.0%	28.8%	7.6%	0%	2.33
School-business relationships express the values of our organisation (n=66)	13.6%	45.4%	27.3%	10.6%	3.0%	2.44
Changing economic conditions mandate greater education investment (n=66)	15.1%	39.4%	27.3%	15.1%	3.0%	2.52
Impact of our operation requires social responsibility (n=66)	21.2%	27.3%	27.3%	19.7%	4.5%	2.59
Opportunity for outside promotion of engagement (n=66)	13.6%	27.3%	37.9%	12.1%	9.1%	2.76
Technology's impact on labour market necessitates a strong enterprise role in education (n=66)	6.1%	33.3%	43.9%	13.6%	3.0%	2.74
Improvements to our potential future workers (n=65)	7.7%	29.2%	40.0%	18.5%	4.6%	2.83
Opportunity to educate students about our enterprise and industry (n=66)	9.1%	24.2%	31.8%	27.3%	7.6%	3.00
Enables us to act altruistically for the benefit of others (n=66)	6.1%	24.2%	47.0%	12.1%	10.6%	2.97
We have unique resources to offer education (n=65)	7.7%	20.0%	38.5%	20.0%	13.8%	3.12
Responding to a concern in the education area (n=65)	1.5%	26.1%	32.3%	29.2%	10.8%	3.22
Differentiation from competitors (n=66)	3.0%	24.2%	31.8%	25.8%	15.1%	3.26

Motive Statement	Crucially Important (1)	Very Important (2)	Of Some Importance (3)	Not Very Important (4)	Not Important At All (5)	Mean
Responding to the expectations of consumers and society (n=65)	0%	24.6%	46.1%	24.6%	4.6%	3.09
Marketing opportunities with the education recipient (n=66)	7.6%	16.7%	31.8%	22.7%	21.2%	3.33
Allows us to stay in touch with community (n=66)	1.5%	21.2%	37.9%	28.8%	10.6%	3.26
Responding to pressure from education groups (n=66)	6.1%	9.1%	22.7%	51.5%	10.6%	3.52
Reform of education has allowed closer ties (n=66)	1.5%	1.5%	28.8%	37.9%	30.3%	3.94
Favourable to tax liability (n=65)	0%	1.5%	3.1%	40.0%	55.4%	4.49

The top five motives suggest a prominence of school-business relationships as a strategy of social responsibility marketing and public relations. Firstly, four of the top five motives are broad thematic statements expressing themes of social responsibility and labour market change, themes strongly utilised in the image marketing of businesses [see Chapter 4]. The other motive statement, opportunities for outside promotion of engagements, explicitly acknowledges the importance of exploiting the intervention with wider publics. In contrast to the popularity of these thematic general statements, statements that called for a more active response to address labour market change, or those that defined operational issues more narrowly, were far less popular. These are motives that had potential to directly lead to the kind of change actually desired in the top motive! For instance respondents were far less likely to be motivated to undertake engagements by a *specific* concern about education outcomes, or because potential future workers would be better equipped for the workforce, or because of opportunities to teach students about the respondent's business or industry. In assessing this result against Jamieson's (1985) explanation of a national and local environment for business discourse and action around school-business relationships, the implication from these results is that businesses are talking the enterprise education talk [i.e. employing the discourse of

stronger education outcomes for enterprise] but not walking this talk as evidenced by their choice of activities and their relative aversion to specific motives.

A second finding that supports a preference for social responsibility marketing is that respondents were generally little-affected in their decision-making by pressure from schools, the expectations of consumers and the public[61], or macro-environment changes due to central government reform initiatives to bring education and enterprises closer. This dismissal of external pressures to act in a socially responsible and active manner with schools suggests that these business activities are business-led and developed with internal goals at the forefront, rather than being reactive to social obligation and social change drivers.

A third result supporting a social responsibility marketing emphasis to school-business relationships was that businesses rating social responsibility motives highly were also *more* – not less, likely to also rate commercial motives highly. Twenty-nine businesses rated the following social responsibility motives as crucially or very important to their school-business relationship decision-making:

- *School-business relationships express the values of our organisation.*
- *Our business ultimately benefits from an improved community/society.*

Table 8.10 compares the mean responses for the commercial motives of direct marketing and outside promotion by those respondents that rated the above social responsibility motives highly and those that did not. It reveals this tendency of businesses that rate social responsibility motives highly to also rate commercial motives highly – particularly outside promotion. This supports a corporate social responsibility marketing approach of fulfilling commercial objectives through a socially responsible image.

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[61] The exception was financial institution respondents – 50% (n=5) regarded expectations of customers and/ or society as crucially or very important to their decision making, perhaps reflecting their close links to large customer bases through their branch networks.

Table 8.10   Link between Social Responsibility and Commercial Motives in Business Responses

	Marketing Opportunities with the Education Recipient (mean response)	Outside Promotion of the Relationship (mean response)
Rated Social responsibility motives highly (1 or 2) (n=29)	3.17	2.31
Did not rate social responsibility motives highly (3-5) (n=37)	3.46	3.11

(Scale: 1=crucially important, 5 = not important at all)

The enterprise education narrative of school-business relationships is not supported through the declared motives of businesses. As mentioned above, businesses appeared to be generally strongly motivated by thematic statements positioning their investments in education as a contribution to a stronger education-economy link. However, statements that implied active support for the development of enterprising students were not strongly supported as motives. Only 27.7% of businesses rated the motive *We have unique resources to offer education* as very or crucially important to their decision-making, and a third (33.3%) gave the same ratings to the motive *Opportunity to educate students about our enterprise and industry*. Reforms that have apparently made relationships with businesses more necessary or feasible, and general pressure from the education sector, were inconsequential as motivating factors suggesting that businesses have not responded to the education support literature for partnerships or the political support for enterprise education in the 1990s and beyond. The fact that only 27.6% of businesses were strongly motivated by a particular concern about education suggests that the majority of businesses lack a compelling and tangible enterprise education-related reason to be intervening in education.

The insignificance of factors within the macro political and education environments on business decision-making, and the generally weak interest in active relationships is indicative of a further characteristic of these business motive results. That is, that businesses were generally not motivated by factors that would bring them into close proximity with schools and other education providers for social, operational or commercial reasons. Staying in touch with the community was the 15th ranked option even though a stronger society appeared to be the ultimate goal of business

interventions. Direct marketing opportunities with the recipients fared little better at 14th. These businesses were not interested in being practically involved in schools.

Business Motive and Respondent Characteristics

Table 8.11 shows the percentage of business respondents who described each motive as crucially or very important, by all responses and various respondent characteristics. Results are highlighted where the difference between the overall response and the respondent characteristic result is at least 15 percentage points greater or less. It should be noted when examining this table that many respondents participated in more than one kind of school-business relationship activity rather than exclusively one; hence the school-business relationship activity categories are not discrete.

Table 8.11   Popularity of Business Motives by Respondent Characteristics

Motive Statement	Respondent categories listing motive as crucially or very important						
	All	All Sponsors	All Partners	All Donators	All SEMs	Between $50k and $100k	Over $100k
Our business ultimately benefits from improved community/society	63.6% (42)	68.2% (30)	66.7% (14)	61.8% (21)	70.4% (19)	57.1% (4)	70.0% (7)
Engagements express the values of our organisation	58.0% (39)	68.2% (30)	61.9% (13)	52.9% (18)	70.4% (19)	71.4% (5)	100% (10)
Changing economic conditions mandate greater education investment	54.5% (36)	54.5% (24)	76.2% (16)	55.9% (19)	48.1% (13)	14.3% (1)	70.0% (7)
Impact of our operation requires social responsibility	48.5% (32)	56.8% (25)	52.4% (11)	50% (17)	63.0% (17)	71.4% (5)	50.0% (5)
Opportunity for outside promotion of engagement	40.9% (27)	45.5% (20)	42.9% (9)	50.0% (17)	51.9% (14)	28.6% (2)	80.0% (8)
Technology's impact on labour market necessitates a strong enterprise role in education	39.4 (26)	38.6% (17)	52.4% (11)	35.3% (12)	37.0% (10)	14.3% (1)	50.0% (5)
Improvements to our potential future workers	36.9% (24)	37.2% (16)	40.0% (8)	29.4% (10)	33.3% (9)	14.3% (1)	20.0% (2)
Opportunity to educate students about our enterprise and industry	33.3% (24)	34.1% (15)	52.4% (11)	32.4% (11)	48.1% (13)	28.6% (2)	40.0% (4)
Enables us to act altruistically for the benefit of others	30.3% (20)	31.8% (14)	38.1% (8)	29.4% (10)	37.0% (10)	57.1% (4)	40.0% (4)
We have unique resources to offer education	27.7% (18)	34.9% (15)	60.0% (12)	29.4% (10)	40.7% (11)	57.1% (4)	60.0% (6)
Responding to a concern in the education area	27.6% (18)	37.2% (16)	40.0% (8)	26.5% (9)	29.6% (8)	14.3% (1)	30.0% (3)
Differentiation from competitors	27.2% (18)	38.6% (17)	33.3% (7)	23.5% (8)	29.6% (8)	14.3% (1)	50.0% (5)
Responding to the expectations of consumers and society	24.6% (16)	32.6% (14)	15.0% (3)	29.4% (10)	25.9% (7)	33.3% (8)	30.0% (3)
Marketing opportunities with the education recipient	24.3% (16)	27.3% (12)	23.8% (5)	20.6% (7)	25.9% (7)	0% (0)	50.0% (5)
Allows us to stay in touch with community	22.7% (15)	22.7% (10)	33.3% (7)	26.5% (9)	29.6% (8)	0% (0)	20.0% (2)
Responding to pressure from education groups	15.2% (10)	15.9% (7)	23.8% (5)	14.7% (5)	0% (0)	14.3% (1)	20.0% (2)
Reform of education has allowed closer ties	3.0% (2)	4.5% (2)	9.5% (2)	2.9% (1)	3.7% (1)	0% (0)	20.0% (2)
Favourable to tax liability	1.5% (1)	2.3% (1)	5.0% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	10.0% (1)

There was not a great deal of difference in motives associated with school-business relationship activity type except for those businesses that undertook partnerships. These respondents were generally more motivated by concerns about economic and labour market changes, educating students, providing unique resources, or responding to a particular concern in education. This suggests that for some businesses, there was a discernable concern with the human resource implications of their efforts. However because of the low incidence of partnerships in primary schools and the suspect status of some of these partnerships as described by business respondents, not too much should be read into this result for primary schools. Interestingly, partnering businesses were no more likely to see themselves as being the direct benefactors of this investment through better skilled future workers – a realistic position but somewhat contrary to one of the key enterprise education rationales.

Financial contribution appeared to have a bigger overall impact on motives than activity type. Businesses contributing over $50,000 per annum were significantly more likely to position their relationships as an expression of organisational values and to believe that they had unique resources to offer education. They were significantly *less* likely to be motivated by enhancing the skills of potential future workers. Almost all businesses contributing over $100,000 per annum were highly motivated by outside promotion, and much more motivated by differentiation from competitors and marketing opportunities with the recipients, indicating that social responsibility marketing and more direct commercial strategies rather than enterprise education priorities assume a greater priority as the investment grows.

Business Reasons for Non-Participation in School-Business Relationships

The enterprise education-focused school-business relationship literature in the 1990s tended to create a picture of businesses being intrinsically keen to undertake enterprising school-business relationships, but that anachronistic historical factors were keeping schools and businesses unnecessarily divided. Once the environment was right, businesses would move in. However the business motives for school-business relationships above suggest that changes in the education environment had a

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negligible influence on business decision-making. Table 8.12 below shows the popularity of reasons supporting the decisions of respondents that *did not* undertake school-business relationships. Like Table 8.9 above, it ranks the motives by the percentage of respondents that indicated that the statement was crucially or very important to their decision.

Table 8.12   Reasons for Businesses Not Undertaking School-Business Relationships

Motive Statement	Crucially Important	Very Important	Of Some Importance	Not Very Important	Not Important At All
Our organisation's resources are better used for training employees (n=35)	31.4%	34.3%	28.6%	2.9%	2.9%
Corporate giving priorities lie elsewhere (n=34)	26.5%	38.2%	14.7%	8.8%	11.8%
Insufficient resources to become involved (n=35)	14.3%	45.7%	22.9%	11.4%	5.7%
Budget constraints (n=34)	8.8%	47.1%	38.3%	2.9%	5.9%
The nature of our commercial activities make engagements difficult to justify (n=34)	20.6%	26.5%	14.7%	35.3%	2.9%
Not the level of promotion or marketing opportunities to justify cost (n=34)	14.7%	32.4%	26.5%	14.7%	11.8%
Supporting education is the role of government, not enterprise (n=34)	20.6%	11.8%	38.2%	20.6%	8.8%
Supporting education doesn't fit with strategic goals (n=34)	20.6%	11.8%	35.3%	23.5%	8.8%
Supporting education has no direct financial benefits (n=34)	14.7%	11.8%	32.4%	26.5%	14.7%
We already support education through company tax (n=34)	11.8%	14.7%	14.7%	38.2%	0.0%
There is no tax incentive (n=34)	2.9%	11.8%	23.5%	29.4%	32.4%

The top reason for not undertaking school-business relationships is a further affront to the enterprise education narrative of school-business relationships, and further highlights the separation of contemporary businesses' short-term labour-market requirements and schooling. Essentially, focused internal training was seen as a more effective vehicle for human capital development than a longer term 'punt' on education outputs. The next ranked motive, *Corporate giving priorities lie elsewhere*, further affirmed the positioning of education within a competitive environment for business funds, rather than as a unique and worthy investment. As nearly half of all

non-school-business relationship respondents said that a lack of promotion or marketing opportunities in education was crucially or very important to their decision, these two results suggest that other types of non-profit organisation, or other types of marketing and promotion altogether were superior to education interventions. Pragmatic issues around not having the financial and non-financial resources to undertake school-business relationships, or operating in a way that was not conducive to school-business relationships, were also highly ranked reasons. Some businesses had low commitment to the concept of school-business relationships citing that education was a government responsibility for which businesses paid tax to fund, however these more philosophically inclined motives were far less popular than the pragmatic costs/benefits of resourcing education or competing interests.

Summary of Business Motive Characteristics

The data for business motives, along with earlier findings around financial contribution and school-business relationship activity preferences, strongly suggest that school-business relationships in the 1990s were often positioned by businesses as a marketing public relations function (Belch & Belch, 1995). Education's strongest status as an interest of business was its capacity to connect with, mostly external publics, for the end goal of commercial gain. The case for school-business relationships as investments in the development of an enterprise culture/knowledge economy is poorly supported by business motives except in a few cases of large investment and partnership endeavours. Given that most businesses' school-business relationships were endowed with neither of these characteristics and that smaller businesses are less likely to provide large sums to education, the underwhelming penetration and impact of school-business relationships as interventions of enterprise education reported in the evaluation literature (Education Review Office, 1996; Houghton et al., 1994; Renwick and Gray, 2001) seems justified. The responses of those businesses not undertaking school-business relationships confirmed that human capital development through school-business relationships is not a rational proposition for many businesses, and New Zealand schools do not enjoy a special status within business thinking about the not-for-profit sector.

While social responsibility marketing to external publics was a major business motivator, there was less business interest in pursuing marketing strategies with the recipients, which is perhaps not surprising given that the majority of these respondents were not marketing products and services to children. This motive remains a key driver for businesses that do encompass child markets [see Chapter 6] and was more evident in the relationships that were happening in the interview schools [see below]. There is likely to be a commercial intent behind the 'education' imperative articulated by some businesses – particularly those that were providing SEMs. Chapter 6 showed that there is a lot of slippage between brand promotion and industry/business information where child consumer markets are involved and that much of the industry/product information contains biased or incomplete information favouring the business/industry operations and products – a complex yet ultimately commercial strategy. That said, the image potential of schooling appears to be a leading interest for these larger New Zealand businesses.

Although businesses have used education as a context to fuse corporate citizenship and commercial objectives, the business motives also suggested that businesses, with a few exceptions, have not become very hands-on or interactive with education and educators. The apparent demand from education for school-business relationships barely registers as a business consideration, and businesses did not value the benefits of getting closer to the community through school-business relationships. Although the image marketing of businesses *represents* a close and active bond, the reality was that businesses were still largely engaging with schools through their financial rather than human resources. One conclusion then from these motives is that businesses have not developed the kinds of sophisticated strategic relationships with education to further more complex organisational goals and social agendas that are envisioned in the not-for-profit sector intervention literature. Instead as argued in Chapter 4, the *sign* value of these relationships has diverged far from the reality of business interests and action.

School Motives for School-Business Relationships as Expressed by Principals

This section explores principals' declared motives for undertaking school-business relationships. The principal survey asked respondents to rate the importance of various factors to their school's decisions to undertake *or* not undertake school-business relationships. Table 8.13 shows the overall results ranked by the combined percentage of respondents who voted the factor as crucially or very important.

To put the principal's responses in the context of decision-making power in the school, 52.1% of principals in the survey said that they alone were the key decision-maker for the acceptance of sponsored educational materials; a further 10.9% said that the principal/BOT combination was the key decision-maker. Only 12.6% of responses excluded the principal as a key decision maker – BOT (10.1%), individual teachers (0.8%), and Other (1.7%) (total n=120). At interview, principals also affirmed their position as the key decision-maker around financial and complex school-business relationships. However in the interviews, it also emerged that teachers had a high level of input into decisions around SEMs even though only 39% of the surveyed principals said that teachers were even *consulted* around the adoption of SEMs. When teachers were asked about their school's philosophy towards school-business relationships, they were generally hesitant and sometimes suggested checking with the principal as it 'wasn't my area'. Most principals were making decisions without a specific school-based policy framework. Only 17 of 120 principals said that their school had a formal policy on school-business relationships. Only 30 principals (25.4%, n=118) had heard of the NZSTA/ANZA *Sponsored Materials and Activities in Schools – Good Practice Guidelines* (New Zealand School Trustees Association, 1999). Of this group, only eight principals said that the guidelines had informed decision-making in their school, while 18 said they had not.

Table 8.13   Rating of School Motives for School-Business Relationships by Principals

Motive	Crucially Important (1)	Very Important (2)	Of Some Importance (3)	Not Very Important (4)	Not Important At All (5)	Mean
What the school has to do in return for the business (n=116)	54.3%	31.9%	9.5%	3.4%	0.9%	1.65
The support of the BOT (n=114)	40.4%	43.0%	14.0%	2.6%	0.0%	1.79
The support of teachers (n=115)	30.4%	49.6%	18.3%	1.7%	0.0%	1.91
Fit with the current curriculum priorities of this school (n=117)	33.3%	42.7%	17.9%	4.3%	1.7%	1.98
The potential or actual school funds or resources available through this activity (n=111)	29.7%	44.1%	21.6%	3.6%	0.9%	2.02
The support of parents (n=113)	16.8%	50.4%	28.3%	4.4%	0.0%	2.20
The chance to positively position/promote the school (n=115)	22.6%	43.5%	27.8%	5.2%	0.9%	2.18
The apparent motives of the business (n=115)	34.8%	27.0%	25.2%	7.8%	5.2%	2.22
Opportunities for staff professional development (n=112)	5.4%	40.2%	38.4%	11.6%	4.5%	2.70
Uniqueness - the activity is rarely or not available through other means (n=116)	9.5%	31.0%	33.6%	18.1%	7.8%	2.84
The historical relationship between our school and the business (n=113)	3.5%	31.9%	40.7%	15.9%	8.0%	2.93
The current role and influence of this business within our school's community (n=113)	1.8%	30.1%	42.5%	13.3%	12.4%	3.04
The creation of closer ties with businesses in the community (n=114)	1.8%	29.8%	42.1%	16.7%	9.6%	3.03
The chance for students to learn about the role of business in society (n=116)	2.6%	17.2%	44.0%	22.4%	13.8%	3.28
The opportunities for students to learn more about the operations of the business concerned (n=115)	2.6%	14.8%	39.1%	30.4%	13.0%	3.37
The opportunities for students to learn work skills (n=110)	0.9%	15.5%	39.1%	24.5%	20.0%	3.47
The opportunities for students to receive career planning and development assistance (n=111)	0.9%	12.6%	42.3%	25.2%	18.9%	3.49

Interestingly, the leading factor in school-business relationship decision-making was associated with the nature and degree of school reciprocation, implying a concern with excessive business demands and potential negative effects. The apparent motives of the business also rated strongly as a decision-making factor. Yet, as we shall see, the principals in the survey, including for their own relationships, acknowledged business commercial motives – a finding backed up by the principal interviews. To test whether school concerns about reciprocation were shaping school-business relationship decision-making to any great extent, the factors *What the school has to do in return for the business* and *The apparent motives of the business* were analysed by school participation in various school-business relationship activity types, and overall participation. These results are shown below. Partnership was not included in this analysis as the number of schools participating in 2003 was too low to make a meaningful comparison.

Table 8.14   Participant Concern about Reciprocation and Business Motive by School-Business Relationship Participation

	What the school has to do in return for the business: crucially or very important	The apparent motives of the business: crucially or very important
Sponsorship, involved in 2003	89.8% (n=44)	59.2% (n=29)
Sponsorship, not involved in 2003	83.3% (n=50)	64.4% (n=38)
Donation, involved in 2003	81.5% (n=47)	61.1% (n=33)
Donation, not involved in 2003	90.4% (n=44)	66.7% (n=34)
Cause Related Marketing, involved in 2003	95.5% (n=43)	66.7% (n=30)
Cause Related Marketing, not involved in 2003	79.4% (n=50)	59.7% (n=37)
Sponsored Educational Materials, involved in 2003	93.5% (n=29)	63.3% (n=19)
Sponsored Educational Materials, not involved in 2003	83.6% (n=61)	60.3% (n=44)
Not participating in any SBR activities in 2003	77.3% (n=17)	68.2% (n=15)
Participating in at least one SBR activity in 2003	87.9% (n=80)	60.0% (n=54)

The data reveal no clear differences between those schools participating in a particular relationship, or any relationships, and those were not, suggesting that the threshold for an acceptable level of business commercial motive and school reciprocation is quite high. In fact the result for cause related marketing, an activity which often calls for a lot of planning and commitment from students, teachers and parents, and is a highly commercial business activity, is counter-intuitive: those not participating in this activity were actually less inclined to be concerned about reciprocation and business motive. There was no sharp difference for those schools

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not participating in *any* school-business relationship activities and those that were, suggesting that schools were not staying away from school-business relationships for ethical reasons or concerns about opportunity costs and excessive reciprocation. However this result needs to be treated with some caution as these non-participating schools may interpret business motives and reciprocation differently than those participating. In light of these data, principals' understandings of business motives are explored in the next section.

The support of the BOT, teachers and to a slightly lesser extent, parents were seen as crucially or very important by nearly all principals in their decision-making. The interviews revealed that while it was literally true that all school-business relationship activities required the ongoing support of at least one of these parties, this did not necessarily extend to meaningful engagement in the decision-making process. Further consideration of this issue later in the chapter shows that for each stakeholder category the degree and nature of this 'support' also varied by the type of school-business relationship in question.

The general motive of fit with curriculum priorities was strongly supported by principal respondents. However, just like the business responses, motives articulating the nitty-gritty value that business could add to the curriculum *directly* – work skills, career planning and development, learning about the role of business in society, or learning about the operations of the business concerned – were lowly rated. In fact, school motives that expressed an enterprise education drive to school-business relationships rated at the absolute bottom. This supports the case that school-business relationships are linked by schools to the mission of curriculum delivery as a *means* rather than an *end* themselves – they are a deal, and businesses were often the instrument, rather than a partner in meeting school goals. The results also confirm that primary schools were less focused on work skill development.

Motives indicating a community-connectedness ethos to school-business relationships were also lowly rated. Only two principals rated the creation of closer ties with businesses in the community as crucially important in their decision-making. Likewise only two principals rated the role and influence of the business in the school's community as being crucially important. Although schools were not

inclined to become close to businesses in a productive sense, school-business relationships were seen as beneficial to school image by a number of principals, confirming that schools too were exploiting the semiotic potential of these relationships. Like businesses, schools were more focused on being seen to be close to business than actually being close to business. However, schools that rated school image as *crucially important* to their decision-making were more likely to rate closer ties with the business community as crucially or very important, than all respondents (48.0% versus 31.6%). This suggests that the image spin-off from school-business relationships complemented some genuinely close relationships.

The uniqueness of the activity did rate relatively highly as a factor for schools, suggesting that businesses had something special to offer schools. However the principal interviews suggested that this uniqueness arose because the activity practically would not have happened without the school-business relationship, rather than the activity being literally impossible to deliver without a business sponsor:

> ...if it wasn't there we probably wouldn't have a resource to supplement something. An example is the dental health stuff from, is it Oral Braun or something, you know a pack of thirty toothbrushes, toothpastes, stickers and all that to supplement, to help, dental health stuff. The fruit and veggie stuff, or even the meat industry one, the Iron Brion stuff, as opposed to nothing.
> (Principal, Johnson)

Not surprisingly, extra funding was a significant factor for many principals. All but one of the principals interviewed talked about the need to raise more funds locally and business was seen as a valuable option. There was no strong difference in response for high, medium and low decile principals to this factor in the survey, and one principal at interview suggested that higher decile schools with their lower per pupil decile funding might be financially struggling more than low decile schools. For principals, extra funds were generally associated with curriculum delivery matters. Government funding was cited as being inadequate to meet the expectations of modern education:

> One's funding, you just don't get enough from the government to fund the school adequately – you're always pinching penny to Paul type of

thing. And so anywhere you can get resources you go for it I guess...
(Principal, Blue Creek)

Principal Understandings of Business Motives and School-Business Relationship Activities

This section explores how principals understood both the business motives for school-business relationships and the different types of school-business relationship activity.

The data above about school motives suggests that although schools were cautious about perceived business motives, this did not seem to have had a decisive influence on decision-making. To develop a general picture of principals' understandings of business motives, the school survey asked them to indicate their perception of the importance to businesses of the three broad motives for school-business relationships: social responsibility, operations and commercial. Their responses were provided on a five point scale ranging from *crucially important* (1) to businesses to *not important at all* (5). They were asked to record discrete results for their school's *own* school-business relationships and school-business relationships generally. Table 8.15 shows the results.

Table 8.15   Principals' Perceptions of Business Motive

	Crucially Important	Very Important	Of Some Importance	Not Very Important	Not Important at All	Mean
Business social responsibility motives: our SBRs (n=107)	6.5%	21.5%	44.9%	20.6%	6.5%	2.99
Business social responsibility motives: SBRs generally (n=108)	5.6%	22.2%	46.3%	22.2%	3.7%	2.96
Business operations motive: our SBRs (n=107)	2.8%	8.4%	59.8%	20.6%	8.4%	3.23
Business operations motive: SBRs generally (n=108)	2.8%	16.7%	53.7%	19.4%	7.4%	3.12
Business commercial motive: our SBRs (n=107)	13.1%	35.5%	32.7%	13.1%	5.6%	2.63
Business commercial motive: SBRs generally (n=108)	16.7%	35.2%	30.6%	13.9%	3.7%	2.53

Two features are particularly significant from these data. The first is that the principals' perceptions generally accorded to businesses' own responses around motive from the business survey. That is, for businesses, commercial [in particular] and social responsibility objectives were regarded as paramount over operations goals, and these two motives were seen as complementary, not mutually exclusive. Secondly, the perceptions of business motives for each principal's own school-business relationships and school-business relationships generally were in most cases identical or virtually identical. This means that principals generally felt that their relationships accorded with general practice with respect to business motive, further suggesting that they were broadly accepting of the business commercial motive. This is interesting in light of the principal concerns about business motive and reciprocation found in the survey. Of the principals that rated the apparent motives of business as crucially or very important to their school-business relationship decision-making, 56.1% (37 of 66) perceived that the commercial business motive was crucial or very important to the decision-making of the businesses they had relationships with. This result is actually *higher* than the result for all respondents (48.6%). So although principals were concerned about business motives, commercial motives broadly defined were not considered particularly risky. The comments from some

principals about their school's policy around school-business relationships gives some idea of what might be deemed an unacceptable business motive or activity:

> "That it must be clear and transparent. No underhand deals or commercial intent."

> "The school will look at any proposal which will substantially benefit learning for students without compromising the independence of the school or put undue stress or hard sell on parents."

> "We do not sell to our parents/caregivers and take commission. We do not run sponsored events asking money of parents/caregivers. We do not distribute publicity for un-educational products. We do not enter events, competitions etc..."

> "Acceptability of service or product being beneficial for age group. Must enhance school programmes not contravene or disrupt."

> "Advertising or sponsorship policy – will not accept advertising in school newsletters which it deems offensive, an adverse visual impact or which clashes with the schools' priorities, policies or values."

> "Children will not be used for selling or marketing."

> "Only certain groups can get money from. e.g. no drink[62] companies."

Many of these responses express concerns with businesses being overbearing, disruptive, exploitative, and requiring the school to work too hard or compromise too much for the benefits on offer. So the focus was generally, but not in all cases, on the operation of these relationships and their short term impacts, rather than the links between a commercial motive and wider business agendas and relationships with children and publics. Some responses above also mention school values and this is explored further below.

The interviews explored principals' perceptions and understandings of business motive. When principals talked generally about business motive they tended to focus on businesses addressing children as consumers who were developing brand loyalties for the future. Social responsibility and enterprise education motives were not prominent in principals' responses. School-business relationships were seen a means

for business to promote a brand to children, which would carry through to short-term consumption and patterns of future consumption:

> A ready market, you've got a captive market of how ever many kids are at that school, and if you send the resource it's going to go into all the classes and here you've got your branding out to three, four hundred kids at a time, with minimum cost, minimum effort.
> (Principal, Blue Creek)

There was also acknowledgement of the way this promotion would fan out into a community through children's 'nag-factor' or parental preferences for brands [for example computers] that were seen to be supporting the school.

Two principals at this stage mentioned that businesses might be attempting to get particular messages across to children, one drawing on the current example of an energy generation and supply company working in the school. One principal and a deputy principal suggested that businesses might be motivated to improve the calibre of future workers. Two speculated that tax breaks might have something to do with the greater levels of interest by businesses in schools.

Specific School-business Relationship Activities and Business Motive
Principals were asked to describe their understanding of particular school-business relationship activities and their opinion about business motives for each of these.

Donation
Principals were very positive about donations. They were characterised as one-off/ ad hoc arrangements with 'no strings attached' – in other words, no mandated reciprocation required of the recipient. Donations were not always money and were sometimes tagged, however generally schools had discretion over their use. Donations were used to fund 'vital extras' – things that were not 'core' but nevertheless important such as prizes, outdoor activities and extra sports equipment. Donating businesses were heavily acknowledged in school newsletters and in more personal ways by these schools, and the business returns were seen to be around the development of community goodwill, and being positioned as a good corporate

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[62] It is unclear whether this comment is referring to alcoholic drinks or soft drinks.

citizen. Business donations were sometimes forthcoming from parents of the school who were also business people.

Sponsorship

There were few distinctions in the way a sponsorship was described by principals over that for donations despite the literature suggesting there are some key differences [see Chapter 3], and despite the fact that donations appeared to be less sophisticated and financially modest than sponsorships in the interview schools. The most commonly cited differences were the use of the sponsor's logo as reciprocation for the sponsorship, and that there was a bit more structure to the arrangement, for example tagged funding and reciprocation requirements. The key business motives cited were brand promotion through logo placement, and sponsorship as an expression of corporate citizenship/community service, responses that suggest a construction of sponsorship as a hybrid of Marconi's (1996) community-orientated and commercially-orientated sponsorships.

Cause Related Marketing

Principals' descriptions of cause related marketing focused on the operation of these programmes and the involvement of parents and children in maximising returns to the school. It was noted that returns could be lucrative but that it could also take a lot of school energy for sometimes little or no return. Because CRMs involved a variety of school stakeholders and they could be a competitive activity between schools, enhanced school spirit could be a school outcome. The overwhelming business motive was seen to be increased sales for the participating business. Brand loyalty and general promotion were also cited. One principal articulated these benefits and corporate citizenship:

> Oh its just straight money. Perhaps a wee bit straight money/good
> corporate citizen and a bit I suppose of brand thing you know.
> (Principal, Stone Church)

Partnership

Principals' comments about partnership stressed two key themes – a contractual relationship, and closeness. The contractual elements included complexity, the negotiation required, and the win-win nature of equal mutual benefits. Closeness

encompassed a longer term and stronger commitment, and an interactive relationship between the parties. Three principals also mentioned business expertise as being very valuable – both managerial support and curriculum support. Business motives were constructed as commercial and arising from the closeness of the relationship – branding opportunities, and a strong community profile. Only one principal mentioned a potential human capital benefit to business. It is evident from these responses that schools had accepted the notion of hybrid partnerships where schools gain in terms of operations and curriculum, and businesses exploit the relationship commercially.

Sponsored Educational Materials

SEMs were strongly associated by principals with curriculum fit – this was a core initial judgement about their utility. For instance: some were cited negatively as too narrowly focused or inflexible; the timing of their appearance in the school was critical; some resources had potential as student research resources; and others would be useful to teachers because they were readymade and contained lesson plans and curriculum links.

Another key theme was the student appeal of SEMs – their high production and presentation values, and their engaging and entertaining style. A deputy principal mentioned that the materials were often in important curriculum areas like student safety and nutrition, and one principal mentioned their usefulness as a careers resource. The perceived main benefits to business were commercial marketing and sales benefits through branding, product promotion, product sampling, the nag factor of children, enhanced legitimacy through teacher endorsement, and promoting themselves as community-conscious to children.

A PR business agenda of managing student or public opinion was not strongly articulated as a business motive initially. However concerns around corporate bias and corporate public relations generally, emerged when principals were presented with the four sample SEMs for their comment. Two principals recalled the 1970s international boycott of Nestle over its marketing of infant formula in developing countries. Continuing this critical line, one principal suggested that Nestle's current status as a food multinational might be worthwhile for students to look into:

OK gut reaction would be hard pressed for me to get past some of the negative publicity that Nestle has had in the past about their formulas and all that kind of stuff, and I'd be thinking "No", file it in the round file. But having said that it's really interesting to see that they've got their finger in so many things from dog biscuits to liquorice to you name it. So it might be a really interesting thing for some kids to follow through about a multinational that's got more power than the entire Dairy Board of New Zealand…

(Principal, Granberg)

Incompleteness also worried the principals with the Chelsea Sugar resource in particular:

Participant: [reading] "Sugar is sometimes made out to be the baddie when it comes to tooth decay". [inaudible] Well there you go. No I'd never use that by giddy! … If a resource is sponsored by a business but it gives the whole picture, then I'll use the resource because, you know, we're trying to teach children to be critical thinkers and to analyse things and, you know, if you only present them half the picture that's not doing that.

Interviewer: … Can a business give you the whole picture?

Participant: See that's the problem and that's why I don't tend to go for them because they can't, that's not in their interests to give the whole story.

(Principal, Blue Creek)

Similar concerns were raised by two principals about the treatment of battery hen farming in the *Chook Book* resource. Ethical concerns around the school potentially teaching a contentious corporate agenda were not enough to make them declare a blanket ban on these food-related resources, but their expectations were that teachers would take a critical interest in the sponsor and content. One exception to this general position was the principal at Blue Creek who promptly binned her school's copy of the resource *I've Got the Power*, after I informed her it was funded by tobacco multinational Philip Morris. In explaining this action the principal said that she did not want her school to be participating in Philip Morris's global marketing and public relations agenda. This principal had recently culled SEMs from the school's resource room, after checking with teachers about their expectations for future use.

One principal provided a rationale for teachers treading with caution over the *Chook Book* that was motivated by a desire to maintain strong relationships with parents as the school's consumers. His concern was that the pro-growth hormones/pro-battery farming content might upset parents actively concerned about animal welfare issues:

> …Yeah so I mean that one I would say "Look there might be some stuff you can use in here in a sort of science unit" but I mean I'd say "Look lets be aware that there will be 10% of our school that have probably got a real thing about pumping hormones into chicken and battery hens, so lets avoid that." …. Part of my role is really to I suppose, customer relationships and, I'll throw out the business terms – if I'm working on placating five parents who are, you know, paid up members of the animal rights league, it's distracting me from my core business of teaching and learning so I, you shouldn't go out with your job as avoiding controversy but I mean you should avoid the controversies you don't need to get into you know…
> (Principal, Stone Church)

Summary of School Motives and Business Motives as Expressed by Principals

The survey confirmed school-business relationships as a means to an end for primary schools in terms of financial security, curriculum delivery and school image. In most cases, businesses were not expected to be impacting directly on learning or organisational development, but *through* the relationship a school could achieve its financial and learning objectives. Schools' low motivation for intensive relationships where businesses would contribute their human capital to support the curriculum directly was reinforced by concerns over school-business relationships that were exploitative, intrusive or taxing on schools. There is an inference here that schools did not want to be overrun by businesses – they wanted to control the atmosphere of the relationship, and they were not that interested in businesses as educators of students in the areas of work skills and business knowledge. However, the commercial business motive for school-business relationships was strongly acknowledged by principals in the survey, and this was not sufficiently concerning in most cases to influence school-business relationship decision-making. At interview, principals were clear that businesses were attempting to develop a successful

consumer relationship with students and sometimes their families. For donations, sponsorships, partnerships, cause related marketing, and some sponsored educational materials they tended to position the exercise of commercial business motive as an appendage to the relationship, even when it was quite overt:

> There is a marketing sort of thing there [*Iron Brion*], whether it's full of logos or whether it's full of sample product, or whether it's really promoting the use of. And so the benefit for that one is that although it fits into our curriculum or our teaching and learning, it is slanting the people that are using it to their product, either visually or usage wise. (Principal, Johnson)

When principals discussed the commercial motive in detail, they tended to focus on the school and children as a target of [mostly] business marketing and [sometimes] public relations strategies, rather than a wider business agenda potentially involving a number of external publics. In the main, they isolated the benefits to both parties within the context of the school and its students: learning and financial viability for schools; and sales and marketing to students for businesses. Only one principal articulated a view that schools were being used as part of a wider political agenda of business to manufacture consent for operations through an image marketing strategy of support for schools. This result is problematic for two reasons. Firstly the survey confirmed that for many large businesses, the image of school-business relationships is more important than, and ultimately drives, business action in education. Schools perpetuate a range of corporate agendas when they participate in this process. Secondly, constructing the commercial motive as advertising and marketing, rather than pedagogical and political, allowed for the persistence of a splitting of children's learning and their consumption, making this shift in critical analysis from sales and marketing to corporate ideologies, less likely.

Principals' basic understandings of the mechanics of donations, sponsorships and cause related marketing were generally consistent with the literature. For partnerships, the rhetoric of contract and win-win benefits for schools and businesses was strongly apparent, affirming an enterprising view of partnership as the meeting of two businesses, rather than a view around active development and participation in learning. A managerial view of partnership has become normalised. When discussing SEMs generally, principals were likely to immediately think about the curriculum

and the appeal to teachers and students, which framed their thinking about quality to issues of fit, rather than commercialism and corporate power. Having said that, three of the principals raised ethical concerns when prompted by specific SEMs with contentious sponsors, products or behaviours, and the other two referred to ethics at other times. Generally these ethical concerns were not enough to ban the resource although one principal reached a limit of tolerance with tobacco sponsorship, and another would have advised teachers to tread carefully with the *Chook Book* to avoid any controversy with parents. Compared to the teachers, the principals were significantly more likely to evoke ethics confirming they were attempting to maintain an ethical lens on their school's activities, above the mechanics of curriculum delivery. It was also apparent that as individuals, these principals were older and had *lived through* periods of high profile anti-corporate protest [e.g. the Nestle boycott in the 1970s]. They had all entered into teaching before New Zealand's marketisation reforms from 1989. At least three of them articulated strong progressive ideals of equality and social justice through education. One reminded me more than once that politically he came from quite a Marxist/Socialist background.

The generally positive positioning of school-business relationships by principals as a help to education, one that some would have liked to see more of in their school, cast schools and businesses as entirely distinct spheres in children's lives. Business was constructed as a commercial institution rather than a cultural and pedagogical one. It was not that business motives were being isolated from children – principals were generally clear that child marketing was prominent on the business agenda – it was just that these effects were not too problematic against the far more significant goal of curriculum delivery, that could be furthered through the money or learning resources and opportunities provided. Because the business motive was being constructed in the language of business and the school motive in the language of education, school-business relationships rarely crossed into the tricky territory of student values and identities. However, some specific sponsors were seen as beyond the pale as an educator of young people because of their taboo status in childhood (e.g. a strip club and tobacco).

Principals and Marketisation

Concerns with funding and image placed principals within the structural and cultural realities of a market place for education. Principals were generally frank about the business of education and their roles and responsibilities within it, and related these changes to the *Tomorrow's Schools* and subsequent reforms. They were on the whole, not 'cultural dupes' of the hegemony of marketisation, and were sometimes acting against their conscience or with mixed feelings. However, they were generally strongly conscious of the institutional restraints and leadership realities that marketisation had created:

> I think that generally the Tomorrow's Schools thing and the politics that that comes from, has kind of opened up a whole bunch of new thinking in education you know, the entrepreneurial type thinking, the promotion of this school over that school type scenario. And that has probably changed some peoples' thinking about "How do I do that?" And a lot of my colleagues have adopted a real business approach to how they do things you know the promotion of the school, the touting for business, the looking for clients as opposed to looking for students that kind of thinking that has come into it. And so the link to businesses has become easier because all of a sudden educators were, at least in part, talking a business kind of language. And I don't necessarily see that as a positive because I don't come from that kind of a philosophy if you like, but definitely then, the side kick to that I think is that schools are in more need of sponsorship and in more need of money and in more need of those things because they are desperately trying to make ends meet. So the entrepreneurial character that was able to get more funding for the school and implement more programmes has probably done all right for him or herself.
> (Principal, Granberg)

And:

> Interviewer: Any final comments?

> Participant: Yeah, just to reiterate that to be a principal you do have to think a wee bit like a business and that may have broken down barriers that you, you know, you see yourself, I've got quite a few friends in business and since 1990, since I've been a principal, I see myself, you know I mean I have labour issues I've got to deal with, which wasn't really the same, prior to 1990 industrial issues weren't dealt at school site level. I've got to keep my costs down, I've got to maximise my income so

I can do a good job with the education, so in some ways the fact that you actually you know, part of your mentality is to think in the same way as a business, …
(Principal, Stone Church)

The principals did not articulate a sense of nostalgia for the past, or, with one exception, *profoundly* vexed about school-business relationships in the current environment. Schools and school leaders were pressured by educational and financial viability generally, but also focused on a range of other education priorities such as ICT or literacy to devote much professional interest to school-business relationships:

But it certainly, it's [school-business relationships] not, even with some principals with pretty left wing traditions, yeah it's not something that gets their blood up at all really.
(Principal, Stone Church)

Principals were aware of the need to respond to conditions of school competition and consumer choice. Four of the five interview principals talked about school image. For two the comments were about funding image, and examples were financing for student laptops and a new school-gate. For the other two principals, image was associated with the enhanced school credibility that could arise from a school-business relationship, including local media interest in the relationship and the possibility of further school-business relationships. Both sets of comments linked school image to school-business relationships in some way.

All but one of the principals articulated an awareness of the ethical risks aligned with school-business relationships but none were prepared to cut their own throats in this competitive and financially risky environment by taking a unilateral hard line against them. Compromise was acknowledged in the pursuit of a prime objective of financial or resource stability and school development. Sometimes these compromises were not made lightly:

Participant: … I did wonder about going to pubs for, because that thing is like "oh jeez", you know we've only done it once, and we thought long and hard about it before-hand but we were so desperately in need of money for some equipment for the senior classroom. … It was actually, we went to one who is managed within the family, within the community … But its like "oh that's just terrible", we're getting this money from

people who can't afford it you know because it's all of them, the people who can't afford it who spend their money at the pokies.

Interviewer: How much was the grant?

Participant: $17,000.

Interviewer: And we're you successful?

Participant: Yes.

Interviewer: That's a lot of money isn't it.

Participant: It is a lot of money. It's huge.

Interviewer: For no strings except spend the money as you said you would.

Participant: Yes and we didn't have to acknowledge it in the newsletter or you know – and I know the sop – the reason they do it is it is a sop – it is a sop to the conscience – "yes they're taking all this money in, but they're giving it out". It was like, we were desperate. Would we do it again? – probably if we were desperate. ... And then there's the "everyone else is doing it ... we should be in it". But should we? I'm much more comfortable going to the Hillary Commission ...
(Principal, Blue Creek)

In another example of compromise, a principal cited the recent example in his school of a school programme business sponsor requesting a slot of school time to present an unrelated environmental education unit to students. Although the principal was not happy about the rushed and pushy approach of the business, he allowed it to take place, partly because he was concerned about the potential ramifications of saying no on the future of the core sponsorship.

Reflecting that New Zealand principals are faced with extreme administrative workloads, efficiency and time commitment were common themes when principals regarded school-business relationships. Relationships that were straightforward, required little teacher time commitment, were of short duration, were non-controversial in parent's eyes, and were relevant to the curriculum, had strong appeal. In this environment, certain relationships were justified as not too offensive for

children because they were so quick and infrequent – for instance, the McDonald's *Make it Click* show. So school-business relationships could be an efficient solution within the somewhat pressured decision-making atmosphere and busy timetable of a school.

The Adoption and Practice of School-Business Relationships in Schools

The remainder of this chapter progressively introduces other key participants in the adoption and practice of school-business relationships: the BOT, Parent Teacher Association (PTA)/fundraising committee, parents and teachers.

Scenarios for the Adoption of School-Business Relationships in Schools

The survey and interviews confirmed that the principal was the central figure in school-business relationships decision-making. One interview principal stressed their role as a pro-active networker and seeker of school-business relationship opportunities, however mostly principals talked about offers coming to them from businesses. From the formal interviews plus two informal interviews with school administration staff, three general scenarios for processing different school-business relationship processes emerged for different types of relationship. The school process for the adoption of these relationships is presented visually in figure 8.1 below.

Figure 8.1   Processes for the Adoption of School-Business Relationships in Primary Schools

Resource/programme implemented

Staff meeting

Teacher

Fundraising. Typically cause related marketing

Stored in resource room

Curriculum area leader

School Management Team

Principal

School Office

Curriculum Related. Typically sponsored educational materials or sponsored educational programme

BOT Chair

Agreement negotiated

Board of Trustees

PTA/ Fundraising Committee

Fundraising scheme implemented

Complex/financial. Typically sponsorship, partnership. Sometimes sponsored educational programme

A first process scenario for school-business relationships was evident for complex and/or financial relationships. These were typically sponsorships, partnerships and sometimes sponsored educational programmes. Principals might cultivate these opportunities, and unsolicited offers from businesses were referred directly to the principal from the school office. These offers, if igniting the interest of the principal, would be referred to the Board of Trustees for deliberation and a decision – sometimes via the school management team, or via an initial discussion between the principal and BOT chair.

A second scenario was that if the offer was a fundraising opportunity it would typically go straight to the PTA/ fundraising committee, or sometimes to the principal for a first view before being forwarded to the PTA/ fundraising committee. Cause related marketing programmes generally fell into this category. One principal said that he binned the 'really out there' offers. Once received by the PTA/fundraising committee, these groups were fairly autonomous in the decision-making and operation of the programme. One principal forwarded any programmes that were a mixture of curriculum and fundraising – such as a colouring-in competition, to the deputy principal as the curriculum leader of this school. Sometimes fundraising offers found their way to teachers directly, and in some cases CRM programmes were being organised and managed by the teaching staff for class or syndicate fundraising and/or the development of school spirit.

