

Education Through *TIME*: Representations of U.S. Education on *TIME* Magazine Covers

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This study examined how TIME Magazine has visually represented and communicated ideas about education from TIME Magazine’s inception in 1923 through 2019. Drawing on theories of visual culture and social semiotic approaches to multimodality, the researchers conducted a qualitative multimodal content analysis of 115 covers that featured content related to education and schooling. The findings included (a) names and places are used to suggest authority, power, or relevance in education circles; (b) learning and schooling are presented as having not changed over time; (c) overgeneralized and metonymic representations can stand for broad categories of education stakeholders; (d) schools are presented as in need of fixing; and (e) schools are perceived as sites for larger, sociopolitical debates.

Keywords: *multimodal, content analysis, TIME Magazine, education, representation*

Introduction

The American news media has long played a role on the national stage. Within a functioning democracy, the free press is expected to (a) inform citizens about public affairs so that individuals can participate in the democratic process; (b) scrutinize those with the ability to exercise power to protect the people from wrongdoing; (c) “provide a platform of open debate that facilitates the formation of public opinion”; and (d) represent the voice and views of the people by “expressing the agreed aims of society” (Curran, 2005, p. 120). In this role, the American news media has the power to profoundly shape issues by bringing them to the fore (Streitmatter, 2018).

Recent controversies surrounding the prevalence of “fake news” and the role of the media in shaping national knowledge and understanding of key social, political, and cultural issues suggest that scholars need to interrogate how the media construct and represent such issues to their consumers and audiences. Furthermore, in this digital era, when image-based texts count as information currency, visuals are “consumed and circulated at exponential rates” (McMaster, 2018, p. 53). Scholarship should, then, look to understand how

language, images, and design are used by media corporations to construct current events.

The construction of news and information by the media is particularly important for scholars in education and related fields. News coverage focused on education makes up less than 3% of the total national news coverage (Campanella, 2015; Coe & Kuttner, 2018; West et al., 2009), and it is often superficial, biased, and uninformed by research (Coe & Kuttner, 2018; Gerstl-Pepin, 2002; Goldstein, 2011). Yet news coverage of education has the potential to influence what educational issues policymakers and the public view as important, as well as their opinions regarding those educational issues (Coe & Kuttner, 2018; O’Neil, 2012).

With a few exceptions (e.g., Goldstein, 2011), research that examines the representation of education in the news media has focused on television broadcast coverage and newspaper articles rather than magazines and their covers. This is perhaps because it is difficult to track magazines’ impact on the public (McQuail, 2010). Regardless, magazines are historically considered an important mass media development and remain a significant factor in shaping opinions and politics, often exercising influence beyond their circulation size (McQuail, 2010). Considered one of the *big*



three (Chavez, 2001; Farris & Silber Mohamed, 2018) weekly news magazines in the United States, *TIME Magazine* (*TIME*) is historically the most influential and most widely read publication (Angeletti & Oliva, 2010).

This study is part of a larger, ongoing line of inquiry in which we examine how a range of weekly news magazines depicted education on their covers. However, the purpose of this study was to understand how *TIME* visually represented and communicated ideas about education to its audience through the years and to consider the role such visual media play in producing and reproducing ideologies regarding education in the United States. Our analysis focused only on *TIME*'s covers. It did not include the published articles connected to the front covers. The following research questions guided this study:

- How did *TIME* use various visual and textual resources to represent the concept of education on its covers?
- What did an analysis of the multimodal features of *TIME* covers reveal about the concept of education and its representation on the national stage?

In this article, we review the literature around news media and education, specifically discussing the importance of magazines and magazine covers. Then, we outline the theories of visual culture and social semiotic approaches to multimodality that we draw on to frame this study. In our methods section, we define education within the context of this study, discuss the development of the data set, and outline our qualitative multimodal content analysis (MMCA) of *TIME* covers published from *TIME*'s inception in 1923 through 2019. The article ends with a presentation and discussion of our findings.

Literature Review

Research on News Media and Education

There exists a growing body of international research concerning the role of the media in shaping education policy (Coe & Kuttner, 2018) as well as in representing education and teachers (e.g., Barwell & Abtahi, 2015; Ford et al., 2015; Shine & O'Donoghue, 2013). Specific to education in the United States, findings from this research reveal that education is minimally covered by the news media and, when it is, that coverage paints an overwhelmingly negative picture.

According to West et al. (2009), less than 1% in 2007, 0.7% in 2008, and 1.4% from January 2009 to September 2009 of national news coverage across a variety of media concerned education. In 2007, only four topics received less attention than education (the court/legal system, development/sprawl, transportation, and religion), whereas celebrity/entertainment (2%), lifestyle (3.4%), and sports (1.9%) received greater coverage (West, Whitehurst, & Dionne,

2009). Similar trends were observed in 2008 and 2009. Campanella (2015) found that only 2.3% of television broadcast national news stories addressed K–12 education. However, Campanella did find that local news coverage of education was on the rise in 2014.

Within this small percentage of national news coverage, education is generally represented negatively. Television broadcast news coverage of education tends to be triggered by specific events (e.g., school shootings, teacher strikes, the publication of *A Nation at Risk* in 1983 by the National Commission on Excellence in Education; Coe & Kuttner, 2018). Only 2.7% of the national news stories examined by West et al. (2009) presented positive educational messages.

While the research focused on the representation of education and education stakeholders (e.g., teachers, students) in the news media has increased, much of the existing research is limited to specific time periods or events (e.g., Campanella, 2015; Coe & Kuttner, 2018; Cohen, 2010; Gerstl-Pepin, 2002; O'Neil, 2012). To the best of our knowledge, no research has been attempted that examines news media coverage of education over a longer period of time.

Magazine Covers as Visual Artifacts

According to Hall (1997), “culture is concerned with the production and exchange of meanings” (p. 2). Visual artifacts (e.g., magazine covers) and resources have always been involved in the construction of social life (Rose, 2016), but now that we are fully entrenched in the digital era, “the world told” through language has increasingly become “the world shown” (Kress, 2003, p. 1) through visuals and graphic design. This means that visual artifacts are created according to how their makers understand the world. It also means that images contribute to how the world is understood and play a role in producing, reproducing, and contributing to the dominance of hegemonic ideologies that uphold the interests of those with power and status in society (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001). Reader-viewers (Serafini, 2012) can choose to accept, reject, or interrogate any text (Janks, 2010) and have the power to deviate from the “dominant” or “preferred” readings (Hall, 1997) intended by the artifact producer.

It has been argued that the front cover is the most important aspect of a text (Yampbell, 2005). The front cover is designed to lure the reader into consuming the product (Gilbert & Viswanathan, 2007) and should be considered a persuasive marketing tool with rhetorical goals similar to print advertisements. Williamson (1978) described how advertisements assume a certain spectator, positioning the audience in relation to the product being sold. Just like advertisements, covers often integrate ideological components to appeal to the reader (Jupowicz-Ginalska, 2018). Significantly, consumers do not have to purchase or subscribe to magazines

before interpreting their covers. Readers can form ideas about the topics represented on covers through brief transactions at various sites of dissemination (Rose, 2016)—at newsstands, in dental offices, online, or in the hands of another person.

