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Visual styles, hidden discourses

An exploratory case study of a Chilean education university

ABSTRACT
This article reports the findings of a study aimed at exploring the visual discourses at a Chilean education university. First, building on the classic 'hidden curriculum' and 'school art style' literature, it justifies the need to discuss how higher education institutions model the ways through which teachers-to-be comprehend and use visual resources. Second, the article presents the results of a critical visual methodology performed in the oldest education university in Chile. Through a visual discourse analysis of the experience of walking around the campus, it elaborates on the university's visual styles comprising the themes, technologies and locations of artefacts. Third, it discusses the relationships between courtyard and hallway images loaded with critical motivations and classroom images portraying stereotyped and anachronistic views of childhood. The article concludes by urging to incorporate quality visual pedagogy orientations in teacher education.

Keywords:
Visual discourses, Hidden curriculum, School art style, Visual culture of schools, Teacher education, Chile.

THE HIDDEN YET VISIBLE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

In his book *Life in Classrooms*, Philip Jackson (1968/1990) proposed the concept of 'hidden curriculum' to refer to everyday practices that are not declared in the official school programme but play a significant role in configuring school life. These practices develop a curriculum because they are applied in teaching; however, they remain hidden because they do not state the ideological implications that underlie what they teach. These implications include issues of which behaviours deserve the praise of authority, how to get along in the crowd, what the role of each subject within the school's hierarchy is and how to get along in class and during breaks, among others.

These practices do not happen in a vacuum: they take place within a specific physical environment of each school. In such an environment, they intertwine with different materialities, artefacts, technologies, art styles and policies that popularise curricular content, deliver pedagogical strategies, recall significant events, organise time, promote values, regulate emotions or beautify space, that is, modelling what it means to be a member of a school's culture (Augustowsky, 2003; Marini &

Rodríguez Merchán, 2020; Burke, 2013; Burke & Grosvenor, 2007; Errázuriz & Portales, 2018; Miller, 2005; Renkl & Scheiter, 2017; Tilley, 2007).

Along this line, Jon Prosser (2007) coined the expression 'visual culture of schools' to refer to the way through which teachers' and students' everyday behaviours shape and are shaped by the visual traits present in schools made up by:

> The ready-made standardised visual scheme handed down by previous generations of teachers and authorities as an unquestioned and unquestionable guide to all observable events, rituals, situations, objects, materials, spaces and behaviours which normally occur within everyday schooling. It is the trace and markings of the past, present and probably the future hidden curriculum. (p. 13)

Based on Foucault (1972), we consider these 'standardised visual schemes' as discourses, namely 'groups of statements that structure the way a thing is thought and the way we act on the basis of that thinking' (Rose, 2016, p. 187). When approaching the visual culture of schools, these discourses would produce stereotypes and beliefs about what the world, school, teaching and childhood should be, favouring certain modes of school visuality and hindering others. Thus, discourses emerge not only through explicit visuality but also through what is not seen due to absences that can be as productive as explicit presences.

Students spend at least 12 years within this 'visible yet hidden curriculum' (Margolis, 1999), and images have a social biography from which multiple meanings emerge that go beyond the forms of production, circulation and consumption foreseen by their creators (Dussel, 2020). Therefore, schools represent one of humanity's crucial visual phenomena. Accordingly, the underlying discourses that host, organise, structure, facilitate and communicate a school's visual curriculum are worth exploring as well as the specific ways, patterns, materialities or visual styles in which such discourses emerge through teachers' practices.

Persistent school visual style

In his ground-breaking article titled *The school art style: A functional analysis*, Arthur Efland (1976) discusses how the hidden curriculum materialises through a peculiar style which 'doesn't exist anywhere else except in schools' (p. 38). It consists of conventional, ritualistic and ruled exercises closer to a private corporation's ethos than to that of a democratic society. Similarly, Smith (1989) suggests that the school art style tells more about schools as a socialising institution than about what students think and feel in school. Following Efland and Smith, Freedman (2003) affirms that such predicaments are based on outdated academic approaches to school art education. These approaches fragment artistic practices and products into 'easily taught and assessed exemplars [that] are used over and over by instructors. Student teachers then use the same exemplars in their teaching, and, in the process, the artefacts become simplified' (p. 18). As a result, higher education institutions have the responsibility to educate teachers regarding how to incorporate students as key actors, allowing them 'to interrogate both intended meanings and the meanings they construct' (p. 104) while 'keeping up with changes in the visual world' (p. 126).

Recently, Kędra and Žakevičiūtė (2019) extend the argument and denounce that higher education institutions fail to understand the pedagogical potential of contemporary visualities and continue to model teaching and learning after textual and oral literacies. A real commitment to developing sound and effective visual literacies that are beyond artistic and traditional visual domains and promote basic competencies for all students, particularly teachers-to-be, is missing. This responsibility is important considering school visual repertoires related to curriculum contents and behavioural practices tend to be closer to teachers' personal beliefs about education and childhood than to state-of-the-art visual research (Corbetta & Dussel, 2018).