A third scenario was where the item was directly curriculum-related. These offers encompassed SEMs and sponsored educational programmes. In most cases an SEM or offer of an SEM would be initially handed to the relevant curriculum area leader, or sent to the principal, particularly if it was addressed to the principal. Sometimes the SEM would be addressed to a curriculum subject leader [e.g. the science curriculum leader]. Again, principals had discretion to bin these items or offers, or pass them on to a curriculum leader or teacher for further consideration. Sometimes the principal would add a written comment to the SEMs when passing them on. In one school the management team discussed the merits of the SEM before passing it on, with their views, to the curriculum leader, and this initial process had a considerable bearing on whether the SEM/offer was ultimately adopted. Once a teacher or curriculum leader received the SEM/offer, it was their responsibility to

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present it for discussion at an appropriate staff meeting if they thought it had value as a curriculum resource. Judging from the amount of food-related SEMs in the resource rooms of four of the interview schools [see Chapter 6], if the SEMs were not adopted on the spot, they tended to still be filed in the resource room. Sponsored educational programmes could follow a similar process to SEMs however because of their added complexity and potentially greater timetable implications they tended to be considered in the complex/financial category, and therefore required the endorsement of the principal and sometimes the Board of Trustees.

Each of these three key scenarios for processing School-business relationships is considered further in the remainder of the chapter when looking at the roles of the key participants. Three key features of the processes as mapped in Figure 8.1 are explored further below: confirmation of the centrality of the principal; the relative autonomy of the PTA/fundraising committee; and the apparently minor role of teachers in school-business relationships associated with fundraising and complex/financial arrangements.

The Role of the Board of Trustees

As mentioned above, the support of the Board was regarded by principals in the survey as pivotal in school-business relationship decision-making, and according to these responses, Boards often shared decision-making power with principals. Businesses did not approach BOTs directly, and proposals were presented to the BOT that had been received or cultivated by the principal. Sometimes principals made a call not to go through the Board, but generally if the proposal was complex, financially large, required reciprocation from the school [such as signage], involved some risk or novelty, or needed to be reviewed against school values and objectives, the principal would take the proposal to the Board – in some cases with a 'recommendation' or a 'decision' for endorsement. Principals appeared to have relatively few hassles with Boards consenting to a course of action supported by them. Sometimes the principal would discuss the proposal with the Board chairperson at their weekly meeting for a potentially quicker decision, rather than present it to the full BOT. During interviews with the BOT representatives it was confirmed that curriculum-related school-business relationships [for instance SEMs]

were generally not taken to the BOT, again, unless they were complex and/or required a strong time commitment. The BOT reps were comfortable that this was largely a principal/teacher arena of decision-making.

The two Board chairpersons interviewed were both were somewhat anxious about resourcing. One mentioned the difficulty of keeping the aging school buildings up to standard and the other was concerned about dwindling financial reserves and a transient family population causing uncertainty with roll-based resourcing levels and forward budgeting. One of the Boards had made a formal decision to be open to opportunities with business. One of the BOT chairs saw himself as driving a strategy to develop a more entrepreneurial approach to school-business relationships:

> Interviewer: You mentioned that you've been brought on board essentially to provide some business emphasis. Do you see that role as encompassing seeking closer relationships with businesses or seeking new kinds of associations with businesses for the school?
>
> Participant: Probably a bit of both. If the school is to survive we need to have a larger influx of money. The area that we're in is, the market values have gone up thereby affecting the decile rating, which takes money away from us. So we're faced with the consequences of that. So we have to, some of the Board members have to face up to the fact that we've got to get money from other sources like businesses and sponsorship, because the budget just can't cope with it. We had funds set aside but they've now dwindled away so yeah, I'm trying to encourage them to pick up the ball and run with it rather than leaving it to one person like myself to get the thing going.
> (BOT chair, Granberg)

Although the Boards appeared to be open to relationships, especially those that could save money or increase funding, the BOT could also be a site of ethical tension over school-business relationships. One principal mentioned a Board member challenging the Board's general support for a sponsored values education programme with the concern 'whose values?' Another participant, drawing on knowledge of past events, mentioned the potential for the Board to be infiltrated by a parent with a personal ideological agenda. The BOT chair of one school mentioned that there was a conservative element in the school community that would likely be resistant to

school-business relationships that displaced or challenged school traditions such as the school name.

Board Decision-making and School Values

Board representatives were clear that it was not their role to get involved in general curriculum decisions and one said that the Board would not think to challenge or contribute to the decision-making about a resource or programme unless it was 'big'. From the Board's view something big was a school-business relationship that affected their governance roles around fit with school values and school plan, financial management, and human resource management. They were also key participants if the relationship was going to do something to the external identity and image of the school, because these changes needed to literally 'reflect' school values. Examples included signage and other externally obvious reciprocation such as name changes, or enhancing the school's physical assets.

In managing these complex decisions the principals and BOT reps mentioned the Board of Trustees as the forum where proposals could be assessed and debated against the values and priorities of the school. Values were mentioned frequently as a check against the attractiveness of the offer:

> So yeah, I don't think we'd sort of prostitute our values but we'd
> certainly be very interested in any scenario that might arise with dollars
> or services in kind.
> (Principal, Granberg)

And:

> [reads from school charter] "To seek extra and alternative funding
> streams, so develop partnerships/ relationships with businesses and other
> types of organisations; seek sponsorships for specific projects; involve
> ourselves in Ministry contracts and initiatives". But other than that it
> works back to those values and direction statements of the Board.
> (Principal, Johnson)

Participants from the Catholic school (Stone Church) and Blue Creek with its philosophical special character, mentioned the special character of the school as

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having an influence on their decision-making but participants were not forthcoming about the specific implications of this link.

It emerged from participants that 'values' was being positioned as an input into the decision-making discourse rather than an immutable ethical base or boundary. Values had to *compete* with the alternative discourses of pragmatism, financial viability, entrepreneurialism [in a marketised environment], and curriculum fit:

> I think that we're very open to all those aspects, like approaches, as long as they don't really impact greatly on the values, of particularly our Board and the ethos of the school. So there would be a difference in seeking sponsorship from [local strip club], than seeking some sponsorship, from you know, even pub charities. One we wouldn't touch with a barge pole. Pub charities is only on the other side of that line in a way, but you know we have no qualms in approaching them. So we're pretty open.
> (Principal, Johnson)

It was evident that most of the schools to differing degrees were integrating entrepreneurialism and openness to school-business relationships as part of their school values. A few responses from the survey about school policy around school-business relationships reflected this enterprising school culture:

> "We have an understanding that we will take up opportunities as they suit and that we will seek outside funds, i.e. sponsorship as often as we are able"

> "Position, a fundraising sub committee of the board actively seek funding"

> "To always be open to proposals"

> "We will accept whatever is offered. We intend to promote this further"

This engagement with school values by the BOT when considering school-business relationships tended not to include teachers directly, and some teachers were quite vague on how complex/financial school-business relationships came to occur. This division between curriculum and non-curriculum school-business relationships potentially strengthened the space for Boards and principals to apply [sometimes regretfully] a business approach to these decisions without teachers. By enacting the

decisions within a management discourse there was limited capacity for talking about these activities critically in political and pedagogical terms, or using the Board of Trustees meeting as a sphere for democratic deliberation and community debate. Although teachers were sometimes vague on adoption processes for complex/financial relationships, they did not feel excluded; they were usually quite accepting and positive about these relationships, and there appeared to be little wider community dissent reflected at the Board level except from parents who were trustees themselves.

The Role of Parents

In the USA, parent groups have sometimes led opposition to school-business relationships in school districts or even states, with some success. Although the 'support' of parents for school-business relationships was regarded as crucially or very important to most school survey respondents, non-trustee parents had no explicit hands-on role in any decision-making about school-business relationships in the interview schools. In the survey only 10 schools consulted parents about the adoption of SEMs. In at least two of the interview schools, parent views about the curriculum generally were canvassed through an annual survey commissioned by the Board, and several respondents remarked that parents had exercised their democratic rights by voting in Board trustees to represent them. Boards sometimes notified parents in their newsletter about their school-business relationship decisions. Participants expressed that there was little parent interest, and no wider community debate about the adoption or operation of school-business relationships in their school. When parent input was mentioned, this was usually in terms of negative feedback about the excessive fundraising demands of various cause related marketing programmes. Parents were crucial to the success of these programmes and they were communicated to quite heavily through newsletters and letters to spur their participation:

> With the [local real estate firm cause related marketing programme] we informed people through a newsletter, you know, that we're now on the scheme, a bit like the Telecom thing those have all gone through the newsletter. But that's more a... "We've done this, join up quick" and you know "get our points for Johnson" sort of thing. Or "if you're selling, use [local real estate company] because they give money to Johnson". It

wasn't a consultation, …
(BOT Chair, Johnson)

Therefore 'parent support', which principals rated highly as a factor in school-business relationship decision-making was not characterised as support through an active participative role in decision-making, but rather as *buy-in* to the intervention.

Although parents had next to no formal decision-making power and generally had little to say when things were in operation, in another sense the dynamics between parents and schools were having a large bearing on the need for and shaping of school-business relationships. Parents were routinely acknowledged as having more say and influence in schools in recent times. Participants talked about the raised expectations of parents for their children's education. One articulated this as parents being education 'shoppers':

> Well parents are shoppers now aren't they, they're shoppers of education. And I'm not saying that's a bad thing, I mean I did it. You go around looking for what you perceive you want as a parent for your child, what meets your philosophies, what you like and you go looking.
> (Teacher, Blue Creek)

Another respondent focused her explanation of parent influence around consumer expectations of quality service:

> You're [school] asking for more and more and more. But if you're asking for more, and they're [parents] demanding more, it's like you've got to manage "yes you're paying for this and this is going to be your outputs". So I think that what has changed in my view, is the parent knowledge "what is being, where is my money being spent thank you very much? What is this money for? Hey I've only got so much money to spend, is that a worthwhile activity there if I'm giving you this?" … I mean we think we're a business in some respects keeping this place going on a budget, which is very low, but also saying "we're using your money wisely within school".
> (Deputy Principal, Mapletree)

This expectation 'inflation' from parents also added costs for schools:

> So to be a school in providing what you need in the market place, you've got to be able to provide those things. And our ICT suite is an example we've got a 16-computer suite down there which cost thousands of

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dollars and it's got to be maintained. But that is an expectation now of
parents that you will have those things. So therefore you need more
money not only to provide them but to maintain them.
(Deputy Principal, Stone Church)

Some data from interviews suggested that the consumer expectations of parents were
more intense for high decile schools:

...I often say in the press, you know that teachers are given a huge
amount of respect by their communities and never attacked, never
challenged by articulate people in the same way that if you're working in
a high decile school you are constantly being challenged by assertive
articulate parents. So it can be a pretty comfortable for some of them.
(Principal, Stone Church)

As noted in the *Chook Book*/hormones/battery farming example above, the personal
ethics of parents could create unwanted risks for schools which needed to be
managed – proactively if possible. Two anecdotal examples from high decile schools
related to me during the research indicated that personal values were strongly nested
in parental expectations for the adoption and adaptation of school-business
relationships in high decile schools. These appear to at least partly explain why
SEMs were far less commonly used in high decile schools, as reported by principals
in the survey. The first example was that a decile 10 school had made the NZ Beef
and Lamb Marketing Bureau include vegetarian content in its 'all beef and lamb'
Iron Brion show and educational programme, after complaints from vegetarian
parents[63]. The second was that a private girls' school had had to drop the
McDonald's Reading Programme after an uproar from parents about a fast-food
company supporting their literacy efforts[64]. The school survey found no sharp
difference by decile for the support of parents being a very or crucially important
factor in their school-business relationship decision-making. However, what parent
support means in practice appears to differ across schools, and decile appears to
account for some of this difference. This is discussed further in the section titled *Rich
and Poor Kids* below. Of the two decile 1 schools interviewed, one actively
endeavoured to consult with parents generally, and one consciously did not. All five
schools were subject to increasing scrutiny by parents as shoppers of education. As

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[63] The source for this example was the deputy principal from this school.

Chapter 5 showed, these dynamics can be facilitative of more, and perhaps qualitatively more *suspect*, school-business relationships.

In summary, the interview data suggest that parents' raised expectations and more intense interest and anxiety about education in a competitive school environment, created pressure for more resources and diverse educational experiences in schools. However, while a strong curriculum was a parental priority, they were not active in school-business relationship decision-making and generally not forward in challenging school-business relationships on ethical grounds, except where relationships clashed with personal values and tastes. Parents on the whole do not appear to have been that concerned about school-business relationships, seeing these as a means of child learning, not an end. However the consumer/provider relationship between schools and parents was having a shaping influence on school-business relationships by adding to school costs. Also, as mentioned, in at least one school, their image marketing strategy included promotion of school-business relationships.

The Role of the Parent Teacher Association (PTA) and Fundraising Committees

The PTA or the school fundraising committee[65] emerged as key and semi-autonomous decision-making body in schools, deliberating over and implementing school-business relationships with a fundraising emphasis. Their actions both reflected and reproduced the status of parents as participant consumers in schools. Commercialised pre-packaged fundraising offers inundate schools, with one office person in this research estimating they received about four offers a week. These were typically forwarded to the PTA/fundraising committee for scrutiny – sometimes via the principal. PTAs in this research had particular fundraising goals and projects such as new outdoor seating, and typically scheduled one fundraising project per term. The PTA/fundraising committee was relatively free to decide on a fundraising package and led the implementation:

> Well that's a PTA thing. They organise it and then they turn up with these boxes full of Mars Bars and then they dish them out to the kids and

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[64] The source for this example was a teacher interviewee.
[65] Not all schools have a PTA. However a fundraising committee might include parents or even be a sub-committee of the Board of Trustees.

the kids come back with the money or back with the Mars Bars.
(Teacher, Stone Church)

Its decision-making framework was driven by its fundraising goals, which were by their nature financial. It became clear that in a contemporary marketised environment of low parent engagement in participative 'cake stall' type fundraising, the PTA/fundraising committee also had to appeal to parents as the consumers, rather than the producers of fundraising. In other words it had to sell to and through them, rather than involve them in the creation of fundraising concepts. The PTA's own membership was also severely affected by declining parent participation[66]. This logically led to cause related marketing schemes because: they were high return/low risk; they did not have to be developed from scratch; and parents got something back for their contribution. In the interview schools, the key product context for CRMs was foods of minimal nutritional value – especially chocolate bars. In Blue Creek, the principal felt that the junk food fundraising route had gotten out of hand:

> The PTA last year did Cadbury Chocolates, they did croissants, they did those packets of cookies … and this year I said to them "I'm not happy with it. I don't…", because it's all fat rich food … But I said to the PTA "I know it's the easy way to raise money but you know, obesity is a real problem, and all this stuff is easy to sell because it appeals to our liking for rich or sweet food". So I said "Choose one, and do the one", because there's nothing wrong with these foods in themselves, it's just the over abundance of them. So chocolate is a treat, it's at the top of the food triangle, it doesn't mean don't have it. So you know same with all these things, we were doing all these things at the top of the triangle, what are we doing for the bottom? "So choose one". So they chose the chocolate. … Certain parents don't like the fact that we do it, not enough though to come up with something else, which raises as much money as easily, or be involved in raising the money.

The principal of Stone Church said that the PTA would look at whether it was going overboard 'flogging chocolate' from an ethical/values perspective, but chocolate fundraising was very popular in schools interviewed and surveyed. From the survey, 40.0%[67] (46 of 115) of schools were participating in Cadbury Chocolates fundraising in 2003. Although PTAs were keen to provide a variety of different fundraising

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[66] One participant also noted that the people who are now elected to Boards of Trustees would have traditionally taken up PTA roles.

options for parents, the economics and relative ease of operating a junk food CRM programme were very favourable compared to other options:

> Interviewer: Why do you think chocolates are so successful as fundraising as opposed to say a school fair or bottle drive?
>
> Participant: One, I think it shares the burden as opposed to, you know, 20 people working their butts off, I mean everybody's got to contribute. Two, its probably simpler than a raffle, I mean its out and back…
>
> Interviewer: And everyone wins a prize.
>
> Participant: Yeah that's right, pretty simple. Actually the rate of return, it's not bad. I mean you get a good mark-up, that sort of thing. … What did we send home? – one box , or two boxes of Mars Bars we made about five grand.
>
> Interviewer: … How many Mars Bars do you think you ended up selling?
>
> Participant: Lets see, 300 times 20, a box of 20 Mars Bars and 300 kids sold them so what's that, $6,000[68].
>
> Interviewer; That's a hell of a lot of chocolate you're pumping into the community [laughs].
>
> Participant: Yeah … it won't be too long before they start questioning that.
> (Principal, Stone Church)

Principals could confront the PTA on its fundraising or veto decisions, but they faced dilemmas in taking these courses of action. One was financial in that the PTA was tapping a rich vein. Secondly, it would demoralise a dwindling hardcore of committed fundraisers providing a voluntary service to the school, and force the PTA/fundraising committee to take a *step backwards* towards participative methods of fundraising for which there was little parent/community interest and lower returns. The PTA/ fundraising committees were less likely to contemplate their decisions in

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[67] The percentage is higher (42.6%) if the seven principal respondents who were unsure are removed from the total population.

[68] To make about $5,000 the school would have sold approximately 245 boxes of Mars Bars twin packs. Each box contained 24 twin packs – 48 Mars Bars. This means a total of 11,660 Mars Bars would have been consumed during this promotion (Source – *Lollies on line* http://www.lolliesonline.co.nz/fundraising.htm accessed 16 November 2004).

an ethical framework than a Board of Trustees, as their success was largely constructed through meeting financial targets. They were a further distance from the learning of the school and this was occasionally bringing them into conflict with the school's health and physical education aims. Further, they did not link their fundraising efforts to the milieu of contemporary child marketing practices of businesses or its effects.

Teachers and School-Business Relationships

Teachers individually and as part of a collective, had decision-making power in the adoption of school-business relationships that were directly curriculum-related – usually SEMs, but also sponsored educational programmes. They had relatively little opportunity or inclination to influence complex/financial relationships. As we shall see, they could be quite involved in school-business relationships as fundraisers including being formally part of the PTA or fundraising committee. However they did not drive decision-making in the school fundraising area. This section considers teachers' understandings and views about school-business relationships, and their strategies of adoption, adaptation, and where evident, resistance to these relationships and children's commercial culture generally.

Teachers Constructions of School-Business Relationships and the Business Motive

Like principals, teachers were asked to articulate their understandings of the five school-business relationship activity types and their understandings about business motives – generically and for each type of relationship. Donations, sponsorships, cause related marketing, and partnership are considered below. Sponsored educational materials are considered separately later.

Donations

Two themes in the characterisation of donations were strongly apparent for teachers. First was the ad hoc, random and 'one-off' or 'out of the blue' nature of a donation. One participant noted that the relationship ended when the exchange was made. This characteristic was a positive because a donation was an unexpected bonus, rather

than a negative of a lack of long-term commitment. The second theme was the 'free' nature of a donation – the donating business did not expect anything in return and teachers were not burdened with a time and effort commitment of reciprocation. Schools had some discretion about how to use the donation if it was money. Even very small donations were gratefully received, such as prizes for students. Another trait mentioned by a few teachers was that donations were not always money – sometimes they were material resources [such as paper] or time.

When asked about business motive, teachers often literally used the phrase 'no strings attached' or 'free,' meaning that businesses did not expect a financial return. However teachers, including those making the 'no strings attached'/free claim, also articulated the commercial business benefits of positive publicity. One teacher mentioned specifically that the donating business could publicise the relationship itself. For the other teachers the positive publicity was being driven by the school – often by a thank you and/or 'plug' for the business in the school newsletter. This 'soft' reciprocation was either an expectation of the donator or something voluntarily provided by the school. Although this emphasis on school-generated reciprocation could be interpreted as a failure to understand donations as a complex business strategy, many teachers were recalling very low key and 'community orientated' relationships (Marconi, 1996), some of which were actually produced by non-profit groups or school parents who were in business. Interestingly, some donating businesses had latitude to seek reciprocation within the school for instance by donating branded goods or 'donating' vouchers as a loss-lead strategy.

Sponsorship

In contrast with donations, participants tended to think of sponsorships as the business supporting something specific, for example sports uniforms. This tagged funding could have been sought or applied for by the school rather than given spontaneously by the business. There was an acknowledged greater degree of complexity to sponsorships over donations.

The key business benefit for sponsorship was associated with sponsor branding in the school as an advertising opportunity to children. Teachers tended to distinguish sponsorships from donations because the sponsor's name appeared on the sponsored

item or elsewhere around the school. Again, just one teacher mentioned business-led external promotion of the sponsorship as a business motive despite the literature and the business survey noting external promotion as a key business motive. Again, the benefits to business were not seen as costs to education:

> Interviewer: Again, what do you think the business might want to get out of the sponsorship arrangement?
>
> Participant: … I don't know, unless, but again if a business is giving a kind, I mean sponsoring in certain things and doesn't want to be really known or just wants to be, how do you put it? popular?, famous? Not famous, not popular kind of it's propaganda or you know how like "oh it's Telecom who's sponsoring them" like how you see now how the cricketers are being sponsored by different, so you know it's there that they are sponsoring so then OK then it's a company that [inaudible], it's a company that's sponsoring. But if it benefits children I don't think it's a problem. If it's going to benefit the children I think we should be going in and taking the sponsorship, what does it matter if only they want their names to be put up?
> (Teacher, Blue Creek)

For both sponsorships and donations the potential resource benefits, even low level amounts, were very compelling for teachers.

Cause Related Marketing

Teachers in discussing cause related marketing tended to draw on their recent experiences of different programmes. They talked a lot about parents and their students getting behind the programmes and the lengths that their schools had gone to in an attempt [sometimes successful, sometimes not] to win a major prize. Although two interview schools had earned major prizes in a recent CRM programme, several teachers raised concerns about the intrusion on class time of these activities. In two schools, to collect bonus points in a programme, students had written letters to the CRM provider saying why they should win, and had sung at the business's retail base. The act of teachers administrating the programme was also a time issue. Blue Creek had a policy of running these programmes from the office so as to protect the classroom day from these time intrusions. At the other extreme, Johnson used the CRM programmes as a tool to develop school spirit, and therefore encouraged extensive teacher and student involvement across the school. Winning prizes was

seen to have a very positive effect on the children and this made a rigid cost benefit analysis of participation inappropriate:

> Interviewer: I'm just sort of thinking, would some mathematically gifted, not even very gifted, child come up and think "well you're just holding up a sports bag here and we've spent 200 hours on this"?

> Participant: I don't think any of our kids would know, they would look at the sports bag and go "Oh wow, cool" and I guess that's our school. Anything we get, our kids go "oh wow" over, it's just the way our school. I don't know if that's always the same in every school but here it is. Anything that we get, our kids just "oh wow that's amazing". It's also the way we present it to them I guess.
> (Teacher, Johnson)

The main business motive articulated by teachers was sales, and it was accepted that the programmes increased sales for the provider when parents, encouraged on by a range of school strategies, switched purchasing preferences to the provider's product/service during the competition phase. Two teachers also mentioned advertising benefits for business.

Partnership

Teachers were generally less sure how to define a partnership reflecting that they were not directly involved with the negotiation and establishment of these complex activities, and they were quite uncommon. Like principals they used a contractual framework to suggest that partnership would be a closer, more purposeful, complex and substantial relationship than a sponsorship. Having a common purpose was mentioned but also that both parties would directly benefit. By exception, one teacher, drawing on existing relationships the school had with business people and businesses, suggested partnership was working closely together for a common goal (Teacher, Granberg). Teachers were unforthcoming with business motives that were more specific than the need for business to benefit directly from the relationship.

General Business Motives

When teachers were asked to describe what they felt had changed in the business environment that would make businesses potentially more interested in education, again there was some uncertainty. Responses were strongly associated with

marketing and advertising, with a view to making short-term sales or building long-term brand loyalty. Branding and getting the business name out to children and parents were frequently mentioned. The school was positioned as one site from a clutch of child advertising mediums being used by businesses. Two specific marketing strategies mentioned were the loss-lead nature of prizes such as McDonald's rewards, and the nagging of parents by students. Schools were seen as a good avenue for advertisers to reach children, but this was in terms of advertising and marketing. There was no mention of a public relations agenda to dispose children towards the businesses' operations and behaviours, and there was an emphasis on students as the target rather than parents or wider publics. Teachers generally did not articulate concerns about marketing in schools contributing to a culture of consumption.

Because the responses focused on schools as another marketing site, there was little comment about any special characteristics of schools that made them particularly attractive to contemporary businesses, beyond teachers acknowledging their role as influential adults in their students' lives, a relationship that could sway their consumption preferences. The following response from a teaching deputy principal represents this firm articulation of a marketing agenda [including a decoupling of business benefits – 'promotion' and education benefits – 'learning'] but a lack of a more sophisticated reading of these activities as a public relations strategy:

> It's just promotion isn't it. It's promoting their company, just getting their name, their brand name out there presumably. You know swamping their little minds with labels and signs and symbols. I mean McDonald's do it a lot, they send us a heap of stuff that the kids love. So I presume it's just promotion for themselves. I haven't personally seen much benefit that we've gained from it.
> (Deputy Principal, Mapletree)

Teachers as fundraisers
Teachers' limited responses about school environment factors influencing school-business relationships were overwhelmingly focused on funding for curriculum delivery. They were intimately aware that base curriculum budgets covered just the basics, and some teachers were partially responsible for budget setting and spending

for a curriculum area. They therefore drew a very direct and at times emotional link between business funding and extra curriculum opportunities for children:

> For us, usually we would look for sponsorship, even donations if it was financial donations. It's about creating opportunities for kids from our area to be able to do things that, if we didn't get the sponsorship and we asked for all the money, now being in the area we're in, our kids would miss out on some opportunities.
> (Teacher, Johnson)

At the two decile one schools, teachers were addressing curriculum funding issues directly by *initiating* and coordinating their own class, or wider-school fundraising programmes. As an example, one teacher at Johnson had instigated and was managing the Yummy Apples cause related marketing programme[69]:

> Interviewer: I'm interested in how much time and energy that takes on your part.
>
> Participant: Yeah, certainly more than, yeah I mean it's something completely unrelated to the classroom so it's certainly time that I'm, yeah I'm donating to that. I don't know, I've had to download all the relevant sheets from the internet and photocopy them for everyone and I'm collecting in the sheets when they're completed and things like that so it does take a bit of extra time and effort, yeah.
>
> Interviewer: But you think it's worth it for the gains?
>
> Participant: Yep. I'm on the PE committee; we take whatever we get in terms of, you know, extra PE equipment and things.
> (Teacher, Johnson)

Because teachers were strongly motivated to fundraise to provide extra opportunities for children they were teaching[70], and because they were doing the fundraising themselves, there was little space for regret or critique. Some teachers were obviously exasperated or weary from this 'sad state of affairs' of having to seek extra money to provide learning opportunities. But there was a resignation to it too and it was not appropriate to be precious about business commercial motive. One teacher

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[69] This teacher had been collecting her personal Yummy Apple stickers for two years in anticipation of the school entering the competition.

[70] For example, one teacher was going to seek sponsorship for two talented sports people in his class to attend a special development clinic.

related an incident where these contradictions between progressive ideals of helping children as learners and striving for equity, and potentially damaging those children health-wise through excessive promotion and sales of nutrition-poor foods in schools, came into sharp relief:

> Yeah, we had the health nurse in the other day talking to the class about, you know, looking after their teeth and drinking a lot of water to keep, rather than a lot of this juices and soft drinks that are so full of sugar. And in walks in the, we sell Cookie Time Cookies, to fundraise again, and that's coordinated by a senior teacher also, and she just couldn't believe it, here she was giving this message about looking after your teeth and having things like that as a treat once a week, and here there are children at the school that have them everyday, because they're there, it's easy for the parents to chuck them fifty cents and that's their morning tea taken care of.
> (Teacher, Johnson)

A significant result of this teacher-fundraising culture was that, like the PTA, the health effects of junk food fundraising were not up for serious ethical discussion. For instance, in one school the health coordinator had no decision-making input into the Cadbury Chocolates fundraising programme because it was firmly fundraising, not curriculum-related.

Teachers and Sponsored Educational Materials

It was noted in Chapter 3 that not much is known about teachers' responses to and use of SEMs despite a critical literature about the commercial intent of these materials, and evidence that they are rising in sophistication and, in all likelihood, quantity. Principals were asked in the school survey to indicate whether they had used each of a range of SEMs and programmes in 2003 or in previous years. Table 8.16 shows the results. It confirms that total use for most items was less than one school in five, however for some SEMs [for example *V for* Vegies, and *From Canefield to Crystal and* Beyond], competitions or sponsored educational programmes, participation rates were much higher, suggesting that some of these materials and programmes [e.g. McDonald's *Make it Click*] have become mainstream.

Table 8.16   Schools' use of Selected Food-Related Sponsored Educational Materials and Programmes

Sponsored Educational Materials/Programme	Using in 2003 for first time	Using in 2003 (ongoing)	Have used in past but not in 2003	Total that have used	Have never used	Unsure
Chook Book and related resources (n=113)	1.8%	-	4.4%	6.2%	77.9%	15.9%
Living Sea and Fish for the Future (n=110)	1.8%	0.9%	11.8%	14.5%	64.5%	20.9%
McDonald's Reading Programme (n=113)	3.3%	7.1%	14.2%	24.5%	65.5%	9.7%
Iron Brion (n=113)	4.4%	2.7%	6.2%	13.3%	72.6%	14.2%
NZ Pork Industry Board materials (n=112)	0.9%	-	3.6%	4.5%	79.5%	16.1%
NZ Cyber Guide to Flour Milling and Baking (n=113)	1.8%	0.9%	13.3%	16.0%	66.4%	17.7%
McDonald's Make it Click (n=115)	2.6%	27.0%	39.1%	68.7%	24.3%	7.0%
From Canefield to Crystal and Beyond (n=109)	0.9%	3.7%	26.6%	31.2%	51.4%	17.4%
Anchor Books for Schools Competition (n=110)	0.9%	1.8%	9.1%	11.8%	70.0%	18.2%
V for Vegies (n=111)	-	21.6%	30.6%	52.2%	34.2%	13.5%
Nestle Write Around New Zealand Competition (n=114)	6.1%	30.7%	4.4%	41.2%	44.7%	14.0%

Teachers were asked to describe their understanding of what SEMs were, and their perception of the business motives for these. Later in the interview they were presented with four examples of food-related SEMs for their comment [see Chapter 6].

Initial Understandings of SEMs

When teachers initially described their understandings of SEMs the dominant response was themed around curriculum fit. The key quality assessment that teachers applied to consideration of these materials was whether there was a place for them in a current or future programme:

> At the end of the day, if they're free and they're no use, you won't use them, is the reality. If they're free and, but if they're pushing, if their message doesn't link in with your curriculum you just don't use it. (Teacher, Johnson)

Participants regarded SEMs as 'teacher friendly' when they came with explicit links to the curriculum:

> I suppose my big one there would be McDonald's Reading Programme. They've provided us some educational material, they've had obviously someone who's trained because they've come in with material that's got learning outcomes, that's geared around certain age groups, that's structurally and curriculum-wise sound.
> (Teacher, Johnson)

One teacher, who was also a deputy principal made it clear that curriculum fit made consideration of the sponsor almost redundant:

> Interviewer: In the health area for instance, just to be extreme, if a sweet manufacturer came and plonked on you a whole lot of resources about healthy eating, would you take a bit more notice of the brand then?
>
> Participant: I don't think it would make me take any more notice of the brand, it would depend on what the material they produced was. And if I thought it was good stuff then I would take it. If it wasn't good stuff and I thought "for heaven's sake we'd just be promoting lollies, that's not the culture of our school", we'd toss it. It just depends, it's not the brand that makes me take notice, it's what's on it and what's in it.
> (Deputy Principal, Mapletree)

Related to curriculum fit was positive comment about the readymade nature of these materials. They were ready to be implemented almost immediately without much, or sometimes any, extra planning or development:

> McDonald's [*McDonald's Reading Programme*] have come along and tried to turn it into something where, for me, I don't have to do any extra planning, its all been done for me. I just have to put the programme in action and I'm going to get a great result because the kids are going to get free McDonald's out of it at the end.
> (Teacher, Johnson)

This teacher also noted that the materials were appealing to children; in this case McDonald's as a sponsor created student enthusiasm. Four teachers noted that the materials were free and this was a bonus because the school could use that financial saving elsewhere, or their children would now not go without.

Teachers initial impressions about sponsor motive were entirely around the branding and advertising that was apparent in the materials. Teachers were well aware that the materials came with branding and this was perceived as intending to appeal to the

children as consumers. Teachers felt that SEMs were 'getting the name out' to encourage more sales of their product. No teachers explicitly mentioned the content as being potentially biased but to a degree this concern was implicit in the curriculum fit rationale, and sponsor bias did sometimes arise when teachers were presented with specific SEMs [see below]. Two teachers raised concerns with supporting advertising. One felt generally uncomfortable that businesses were pushing their products in school, but would use them if the benefits outweighed this personal concern. She described this type of school-business relationship as 'giving without giving' (Assistant Principal, Granberg) because the business wanted something out of the relationship. The second teacher was concerned that the school was essentially endorsing certain brands to children and their parents by using the materials; she saw this as an appropriate role for the school. This teacher did use SEMs however. This teacher and another mentioned that they threw away the branded stickers that frequently came with these kits.

Responses from Selected SEMs
Although each of the four sample SEMs are considered individually below, some further general teacher perspectives on SEMs emerged when teachers were prompted by these samples. Curriculum relevance and fit was affirmed as the key driver for teachers, and the associated benefit of reduced teacher planning, especially if curriculum links and lesson activities were incorporated. The *Chook Book* was especially praised because it linked to a variety of different curriculum areas – Health and Physical Education, Social Studies, and Science. Again, this curriculum fit rationale was double-edged: The *Chook Book*, *From Canefield to Crystal and Beyond*, and *Take a Peek into our Nest*, were each criticised for not offering *enough* in terms of curriculum fit, either being too narrowly-focused or in the case of the *Chook Book* especially, being to fact-laden. In these cases the SEM was considered more useful as a teacher resource, allowing a teacher to incorporate bits of information or ideas from the SEM into a wider and more-tailored curriculum activity. In these situations students might not see the SEM at all.

After looking at the *Chook Book* in particular, teachers saw SEMs as a potentially valuable research resource for students. In other words, although the SEM might not

be used as a curriculum activity by teachers because of its narrowness, they would make it available to students with a particular interest in that subject matter as a resource to 'research' or gather 'information' or 'facts'. This is one reason SEMs were rarely thrown away by teachers.

Teacher comment about the student appeal of SEMs was more prominent when teachers viewed the individual SEMs. *V of Vegies* was a CD Rom and five teachers commented that this would be favourably received by the children because it was interactive, fun, and appealed to their comfort with and enthusiasm for ICTs. There was strong comment from teachers about the visual appeal of the *Chook Book* and *Take a Peek into our Nest*. Words such as 'bright', 'glossy', 'colourful', and 'comic-y diagrams' were positively associated with children's motivation. In the case of *Take a Peek into Our Nest*, the brands themselves were part of the excitement of the resource:

> ... But if children had a choice of a page of writing on the computer and pages with colourful diagrams and pictures and brand names that they, yeah logos that they recognise, that would be the one that they'd go for. (Teacher, Johnson)

Specific SEMs
Chook Book (see Appendix G1)

Table 8.17   Chook Book Description

SEM	Type of resource	Sponsor Status	Commercial	Content	% of primary schools using in 2003
Chook Book Sponsor: Poultry Industry Association of New Zealand & Egg Producers Federation. Endorsed by the Animals in Schools Education Trust.	Information book. Product or industry information. Nutrition Related.	High legitimacy product (nutrition) low legitimacy behaviour.	Minimal Branding (industry association).	Bias/ incomplete (treatment of battery hen farming).	1.8% (Note a further 4.4% had used it in the past)

Teachers were impressed with the presentation values of this resource [bright, colourful, appealing to children], and its breadth of curriculum coverage. They saw it as a potentially useful information source for themselves and/or their students. Its

main perceived negative was that it lacked curriculum relevance by being narrowly focused on eggs and chickens. Most teachers could not recall or envisage themselves ever 'doing a [curriculum] unit' on chickens – although one school had done a unit on chickens the previous year. It also suffered in some teachers' feedback by not having learning activities built in.

Teachers generally had trouble even locating the sponsor, and some remarked that they would not have bothered to look for it ordinarily. Interestingly the unobtrusiveness of the sponsor and diverse content prompted teachers to feel reassured that the resource was not trying to excessively market eggs to children:

> Um, and it does say that chickens are very important, but like I don't think they're saying 'you should eat eggs all the time' much.
> (Teacher, Stone Church)

Unlike the principals, no teachers raised the issue of battery hen farming, or noticed the reference to battery hen farming in the resource. The content was presumed, on first viewing, to be factual and complete, and the lack of commercialism in the resource was reassuring for teachers. There was also a comment from one teacher that because it was from an industry association it was not so hard sell; they were not trying to promote a particular brand. The industry association was not treated suspiciously at all, being referred to in neutral terms such as 'the egg people'.

V for Vegies (see Appendix G2)

Table 8.18   V for Vegies Description

SEM	Type of resource	Sponsor Status	Commercial	Content	% of primary schools using in 2003
V for Vegies Sponsor: VegFed – the New Zealand Vegetable and Potato Growers' Federation Inc.	CD Rom. Product or industry information. Nutrition related.	High legitimacy product (Nutrition) high legitimacy behaviour.	Minimal Branding (industry association).	Mild bias (Almost silent on fruit in the context of 5+ a day).	21.6% (Note a further 30.6% had used it in the past).

As mentioned, this SEM was seen as appealing to children because of its ICT format. Its other key benefit was its perceived high relevance to the curriculum in the context of healthy eating.

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Again participants did not immediately locate the sponsor and there was little interest in who the sponsor was because the item had such strong curriculum relevance. One teacher after discussing how she would use the resource, responded about the sponsor in the following way:

Interviewer: Any comment about the sponsor?

Participant: No, no comment about the sponsor. Who is the sponsor? No.

Interviewer: Because you can't find it?

Participant: Yeah, I was going to say, I'm not sure who the sponsor was.

Interviewer: It's that group there [points to sponsor].

Participant: Yeah, which doesn't ring a bell any which way.
(Teacher, Johnson)

Teachers associated it with the popular *5+ a day* approach to healthy eating [itself a sponsored educational programme, see Chapter 6] and felt no need to contemplate sponsor motive and how this might affect content. No one commented on the fact that fruit might have a low profile in this resource making it less than complete as a 5+ a day [of fruits and vegetables] resource. Teachers instead positioned it as comprehensive.

From Canefield to Crystal and Beyond (see Appendix G3)

Table 8.19   **From Canefield to Crystal and Beyond Description**

SEM	Type of resource	Sponsor Status	Commercial	Content	% of primary schools using in 2003
From Canefield to Crystal and Beyond Sponsor: Chelsea Sugar.	Information sheets and teacher lesson plans. Product or industry information. Nutrition related.	Low legitimacy product (nutrition), high legitimacy behaviour.	High Branding.	Bias/ incomplete (extremely one-sided about sugar and health issues).	4.6% (note a further 26.6% had used in the past).

Responses were mixed to this SEM. The teacher work plans were positively received for the reasons outlined earlier, although some teachers said they would take these as a start point from which to develop a more relevant or more broadly focused unit.

The fact that lesson plans were set in the technology curriculum area appealed, perhaps because these non-subject specialist primary teachers felt less professionally confident in this curriculum area. Sugar, like chickens was perceived by some to be too narrow to carry off a curriculum unit, particularly a healthy eating unit. Two teachers explicitly said they would check out the content claims made about sugar by the sponsor because they were cynical that these were complete or objective. So bias was a concern for some but it tended to be addressed as a curriculum fit issue rather than an affront to educational ethics or an opportunity to turn the focus onto the sponsor to explore the public relations strategy. Some teachers noted the irony of the sugar industry promoting healthy eating but this did not provoke a critical dialogue on the contemporary public relations efforts of businesses addressing children:

> Funny it's done by Chelsea eh. That always cracks me up where there probably a prime instigator and then they do all this healthy food stuff. (Teacher, Johnson)

> It's interesting it's come out from the Sugar. Interesting. ... (Deputy Principal, Blue Creek)

One teacher suggested that despite the materials having a legitimacy issue because of their sponsor, they would still be compelling for teachers because of their readymade nature:

> Interviewer: When you say it's funny they're doing stuff about tooth decay, and they've also got diabetes etc there, what's funny? I know you mean funny in inverted commas but what's funny about that?

> Participant: Well when it's sugar that causes, I guess that's part of the reason they've put it out, when it's sugar that causes tooth decay and is a big factor in diabetes and things, yeah [reading] *Sugar is often linked to health issues in the media, at times reported incorrectly.* Right so they're trying to set the story straight. [reading] *Sugar is sometimes made out to be the baddy when it comes to tooth decay* [laughs]. It is more complicated than cutting out sweet foods but this, you know with children probably the biggest thing is sugar that causes their tooth decay so, and sugary foods and sugary sweets, drinks and things. I guess having a company that make, you know, products that cause those things and then, oh I don't know. But I think that for a lot of people and maybe even for myself if I thought it was aimed at a lower level, it would probably be, you know still easier to pick up that and use it despite, even if you had an

issue with the sponsor of the company that had put it out. I guess it would probably be too tempting to use it because it was easy and quick. They've done their research for teachers definitely.
(Teacher, Johnson)

Take a Peek into Our Nest (see Appendix G4)

Table 8.20   Take a Peek into Our Nest Description

SEM	Type of resource	Sponsor Status	Commercial	Content	% of primary schools using in 2003
Take a Peek into our Nest Sponsor: Nestle.	Information sheets (hard copy or online interactive). Product or Brand Promotion. Product or industry information.	Variable legitimacy product (nutrition), medium legitimacy behaviour.	Very High Branding.	Bias/ incomplete (simplistic and limited treatment of the social and economic factors associated with product production).	Unknown – not surveyed.

Even though this resource had very high levels of brand promotion to the point where in places the content itself was actually little more than brand promotion, this SEM got quite a positive reception from teachers. The appeal to children of the brightness and interactivity were key positive features. It was also noted that the brands would be a compelling and therefore motivating element for children. It was seen as useful student project or research material because it was compact, visually appealing and contained easy to follow diagrams of production processes. Like the sugar resource it was considered too specific and irrelevant in places [for instance the material on dog biscuits] to be a core resource for teachers – it would not become a curriculum unit. Interestingly, three teachers said they would use it as a teacher resource rather than a student resource, again because it contained useful and accessible information. Only one teacher articulated concerns with the legitimacy of the information:

> Yeah [reading from page] *one or two treats a day is quite acceptable* [laughs]. That's quite a lot of sugar a day. Especially if it's about chocolate bars or something. [pause for reading] No it doesn't really mention any downsides to drinking coffee or anything. [pause for reading] Well it's very geared towards its sponsor. [pause for reading] Yeah, I wouldn't use the coffee or the chocolate ones. Milk maybe. Um, if I happened to be doing something on dairy.
> (Teacher, Stone Church)

Again, because the sponsor's motive was constructed as advertising and branding, sitting largely outside of the content, this was weighed against the 'learning benefits' of this content.

Teacher Adaptation and Resistance to SEMs

Because curriculum fit was a dominant criteria for SEM use, adaptation and even resistance, was constructed through fitness for curriculum purpose. This established a range of ways the business objectives of the SEM could be disrupted. Teachers had the power to withhold student access to the SEM by simply not using it, and this appeared to be a dominant teacher reaction. SEMs as learning resources were, in many cases, pushed into schools by their sponsors rather than being sought by teachers, and this 'scatter-gun' supply-driven approach was frequently unsuccessful because of curriculum planning and timing issues in the school. Teachers were generally grateful of the offer and made the effort to publicise the materials that arrived among their colleagues, but many SEMs ended up unused in the resource cupboards in the short, and perhaps long term. Teachers did not proactively seek industry or business information in their web searches for information. Having said this, there were several SEMs and sponsored educational programmes mentioned by teachers that appear to have reached a status of common integration in many New Zealand schools, including the Tranzrail *Railsafe* programme, the Colgate Toothpaste dental health kit, McDonald's *Make it* Click, and *5+ a day* fruit and vegetable programme.

Once an SEM was accepted teachers often did adapt the materials to suit their curriculum purposes. One approach was to keep the materials away from children so the teacher could filter and add content [including adjusting the lesson plans], or to use the SEMs as purely teacher information. In almost all cases this was not motivated by wanting to protect children from dubious content or excessive promotion but rather it enabled the teacher to maintain control over the sometimes narrow or niche information, to ultimately create a more relevant and expansive curriculum unit. In a sense, having the SEM as a student research resource was also an adaptation because, depending on how students used it, the resource was being

demoted to a component of a wider exploratory process rather than being a bedrock textbook-type resource.

When a marketing or advertising thrust was perceived, teacher responses ranged from being unconcerned to concerned/uncomfortable. No teachers were prepared to ban them on this basis although some teachers indicated that they might remove the promotional content. Teachers were likely to cite advertising as a strong business motive for school-business relationships generally, and there was an underlying sentiment in their responses that taking away the SEM would not resolve the issue of businesses advertising to children because children were getting advertised to everywhere. For instance, two teachers suggested that they could not be accused of raising junk food consumption by using the *McDonald's Reading Programme* because the prizes were so small and the added marketing through school was not going to be the crucial factor to increasing consumption:

> That culture was here before they came to us, the McDonald's thing. I would have said the percentage of kids eating McDonald's before we got the drink bottles, before we got the free hats, before we got the reading programme, would be possibly a little bit lower but not much than after they came.
> (Teacher, Johnson)

There was little in the way of resistance strategies proposed because although the resources were often considered inappropriate to the curriculum, because they were not constructed as a cultural pedagogy, they were not ascribed an ideology or cultural power through advertising and content. Hence they did not cause the kind of offence to teachers that may have spurred a critical pedagogical response. One teacher said that she would consider turning student attention on the sponsor [in this case Chelsea] by posing to students why they had produced this resource. This '…social studies values exploration…' (Deputy Principal, Mapletree) would be consistent with curriculum objectives, so even resistance, in this rare case, was being tied to Achievement Objectives. Another teacher stressed that if the SEM raised contentious issues, she would introduce both sides to allow classroom debate and to enable students to make informed choices for themselves. This teacher considered it her role to facilitate the presentation of both sides rather than impose certain values and

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positions. One teacher advised that she would literally take the twink[71] to something she did not like from the sponsor. Although teachers were generally not turned off by the edutainment aspects of *Take a Peek into our Nest* and *V for Vegies* SEMs, two teachers indicated that the stickers, certificates and other peripheral bits to SEM kits, which often contained heavy branding and cross promotion, were, as a rule, thrown out.

Constructing Children

This section furthers a critique of school practice around school-business relationships by considering how children were positioned through teacher and principal discourses. Three important themes emerged which are considered below – edutainment, striving to meet complex needs, and rich and poor kids.