Theoretical Framework

As magazine covers are multimodal texts, this study was guided by a social semiotic approach to multimodality. Multimodal scholarship (Jewitt, 2017; Kress, 2010; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001) argues that humans communicate using a wide range of modes of representation and communication. While written and spoken language are viewed as significant modes of human communication, a social semiotic approach to multimodality maintains that all modes have equal potential to contribute to meaning-making activity. A text maker uses the available modes, materials, and tools to produce a communicative act (Kress, 2010).

When taking magazine covers into consideration, the image is as valuable as the printed text. Each mode offers distinct potentials for meaning (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001) that will be realized when a reader-viewer transacts with the text during a meaning-making activity (Serafini, 2012). Furthermore, the meaning potentials offered through one mode will always be affected and altered by the meaning potentials offered through the other modes used to construct the text (Hull & Nelson, 2005; Lemke, 1998). It is important to examine the interaction of multiple modes within a given text (Flewitt et al., 2017) and to understand how different modes “interanimate” each other (Meek, 1992).

Importantly, social semiotics recognizes the human and cultural aspect of semiotic work. Any representation is a human rendering of an object or concept. Representational semiotic labor will never reproduce reality precisely or exactly. Meaning will always be made anew, and any representation is partial, constrained by the text producer’s interests, the social context, and the semiotic resources and tools available (Kress, 2010). As Al Zidjaly (2012) observed, to “capture the full realization of images” used by magazines, images must be understood as “carry[ing] histories” (p. 190) and should be linked to broad social and political contexts across timescales (Lemke, 2005). In choosing to examine TIME’s education covers across the decades (as opposed to isolating covers and detaching our analysis from TIME’s archive), we aimed to recognize the significance of each cover in its moment of publication together with its place within TIME’s overarching narrative about education.

Methods

Defining Education

Historically, scholars within the field of education have made a distinction between education and schooling. Education is a process in which knowledge, including

childhood socialization and acculturation, is transferred from one generation to the next, both inside and outside formal school environments (Brandwein, 1981; Shujaa, 1993). In contrast, schooling is a process that identifies the concepts, values, and skills that are deemed important by a community and transfers them through the constraints and power dynamics of institutional structures (Brandwein, 1981; Shujaa, 1993). While these definitions are accepted by scholars in the field, they are not widely known or recognized by the public or the media. TIME, for example, does not categorize covers or articles under the heading of *schooling*. Rather, the term *education* is used to categorize those covers and articles encompassing topics related to both education and schooling as defined above as well as covers and articles that discuss topics related to education and schooling that are not included within those definitions. TIME only refers to formal schooling when it uses the term *education*, not for the entire range of educational activities.

Within the context of this study, we define education as the process of teaching and learning of individuals in prekindergarten through postsecondary in the context of public, private, charter, and home schools within the United States. Education also encompasses the experiences and perspectives of various stakeholders (e.g., students, teachers, parents, and administrators) within and around the contexts mentioned above.

Data Set

TIME maintains an archive of all magazine covers published in the United States at their website (www.time.com/vault). When we began the project, the archive was still in development, so not all covers were represented. As of December 2019, the archive contained 4,823 covers. This includes special issues as well as magazines that had multiple covers. Both were included in our data set. Covers in the archive can be viewed by year or subject. Underneath each subject heading are a series of subheadings.

It was not our intent to analyze all of TIME’s covers. Our initial focus was on covers published between 1983 and 2016, the year we began this project. We chose 1983 as a point of demarcation because this aligned with the publication of *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983), which historically is connected with a deficit framing of schooling (Ulmer, 2016). Originally, we collected 42 covers published within this time frame. However, during our analysis, we began to anecdotally notice similar patterns on older covers to what we were seeing in the initial data set. This challenged our assumption that *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983) signaled the beginning of a deficit view of education. Therefore, we extended our analysis to include all TIME covers.

We collected all covers ($n = 56$) aggregated under the subject subheading “Education,” which is nested under the parent heading “Politics.” Additionally, the *TIME* staff have tagged each cover with a series of “related categories.” We searched each year and collected all the covers ($n = 175$) that were tagged with keywords that could be related to education (e.g., school, student, teacher, child, parent, etc.). Then, we visually scanned the archive for and collected additional relevant covers ($n = 12$) that may have been missed by the subject headings or related categories utilized by *TIME*. We looked for keywords related to education, objects commonly associated with education (e.g., desks and chalkboards), and individuals who during the time the cover was produced were associated with education.

After collecting the covers, we reviewed the developing data corpus for redundancy. Then, we compared the covers with the definition of education used for this study to determine if the collected covers fell within the scope of this project. Within the images, we considered who (e.g., students, parents, teachers) and what (e.g., universities, schools, classrooms) were represented. Within the text, we considered the words (e.g., *college*, *homework*, *dropout*) and how they were used. Those covers that did not align with our established definition were eliminated.

When excluding covers, images and text were considered both independently and holistically. As multiple connotations are possible for both words and images, many covers required discussion and consideration of context. For example, the March 22, 2010, cover, which features the image of a digitized hand balancing a lightbulb atop one finger alongside the headline “10 Ideas for the Next 10 Years” was ultimately eliminated from our data set. We agreed that the lightbulb could be connected with education because of its common association with bright ideas. However, when considered in context, this lightbulb seemed more closely connected to innovation and future thinking, through phrases like “bandwidth is the new black gold” and “TV will save the world,” than to education as we defined it.

After elaborating on our findings, we revisited the covers we had initially excluded from the data corpus. We considered whether each cover had been prematurely eliminated and discussed if and how each cover would reinforce or challenge our findings. Ultimately, we found that the covers we had debated on and excluded would not have altered our findings. The final data corpus consisted of 115 covers related to education published between the years 1923 and 2019.

Qualitative Multimodal Content Analysis

To better understand visual and multimodal data, researchers have begun to blend theories of multimodality with a variety of qualitative research methodologies (Jewitt, 2009), such as content analysis. The goal of qualitative content analysis is to provide “a systematic classification

process of coding and identifying themes and patterns” that aids in the subjective interpretation of data (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278). Historically, qualitative content analysis has been used to examine textual or linguistic data (Kohlbacher, 2006). By utilizing theoretical perspectives and analytical processes that consider the nature of multimodal texts, representation, and communication, the potential of qualitative content analysis can be expanded to address visual media (Bateman, 2008).

To analyze our data corpus, we utilized a qualitative MMCA approach (Serafini & Reid, 2019). This methodology brings together qualitative content analysis and theories of social semiotics and visual culture to better understand the potential meanings of multimodal texts. MMCA permits investigation of broad data corpora. It differs from other multimodal methodologies that focus on single multimodal phenomena (Lim & O’Halloran, 2012). When encountering a collection of multimodal artifacts, such as print advertisements for particular products or movie trailers, using MMCA allows investigators to look across the collection of artifacts to construct thematic patterns and findings.

Analytical Process

Analytical Instrument. We used an MMCA instrument (Appendix A) to analyze the *TIME* covers. The tool was originally developed to analyze book covers pertaining to literacy professional development for teachers (Serafini et al., 2015). The questions posed in the original version of the instrument focused on reading and literacy. We adapted the questions posed in that instrument to address the construct of education as we have defined it.