Hidden visual discourses in Chilean classrooms

Visual research conducted in school environments and classrooms acknowledges that teachers have a fundamental role in the visual management of classrooms (Bravo, 2023; Bravo & Dussel, 2023).

However, this role is performed with little critical reflection and poor outcomes (Alonso-Sanz et al., 2019; Huerta, 2015; Tarr, 2004). Recent studies in Chile show the prevalence of stereotyped and outdated images and significant differences in classroom walls' visual management between public and private schools.

In private schools, Errázuriz and Portales (2014, 2018) observed a higher proportion of images with a clear pedagogical function, neater and intentional spatial organisation and more images produced by students. In public schools, the authors observed more visual saturation, a higher proportion of normative and decorative images, including advertising posters, and fewer images produced by students. Public school students utilise spaces where dominant discourses are mostly determined by adults, school administration or economic agents, which ends up offering fewer opportunities for them to explore and develop their expressive abilities. These findings are concerning, especially given the nation's efforts to improve the quality and equity of education (OECD, 2017).

From another perspective, commenting on the public policies that frame teacher education in Chile, Green (2015) suggests that schools, state agencies and teacher education institutions misunderstand the impact of visual resources in everyday pedagogical experience. Although the document 'Standards for Primary Educators' (Ministerio de Educación, 2012) pinpoints graphic resources associated with disciplinary teaching and learning (multimodal texts in language, geometric figures in mathematics, visual representations of organisms in science and maps in geography), it does not offer criteria to align these resources with the above quality and equity efforts. For example, teachers must favour images that reflect a diverse world or consider their students' interests.

In the case of the 'Non-disciplinary Pedagogical Standards for Primary Educators', the document establishes that teachers should create a stimulating and welcoming classroom environment, contribute to the development of a sense of identity in school and promote a school culture that respects students and their communities among other aspects (Ministerio de Educación, 2012). However, although images can effectively communicate these aims, the document does not consider visual skills as part of the professional competencies teachers should develop. Therefore, a gap exists between the alleged educational relevance of images and how teachers can use them in favour of rich pedagogical practices.

Schools embody visible discourses that need further discussions, teachers possess a critical role in the visual configuration of school spaces (though they lack the necessary visual training), and universities have the mission of educating future teachers. Accordingly, this study aims to address the following questions:

1. What are the dominant discourses that constitute the visible but hidden curriculum of a university of education? Through what visual styles are those dominant discourses expressed?
2. Does higher education anticipate, reproduce, critique or neglect the visual culture of schools?

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

To identify discourses expressed through visual styles at an education university and explore their connections with the institutions' hidden curriculum, we selected a critical visual methodology approach and performed a visual analysis based on Rose's (2016) discourse analysis (DA) [1]. DA aims to understand how structures and power relations work to produce a 'effect of truth' (p. 209). Rose distinguishes between two kinds of DA. DA I can be used with various historical and contemporary visual materials and focuses on images and the web of intertextuality in which they are embedded. DA II aims to understand how dominant institutions utilise images. It focuses on discourse articulation through institutional apparatuses and explores how discourses produce objects and subjects and their positions within institutions. Because this study aimed to analyse images displayed on the campus of an education university, we integrated both analytical perspectives.

As a case study (Cohen et al., 2007), we selected the oldest education university in Chile, founded in 1889 in Santiago. During the first half of the 20th century, it received European intellectuals who emigrated to Chile due to the World Wars (Sanhueza Cerda, 2013). When the civil-military dictatorship (1973–1989) took control of the country, professors and students suffered political

repression. Some were expelled, some executed, and some became *desaparecidos* (missing people). Such a recent and dramatic background has shaped the everyday life of this university, prompting explicit political participation as well as street protests and barricades. Due to changing national educational policies throughout its history, this institution has successively lost and recovered the condition of a state university (Quiroz, 2011). Nevertheless, its commitment to training future Chilean teachers is widely recognised. Currently, the university houses 19 undergraduate pedagogy programmes that train teachers in all school subjects and levels (mifuturo.cl, n.d.)

In a preliminary exploratory phase, we visited and walked around the campus and made a photographic record of visual artefacts. Building on the sensory turn of visual disciplines, different scholars have highlighted that visual images are produced and consumed in multisensory environments and experienced through multiple and intertwined sensory channels. Accordingly, we walked around this campus as �due form of engagement, [which is] integral to our perception of an environment' (Pink et al., 2010, p. 3). In other words, we approached walking as a visual experience that involves the eye and the mind and allows exploring different layers of interaction with the environment (Ingold, 2010).

Collecting and selecting visual sources

Following Pauwels' *Integrated Conceptual Framework for Visual Social Research* (2011), our visual sources included pre-existing (murals, graffiti, posters and various visual devices exhibited on the building's façades and the walls of corridors and classrooms) and researcher-produced visual artefacts (photographs taken during the walks around the campus). As a protocol, the photographic record included general views of interior and exterior spaces and frontal views of visual artefacts exposed on panels and walls of corridors and classrooms. From an exploratory perspective, we opted for an opportunistic sampling that allows ‘recording things which attract the researcher's attention' and can lead to new insights (Pauwels, 2011, p. 14). As a result, we obtained 187 photographs.