Edutainment

There was lots of comment about how much children enjoyed certain corporate-sponsored materials or programmes. In particular the McDonald's *Make it Click* road safety programme, the *McDonald's Reading Programme*, and the *Iron Brion* show were mentioned in this regard. The entertainment factor was a critical consideration in some cases along with curriculum relevance:

> Generally speaking the things that we undertake are things that A: we believe our kids need B: fits in with the curriculum already. C: Is like a cool gimmicky type thing, like we had, what was he called? Iron Brion made hamburgers and stuff. That was a one-off thing but the kids got a hamburger out of it and he was really cool and it was free, and you know, it seemed a pretty good thing to do because it was different - sometimes it's related to that. And then there's all those things that are ongoing. (Deputy Principal, Johnson)

It was obvious that in some cases if children's pleasures were met, the programme had been a success even if there were doubts about deep learning taking place:

> It was great, it was a good, but it was like them watching, you know, they could have watched a thirty minute video, other than they got fed. And the same sorts of messages, so you know they could sit down and watch that. So the message was semi-passive other than they've got Iron Brion

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[71] Twink is a brand of text correction fluid.

strolling round in front of them. But it was highly exciting for them. The kids really loved getting fed.
(Principal, Johnson)

There were three general explanations offered for why the entertainment aspects appealed so much. Firstly, in the case of McDonald's the programme was feeding off children's fandom for the cultural symbols of McDonald's and Ronald McDonald. This meant that for something quite hard to engage children with like road safety, the programme had more impact because they immediately related to the presenter [Ronald McDonald] and took on board what he was saying:

> I mean it's a play, drama sort of thing so they get to see that in the arts sort of sense. And they just really enjoy it you know the faces, and when he pulls out his great big long lollipop, you know that's good. And when, because at the end they give a sock to remind you about walking safely across the road sort of thing, and we put it up along in our corridor with a couple of road messages the kids have written, and you guarantee you walk through there and you've got kids going "Oh Ronald McDonald road!" you know, … and OK it's McDonald's but there's also the association about road safety as well, so it's just reminding them.
> (Assistant Principal, Granberg)

Participants also mentioned that the programme was backed up by TV so it had more impact.

Secondly, there was often an incentive, reward or treat associated with the programme which connected with children's desire to consume brand products, which fuelled their motivation. Teachers and principals felt this extrinsic motivation enabled learning to happen:

> For me, special ed or special needs teaching will tell you that a child has got to have motivation to achieve anything and the step is you may have to externally motivate the kid to actually achieve a goal. And they need success as they do it to actually take it on board. And they might need that three or four times before they internalise their own self-motivation you know. I would say that for this place there's a lot of kids with brain that have no internal motivation, that have just missed the boat, and if we are not careful about our attitudes towards external motivations like prizes and whatever, we could miss the boat with them because they've definitely got the brain there and they can achieve stuff but they've got no gumption, they've got no goals, they've got no vision for why they need

the skills. And so external motivation is OK until they internalise, in
which case at the end of it they won't care.
(Teacher, Johnson)

Thirdly, it was remarked by a number of participants that children these days
generally had higher expectations of being entertained and kept stimulated than was
the case in previous generations. The shift of school camp activities from bush-craft
traditions such as fire lighting and tent pitching, to modern high-adrenalin and
commodified pursuits such as abseiling, rock climbing and kayaking, was cited as an
example of the changing preferences and expectations of modern children. Students
were regarded as having shorter attention spans, and this appeared to be a nod to
children's increasing engagements with the new digital multi-media environments of
popular culture:

Yeah, and the concentration is the distance between TV ads. That's the
reality; yeah that side's there.
(Teacher, Johnson)

Although teachers and principals sometimes mentioned that childhood had changed,
descriptions like 'consumer society' were held to be an external environmental reality
and challenge for teachers rather than a complex cultural change that might require a
more fundamental rethink about curriculum priorities and pedagogy. One teacher
suggested that the learning 'carrots' [i.e. extrinsic motivation] were having to get
bigger and bigger, and there was no longer an ethos of 'learning for learning's sake'
in children (Deputy Principal, Stone Church). Children's expectations for being
entertained created pressure on teachers to be *entertainers*, and edutainment
programmes or materials that were externally managed or developed, relieved this
pressure while also addressing teachers' other hassle of curriculum coverage in a
tight timeframe.

Because the down-side of school-business relationships was seen in terms of
promoting consumption [through marketing] rather than consuming identities, there
were never any serious attempts to deconstruct edutainment to better understand
children's desires, corporate agendas, and how links between these were implicit in
school-business relationships. Most teachers could rationalise a 'slight' increase in
consumption against the learning gains available directly or indirectly with this

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business support. The irony was that some teachers were consciously attempting to exploit the cultural power of the likes of McDonald's to extrinsically turn children on to learning. These teachers and schools did not want to be 'othered' by children and were comfortable about the school engaging in commercialised children's culture as a means to learning. They were comfortable, but not contemplative or critical of their school becoming part of a complex commercial intertextuality of entertainment, advertising and education and did not theorise the possible end-project of these experiences. Although they were drawing on popular culture more and more to support learning in schools, they still tended to stake out a position for schools as the preeminent learning institution in children's development. They constructed desire fulfillment as a key to learning, rather than learning itself, and this inhibited critique.

Meeting Complex Needs

Aligned with the higher entertainment expectations of children, some participants reported that contemporary children's needs were greater and more complex. There were seen to be expectations on schools to take on social welfare roles as the social environment for children had deteriorated and the incidence of children with special needs had risen. This created more pressure on teachers. At the same time as children had expectations of teachers as entertainers, their parents were asking more of teachers as skilled educators able to deliver a strong core curriculum; and society, through government, was held to be asking schools to provide an increasing range of 'peripheral' (Principal, Blue Creek) quasi-social services such as road safety. The 'in and out' nature of some sponsored educational materials and programmes, combined with their teacher-friendliness, high production values, their appeal to valued community knowledge, and their curriculum links, meant they were hitting on a range of needs. This made business advertising and brand promotion tolerable, and in fact a trifling concern to educators in many cases. Some teachers commented that there was sometimes low *active* support from the community or local businesses for these essentially 'community' issues, but that bigger national brands were stepping up to provide assistance.

Rich and Poor Kids

The interviews indicated that teacher beliefs about poor and rich children's social circumstances and behaviours differently positioned children by wealth status in the adult discourse of school-business relationships, ultimately leading to different teacher and school decision-making in this area. This theme arose primarily in a context of extrinsic motivation. Essentially the pleasures, incentives and treats within some sponsored educational materials and programmes, including from the 'gimmicky ones' were highly valued as motivators in the two decile 1 schools, whereas teachers from two of the higher decile schools (Stone Church and Mapletree) said that these were lowly valued by their children. Both the high and low decile schools were equally clear on the differing impact of business-related incentives/rewards/treats for different children by socio-economic status:

> ... a lot of kids in this community don't have a lot, so if they do get a hat or a pencil or something for nothing, you know, they rave about, like the books in schools and things.
> (BOT Chair, Johnson, decile 1 school)

> They have high expectations of what they're going to get but that also depends definitely on where you are or what school you're in or how your school is set up. I mean that really does. Our kids respond really well to stickers and a cuddle here.
> (Teacher, Johnson, decile 1 school)

> They like better resources, they're not happy with the teacher-made resources. They like the posh looking stuff, but they don't want tacky rubbish up here, they want something that's good. I mean I used to work in [low decile school in a nearby town]. Now stickers for them were fantastic. Any sticker you gave them, a pencil would in fact you know – it was "thank you" they were so grateful. Here it's like "Oh so it's a pencil, right, wonderful" [sarcastic tone]. It doesn't have any value, it doesn't have any meaning to them up here, but it does where I used to work.

> Interviewer: And do you think that's probably a socioeconomic thing?

> Participant: Yes, absolutely. ...
> (Deputy Principal, Mapletree, Decile 9 school)

The survey found a much stronger likelihood for low decile schools to be participating in the *McDonald's Reading Programme*: 42.7% (15 of 35) decile 1-4

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schools were participating in the programme in 2003 or had in the past, versus 14.3% (4 of 35) of decile 5-7 schools and 16.3% (7 of 43) of decile 8-10 schools. The data from interviews suggest this decile difference is more culturally driven than financially driven with respondents generally not feeling that there was *no* alternative to sponsored programmes and materials, and some evidence from interviews and anecdotally that the school presence of businesses like McDonald's is positioned by richer parents as a vulgar transgression of their education sensibilities, or an inappropriate PR move. Interestingly the *Make it Click* programme, was again more popular in low decile schools than high decile schools but not by quite the same margin: 82.9% (29 of 35) decile 1-4 schools were participating in the programme in 2003 or had in the past, versus 58.9% (20 of 34) of decile 5-7 schools and 64.4% (29 of 45) of decile 8-10 schools. It appears that the 'vital extra' status of this road safety programme was enough to make this edutainment package more culturally acceptable for a majority of high decile schools and their parent communities, whereas the intrusion of popular culture into literacy was not similarly acceptable. Mapletree (decile 9) had dropped the *McDonald's Reading Programme* because they became uncomfortable with the 'mixed message' they were sending of: healthy eating through the curriculum on the one hand; and the tacit endorsement of junk food consumption through this programme, on the other. Stone Church and Blue Creek both had general concerns about parents challenging them on their school-business relationships from a values perspective. However, although it appeared that the low decile schools generally did not have this kind of representation from parents, the principal at Granberg (decile 1) had removed the *McDonald's Reading Programme* because he was becoming concerned with the pervasiveness of McDonald's marketing to children – a self-motivated ethical action.

The economic deprivation of poor children provided a strong rationale for school-business relationships as an equaliser. School-business relationships gave low decile schools the chance to acquire goods and experiences that were given to be only available to rich schools. Teachers at Johnson talked about the importance of school pride when discussing the corporate sponsorship of cultural uniforms and teacher jackets. These expenses were investments in school pride and they told the children that they and their school were valuable:

I would say core curriculum is your absolute basis. I mean we would
never do without art supplies, we would never do without reading books
… Kids books, we fund a lot of that because it's essential, you can't do
without it. I guess it could be argued by people that you could do without
a sports uniform. But it's those things that make a school. It's those
sports uniforms, it's that whole feeling of belonging that make your
school something yeah cool to be. So while they're not like essential,
they are. They are just as important but on a whole different level and
that's the things that we have to try and come up with.
(Teacher, Johnson)

School-business relationships could give a low decile school the elusive *trappings* or
artefacts of a high decile one. However, sometimes the extra resource could make an
immediate tangible difference to students. For instance one teacher at Johnson
mentioned that he was going to seek sponsorship to subsidise two students who had
made the regional reps in a winter sport, because these children came from very low-
income households and would otherwise miss out on this opportunity. Another
teacher remarked that their school parents were very grateful for items that their
children received from school because they could not afford to give their children
much of those kinds of things. Like the incentive/rewards/treats motive, the need for
extra funding for vital extras came back to the need that these schools had to provide
an extra-curricular atmosphere as a base to get children learning:

Yeah, I was just going to say, it's almost that justification isn't it.
Because I guess it's that we measure maths and we measure reading and
we benchmark those things. We don't measure how many teams play
netball and how cool we look in our uniforms. But we do measure kid's
pride, how much they believe in themselves. For our community that is
very important. We want our kids to feel pride, to feel that they belong.
School needs to be a really safe place. And for a lot of our kids, if they're
not doing those things then they're not kind of switched on to the
learning either. So for us I reckon it's a big circle. While maths and all
those things that are funded are really really important, and that's the
whole reason we're here, some of those other things, especially here in
our community, those things are really important to our kids. If we
weren't offering those, we wouldn't be getting the results we get in other
areas either because we need to be switching them on somehow.
(Teacher, Johnson)

Lastly, food-related cause related marketing programmes were regarded as highly
successful in low decile schools because food was a popular commodity for which

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parents and their children were willing to pay for. Teachers at Johnson (decile 1) noted that parents would spend quite large amounts on Cadbury Chocolates and other food fundraising schemes, but it was extremely difficult to get them to pay for school trips and other school costs:

> And I guess for the majority of our parents, anything that our children are getting they're kind of happy with. And I think that's why we've tended to have gone with those things that are food related because they're the things that sell in our community. The chocolates sell I mean gosh the money that comes in is just astronomical, and the same with anything that's sort of, I guess that's how our community think … it's that immediate tangible reward isn't it for them as well they're providing money, and they tend, our parents tend to more readily hand over money for things like that, for chocolates and biscuits and all those things, than they do for school trips.
> (Teacher, Johnson)

Teachers were therefore fundraising, sometimes quite extensively, to take small increments of money off these parents by providing them with junk food rather than trying to get straight cash from them. This was seen to have two key benefits. Firstly it enabled these schools to fundraise more on a par with high decile schools whereas participants mentioned, for instance, the school gala as a low return endeavour for low decile schools. Secondly, teachers were able to get round the economic deficit of these communities by offering them a product they desired, with the end result of providing these extension opportunities for children. Quite literally, these communities were eating their way to some kind of educational equality.

Discussion: Examining the Social Practice of School-Business Relationships

The interviews sought to explore how teachers, principals and BOT reps described school-business relationships as a social practice in their schools and how they articulated their roles of adoption, adaptation and resistance. I was interested in exploring what discourses informed these understandings and actions. As Figure 8.1 showed, from the interviews and school survey, generic adoption processes emerged for three different kinds of school-business relationship: fundraising relationships,

complex/financial relationships, and curriculum-related relationships. Each of these followed quite different decision-making paths in schools.

The principal emerged as a key figure in decision-making and the processing of proposals through to other stakeholders. For complex/financial relationships he/she was sometimes a networker and an initiator. Principals filtered proposals by making decisions about whether to pursue the proposal with other members of the school, or reject it outright. In fundraising matters the principal's role in decision-making, beyond filtering, was relatively minor. In curriculum-related matters the principal was likely to share or devolve decision-making to the management team, curriculum leader or to individual teachers. Again, principals sometimes exercised their prerogative to discard the proposed materials or programmes, and in some cases advised these other decision-making forums.

Principals were conflicted by the opposing discourses and institutional imperatives of financial and educational viability in a competitive school market, the curriculum expectations of parents and the state, and ethical reservations about the marketing and [sometimes] public relations designs of corporations undertaking school-business relationships. Principals' constructions of business motives as predominantly advertising and marketing related, ameliorated these tensions to some degree because children being marketed to was a relatively small price to pay for the learning benefits accruing [either directly or indirectly] through these opportunities, and the organisational stability these relationships could facilitate. Principals had expectations of teachers, who were free from managerial pressures at least, to incorporate an ethical approach by exercising critical judgement about corporate intent, and in some cases by engaging their students in exercises of critical enquiry and deconstruction.

Principals were concerned about excessive advertising and marketing to children but they did not construct this circumstance as facilitating a more fundamental cultural change in the social status of childhood. Principals still tended to separate the business of learning from the business of business. They were generally aware of how marketisation's structural and cultural dimensions had impinged on their ethical compass and resisted these compromises where they could, but in the main they did

not articulate a sociocultural reading of school-business relationships as corporate pedagogies. School-business relationships had not assumed a contemporary status of significant meaning-maker in children's childhood with this group. Although principals were on the whole more 'worldly' than most of the teachers, sometimes spotting a corporate public relations agenda at work on their students, only one articulated anxiety about the ultimate cultural impacts of the externally-focused political, social and environmental agendas being furthered through its school-business relationship decisions.

The Board of Trustees was generally limited to consideration of financial/complex relationships, but in some cases they had input or decision-making power over more complex curriculum-related programmes. Boards were driven by their governance responsibilities of financial viability, school values and school planning. At least three of the Boards, to varying degrees and with varying initiatives, were integrating entrepreneurialism as a guiding value. Boards tended to focus on the upside of school-business relationships to financial viability and curriculum delivery. Although the BOT could sometimes be a forum for dissent, and they canvassed community opinion through surveys, they did not routinely operate as a community sphere for deliberation and debate over school-business relationships. Rarely was the actual programme or resource considered for its wider corporate agenda. There appeared to be no interest in the ways students or schools would be positioned by these businesses as an object of image marketing. Rather, Boards contemplated what the school would be projecting [sometimes literally] to its own potential and actual community [i.e. parents] by going down a particular track. Its own image was its priority.

The PTA/fundraising committee role in school-business relationships was limited to fundraising proposals, but they were quite autonomous in this role. Their prime concern was meeting particular funding targets and they were operating in an environment of community apathy towards participative 'ground-up' fundraising. They were 'moving with the times' in an environment of dwindling membership and lower levels of parent volunteerism. This was leading to more use of pre-packaged cause related marketing programmes, often linked with foods of minimal nutritional value.

Parents were both powerless and powerful in this area. Their direct influence on the decision-making process was virtually nil. Interview participants were aware of very little parent opposition in their schools to school-business relationships and this opposition tended to be in the area of excessive demands for fundraising – not ethical concerns. In some cases parent pressure around the cultural acceptability or corporate agenda of a particular school-business relationship had forced schools to back down from or modify their relationships. Parent buy-in was especially important to profit maximisation from CRM programmes. Parents were having a strong indirect influence, as their expectations for education were driving up costs and requiring schools to improve their 'product' and surface image. Some, in a quasi user-pays environment, were holding schools more accountable for their children's education success. These wider circumstances in an environment of low parent engagement with curriculum matters generally [see Chapter 5], made school-business relationships a low community concern.

Students were similarly powerless and powerful. They were absolutely excluded from the decision-making process of any school-business relationship in these schools. They could become participants in critique if a teacher decided to turn the focus of the SEM/ programme onto the sponsor, but this was rarely contemplated. Like parents, they were having a shaping influence on school-business relationships – in their case through heightened expectations of being entertained in schools, and their positive responses [particularity in low decile schools] to the treats and cultural symbols of edutainment programmes.

Although teachers were not involved in the development and adoption of complex/financial relationships and were only sometimes involved in fundraising decision-making, all school-business relationships ultimately affected them and their students. They were often the key decision-makers around curriculum-related school-business relationships, and this process was often collegial. Teachers were overwhelmingly focused on fitness for purpose – purpose being curriculum delivery. If an SEM was highly relevant to the curriculum, timely, broad in scope, and contained completed teacher planning, it had a high chance of being implemented. If the material had appeal to children, its relevancy and broadness were not so critical. Teachers were so engrossed by curriculum fit with these SEMs that some did not

even identify the sponsor, and some mentioned that they did not normally look or care. Like principals, the business motives were strongly linked to advertising and marketing generally – not identity construction. And even more so than principals, this advertising and marketing was not considered an educational issue – learning was going to happen and this far outweighed the presence of branding and advertising. There was virtually no comment about sponsor bias, or a sophisticated contemplation of why the sponsor may have produced particular content, beyond a sales/marketing motive. Teachers were comfortable that businesses were in business to make money, but they did not ascribe a meaning-making role to this commercial agenda. From this position, resistance was diminished as a pedagogical response, although a number of strategies of adaptation were evident which would have disrupted the corporate agenda – most powerfully, simply not using them.

Because these educators associated business programmes and materials with child development and sometimes equity, rather than identity construction through corporate power, there was little critical interest in empowering students to seek knowledge and develop skills for deconstruction of corporate ideological positions. Perhaps just as worrisome, the interviews sparked very little critical discussion about the role of corporations in children's lives generally. There was little critical interest in why these resources and programmes were proving so popular with children in schools beyond a vague 'times have changed' thesis. Teachers were not asking themselves what the effects might be on children as cultural subjects, and what these changing childhoods might imply for their pedagogy. Commercialised popular culture was positioned as leverage for real learning rather than a [problematic] pedagogy in its own right. Teachers generally only offered an advertising rationale for increasing corporate interest in schools, the effects of which were seen as relatively benign when compared to the potential learning opportunities available through these relationships. Even though a vast literature suggests that corporations are fundamentally shaping contemporary childhood, and are hugely constructive of the world that children will inhabit as adults, teachers' touchstone of curriculum utility almost always de-prioritised serious analysis of corporate power, except on the odd occasion when this might fit certain Achievement Objectives. The gambling, fast food and tobacco industries have all demonstrated through their supply of school-

business relationships, that curriculum utility is being cleverly exploited to accommodate a range of corporate ideologies and agendas.

Chapter 9. Conclusion

This conclusion draws together the literature and research elements of this thesis to conclude about and comment on the recent history and contemporary social practices associated with school-business relationships in New Zealand. The first section summarises the key cultural and structural shifts for children, schools and businesses that have brought schools and businesses together more, and in new ways, from the 1990s. This section addresses question two:

- *What were the business and school environments that influenced school-business relationships from 1990?*

The next section looks more closely at the practice of school-business relationships in New Zealand during this time period. This includes the key motives, strategies, and activities of schools and businesses identified in this research. For schools it additionally includes evidence of adoption, adaptation and resistance to school-business relationships. This section addresses questions one and three:

- *What kinds of relationships occurred between businesses and schools from 1990?*
- *What were the philosophies, motives and processes of schools and businesses undertaking school-businesses relationships from 1990?*

The third section considers effects of school-business relationships for New Zealand students, schools, and New Zealand's network of schools. This section addresses question four:

- *What were the actual and potential contemporary and future educational outcomes [encompassing students, schools and the school network] of the relationships between businesses and schools from 1990?*

The fourth section concludes about the case of food-related school-business relationships with reference to the general findings above about environments, practices and effects. This section addresses question five:

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- *What kinds of school-business relationships were offered by the food industry and used by New Zealand schools from 1990, and what were the key characteristics of these relationships relating to questions 1-3?*

The final section poses some potential directions for future research into school-business relationships in New Zealand.

Changing Childhoods, Changing Businesses, Changing Schools

The thesis began exploring school-business relationship practice in New Zealand by critically examining three prominent public narratives constructing these practices. These were termed: partnership for enterprise education; not-for-profit sector interventions; and school commercialism. The partnership for enterprise education narrative urged schools and businesses to establish relationships to develop in students the right skills, knowledge, and values to further an enterprise culture and knowledge economy. One of its key premises was that schools were not providing the right outputs for businesses because they were isolated, culturally anti-business, and un-entrepreneurial. The not-for-profit sector intervention discourse was a business narrative promoting the alignment of social interventions with corporate commercial, social, and in the case of schools, human capital objectives. Schools figured in all three of these business objectives. The third discourse, school commercialism was a critique of the business commercial motive against the ideals of public education for democracy and critical citizenship. The arguments of these narratives were explored against existing literature on school-business relationship practice for schools and businesses in New Zealand. International literature was also drawn on to illuminate New Zealand business practice in particular.

The literature points to the dominant business motive for school-business relationships in New Zealand since 1990 being commercial, however this motive was complex and multifaceted. Although the rhetoric of enterprise education was sounded clearly by business interests in the 1990s, schools and particularly primary schools, have become less relevant to the short term human capital goals of businesses, as

labour market changes push up demand for both high-skill knowledge work and low-skill service work. This was confirmed in the business survey where partnerships with schools were almost non-existent and there was extremely low interest in becoming hands-on in education to strengthen its outcomes. However enterprising education and entrepreneurial students were commercially expedient corporate signs within the image marketing of businesses because they addressed the anxieties of parents, governments and other publics.

Woven through this analysis of school and business practice was a theoretical position that changing relationships between schools and businesses need to be critically understood in a context of changing childhoods and changing relationships between children, corporations and schools. The corporate influence on the construction of childhood is pulling in two ways. Children are increasingly represented as 'at risk' or 'a risk' to others in adult discourses including those of education and advertising. Parents have become more deeply anxious about their children's education and general development towards adulthood, including the negative effects of commercialised popular culture on moral development and childhood innocence. Alternatively, new commercialised hybrid forms of advertising, education and entertainment address children in oppositional terms as capable, powerful, independent and transgressive of parental authority. Although children's engagement with popular culture can be empowering and a childhood innocence discourse can be equally disempowering, commercialised popular culture rarely provides the space for children to critically consider the knowledge boundaries imposed on them by these pedagogies and how commercial culture seeks to position them. It was evident that teachers and schools in this research were responding to the pressures created at both ends of this corporate construction of childhood – the higher expectations of parents for quality and high standards, and the entertainment desires of children. Both situations were facilitating school-business relationships.

Businesses as cultural institutions are exerting a greater meaning-making role in contemporary childhood. This arises through a fundamental drive for profit in an era of unprecedented corporate meaning-making opportunities and apparatuses in childhood spheres. Since the 1980s corporations have increasingly addressed children as consumers. In the 1990s the ways this could be achieved grew enormously as

children's media options expanded to a historically unprecedented level and scope, and consumer-media conglomerates accelerated cross-marketing across cultural categories as diverse as movies and schools. These changes have created a vast and powerful web of commercialised childhood spheres, drawing in schools as part of this advance.

Corporate culture's address of children aims to make them buy more things, but more broadly to develop an identity of unquestioning consumption, hence the commercial motive for children is an ideological project, not just a market exchange. The SEM analysis found this dual corporate agenda at work. Firstly these materials addressed children's short term consumption desires through brand and product promotion. The non-school items in particular were highly sophisticated hybrids of entertainment, advertising and sometimes 'fun' learning. Secondly some resources provided children with sanitised and unproblematic representations about product quality, organisational behaviour, and the social, environmental, and economic effects of specific business processes and actions. Children and teachers on behalf of them were rarely invited to probe these corporate truth claims. Nor were children invited to question their consuming desires.

As consumers of the sign value of businesses, children were 'got to early' within school-business relationships to set them on a path of positive feelings towards a business or industry. This included the development of a specific corporate curriculum in certain areas [e.g. *The Chook Book*], and softer approaches that connected corporate agendas to children through topics seemingly unrelated to core business [e.g. the *McDonald's Reading Programme*], and addressed their consuming desires. The evidence is clear from New Zealand and internationally that businesses that have the most publicly contentious agendas have gravitated the most towards schools to spread their corporate meanings. This has happened at a time when schools are challenged to remain exciting and relevant for children. As mentioned below, some educators in this research were responding to this renewed challenge from children's commercialised culture by permitting various quasi-popular culture forms and iconic businesses into their schools, and receiving a level of comfort for this action within a psychological argument of extrinsic motivation.

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External promotion was a leading declared motive of New Zealand businesses in this research confirming the firm positioning of education within the PR lens of business. In the 1990s business marketing integrated further with public relations. Relationship marketing approaches strived for positive relationships with a range of non-customer groups including children and governments. Hence public relationships and public consent became elevated corporate priorities for economic survival. To this end, children have become the producers as well as the consumers of the sign value of businesses. As students they have been commercially exploited for their image value as innocent, vulnerable and sometimes academic subjects, to make meanings with adult publics ranging from adult consumers to politicians. In these cases, children have become the unknowing promoters of complex strategies to maintain corporate behaviours that may be damaging to the short or long-term health and well-being of themselves and others. Tobacco sponsorship of curriculum materials and programmes in New Zealand schools is an example of this commercial/political commodification of children.

Although schools were pursued for their sign value, this research suggests that they have not become financial 'winners' in a business environment of increasing interest in the not-for-profit sector, despite their institutional role as developers of human capital. The financial sums being provided by most businesses, and received by most primary schools were modest relative to financial capacity and financial need respectively. Although the promotion and underlying corporate agendas of school sponsorships and donations could be thorough and complex, most of the relationships themselves were characterised by modest investment and low to no direct working relationship with schools. For education at least, much of the development in business approach to such relationships in New Zealand since 1990, has been driven by external commercial exploitation of relationships, rather than around the organisational development of schools or the strengthening of student outcomes.

The school environment underpinning the adoption, adaptation and resistance to school-business relationships was explored in the context of the marketised school. It was argued that marketisation facilitated an environment of de-ethical and non-critical decision-making around school-business relationships. Since 1989 New

Zealand schools have structurally and culturally assumed the identity of the business enterprise. To survive and thrive in the marketplace, schools have increasingly sought non-government sources of funding including alcohol and 'pokie' trust money, and participated in complex commodified fundraising schemes, foreign fee paying students, and business sponsorship. These funds have been used to hedge against roll fluctuations but also to fund the higher costs of retaining customers – meeting the higher expectations of parents [e.g. ICT suites], and investing in image. Funding was a key driver for primary schools in this research to enter into school-business relationships.

School leadership has been transformed as principals in the 1990s assumed responsibility for financial and educational viability in a competitive market for students, while also delivering on national expectations for school administration and curriculum delivery. It was clear from the interviews and previous New Zealand research that principals were aware of and responsive to their managerial responsibilities. They knew that marketisation has reconstructed educational leadership culturally and structurally. This shift and the ethical compromises it led to did not always sit comfortably with them.

While *Tomorrow's Schools* promised authentic community input into local schooling, this rhetoric was challenged by the construction of parents, on behalf of their children, as the consumers of education. Parent input in schools stagnated and declined in some areas during the 1990s, and the parent representative body – the Board of Trustees – was compromised as a critical democratic sphere with its governance roles of financial management, human resource management and school planning. Parents had virtually no active role in school-business relationship decision-making in primary schools. However the school interviews confirmed that maintaining parent consent was vital in marketised schools – particularly where parents were forward in flexing their cultural capital and power of exit. Parents' relationships with their school therefore had an indirect but sometimes powerful shaping influence on school-business relationships. The literature suggests that image consciousness and promotional culture that marketisation facilitated in schools tended to have a conservative effect as it addressed parents' fundamental anxieties

around childhood development, and centralised this individual concern over collective social agendas and social action.

The impact of consumer/provider relationships was held to extend into the classroom. The theory of educational improvement through marketisation required that consumers act with self-interest, and teachers at interview sometimes remarked that parents' expectations for the school education of their children had risen, particularly in a quasi user-pays environment. This was placing pressure on schools to justify their approaches and prove the efficacy of their outcomes. Marketisation in the literature was held to reductively commodify knowledge into discrete chunks to be transmitted, then assessed. Within this intransitive pedagogy, knowledge with economic utility or that which aligned strongly with parents' child development concerns [for instance literacy], was favoured. The teachers interviewed in this research never argued for or showed any sympathy for a transmissive pedagogy or basics-only curriculum. However they were extremely focused as professionals, and somewhat pressured, to 'cover' the curriculum – a curriculum that was seen to be crowded and becoming filled with 'extras'. School-business relationships could assist here because they were 'teacher-friendly' [i.e. containing lesson plans and explicit or implicit curriculum links] and/or contained knowledge that the teacher was not expert in. They were 'chunks' that could be slotted in – fairly effortlessly in some cases. Some teachers' progressive educational concerns constructed school-business relationships as tolerable when they were seen to facilitate equality of opportunity. Teachers also saw themselves very much as key contributors to children's futures – providing them with the right skills and opportunities to meet the challenges of the next stage of their education journey. Marketisation, mixed with progressive ideals had endowed curriculum-related school-business relationships with the positive values of utility and student opportunity.

A new environmental feature of schooling influencing the adoption and adaptation of school-business relationships emerged from the interviews – the edutaining school. The critical literature on school-business relationships tends to portray a bleak picture of corporatised schools heading towards the oppressive and reproductive model of the passive factory churning out docile workers and consumers. Quite the opposite explicit atmosphere was apparent in the interview schools. As children's preferences

for pleasurable activities and entertaining experiences were rising, some schools were renegotiating the boundaries between institutional learning and children's popular culture. In a drive to retain a relationship with children that could be ultimately facilitative of the learning mission of the school, schools to varying degrees were permitting aspects of children's external and commercialised popular culture to enter. The problem with this approach was that teachers did not take the position that these engagements with popular culture were pedagogies in and of themselves. In Freire's terms teachers were semi-transitive – they saw the world as changeable in the un-holistic sense of wanting to improve the life chances of individuals, and they defended these commercial materials and programmes as an opportunity not to 'miss the boat' with contemporary children. But they did not endeavour to connect their students' pleasures and identities with the cultural power of these organisations. Nor did they seek insights into how these materials were attempting to position students as consumers beyond a sales imperative. Nor, in most cases did they seriously contemplate the corporate agenda. The edutaining school then, while it was a happy place of rescued student engagement, was providing an expanding context for the expression of corporate power through the liberalised interplay of childhood pleasures, school learning, and corporate materials and programmes.

The Practice of School-Business Relationships in New Zealand Schools: Adaptation and Resistance

This section looks more closely at school practice around school-business relationships with reference to contemporary business practices as well. These conclusions are mostly drawn from the school interviews.

The business survey and school interviews confirmed the weight of evidence from the literature that the business motive for school-business relationships was primarily commercial, involving hybridisations of the business strategies of advertising and PR, and the creation of hybrid corporate pedagogies fusing education, entertainment and advertising forms. Coinciding with these business changes, New Zealand schools opened up in this decade as a market place for the sale, advertising and promotion of consumer products to children in an effort to remain financially viable, educationally

competitive, compliant with consumer and government expectations, and relevant and engaging for children. Schools became a bigger part of the commercial and intertextual web of brands, as companies and their spokes-characters crossed formats. McDonald's was one of a number of brands in the 1990s to rise in status as an educator, entertainer and advertiser to New Zealand children. Although the business survey found that the majority of big businesses were not highly interested in direct marketing to students, the analysis of the actions of the food industry in New Zealand schools, and school interviews revealed that children's brands were strongly apparent in schools – particularly through incentive programmes, donations of branded merchandise, SEMs and sponsored educational 'road shows'.

School interview participants showed a generally weak understanding of these business changes that were facilitating greater corporate interest in schools. Participants were clear that most businesses were pursuing commercial goals and the survey showed that there was a general level of comfort with this motive – it did not stop schools seeking these relationships. Schools were more negative if reciprocation expectations were onerous or if they were losing too much education control to the sponsor. As schools were assuming the status of a prime delivery site for corporate meaning-making, educators tended to see these changes as the accelerated continuity of business advertising and marketing. This marketing and advertising, sat 'alongside' the real learning on offer directly, or completely outside the learning activity when schools reciprocated for donated or sponsored resources. This decoupling of *real* learning from advertising, the desire for resources, and a low regard for corporate content as an expression of ideology, maintained an uncritical environment for the reception of these activities. Somewhat ironically, it also eased educator reservations about allowing the *trivia* of popular culture to enter the school.

Interview teachers especially, rarely articulated a general pessimism about corporate content – although this did surface more when they were shown specific examples. Some detected the notion of a business curriculum being pushed into schools, but understanding these relationships more deeply beyond narrowness and bias was never articulated. Teachers' critical compasses were very strongly driven by curriculum utility in terms of relevance and ease of fit, followed by student appeal. The evidence from the school survey and interviews was that materials and programmes that

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combined these two elements had a generally higher chance of being used. The curriculum fit filter consigned many corporate materials to the periphery of lesson use – as occasional student project/research material, or an input into broader lesson planning. Teachers were rarely interested in turning the focus onto the sponsor and engaging students with corporate materials in a socially critical manner. Although interview principals similarly tended to construct the business commercial motive as advertising/marketing/branding, they were more likely to recognise, and be concerned by, corporate bias. These experienced educators had expectations that teachers would approach corporate materials cautiously and critically.

Critical consideration by educators of corporate public relations strategies in schools targeting *outside* publics is almost entirely absent in the critical literature on school-business relationships. Yet external promotion generally of school-business relationships was the leading commercial driver for big businesses in New Zealand. In terms of food, drawing on recent literature analysing the PR tactics and messages of the food industry and the historical marketing traditions of the tobacco industry, it is strongly evident that schools are becoming a key symbol in a high stakes battle for public consent over the links between food marketing and children's health. Contemplation of school-business relationships in this political context was not apparent with the interview teachers[72]. However some principals were aware that there were ethical issues with for instance accepting 'pokie' money, and referenced their decision-making to school values or personal ethics. Most respondents did not discuss how these pedagogies might be positioning schools and businesses to external audiences. The atomised marketised school was in a poor position to take a stand in this area because in the short term they were competing for scarce business resources with every other school, acting in something of a vacuum of critique of this corporate exploitation of education, and in most cases working without outside advice, guidelines or explicit school policy.

Although businesses and some schools presented a public image of increasing closeness in their respective promotional materials, there is little evidence to suggest that schools and businesses established practical 'hands-on' relationships from the

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[72] This may change in coming years as public scrutiny of the food-related school-business relationships accelerates.

1990s. Businesses in the survey preferred the 'passive' instruments of sponsorships and donations and were little involved in partnerships that would have utilised their human and physical resources – especially in primary schools. So although schools became more integral to businesses for their semiotic value, practical relationships driven by shared concerns remained elusive. The social responsibility narrative of business intervention in schools was quickly commercialised as businesses responded to consumer preferences for good corporate citizenship, and pursued an image of social responsibility through alignment with and support for with nonprofits. Businesses in the survey who rated social responsibility motives highly were more likely to rate commercial motives highly as well. Again, businesses tending towards social responsibility themes were often those that had high legitimacy risks around their operations and behaviours.

Confirming features of the lack of authentic business interest in directly influencing educational and social outcomes through schools was the low financial contributions from business, and the modest amounts being received by many primary schools. Schools in the research definitely wanted more business funds but they were just one participant in a competitive field for business support. While schools provided commercially appealing imagery, they did not have the media profile of major sports teams or some community groups to enable maximum commercial exploitation of the relationship. Amounts primary schools were receiving from their school-business relationships in the survey were not strongly aligned with their characteristics of size, location and decile – except that the largest, highest decile and urban schools tended to do better than their opposites. Despite some high profile iconic school-business relationships appearing in the media in the 1990s, financially impressive school-business relationships appear to have remained uncommon, but were in all likelihood more realisable in high decile schools. Because individual businesses in the survey were so unmotivated by school reform, it is doubtful that extra efforts by schools would see a rise in the overall financial take from businesses in New Zealand in the short term.

Educator motives for school-business relationships varied for different members of the school community. Principals considered proposals within the competing discourses of ethics, competitive entrepreneurialism, educational and financial

viability in the market place, and curriculum fit. Some principals valued the school image benefits of securing school-business relationships – it added status to the school. Like businesses, principals were, on the whole, far less interested in working directly with businesses. They were generally comfortable doing deals with businesses including the relationship aspects of networking, but they tended to want to be in control of the implementation. The exception to this was some sponsored educational programmes where sponsors 'had the floor' to deliver the programme themselves. As mentioned, principals had expectations of others – teachers, the Board of Trustees and the PTA/fundraising committee, of ethical and critical decision-making.

Boards similarly placed emphasis on viability and high-level curriculum fit. They also sought alignment with school values but this competed with the pragmatic and high stakes demands of school governance in a self-managing environment, and the aspirations of some boards to be aggressively enterprising. The PTA/fundraising committees were not surprisingly preoccupied with fundraising targets, and parents, as reported by the other participants were not involved in any school-business relationship decision-making.

Teachers were overwhelmingly motivated by curriculum fit and to a slightly lesser extent student appeal. Teachers were also aware of resource constraints and how much value their students could receive out of even small injections of business resources or funding. Some respondents talked about the status equalising effect of business funding for items like sports uniforms or cultural uniforms. In these situations, low decile schools could provide their students with the trappings of their wealthier counterparts whose parents' and wider community might typically fund these resources. Students were explicitly motivated by brands, the appealing and interactive formats, and the incentives and rewards available through some activities.

School engagement with specific school-business relationship activities followed a broadly similar pattern to the supply from businesses with the exception of cause related marketing programmes, which were taken up by at least 40% of schools but offered by few businesses. Partnerships were virtually non-existent even though interview participants generally articulated them as a permissive, contractual and

close arrangements that would have encompassed a range of activities. Donations and sponsorships were very popular with businesses and schools and these varied widely from ad-hoc and low yield, to complex and lucrative – especially in the case of sponsorship. Three major categories of school-business relationship emerged from the interviews, each with individual processes of school adoption: complex/financial, curriculum-related and fundraising. Interestingly, teachers were only significantly involved in one of these areas – curriculum-related. This construction of some relationships as educational and others as financial, further limited opportunities for a discourse of critique of these proposals as corporate pedagogies. For instance, the health co-ordinator at one school had no decision-making input into: the sale by the school of thousands of chocolate bars into the school community; the daily sale of high-fat/high sugar cookies in her classroom; or the adoption of the *McDonald's Reading Programme*. These relationships were not curriculum matters.

During the interviews, sponsored educational programmes emerged as a significant school-business relationship. In some schools, these had become mainstream, year in year out, activities. For schools, these relationships were entertaining, relevant and generally easy to schedule. For businesses they were a deceptively complex strategy combining elements of marketing and public relations to appeal to diverse audiences. In the case of the *McDonald's Reading Programme*, the primary school survey and SEM analysis showed that children, especially poorer children, were being marketed to and taught a corporate curriculum of corporate environmentalism and social responsibility, and healthy living from an institution that arguably works against all three of these (see Vidal, 1997). Educators were pacified by the curriculum relevance – especially links to the important area of literacy, and the student appeal. Parents could see their children being exposed to a literacy programme that was enjoyable. Wider publics were provided with the imagery of McDonald's as community-minded and a service to schools – not a nutritional threat. This sophisticated positioning by McDonald's and its exploitation of both childhood desires and adult anxieties in pursuit of its diverse corporate agenda of public consent and increasing demand for its products, is under-theorised in both the literature and, as the interviews suggest, in New Zealand primary schools. So to is the impact of these programmes on the subsequent desires and expectations of students for their schooling.

Effects for Students, Schools, and the School Network

The interviews and SEM analysis showed that students were targeted as both serious learners and key consumers by the corporate pedagogies of school-business relationships – often simultaneously. The research data suggest two strong areas of student effects: students as the symbolic property of corporate public relations; and the nurturing of consuming identities through hybrid edutainment forms. To consider the first of these, students were constructed through public relations forms, at different times, as innocent, creative, and driven to academic success. These were by adult, for adult, narratives designed to endear publics to the business or industry. For students in schools, the literature and school survey showed that the reality of business support usually fell short of the imagery of these advertisements [including the financial disparity between education support and external promotion], meaning that businesses were under-funding and over-selling their commitment to education. Children have become the emotive objects of public legitimation for some sponsors, allowing them to maintain both their commercial agendas and general presence in schools, and their wider agendas and practices outside schools. As more and more risk-prone businesses gravitate towards schools, children are becoming pawns in complex public relations projects. This objectification of children has escaped serious critique in marketised schools. Child objectification has become a feature of school reciprocation for business support, and this is not seen to impinge on the school's own image value – sometimes it enhances it. But children individually and socially, *are* vulnerable, perhaps more than most, to the real poor social, economic and environmental consequences of public consent for problematic corporate agendas. In addition, these adult discourses further construct children as powerless, pre-social, at the mercy of older people, and at best, emerging adults. This identity weakens adult capacity to give education time over to children developing their agency and political power to start to critique their social reality including the role that corporations play in it; and as various international examples from the 1990s showed, it contributes to a school climate of swift repression of student-led anti-corporate acts. Finally it sets schools and children's culture on a crash course [but one salvageable through edutainment] as this representation of the commodified child to adults diverges more and more from the adult-like child constructed through

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children's own commercialised popular culture. Ironically then, student resistance to commercially-sustained adult discourses, like those present in corporate PR, has created space in schools for other businesses to peddle commercialised edutainment.

Corporations through their school-business relationships, in a variety of ways, seek to affirm and develop children's consuming identities. SEMs explicitly promote consumption by positively profiling products, providing incentives to purchase, and allaying consumer concerns using a variety of marketing and public relations tools. The SEM analysis showed that these materials these materials virtually never ask children to question their consumption or the social, economic and environmental impacts of a culture of consumption, unless this questioning is 'answered' through the resource [for example the *Chook Book's* treatment of battery hen farming]. It was strongly evident in the SEM analysis and discussions with educators that many school-business relationships were appealing to children's desires, emotions and affective needs, weakening the potential for contemplation of the corporate agenda at play. Although educators at interview were able to claim that the learning and 'advertising' elements could be separated for the education activity at hand, by making this claim they failed to engage with the corporate truths and cultural values being transmitted via a hidden and overt corporate curriculum. Further because these activities were motivating children to learn, and these children were being saturated with advertising anyway, there was seen to be little pedagogical downside. As Kincheloe (2002b) suggests, teachers' responses to these relationships often ultimately exemplified a discomfort with the profound – an outcome of the state of confusion created by our image-saturated society. Interview teachers were generally unsure of where businesses were coming from with students and schools beyond this 'advertising'.

School-business relationships as pedagogical experiences appear to differ for rich and poor children in some respects. While the literature notes that poorer schools are more liable to undertake educationally dubious relationships for resourcing reasons, there was some evidence from the interviews and school survey data that these decisions are also mediated by community culture, and more precisely, schools' interpretations of these cultures. Rich schools were more likely to participate in sponsorships but significantly less inclined to use SEMs than poor schools. The

interviews suggested that a shortage of resources is not the overriding driver for poorer schools to use SEMs and sponsored educational programmes more, but rather that the excitement and treats associated with these are particularly motivating for poorer children. Further, the interviews suggested that in poorer communities there tends not to be the level of adult cultural aversion to children's commercialised popular culture integrating into school learning. Given that: social inequality is increasingly constructed around disparities of consumption; corporate pedagogies are not emancipatory; and that in the context of food at least, poorer children are most at risk of poor health associated with obesity, the effects of food-related school-business relationships at least on this group are likely to be compounded. There is a strong social justice imperative to explore the inferences from this research further.

In terms of school effects, school-business relationships promised much for strong school organisation in the 1990s. It was felt that businesses could help schools become better businesses of education by: making them more relevant and responsive to business and community priorities; providing them with some extra 'financial flexibility'; assisting them with the complex economics and management processes associated with self-management; and helping them to make learning more authentic. Despite a strong support literature with these foci, policy support, and high-level supportive rhetoric from governments and business opinion-makers, the data confirm the findings from the evaluation literature since 1990, that school-business relationships have not fulfilled this expectation. The funds and resources available through school-business relationships have responded to: schools' general fund-seeking; school image marketing priorities in a competitive environment; and pressures to deliver more learning outcomes for students. However, very few businesses assisted schools to become more business-like through advice and support, or developed and delivered curricula *with* schools. Additionally, primary schools in this research did not generally carry this expectation of businesses.

For one of the interview schools, business support appeared to have had quite a major impact on the curriculum with, for example the establishment of an ICT suite through a corporate partnership. But very few schools had such partnerships, and the funds coming through from businesses in many cases were quite low. It was not apparent that school-business relationships had themselves created a new school culture

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among the interview schools. However they were affirming and reproducing the cultural reality of the marketised school and hence had become a trapping [sometimes welcome, sometimes not so welcome], of the marketised school. The relatively swift embedding and normalisation of school-business relationships since the 1990s was evident when many of the educators I interviewed mentioned that they had never stopped to contemplate or 'count up' all the school-business relationships operating in their school – even in schools where there were many. The hegemony of school-business relationships as normal school practice had replaced a previous ideology of separation of business and school spheres – a settlement in education that some experienced interviewees could clearly recall. So enterprising schools were culturally primed for more school-business relationships.