The tool draws on social semiotic theories of multimodality as described in our theoretical framework. Specifically, the tool was influenced by Kress and van Leeuwen’s (2006) visual grammar. Adapted from Halliday’s (1978) systemic functional linguistic framework, Kress and van Leeuwen’s (2006) visual grammar asserted that images can be understood in systemic functional linguistic terms of three *meta-functions* or systems of choices. The *ideational* system supports an analysis of the image’s content and requires reader-viewers to pay attention to whether the content is *narrative* (with actors or participants, actions, and goals) or *conceptual* (symbolic or suggestive in nature). The *interpersonal* system consists of choices that enable text producers to build relationships with the reader-viewer by adjusting the degree of proximity between the depicted participants and the reader-viewer, the directness of the participants’ gaze, and the angle at which the reader-viewer looks on the participants. The ideational and interpersonal systems are made possible through the *compositional* system. How an image is composed—the placement of the different visual elements, the emphasis or salience attributed to certain aspects, and the use of framing—also contributes to how a reader-viewer might interpret a text.

As Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) framework centered on images, we added a section to the tool that addressed how the different modes of communication worked together. This enabled the research team to examine how the words, images, and design offered complementary or conflicting information (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2000). Another section required the analysts to consider the ideological aspects of the text and explore the covers' connection to the sociocultural contexts in which the texts were produced and received (Rose, 2016). These aspects of the analytical tool helped us to consider the potential interpretations of the *TIME* covers as well as how those interpretations are influenced by social, historical, and political factors.

We used the refined instrument to conduct an in-depth analysis of five covers randomly selected from the initial data corpus. (See Appendix B for an example of a completed analysis.) Each researcher analyzed the same five covers. We then met to compare and discuss the differences and similarities within our analyses. Additional questions were added to help refine our understanding of the categories we constructed.

Data Analysis. The remaining covers from the initial data corpus ($n = 37$) were divided into two sections. Dani and Stephanie used a template variant of the tool to analyze each cover in their section of the data set while Kathryn reviewed their analyses to assist with policy, historic, and social contexts. Then, we met several times to present our initial analyses to one another. During these meetings, we reviewed the completed templates, added to the existing analysis, asked clarifying questions, and provided insights based on our respective expertise. This process continued until we were all satisfied with and agreed on the analyses.

The resulting analyses were then coded for frequencies and tendencies within the data using an interpretive analytical approach (Erickson, 1986, 2012). According to Erickson (1986, 2012), interpretive analysis is a recursive and reflexive process during which researchers repeatedly review the data corpus to inductively generate assertions. As we constructed our categories, we also repeatedly reviewed the data set for disconfirming evidence.

After establishing four categories, we reviewed the remaining data corpus and sorted the remaining covers into these categories. During this process, we noted the frequent use of universities' and individuals' names on the covers, leading to the construction of a fifth category. While all five categories span the whole of the *TIME* collection, certain categories proved more frequent during certain periods. It should also be noted that these categories are not mutually exclusive. Some covers were placed in multiple categories.

Researcher Positionality. We acknowledge that our backgrounds and experience influence the way we approach and conduct research as well as how we interpret and analyze data. According to Tracy (2013), such subjectivity is a

strength for a qualitative researcher, whose mind and body "literally serve as research instruments—absorbing, sifting through, and interpreting the world" (p. 3). During our process, we noted that different researchers possessed different strengths and perspectives. Dani and Stephanie, who specialize in multimodality, noticed nuances in the cover compositions that Kathryn did not. Kathryn, who specializes in education policy, recognized language within the textual elements that signaled particular education policies and political movements related to education with which Dani and Stephanie were not familiar. These small but critical differences in our viewing of the covers led us to conclude that all three researchers needed to contribute to the analysis of every cover in the data set. It is important to note that as education researchers and former classroom teachers we act and conduct research for the benefit of public education, classroom teachers, and students.

Results

Through our analysis, we constructed five primary categories: (a) names and places are used to suggest authority, power, or relevance in education circles; (b) learning and school are presented as having not changed over time; (c) overgeneralized and metonymic representations can stand for broad categories of education stakeholders; (d) schools are presented as in need of fixing; and (e) schools are perceived as sites for larger, sociopolitical debates.

Names Suggest Authority, Power, or Relevance in Education Circles

Beginning as early as 1924, the most common trend found across *TIME* covers was the use of names of people and places to suggest authority, power, or relevance in education circles ($n = 76$). University presidents, college professors, education philosophers, superintendents, education commissioners, and education secretaries are all named, as are students, teachers, and administrators. See Appendix C for a complete list of covers in this category.

Such centering of individuals was by design. According to Angeletti and Oliva (2010), Henry Luce and Briton Hadden, *TIME*'s creators, believed that "the forces of history were better understood through individuals" (p. 141), and thus, for decades, sketched and photographic portraits of people were featured on the covers of the magazine. In many instances, the names and faces of these individuals stood alone, the assumption being that each individual had enough national acclaim for the reader-viewer to recognize them. Thus, many of the covers in this category largely offered *conceptual representations* (i.e., the actor was posed but not engaged in any action; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). For example, sketched portraits of education philosophers John Dewey (June 4, 1928) and Dottorella Maria Montessori (February 3, 1930) stand alone on the covers with no other words to specifically

link them to education. In other instances, the name of a university precedes the name of the individual, lending that university's authority as an institution of higher learning to that person. Dr. Harold Willis Dodds (June 18, 1934) became "Princeton's Harold Willis Dodds" as he gave his first presidential commencement address in the spring of 1934 at Princeton University. This strategy was also used on the May 5, 1966, cover, which featured 10 White, male college professors identified by their affiliated universities and as great teachers. Coincidentally, this was the only cover that presented teachers and education in a positive light.

It was not until the 1940s and 1950s that covers began to consistently include backgrounds that provided readers with context that hinted at why a particular individual was featured (Angeletti & Oliva, 2010). Interestingly, within our data set, this shift also signals the beginning of a deficit framing of education wherein the individuals named on the covers become saviors of a broken or failing system. While a few covers prior to the 1940s included backgrounds, an uninterrupted trend of contextualized covers began within our data set, starting with the September 23, 1946, cover, where president of Harvard, James Bryant Conant, appears against a backdrop of ivy and the Harvard shield, which is suggestive of his affiliation with Harvard.

K–12 schools' names were also featured, as were the names of students and teachers. In contrast with the prestige affiliated with institutions of higher education, K–12 school building names tend to be linked with tragedy and disaster. Columbine, Sandy Hook, and Parkland were used to signify their importance in an ongoing national conversation about guns and school shootings in the United States. Columbine High School, in particular, is mentioned by name four times on *TIME* covers, and the faces of the shooters are displayed twice. Photographs of the Columbine victims also appear, as does a photograph of Parkland survivors and activists.

Photographs and names of public school teachers also appear. Most notably, there are three different versions of the September 24, 2018, cover. On each cover, an individual teacher appears along with a brief description of their financial hardship. Each description ends with the statement "I am a teacher in America." Unlike the majority of covers in this category, these covers are *narrative representations* (e.g., the participants were engaged in actions signaled by vectors; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). The covers displayed photographs of teachers who were affected by low pay and difficult working conditions. The teachers' reactions to their working situations were *nontransactional* (e.g., their gazes did not signal a clear goal, and their stillness of pose did not denote action; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Their names and faces paired with their hardships are designed to generate empathy in the reader-viewer. Here, the names of schools and the faces of individuals come to represent broader issues and, in the process, become iconic. Importantly, the non-transactional nature of the images and the teachers' lack of

action might send the message that the featured teachers may need others to problem solve on their behalf.

Learning and Schooling Have Not Changed

Across the decades, *TIME* has repeatedly used traditional symbols to represent learning and schooling ($n = 67$), such as the one-room schoolhouse, chairs with attached desks, graduation regalia, apples, and chalkboards (Appendix D). Such objects, or *symbolic attributes*, are often made salient in the images and are "conventionally associated with symbolic values" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 105; e.g., apples symbolize teachers). These symbolic attributes appear as early as 1927 and continue through 2018, suggesting that little has changed in general perceptions of education.

TIME's repeated use of these symbols on the covers evokes a sense of nostalgia for traditional ways of schooling. For example, the October 10, 1983, cover displayed a one-room schoolhouse undergoing repairs and receiving a new coat of red paint. The image mimicked Norman Rockwell's art, stylistically referencing education's past in an affectionate manner. When the image is matched with its headline, "Shaping Up: America's Schools are Getting Better," a reader might infer that returning to the education systems and policies of the past is the way forward for America's schools. This "back to basics" approach to education is clearly referenced in other covers. The February 20, 1950, cover advocated for a return to teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic—essential skills referred to as the three Rs. The one-room schoolhouse appears again on the October 27, 1997, cover, dedicated to "what makes a good school."

Thus, through these covers, *TIME* seems to suggest that a high-quality education is neither future forward nor technologically innovative. For example, the conceptual cover dedicated to building 21st-century students (December 18, 2006) shows a single desk/chair, a stack of textbooks, and an apple. Everything is white except the apple. While the white color of the room, chair, and textbooks seems to reference modern room design, there are no other components that *index*, or signal, the 21st century. The room and desk are devoid of technology and, therefore, do not indicate the digital skills a 21st-century student might need. Only two covers in our data corpus featured a computer (September 8, 1986, and August 31, 1987). On *TIME*'s covers, students read physical books and write with pencils on paper.

Another symbol that appears on many covers is graduation regalia. The regalia on the early covers signaled academic prestige and intellectual prowess. For example, caps and gowns were worn in the portraits of both Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur (February 28, 1927) and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler (February 15, 1932), who were the presidents of Stanford University and Columbia University, respectively. On later covers, graduation regalia is linked to students finding careers postcollege. Across the decades, the individuals wearing

graduation regalia are overwhelmingly white and male. It is notable that high school graduation regalia is not worn by any student on any *TIME* cover. The February 24, 2014, cover mentions a 6-year high school diploma, but the cap worn by the white male student reads “Just Hired,” suggesting that traditional high school has been extended to include the college years. If high schoolers were depicted in graduation robes, such depictions might imply that the institution of schooling does not need fixing, which might run contrary to covers suggesting that American students struggle to succeed. The emphasis on graduation is important because graduation is positioned as the end goal to K–12 education and viewed as a status symbol that separates the successful from the unsuccessful. *TIME* presents graduation as a perpetual indicator of an education system’s good health.

Overgeneralized and Metonymic Representations Stand for Education Stakeholders

Beginning in 1950 and continuing through 2014, schools and stakeholders were represented through the use of overgeneralizations or through metonymic representations that overlook the complex and diverse nature of education ($n = 42$; Appendix E). Metonymy is a function in which one *signified* (i.e., word, object, or item) is used to stand for another (Chandler, 2007).

Schools were presented as a singular collective. The institution of schooling became the decision maker, not a public institution composed of individuals responsible for making decisions. On the March 17, 1997, cover, the headline “How Colleges Are Gouging U” implies that the institution of college, not the individuals who set college policies and procedures, is doing the gouging. Similarly, the institution of college is overgeneralized as a “trap” for college athletes (April 3, 1989) and as “strapped for money” (April 13, 1992). Certainly, these issues of rising tuition, university funding, and paying college athletes are concerns that affect a number of universities. However, overgeneralizing these issues as being of concern in every college fails to acknowledge the sheer variety of college experiences.

TIME covers also present K–12 schools in an overgeneralized manner. Cover headlines suggest that schools do not “make sense” (February 20, 1950), are “in trouble” (November 14, 1977), or are “shaping up” (October 10, 1983). Education is considered “too important to be left solely to the educators” (October 14, 1965), and America is presented as a “dropout nation” (April 17, 2006). Such statements overgeneralize K–12 education by implying that the conditions at all schools don’t “make sense” or that all schools are “in trouble.” These representations fail to acknowledge the systemic and socioeconomic disparities between schools.

When representing key stakeholders (e.g., children, teachers, and parents), covers tended to rely on metonymy. For example, the January 25, 1999, cover features a white, male, middle-class student paired with the headline “Too

Much Homework! How It’s Hurting Our Kids, and What Parents Should Do About It.” This child functions as a stand-in for all students. However, this is a metonymic fallacy, wherein who or what is represented “is taken as an accurate reflection of the whole of that which it is standing for” (Chandler, 2007, p. 133). This is a fallacy because the experiences of this child will be vastly different from those of children of color and other genders. Such metonymic representations do not acknowledge the wide variety of experiences had by individuals from different racial, gender, social, and economic groups. Nor do they acknowledge the uniqueness within categories of stakeholders, and as such, they present these categories as fact or truth (i.e., this student’s experience is the only experience). Not all metonymic representations utilized people. The November 3, 2014, cover portrays a gavel smashing an apple alongside the headline “Rotten Apples.” This absence of complexity in representation serves to dehumanize schools and key stakeholders.

Schools Are in Need of Fixing

TIME covers across the decades have represented education and school as social entities in need of fixing ($n = 32$; Appendix F). The covers have highlighted a range of issues, from America “flunking” science (February 13, 2006) to America’s status as a “dropout nation” (April 17, 2006), to America “failing” its “smartest students” (August 27, 2007), to administrators finding “it’s nearly impossible to fire a bad teacher” (November 3, 2014). The February 13, 2006, cover suggests that America has fallen behind the world in science while “other countries are getting stronger,” depicting a school-age science student (as indicated by the lab coat, protective goggles, flasks, and test tubes) surrounded by ash, glass debris, and the final flames of a failed experiment. While potentially a humorous image, the visual presents this student as a representative of science education’s failings and as an inept and foolish scientist whose “slacking off” has resulted in failure and near disaster. When coupled with the emotive nature of the language, America’s science education becomes portrayed as a dangerous embarrassment that has elevated other countries above America.

While the aforementioned covers focused on students as the victims of the institution of schooling, a number of covers also isolated “bad teachers” as a reason for the failing of American education. The October 15, 1965, cover, featuring Commissioner Keppel, a renowned Harvard University educator and U.S. Commissioner of Education (from 1962 to 1965), displays the following statement: “Education is too important to be left solely to the educators.” The visual contains a portrait of Keppel and an image of the classic one-room schoolhouse with a giant funnel whose vertical *vectors* (in this case, visible lines) draw the eye down through the funnel, channeling dollars and resources into the chimney of the building. The notion of “bad teachers” was repeated on the November 3, 2014, cover, which declared the presence

of “rotten apples” in America’s classrooms. This cover decontextualized the situation and separated the headline from the real-world impact of the *Vergara v. California* lawsuit, in which nine student plaintiffs challenged five California state statutes that provided employment protections for teachers (Powers & Chapman, 2017).