In terms of school network effects, the modest and isolated funding coming from many big New Zealand businesses in the business survey suggested that this corporate resource has had little effect on the financial health of the school network as a whole. In fact government energy since the late 1990s has been thrown behind the school revenue potential of the multi-million dollar foreign fee-paying student industry rather than corporate funding and partnerships in education. There was nothing in the activities of businesses or the experiences of primary schools to suggest that businesses wished to take a stronger structural stake in education in terms of funding or delivery. The atomised nature of New Zealand's primary schools mitigated against strategic network-wide development of school-business relationships [e.g. multi-school 'pouring rights' soft-drink contracts] but it also eliminated spheres for debate, critique and sharing of experiences by educators. In the USA at least, strong supporters and vocal critics of school-business relationships have used school district and state arenas to: present their cases; call on experts, critics and relevant research; and even pass laws and regulations to navigate their relationships with businesses. In New Zealand this complex and messy democratic process is expected to happen largely on a school by school basis – and of course in most cases it does not. Simply, there are perceived bigger issues for an atomised school to deal with. The interviews confirmed that school-business relationships were not a common topic of discussion among principals. For New Zealand school leaders, because school-business relationships were now subject to the competing

spheres of progressive educational ethics and pragmatic and entrepreneurial school management, the pedagogical acts of collegial sharing and professional critique were diminished.

Food as a Case of School-Business Relationships

The focus on food-related school-business relationships in New Zealand brought to sharp relief many of the critical concerns covered in this thesis. Food companies are among the most prominent corporate meaning-makers in childhood, and food businesses are reaching into more childhood spheres including schools. As an industry, food from the late 1990s, faced a severe legitimacy crisis worldwide as links between its products, its marketing practices, consumption patterns, and child health and obesity were scrutinised. To a lesser extent it also faced ongoing public concerns about operating practices and in particular animal welfare and environmental impacts. The New Zealand evidence from the literature, SEM analysis and interviews, confirms that rather than backing off school-business relationships, the food-related school-business relationship has intensified and evolved as businesses combat these unfavourable operating conditions *through* schools. Advertising and promotional strategies persist but these are being joined by or integrated into more sophisticated public relations pedagogies that simultaneously encourage consuming identities, alter the terms of the food marketing/obesity debate for students and wider publics, and attempt to shut down arguments about problematic industry practices and products. Food businesses are leveraged 'support' to schools to attack critics and present themselves as part of the solution, not the problem. In this respect, schools have become a symbolic ally of the food industry in its public fight for legitimacy. Teachers in this research were picking up these offerings from the food industry when they were perceived to have curriculum utility and student appeal. The wider political implications of this decision-making were not considered by most teachers, nor were the problematic relationships between these pedagogies, children's desires, and children's health and wellbeing.

Food was also a dominant context for school-fundraising. The food industry appears to have 'cornered' this market in primary schools since 1990, becoming a serious school funder relative to other businesses. The 46 schools that were undertaking

Cadbury Chocolates fundraising in the school survey would have collectively sold approximately 215,000 chocolate bars and earned approximately $172,000 if each child in each school had sold one box of 20 bars. This return from a fraction of New Zealand's 2,308 [as at 2003] schools serving primary age students is more than the total annual financial contribution of all but a very few of New Zealand's largest and most successful businesses in 1998. One implication of this fundraising example and other food-related fundraising and incentive programmes found in the interview schools, is that schools have become significant promoters and retailers of confectionary to students and communities. This effort cannot be dismissed as insignificant to child and community health.

Potential areas of Future Research into School-Business Relationships

The literature review for this research found very few New Zealand sources examining school-business relationships, despite some reference to them as a symptom of school change in the extensive critical writings on New Zealand school reforms since 1990. One problem with this paucity of literature is that it hinders the development of a critical mass of interest from researchers and educators which would enable New Zealand activities to be explored more systematically, in including in a global context. As mentioned at the outset of this thesis, while some New Zealand instances of school-business relationships have been 'world leaders' in scope, our critical interest has been slight. School-business relationships, as directly related to me by one principal, are not a strong topic of discussion and debate among educators. This final section looks some fruitful areas of future research that might get this conversation going.

Firstly, while it is a low research priority internationally in this field, New Zealand educators could benefit from more research into the placement of schools within corporate public relations strategies. Schools as non-profit institutions have become more prominent within corporate community relationships, however this thesis argues that schools have a special PR status – as a site used for the production [for diverse external audiences] as well as consumption of corporate rhetoric. Educators

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at interview were generally focused on the impacts and gains for their schools and students of relationships with businesses, yet businesses were often externally focused. Research that draws on the investigative approaches of anti-corporate activist-authors could make the links between school-business relationships and corporate public relations strategy more explicit.

A second key area where there is a lack of research is the rise of edutainment in schools. School-business relationship critics have tended to criticise these programmes and resources as advertising 'in drag' and have not explored school motivation in detail. The interviewees in this research revealed that educator decisions around edutainment relationships were sometimes driven by a desire to remain engaging and relevant to children, as well as covering the curriculum. Research is needed to look at the degree to which commercialised edutainment is embedded in schools. Research is also needed to look at alternative ways schools might be renegotiating the boundaries between the children's popular culture and in-school learning. This research argued that rising edutainment was an inadequate compromise between children's desires, curriculum coverage, and parents' child development concerns, however there are likely to be alternative models of renegotiated practice that might be more critical.

The lack of in-depth research into edutainment in schools is symptomatic of a broader research gap – consideration of the aims and operation of schooling in consumer culture. While it is accepted across a range of economic and sociological thought that consumption rather than production now fuels contemporary capitalism, and this thesis has argued that children's consumption experiences are influential in their learning and identity formation, schools remain very much orientated towards nurturing students' working and citizenship identities. The role of schools as significant consuming organisations themselves is similarly lacking analysis. While frameworks for thinking about how contemporary institutions operate within consumer culture are common [e.g. George Ritzer's *McDonaldisation* thesis], schools[73] are almost always absent from this analysis. Instead schools, it appears, have adopted a largely reactive school-business relationships settlement that pays little attention to consumption's relationships to learning and learning institutions.

Although this research did not intend to focus on socio-economic difference in school-business relationship decision-making and practice, and the sample size of the interview schools restricted strong comparisons by decile, some important tentative differences by community wealth did emerge. Research is needed to analyse further how the cultural capital of communities and school-community relationships ultimately influence and regulate school-business relationship practice. In the case of food, in this research school-business relationship decision-making in low decile schools appeared to be facilitating greater in-school marketing and consumption of foods of minimal nutritional value. More exploration of this tentative finding is needed with a bigger sample.

None of the five interview schools in this research had a comprehensive and explicit plan or strategy to manage their school-business relationships. While the school survey showed that this is typical for primary schools at least, there are likely to be examples of conscious critical practice that could be explored through research. For instance, the Health and Physical Education Curriculum of New Zealand calls for a socio-ecological perspective which centralises the social/environmental drivers of health and wellbeing and carries expectations of student critique and action to improve environments. There are various whole-school approaches to the socio-ecological perspective such as Health Promoting Schools that are restructuring the school environment to facilitate health and wellbeing, not just teach it. Commercial activities such as fundraising and sponsorship are drawn back into a curriculum lens when such approaches are in place. As another example, environmental education in some schools is moving towards a stronger analysis of the links between consumption and the environment, with a view to student critique and action. Research could look at whether these socio-ecological frameworks are enabling educators' constructions of school-business relationships to move towards a more critical pedagogical frame, or whether this remains challenged by arguments of curriculum utility and financial and educational viability.

Secondary schools were not extensively covered in this research and there are some key characteristics of these schools that are worth exploring in more detail. For instance, it is certain that enterprise education approaches would be more prominent

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[73] Interestingly, universities are often subject to this examination but not schools.

in these schools, and although the evaluation literature from the 1990s was not complimentary about progress in this area, potentially new forms of relationship could be emerging as previous approaches are discarded. Because of the larger size of many secondary schools, it is also likely that there will be more policy, organisation and sophistication to school-business relationships. The nature of sponsored educational materials and programmes may also differ with perhaps less emphasis on edutainment and more on product or industry information. Student resistance to school-business relationships may be evident at some secondary schools.

Lastly, research could pursue and analyse good practice in business approaches to school-business relationships driven by social and ethical principles. Current New Zealand literature about the application of corporate social responsibility frameworks in education is slight and conservative, in that it remains weighted towards a traditional education-economy rationale, and promotes commercial opportunity. Just as there is room for development in school thinking and practice, there needs to be a stronger theory of business action driven by corporate social obligations and social development and justice imperatives.

As important as more research is, mobilising this knowledge with educators is critical. For this, it seems clear that educators must be connected with resources and people outside of the profession. McLaren (1997) notes that a post-modern critical pedagogy must not confine itself to a critical collegial effort at the local level only – in this case the school, but must link local issues to wider struggles and contexts. Much of the critical knowledge about corporate power and the sometimes global problematic agendas, strategies and effects of big business, lies well outside the school and formal teacher development opportunities, and is not accessible through regular educational media. It lies instead across the Internet, in some academic institutions, within the work of activists and NGOs, and in book length literatures, documentaries and some academic journals. Educators and researchers collectively must develop practical mechanisms to improve the dissemination of critical information about the activities and motives of corporate suitors. Stronger links need to be developed between educators and academics, activists and NGOs. National subject associations, [for instance the Home Economics and Technology Teachers' Association of New Zealand (HETTANZ)] could have a role here because of their

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positioning 'above' the school, their deep knowledge and links across education and health spheres, and their use of conferences, journals and resources to communicate with and support teachers nationally. Given that New Zealand school-business relationships sometimes follow overseas trends and even programmes, a global perspective is required to this outreach. Research and its mobilisation must ultimately help educators to become as good at understanding the power of business as businesses have become at understanding the power of education.

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Appendix A. Examples of the School-Business Relationship Promotional Rhetoric of New Zealand Businesses
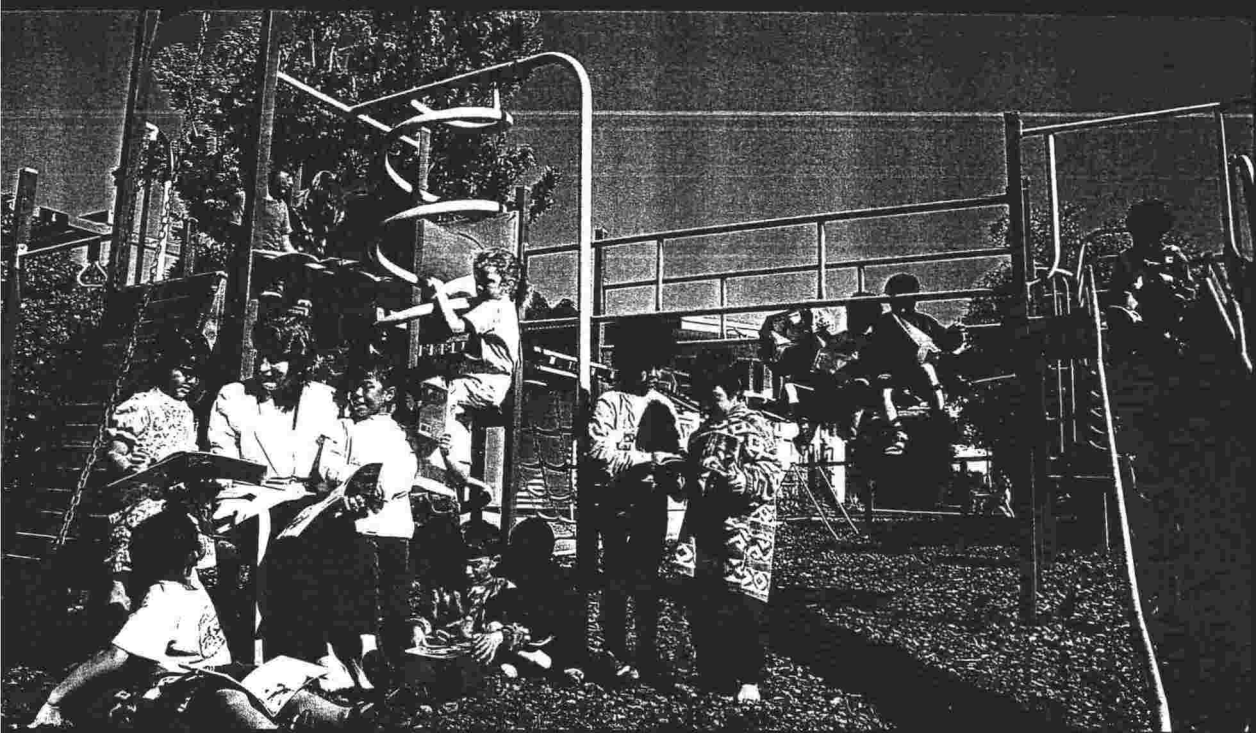
 nation our strength lies in the talent

energy that exists in our communities.

ntrywide Bank is proud to be part of these

mmunities through its sponsorships at local

national levels.

Gisborne branch manager Lindy Neilson has become a regular visitor to Kaiti School following the bank's sponsorship of the Books in Homes programme at the school. She is pictured here with new entrants and their new books.

AA BAIRDS MAINFREIGHT PRIMARY SCHOOL

"Teach them today and they'll lead tomorrow."

In recent years Mainfreight has supported Otara's Bairds Road Primary School by providing educational equipment and apparel. In 1997 Mainfreight became the first company in New Zealand to formally sponsor a school and in recognition of this, the name has become Baird's Mainfreight Primary School.
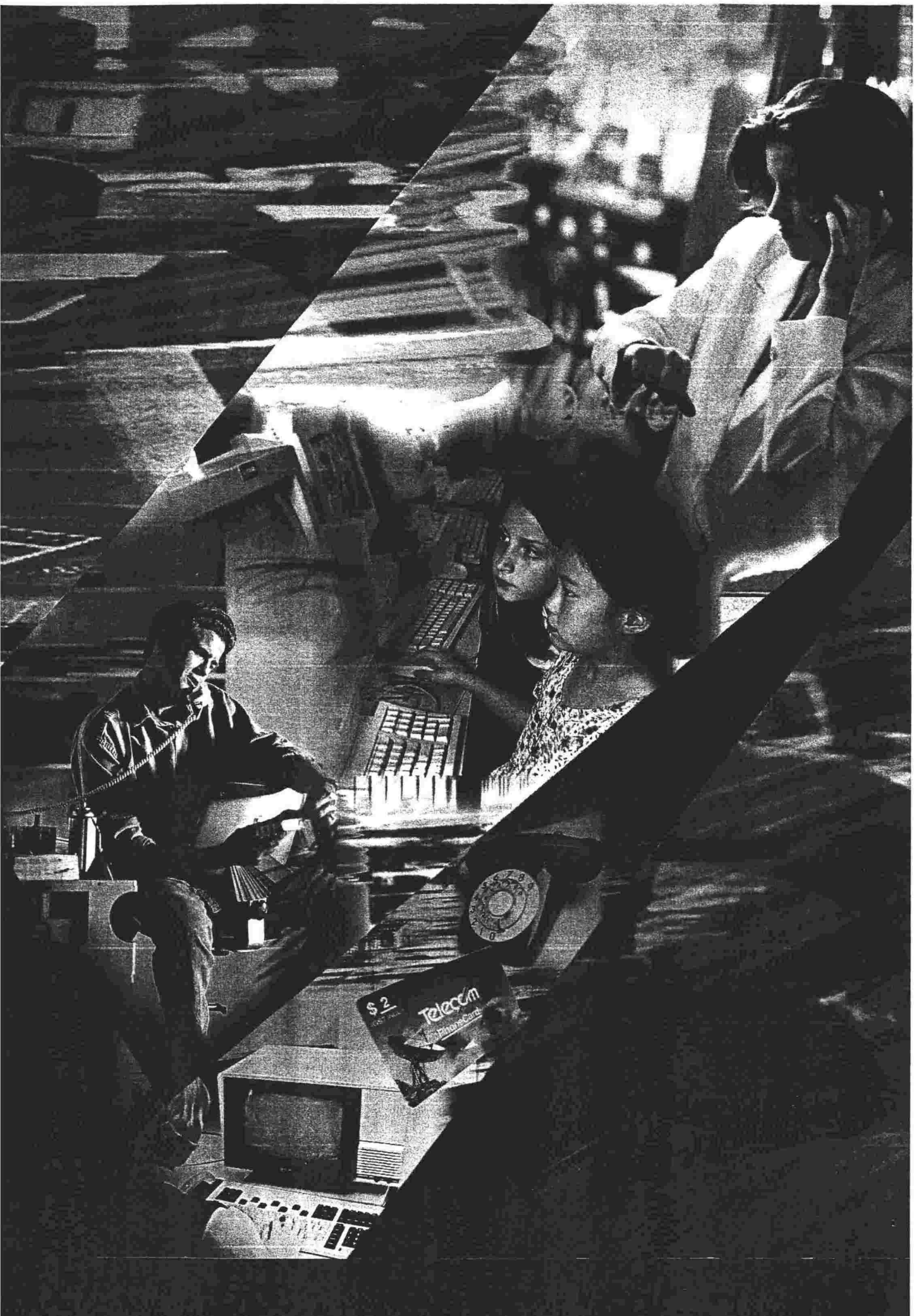
Appendix B. Sponsored Educational Materials and Related Items Analysis Sheet

Sponsored Educational Materials Analysis Sheet

Basic Description

Name:

Sponsor:

Format:

| Note on selection for analysis | Purpose | Content | | | | |

Content

	Accuracy: Verifiability of the information? Yes / No	Comment:

		Comment

Accuracy: Consistency of statements with established fact / expert opinion
Yes / No

Accuracy: information Current
Yes / No

Completeness and objectivity	Low	Med	High	Comment

Yes / No

Claim commitment to public health
Yes / No

Focus on physical activity – not nutrition
Yes / No

Divert attention from sponsor
Yes / No

Alignment with nutrition professionals
Yes / No

Selective Emphasis/ de-emphasis of nutritional benefits: Yes / No

Base food nutritional value versus processed food value: Yes / No

No good or bad foods: Yes / No

Parent role: Yes / No

Products: Food Pyramid Status

Food Guide
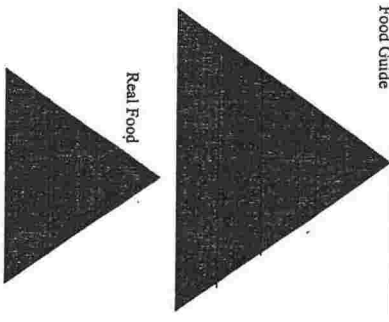
Real Food

Commercialism

	N	Per page	Comment
Sponsor logo			
Ad statements			
Products			
Brands			
Models			

Promotional Activities: Yes / No   Comment:

Sales Activities: Yes / No   Comment:

Operations and Behaviour

Environment
Yes / No

Human Rights
Yes / No

Labour
Yes / No

Animal Welfare
Yes / No

Other
Yes / No

Other Nutrition issues

Appendix C. USDA Food Pyramid and New Zealand Heart Foundation Real Food Pyramid

USDA Food Guide Pyramid (1992)

Fats, Oils & Sweets
USE SPARINGLY

KEY
◻ Fat (naturally occurring and added)
▼ Sugars (added)
These symbols show fats and added sugars in foods.

Milk, Yogurt &
Cheese Group
2-3 SERVINGS

Meat, Poultry, Fish, Dry Beans,
Eggs & Nuts Group
2-3 SERVINGS

Vegetable Group
3-5 SERVINGS

Fruit Group
2-4 SERVINGS

Bread, Cereal,
Rice & Pasta
Group
**6-11
SERVINGS**
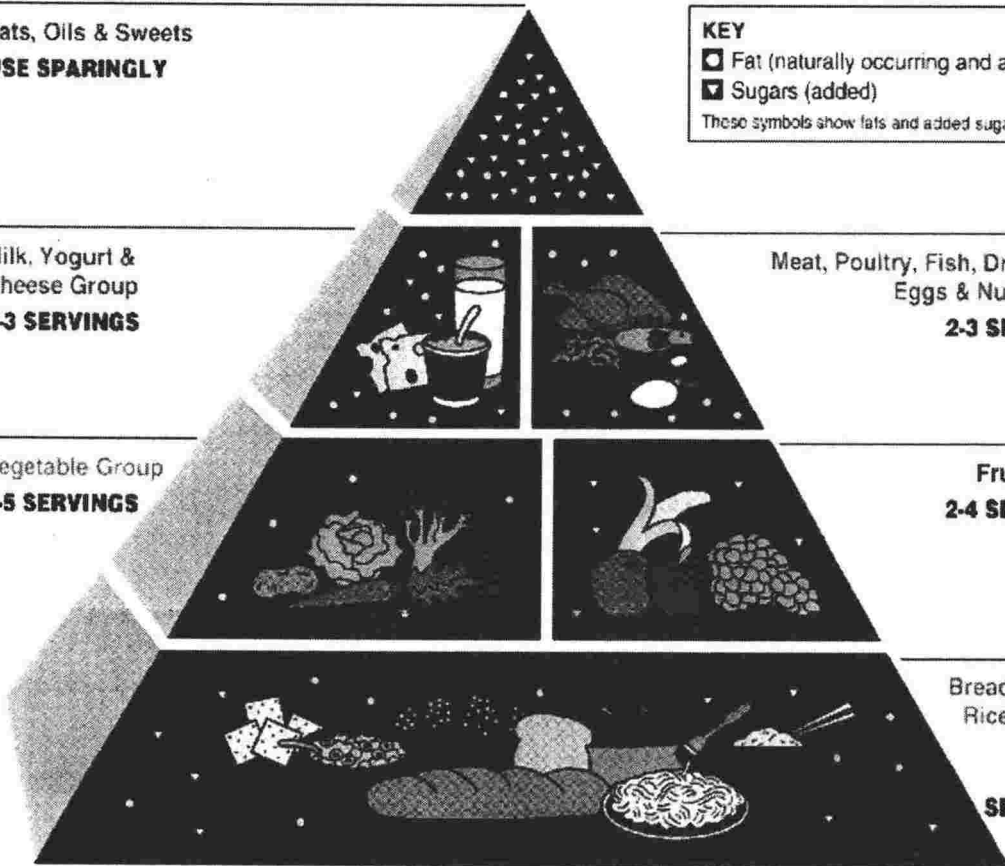
REAL FOOD PYRAMID

EAT LITTLE

EAT SOME

EAT LOTS

Appendix D. Business Survey Questionnaire

A National Survey of Corporate Support of New Zealand Education.

July 1998.

David Stuart
School of Education
Victoria University of Wellington.

Please complete and return this survey by: 14th August 1998.

Approximate Completion Time: 16 minutes.

Confidential Mailing Reference Number: ____

Please Note: *Definitions of terms used in this survey are boxed.*

Section A. Corporate Contributions to Education.

A.1. Does your organisation currently directly support in monetary or non-monetary forms any New Zealand education institution, programme, activity or event?

> **Education.** Any institution, programme, activity or event that exists to undertake formal learning processes and outcomes, or more social functions connected with education institutions such as school sports tournaments or a school choir competition. This excludes your staff training and development expenditures.

☐ Yes   ☐ No   (If **No** please go to **Section D.**)

A.2. Please indicate the level of your organisation's total contributions to education for the latest complete financial year.

☐ Under $10,000   ☐ Between $10,000 and $50,000
☐ Between $50,000 and $100,000   ☐ Between $100,000 and $200,000
☐ Between $200,000 and $500,000   ☐ Between $500,000 and $1,000,000
☐ Over $1,000,000

A.3. During this financial year, what percentage of your contributions to the not-for-profit sector were allocated to education?

> **Not-for-profit.** Any organisation that exists to provide services to a particular group or groups of people (or the environment), with no principal expectation of receiving a financial return for these services.

_____ %

A.4. The **real dollar value** of your organisation's **annual** contribution to education in the last five years has…. (tick one)

☐ Remained approximately the same.
☐ Moderately increased.
☐ Significantly increased.
☐ Moderately decreased.
☐ Significantly decreased.

Section B. Types of Education Support.

B.1. Does your organisation currently make **donations** to education?

> **Donation.** The free provision of your organisation's resources to education including money, goods, services, or company expertise, with no contractually agreed reciprocation of this donation from the education party involved (as distinct from a sponsorship).

☐ Yes ☐ No (If **No** please go to **B.2.**)

If **Yes**, please indicate the education **sectors** that receive donations from your organisation.

☐ Early Childhood sector.
☐ State Primary or Intermediate School(s).
☐ Private Primary or Intermediate School(s)
☐ State Secondary School(s).
☐ Private Secondary School(s).
☐ University.
☐ Other (Please Specify)._____

☐ Polytechnic.
☐ Private Training Establishment.
☐ Adult or Continuing Education.
☐ Special Needs Education.
☐ Education Scholarships.
☐ Educational foundation, organisation, event or programme (e.g. Books in Homes, National Academic Awards, Enterprise New Zealand Trust.)

B.2. Does your organisation currently undertake **sponsorships** in education?

> **Sponsorship.** A reciprocal arrangement whereby your organisation provides a certain value of money, goods, services, or other resources to education, in exchange for some form and level of recognition of that contribution (which can vary substantially) from the education party involved, such as signage, naming rights, permission to promote the sponsorship, or the use of the sponsored party's services or resources.

☐ Yes ☐ No (If **No** please go to **B.3.**)

If **Yes**, please indicate the education **sectors** that receive sponsorship from your organisation.

☐ Early Childhood sector.
☐ State Primary or Intermediate School(s).
☐ Private Primary or Intermediate School(s).
☐ State Secondary School(s).
☐ Private Secondary School(s).
☐ University.
☐ Other (Please Specify)._____

☐ Polytechnic.
☐ Private Training Establishment.
☐ Adult or Continuing Education.
☐ Special Needs Education.
☐ Education Scholarships.
☐ Educational foundation, organisation, event or programme (e.g. Books in Homes, National Academic Awards, Enterprise New Zealand Trust.)

B.3. Does your organisation currently engage in **cause related marketing** activities with education providers?

> **Cause Related Marketing.** A pledge from your organisation to donate a specified amount of money or product to an education activity, event, institution or programme, whenever a particular item of your organisation's product or service is purchased.

    ☐ Yes   ☐ No   (If **No** please go to **B.4.**)

If **Yes**, please briefly describe this programme(s).

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

B.4. Does your organisation currently engage in **education partnerships** with education providers?

> **Education Partnership.** This is distinct from a pure sponsorship arrangement as the intention of the partnership is for your organisation and the education institution to **engage** in activities that promote learning outcomes. Arrangements vary and are negotiated by both parties, however they often involve student learning programmes based around an organisation's commercial roles, and assisted by its expertise.

    ☐ Yes   ☐ No   (If **No** please go to **B.5.**)

If **Yes**, please complete the details below.

Number of Education Partnerships nation-wide. _____

Type of education provider(s) involved (e.g. primary school, university).
_____

Please briefly describe this programme(s).

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

B.5. Does your organisation currently engage in the production of **curriculum resources** for education providers? (For example, a school information kit about the New Zealand forestry industry).

☐ Yes ☐ No (If **No** please go to **Section C.**)

If **Yes**, please complete the details below.

Please briefly describe these resources and the type(s) of education providers who receive them.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Section C. Reasons for Support of Education.

The following are some potential reasons why your organisation would want to support education. Please indicate the importance of each statement in your decision to support education, by circling the most appropriate number.

i. Greater investment in education is vital for the future growth of our organisation's industry in the increasingly competitive global economic environment.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

ii. Rapid labour market changes that face New Zealand with the growth of new technologies necessitate a strong role for business in assisting education.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

iii. Specifically supporting education is an important expression of the values of our organisation.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

iv. There has been increased pressure from education groups in the 1990s for funding and resources above what the Government provides.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

v. Our organisation's activities have a strong impact on its community or New Zealand society in general. We therefore regard ourselves as having an ethical duty to act in a socially responsible manner.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

vi. Supporting education ultimately has quantifiable benefits to our organisation by improving the community in which it operates and perhaps society in general.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

vii. The support of education differentiates our organisation from its competitors.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

viii. Our organisation is concerned about an aspect or aspects of education and providing the support we do is a tangible way to address this concern(s) in a practical way.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

ix. Supporting education ultimately improves the calibre of potential future workers of this organisation.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

x. There is an increasing expectation from our customers and society in general that organisations should support the not-for-profit sector including education.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

xi. Supporting education creates marketing opportunities for our organisation with the education parties involved.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

xii. Supporting education provides opportunities for our organisation to promote its good name, products and services to a wider audience outside of the specific arrangement.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

xiii. Supporting education allows our organisation to educate students about the functions of our organisation and the industry that we operate within.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

xiv. Supporting education allows our organisation to stay in touch with issues affecting communities, and gain knowledge which assists us in our commercial operations.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

xv. Government reform in education in the past decade has created a more flexible and conducive environment for our organisation to become involved in supporting education.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

xvi. Supporting education is an appropriate way for our organisation to act altruistically for the benefit of others.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

xvii. Supporting education is favourable to our organisation's tax liability.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

xviii. Our organisation has unique skills, knowledge and physical resources which education providers can benefit from.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

Are there any other reasons you wish to add? _____

_____

Please go to **Section E.**

Section D. Reasons for Not Supporting Education.

If you have indicated in question **A.1.** that your organisation does not engage in the support of education, as defined earlier, please complete this section. Otherwise please go to **Section E.**

Below are some reasons why your organisation might have chosen not to be involved in supporting education activities, events, institutions or programmes. Please indicate the importance of **each** statement in your organisation's decision not to become involved in directly supporting education (as defined), by circling the most appropriate number.

i. Budget constraints.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

ii. Our organisation has insufficient resources to become involved with supporting education.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

iii. Our organisation's corporate giving priorities lie elsewhere.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

iv. Supporting education is primarily the role of Government, not organisations such as ours.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

v. Supporting education does not fit with the strategic goals of our organisation.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

vi. Supporting education has no direct financial benefit to our organisation.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

vii. Our organisation's resources are better ulilised providing internal and external training for its employees.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

viii. There is a lack of a tax incentive to contribute to not-for-profit activities such as education.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

ix. Our organisation already supports education through its payment of taxes to Government.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

x. The nature of our commercial activities makes it difficult to justify contributing to education.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

xi. Supporting education does not create the level of marketing or promotional opportunities that would be needed to justify the costs.

1	2	3	4	5
Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all

Are there any other reasons you wish to add? _____

_____

_____

Section E. Characteristics of Your Organisation.

E.1. Please indicate the main area of business your organisation is involved in.

☐ Automotive   ☐ Banking/Finance
☐ Investment (property)   ☐ Chemicals/Pharmaceuticals
☐ Communications/Media   ☐ Diversified Corporate.
☐ Computers/Office Equipment   ☐ Industry/Community Services
☐ Oil/Gas/Minerals/Electricity   ☐ Transport/Ports/Tourism
☐ Research   ☐ Manufacturing
☐ Insurance (General/Life/Super)   ☐ Primary Producer
☐ Food (Processed)/Beverages   ☐ Retail/Wholesale/Distribution
☐ Other (Please Specify_____)

E.2. Does your organisation financially support external training and education by its employees?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

E.3. Does your organisation utilise an Industry Training Organisation (ITO) for employee training?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

E.4. Lastly, would you like to receive a summary of the main survey findings?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

Thank You for completing this survey! Your contribution to this education research is appreciated. Please return your completed survey in the reply-paid envelope provided by 14ᵗʰ August 1998.

Appendix E. Primary School Survey Questionnaire

School-Business Relationships Survey

Please complete all sections and return your completed survey in the reply-paid envelope by **21 May, 2003**. Please note that the term **business** in this survey also refers to **industry associations**.

Section A. Relationships with businesses

1. In the following table, for each type of **school-business activity** listed, please tick the appropriate box to identify your school's involvement in this type of activity. Each activity is defined in the first column.

	Have never been involved in this activity, will not be involved in 2003	Have been involved in this activity in the past, but not in 2003	Are/ intend to be involved in this activity in 2003 for the first time	Have been involved in this activity in the past, and will be involved in 2003
Business Donations: Money or physical resources given to a school with no return to the business required by the school				
Business Sponsorships: Money or physical resources given to a school in exchange for some action by the school in support of the sponsor (e.g. sponsor's signage at the school)				
Cause Related Marketing: A programme where money or physical resources are given to a school when the public purchases a particular product or service from a business				
Partnerships with Business: Schools and businesses cooperatively developing and/or implementing learning activities or staff development programmes (e.g. student work placements, mentoring schemes)				
Sponsored Educational Materials: Teaching and learning resources financed and/or produced by business				

2. What was the approximate financial value of all the funding and other resources received through your school's activities with businesses in the 2002 school year?
   $ _____ If this figure is **$0.00** go to question 5.

3. What approximate percentage of your school's total operating funding (i.e. excluding capital funding) in 2002 does the figure in Question 2 represent?
   _____ %

4. In the last five years has the real financial value (i.e. adjusting for inflation) of your school's activities with businesses:

☐ Stayed approximately the same
☐ Moderately increased
☐ Significantly increased
☐ Moderately decreased
☐ Significantly decreased
☐ Don't know

5. Does your school have a policy or position governing your activities with businesses?

☐ No
☐ Yes

If **yes**, please briefly describe this policy or position.

_____
_____
_____
_____

6. Who is the <u>key</u> decision-maker in your school for accepting or rejecting **sponsored educational materials** from businesses?

☐ Principal
☐ Deputy Principal
☐ School management team
☐ Appropriate curriculum co-ordinator
☐ Individual teacher/s teaching the relevant curriculum area
☐ Board of Trustees
☐ Other (please specify)_____

7. Who does this key decision-maker consult with when making decisions about accepting or rejecting **sponsored educational materials** (tick all relevant boxes)?

☐ No one
☐ Principal
☐ Deputy Principal
☐ Board of Trustees
☐ Teachers
☐ School management team
☐ Students
☐ Parents
☐ Other (please specify)_____

8. In 1999 a document called *Sponsored Materials and Activities in Schools – Good Practice Guidelines* was produced by the Association of New Zealand Advertisers and the New Zealand School Trustees Association (NZSTA). Are you aware of these guidelines?

    ☐ No
    ☐ Yes

        If **yes**, has your school used them in its decision-making about undertaking activities with businesses?
        ☐ No
        ☐ Yes

Section B. Decision-making criteria for relationships with businesses

9. Please complete the table below identifying the importance of various factors in your school's decisions to undertake or not undertake activities with businesses. Please complete this even if you have indicated that you are not undertaking any activities with businesses. Please tick the appropriate box to indicate the importance of each statement to your school's decision-making.

School Factors	Crucially important	Very important	Of some importance	Not very important	Not important at all
it with the current curriculum priorities of our school					
he potential or actual school funds or resources vailable through the activity					
he creation of closer ties with businesses in the ommunity					
pportunities for staff professional development					
he apparent motives of the business					
he support of parents					
he support of teachers					
he support of the BOT					
/hat the school has to do in return for the business					
niqueness - the activity is rarely or not available rough other means					
he opportunities for students to learn more about e operations of the business concerned					
he chance for students to learn about the role of usiness in society					
he opportunities for students to learn work skills					
he chance to positively promote the school					
he opportunities for students to receive career anning and development assistance					
he historical relationship between our school and e business					
he current role and influence of this business within ur school's community					
ther: (Please specify)					

Section C. Food and beverage-related business sponsorships and sponsored education materials

10. The table below lists a number of food and beverage-related sponsored educational materials and sponsorships made available to schools by businesses. Tick the box that best describes your school's relationship with each sponsorship or sponsored educational materials. If you are not aware or unsure about your school's relationship, please tick the <u>unsure</u> column.

Sponsored Educational Materials/ Sponsorship	Have not used/ participated in the past and not intending to in 2003	Have used/ participated in the past. Not intending to in 2003	Have used/ participated in the past. Using/ participating again in 2003	Have not used/ participated in the past but using/ participating in 2003	Unsure
Poultry Industry Association of New Zealand – *Chook Book*, *Poultry Biology* or *The New Zealand Poultry Meat Industry – An Education and Industry Resource*					
New Zealand Seafood Industry Council – *The Living Sea* or *Fish for the Future*					
Cadbury Chocolates School Fundraising programme					
The McDonald's Reading Programme					
NZ Beef and Lamb Marketing Bureau – *Iron Brion* in-school presentation and educational materials					
New Zealand Pork Industry Board - Various guides to pork					
Baking Industry Research Trust & Flour Milling Research Trust – *New Zealand Cyber Guide to Flour Milling and Baking* CD Rom					
McDonald's *Make it Click* road safety education programme					
Chelsea Sugar educational materials					
Anchor *Books for Schools* competition					
New Zealand Vegetable & Potato Growers' Federation – *V for Vegies* CD Rom					
Goodman Fielder *School of the Year* Competition					
Nestle *Write Around New Zealand* story writing competition					
Other:					
Other:					

Section D. Business motives for relationships in education

11. When businesses undertake activities with schools they have particular motives. Three types of motive are listed below titled: social responsibility, operations and commercial. Each of these motive types is defined in the first column of the table. Please tick the boxes that represent **your view** on the importance of each motive to businesses undertaking activities with schools. Please complete this for both **your school's** current activities with business (if you have at least one in 2003) and for school-business activities **generally**.

Business Motive	Crucially important to business	Very important to business	Of some importance to business	Not very important to business	Not important at all to business
ocial responsibility: relationships with schools to improve community or society generally					
• **This school's activities**					
• **School-business activities generally**					
perations: relationships with schools to improve students' nowledge, skills and attitudes for business success					
• **This school's activities**					
• **School-business activities generally**					
ommercial: relationships with schools to promote sales, arketing or public relations objectives					
• **This school's activities**					
• **School-business activities generally**					

Section E. Personal and school information

12. What is your position at this school?:

☐ Principal
☐ Deputy Principal
☐ Other (please specify) _____

13. How many years in total have you been teaching in schools (including as a principal or in other school management positions)?:

☐ Up to 5 years
☐ Between 6 and 10 years
☐ Between 11 and 15 years
☐ Between 16 and 20 years
☐ Between 21 and 25 years
☐ More than 25 years

14. Does your school teach food-related classes (e.g. food technology) to students from other schools?
    ☐ Yes
    ☐ No

15. Does your school have soft drink vending machines on site?
    ☐ Yes
    ☐ No

Section F. The next phase of the research *(principal only to complete)*

16. In 2003, I will be undertaking further research into schools' adoption and use of food and beverage-related activities sponsored by business. This research will include teacher and principal interviews with a sample of schools.

    Please indicate below if you and your school would be willing to participate in this interview phase. If you indicate yes, I will contact you or your nominee to discuss the research further and, through this person, make contact with individual staff members to ascertain their interest in being interviewed.

    I appreciate that this further research would be a commitment of your staff time so I am aiming to be as efficient as possible with the interviews. I would be happy to discuss the accumulated findings with individuals or groups of participants at a later date. I will provide more information on the research once I have the contact details of those schools willing to participate.

    ☐ Yes – our school is willing to participate in interviews connected with this research
    ☐ No – our school does not wish to participate further

    If you answered **yes** to further participation please complete the name and address details of the person I should contact next:

    Contact name: _____   Position:_____

    Phone: _____   Email: _____

    Mail: _____
                  _____
                  _____

Thank you very much for completing this survey. Your time and information is appreciated. If you have indicated a willingness to participate in the interview phase I will be in touch with you or your nominated contact shortly.

Please return this survey form in the reply paid envelope by **21 May 2003**.

Appendix F. School Interview Schedules

Principals Interview Form: **Subject Number_____**

Introduction:

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed today. I am going to ask a series of questions around your own school's school business relationships and school business relationships generally. In my research, school business relationships are taken to be the engagements between a school and a business or industry association, inclusive of: donations, sponsorships, cause related marketing, partnerships, or sponsored educational materials. You have agreed to this interview being taped but you can ask for the tape to be stopped, or the interview to be terminated at any time without having to give reasons. Your interview information is totally confidential to myself, my supervisors and any tape transcribers. Do you have any questions before I commence the interview?

Before I turn the tape recorder on could you please tell me:

1. How many years have you been involved in education as a principal and teacher?

    _____

2. How many years at this school? _____

3. How many years as principal?

4. What was your first year of teaching? _____

5. Do you still teach regularly? If not, when was your last year of regular teaching? If yes, which age group?_____

I am going to turn the tape recorder on now.

A. Policy and Procedures:

I am going to ask a couple of questions about your general understanding of school business relationships and your school's approach to them.

A1. Firstly, could you describe to me your understanding of the following kinds of school business relationship? And for each, what do you think are the key benefits to schools and the key benefits for the business or industry association involved?

    Donation
    Sponsorship
    Cause Related Marketing
    Partnership
    Sponsored Curriculum Resources

A2. How would you describe your school's general approach towards undertaking the school business relationships you have just described?

Probes

- ❑ Rationale/motive
- ❑ Has this changed in the last few years – if so how?
- ❑ Differences by engagement type?
- ❑ Why has it been successful/ unsuccessful?

A3. You noted in your survey response that your school does/ doesn't have an official policy or position for school business relationships. YES - Can you tell me about what this aims to do? NO - Why do you think your school doesn't have one?
Probes:
Yes only:

- ❑ How long has it been in place?
- ❑ Why was the policy developed?
- ❑ Copy of policy available?

No and yes:

- ❑ What would be the typical process for deciding whether to undertake a school business relationship? (Note – exclude sponsored curriculum resources as this is covered below).
- ❑ Roles of various groups. Including differences by engagement type.

B. Beliefs about the value, school/business motives and student effects of School Business Relationships

I now want to ask you about your school's specific school business relationships.

B1. (note: either food-related or general if no food-related engagements mentioned). In your response to my initial survey it was mentioned that you use/are involved in
_____. Could you tell me about this including how it came about and what you think the results have been for your school?

Probes

- ❑ Key decision makers
- ❑ School motives/rationale – financial/educational?
- ❑ Any negative effects for students or staff – anticipated or unanticipated?
- ❑ What are the business or industry associations' expectations of your school and general motives?
- ❑ Any opposition from parents, students, teachers or other groups?
- ❑ Plans for the future?

C. Awareness developments and the critical view of SBRs

I'm now going to ask you about your thoughts on school business relationships generally.

C1. During your time in the teaching profession what have been the key changes (if any) in your view for the demand for school business relationships by New Zealand schools?

Probes
- ❏ Personal feelings about this change?
- ❏ Awareness of international developments?
- ❏ Where are trends heading?
- ❏ Implications for students?
- ❏ Own school's place in this?

C2. Similarly, what do you think the changes have been in terms of the business side – i.e. the supply side?
Probes
- ❏ Changes for the different engagement types?
- ❏ Commercial, social responsibility and operations motives?
- ❏ New technologies/ formats of SBRs
- ❏ Implications for students?
- ❏ What should the school response be?

D. Responses to selected Sponsored Educational Materials

As the last part of this interview, I am going to show you some food-related Sponsored Educational Materials and I would like to gather some initial impressions from you about the potential use of these in your school and what you perceive to be the appropriate process for your school deciding to use these materials. I acknowledge that our time today does not permit an extensive examination and fully informed comment from you. I also acknowledge that the materials may not be age appropriate for students at your school.

Item 1: Chook Book
Item 2: V for Vegies
Item 3: Chelsea Sugar
Item 4: Nestle

Here is item 1: (repeat for each item). Please look over it now.

D1. Are you already aware of this resource?

D2. What are your first impressions of this item as a curriculum resource?

Probes

- Educational value
- Cost issues
- appeal to students, teachers
- Concerns about sponsor – operations, products.
- perception of sponsor's motives.

D3. Assuming any of these materials came into your possession, what steps would you take in deciding whether to use them?

- Roles of teachers, BOT, principal, teachers, students, parents?
- Relative decision-making power?
- Connect to curriculum priorities, ethical concerns, financial concerns?

D4. Lastly, how often do you receive these kinds of materials? How do they come to you? Who else gets them to your knowledge?

Thank you for your time today. Before I turn the tape recorder off, do you have any further comments you would like to make about your school's school business relationships or about school business relationships generally?

Teacher Interview Form: **Subject Number_____**

Introduction:

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed today. I am going to ask a series of questions around your own school's school business relationships and school business relationships generally. In my research, school business relationships are taken to be the engagements between a school and a business or industry association, inclusive of: donations, sponsorships, cause related marketing, partnerships, or sponsored educational materials. You have agreed to this interview being taped but you can ask for the tape to be stopped, or the interview to be terminated at any time without having to give reasons. Your interview information is totally confidential to myself, my supervisors and any tape transcribers. Do you have any questions before I commence the interview?

Before I turn the tape on can you tell me:

1. How many years have you been a teacher? _____

2. How many years at this school? _____

3. What was your first year of teaching? _____

4. Do you have any special responsibilities at your school?

5. What year students do you teach? _____

I am going to turn the tape recorder on now.

A. Knowledge, Policy and Procedures:

I am going to ask a couple of questions about your general understanding of school business relationships and your understanding of your school's approach to them

A1. Firstly, could you describe to me your understanding of the following kinds of school business relationship? And for each, what do you think are the key benefits to schools and the key benefits for the business or industry association involved?

Donation
Sponsorship
Cause Related Marketing
Partnership
Sponsored Educational Materials

A2. How would you describe your school's general approach towards undertaking the school business relationships you have just described?

Probes
- ❑ Has this changed in the last few years – if so how?
- ❑ Differences by engagement type?

A3. Your school does/ does not have an official policy/ position for school business relationships. If yes: Could you tell me what your understanding of this policy is?

Probes (or question if no policy/position):
- ❑ What is your understanding of the typical process for your school deciding whether to undertake a school business relationship? (Note – exclude sponsored educational materials as this is covered below).
- ❑ Roles of various groups. Including differences by engagement type.

B. Beliefs about the value, school/business motives and student effects of School Business Relationships

I now want to ask you about your school's specific school business relationships.

B1. Your school is involved in _____
Could you tell me about your understanding of this, and if possible what you think the results have been for your school?

Probes
- ❑ School motives – financial/educational?
- ❑ Any negative effects for students or staff – anticipated or unanticipated?
- ❑ What are the business or industry associations' expectations of your school?
- ❑ Any opposition from parents, students, teachers or other groups?
- ❑ Plans for the future?

C. Awareness developments and the critical view of SBRs

I'm now going to ask you some questions about your thoughts on school business relationships generally.

C1. During your time in the teaching profession what have been the key changes (if any) in your view for the demand for school business relationships by New Zealand schools?

Probes
- ❑ Personal feelings about this change?
- ❑ Awareness of international developments?
- ❑ Where are trends heading?

   ❑ Implications for students?

   ❑ Own school's place in this?

C2. Similarly, what do you think the changes have been in terms of the business side –
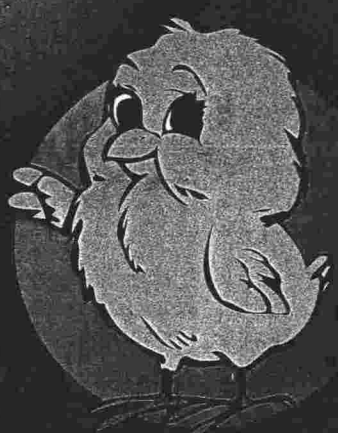i.e. the supply side?

Probes

   ❑ Changes for the different engagement types?

   ❑ Commercial, social responsibility and operations motives?

   ❑ Implications for students?

   ❑ What should the school response be?

   ❑ New technologies/ formats of SBRs.

D. Responses to selected Sponsored Educational Materials

As the last part of this interview, I am going to show you some food-related Sponsored
Educational Materials and I would like to gather some initial impressions from you about
quality and relevance, and how you would treat them from here. I acknowledge that our
time today does not permit an extensive examination and fully informed comment from
you. I also acknowledge that the materials may not be age appropriate for your students
or relevant to your students' current learning areas.

Item 1: Chook Book
Item 2: V for Vegies
Item 3: Chelsea Sugar
Item 4: Nestle

Here is item 1: (repeat for each item). Please look over it now.