While good K–12 classroom teachers are not represented, other education personnel are represented as potential saviors of the education system. The November 15, 1963, cover presented Calvin Gross, New York City’s superintendent, and the October 15, 1965, cover presented Commissioner Keppel as powerful public administrators with dollars to dedicate to schools. The September 16, 1991, cover asks if the then education secretary, Lamar Alexander, is capable of saving America’s schools. The cover shows him framed by a ray of light against the backdrop of a darkened classroom. On the December 8, 2008, cover, Michelle Rhee, the then head of Washington, D.C., schools, posed with a broomstick to show how she was preparing to “fix America’s schools” by cleaning schools and ridding them of bad teachers. The broomstick also indexed her vilification as a result of her “battle against bad teachers.” Neither image shows these saviors interacting with the classroom environment or with any education stakeholders. As conceptual representations, these images do not visibly show the actors’ specific goals and actions. These saviors emanated from spaces outside of school buildings and districts, suggesting that an outside overseer is needed for our education system to work. Importantly, the outside personnel must have money.

Schools Are Sites for Larger, Sociopolitical Debates

TIME covers represented schools as cultural, political, and religious battlegrounds ($n = 24$; Appendix G). This category included covers that fell outside specific issues of teaching and learning (e.g., quality of teachers, dropout rates, or the role of technology in classrooms) and highlighted cultural, political, and social issues that are part of larger, sociopolitical debates. Such issues included gun violence/rights, women’s rights, segregation and integration, sex, rape, and evolution. Ultimately, these issues are larger than schools and education. These debates are grounded in the political, religious, and cultural perspectives of different groups.

These covers present dichotomies and divisions. The November 15, 1971, cover addresses White and Black citizens’ vocalizations of their disagreements regarding forced busing, a required element of many court-ordered school district desegregation plans. This cover displays a school bus against an orange background, which is divided in half by a vertical vector with one half painted white and the other black. A young Black girl stands next to the white half of the bus, and a young White girl stands next to the black half of the bus. In the two front windows, two different landscapes are presented—one a suburb and the other a cityscape. On

this cover, black and white are presented in opposition, as are inner cities and suburbs.

Other covers attempt to humanize the issues. To accomplish this, many of the covers utilized staged photographs of models. In doing so, *TIME* cues the reader-viewer to accept that the people displayed are the ones experiencing the circumstances represented on the cover, thus lending a human face and experience to the situation. For example, the April 29, 1996, cover presents a photograph of a young Black girl seated at a dilapidated school desk in a classroom with a 1920s aesthetic. She gazes directly out at the reader, as if demanding a response (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Below her image reads the headline “Back to Segregation: After Four Decades of Struggle, America Has Now Given Up on School Integration. Why?” This cover implies that it is this child who will suffer now that America has “given up on school integration.” It is she who will experience a 1920s education in a 1990s context.

In some cases, the covers featured photographs of specific individuals to both humanize issues and shock audiences. The *high modality* (e.g., the degree to which an image represents itself as real) of the photographs and their depiction of real humans are reminders of the people and reality involved (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). This is particularly evident on covers connected to gun violence. Gun violence is first referenced on the April 6, 1998, cover, featuring Mitchell Johnson and Andrew Golden, who shot five of their middle school classmates in Arkansas. Class photographs of both boys make them appear “normal,” while a childhood photo of one holding a gun works to shock and titillate by juxtaposing the apparent innocence of childhood with the apparent violence of firearms. Similarly, class photographs of the Columbine shooters appear on the May 3, 1999, cover, while on the December 20, 1999, cover, a still image taken from security camera footage is featured. Photos of victims and survivors are also utilized. Victims of the Columbine shooters also appear on the May 3, 1999, cover; victims of the Virginia Tech shooting are featured on the April 30, 2007, cover; and the April 2, 2018, cover displays five Parkland, Florida, student survivors. By giving the reader-viewer the faces and names of real people and, more specifically, real victims, *TIME* seeks to trigger sympathy in the heart of the reader-viewer.

Discussion

Collectively, these findings reveal that the representations of education on the covers of *TIME* are both static and lack nuance. From *TIME*’s inception through 2019, various editorial teams have demonstrated, maintained, and promoted a perspective of education that is particularly one-sided. While this representation may not be a conscious decision on the part of the editors, the decisions made as to which people, what objects, and what words to include on a cover are intentional. After all, the purpose of these covers is to sell the magazine to *TIME*’s consumers. As such, in each

instance, these covers represent persuasive marketing choices wherein the editorial teams chose to represent one way of viewing education rather than another. The perspective highlighted on the cover becomes the first perspective presented, lending it both primacy and importance for those consumers who eventually read the articles. For those who do not purchase the magazine, the perspective presented on the cover becomes the only perspective presented, which has implications for how the public views public education. Here, we discuss some of these implications.

Directs Attention Away From People and Communities

The use of symbolic objects and metonymic representations directs the viewers' attention away from individuals and communities. Using visual and textual metaphors such as "bad apples" to represent teachers hides the people who teach the nation's children, keeping their humanity, the complexity of their work, and the multitude of possibilities for why they might be deemed a "bad teacher" out of sight. Furthermore, to portray the classroom in terms of traditional symbols of learning, such as pencils, books, desks, and chalkboards, is to ignore the human, personal, and affective dimensions of learning. A maintained focus on such symbols also hides the technological, digital, and global potentials of education in the 21st century. A review of current education research and practices reveals that learning environments, student demographics, and the tools and curricula used by teachers and administrators have changed and responded to digital and technological innovation (e.g., Beach & O'Brien, 2014; Mills, 2016; Smagorinsky, 2017). Yet *TIME* continues to perpetuate a distinctive definition and visual representation of education. Schools are always brick-and-mortar structures, students are seated at desks, materials are in disrepair, and teachers are portrayed as overwhelmed, villainous, or eager to change their practices. As Dewey (1938) observed, to focus on the traditional objects involved in learning is to ignore the experiential component of education for which teachers are responsible.

Sells Quick Fixes to Education

The use of oversimplifications, overgeneralizations, and metonymic representations also promotes the view that education is simplistic and, thus, can be easily fixed—by a person, an injection of cash, new practices, or technology. This perspective fails to recognize that problems may vary from school to school, district to district, and state to state. The issues that Michelle Rhee was trying to address in Washington, D.C., are likely not the same issues faced by schools elsewhere. Education separated from its local and broader contexts appears to be a much more manageable and fixable entity than to see each school and district as unique entities whose problems require unique solutions. Such an oversimplified view also ignores the social actors—the

teachers, students, administrators, and parents—who inhabit these school spaces. To see schools and districts through their local and situated contexts is to embrace their individual complexity.

Offers Conflicting Messages About Education

When education is presented in such a simplistic fashion, the broader responsibilities of schools and education are missed. While college and career readiness is certainly one of the purposes of schools and education, these covers force us to ask, college and career readiness for whom? Considering the number of White males depicted wearing graduation regalia, the message becomes clear that college and career readiness is reserved for White men. In contrast, the finding that schools are sites for political and social debates reminds us that schools and education are not neutral but, rather, are tied to the values, beliefs, and attitudes of society. As such, schools and other educational contexts become places where political, religious, and social ideologies are tested. The Parkland students-turned-advocates presented on *TIME*'s cover became both individuals who have been shaped by the events of their individual school context and symbols for the antigun movement. Thus, *TIME* does occasionally offer the message that education shapes citizens and citizens shape the future of the United States.