D1. Are you already aware of these materials?

D2. What are your first impressions of this item as a curriculum resource?

Probes

   ❑ Educational value

   ❑ Cost issues

   ❑ appeal to students, teachers

   ❑ Concerns about sponsor – operations, products.

   ❑ perception of sponsor's motives

   ❑ How they would use them

D3. Assuming any of these materials came into your possession for your consideration to
use, what steps would you take in deciding whether to use them?

- Refer to colleagues?
- Check content?
- Who is the key decision maker?
- Connect to curriculum priorities or ethical concerns.

D4. Lastly, how often do you receive these kinds of materials? How do they come to you? Who else gets them to your knowledge?

Probe:

- Sourcing versus unsolicited.
- Personal and student access via Internet.

Thank you for your time today. Before I turn the tape recorder off, do you have any further comments you would like to make about your school's school business relationships or about school business relationships generally?

BOT Interview Form: **Subject Number____**

Introduction:

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed today. I am going to ask a series of questions around your own school's school business relationships and school business relationships generally. In my research, school business relationships are taken to be the engagements between a school and a business or industry association, inclusive of: donations, sponsorships, cause related marketing, partnerships, or sponsored educational materials. You have agreed to this interview being taped but you can ask for the tape to be stopped, or the interview to be terminated at any time without having to give reasons. Your interview information is totally confidential to myself, my supervisors and any tape transcribers. Do you have any questions before I commence the interview?

Before I turn the tape recorder on could you please tell me:

1. How long have you been a Board member of this school? _____

2. What is your particular role on the Board? _____

3. Were you voted or co-opted onto the Board? _____ (If co-opted, why?)
   _____

4. Are you a current or past parent at the school? _____

5. Do you have any other experience as an educator in schools? _____

I am going to turn the tape recorder on now.

A. Policy and Procedures:

I am going to ask a couple of questions about your general understanding of school business relationships and your school's approach to them

A1. Firstly, could you describe to me your understanding of the following kinds of school business relationship? And for each, what do you think are the key benefits to schools and the key benefits for the business or industry association involved?

   Donation
   Sponsorship
   Cause Related Marketing
   Partnership
   Sponsored Curriculum Resources

A2. How would you describe your school's general approach towards undertaking the school business relationships you have just described?

Probes
- ❑ Rationale/motive
- ❑ Has this changed in the last few years – if so how?
- ❑ Differences by engagement type?
- ❑ Why has it been successful/ unsuccessful?

A3. Your school does/ does not have an official policy/ position for school business relationships. If yes: Could you tell me what your understanding of this policy is?
Probes:
Yes only:
- ❑ How long has it been in place?
- ❑ Why was the policy developed?
No and yes:
- ❑ What would be the typical process for deciding whether to undertake a school business relationship? (Note – exclude sponsored educational materials) as this is covered below).
- ❑ Roles of various groups. Including differences by engagement type.

B. Beliefs about the value, school/business motives and student effects of School Business Relationships

I now want to ask you about your school's specific school business relationships.

B1. (note: either food-related or general if no food-related engagements mentioned). In your response to my initial survey it was mentioned that you use/are involved in
_____. Could you tell me about this including how it came about and what you think the results have been for your school?

Probes
- ❑ School motives/rationale?
- ❑ Key decision makers? Board's role.
- ❑ Any negative effects for students or staff – anticipated or unanticipated?
- ❑ What are the business or industry associations' expectations of your school?
- ❑ Any opposition from parents, students, teachers or other groups?
- ❑ Plans for the future?

C. Awareness developments and the critical view of SBRs

I'm now going to ask you some questions about your thoughts as a Board member, on school business relationships generally.

C1. What do you think have been the key changes (if any) in your view for the demand for school business relationships by New Zealand schools?

Probes
- Personal feelings about this change?
- Awareness of international developments?
- Where are trends heading?
- Implications for students?
- Board's response and own school's place in this.

C2. Similarly, what do you think the changes have been in terms of the business side – i.e. the supply side?
Probes
- Changes for the different engagement types?
- Commercial, social responsibility and operations motives?
- New technologies/ formats of SBRs.
- What should the school response be?

Thank you for your time today. Before I turn the tape recorder off, do you have any further comments you would like to make about your school's school business relationships or about school business relationships generally?

Appendix G. Sponsored Educational Materials Used in the School Interviews

Appendix G1. *Chook Book*

The
CHOOK
BOOK

Contents

Words appearing in the text

Glossary

Albumen: the clear substance surrounding the yolk of an egg. Also called the "white".

Bacteria: microscopic one-celled organisms found everywhere.

Broiler chickens: chickens used for meat.

Carnivores: animals that eat meat.

Cells: smallest unit of living matter; our bodies are made up of many different types of cells.

Chalaza: a twisted piece of albumen that connects the yolk to the inner shell membrane.

Chick: a new born chicken up to 8 weeks of age.

Cloaca: an opening in the chicken's body for reproduction and excretion of waste.

Cockerel: a young male bird aged between 8 and 18 weeks.

Digestion: process of absorbing food into the body.

Domestication: the training and use of animals by humans.

Dual purpose: chickens used for both egg and meat production.

Extinct: an animal or plant group that has died out. They are no longer found alive anywhere in the world.

Fowl: general term for domestic hens, roosters and chickens.

Gizzard: part of the chicken's stomach that breaks up food eaten by the chicken.

Hen: an adult female chicken.

Herbivores: animals that eat plants.

Humane slaughter: an animal is killed in such a manner that the animal does not suffer unreasonable or unnecessary pain or distress.

Latin: language of Ancient Rome and it's empire, language used for scientific names of animals and plants.

Layer hens: adult hens used to lay eggs for egg production.

Maize: cereal plant originally from North America and now grown worldwide for food.

Manure: dung or litter from an animal; can be used as fertiliser.

Native: plant or animal belonging naturally to a country.

Nutrients: found in foods that are good for our body.

Nutrition: the science of food and what it does to our bodies.

Omnivores: animals that eat both plants and meat.

Ovary: an organ that produces eggs.

Oviduct: a tube which eggs pass through on their way out of a hen's body.

Poultry: domesticated birds.

Pullet: a female chicken aged between 8 and 18 weeks.

Rooster: an adult male chicken.

Yolk: yellow part of the egg that supplies food for the developing chick.

2

Birds and People

Birds have been important to people for a long time and still are. People use the meat and eggs of birds for food. Bird feathers and skins can be used for bedding, clothing and jewellery. Some birds have been trained to carry messages between people over hundreds of kilometres. These birds are called "carrier pigeons".
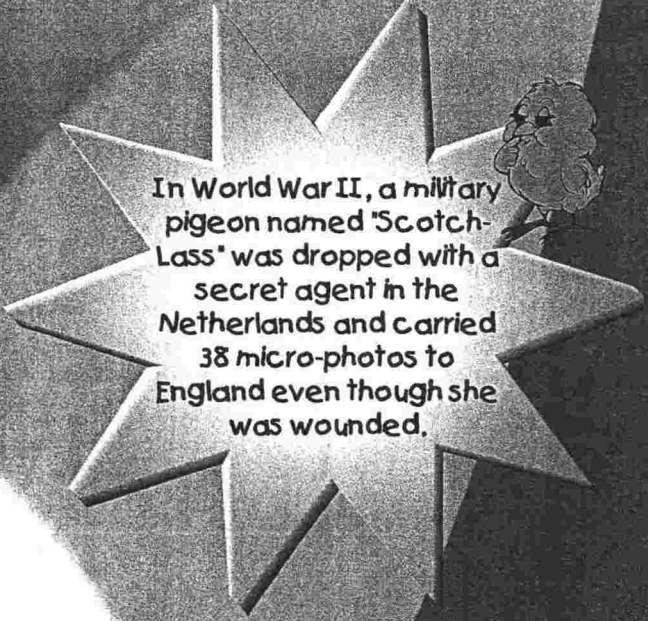
Domestication

"Domestication" is a word that means to train or adapt (an animal or plant) to live in a human environment and be of use to people. Domestic animals are animals that are not wild but are kept in houses as pets or on farms to produce food. Birds were first domesticated about 5000-8000 years ago. The first birds domesticated were the Greylag Goose, the Rock Dove and the Red Jungle Fowl. They are the ancestors of geese, racing pigeons and chickens.

In World War II, a military pigeon named "Scotch-Lass" was dropped with a secret agent in the Netherlands and carried 38 micro-photos to England even though she was wounded.

Nicole Reggia: www.feather

Red Jungle Fowl Cockerel

In World War II, the United States Military had 54 000 military pigeons. Some of those pigeons were trained to fly at night and carried important information about the enemy, like location and movement of enemy fleets, troops and other targets for attack.

3

Maori and Birds

The Maori used to hunt birds for meat, feathers and eggs. Birds are believed to be th[e] offspring of *Tane* – Lord of the Forest and Birds. The general name for birds in Maori is *manu*, and eggs are *hua*, or *hua manu* (fruit of the birds). The yolk of the egg is calle[d] *toua*.

In the past Maori used the feathers of many types of birds for cloaks. These cloaks were very precious to the Maori. Only women wove cloaks. They were made from *muka*-the soft fibres from flax leaves. Feathers were woven into the cloaks. Feathered cloaks were called *kahu huruhuru*. The *kahu huruhuru* were sometimes made with kiwi feathers. This type of cloak was called *kahu kiwi*. Kahu huruhuru are not made very often today, as hundreds of native birds would have to be killed to get enough feathers for one cloak. The native birds used for the cloaks are now protected from hunting by laws to make sure they do not become **extinct.**

Kahu Kiwi

Maori also hunted birds for food. They used traps, snares and spears. One bird that was hunted by the Maori for food was the moa. The moas were **native** birds of New Zealand that are now extinct. Moas were hunted to extinction about 200 to 300 years ago. The moas were huge birds. They were 3 metres tall and weighed up to 450 kilograms.
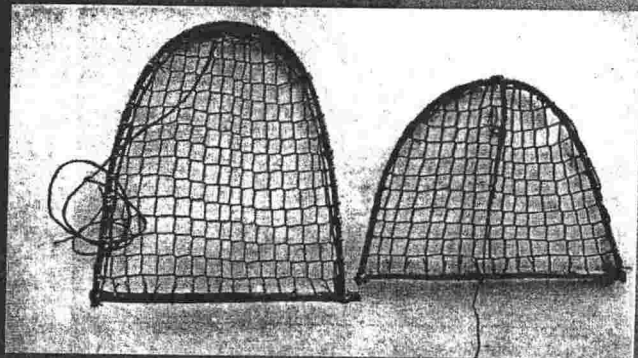
Korapa, traps for catching small birds
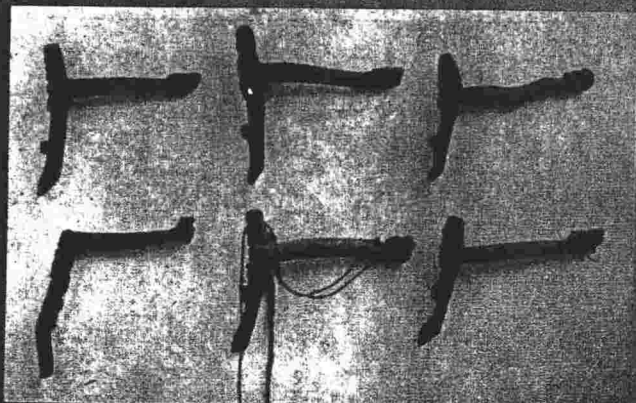
Mutu-kaka, bird-snaring perches

4
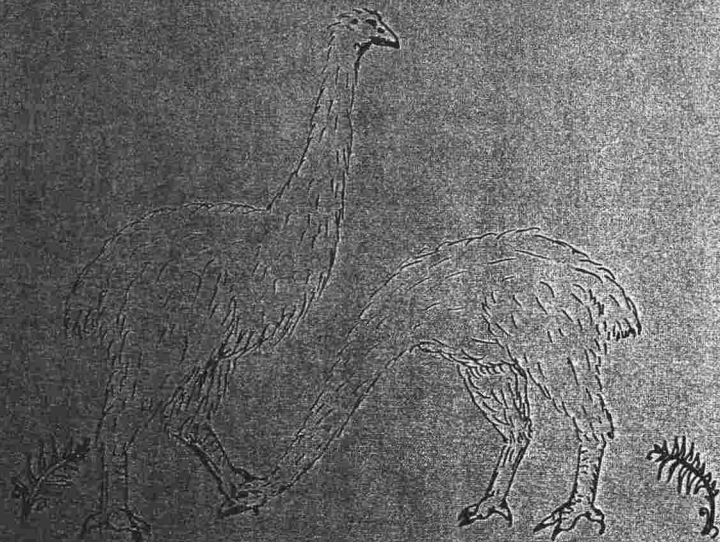
Introduction of Chickens to New Zealand

In 1773, on his second voyage to New Zealand, Captain James Cook released **poultry** into the North and South Islands. Captain Cook visited Queen Charlotte Sound in 1774 and saw no sign of the poultry he had released. He released more poultry into the wild in 1774 and 1777. In 1814, missionaries in the Bay of Islands raised poultry. This is the first recorded farming of poultry in New Zealand.

In 1888, Mr Murphy, the Secretary of Canterbury Agricultural and Pastoral Association, wrote "that no homestead should be without a few **fowls**". "A dozen or fifteen well-selected and well-fed young fowls will supply eggs for a family of twelve persons throughout the year," wrote Mr Murphy.

Gray Dorkings and Shanghaes were popular breeds used by early settlers in New Zealand. Many breeds of chickens were introduced into New Zealand for use in farming. They included breeds from Britain, France, the Mediterranean region, Asia and America.
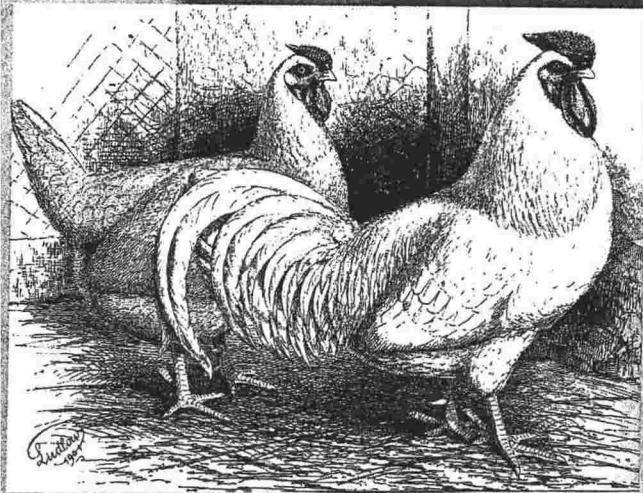
Dorkings — British Breed

Brahmas — Asian Breed

Captain Cook introduced chickens to New Zealand in 1773.

5

Types of Birds

People who study animals give the animals **Latin** names. The Latin name for a domestic hen is *Gallus domesticus*. If animals have similar body parts they are grouped together. These groups of animals are given family names.

Anseriformes

Ducks and geese have flat beaks and webbed feet. They are called *Anseriformes*. Geese are large birds. They are sometimes used as "watchdogs" in the farmyard as they make a lot of noise when upset. The Chinese began farming ducks about 4000 years ago. Duck meat is used in traditional Chinese cooking. The warm downy feathers of ducks and geese are used in pillows, sleeping bags and duvets. There are many wild ducks in New Zealand.

Ratites

Ostriches, emu and kiwis are called *Ratites*. They have no keel on their breast bone for the attachment of flight muscles. This means that ratites can not fly. Birds that do not have a keel sometimes use their breast to butt opponents when fighting.

Pigeon *(Columba sp.)*

Kiwi *(Apteryx australias)*
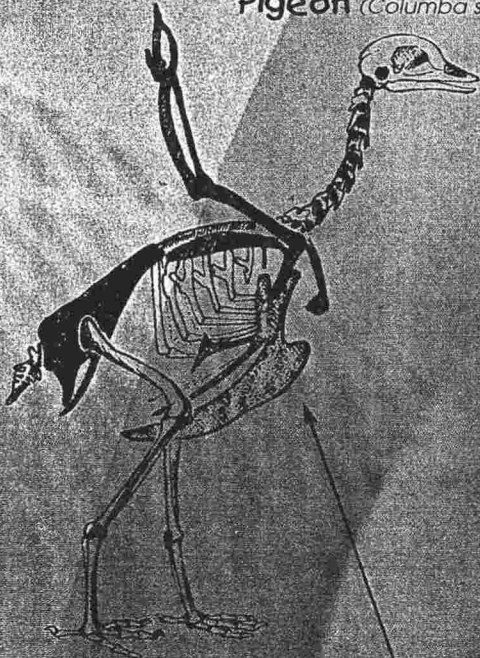
Non Ratite: keel on breast bone
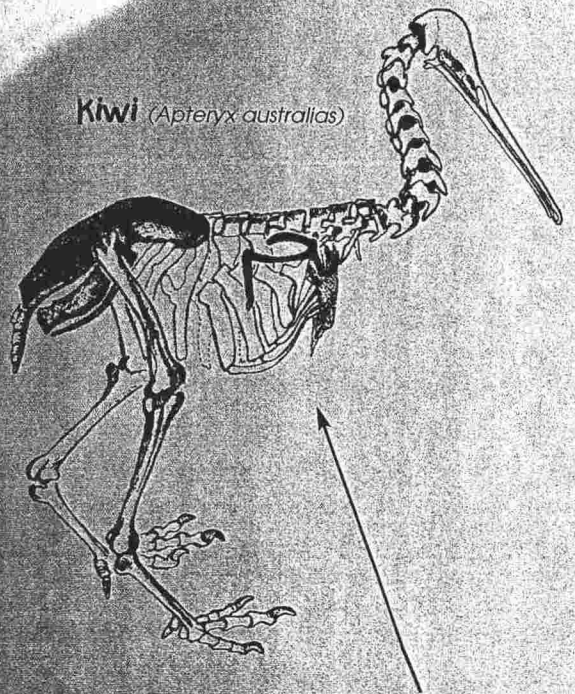
Ratite: No keel on breast bone

6

Ostriches are native to Africa. They are the largest living bird in the world. Ostriches usually weigh between 70 to 150 kilograms and are 2.7 metres tall. How tall are you? Measure 2.7 metres on the wall see how tall ostriches are. The female ostrich has brown feathers, while the male has black and white feathers. Ostriches are fast runners. They have very strong legs and can keep running as fast as 80 kilometres per hour for 30 minutes. Ostriches usually have 50 eggs in their nest and both the male and female ostrich take turns in looking after the nest. The male ostrich looks after the nest at night and the female ostrich has her turn during the day.

Anna Marie Burke; www.feathersite.com

Ostrich chick

Chickens can run at 40km/hr while humans can only reach 36km/hr.

Human: 36km/hr   Hen: 40km/hr   Ostrich: 80km/hr

Emu are found in Australia. They are the second largest bird in the world. Emu can also run very fast. Emu have about 10 eggs in their nest. The eggs have a green shell. The male emu sits on the nest until the eggs have hatched. When ostriches and emu are frightened and can't run away, they defend themselves by kicking forward. The kicks can be so powerful they can break a person's leg.

Emu eggs in a nest

David Nagle

One day old emu chick

7

Galliforms

[...] turkeys and pheasants are called *Galliforms*. The turkey came originally [from] the Americas. The Aztec people in Mexico first domesticated turkeys 500 years [ago]. Turkeys are a popular bird for farming. This is because they grow fast and produce a large amount of meat. Turkeys are well known for their traditional use as [part] of Christmas dinner.

Male turkeys are called 'toms' and females are 'hens'.
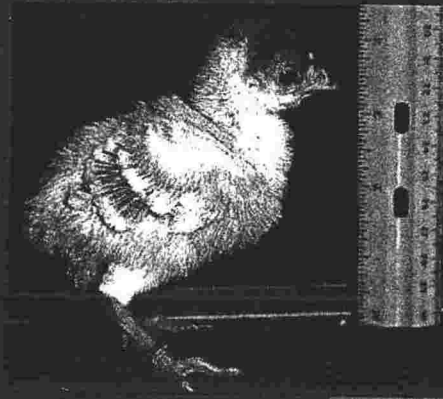
Young turkeys are called 'poults'.
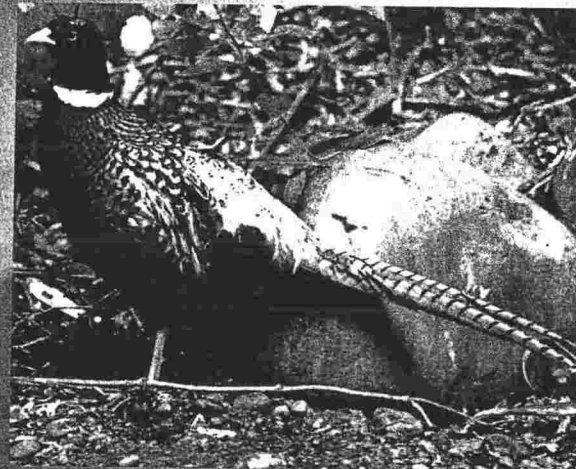
[Pheasants] were [...] red in China. They [...] large sized birds with [...] their legs. The males are [...] beautiful while the females have [...]

Male Pheasant

[Jungle Fowl] are the ancestors of all our [...] chickens. They were the first [...] in [...] while they are native. [...] of chickens [...] been found in [...] tombs [...] back to 2000 B.C. [...]

[...] were the first people to start farming [...] raised hens for eating and [...] The [...] mans were the first [...] farming [...] the incubators using [...] egg and raising chicks.

8

A newly hatched bird is called a 'chick'. From 8 to 18 weeks of age a female chicken is called a 'pullet' and a male chicken is called a 'cockerel'. An adult female chicken is called a 'hen' and an adult male is a 'rooster'.

Chicks
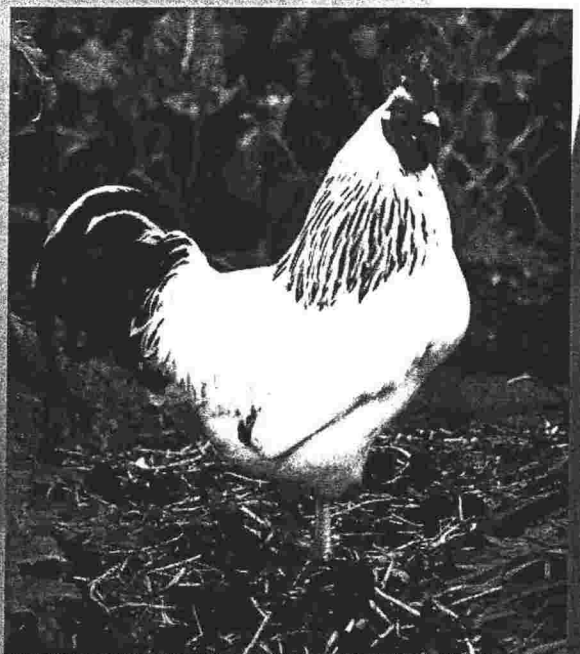
Rooster

Find on a map of the world, the countries

9

What are Chickens Like?

Compare the features of a rooster and a kiwi.

Short beak for pecking

Comb   Good eyesight

Three types of feathers

Chickens can fly

Pam Marshall: www.feathersite.com

Claw-like toenails

There are about 8325 feathers on a chicken!

Long beak for probing

Can only see 60cm in the day

No comb

Hair-like feathers

Kiwis can't fly
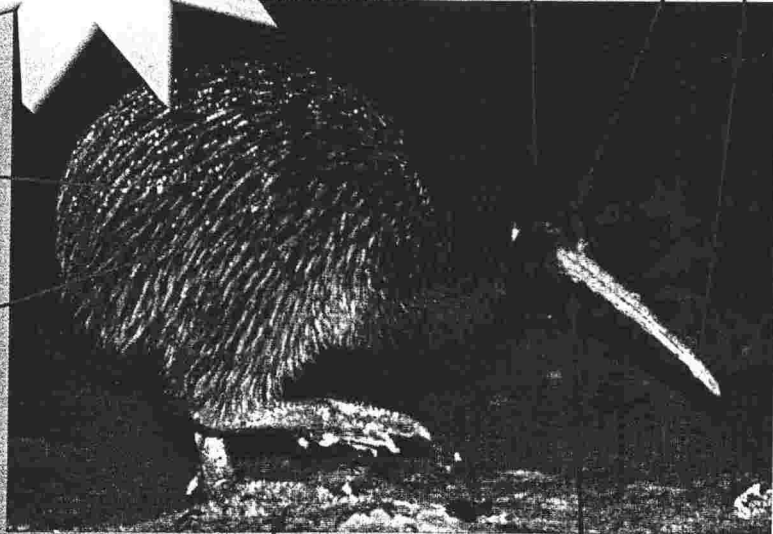
Claw-like toenails   Whiskers

Feathers

The body of a chicken is covered in feathers. Feathers help to keep the chicken warm. They also help the chicken to fly. Chickens have three types of feathers.

Flight Feathers: big outer feathers that help the bird to fly.
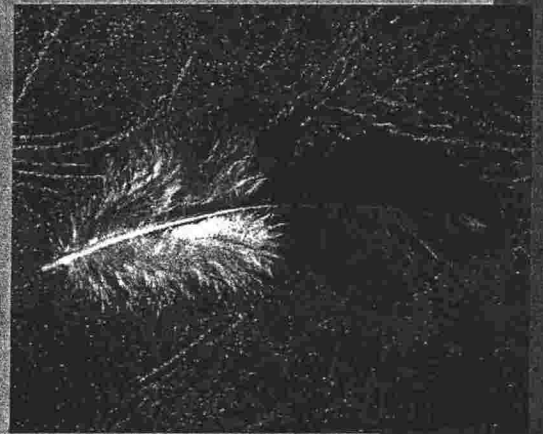
Contour Feathers: these feathers help with both flight and warmth.
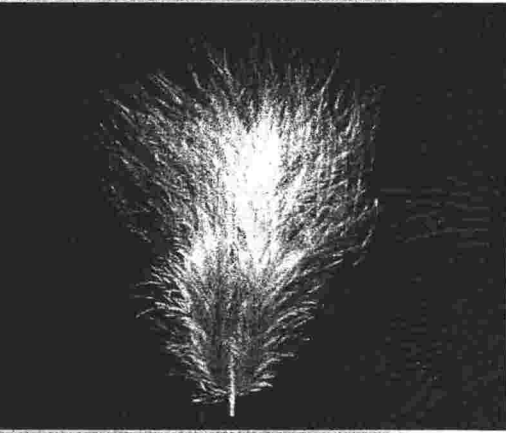
Downy Feathers: small feathers underneath to help keep warm.

Some birds have different types of feathers. The kiwi has loose hair-like feathers. Kiwis can not fly.

In China, chicken feet are eaten on special occasions.

Sight

Chickens have good eyesight. Look at the picture of the chicken. Where are the chicken's eyes on its head? Unlike us, chickens have their eyes on the side of their he[ad]. This gives chickens a wide angle of vision (300°). This is very important as it allows the chickens to see predators as they approach.

Kiwis cannot see very well, and hardly need to. They hunt for food at night and have developed a good sense of smell to find grubs, worms and insects to eat. They can s[ee] only 2 metres at night and 60 centimetres in the day.

Finding Food

Chickens that live outside eat plants (like grass) insects and worms. To find food to eat, chicker[s] scratch at the ground with their feet. On the e[nd] of each toe, the chicken has claw-like toenails [to] help find food in the dirt. Chickens use their bee[k] to peck at food in the ground.

The kiwi uses its beak to probe into the soil for worms. Kiwis find worms by using their good sense of smell.

What do you think chickens would eat from the soil? Collect some dirt and look at it closely using a magnifying glass (or microscope). How many things can you find that you think a chicken would eat?

Digestion

Oesophagus

Small intestine

Crop

Liver

Caecum

Large intestine

Gizzard

Pancreas

Duodenum

Cloaca
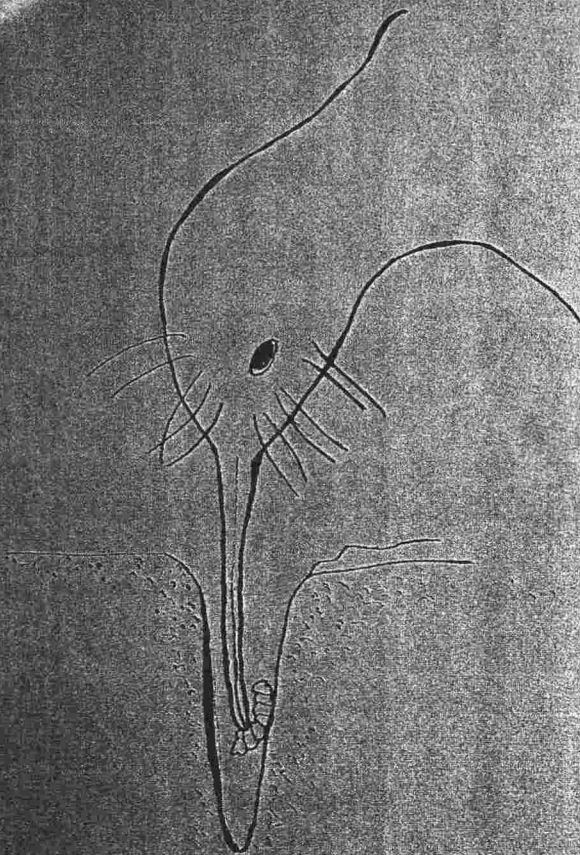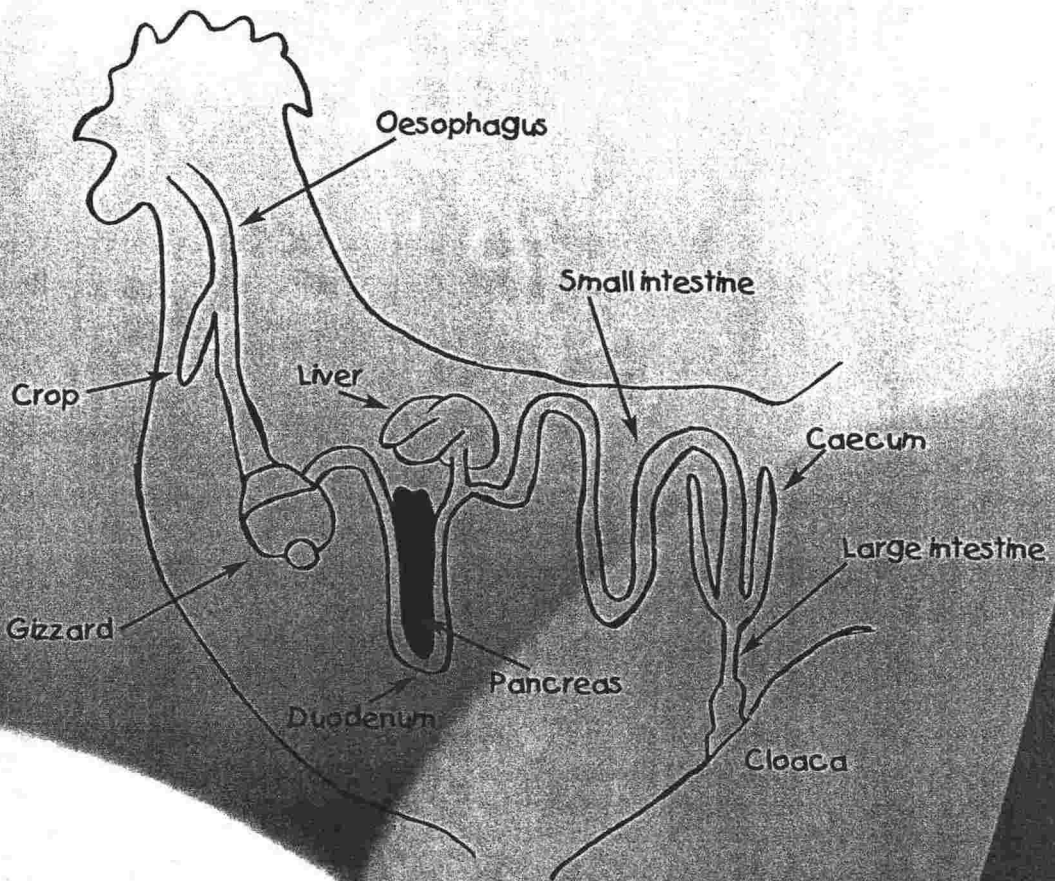
Chickens have no teeth. This means they cannot chew their food like us before they swallow it. The chicken's food is moistened with saliva in the mouth and swallowed whole. The food is ground up during **digestion** by the **gizzard**. The gizzard is part of the chicken's stomach. It breaks up food eaten by the chicken when it contracts. The gizzard contains grit eaten by the chicken that helps break up the food. The chicken absorbs the **nutrients** from the food it eats in the intestines and caecum. Waste, which consists of urine and faeces, is passed from the body at the cloaca.

Chicken waste or **manure** can be used as fertiliser for plants. It helps the plants to grow. If it is used fresh from the chicken, it is acidic and can burn plants. To stop the plants getting burnt, chicken manure is best used after it has been left for a while to rot down.

Fill two pots with soil. In one pot add chicken manure. Plant some tomato plant seeds in two pots. Give them water every day. Measure the growth of the plants. Graph the results. Compare the growth of the plants.

Development of Eggs

All female birds lay eggs. A female chicken is called a hen. What birds do you think laid the eggs below?
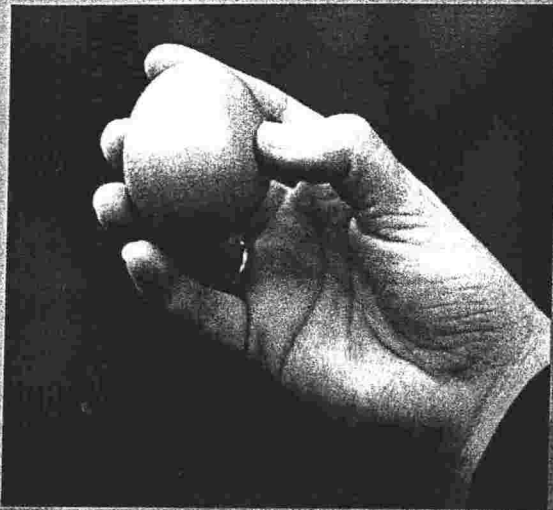
Hen egg

Kiwi egg

The chicken and the kiwi are birds of the same size. This suggests that their eggs would be the same size. True or false? False, kiwis have eggs six times as large as a chicken's egg. A kiwi's egg is 12 centimetres long and has a diameter of 8 centimetres. A large hen's egg is 7 centimetres long and a small hen's egg is 5.5 centimetres long.

How many large hen's eggs does it take to equal the same weight as one kiwi's egg? A kiwi egg weighs 450 grams and a large hen egg weighs 80 grams. How many small hen's eggs does it take to equal the same weight as one kiwi's egg? A small hen egg weighs 50 grams.

The kiwi egg has a smooth white or greenish white shell. Chicken eggs can be brown or white shelled. What colour chickens do you think lay brown eggs? Chickens with brown feathers lay brown eggs. White eggs come from chickens with white feathers.

Egyptians, thousands of years ago, invented the first artificial incubators using the sun to warm the eggs, which could incubate up to 15 000 chicks at one time.

Most eggs are laid in the morning. Eggs develop inside the body of a hen

A yolk enters the oviduct

Ovary

Oviduct

The white is added

The shell is added

Cloaca
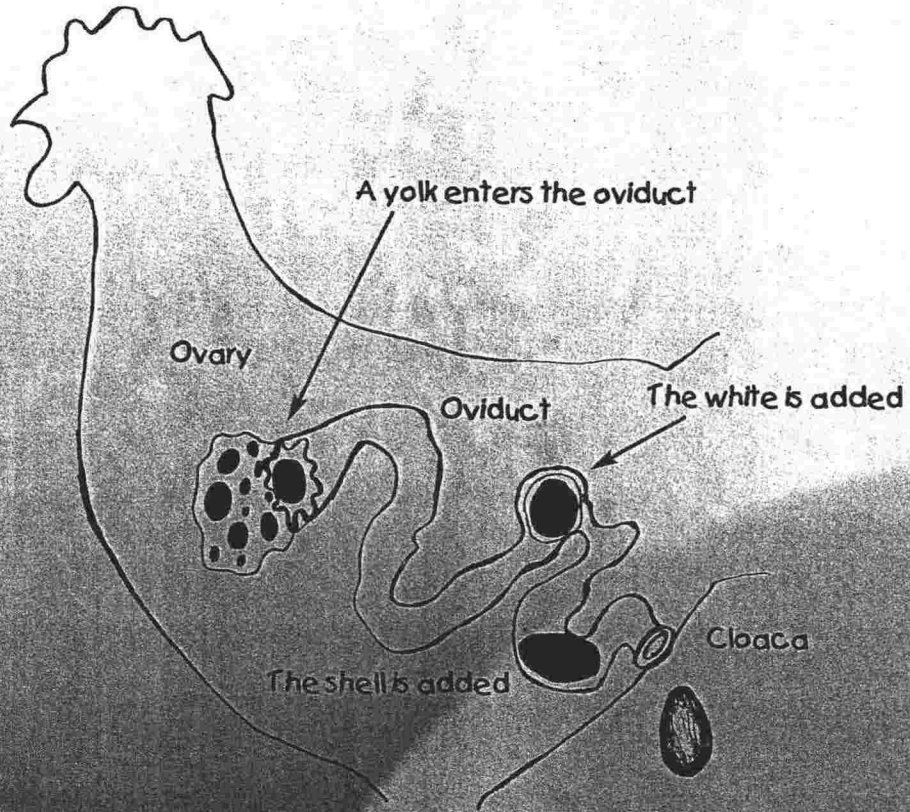
The middle of the egg is made first. The outer shell is made last. The yolk is formed in the hen's **ovary**. When a yolk becomes large enough, it moves out of the ovary into a tube called the **oviduct**. As the yolk travels along the oviduct the two basic parts of the egg form around it. The egg white or **albumen** surrounds it first and then the hard shell is formed. After 24 hours (1 day) in the oviduct it is finished and ready to be laid. Eggs are laid blunt end first. The egg comes out of the hen's body through an opening called the **cloaca**.

For an egg to grow into a chick it must go through an important step early on when the egg is still small, inside the hen. The tiny eggs inside the hen need fertilising by an adult male chicken, called a **rooster.** The rooster mates with the hen, fertilising the egg, which then develops into a chick. There are no roosters on egg farms. This means that the unfertilised eggs you buy in shops cannot grow into chicks.

A hen requires 24 to 26 hours to produce an egg.

Why are Chickens Used for Farming?

There are more chickens farmed in the world than any other type of animal. This is because their meat and eggs are a very good source of protein and other food nutrients. Chickens also grow quickly. A baby chick weighs about 40 grams. By the age of 40 days the chicken will weigh 2000 grams (or 2 kilograms). This means that chickens are well suited for meat production.

40 gram chick
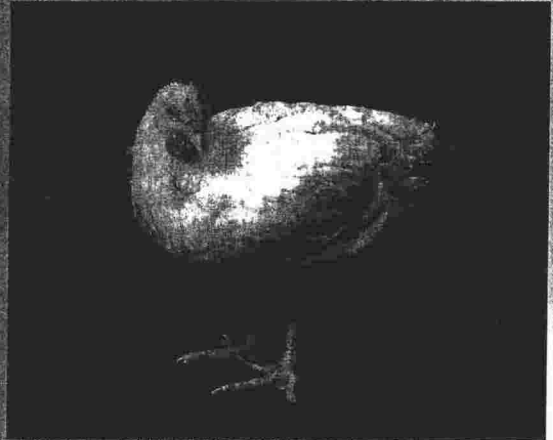
2000 gram broiler

M. Appleby, B. Hughes and H. Elson (1992)
*Poultry Production Systems: Behaviour,
Management and Welfare.* ©ABI Publishing

A chick increases its weight by 1960 grams by the time it is 40 days old (2000 grams – 40 grams = 1960 grams). The chick has increased its weight by 50 times (2000 grams – 40 grams = 50).
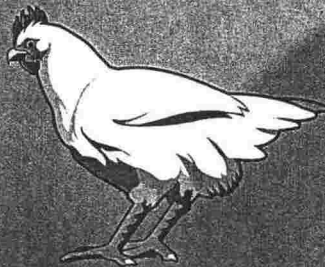
The world's biggest chicken weighed 10 kilograms and chased dogs.

Types of Chickens Used in Farming

A long time ago, chickens were small birds. They grew slowly and produced very few eggs in a year. Today, chickens have been bred to either grow very fast or to lay a lot of eggs. The fast growing birds are used for meat. They are called **broiler chickens**. Broiler chickens produce a lot of meat. In the 1940's a chicken would have taken 20 weeks to grow to a size big enough to feed five people. Now, because of improved knowledge of bird nutrition, resulting in a balanced diet, and the improved breeds, it only takes 5-7 weeks. When broiler chickens reach this age they are sent to processing plants where they are humanely slaughtered.

The carcasses are prepared and presented in the different ways that people want for cooking. For example, drumsticks, breasts or thighs, and whole chickens for roasts.

Chickens that lay a lot of eggs are called **layer hens**. One hen can produce about 300 eggs in one year. Layer hens are usually kept until they are 70 weeks of age. They are then sent for humane slaughter and their meat is used for making chicken soups, pies and pastes.

Breeding is done by choosing which rooster mates with which hen. By choosing parents which grow fast, fast growing chicks that are good meat producers will be born. This is the same with chickens that lay a lot of eggs.

Fast Growing Cockerel   X   Fast Growing Hen

Broiler chickens are farmed for meat.

Fast Growing Chick

Layer hens are farmed for eggs.
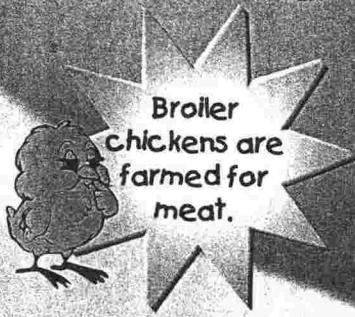
If a fast growing male mates with a [hen] that produces a lot of eggs, the chicks [are] **dual purpose**. They do not grow as fast as their father or lay as many eggs as [their] mother. They are somewhere in between.

Fast Growing Cockerel   X   Hen that produces a lot of eggs

Dual Purpose Chicks

Examples of egg producing breeds of chickens are the Shaver Brown, Hyline White and Hyline Brown. The Cobb and Ross are meat producing breeds, and the Light Sussex is a dual purpose breed.

Sussex Rooster

Types of Farms

Broilers are kept indoors in sheds. The floor is covered with wood shavings. The shed is environmentally controlled to protect the birds from extremes in weather. When the birds are young chicks, lamps are hung from the ceiling to keep them warm. Fresh air is provided from fans in the wall. A balanced diet of feed and water is available at all times from feeders and drinkers.

Layer hens kept in cages supply 95% of the eggs produced in New Zealand. Alternative system farms produce the remaining 5% of eggs. This includes 3½% free-range eggs and 1½% barn eggs.

Layer hens are usually kept in cages indoors in sheds. Hens were first put into cages for animal welfare benefits. The cages gave them protection from predators (hawks, stoats, ferrets and foxes). They also gave protection from diseases and parasites and prevented cannibalism in large flocks. The sheds make it easier to control the temperature in cold weather. They are given water and feed all the time. The floor of the cage slopes downwards towards the aisle in front of the cage. This allows the eggs to roll to the front of the cage after they have been laid.

A free-range farm would consist of a shed with 500 to 2000 birds. The floor of the shed is slatted and it is fitted with nest boxes and perches. The birds have access to outdoors through pop-holes in the walls. In a barn system, birds are kept in a large shed with a litter floor. There are perches for the birds to sit and sleep on. Nest boxes are provided for the hens to lay their eggs in.
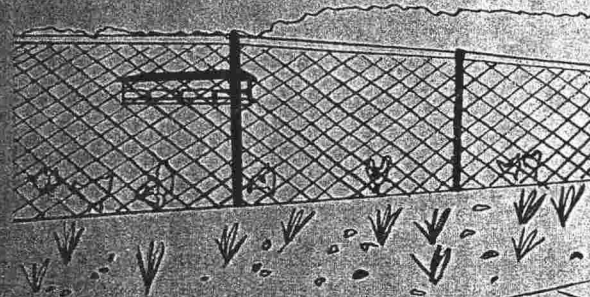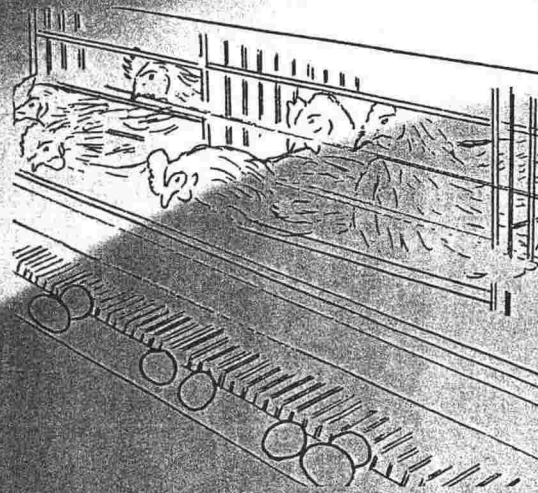
Animal Health and Welfare

People have different opinions on the way in which animals should be farmed. Good farmers look after their birds in a welfare-friendly manner. This means the farmer has to make sure that the birds have food and water, comfort and shelter, receive treatment for sickness quickly and have freedom to perform some of their normal behaviours. There are three reasons for looking after animals in a welfare-friendly manner: 1) so they do not suffer, 2) so they are not damaged, and 3) if we are unkind to animals, people may not respect us. New Zealand has laws to protect the welfare of all animals in our country.

Temperature Control

It is important to make sure that the birds do not get too hot in summer or too cold on winter nights. How do you cool down when you are hot? When chickens are hot, they cool down by panting, drinking cold water and standing in the shade.

If you were an egg farmer and the hens in the cages were panting because it was too hot, what could you do to cool them down?

When it is cold, chickens look for the warmest place to huddle together. They squat on the floor, fluff up their feathers and eat more.

If you were a broiler farmer and the birds in the shed were getting too cold, what could you do to help them get warmer?

Feeding

People need energy, protein, minerals and vitamins in their food. So do chickens. Cereals such as wheat provide energy. Protein is provided by feeds such as soya bean or by meat meal. Layer hens need extra minerals, such as calcium, because they lose calcium in the eggshells they produce.

Broiler chickens grow faster when fed foods that contain more energy and protein. So the birds fed more energy and protein are larger.

These chickens are the same age. The chicken on the left will lay eggs when it matures and the chicken on the right is ready to be slaughtered for meat.

Why are Chickens so Important to Us?

The most important thing chickens provide for people today are meat and eggs.

The Food Chain: Nature at Work

In nature, different types of animals eat different things. "Herbivores" like cows and deer eat plants. "Carnivores" like tigers and dogs eat other animals. Some animals, called "omnivores", eat both plants and animals. People, monkeys, rats, bears, chickens and many other birds are omnivores. Animal dung, and the bodies of dead animals are food for insects, fungi and bacteria. They turn the bodies and dung back into soil, which plants use for food. Being an omnivore is handy in nature because these animals can survive by eating either plants or animals – which is good when one type of food is scarce.

The way that food cycles from plants through to animals and back to plants again, is called the "food chain", and it is the way nature continues to exist.