Future Directions

This study focused exclusively on the covers of *TIME*. Analyzing the articles affiliated with the covers might reveal that *TIME* presented a more nuanced or balanced narrative about education. Furthermore, considering the letters to the editor about affiliated cover stories might reveal how the public during particular time periods viewed or responded to such representations. In the future, we propose to examine both. We also plan to examine the covers and articles of other weekly news magazines, such as *Newsweek*, to gain greater understanding of media representations of education and public consumption of those representations. They might offer different perspectives or counternarratives about the state of education at particular periods of time. Finally, we acknowledge the inherent subjectivity of qualitative research and recognize that other scholars may interpret these covers differently depending on their own experiences and analytical lenses.

We invite other education stakeholders to examine representations of education in *TIME* and other news media outlets from multiple analytical perspectives. Such interrogations might help us reimagine public perceptions of education. Furthermore, we see opportunities through MMCA for scholars in critical literacy, critical media studies, and critical pedagogy to question problematic representations of education in all media and multimodal discourse. Education historians and policy scholars might apply MMCA to help illuminate how

society has come to understand education and various education stakeholders through visual and multimodal images. Such an understanding might aid educators and policymakers in resisting pervasive perspectives. We also see potential for K–12 teachers to work with students to examine and (if they deem necessary) challenge how they are both represented not just on the covers of *TIME* but in other texts too.

Conclusion

As our study shows, *TIME* and its covers offer particular interpretations of education. These representations are communicated to its consumers, as well as to anyone who happens to view the covers. There is a consistency of message that is not visible to an individual consumer viewing a singular cover at a particular moment in time. Rather, these trends are only revealed when considering the whole of *TIME*'s publication history. Ultimately, *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983) is not the demarcating line for deficit language used regarding education. Rather, the representation of education and schooling as institutional and social failures has a much longer history.

Today, the media continue to disseminate images and stories about how education in the United States is failing students, how the education system itself is corrupt, and how parents and advocates need to take action. With the infrequency with which the media discuss education topics (Campanella, 2015; Coe & Kuttner, 2018; Dionne et al., 2009), some members of society who are unfamiliar with education beyond their own experiences as students may come to know about education solely through these outlets. Such infrequent and specific perspectives may disguise the multifaceted and complex nature of the field of education.

There is a need for publicly shared interrogation of these images and for the U.S. public to critically view constructions of education. Other texts and viewpoints on education should be sought and also examined. We believe that all stakeholders in education and education research should address problematic representations and provide counterstories in response. Alternative narratives may become increasingly necessary, especially as the roles and lives of K–12 educators and students garner national attention due to the pandemic and the systemic failures exposed by the Black Lives Matter movement.

Appendix A

Analytical Instrument

Compositional analysis

- How are the textual elements (e.g., title, headlines, names) represented/used (e.g., color, position, font)?
- How are the design elements (e.g., media, composition, framing, logo, color palette) used?

- What overall impressions are constructed with the textual and design elements?

Ideational analysis

- Who is represented on the cover? How are they posed?
- What actions (e.g., educational events) are represented?
- What setting is represented? Is it realistic or abstract?
- What objects are included? What might these objects represent?
- What vectors are observed? How do they connect or divide people and/or objects?
- What meaning potentials do the ideational elements offer?

Interpersonal analysis

- What gaze (i.e., offer or demand) is utilized?
- What is the interpersonal distance (i.e., how close or far is the apparent distance) between the reader-viewer and the objects/people represented?
- What is the angle of interaction between the reader-viewer and the objects/people represented?
- What modality is utilized? Is the image realistic or abstract?
- What meaning potentials do the interpersonal elements offer?

Ideological analysis

- What keywords related to education are present?
- Who or what is not represented on the cover? Who or what appears to be missing?
- Are any symbols for teaching or learning included?
- What do the setting, objects, or people represented suggest about education, schooling, or education policy?
- How does the cover appeal to the consumer? What is the intended hook?

Intermodal analysis

- What is the relationship between the text and the image on the cover? Do the text and image offer the same, similar, or conflicting information?

Additional thoughts/impressions

- What overall impressions are constructed with the cover?
- What additional observations can be made about the cover?
- What questions does the cover raise?

Appendix B

Completed Analytical Template for the November 3, 2014, Cover

Date	Brief image description	Language on cover
November 3, 2014	A gavel is positioned over a red, shiny apple. The apple sits on a white surface against a black background.	(White text/black background) ROTTEN APPLES IT'S NEARLY IMPOSSIBLE TO FIRE A BAD TEACHER (Black text/white background) SOME TECH MILLIONAIRES MAY HAVE FOUND A WAY TO CHANGE THAT.
Compositional analysis		
Researcher notes on cover		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How are the textual elements (e.g., title, headlines, names) represented/used (e.g., color, position, font)? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “Time”—title in red, top center, traditional font. Interrupted by the image of a gavel. “Rotten Apples”—in white against a black background. Letters of phrase justified, each word on a separate line. Larger than subtitle. Middle left. Subtitle situated below title. First sentence in white, smaller lettering on black background. Lower middle left. Second sentence situated as black text against white background. Letters of “found a way to” extend to the edge of the “Rotten Apples” lines. Bottom third of page, left. Name of author presented in smaller, bold font below the article. “Rotten Apples”—presented in sans serif, bold font. The two sentences of the subtitle presented in the same font—this time a serif, unbolded font. Appears to be photographs or photographed elements graphically assembled. TIME—top center in red but interrupted by the image of a wooden gavel. The gavel is slightly raised, as if about to enact justice. Its raised position is suggested by the vector provided by the handle, which leads off the right side of the page—the unknown. Middle of page: centered is a red apple. The left side of the apple is presented as a shiny red apple, but the right side of the apple is in shadow, taking on the darkness of the black background of the top two thirds of the page. “Rotten Apples” plus first sentence of the subtitle positioned left center, next to the apple. 	Researcher interpretations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attention grabbing, but the issue reported takes precedence. “Time” occupies the ideal position in the top center but is made less salient because the gavel is superimposed over the title, also occupying the ideal position. The ideal—the gavel—also positions the notion of justice as salient, gavel as a sign that signifies justice. Salience—eyes drawn to “Rotten Apples.” The segment of the subtitle that shares the black space with the title lets us know that the rotten apples are the “bad teachers”—rotten because they can’t be thrown out or fired. But there is light: Against the white background, the black lettering lets us know that there might be a way. The saviors are the “tech millionaires.” They have power (made salient by its position on a single line of text) that matches the precise width of the “bad teacher” line. Both sides occupy the left of the page—the known. The unknown will be the outcomes of the tech millionaires’ solutions. Name of the author is in significantly smaller font size (although the text is bold) than the other 12 lines of text. The argument is more visible and salient than the writer of the argument. Perhaps it helps obscure the fact that this is one person’s point of view.

(continued)

Appendix B. (continued)

Compositional analysis	Researcher notes on cover	Researcher interpretations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How are the design elements (e.g., media, composition, framing, logo, color palette, etc.) used? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Use of two color panels—the black top two thirds of the background, the white bottom one third. A light source shines on the apple and gavel, highlighting the left side of the gavel and part of the apple beneath it. The lighting creates a vector that moves down the line of the gavel toward the bright spot on the apple. “Tech millionaires” sentence—positioned bottom right. The apple is framed by both the text on the left and the gavel above it. The red border also captures this moment. The two color blocks play a key role. Color palette: Red, black, and white 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The gavel is a symbol of justice wielded by court judges to either grab attention or punctuate rulings just made. The raised position of the gavel above the apple suggests that judgment is coming. One odd tension: “tech millionaires” suggests technology, and money will have something to do with removing the rotten apples. Wealth (“millionaires”) and justice (image of the gavel) are separated by modes but act together in terms of the judgment. A tension? Justice and the law should be separate from any group of people and their financial power. The viewer cannot see whose hand wields the gavel. The cover’s hook: Who has the solution? How will they solve the “problem” of bad teachers? The apple here does not look rotten, but it is reminiscent of the fairytales apple handed over to Snow White—looks edible, but its rotteness and poison are only apparent once it is tasted. The apple looks harmless, somewhat appealing, but the part of the apple concealed by darkness on the right side signals its malfunction. Again, the appeal is positioned in known visual territory. The rotteness borders on unknown territory—almost visible but not quite. The future implications of this picture are horrific. If the gavel descends on the apple, as the vectors of light and the edges of the gavel suggest it will, the apple will be smashed. How does smashing the apple and obliterating it line up with what the tech folks want to change? There is violence suggested through this impending delivery of justice. The goal of this action is clear (even though the human actors are hidden). Tech millionaires are presented as people. The bad teachers are not represented as people but as an apple. The iconic image of the apple has been long associated with teachers and education in America (and is a symbol repeatedly used by <i>TIME</i> on its covers). Dehumanization of human teachers into a single symbolic, inanimate object. The white appears to be a surface—the red apple sits on it and casts a shadow. The shadow could also be the gavel hovering right above it. The line between the black and the white suggests that something will change very suddenly, bringing the education system from darkness into the light. Importantly, these colors are aposematic—a warning coloration. There are certain snakes, for example, with similar colors to warn off predators.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What overall impressions are constructed with the textual and design elements? 	<p>We find this a disconcerting image. Although the gavel gives the impression that justice will be served, the justice feels violent. The lack of explanation as to how the tech millionaires are linked to the judgment, reckoning, or justice being served might become apparent in the article, but its absence makes me uneasy. The color palette is one of warning and signals that the matter of rotten apples needs our urgent attention. Does substituting human teachers with a symbol make the violent implications of this image more permissible? <i>Note:</i> Our bias toward public education and teachers may show in our interpretations.</p>	

(continued)

Appendix B. (continued)

Ideational analysis	Researcher notes on cover	Researcher interpretations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who is represented on the cover? How are they posed? • What actions (e.g., educational events) are represented? • What setting is represented? Is it realistic or abstract? • What objects are included? What might these objects represent? • What vectors are observed? How do they connect or divide people and/or objects? • What meaning potentials do the ideational elements offer? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No human actors represented. Apple represents bad teachers. The person wielding the gavel/justice is not seen. The angle of the gavel suggests that someone is holding it, but any human identifiers (e.g., a hand) are absent from the image. • Setting is abstract: The apple sits on a white surface against a black background. • The apple and the gavel are the only objects featured. Judgment is about to be enacted on bad teachers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The goal of the action is clear: The apple must be destroyed. Absence of the gavel wielder is an example of passive agent deletion. The apple is destroyed by _____. We assume that technology millionaires have a solution, but what is their connection to serving justice? • The setting suggests that this is a binary, black-and-white issue. The article is titled “The War on Teacher Tenure,” which aligns with the notion of two clear sides. Positioned in the bottom third, the tech millionaires are the positioned underdogs in this battle.
Interpersonal analysis	Researcher notes	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What gaze (i.e., offer or demand) is utilized? • What is the interpersonal distance (i.e., how close or far is the apparent distance) between the reader-viewer and the objects/people represented? • What is the angle of interaction between the reader-viewer and the objects/people represented? • What modality is utilized? Is the image realistic or abstract? • What meaning potentials do the interpersonal elements offer? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No human actors represented—just action and goal. • The apple and the gavel are realistic and depicted using a higher modality—possibly photographed images. • The reader-viewer is positioned close to the action. We can see the entire apple and the gavel. We are so close that details of any setting or the human potentially holding the gavel are excluded. • We are looking directly at the image. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The reader-viewer are close-up spectators of the story represented here. We are separated from the bad teachers (portrayed as an object—the red apple) by two frames (the background and the red cover border), and the majority of readers are unlikely to be addressed and included in the “some tech millionaires” as part of the solution. • The reader-viewer is neither powerless (we are not looking up at the action) or powerful (we are not looking down at the action). Our centered, direct viewing position means that we are also not occupying the space off the right of the cover, where the gavel holder would be positioned. We are witnesses but not actors in this event.

(continued)

Appendix B. (continued)

Ideological analysis	Researcher notes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What keywords related to education are present? • Who or what is not represented on the cover? Who or what appears to be missing? • What do the setting, objects, or people represented suggest about education, schooling, or education policy? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rotten: Something once good has turned bad. Repulsive to humans. • Rotten apple: Something healthy (apple) is no longer good for consumption. Inedible. • Fire: The act of <i>firing</i> someone is a business term and part of running a business. It doesn't make sense that such a natural business move should be "nearly impossible." • Bad teacher: The human equivalent of a rotten apple. Neither the word <i>bad</i> nor the symbolism of the rotten apple describes what makes a teacher bad. "Bad teachers" are presented as an uncomplicated entity, a thing—their badness is a matter of yes/no binary judgment. Teachers are either good or bad in this representation, and the details that justify this binary are not visible in this representation. There are no visible attributes that support determinations of goodness or badness. • May have: There's hope—that's why the gavel is kept suspended. • Some tech millionaires: A few technology specialists who have made money through technology and business may have an answer. The few millionaires ("some") against the "bad teachers" makes them feel more heroic. Also, justice appears to be on the side of the tech millionaires, waiting to enact judgment. • Actual human teachers or a representation of what bad teaching entails. Symbols are powerful and necessary. How would you find a bad teacher or bad teaching to depict on a front cover? • Who are the millionaires taking on the education system? What are their qualifications to do so? This mystery hooks the reader. We want to see who is involved and understand the idea that they have come up with—despite having no education experience. The change in color suggests that something new is needed. • The hand holding the gavel. Who brings down justice? • That outside personnel need to intervene in the education system. People from the realms of technology, business, and justice are needed to intervene in order to correct systemic woes. • Education policy matters: Teacher tenure and union representation are at risk.
<p>Intermodal analysis</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the relationship between the text and the image on the cover? Do the text and the image offer the same, similar, or conflicting information? 	<p>Researcher notes</p> <p>Ideational complementarity:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The image of the darkening apple connects to the verbal "rotten apples." • Also, the words supply the information that tech millionaires have a solution. • The image suggests the consequence, that justice will be enacted. The gavel is waiting to fall. There is no escape for the rotten apple beneath it. • Color: The words and the cover's design share the red, white, and black of this warning palette. Word and image are linked synergistically through color.
<p>Thoughts/impressions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What overall impressions are constructed with the cover? • What additional observations can be made about the cover? • What questions does the cover raise? 	<p>Researcher notes</p> <p>The words present an uncomplicated view of bad teachers: They exist, they are bad, and they are concrete and uncomplicated entities. The representation of bad teachers as a single darkening apple seems to support the noncomplex view of bad teaching. The words also suggest that a small (heroic?) band of tech millionaires can get rid of them. The violence of the eradication of bad teachers (the smashing of the apple) is avoided by the suspension, but that is the next phase. The black/white panels suggest a clearer-cut issue than it likely is.</p>