The Food Chain

Sunlight, air and rain

Omnivores

Carnivores

Herbivores

Plants

Decay of dung and dead bodies
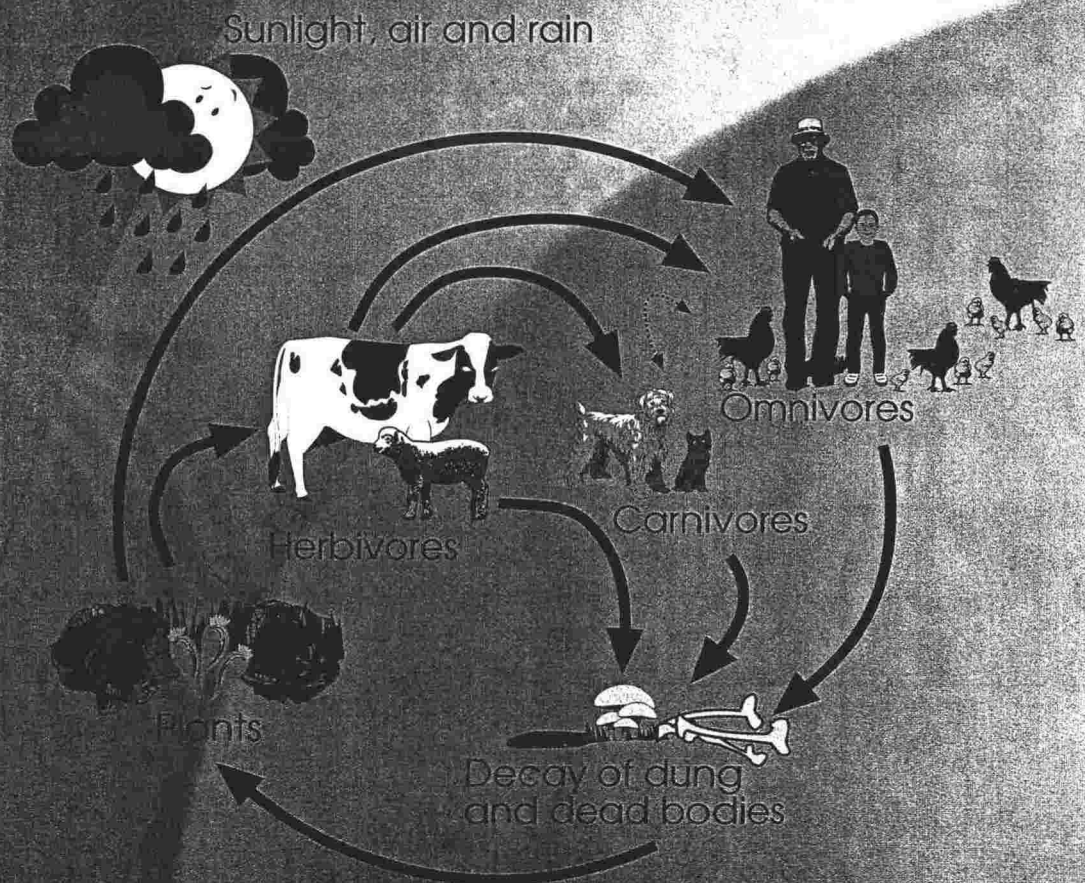
Nutrition:
What are the Best Things for People to Eat for Health?

The science of food and what it does for our bodies is called **nutrition**. To understand how food works in the body, we must look at what the food is made of. The types of things in foods that are good for us are called **nutrients**.

There are five types of nutrients in food. They are: 1) fats (and oils) 2) carbohydrates 3) proteins 4) minerals and 5) vitamins.

1. Fats and Oils

Our bodies are made up of millions of tiny **cells** that have different shapes and jobs. Fats and oils are used to help make up the walls of these cells. Our bodies also use fat to store energy to help us with activities that we do everyday. Our bodies use animal fat, like fat from a chicken, for energy.

2. Carbohydrates

Carbohydrates are the main source of energy for your body. Sugars are the most basic type of carbohydrate. There are many types of sugar. The white sugar on the table at home is one type of sugar. Another type comes from fruit and honey.

Starch is also a type of carbohydrate. Starch comes from bread, potatoes, rice and pasta. Plants make sugars and starches in their leaves from sunlight, air and water.

Another important carbohydrate is fibre. Cereals, fruit and vegetables are the best source of fibre.

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3. Proteins

Proteins are the building blocks of our bodies. Skin, muscle, internal organs like the heart, liver and intestines are mostly made up of proteins. Even the hair on our bodies is made up of proteins. Chicken meat and eggs are very good protein sources.

Eggs are rich in protein, and it is more easily and quickly digested than other types of protein.
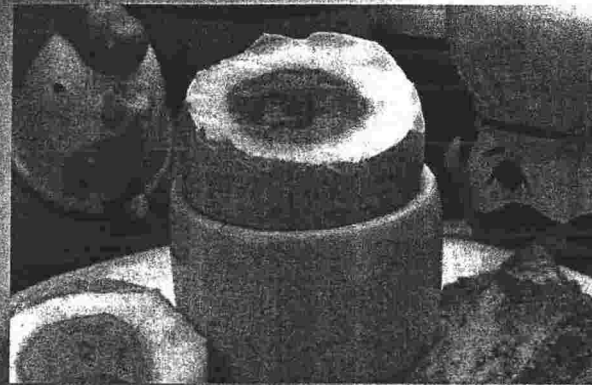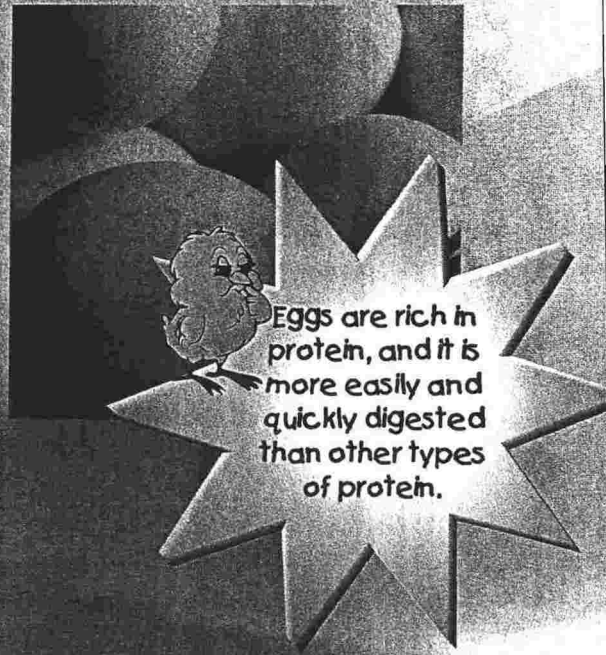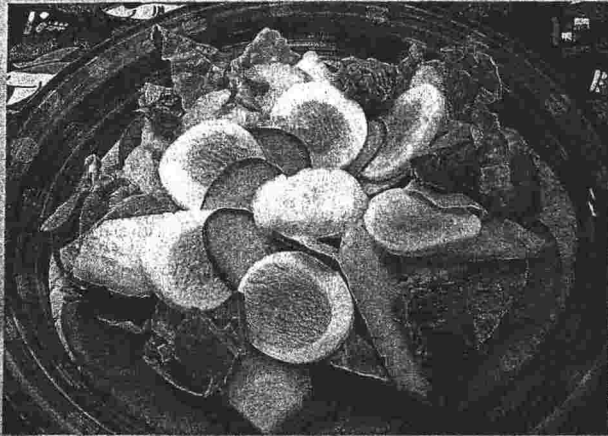
4. Vitamins

Vitamins help to keep our body healthy. Vitamins are found in fruits, vegetables, liver, eggs and meat. Even the sun gives you vitamin D that helps your bones and teeth to be healthy. Eggs contain vitamins A, B Complex, D, E and K.

5. Minerals

Minerals are very important for a healthy body. Calcium is a mineral that is the main material used to build the bones of your skeleton and teeth. Another important mineral is iron. Iron helps to carry oxygen in your blood. The major minerals found in eggs are calcium, iron, sulphur, sodium, chlorine, potassium and magnesium.

The Food Pyramid

The food pyramid shows you what types of food are the best to eat. It also tells you the amount of each type of food that your body needs so its gets a balanced diet. The number of servings indicated on the food pyramid are the servings required over the whole day.

OILS
FATS
SWEETS

Use sparingly

2 to 3 servings

2 to 3 servings

3 to 5 servings

2 to 4 servings

6 to 11 servings
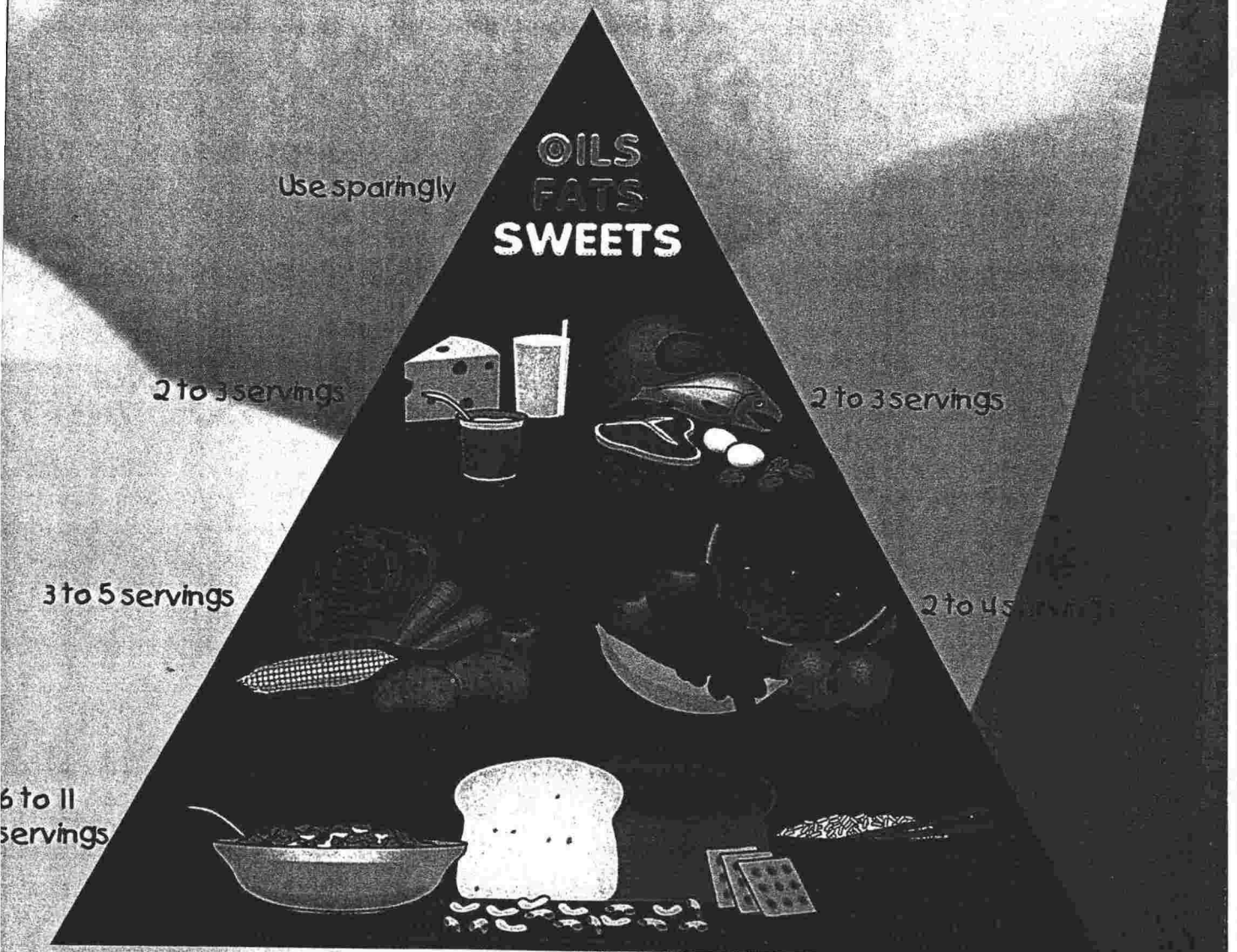
Write a menu for one meal of the day in suc......
receive a balanced diet.

Eggs

The egg is almost a perfect food. It has a wide range of nutrients in it. Eggs contain no added salt, sugar, artificial flavourings or preservatives. Eggs are used in a lot of different foods. For example pavlova, cakes, biscuits, muffins, soups, noodles, pies, and meringues. On average each year, every person in New Zealand eats 203 eggs. In the year 2000, 68 million dozen eggs were produced in New Zealand.

Crack open an egg onto a plate. Draw the different parts of the egg that you see.

Germinal disc:
All eggs have this spot. This is where the chick would begin to develop if the egg had been fertilised.

Chalazae:
Twisted, cord-like strands of egg white. What do you think they are for?
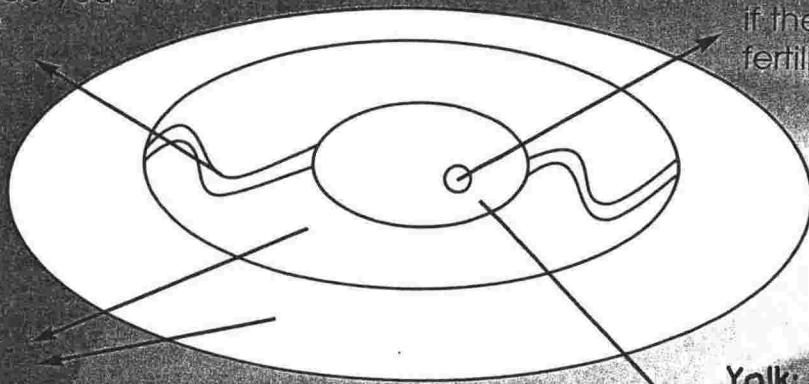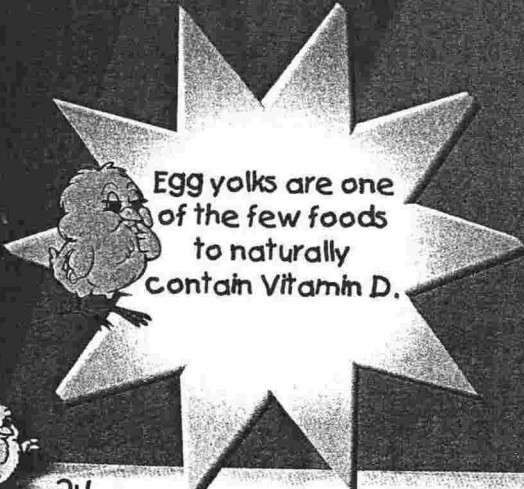
Albumen (white):
2 layers. One is thick and jelly like, the other is thin.

Yolk:
Yellow part of the egg. Major source of vitamins, minerals, fat and half of the protein of the egg.

The egg shell contains small air pores which allow air and gases to pass through. Eggs can absorb flavours and odours through these pores. The best way to store eggs is in their carton in the refrigerator. When eggs age (get old) their white becomes very runny. Fresh eggs can be stored for up to 5 weeks in the refrigerator.

The colour of the yolk depends upon the food the hen has eaten. If it has eaten grass, maize, carrots or pumpkin the yolk will be richer yellow.

Egg yolks are one of the few foods to naturally contain Vitamin D.

203 eggs
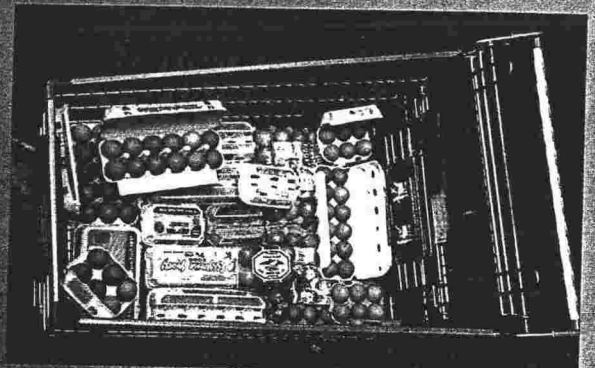
Occasionally, a hen will produce double yolked eggs. According to the Guinness Book of Records a Black Minorca hen in Lancashire, England laid the largest chicken egg. It had 5 yolks, was 16 centimetres long and had a diameter of 11 centimetres. Compare this egg with the size of a normal hen's egg.

Here are some exercises that you can do to find out more about eggs.

Decorated eggs have long been part of religious festivals all over the world, especially Easter.

Is your egg raw or hard boiled? How to find out without cracking the shell. Roll your egg gently along the floor or spin them. If they are hard boiled they will spin or roll easily. If the egg is raw, it will wobble. Why? The raw egg will wobble because the contents are liquid and move inside the shell when it is rolled.
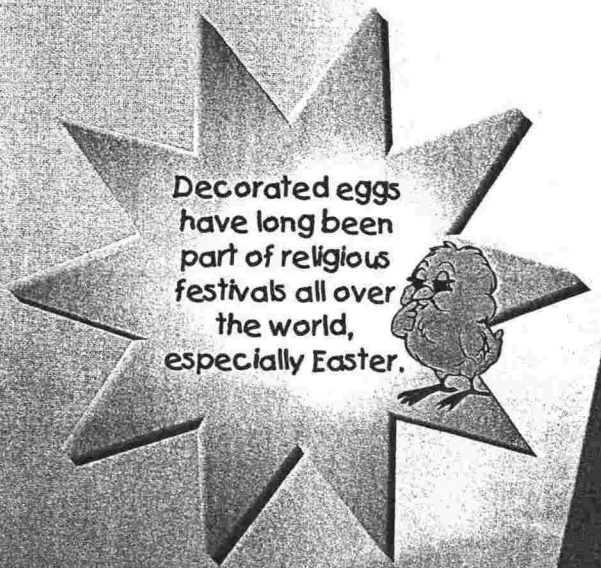
How fresh is your egg? Float some eggs in a container of water. Some float and others sink. Why? The size of the air sac increases the egg shrinks when it gets older.

List all of the things that you have eaten today that contain eggs.

Is an egg easier to crack at the end or the side? Carefully crack tapping it with scissors on the end; then try on the side. Which is Why?

When an egg is cooked the white sets and the yolk will harden. This is firming of the protein in the egg. The egg yolk hardens at about 70 C at about 65°C.

How long does it egg? Hard boil different length descriptions uncooked like your

Some of the hard boiled eggs have is that ring? It is green and is forms when eggs are overco It is harmless.

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Chicken Meat

The muscles of an animal's body become meat. People also eat an animal's liver and kidneys (these are called edible offal). Poultry meat is the second most consumed meat in the world after pig meat. In the year 2000 on average each New Zealander ate 29 kilograms of poultry meat produced from 67.5 million chickens. Chicken meat is popular because it is highly nutritious, convenient and inexpensive. Chicken meat can be eaten in many different ways. For example, roast chicken, soup, nuggets, stir frys, casseroles, salad, sandwich fillings, and pies. It can be used to produce takeaways and fast food.

Each of these trolleys contains 29 kilograms of poultry meat

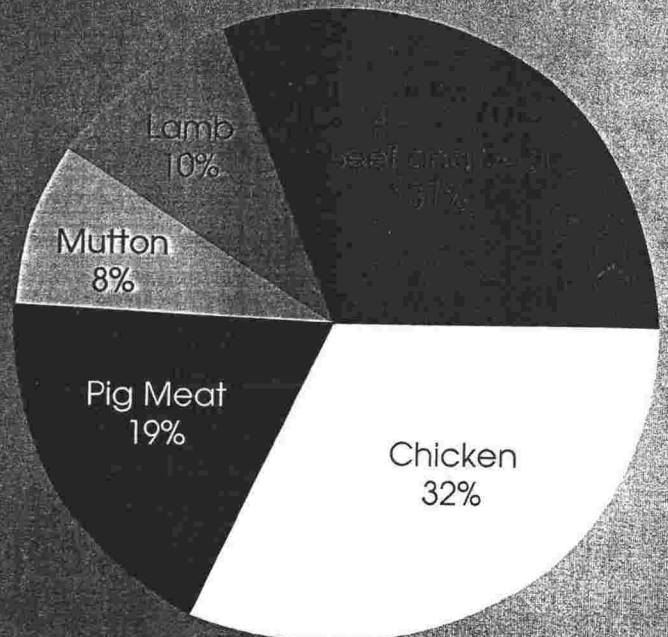Annual consumption of different types of meat in New Zealand, 2000.
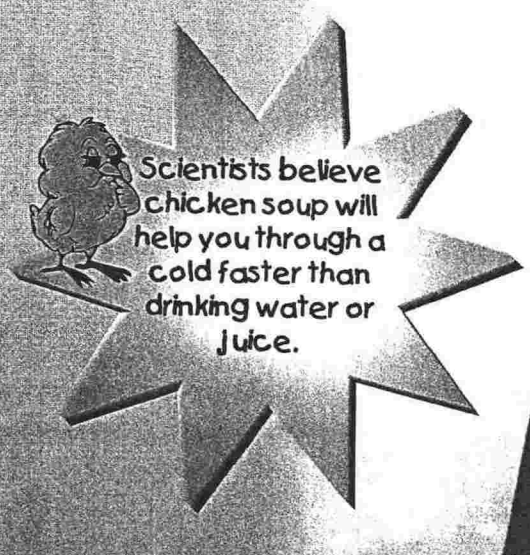
Chicken = 32%

Beef and Veal = 31%

Pig Meat = 19%

Lamb = 10%

Mutton = 8%

Chicken meat is a healthy and nutritious meat which provides a significant amount of protein. If you were following a healthy diet would you eat chicken with the skin on? Chicken breasts and drumsticks are very low in fat even with their skin on. Chicken thighs and wings have a higher fat content. Removing the skin before cooking can significantly reduce the fat content of a chicken thigh. Some people on low fat diets remove the skin from all chicken.

Scientists believe chicken soup will help you through a cold faster than drinking water or juice.

List ways that chicken can be cooked. What ways are the healthiest? Why?

As with any meat, fish or poultry, bacteria can be found on raw or undercooked chicken. Bacteria are **microscopic** one-celled organisms that are found everywhere. Some bacteria can cause food to go rotten and some can cause illness in humans. Bacteria on food that is eaten can cause illness.

4 steps to fight bacteria: Clean, Separate, Cook and Chill.
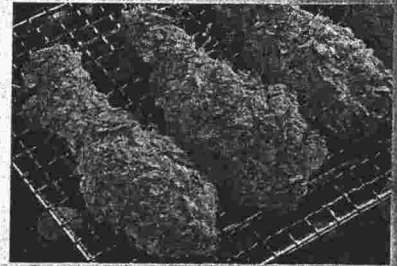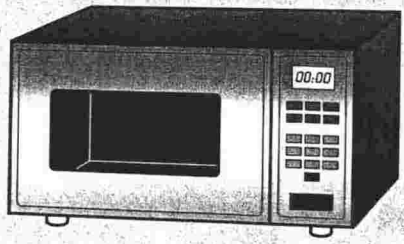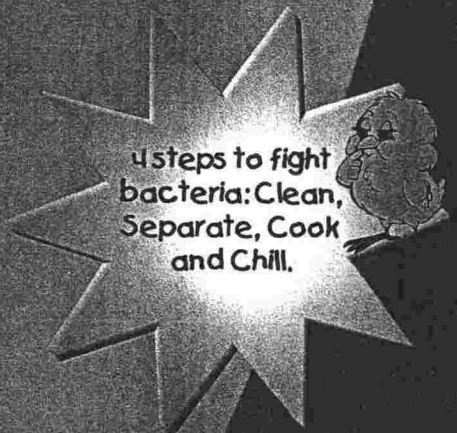
Illness from bacteria on food can be controlled through clean food, proper cooking and refrigeration. Raw meat must be handled so that meat juices contact cooked foods or food that is eaten raw, bacteria can be transferred. An example of this is chopping on an unwashed cutting board that has been used for cutting raw meat.

MOP GLO

List some ways that you can stop

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Index

ANIMALS IN SCHOOLS
EDUCATION TRUST

The Chook Book is an educational resource
for primary school teachers. This book is
designed to precede the secondary
resource, Poultry Biology-Food, Farming
Environment, by Dr Neville Gregory.

"The Chook Book presents sound technical
information for use by teachers
committed to meeting their responsibility
to present a balanced view on poultry
farming to young children"
Catherine Smith, Convenor of the Animals
in Schools Education Trust.

(The aims of the Trust are to gain
acceptance by school pupils of the
obligation to have concern for the welfare
of animals of all species and to obtain a
balanced view of people's relationships with animals.)

Appendix G2. *V for Vegies*

Welcome to the exciting world of

Vegieville

Please note that kits supplied free of charge to schools remain the property of the school. If teachers require personal copies they must be purchased.

On entering *Vegieville* you will be amazed at all the different areas you can explore. Simply by using the mouse you can click on something which interests you and away you go.

Some of the things you could learn...

... In the home
- ☐ how to prepare easy snacks
- ☐ how to store vegies

... In the restaurant
- ☐ how to plan a menu
- ☐ how to keep food safe

... In the vegie shop
- ☐ how to stretch your budget
- ☐ about marketing

... At the school
- ☐ which foods are good for you
- ☐ some easy lunch ideas

... On the farm
- ☐ what makes vegetables grow
- ☐ what pest control involves

... On the marae
- ☐ traditional cultivation
- ☐ all about a hangi

THE AIMS OF *V for Vegies:*

To portray vegetables as fun, cool and exciting to eat.

To make students want to eat vegetables.

For students to gain skills in vegetable selection and preparation.

To give students an understanding that vegetables are an important part of their food choices.

To give students an understanding of how vegetables grow.

To give students an understanding of how vegetables are an integral part of New Zealand culture.

For students to gain skills with computer technology and information gathering.

TARGET AUDIENCE

Version 2 of *V for Vegies* has a wider target audience.

School Pupils: *V for Vegies* has been developed primarily for students in Forms 1-4. Because of the wide skill variation within this group, the resource has been designed to be flexible. In many instances *V for Vegies* will be relevant to both younger and older students.

Tertiary Students: Students studying Food Service and Hospitality will find this programme very useful. The Restaurant and Vegies sections in particular, have been developed with much more detail for those involved in the Food Service Industry.

CURRICULUM LINKS

To increase the effectiveness of this learning resource *V for Vegies* is multi-curricular. Learning experiences of many curriculums are incorporated throughout the programme. A very brief overview of the links to the various subject areas follows:

Technology	All strands, with a range of levels and learning experiences. Particular emphasis on Food Technology
Health	Eating for health, keeping safe
Science	A range of levels and learning experiences from the following strands: – Making sense of the nature of science and its relationship to technology, the living world and the material world, developing scientific skills and attitudes
Social Studies	New Zealand culture
Maori Studies	Traditional Maori vegies, cooking and storage methods
Computer Studies	New technology, information gathering
Mathematics	Statistics, surveys, estimates, percentages and measurements
Language	Extending the use of language skills
Horticulture	Plant growth, soil management
Economics	Running a business, exports

You will find teacher's notes and context maps "hidden" in **Vegieville**. Simply type *teacher* on your keyboard over **Vegieville** to view and print them.

INCREASING STUDENT INTERACTIVITY

Within each area a lot of information is presented. Activities, or challenges, have been developed to test knowledge
ensure that the information flow is not one way. The challenges vary in complexity from simple drag and drop jigsaw
to those involving analysis and calculations. The challenges include individual and group activities, and those requiri
teacher guidance.

All challenges are clearly marked on the content maps with **?**

**To use *V for Vegies* to its full potential it is *essential* that you spend time exploring *Vegieville* *before* using it wi
your students.**

V for Vegies is a teaching resource with an enormous range of potential learning experiences. As teacher you know
exactly what skills you want your students to gain from your lessons. After familiarising yourself with *V for Vegies* you
will easily be able to select challenges and develop activities to suit the needs of your students.

While the material on the disc is stand-alone, it is *much* more powerful when incorporated with other activities both
and out of the classroom. On the following pages there are a few suggestions of things you could do — we're
confident you'll come up with lots of your own great ideas!

INFORMATION GATHERING AND REPORTING

You may wish to develop specific information gathering exercises.

There are several ways to do this, one effective method is to give each student different topics to research. After a
period of time the students report back to the class. The reporting back can be used as another learning experience to
develop presentation skills, self confidence and language. The method of reporting back is variable — verbal, visual,
written or even practical skills such as food demonstrations or tasting.

For example, an assignment might be based on the 'home' and cover researching the following:
- It is your turn to cook a meal. Find four things you could do to save money when buying vegetables.
- A friend develops food poisoning. What things would you do to ensure your food is always safe?
  Make a poster to encourage good food handling.
- A recipe you have found uses terms you don't understand, find out what dice, puree and saute mean.
- You have bought more vegies than you need for dinner tonight. Find out the best place to store half a
  pumpkin, some mushrooms and kumara. Are there any special tips to make them last in good condition
  longer? What causes vegies to deteriorate?
- A neighbour has given you a large bag of carrots. Find some different ways you could prepare them for
  your family. Print off a recipe and make it for your family over the weekend.
- You are a keen sportsperson. Find out which vegetable has been proven to improve performance.
  How and why does this work?

IFORMATION GATHERING AND ACTION

sits: Explore the areas in Vegieville and then visit the real thing
- go to a supermarket or vegetable retailer
- a class trip to a restaurant
- visit a grower, a list of local contacts is available from Vegfed.

actical Food Skills:

- Each student selects a recipe from the *Recipes*. They must then explore the kitchen and restaurant areas to find how to chop, saute, blend (or whatever terms the recipe uses). Demonstrate these skills to the rest of the class.

- Organise a class meal. Set constraints for the meal e.g. special occasion or every day, using specific equipment etc. The students gather all the relevant information on purchasing, recipes, food presentation, equipment use and food safety. Give different class members different tasks to research, plan and implement.

- Organise a meal for their own family based on seasonal vegetables. Use a recipe from the *Recipes*. Plan thoroughly and cost the meal. After preparation of the meal the students evaluate their own performance and make recommendations should they wish to repeat the meal.

hallenges:

1ake sure you are familiar with the challenges which are scattered throughout the programme. There are surveys, dvertising campaigns to plan, flow charts to develop, prices to monitor, budgeting exercises and lots more!

NAVIGATION THROUGH *VEGIEVILLE*

'egieville will automatically appear after the title screen, *V for Vegies*. Click on one of the six areas you want to explore – home, school, farm, vegie shop, marae or restaurant. The person(s) representing that area will introduce themelves, then you will be able to start exploring the area by clicking on various objects. Most objects will take you to urther information, with text, photos and video. Some will be animated objects that are there just for fun.

he navigation control bar will appear at the bottom of the screen when the spinning V is clicked. If nothing happens n the screen for five seconds or more, the spinning V will rotate to show its presence. There will also be forward and ack arrows next to the spinning V. These will rotate too. These take you either forward or back a screen within a ection. When there are no further screens in a direction, the arrow will be greyed out.

lick on the spinning V and the navigation control bar wil appear. Each area is represented by a person — home (two tudents), farm (grower), restaurant (chef), school (teacher), vegie shop (retailer), marae (kaumatua). There are also ons for Vegieville (to take you right back to the start), Recipes (all using vegies), Words (more difficult words defined), egies (detailed information about vegetables), Music on/off, Help, Exit, Print and a Back arrow. Music on/off allows ou to turn the music on or off. The Help button will give a brief outline of the on-screen navigation system. The Exit utton will quit the programme. The Print button will print the text of the current page to your currently selected rinter. The Back arrow takes you back a move.

About *Vegies*

For each vegetable the directory includes a photograph and lots of information
- * a little history
- * what to look for
- * why it is good for you
- * how to prepare it
- * when and how you can eat it
- * a selection of delicious recipes

About *Recipes*

For every vegetable there is a selection of recipes which are quick simple and delicious. Most of these recipes are illustrated with a photograph.

About *Words*

Any words used in Vegieville which are likely to be unfamiliar are defined in *Words*.

TEACHERS' NOTES

All you have to do to get extra copies of these teachers' notes and content maps is to type in *teacher* on your keyboard over the Vegieville screen.

The content maps will help you plan your lessons. Generally you don't have to be too specific and tell the students where they will find the information. Part of the attraction of this type of learning tool is encouraging the students to explore. It does help you to know though!

PREPARING VEGIES — Glossary of items: trim, chop, puree...

UTENSILS

Drag and drop jumbled words **?**

PIGGY BANK

COST — Ways to stretch your budget

Mathematical Genius: You get to buy the vegies **?**

How much does your family spend? Graph **?**

MICROWAVE

COVERED DISH

MICROWAVING — How to microwave vegies, with recipes

What's for dinner? Jigsaw & recipe **?**

BREADBOARD

NO COOK LUNCH & SNACK IDEAS — Recipes for vegie snacks & sandwiches

CASSEROLE DISH

OVEN COOKING — Grill, bake & roast

? Cooking Methods

SAUCEPAN

STOVETOP COOKING — Blanch, boil, broil, parboil, simmer, steam, stir-fry etc, with recipes

CUPBOARD

STORAGE CUPBOARD — Which vegies like the dark & why

VEGIE BASKET

CHOOSING VEGIES — How to choose good vegies

FRIDGE

HOME

TAP

HYGIENE — Safe food

5+ A DAY MAGNET

LINK — to school 5 + A Day

MUSHROOM FRIDGE MAGNET

FUN WITH VEGIES — Funny face salad, crazy corn etc.

? Where to store?

STORAGE FRIDGE — How to store vegetables

VEGIE SHOP

CARE OF VEGIES
Keeping vegies in good condition
— SIGN

RECIPES
— RECIPE LEAFLETS

LAGING
erent
king for
erent
gies
— MUSHROOMS

PLAY
lling
gies
— CABBAGE

RKETING
getable
ting. Info
Vegfed,
s, leaflets
etc.
— LOVE VEGIES

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gie
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paign ?

EASONS
Seasonal
variation
— CALENDAR

? Find the Vegies

Link to School. Seasonal availability

STORAGE
Link to Home
Storage – fridge
Storage – cupboard
— PLASTIC BAGS

5 + A DAY
Link to School
— 5 + A DAY

BUDGET STRETCHING
How to buy more vegies for your dollar
— HANDBAG

? Cucumber slicing

RUNNING A BUSINESS
What makes a good shop
— CASH REGISTER

From seed to shelf ? flowchart

RESTAURANT

BUYING VEGIES
Tips on buying best quality vegies
— SHOPPING LIST

ETHNIC COOKERY ?
Foods from around the world
— WORLD MAP

Recipes and characteristics of different ethnic cookery

PRESENTATION
Making vegies look and taste great.
eg. garnishes & choosing the right recipes
— DELICIOUS DISH

HERBS
All about herbs
— HERB JAR

NU
NING
ting
nus
— BLACKBOARD MENU

5 + A Day
Link to School

Vegies in season
Link to School

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siness
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accounting
ST ?

ENE
onal hygiene
o kitchen clean
king food
s & germs
— HEALTH SIGN

COOKING METHODS
NK to Home
— WOK

MEASUREMENTS
* Weighing
* Abbreviations
* Temperature
* Volumes
— MEASURING SPOONS

? Measuring Quiz

? Vegie tastes

COMMERCIAL KITCHEN EQUIPMENT
eg. bratt pans, charcoal grills, steam convection ovens, etc.
— KNIFE

VEGETABLE CUTS
— CHOPPING BOARD

— SPICE RACK

MIXING & MATCHING FLAVOURS
Vegies with fruit, spices, oils, vinegar and herbs
— CABBAGE

BULK STORAGE
How and why vegetables deteriorate and how you can keep them fresher for longer using proper storage methods

FARM

EXPORT
Which crops & where to

— REFRIGERATED TRUCK →

FERTILISER
Why and how we use it

— FERTILISER →

PEST CONTROL
Common pests

— WHITE BUTTERFLY →

Controlling pests and diseases safely

PLANT BREEDING
What is it

— SEEDLINGS →

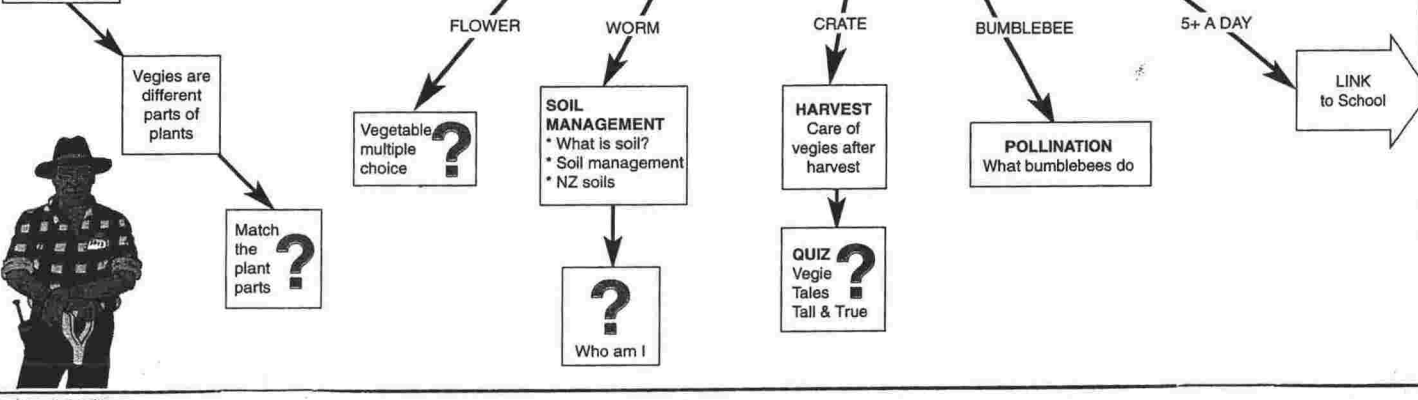Vegies are different parts of plants

Match the plant parts ?

MECHANISAT
* Soil preparati
* Looking after
* Post harvest

— TRACTOR →

Machine crossword ?

GROWING VEGIES INSIDE
Greenhouse & technology

— GREEN HOUSE →

IRRIGATION
Methods and reasons for irrigation

— SPRINKLER →

LINK to School

— 5+ A DAY →

FLOWER →
Vegetable multiple choice ?

WORM →
SOIL MANAGEMENT
* What is soil?
* Soil management
* NZ soils

Who am I ?

CRATE →
HARVEST
Care of vegies after harvest

QUIZ
Vegie Tales Tall & True ?

BUMBLEBEE →
POLLINATION
What bumblebees do

MARAE
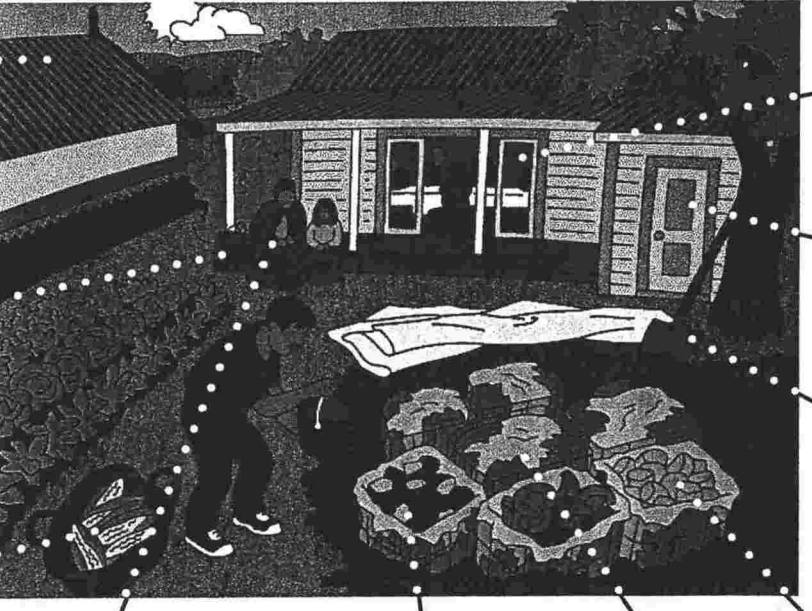
Test your knowledge of Maori kai ?

— WHARENUI (meeting house) →

MANAAKITAN
Sharing foo

— EATING WHAREKAI →

HEALTH
Healthy food message

— KETE (basket) →

STORAGE ROOM →
STORAG
Tradition
ways of
storing fo

LINK TO SCHOOL
Pyramid ?

SWEETCORN
* How Maori adopted it
* Methods of preparation

— SWEETCORN →

SPADE →
CULTIVATIO
Traditional
methods o
growing
vegetables

KUIA
(Maori woman elder)
PRE-EUROPEAN VEGETABLES FROM NATIVE PLANTS

KUMARA
CULTIVATED VEGETABLES
* Kumara
* Yam
* Gourd
* Taro

HANGI
HANGI
How to put down a hangi & prepare the vegies

POTATOES
POTATOES
Recipe for rewena paraoa (Maori bread)

SCHOOL

MAP AOTEAROA →

EEN NZ
ch vegies
w where
in NZ

?
Growing
sprouts

KUMARA →

KUMARA = SWEET POTATO

AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

CANTEEN

CANTEEN →

SCHOOL LUNCHES
Great lunches to buy at school

↓

How to improve your school lunches **?**

ANGUAGES
gies in
ferent
nguages **?**

← 5 + A DAY

5 + A DAY
How
do you
ate **?**

5 + A DAY
Fresh is
Best
Health facts

ecord
r week.
Vork out
verage, most
opular vegie **?**

Preparing &
cooking vegies
to preserve
nutrients

Quiz
on
Health &
Vegies **?**

LEAVES →

WHEN VEGIES ARE IN SEASON
Price
variations
relating to
seasons **?**

↓

Typical
seasonal
dishes

RUNNING
SHOES

**CARBOHYDRATE
LOADING**
Be Powered by
Potatoes!

Drag &
Drop:
Place in
Pyramid **?**

PYRAMID

**HEALTHY
FOOD PYRAMID**
* European
* Maori
* Pacific Islands

BACKPACK

**HOME
MADE
LUNCHES**
Lunch ideas

LUNCHBOX

?
Vegie
crossword

Windows® Instructions
Put CD into drive. Don't click on anything
please follow on-screen instructions,
The CD will install/run automatically.
See cover of booklet for more help.

Macintosh® Instructions
Put CD into drive, double click the CD icon,
then double click the y for vegies icon.

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Vegfed presents **for Vegies**

INSTALLATION

Before installing *V for Vegies*, shut down all applications you are running eg. Internet, word processing.

Installation (Windows® 95 or Windows NT®)

1. Insert the CD-ROM into your CD-ROM drive and close the door. Don't click anything. *V for Vegies* should install automatically.
2. In most cases the first time you use the CD-ROM, simply follow the on-screen instructions and then double click the *V for Vegies* icon. If the icon does not appear, go to the Start menu, choose Programs, then Vegfed, then *V for Vegies*.
3. If the CD-ROM doesn't install automatically, choose Run from the Start menu. In the box that comes up, type: D:\VEGIES.EXE then press Return (where D is the letter of your CD-ROM drive).
4. When you come to use *V for Vegies* later, after it's installed, simply insert the CD-ROM and it should start automatically. The automatic startup process may take up to a minute depending on the speed of your machine, so don't click on anything at this stage. If after a minute it hasn't started, go to the Start menu, choose Programs, then Vegfed, then *V for Vegies*.

Installation Windows® 3.11

1. Insert the CD-ROM into your CD-ROM drive and close the door.
2. Choose Run from the File menu in Program Manager. In the box that comes up, type D:\SETUP.EXE then press Return (where D is the letter of your CD-ROM drive).
3. Simply follow the on-screen instructions and then double click the *V for Vegies* icon.

Installation (Macintosh®)

1. Insert the CD-ROM into the CD-ROM drive.
2. Double click the CD-ROM icon.
3. Double click on the *V for Vegies* icon.

Vegfed

New Zealand Vegetable & Potato Growers' Fed. Inc.

P.O.BOX 10-232, WELLINGTON, PH:04-472-3795 FAX:04-471-2861 *Internet: http://www.vegfed.greenzone.co.nz*

SYSTEMS REQUIREMENTS

V for Vegies is a hybrid CD-ROM which means it is compatible with both Windows® and Macintosh® systems.

Systems requirements (Windows®)

Minimum usable system:
Windows® 3.11., 486 DX-66, 8 MB RAM, 2 x CD-ROM sound card, 256 colours @ 640 x 480.

Minimum recommended system:
Windows® 95 or Windows NT®, Pentium 90, 16 MB RAM, 4 x CD-ROM, sound card, 256 colours @ 640 x 480.

Preferred system:
Windows® 95 or Windows NT®, Pentium 133, 16 MB RAM, 8 x CD-ROM, 16 bit colour @ 640 x 480.

Note: Most Windows® compatible sound cards will work with the *V for Vegies* CD-ROM.

Systems requirements (Macintosh®)

Minimum usable system:
030 based Macintosh®, Mac OS 7.1, 8 MB RAM, 2 x CD-ROM, 256 colours @ 640 x 480

Minimum recommended system:
Power Mac®, Mac OS 7.6, 8 MB RAM, 4 x CD-ROM, 256 colours @ 640 x 480

Preferred system:
Power Mac®, Mac OS 8, 16 MB RAM, 8 x CD-ROM, 16 bit colour @ 640 x 480.

Made with Macromedia is a trademark of Macromedia, Inc.

QuickTime is a trademark of Apple Computer, Inc.

Appendix G3. *From Canefield to Crystal and Beyond*

From canefield to crystal and beyond...

No one food provides the fuel our body needs to stay fit, healthy and active. That's why nutritionists tell us that we need to eat a variety of foods.

THE FOUR FOOD GROUPS

Each day we should eat a variety of foods from these four food groups:

The first two food groups are important sources of carbohydrates, vitamins, minerals, fibre and water.

- Vegetables and fruit
  - at least five servings a day for children aged 2 - 12
  - at least three servings a day for teenagers.
- Breads and cereals
  - this includes breakfast cereals, pasta, rice, noodles and other starchy foods. At least six servings a day to satisfy appetite and energy are recommended.

The two food groups below are important sources of protein, vitamins, minerals and essential fats.

- Milk and milk products – at least two servings a day.
- Lean meats, chicken, seafood, eggs and dried peas beans and lentils – at least one serve daily for children aged 2 - 12
  - at least one to two serves a day for teenagers.

Most foods in the first three food groups contain sugar either as a natural part of the food such as with fruits and milk or as an important added ingredient as is the case with breads.

As part of a varied and healthy diet moderate amounts of sugar add not only flavour but also texture, colour and energy to foods.

THE ESSENTIAL NUTRIENTS

All foods are made up of a mixture of the essential nutrients proteins, fats carbohydrates, vitamins, minerals and water.

Some food groups tend to be higher in some nutrients than others.

CARBOHYDRATES - THE PLANT FOODS

For most of the world's population, carbohydrates are our main source of energy. In New Zealand nutritionists recommend that carbohydrate foods supply over half of our energy needs, with sucrose and other sugars being less than 15% of total energy.

Carbohydrates can be divided into two groups – simple sugars (mono and disaccharides) and complex carbohydrates (polysaccharides or starches).

Simple sugars include:
Monosaccharides: (single molecules) – eg. glucose; fructose (fruit sugar); galactose.
Disaccharides: (two molecules) – eg. sucrose; (glucose + fructose); lactose (milk sugar – glucose + galactose) and maltose (2 molecules of glucose).

The sugar produced by Chelsea and that we have in our sugar bowl at home is the simple sugar called sucrose. Once eaten all carbohydrates, including sugars are digested to glucose and glucose is available as energy to the cells.

EAT SMALL AMOUNTS — Oil, sugar, butter, reduced fat spreads, margarine

EAT MODERATELY — Chicken lean meat, fish, eggs, milk, cheese, yoghurt

EAT MOST — Fruit, vegetables, cereals, bread, nuts, lentils, dried peas, beans

Source: Adapted from the Australian Nutrition Foundation Healthy Eating Pyramid

HAVE A LOOK

at the healthy food pyramid. When you have time think about what you have eaten today – does it follow the pyramid's recommendations?
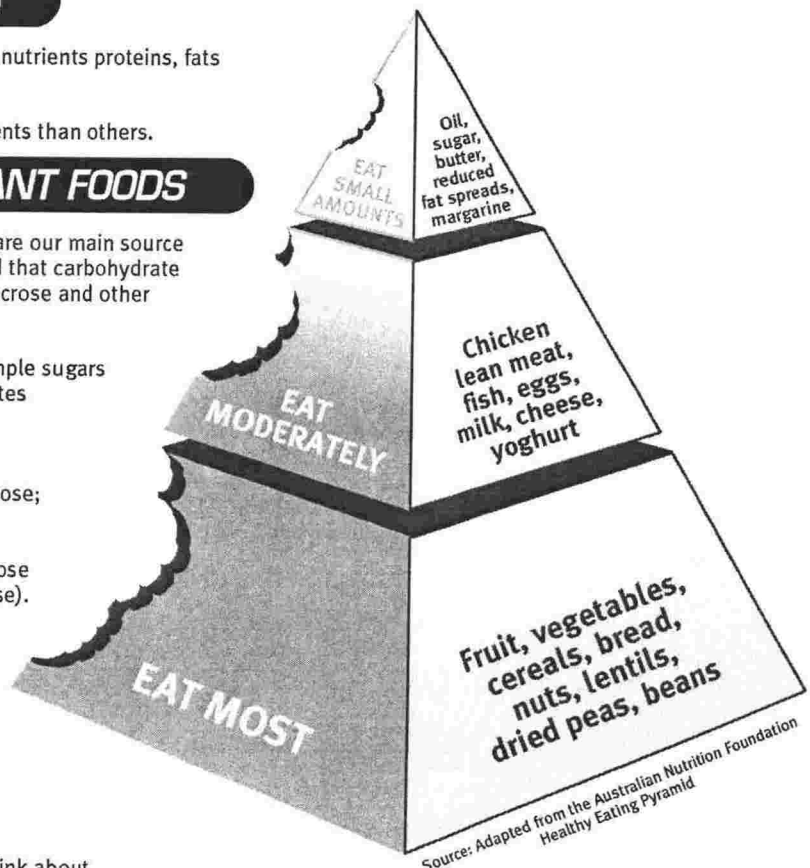
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Sugar is often linked to health issues in the media and at times reported incorrectly. Below we outline some of these issues and put the record straight.

SUGAR AND DIABETES

It is a common myth that eating sugar is related to the development of diabetes, a disorder of blood glucose metabolism caused by lack of insulin. Blood glucose is the type of sugar found in our bodies and is used exclusively by the brain. Diabetes is not caused by eating sugar. People with diabetes need to manage their food and drink intake. A diet high in fibre and carbohydrate with small amounts of refined sugar is generally recommended.

Scientific research has shown that past understanding of sugar's role in the diet of people with diabetes was wrong.

SUGAR AND WEIGHT

We gain weight when our energy intake is greater than our energy output. So eating too much of any food could make you fat. Remember variety and moderation! Sugar is a carbohydrate and research says very little carbohydrate from the foods we eat is converted to body fat under normal circumstances.

Sugar has about the same number of calories (or kilojoules) as protein and about half the calories per gram of fat. In other words, fat has about twice as many calories as the same amount of carbohydrate. A high intake of fat is far more likely to result in weight gain than a high intake of carbohydrate. This is because fat from the diet is efficiently stored by the body while carbohydrate, which needs to be converted to fat before storage, is not.

SUGAR AND HYPERACTIVITY

There are some food ingredients which have been shown to affect the behaviour of susceptable individuals (including some artificial colourings and preservatives).

The idea that sugar produces a "high" and causes behavioural problems such as hyperactivity, particularly in children, has been disproved.

Many sweet and treat foods are often highly coloured and mistakenly, sugar rather than colouring and even caffeine, is blamed for 'overactivity'. The occasions when sugary foods are consumed such as parties, can also contribute to the 'excitement' and over activity rather than the foods themselves.

SUGAR AND TOOTH DECAY

Sugar is sometimes made out to be the 'baddie' when it comes to tooth decay. But keeping our teeth free from cavities is more complicated than simply cutting out sweet foods.

Tooth decay begins when bacteria in the plaque that forms on teeth makes acid. These acids dissolve the tooth enamel. The plaque bacteria make acid from any food or drink that contains carbohydrates.

The dissolving of enamel can be stopped if there is enough time between eating and drinking for tooth enamel to be rehardened by calcium and phosphate in saliva. Saliva can also neutralise the acids and help wash away the food.

Ways to reduce the risk of tooth decay include:

- Brushing teeth regularly especially after eating
- Giving teeth a 'rest'. Allow time between meals and drinks for tooth enamel to reharden by limiting eating to six times a day.
- Avoid sipping continuously on sweet drinks. Better to have drinks with meals or drink water.

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SUGAR AND HEART DISEASE

There is no direct link between eating sugar and the incidence of coronary heart disease. Remember, a healthy balanced diet and regular exercise is a valuable part of maintaining a healthy heart.

SUGAR AND SPORT

A sports person's diet should be high in carbohydrate foods. Carbohydrate foods provide glucose, the main fuel used by muscles in exercise, and it is stored as glycogen in your muscles and liver. Good glycogen fuel stores provide energy for both training and recovery.

Sugar, as a type of carbohydrate, is quickly absorbed by the body. Pre-event meals are often high in complex carbohydrates or starchy foods whereas food eaten after an event is often high in simple sugars. This is why sugar is used by sports people as a recovery food immediately after an event. Sports dietitians sometimes advise athletes to have a snack high in sugar such as a sports drink, sweet biscuit or even jelly beans, after training allowing for rapid glycogen refuelling.

When high carbohydrate intakes are needed, sugar may be used to top up these intakes as other carbohydrates would be too bulky and take the athlete too long to eat.

REMEMBER

No one food group provides all the nutrients and energy we need. That's why nutritionists tell us to eat a variety of foods. Use the healthy eating pyramid as a guide and don't forget – all things in moderation.
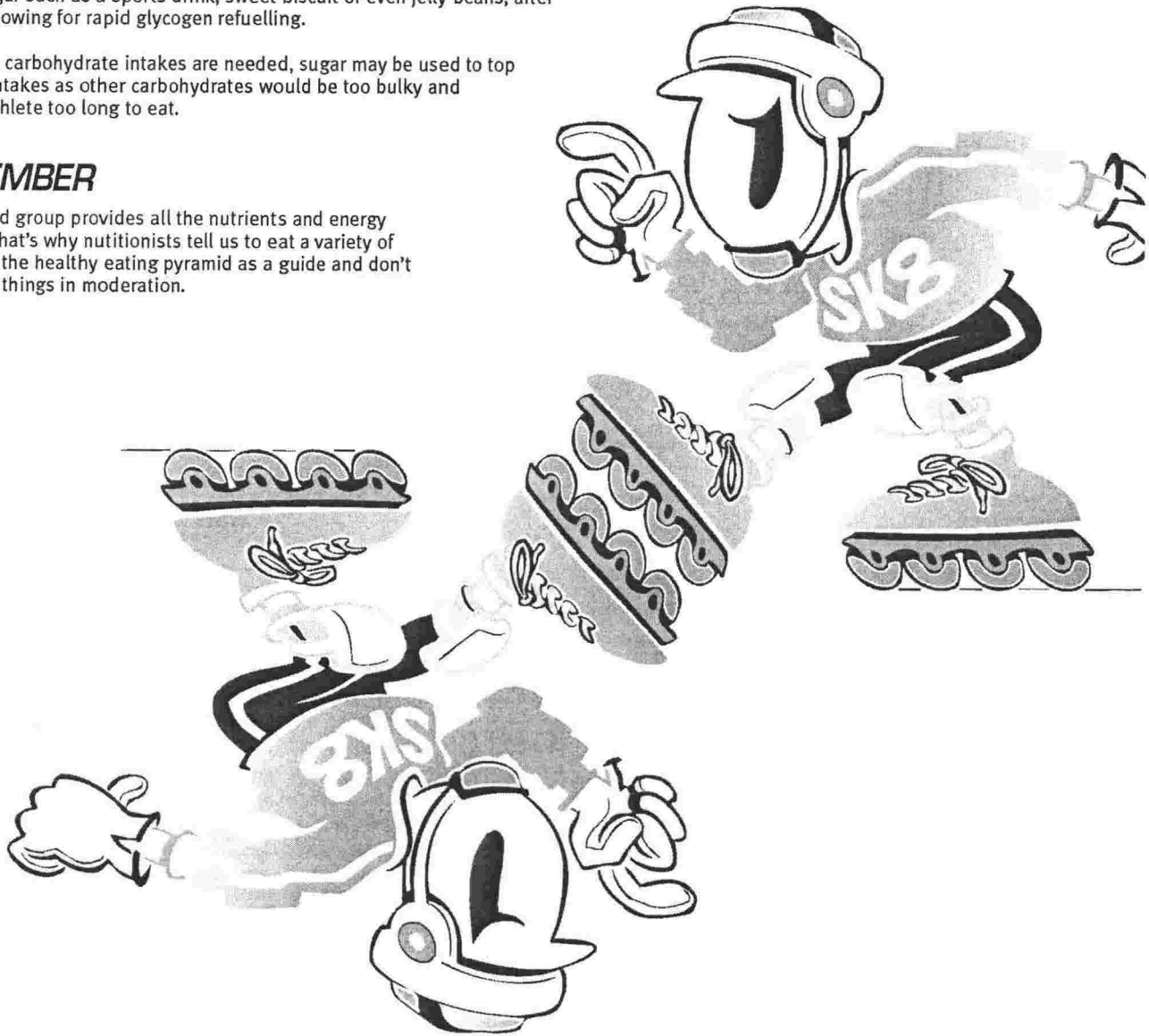
NEW ZEALAND SUGAR COMPANY LIMITED

The company behind the Chelsea sugar products you see in the supermarket is the New Zealand Sugar Company Limited. It is based in Birkenhead, on Auckland's North Shore. New Zealand Sugar was founded in 1884 and the Chelsea Refinery is New Zealand's only sugar refinery.

The Chelsea Refinery processes raw sugar for both the domestic and international markets. Most of the raw sugar refined at Chelsea comes from Queensland. Chelsea produces about 160,000 tonnes of sugar products a year for domestic use in New Zealand. An additional 40,000 tonnes is exported as sugar or sugar blends.

THE NEW ZEALAND SUGAR MARKET

Sugar can be a very volatile commodity product. Explaining this very simply, it means that sugar is subject to all sorts of factors which can effect its availability and pricing and therefore ability to be bought or sold around the world. You might be surprised to know that what happens to sugar crops in Brazil due to a flood for example, will effect world sugar prices, including the price we pay in New Zealand.

The New Zealand sugar industry was deregulated in 1986 and is one of only four countries in the world whose sugar industry is wholly deregulated. What this means, is there are no tariffs, quotas or controls on the import or export of sugar, ie no industry protection. To be competitive (at home and overseas) Chelsea is committed to:

■ competing actively for business
■ delivering excellent service to its customers
■ keeping costs under control
■ providing quality, service and efficiency in all its operations
■ developing new products and markets

Chelsea is New Zealand's leading brand of sugar, which means most people prefer to use Chelsea at home or if their business requires sugar as an ingredient. Chelsea's main competitors are imported sugar and housebrands (those products marketed by supermarkets themselves).

New Zealand Sugar Company Limited operates in four key business areas:

■ retail (supermarket)
■ food and beverage (manufacturer)
■ export
■ sugar blends.

CHELSEA SUGAR AND THE EXPORT MARKET

■ Chelsea Sugar is committed to expanding its business in sugar exports, in exported foods containing sugar and sugar blends.
■ Chelsea Sugar is exported mainly to the Pacific Islands with key markets including Tahiti, New Caledonia, the Solomons, Fiji, Samoa and Australia.
■ Some specialty products such as coffee sugar, golden syrup and sugar blends are exported to parts of Asia.
■ Chelsea Sugar is customer focused and adapts to suit the customer's requirements. For example in some Pacific Islands, sugar needs to be shipped in open air boats to outer islands so Chelsea ensure the sugar is packed in protective plastic so the product arrives safe and sound.
■ Sugar blends (sugar and other ingredients) is a developing export business with the main focus on Japan's beverage and baking sectors.

THE WORLD SUGAR MARKET

■ Sugar is a volatile commodity with its price affected by changes in supply and demand.
■ Sugar is produced from cane or beet in more than 115 countries.
■ World wide sugar production and consumption exceeds 120 million tonnes.
■ The majority of world sugar production is consumed in the country of production.
■ The world's largest producers include Brazil, India, European Community, Thailand, China, USA, Australia, Mexico and parts of the former USSR.
■ Sugar futures markets exist in a number of countries with the three main ones being the New York Coffee, Sugar and Cocoa Exchange, the London Sugar Futures Market and the Paris Futures Market. 'Futures' markets operate around the concept of buying or selling something (in this case sugar) at a price now for goods which will be delivered in the future.

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From canefield to crystal, to supermarket shelves or to food and beverage manufacturers. The form of sugar you eat in a muffin, in cereal, or drink in a sports drink or in a cup of tea has undergone a chain of processes from its original state as sugar cane in the fields.

In New Zealand the Chelsea sugar we eat comes from sugar cane which stores sucrose in its stem. Sugar cane is grown in tropical countries and most of New Zealand Sugar Company's supply comes from Queensland, Australia. Sugar cane grows for 10-18 months before being harvested. Mature cane stands 2-4m high and is usually harvested between June and December when the sugar content is at it's highest.

Below we outline the process which converts sugar cane to the crystal form we are familiar with. Remember, sugar is a pure, natural product and the process it undergoes adds no artificial flavourings, colourings or preservatives.

AT THE MILL

Once sugar cane is harvested by machine, it is weighed and processed at the mill. It goes through a series of processes to extract raw sugar from sugar cane for use at the refinery.
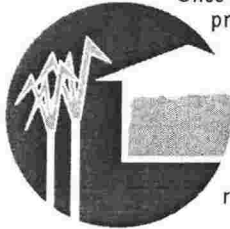
These processes include shredding (shreds cane into fibrous material), rolling (separates sugar juice from fibrous material), clarifying (removes impurities) and evaporation (produces a concentrated syrup by boiling).

This syrup is boiled in a vacuum pan and crystals form which are separated from the syrup by centrifugals. These spin at high speed. The process of boiling the syrup and spinning to remove the sugar crystals is repeated until no more syrup can be removed in this way. The raw sugar is then dried and stored in bulk bins.

From here the bulk raw sugar will then be sent to the Chelsea Refinery for further conversion into one of a range of sugars you see in the supermarket or to be used by industry as an ingredient.

REFINERY PROCESSING

Arrival at the Refinery
The bulk unrefined raw sugar is transported by ship in loads up to 27,500 tonnes to the Chelsea Refinery Wharf in Auckland and once unloaded is stored in a huge warehouse which can hold up to 45,000 tonnes.
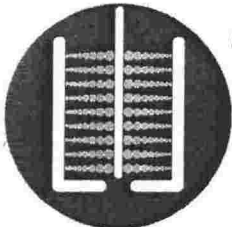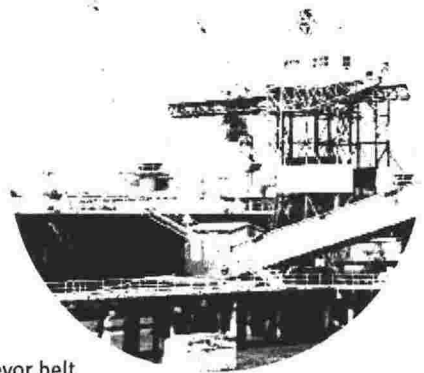
Mixer and Centrifugal
The unrefined raw sugar is fed by a conveyor belt into a mixer where the crystals are mixed with hot sugar syrup. The now thick brown mixture is spun in a machine, like a giant washing machine, called a centrifugal and washed in clean hot water to remove colour and impurities from the surface of the sugar crystals.
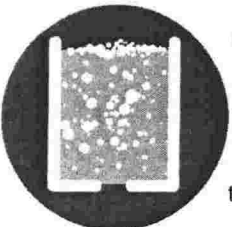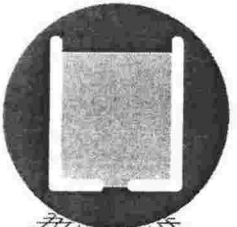
Crystal Dissolver and Carbonatation Tanks
The unrefined raw sugar crystals are dissolved in hot water to form an amber coloured liquid called raw sugar liquor and passed through a screen to remove further impurities such as small pieces of sugar cane fibre. The liquor is pumped into containers called carbonatation tanks. In these, milk of lime is added to the raw liquor and carbon dioxide is bubbled through. The lime and gas react together to form a chalk to which previously dissolved impurities cling.

www.chelsea.co.nz
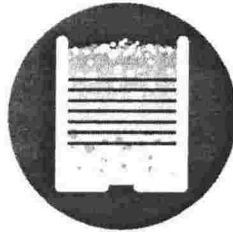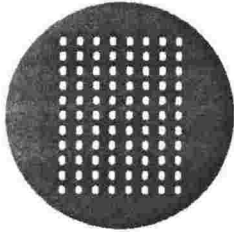
Filters and Carbon Decolourising Tank

The mixture is filtered through a very fine cloth to remove further impurities. At this point the liquor is still amber coloured and now goes through a carbon decolourising station which removes the remaining colour, producing clear liquid sugar. This is called pure sugar liquor, which is clear enough to form white sugar crystals from.

Vacuum Pans

The now clear liquid sugar is pumped into airtight containers called vacuum pans, where the water is evaporated off by boiling, and the sugar forms into crystals. The longer crystals are boiled, the larger they grow, so crystal size can be controlled to meet the customer's needs for different sugar types. For example, large coffee sugar crystals take up to 24 hours to grow to the correct size in the vacuum pans. When the crystals are considered to be the right size, the mixture is spun again and any syrup left is driven off.
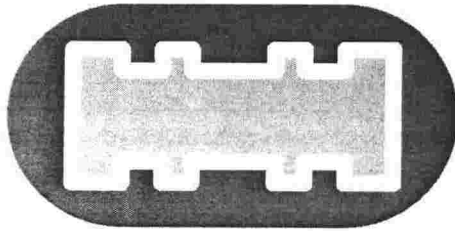
Dryer and Conditioner

From here crystals are dried and conditioned by blowing dehumidified air through the sugar. This helps to keep the sugar free flowing. The syrup which was removed earlier can either be returned to the beginning of the process or made into soft brown sugar, golden syrup or treacle.

Packaged, Graded and Transported

After drying, the sugar is graded by using different sized mesh screens to seperate it into different size crystals. Once graded, the sugar is packaged into a wide range of familiar Chelsea packs destined for the supermarket, food and beverage manufacturers or export markets.

Next time you use sugar as an ingredient, or straight from the pack as a sweetener, remember that it started out as sugar cane in the canefields of a tropical country.

www.chelsea.co.nz

VARIETIES OF SUGAR

You are probably most familiar with Chelsea's granulated white sugar used in baking, as a sweetener or on top of cereal! But wander along the supermarket aisles and you will see a wide range of Chelsea sugars. They are all processed differently to give them their individual qualities, but all come from the same natural source – the sugar cane, and all have nothing artificial added.

Below we look at some of the Chelsea sugars you will find in the supermarket, tell you about the process and what they can be used for. Think to yourself – how have I seen the different types of sugar used?

Remember, sugar has a number of important roles other than providing sweetness.
Sugar can be used for the following purposes:

- A bulking agent – sugar contributes to the bulk or body of products eg. in biscuits
- Used in fermentation – sugar is used in yeast based products, by aiding fermentation used to produce carbon dioxide to raise dough eg. in breads and buns
- A preservative – sugar helps to reduce and control the growth of bacteria, moulds and yeast eg. in preserves and jam
- A flavour enhancer – sugar goes well with foods often enhancing its taste eg. with sour fruits like rhubarb
- An aid to body and viscosity – sugar adds body and viscosity to liquid and semi-liquid products eg. in syrups
- Distinctive in its colour and flavour – on heating sugar caramelises to produce a unique colour and flavour eg. toffee
- A humecant – maintaining water content, sugar extends the shelf life of many foods eg. icing
- An anticoagulant – on heating sugar delays the coagulation of protein eg. baked custard

All Chelsea sugars have different levels of sweetness and characteristics which influence the taste and appeal of foods in which they occur. You may recognise some of the names from the Chelsea products you see in the supermarket. Next time you visit the supermarket, check out the wide range of sugars, and see if you can remember what each is used for.

CHELSEA WHITE SUGAR

White granulated sugar is the most commonly used and is the main sugar we buy from the supermarket. The crystals are a uniform size which make it ideal for confectionery manufacture and baking. Crystal size is important for texture and consistency of the end product.

CHELSEA CASTER SUGAR

This sugar has fine regular crystals and is produced by grading the sugar from the driers and conditioner. It is well dried which keeps its free flowing qualities. Caster sugar is used where a smooth finished texture is required or where the sugar needs to dissolve easily and the crystal needs to be of an even size. Examples of commercial use include in sachet drinks, puddings, jellies and cake mixes. Caster sugar is also ideal for making meringues or pavlova because the crystals have a large surface area to volume ratio.

www.chelsea.co.nz

CHELSEA ICING SUGAR

Icing sugar is white sugar which has been ground in a mill to produce a fine powdered sugar. To prevent it caking and to improve its storage time, a small amount of starch is added. We are all familiar with icing sugar being used to make cake icing at home but it is also ideal for making short bread and cream fillings in biscuits. In the food industry it is used in the manufacture of confectionery such as marshmallows and peppermints.

CHELSEA GOLDEN SYRUP

Golden syrup is made from sugar syrups that have a high mineral and colour content. The sucrose in the syrup is semi-converted to glucose and fructose by the addition of enzymes. When the sugar in the syrup has reached the right ratio of sucrose to glucose/fructos this process is stopped and the syrup filtered with all enzymes removed. To produce the rich golden colour and distinctive flavour the syrup is then partially decolourised by passing it through carbon. The carbon absorbs some of the flavour and colour. Golden Syrup is used in baking to add moisture, colour and flavour with biscuits and cakes containing the product having a heavier texture and more chewy nature. It is a key ingredient in Gingernuts, Brandy snaps and Anzac biscuits.

CHELSEA TREACLE

Treacle is prepared by the same process as golden syrup but is not decolourised through carbon like golden syrup. This means it has a higher colour that gives it a much stronger and slightly bitter flavour. Treacle is used in baking and increases the moisture content improving the shelf life of the goods. It also adds colour and flavour to products it is baked with.

CHELSEA SOFT BROWN SUGAR

This sugar is produced directly from the dark syrups obtained during the refining process and produces crystals of a very fine crystalline structure and soft texture. The moisture and syrup account for the different texture properties from free flowing white sugar. Its dark colour and unique rich flavour make it suitable for both savoury and sweet recipes. It is particularly used for caramels, toppings and sauces. There can be variability in colour and flavour between batches of brown sugars because sugar is a natural product and the attributes of raw sugar can vary.

CHELSEA COFFEE CRYSTALS

The sucrose crystals are grown for a long period of time forming large crystals. When the crystals are the correct size they are spun to remove excess syrup. They are not sprayed with water like the white crystals during the spinning process which removes the coloured syrup. The crystals are left with a thin syrup coating giving them their golden brown appearance. The unique size and flavour of the coffee crystals make it the perfect sweetener for hot drinks and an attractive topping on some baking.

CHELSEA RAW SUGAR

Raw sugar is natural granulated sugar, again with a syrup coating on the crystals giving them a golden brown appearance. It is produced by dissolving, filtering and recrystallising the raw sugar received from the sugar mill. This process makes it suitable for human consumption. Raw sugar is used in coffee or baking providing subtle changes to colour and flavour of the product.

CHELSEA DEMERARA SUGAR

This sugar is produced in Mauritius and repacked at Chelsea. It has a thin layer of molasses on the sugar crystals giving it the distinctive rich flavour. The process of crystallisation is done in open pans rather than the usual vacuum pans. This means a greater level of caramelisation of the sugar occurs as it crystallises contributing to its flavour. It is commonly used as a coffee sugar and in baking where colour is not an issue. The coarseness of the crystal gives a good colour to the crust of baking and the syrup adds the flavour of molasses.

www.chelsea.co.nz

TECHNOLOGY PLAN

CLASS *1 to 8*   **DATE**

TOPIC *New Zealand Sugar Company Limited - Pamphlet Production*

Unit Focus
(Need/Opportunity/Outcome):
Promoting Chelsea Sugar using a pamphlet

Tech Areas
- Biotechnology
- Electronics and Control
- Food
- Information and Communication
- Materials
- **Production and Process**
- Structures and Mechanisms

Contexts
- Personal
- Home
- School
- Recreational
- Community
- Energy
- **Business**
- Industrial
- Environmental

Resources and Preparation

Physical
- From Canefield to Crystal & Beyond
  New Zealand Sugar Company Limited
  resource kit
- Website: **www.chelsea.co.nz**
- Graphics equipment eg pens/pencils
  etc and paper
- Computer with appropriate software
  and printer

People
- Graphic artist
- Publication agency

Introductory/Motivating Activity
View Chelsea Sugar video and set up a display of
Chelsea Sugar products

Teacher Knowledge to be developed
- Strategies for promoting products
- What an action plan involves
- Principles and elements of graphic design and
  page layout
- Computer applications [if used]

Safety Issues
Students using telephone / fax etc. Using them appropriately

ACHIEVEMENT OBJECTIVES
Strand A
Knowledge and Understanding
Develop an understanding of:
- The use and operation of technologies;
- Technological principles and systems;
- The nature of technological ideas and outcomes;
- Strategies for the communication; promotion and
  evaluation of technological ideas and outcomes.

Strand B
Capability
Students will:
5. Identify needs and opportunities to provide information or
   possible technological practice
6. With reference to identified needs and opportunities,
   a. generate possible options and strategies, and select,
      develop and adapt appropriate solutions;
   b. produce technological outcomes to agreed quality
      standards, managing time, and using human and
      physical resources skilfully, safely and effectively;
   c. present and promote ideas, strategies and outcomes
      throughout technological practice;
   d. evaluate designs, strategies and outcomes through
      out technological practice in relation to their own
      activities and those of others.

Strand C
Technology and Society
Students should:
7. Develop awareness and understanding of the ways, beliefs,
   values and ethics of groups; promote or constrain
   technological development; influence attitudes towards
   technological development;
8. Develop awareness and understanding of the impacts of
   technology on society and the environment: in the past,
   present and possible future; in local, national and
   international settings.

TECHNOLOGY PLAN CONTINUED ...

CLASS 1 to 8

DATE

TOPIC New Zealand Sugar Company Limited - Pamphlet Production

Sequence of Learning Activities	Technological Learning Objectives	Assessment Criteria	Assessment Strategies
Identify the common features in the display of Chelsea Sugar Products. Discuss the influence of the Chelsea Sugar logo and how this logo will impact on their pamphlet design. Collect promotional material developed by food companies both in the past and currently. Identify the target market that the material is aimed at and how this market is targeted and the messages given. Compare the strategies used including layout design features. Critique these strategies from the point of view of effectiveness and ethical considerations.	Students can identify and evaluate the strategies used to promote products and apply relevant ones to their own pamphlet.

Links to AO. 4, 6d, 7 | Students have identified and evaluated:
• A range of promotional strategies
• Appropriate strategies selected with justification for choice e.g. beliefs and values identified which will guide them in the strategies they would and would not use in their pamphlet. | Teacher reviews strategy evaluation sheet. |
| Students discuss their beliefs and values with regard to what is acceptable in terms of the strategies used for the promotion of products – eg honesty, manipulation, "Is all the information available to consumers?"
Develop a brief including specifications for developing and producing a promotional pamphlet for Chelsea Sugar. Identify the messages that are to be promoted in the pamphlet in terms of sugar as a consumer product. How could we promote Chelsea as a preferred brand? Research how a graphic designer or a publication agency would develop a promotional pamphlet. Identify the key features of the graphic designers technological practice that will impact on the development of their own pamphlet. | Students can develop, adapt and modify a workable plan of action which guides their technological practice.

Links to AO. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6a, 6b, 6c, 6d and 7 | The plan includes:
• Sequenced activities
• Time allocations and checkpoints
• Evaluation methods
• Resources and equipment to be used
• Consideration of the impact of their design on society
• Comments and justification of any adaptations or modification to the original action plan. | Student action plans and logs are kept up for teachers to refer to and discuss with the student. |
| Develop a plan of action for producing a promotional pamphlet that uses the knowledge gained from previous tasks and visits.
Develop and produce a pamphlet to prototype stage. Students technological practice might include:
• Who the pamphlet is aimed at
• What messages/information will be given
• On-going evaluation against the specifications of the brief
• Setting and meeting deadlines
• Resources to be used including equipment and personnel | Students can produce freehand or computer generated concept sketches of pamphlet layout with notes explaining design decisions.

Links to AO. 2, 6a, 6d | Concepts include reference to:
• Colour
• Appropriate inclusion of Chelsea Sugar logo
• Balance between text and images and background spaces (negative and positive spaces)
• Font shape and size
• Clear message
• Evaluation and modification comments. | |
| • Conceptual sketches for layout of pamphlet, colour, text font, size, logo branding, visual impact either freehand or computer generated
• Mock-ups of possible pamphlets
• Exploration ways of producing pamphlets
• Legal requirements e.g. copyright, trademarks
Present final prototype for peer review and evaluation. | Students investigate ways to produce final prototype of pamphlet.

Links to AO. 1, 6d | Investigation includes reference and evaluation of:
• Different technologies available
• Technological practice of brochure publishers
• Decision on which publication techniques used for final prototype. | |

TECHNOLOGY PLAN

CLASS 7 and 8

DATE

TOPIC *New Zealand Sugar Company Limited - Snack Foods*

Unit Focus

Develop a snack food for year 7 & 8 students at your school, with a Chelsea Sugar product as one of the ingredients.

Tech Areas

- Biotechnology
- Electronics and Control
- **Food**
- Information and Communication
- **Materials**
- Production and Process
- Structures and Mechanisms

Contexts

- **Personal**
- Home
- **School**
- Recreational
- Community
- Energy
- Business
- Industrial
- Environmental

Introductory/Motivating Activity

Visit to a supermarket
Sensory evaluation of snack foods available at the school tuck shop.

Teacher Knowledge to be developed

- Understanding of Government regulations in food labelling.
- Understanding of safety issues in preparation and storage of food.
- Packaging layout design principles: Colour, shape, graphic visuals, text balance, proportion.

Resources and Preparation

Physical

- From Canefield to Crystal & Beyond – New Zealand Sugar Company Limited resource kit
- Website: **www.chelsea.co.nz**
- Ingredients
- Equipment
- A selection of snack foods
- A selection of snack food packaging
- MOE resources:
- Healthy people eat healthy food
- Food technology
- A selection of recipes

Safety Issues

Hygiene issues in preparation, packaging and storage of food
MOE Safety in Technology Education.

Government regulations in food labelling e.g. nutritional value.

ACHIEVEMENT OBJECTIVES

Strand A
Knowledge and Understanding
Develop an understanding of:
- the use and operation of technologies;
- technological principles and systems;
- the nature of technological practice;
- strategies for the communication; promotion and evaluation of technological ideas and outcomes.

Strand B
Capability
Students will:
5. Identify needs and opportunities to provide information for possible technological practice;
6. With reference to identified needs and opportunities,
    a. generate possible options and strategies, and select, develop and adapt appropriate solutions;
    b. Produce technological outcomes to agreed quality standards, managing time, and using human and physical resources skillfully, safely and effectively;
    c. present and promote ideas, strategies and outcomes throughout technological practice;
    d. evaluate designs, strategies and outcomes throughout technological practice in relation to their own activities and those of others.

Strand C
Technology and Society
Students should:
7. Develop awareness and understanding of the ways beliefs, values and ethics of groups: promote or constrain technological development; influence attitudes towards technological development;
8. develop awareness and understanding of the impacts of technology on society and the environment: in the past, present and possible future; in local, national and international settings.

TECHNOLOGY PLAN CONTINUED ...

CLASS *7 and 8*

DATE

TOPIC *New Zealand Sugar Company Limited - Snack Foods*

Sequence of Learning Activities	Technological Learning Objectives	Assessment Criteria	Assessment Strategies
Visit school tuck shop and/or supermarket to identify a range of snack foods. Sensory evaluation of a range of snack foods available in school tuck shop. Survey students to identify likes and dislikes. Discuss the importance of snack foods, e.g. nutritional value, cost, current trends, snack in the past etc.	Students will develop a plan of action to produce a snack food product to meet the requirements of years 7&8 students in their school. Links to AO. 1, 2a, 2b, 5, 6, 7, 8	Brief with specifications Plan of action Results of sensory evaluation (appropriate language) Survey, recipe.	Diary or portfolio with evidence of student's technological practice included.
Develop brief and specifications for the product. Prepare a plan of action to make the product. Investigate a range of recipes. Experimental day and trial a range of recipes. Evaluate recipes against the identified specifications. Modify recipes and develop and trial a preferred one. Make modifications.	Students will develop and produce appropriate packaging for their product. Links to AO. 1, 2a, 4, 5, 6, 7	Materials identified with justification of choice (properties) Package produced.	Evidence of package Justification of choices in portfolio.
	Students will identify necessary modifications to meet the specifications. Links to AO. 2a	Explanation of modifications made to recipe with justification.	Presentation to class.
Investigate possible shapes for package and possible materials (consider artificial and organic, effect on the environment - how the package will be disposed of?). Investigate past and current packages.	Students will identify aspects of food labelling and apply to their solution. Links to AO. 4, 6, 7	List of information necessary in a food package.	Written list.
Modify own ideas if necessary. Produce mock-up either computer generated or freehand. Test, and modify. Design and produce appropriate packaging for the snack food product.	Students will develop a questionnaire to identify consumers attitudes towards the usefulness of nutritional labelling. Links to AO. 2, 4, 6, 7	Questionnaire is collated and results recorded.	Questionnaire handed in.
Identify and compare nutritional labelling on a variety of snack foods. Prepare a questionnaire to identify attitudes and an understanding of food labelling. Label and package snack food product.	Students will use knowledge of packaging materials and layout design to produce a package appealing to year 7&8 students. Links to AO. 1, 2a, 3, 6a, 6b, 6c, 6d, 7	Package considers visuals and graphic, colour, text, balance, proportion, suitable legal and consumer information.	Evidence of package Justification of choices in portfolio.

Appendix G4. *Take a Peek into Our Nest*

Nestlé is proud to be able
to support the New Zealand Community
in many ways.
These are just a few of them:

Nestlé White Around New Zealand

To encourage the creative writing skills of school children throughout New Zealand

TUX

TUX
Rural Dog Trials
Rural Dog Trials throughout New Zealand benefit from Tux long standing sponsorship of regional, Island and national dog trials

MILO

MILO
NZ Ski Academy
Rugby Coaching Clinic
NZ Cricket

Encourages school children to develop their physical skills through national programs developed with the New Zealand Cricket Inc. and it's District Associations.

NESCAFÉ Big Break

Gives the innovators of tomorrow a financial boost today to kick start their dreams and ambitions.

NESCAFÉ SHORT FILM AWARDS

Encourages creative young film producers who have great ideas but little capital.

For further information
we invite you to visit our website at
www.nestle.co.nz
Or call Nestle Consumer Services
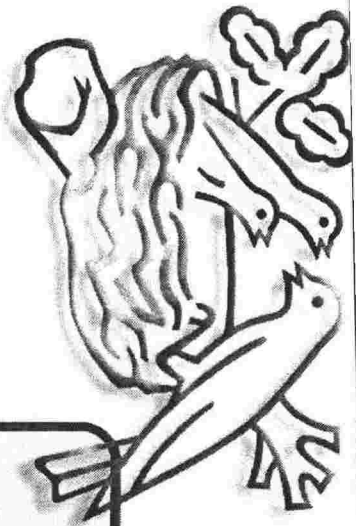on 0800 830 840 within New Zealand

Nestlé New Zealand Ltd

Nestlé
Good Food, Good Life
®

Take a peek
into our nest.

Nestlé
Good Food, Good Life
®

A peek inside our nest.

Good Food, Good Life

From our humble beginnings over 130 years ago as a Swiss milk processing company, Nestlé has grown into the world's leading food and beverage producer, with such favourite brands, as MAGGI, NESCAFÉ, MILO and KIT KAT.

This commitment to producing foods that uniquely fulfil people's needs, has always been the most

important ingredient in everything we make. In fact, it is why Henri Nestlé endowed his company with the symbol derived from his name.

The Nestlé nest represents the nourishment, security and sense of family that are so essential to life.

Today Nestlé is one of the largest investors in food technology, research and development, ensuring that all our products are of the highest quality and offer great taste, pleasure and convenience.

A guide to better eating

Correct nutrition and exercise are important for proper growth and development. Make sure you eat at least three meals a day made up from the right balance of food groups.

One or two treats a day are a perfectly acceptable part of a normal diet as long as you remember to include all the elements of the food 'pyramid' shown here. This means eating:

- **3 serves of milk or milk products like yoghurt, cheese, even ice cream.**
- **3 serves of fruit - fresh whenever possible.**
- **1 serve of meat or a meat alternative - without too much fat.**
- **4 serves of vegetables - raw or cooked.**
- **5 serves of bread or cereals - not just breakfast cereal, but also oats, rice, etc.**

As well as correct nutrition, it is important to try and do at least 20 minutes of exercise each day. If you're keen on sports, this shouldn't be a problem. But at the very least, make sure you walk or cycle as often as possible.

Contents

We hope this publication, which covers some of our most popular products and includes interesting information on food processing, helps in your studies and provides you with useful information on your favourite Nestlé foods and beverages.
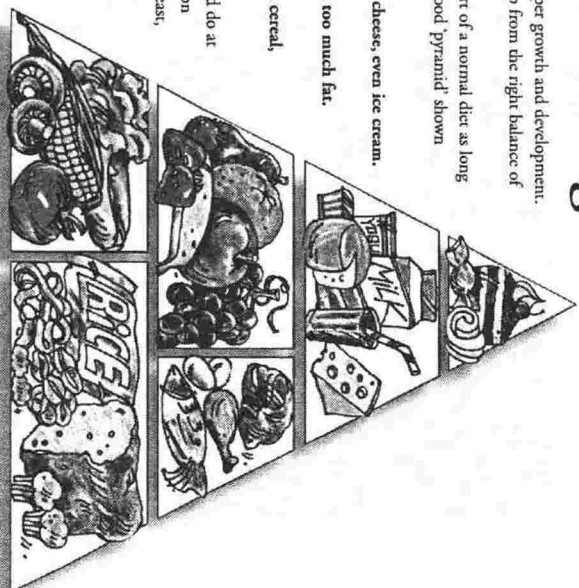
Milo

From ancient Italy to our own backyard...

MILO was invented in 1933. For some time Nestlé had been trying to develop a chocolate energy drink, but had been having problems creating a dry product. It was a research team, headed by Thomas Mayne, a young Engineer at the Nestlé Smithtown, NSW, Australia factory who finally hit on the idea of using the latest vacuum shelf drying technology. The following year, MILO was launched at the Sydney Royal Easter Show to instant acclaim and popularity. MILO was first introduced to New Zealand in 1940 and is now enjoyed in over 30 countries around the world.

The Sporting Connection
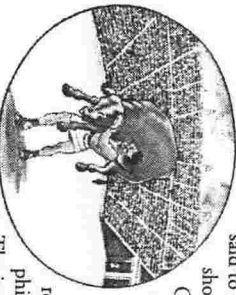
MILO gets its name from a Greek myth about a famous athlete who grew up in Italy in the 6th century BC. Repuuedly, he was the strongest man in the world and is said to have carried a bullock on his shoulders through the stadium at Olympia in Greece. He was also a wrestling champion and was crowned six times as the Champion athlete of the Olympics. The original MILO was also a great scholar studying under the renowned Greek mathematician and philosopher Pythagoras.

The involvement of MILO in sport continues to this day with the ongoing support of the:

- New Zealand Cricket junior cricket programs
- New Zealand Ski Academy
- "Rugby News" coaching clinics

MILO and milk is an ideal drink for active and sporting people, especially those who are still growing and developing. As well as being a great source of energy, a drink of MILO also provides essential vitamins and minerals as part of a balanced diet.
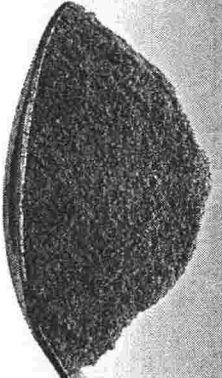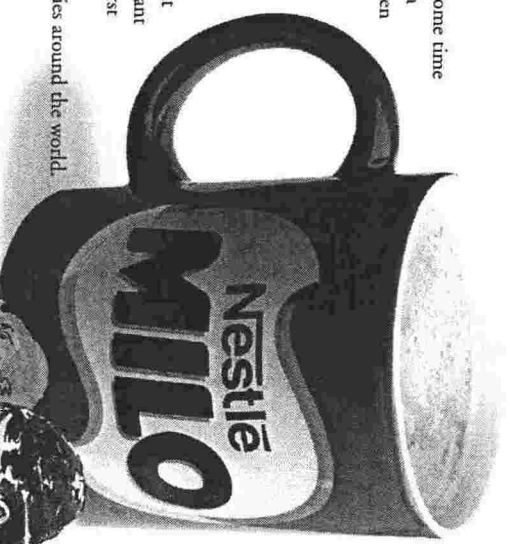
WHAT MAKES MILO?

The production of MILO begins on the farm where two of the main ingredients – milk and barley - are produced. The other main ingredient is cocoa, which gives MILO its distinctive chocolate flavour. Malt extract (made from malted barley) is mixed with full cream milk powder, cocoa, sugar iron, mineral salts and vitamins A, B1, B2, and C. This forms a thick, creamy mass that is then turned into MILO granules after passing through a huge vacuum dryer. This removes all the moisture at a low temperature, while helping to keep in all the nutrients. The granules are then packed into the recognisable green packs you see on shop shelves and distributed around the world.

Production flow diagram

BARLEY → MALT Storage Vat Malt extract → Evaporation in a vacuum

MILK → MILK STORAGE VAT Milk concentrate, vitamins,sugar, mineral salts.

Cocoa Powder → SIEVE

INGREDIENTS MIXED → MIXING VAT Mix till homogenous → Dried → Crushed → Milled to finer particles → Quality Tested → Cans filled and labelled → Packed into cartons
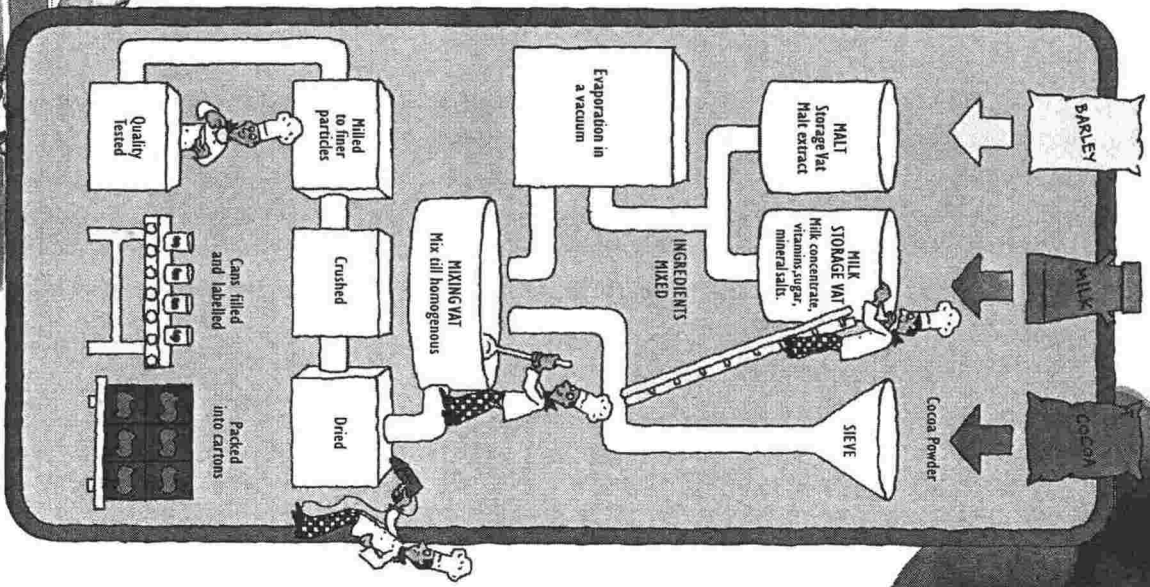
Coffee

Coffee-the world's favourite beverage
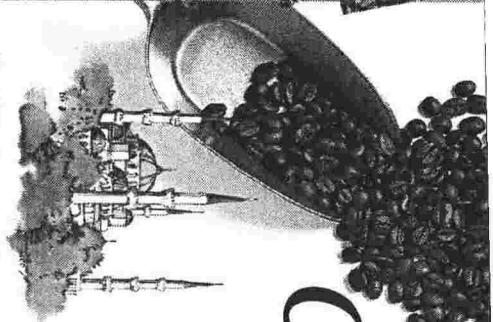
The "Wine" of Araby. The true origins of coffee are unknown. Many believe that coffee beans were eaten as food by the Ethiopians as early as 800 AD. What is certain is that, by the 15th Century, coffee had become a favourite drink of the Arabs, who guarded the secret of their bean jealously for many centuries before its popularity spread to Egypt, Syria and Turkey in the 15th Century.

By 1615, Vienna and Europe had finally caught on to the coffee bean. By the middle of the 17th century, it had become Europe's favourite drink.
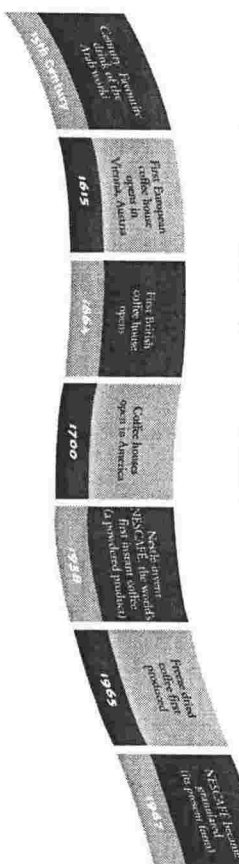
Today, coffee beans are the world's second most important traded commodity (in terms of dollar value) after oil. Coffee is one of the world's most widely enjoyed drinks. Over 3 billion cups of instant coffee are consumed every day worldwide.