Appendix C*Names Suggest Authority, Power, or Relevance in Education Circles*

<u>May 19, 1924</u>	<u>January 12, 1953</u>
<u>June 1, 1925</u>	<u>October 19, 1953</u>
<u>February 8, 1926</u>	<u>March 1, 1954</u>
<u>June 21, 1926</u>	<u>May 16, 1955</u>
<u>January 17, 1927</u>	<u>June 10, 1957</u>
<u>February 28, 1927</u>	<u>September 14, 1959</u>
<u>June 4, 1928</u>	<u>October 17, 1960</u>
<u>October 1, 1928</u>	<u>November 3, 1961</u>
<u>February 3, 1930</u>	<u>February 9, 1962</u>
<u>November 23, 1931</u>	<u>October 26, 1962</u>
<u>February 15, 1932</u>	<u>November 15, 1963</u>
<u>July 11, 1932</u>	<u>October 15, 1965</u>
<u>September 26, 1932</u>	<u>May 6, 1966</u>
<u>June 5, 1933</u>	<u>June 23, 1967</u>
<u>September 18, 1933</u>	<u>January 12, 1968</u>
<u>February 5, 1934</u>	<u>April 18, 1969</u>
<u>June 18, 1934</u>	<u>May 2, 1969</u>
<u>October 1, 1934</u>	<u>September 8, 1986</u>
<u>June 24, 1935</u>	<u>February 1, 1988</u>
<u>July 29, 1935</u>	<u>November 14, 1988</u>
<u>March 23, 1936</u>	<u>June 3, 1991</u>
<u>June 15, 1936</u>	<u>September 16, 1991</u>
<u>September 28, 1936</u>	<u>October 31, 1994</u>
<u>October 25, 1937</u>	<u>April 6, 1998</u>
<u>June 20, 1938</u>	<u>May 3, 1999</u>
<u>October 31, 1938</u>	<u>October 25, 1999</u>
<u>January 30, 1939</u>	<u>December 20, 1999</u>
<u>July 3, 1939</u>	<u>March 19, 2001</u>
<u>November 6, 1939</u>	<u>August 27, 2001</u>
<u>September 23, 1946</u>	<u>April 17, 2006</u>
<u>October 14, 1946</u>	<u>April 30, 2007</u>
<u>October 6, 1947</u>	<u>December 8, 2008</u>
<u>October 10, 1949</u>	<u>October 29, 2012</u>
<u>November 21, 1949</u>	<u>September 16, 2013</u>
<u>February 20, 1950</u>	<u>October 16, 2017</u>
<u>June 11, 1951</u>	<u>April 2, 2018</u>
<u>March 17, 1952</u>	<u>September 24, 2018 a, b, c (3 Covers)</u>

Appendix D*Learning and Schooling Have Not Changed*

<u>February 28, 1927</u>	<u>July 3, 1939</u>
<u>February 15, 1932</u>	<u>October 10, 1949</u>
<u>June 5, 1933</u>	<u>November 21, 1949</u>
<u>February 5, 1934</u>	<u>February 20, 1950</u>
<u>June 24, 1935</u>	<u>March 17, 1952</u>
<u>June 15, 1936</u>	<u>January 12, 1953</u>
<u>September 28, 1936</u>	<u>October 19, 1953</u>
<u>January 30, 1939</u>	<u>May 16, 1955</u>

June 10, 1957
September 14, 1959
October 17, 1960
November 3, 1961
November 15, 1963
October 15, 1965
May 6, 1966
June 23, 1967
January 12, 1968
June 7, 1968
May 24, 1971
November 15, 1971
June 16, 1980
May 4, 1981
October 10, 1983
September 8, 1986
August 31, 1987
February 1, 1988
November 14, 1988
September 16, 1991
October 31, 1994
April 29, 1996
March 17, 1997
October 27, 1997

October 19, 1998
January 25, 1999
October 25, 1999
March 12, 2001
March 19, 2001
April 30, 2001
August 27, 2001
July 28, 2003
October 27, 2003
February 21, 2005
February 13, 2006
April 17, 2006
December 18, 2006
April 2, 2007
June 4, 2007
February 25, 2008
December 8, 2008
April 19, 2010
October 29, 2012
October 7, 2013
February 24, 2014
May 26, 2014
November 3, 2014
September 24, 2018 a, b, c (3 covers)

Appendix E

Overgeneralized and Metonymic Representations Stand for Education Stakeholders

February 20, 1950
September 14, 1959
November 3, 1961
October 26, 1962
October 15, 1965
May 6, 1966
June 23, 1967
January 12, 1968
June 7, 1968
November 14, 1977
June 16, 1980
May 4, 1981
October 10, 1983
August 31, 1987
February 1, 1988
April 3, 1989
September 16, 1991
April 13, 1992
October 31, 1994
March 17, 1997
October 27, 1997

October 19, 1998
January 25, 1999
May 31, 1999
October 25, 1999
April 30, 2001
August 27, 2001
October 27, 2003
February 21, 2005
February 13, 2006
April 17, 2006
December 18, 2006
August 27, 2007
June 4, 2007 a, b (2 covers)
February 25, 2008
December 8, 2008
April 19, 2010
September 16, 2013
October 7, 2013
February 24, 2014
November 3, 2014

Appendix F

Schools Are in Need of Fixing

<u>June 5, 1933</u>	<u>October 19, 1998</u>
<u>February 20, 1950</u>	<u>January 25, 1999</u>
<u>October 19, 1953</u>	<u>August 27, 2001</u>
<u>September 14, 1959</u>	<u>February 13, 2006</u>
<u>November 15, 1963</u>	<u>April 17, 2006</u>
<u>October 15, 1965</u>	<u>August 27, 2007</u>
<u>November 14, 1977</u>	<u>June 4, 2007 a, b (2 Covers)</u>
<u>June 16, 1980</u>	<u>February 25, 2008</u>
<u>May 4, 1981</u>	<u>December 8, 2008</u>
<u>October 10, 1983</u>	<u>April 19, 2010</u>
<u>February 1, 1988</u>	<u>October 29, 2012</u>
<u>November 14, 1988</u>	<u>February 24, 2014</u>
<u>September 16, 1991</u>	<u>November 3, 2014</u>
<u>October 31, 1994</u>	<u>September 24, 2018 a, b, c (3 Covers)</u>
<u>October 27, 1997</u>	

Appendix G




Schools are Sites for Larger, Sociopolitical Debates

<u>November 3, 1961</u>	<u>May 31, 1999</u>
<u>June 7, 1968</u>	<u>October 25, 1999</u>
<u>April 18, 1969</u>	<u>December 20, 1999</u>
<u>March 9, 1970</u>	<u>March 19, 2001</u>
<u>May 24, 1971</u>	<u>August 15, 2005</u>
<u>November 15, 1971</u>	<u>April 2, 2007</u>
<u>September 22, 1975</u>	<u>April 30, 2007</u>
<u>November 24, 1986</u>	<u>May 26, 2014</u>
<u>June 3, 1991</u>	<u>May 30, 2016</u>
<u>April 29, 1996</u>	<u>October 16, 2017</u>
<u>April 6, 1998</u>	<u>April 2, 2018</u>
<u>May 3, 1999</u>	<u>December 10, 2018</u>

Acknowledgments

We would like to acknowledge and thank the members of Division F: History and Historiography and the greater American Educational Research Association community who attended our roundtable presentation of this research and provided feedback and insight into our process. Your support was instrumental in refining this article for publication.

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