COFFEE GROWING REGIONS WORLDWIDE

Mexico
USA
Colombia
Brazil
Ivory Coast
Denmark
UK
Norway
Sweden
Finland
Australia
Indonesia

● World's largest coffee producers
○ World's largest coffee consumers
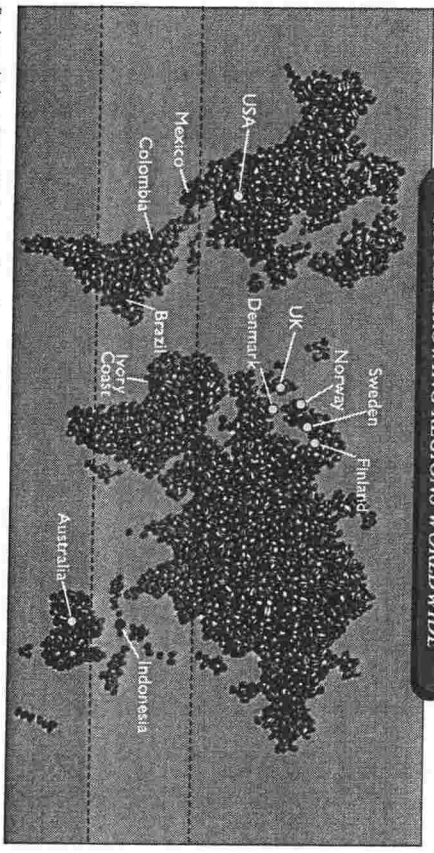
Regions which produce coffee beans are located in the latitudes between 20°N and 20°S - a band encircling the globe which is known as "the coffee belt".

16th century Coffea Arabica, drink of the Arab world
1615 First European coffee house opens in Vienna, Austria
1865 First British coffee house opens
1700 Coffee houses open in America
1938 Nestlé invent NESCAFÉ, the world's first instant coffee (a powdered product)
1965 Freeze-dried coffee first produced
1967 NESCAFÉ Instant: its present form

THE MAKING OF THE WORLD'S FAVOURITE DRINK

From Cherries to Beans

There are two main types of coffee plants, the highly prized Coffea Arabica, which represents approximately 70% of the world's coffee production and Coffea Robusta, a hardy plant known for its rich, strong flavour. As with cocoa trees, coffee plants are grown in countries with humid, tropical climates.

The world's largest coffee producers are Brazil and Colombia. Flowering times and picking seasons vary greatly from region to region. The fruit of the coffee plant, often called coffee "cherries", contain 2 coffee beans per "cherry". They are harvested eight to ten months after the tree flowers.

Preparing the Beans

The coffee beans are separated from the fruit by one of two techniques: The first is the "dry" method, in which the "cherries" are dried in the sun for 2-3 weeks before the beans are separated from the dry "cherry" husks. In the second or "wet" method, a pulping machine breaks the outer husk away from the beans. The coffee beans are then soaked in tanks to eliminate the remaining pulp before either sun or machine drying. The beans are then sorted and graded before packing and export.

> *It is sweeter than honey, better than a thousand kisses, more appetising than good wine. It is the only drink that satisfies me.*
> Johann Sebastian Bach

COFFEE BEAN PRODUCTION

Handpick the coffee cherries
Separate the beans from the fruit
Bean Cleaning
Sorting
Blending
Packing
Exporing
Grinding
Roasting
Packing
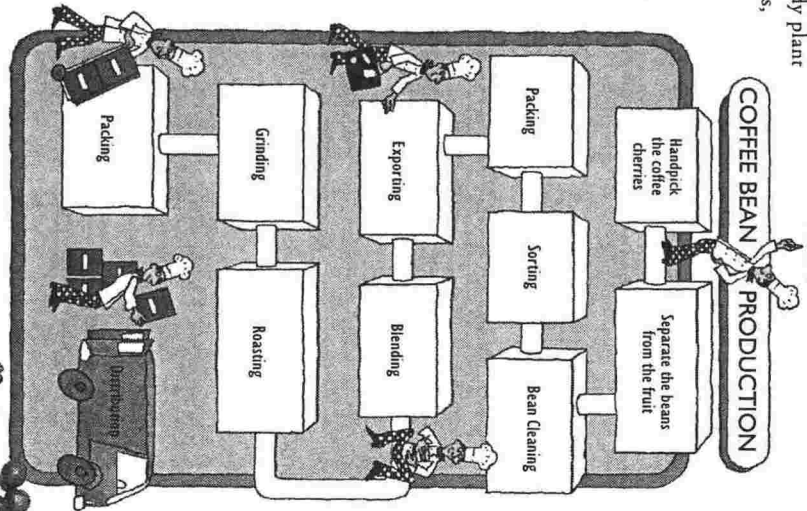
The instant coffee that took years to invent - the story of NESCAFÉ.

It started as a challenge...

Between World Wars I and II, coffee growers around the world were left with massive surpluses. Brazilian coffee growers approached several large food companies to devise a method for coffee bean preservation, without success. It wasn't until 1937, and after 7 years of research that Nestlé food technologists discovered a system for preserving coffee beans while maintaining the full, fresh coffee taste. In 1938, they named their invention NESCAFÉ, "Nes" from Nestlé, and "café" from the french word for coffee.

...And then grew. NESCAFÉ was an instant hit with consumers. Today, NESCAFÉ is one of the world's favourite beverages and is sold in over 100 countries. The success of NESCAFÉ led Nestlé to expand their spray-dried instant coffee range in New Zealand to include: CLASSIC, FINE BLEND, DECAF, and ESPRESSO. The Nestlé freeze-dried range includes: GOLD BLEND, KENJARA, CAP COLOMBIE, and ALTA RICA.

But how do we make it instant?

INSTANT COFFEE is best described as "dehydrated brewed coffee". It is made by blending, roasting and grinding coffee beans just as you would for normal roasted and ground coffee. The difference is that after grinding, the coffee is brewed in large vats and then dehydrated.

Coffee beans - how they are imported, tasted and roasted.

Coffee beans from all over the world are used to make NESCAFÉ. First, we sample the green beans in their country of origin and then again at their port of arrival. These beans are roasted carefully, brewed and tested to ensure that the flavour, aroma and colour meet our quality standards precisely.
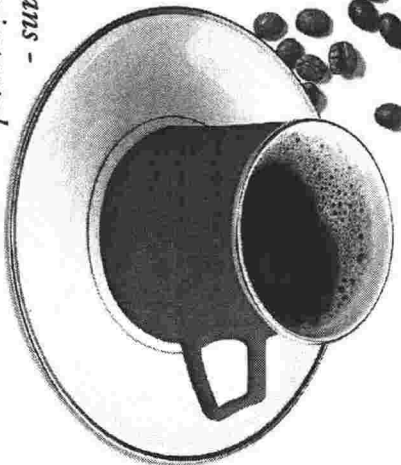
Blending and Brewing We now decide which beans to use for all the different blends we produce. Sacks of beans are then carefully mixed in a blending drum. When this blending is complete, the beans are roasted and ground into a coarse powder. The coffee is then brewed in hot water with the brewing timing and temperature closely monitored.
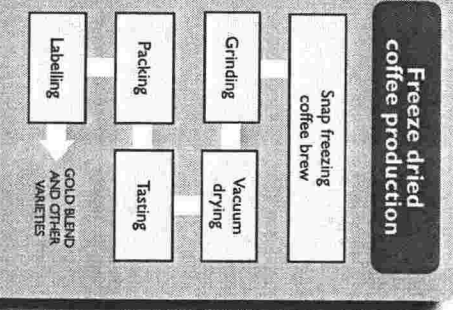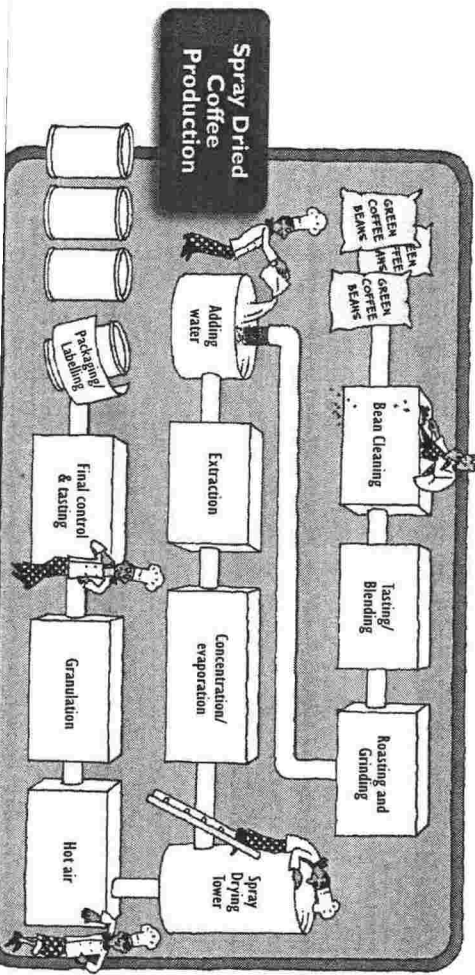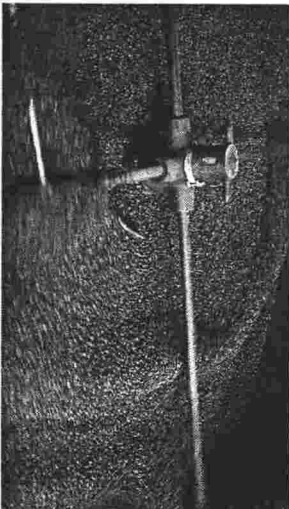
Drying Two drying methods are used to produce instant coffee. In the "spray-dried" process, the brewed coffee is concentrated then sprayed into a hot-air dryer to remove the water and turn the coffee into powder. After the initial drying, the powder is rehydrated and dried to form granules. This is the process used to make the famous NESCAFÉ "Classic". In the "freeze-dried" method, the brewed coffee is snap frozen in stages at -40°C, then ground to the required particle size.

The particles are suspended in a vacuum tunnel and low heat applied, causing the ice crystals to vapourise, leaving only granules of pure coffee. The result of both methods is coffee full of flavour, preserved in an "instant" form - ready to be enjoyed with just the addition of hot water.

Spray Dried Coffee Production

- GREEN COFFEE FEED BEANS
- Bean Cleaning
- Tasting/Blending
- Roasting and Grinding
- Adding water
- Extraction
- Concentration/evaporation
- Spray Drying Tower
- Hot air
- Granulation
- Final control & tasting
- Packaging/Labelling

Freeze dried coffee production

- Snap freezing coffee brew
- Grinding
- Vacuum drying
- Packing
- Tasting
- Labelling
- GOLD BLEND AND OTHER VARIETIES

Milk - Nature's source of Calcium

"The Milk of Human Kindness..."
WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE
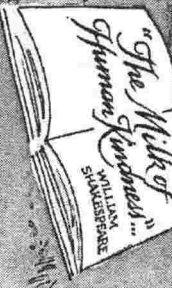
Preservation of a good thing

The history of milk preservation is a long one. It is known that the Tarars of the 13th Century were able to produce a form of milk powder, first by boiling the milk, then by drying the residue in the sun. They were not the first to try but it wasn't until 1938 that there was any success in preserving milk in a powdered form. Successful preservation of milk on a large scale, state in preserving milk in a liquid form began in the early 1800's.

A Frenchman, Nicholas Appert, successfully evaporated and then preserved milk through a double boiling process in 1822. Soon after, Englishman William Newton preserved milk through a combination of evaporation and the addition of sugar. These two processes are still followed to produce the evaporated and sweetened condensed milk we enjoy today.

The Nestlé Connection

The evaporation and drying processes formed the basis of Henri Nestlé's first milk-based infant food in 1867.

Today, Nestlé is one of the world's foremost producers of evaporated, sweetened condensed and powdered milks.
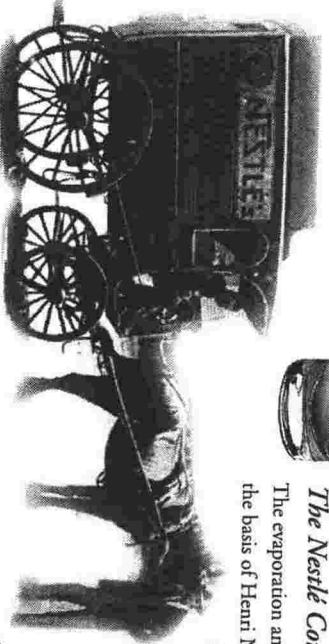
Distribution

Once milk has been collected from the farm, it is held in tanks. The milk is pasteurised (heated) to kill harmful bacteria and homogenised to ensure consistency. It is at this stage that the production cycles of evaporated (or condensed) milk, sweetened condensed milk and reduced cream differ:

Why is calcium important?

Even though it looks like a rock and is commonly found in limestone and chalk, calcium is actually a metal. It is also an important part of everyday diet. Growing bones and teeth require calcium to be strong and healthy, it is important to maintain intake of calcium throughout your life.

How to preserve milk

Separation of cream from milk → Pasteurisation and Homogenisation →

for evaporated milk → Evaporation → Filling → Heat Sterilization → Labelling

for sweetened condensed milk → Addition of cane sugar → Evaporation → Filling → Labelling

Distribution
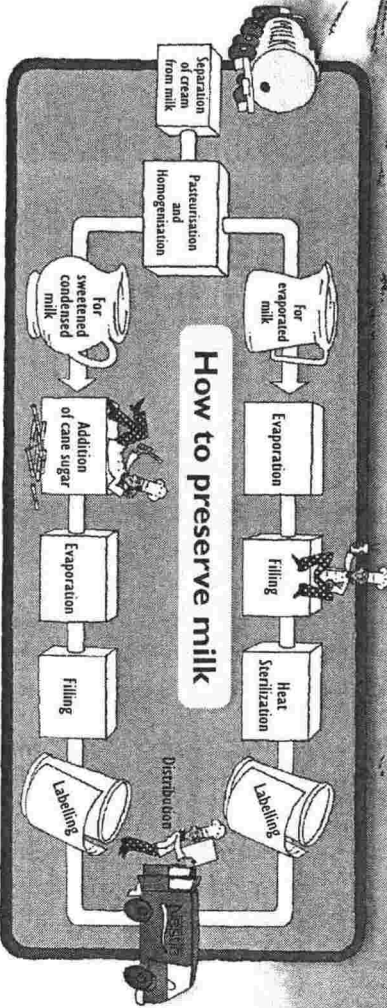
Evaporated Milk

Approximately 60% of the water is removed through continuous evaporation. After evaporation, the milk is poured into cans then sterilized for 15-20 minutes at a temperature of approximately 120°C.

This sterilization process ensures that the milk is free from harmful bacteria and can be stored in unopened cans for use up to 15 months later.

Sweetened Condensed Milk

Cane sugar is added to the homogenised milk which is then evaporated to remove approximately 60% of the water content.

The sweetened evaporated milk is then specially processed to prevent large sugar crystals forming. The mixture is then poured into pre-sterilized cans or tubes, labelled, and distributed. Unlike evaporated milk, there is no need for the post-filling sterilization process, as the filling method and additional sugar inhibit bacterial growth.

Reduced Cream

Nestlé Reduced Cream has become a household name in N.Z. It is well known for its use in making creamy dips when mixed with a packet of soup mix.

A similar process is used in the production of Reduced Cream to that of Evaporated Milk and Sweetened Condensed Milk. Milk powder and stabilisers are added to cream, to ensure that the cream mixture will maintain its consistency during processing. The cream is then pasteurised in the same way as milk so that any potentially harmful organisms are destroyed. This breaks up the fat in the cream and homogenised. This breaks up the fat in the cream and distributes it evenly through the mix to make sure it stays a nice creamy texture. The mixture is cooled even further, then stored and tested to see how much fat is in the product. When testing is complete, the Reduced Cream is poured into the cans in which it is sold. When the cans are filled they are sterilized in the same way as Evaporated Milk.

Chocolate

Chocolate – from Mexico to the modern day

It started as money & a drink.

The Maya people of Central America were the first to grow cocoa. They roasted and ground the beans, then mixed them with water, maize meal, vanilla and chilli to make a frothy, bitter drink called 'chocolatl'. Cocoa beans were so highly prized the Mayans used them as currency and traded them with the Aztecs of Mexico. Aztec mythology says that the staple foods of the gods were maize and chocolatl. In 1528 conquistador Don Cortez returned to Spain with cocoa beans and chocolate making equipment. The Spanish version of chocolatl with added cinnamon, nutmeg, and sugar, but without the chilli, became the fashionable drink of the Spanish court.

(Mayan, Aztec, 17th & 18th centuries)

Enjoying chocolate. A 17th century French engraving.

Chocolate was finally made smoother and able to melt with the invention of conching (chocolate rolling) in 1880 and the addition of extra cocoa butter.

But this was still only plain chocolate.

Milk chocolate was first created in 1875 by Daniel Peter who had a chocolate factory next door to Henri Nestlé's milk factory. Daniel followed Henri's experiments in drying milk and the results of these allowed him to successfully add milk and chocolate together to create milk chocolate. During World War II, chocolate was found to be an energy source and so was issued to all Australian and New Zealand troops. Today it's still a popular energy boost with bushwalkers, cross-country skiers and other outdoor enthusiasts.

> ...a potation of chocolate flavoured with vanilla and other spices.... "

Then became all the fashion

Chocolate spread to France in 1615, England in the 1650's, and Belgium, Germany and Switzerland by the end of the 17th century to become the fashionable drink of the day. This chocolate was far from the drink that we enjoy today, being scummy, fatty and difficult to digest. But in 1828 Dutchman C.J. Van Houten invented the cocoa press which removed the excess fat or cocoa butter. By mixing the resulting chocolate mass with sugar and adding back the cocoa butter, modern eating chocolate was created in 1847.

> ... the jocolatte was very good.... "
> Samuel Pepys 1664

Making the 'Food of the Gods'

Timeline

Year	Event
600	Mayans establish earliest known cocoa plantations
1200	Aztec subjugate Mayans and receive cocoa as tribute
1502	Columbus is the first European to discover cocoa beans
1528	Conquistador Hernando Cortez brings cocoa to Europe
—	Wife of Louis III introduces drinking chocolate to the French court
1780	First machine-made chocolate produced in Barcelona
1819	François Louis opens first Swiss chocolate factory
1875	Swiss Daniel Peter produces first milk chocolate using Henri Nestlé's idea for drying milk
1904	Henri Nestlé branches out into chocolate production

Process flow

Bean Cleaning → Roasting → Cracking → Liquor Refining → Liquid Coatings

Drinking Cocoa Products

Alkalising → Mixing ← Milk

Storage Tank → Standardisation & inspection → Conching → Refining

Depositing → Tempering → Moulding

Liquid Coatings / Ice cream coatings

Bulk shipments → Bars, Blocks

Blossoming all year round

The cocoa tree is called *Theobroma cacao*, which is Greek for 'food of the Gods'. Cocoa trees are grown in a number of countries with humid tropical climates, such as the Ivory Coast, Ghana, Brazil and Malaysia. Small white or pinkish flowers blossom the whole year in bunches on the trunk or larger branches. Only 1 in 500 flowers become fertile and produce a fruit or pod containing about 40 beans. Pods ripen after 4 to 6 months, are cut from the trees, split open and the beans allowed to ferment for around 6 days to improve their flavour. Finally the beans are dried, packed into sacks and then shipped to the processing factory.

THE COCOA PRODUCING AREAS

Testing the beans with a probe before they are allowed to leave the roaster.

Milk Chocolate – The Manufacturing Process

Cocoa Beans - cleaning, roasting and winnowing

The cocoa beans are cleaned and roasted, then cracked open and the shells blown away (or winnowed) by jets of air, leaving the centre of the bean or 'nib'. Different varieties of cocoa are then blended to achieve a specific flavour.

Grinding, Cocoa Butter and Cocoa Powder

The nib is then milled to a liquid known as cocoa mass and can either be made into cocoa powder and cocoa butter or chocolate. High-grade cocoa powder, is treated to intense pressure to remove about half the cocoa butter and the remaining butter is then pulverised.

For milk chocolate, milk and sugar are first mixed and evaporated to a thick liquid. Cocoa mass is then mixed in and evaporated to produce milk chocolate 'crumb'. This is then ground with extra cocoa butter to form a paste which is 'conched' or rolled to improve the texture and then cooled and heated to 'temper' the chocolate so it sets with an attractive glossy surface. The chocolate can then be moulded into bars or used to 'enrobe' (or cover) various centres.
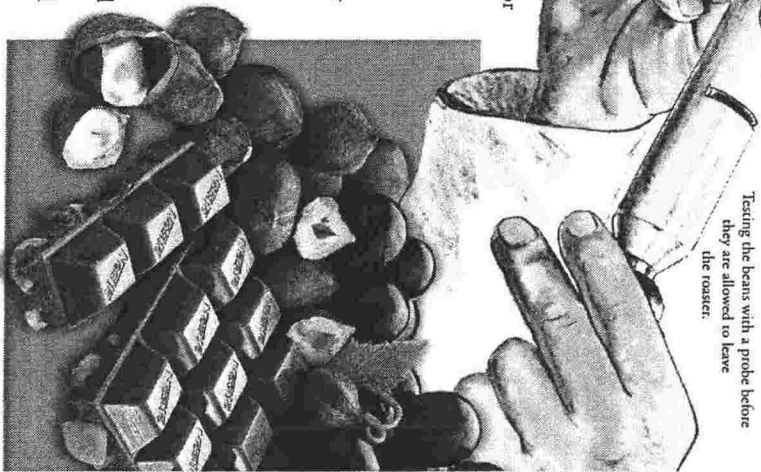
How KIT KAT got its big break

The genius of George Harris

In 1933 George Harris married into the Rowntree family and joined the family confectionery business in England. In just 5 years, George created BLACK MAGIC (1933), KIT KAT and AERO (1935), DAIRY BOX (1936) and SMARTIES (1938). KIT KAT was introduced to New Zealand in the early 1950's.

How KIT KAT is made

It takes around 10 days to make. First, batter for the wafer biscuit is mixed, pumped onto a conveyor belt, transported and then baked in giant ovens. The wafer is then moved from the ovens and sandwiched with the cream filling. This is moved by conveyor belt and placed into a cooling chamber, where it
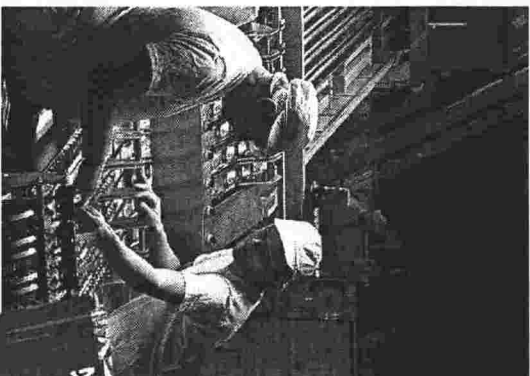
is 'matured' for several days. The wafers then go through a cutting head, which cuts the cakes of wafer into 'books'. KIT KAT books are controlled in both size and thickness. The books are then cut into fingers and deposited into chocolate moulds. A shaker is used to ensure there are no air bubbles in the chocolate. Next, the moulds pass through an enrobing machine to coat the top of the wafers with fine milk chocolate. After enrobing, the chocolate coated wafers pass through another cooling tunnel, are unmoulded and finally machine wrapped in the distinctive red and white KIT KAT wrapper.
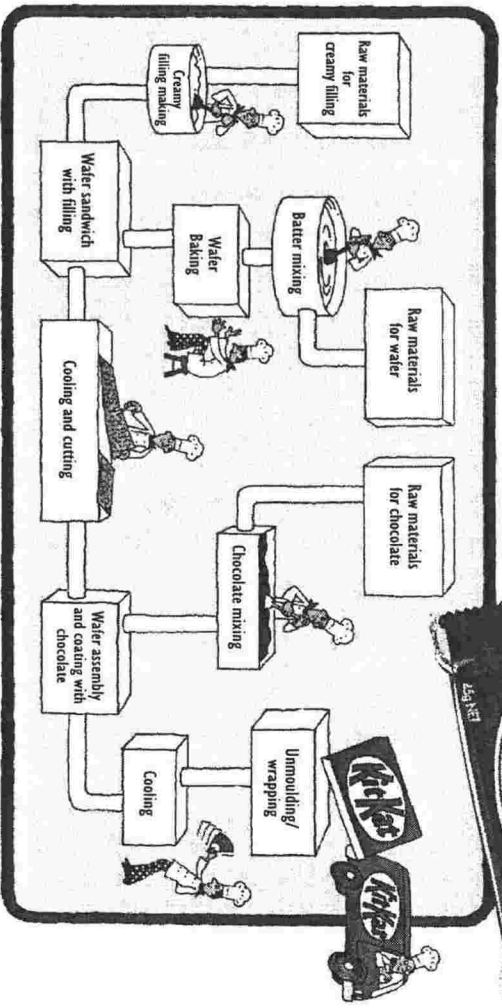
Raw materials for creamy filling

Creamy filling making

Wafer sandwich with filling

Water Baking

Batter mixing

Raw materials for wafer

Cooling and cutting

Chocolate mixing

Raw materials for chocolate

Wafer assembly and coating with chocolate

Cooling

Unmoulding/ wrapping
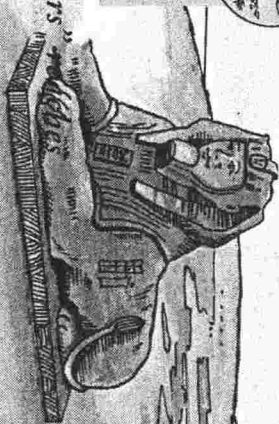
Licorice

The earliest known record of the use of licorice in the ancient world lies in the British Museum, on some Assyrian tablets of 7th Century BC. Famous Egyptian alchemists and learned Greek physicians valued the licorice root for its medicinal purposes. It was also known to have been used by the great armies of Alexander the Great (356-323 BC) and of Hannibal (247-183 BC) as part of their regular rations.

The licorice plants flourished in the great civilisations of the ancient world without cultivation and in seemingly great abundance. It is difficult to pinpoint the first use of licorice, although the Chinese were possibly the first to discover its medicinal virtues, which then became known to the Egyptians.

Archaeologists made a major discovery in 1923 at a buried tomb under a pile of 3,000 year old rock and rubble, containing the treasures of King Tur-Ankh-Amen, the boy ruler of Egypt. The archaeologists broke into the sealed door of his tomb to discover it contained gold, precious stones, beautiful works of art, rare oils and ointments and a generous store of licorice root. In King Tuts time, licorice was used as a flavouring or sweetening agent and as a remedy against asthma and chest complaints.

The use of licorice in more recent times has changed a lot. George Dunhill an English chemist, produced the first 'Pontifract Cakes' from the licorice root mixed together with flour and sugar in 1760. Licorice extract was used in several different ways over the next few decades. It was used in snuff production and also blended with pipe tobacco. The extraction of the licorice extract leaves behind a root fibre which has been used to help fight fires. The root is boiled with caustic soda and becomes a fire foam stabiliser - making foam tough, long lasting and very effective. In later years it was discovered that the same fibre was good for producing insulation board and cardboard. When chemical nutrients are added, the root fibre also makes great mushroom compost!

Black Knight Licorice has a long heritage in New Zealand. Many New Zealanders have grown up enjoying the different shapes.

The history of licorice and its "magical powers" dates back to the dawn of time......

THE MAKING Of LICORICE EXTRACT

CULTIVATION
Licorice extract comes from the root of the licorice plant, a hardy, fast growing plant found mainly in hot, dry areas of Europe and Asia.

HARVESTING
Harvesting is carried out for each plant every four years. It is mostly done by hand digging and left to dry during Winter and Spring months.

PREPARING FOR PROCESSING
The roots are dried to protect against fermentation and mould. The roots are cut, cleaned and baled or bagged for shipment.

SELECTION AND BLENDING
The selection and blending of various root stocks is done to achieve the most desirable flavour. The roots are shredded to match stick size.

EXTRACTION
Extraction is carried out using a hot water process, leaving a liquor, which is then settled and filtered. Excess water is evaporated off, then the concentrated form is stored and conditioned.

DRYING
At this point, the liquor can either be spray dried to a powder or concentrated to either a licorice paste or block juice.

THE LICORICE MANUFACTURING PROCESS

Mixing of water, sugar, salt, molasses, treacle, caramel, fat, glucose, licorice extract and flour

Holding Tank

Cooking

Extruding & Cooling

Packaging &
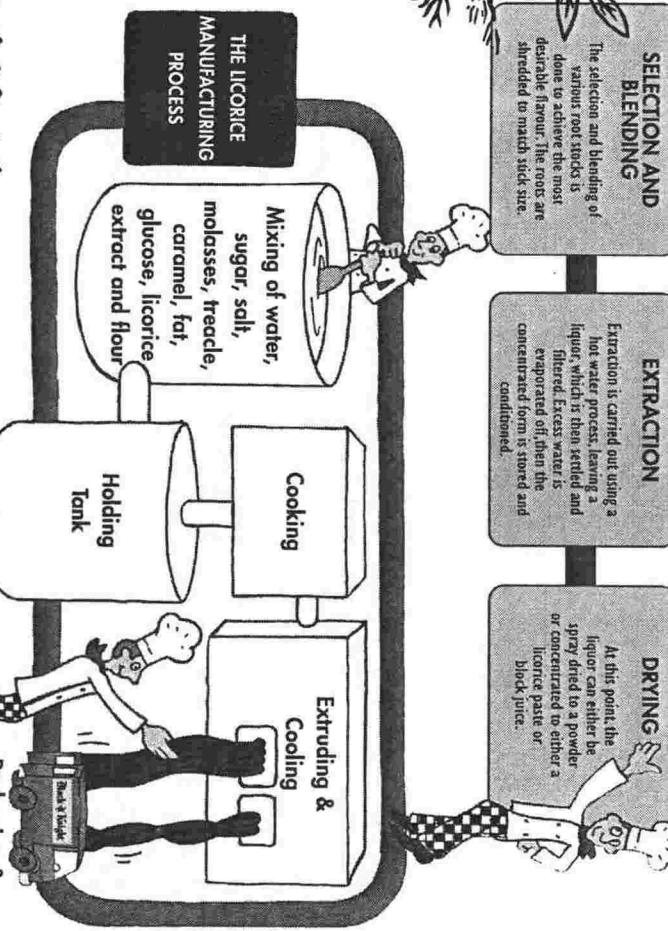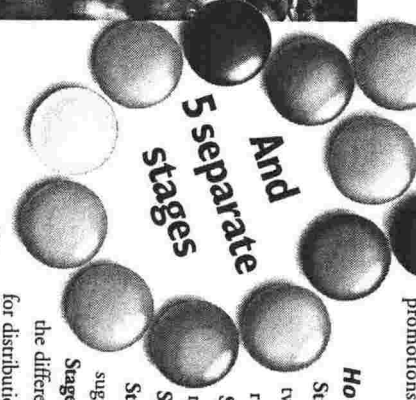
smarties

SMARTIES were launched in the UK in 1937 with 8 colours: red, yellow, orange, green, mauve, pink, & light & dark brown. In New Zealand, they were launched with the same colours.

Blue coloured SMARTIES were introduced in 1988 for the 50th birthday of SMARTIES and proved so popular they were introduced into the standard assortment from 1989, replacing the light brown colour.

Different colour combinations are also used in special promotions throughout the year.

There are also 8 colours

And 5 separate stages

How Smarties are made:

Stage 1 - molten milk chocolate is poured between two extremely cold metal rollers which form the rounded shape of SMARTIES.

Stage 2 - the centres are cooled and smoothed to remove the rough edges.

Stage 3 - the centres are sugar coated and dried.

Stage 4 - the SMARTIES are given a coloured sugar coating.

Stage 5 - the SMARTIES are polished and all the different colours are mixed together and packed for distribution.

Flow diagram boxes:
- Storage tank for chocolate
- Tempering chocolate
- Moulded and shaped into SMARTIES
- Cooling
- Air drying
- Coating with sugar, syrup and flour
- Sieving and turning
- Individual colouring and coating of SMARTIES
- Mixing of coloured SMARTIES
- Polishing
- Packaging
- Distribution
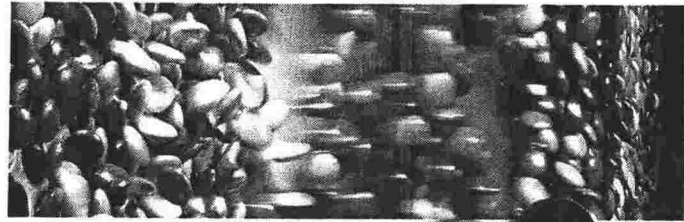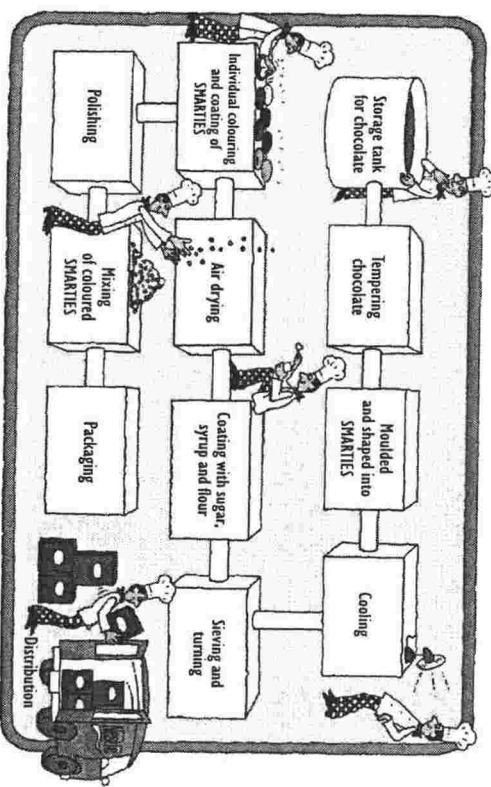
Maggi

Over 100 years of enjoyment.

Jules Maggi - innovator MAGGI products were first developed over a hundred years ago by a Swiss man called Jules Maggi.

In the early 1800's, a wave of industrialism swept through Switzerland. This was followed by a period of malnutrition amongst the working class.

Accordingly, Jules Maggi developed an inexpensive food that was of high nutritional value and could be cooked in a few minutes. His first product MAGGI leguminous flour proved very successful and filled peoples needs. He also developed pea and bean powders that could be easily made into nourishing soups. This led to more MAGGI products being successfully introduced into the marketplace, including meat bouillon cubes and MAGGI seasoning.

Dried food

Drying food is one of the oldest and and most widely used methods of preserving food. It is a process that is modelled on nature from the times when food was dried in the sun for ease of storage. It is regarded as one of the safest and most effective ways of preserving food so that it still retains most of its original food value, colour and flavour. It can also be stored for long periods of time without deteriorating in quality.

Maggi in New Zealand

Maggi has been in New Zealand since 1952. It originally began as dehydrated soups, but now encompasses a much wider range of products such as Recipe Mixes, Stock Powders, 2 Minute Noodles, Wet Sauces and many more.

Dried & Dehydrated Food

Pasta

Pasta and Noodles
-the mystery unravelled...
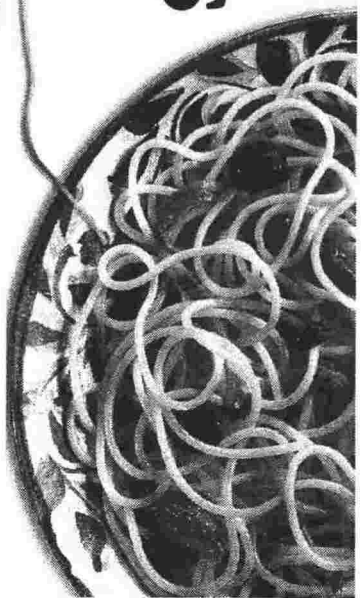
From Ancient Italy or Asia?
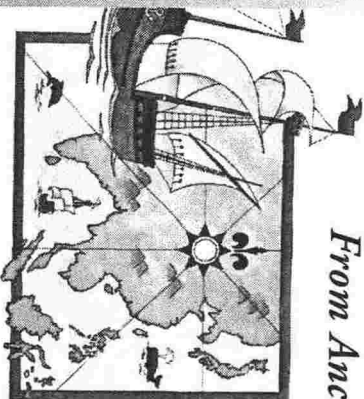
There's a common misconception that pasta was 'discovered' by the Italian explorer Marco Polo when he visited China in the 13th Century. However, earlier history shows us that both the Italians and the Asians were making these types of products at least a thousand years earlier. In fact, pasta and noodles may have been around as early as the 3rd or 4th century BC. But, whatever the truth, pasta and noodles have long been some of the world's most popular dishes.

HOW WE MAKE

OUR PERFECT PASTA

So what is the difference between pasta and noodles? Pasta is made from semolina (a durum wheat based product similar to flour, but of larger particle size) mixed with water to form a dough, which is extruded (squeezed) through a metal die to create the distinctive pasta shapes. Noodles are also made from a

HOW THEY DIFFER

flour and water mixture, but include the alkaline salts called 'kan sui' that give Chinese noodles their yellow colour, flavour and firm elastic texture. Japanese style noodles use only common salt and therefore have a white colour and different flavour. Unlike pasta, noodles are cut from a rolled dough sheet, rather than extruded.
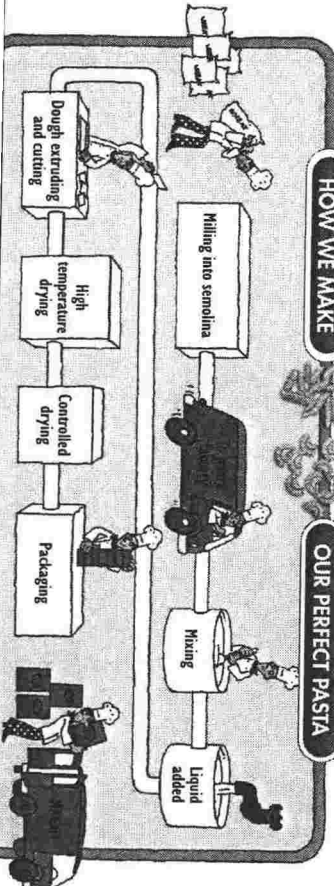
THE MODERN PASTA MAKING PROCESS

Pasta is usually made from durum wheat. It is a "hard" wheat with a very coarse texture. Once it has been harvested the wheat is ground into semolina, and transferred to the production plants. The semolina is then mixed with water to form a dough which is kneaded by rotating blades until the correct texture is reached.

The dough is then extruded through special machinery to form either long cut pastas, such as Spaghetti, Fettuccine, Linguini and Vermicelli, or short cut pastas such as Macaroni, Penne, Shells or Lasagne before being dried.

The drying process is carefully controlled as the level of moisture in the pasta greatly affects it's taste, shape and texture. Incorrect drying can result in cracked, mouldy or weak pasta. Once the pasta is dried it is packaged and ready for distribution.

THE NEW ZEALAND NOODLE STORY

MAGGI 2 Minute Noodles were first launched in New Zealand in 1985 with just four varieties. As this product became more popular, more flavours were introduced to the range and these are constantly being reviewed and added to.

WHY DO MAGGI NOODLES ONLY TAKE 2 MINUTES TO COOK?

Simply, because the noodles have been pre-cooked before packaging.

Once wheat is harvested and ground finely into flour, it is taken to the Nestlé factory for noodle production. The flour and liquid are mixed into a dough, rolled flat and cut into the distinctive noodle strands. Next, the raw noodles are cooked, folded and then dried to remove the moisture. Finally, the noodles are cooled and packaged with the flavour sachet. They then only need 2 minutes of cooking at home and they're ready to eat!

NOODLES IN AN INSTANT
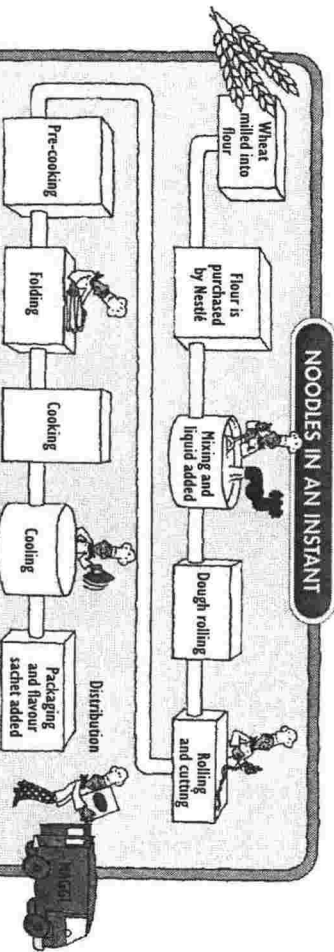
Petfood

TUX HISTORY

Just over 40 years ago, Tiny Moore, a local dog lover and inventor, was so concerned about the feeding habits and lack of attention shown to dogs in the farming community, that he developed a recipe for dog biscuits. He then approached the Elastrator Company in Blenheim (known for making the rubber elastrator used to dock lambs), with a simple and effective sales pitch for the dog biscuit he had developed.

The first TUX dog biscuits were produced in an old Blenheim bakehouse. TUX, a derivation of 'dog tucker', has since become a unique part of the Kiwi way of life - recognised and trusted by dog owners for the past 40 years.

The first factory was built in 1959 in Blenheim and as the prevalence of hydatids grew, it became unlawful to feed dogs raw meat or offal. This meant that more and more farmers started to feed their dogs TUX Biscuits.

In 1967, a factory was commissioned in Marton which was a big wheat growing area, was in close proximity to meatmeal and milk powder supplies and it was also located on a railway junction which provided all sorts of advantages.

As time went on and the dog food market became more competitive and selective, new variants of TUX were produced such as 'TUX Energy', which is designed specifically for working dogs that have a high workload and energy requirements. 'TUX Mature, has lower fat levels and higher digestibility for older dogs. Also included in the range is TUX Puppy, designed for growing dogs.

Taking a sack, a steak, one of his biscuits and a few hungry farm dogs, Tiny called upon the co-founder of the company and covered the steak and the biscuit with the sack. As they made conversation, the dogs sniffed around, then headed straight to the biscuit. Tiny Moore had found himself a manufacturer and TUX was born.
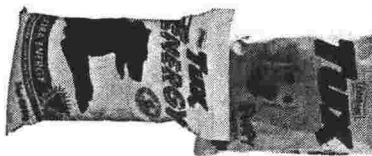
EVER WANTED TO KNOW HOW WE MAKE THE TASTY TUX BISCUITS YOUR DOGS LOVE SO MUCH?

Let's take a quick tour of the Tux factory at Marton in the Rangitikei.

QUALITY TUX GOOD

1. All the dry ingredients are sifted again to remove any straw husks or other unwanted farm material.

wheat
meatmeal
vitamins
minerals
salt

2. The dry ingredients are then milled to a fine powder, turning the wheat into wholemeat. Next, they're weighed out according to the Tux recipe for that batch, ready for mixing.

- polyunsaturated vegetable oil
- tallow
- molasses
- water

3. Then they're sifted again to remove any pieces that have not been milled finely enough and weighed.

4. The wet ingredients are measured and mixed with the dry to make a smooth dough.

5. The dough then goes through several large rollers to make large, flat sheets ready for cutting into the distinctive Tux triangles. Different cutters are used to make different shapes for other Tux products.

6. Now the biscuits are baked by travelling on conveyor belts through a large oven. They emerge perfectly cooked and brown and smelling delicious, even to human noses! They are then allowed time to cool and dry.

7. Now cool and still fresh, they are then weighed out and bagged.

8. The bags are packed onto pallets and stored in the distribution centre where they're loaded onto trucks and driven off to your store.

QUALITY TUX GOOD

There are a number of quality control checks which are designed to guarantee Tux biscuits always meet Friskies' stringent standards.

Friskies Go-Cat®

Friskies was one of the first petfood manufacturing companies in the world. It all began in 1934 in the United States, when "Friskies Cubes" were introduced as the first complete dry dogfood. Then in 1957 the first dry catfood was developed and later, Friskies entered the canned petfood markets. Today, Friskies GO-CAT is the leading dry cat food brand in New Zealand.

Go-Cat Production Process

Meat & Meat By-products — CEREAL — Vegetable Protein — Blended — Packed — Binned — Baked — Shapes Extruded

CAT TRIVIA - DID YOU KNOW??

- There are 330 different breeds of domestic cats around the world.
- The fastest land mammal on the planet is the Cheetah, which has been clocked at 101 km/hr over distances of up to 500 metres.
- The cats first ancestors appeared 65 million years ago with the first domesticated cats being raised in Egypt around 3500BC.
- The oldest cat ever recorded was "Ma" a female tabby from Devon, England. She was 34 when she died - the equivalent of 140 "human years".
- The heaviest cat on record was "Himmy" a male tabby from Cairns, Australia. Himmy weighed 21.3kg!
- Cats generally live longer than dogs, males 13-15 years and females 15-17 years.
- A 4 month old kitten once followed a group of climbers from the base to the peak of Mt Matterhorn in Geneva, Switzerland - 14,961 feet high.
- 51% of New Zealand households have at least 1 cat.

HOW TO LOOK AFTER YOUR CAT

- Ensure your cat has a well balanced diet and plenty of exercise.
- On-going veterinary care is one of the most important components of being a cat owner.
- Have your cat checked out by a vet at least once a year.
- Always have fresh water available.
- Tenderness is very important - Cats, like people, need companionship and affection. Stroking and petting slows the cats heart rate, relaxes its body and increases digestion in the bowel. It is believed that stroking animals is also very good for humans as it helps us to relax as well.

Test your BRAIN POWER

1. Which food has the most Vitamin C?
   a) An Orange   b) Rice   c) A Walnut

2. Who was MILO named after?
   a) A famous Greek Athlete   b) A Cartoon Character
   c) The Inventor

3. Who created milk chocolate in 1875?
   a) Daniel Peter   b) Roald Dahl   c) Thomas Edison

4. In addition to eating a balanced diet, it is important for most adults to take vitamin supplements to be certain they are getting enough nutrients?
   a) True   b) False

5. What nutrient provides the body with the most energy per gram?
   a) Protein   b) Fats   c) Carbohydrates

6. What year was the first dry catfood developed?
   a) 1792   b) 1957   c) 1975

7. Milk is good for you because it contains?
   a) Vitamin C   b) Calcium   c) Iron

8. Low Calcium intake may increase the risk of ...
   a) Diabetes   b) Osteoporosis   c) Obesity

9. Which 2 countries are the worlds largest coffee producers?
   a) Colombia and New Zealand
   b) Australia and Brazil
   c) Brazil and Colombia

10. In whose tomb was licorice root found?
    a) George Dunhill   b) King Tut-Ankh-Amen
    c) Alexander the Great

ANSWERS: 1. a) Orange (a 'c' an Orange contains 5 times more vitamin C than an apple) 2. a) A Famous Greek Athlete 3. a) Daniel Peter is the correct answer. Roald Dahl wrote 'Charlie and the Chocolate Factory' and Thomas Edison invented the light bulb. 4. b) False. 5. b) Fats. 6. b) 1957 7. b) Calcium 8. b) Osteoporosis. 9. c) Brazil and Colombia 10. b) King Tut-Ankh-Amen. Rice is part of the bread group which contains more carbohydrate than vitamin C. 2. e) A Famous Greek Athlete. 3. a) Daniel Peter is the correct answer. protein. Rice is part of the food group and plumed and cousin grains are found in the meat group of the food dispoil of the food which contains more carbohydrate than vitamin C.

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