Visual analysis

The analysis moved from an open to a systematic exploration of raw data by perceiving the images in the most open and unstructured way and then contrasting those perceptions with specific visual evidence (Collier & Collier, 1990). We followed the DA stages suggested by Rose (2016): (1) looking at the sources with fresh eyes and immersing in them, (2) identifying key themes, (3) paying attention to their complexity and contradictions and (4) examining the invisible as well as the visible.

In the first phase of the analysis, we described the visual experience of walking around the campus: from the façade to the central and interior courtyards, to the corridors of different academic buildings and finally to the classrooms. Accordingly, we considered photographic records, field notes and information regarding the university's history. In this preliminary approach to the data, we observed a marked dissociation between outdoor images (with a predominance of mural painting, posters and graffiti and political content) and images inside the classrooms (with a high number of handmade visual artefacts, thematically associated with a stereotyped sense of childhood).

In the second stage, we constructed a systematised inventory of the 187 photographs taken during the walk. We grouped 98 visual artefacts into two main categories: (1) graphic interventions produced on the walls, including mural paintings, graffiti, scratches and stencil printing, and (2) artefacts stuck on the wall, including figures, plates or signs made with pencils or pens on paper or cardboard and artefacts reproduced by analogue or digital printing technologies, such as photocopying, digital printing and silkscreen or offset printing. Next, we noticed that the artefacts were displayed on seven types of surfaces: walls (53), bulletin boards (27), whiteboards (10), pillars (3), doors (2), windows (2) and trees (1).

To identify similarities and differences in themes, production technology and location, we coded the 80 artefacts displayed on walls and bulletin boards in a matrix[2]. This process required (1) familiarising the data, (2) generating initial codes, (3) looking for patterns, (4) reviewing the patterns and (5) refining categories. One researcher conducted the coding, and another audited them. Together, we checked each pattern and when discrepancies arose, we reviewed them for intersubjective reliability (Simons,

2009). This step contributed to the validity of the findings and ensured methodological integrity. Table 1 shows an excerpt from the analysis matrix.

TABLE 1. Visual artefact coding example.

FIGURE	DESCRIPTION	VERBAL CONTENT	THEMES	TECHNOLOGIES	LOCATION
3	A mural painting of young combatants	‘Remembrance for our young combatants’	Student protest, barricade, memorial	Paint on wall	Exterior Central courtyard
5	A poster denouncing the ‘safe classroom’ policy[3]	‘Say no to safe classroom policy’	Protest, denounce, education policy	Printed paper	Exterior Central courtyard
15	A figure of a clown drawn and cut out	-	Fun decoration, childhood	Colour pencils on cut paper	Interior Classroom

RESULTS

The results are organised in two sections: (1) an account of the visual experience of walking around the campus and (2) a discussion of the relationships between the themes, technologies and location of visual artefacts and the university’s visual styles and visual discourses.

Visual journey through a Chilean education university

This university has occupied the same campus for over half a century. It is located in a central sector of Santiago de Chile and comprises independent buildings of up to three floors that house classrooms, offices, laboratories and auditoriums. Courtyards, gardens and corridors connect the different areas of the campus and offer a meeting place for students during class breaks and free time (Figure 1). Walking around the campus is a visual experience due to the considerable number and variety of images displayed on the walls: large murals covering the facades of certain buildings, graffiti, advertisements, decorative elements and visual teacher aids in classrooms. The themes, sizes and techniques of the images are equally varied and are strongly related to their location.

FIGURE 1. The central courtyard of the campus connects two buildings that display murals with political themes.

Two buildings exhibiting wall murals on their facades flank the campus’ main yard (Figures 2 and 3). Figure 2 shows one person looking through their hands covering their face as if struggling between

daring or not to look. Transforming the brain into a burning wheel barricade, fire blends with working-class symbols (clenched fists, chains, gears) over the South American map. The face of a blindfolded indigenous woman emerges from the smoke. At her side, a figure with a helmet swings a truncheon. The text 'There will be nothing in our retina but the reflex of thousands of hands inciting revolt' runs from side to side. The mural reveals the tensions between being able to look and understand reality, the possibility of choosing not to look and the violence of being blinded.

FIGURE 2. Wall mural located south of the main yard.

The building on the opposite side of the yard displays a second mural headed by the text 'In memory of our young fighters' (Figure 3). The image shows a young woman facing straight ahead, holding out her hand to the observer. In the background, among the shadows of barricades and a city under the sunset, a smiling young man appears. According to the history of this university, these students were murdered during street protests (Barría-Cancino, 2012). In Figures 1 and 2, visual images work as political mechanisms, agents of change helping to preserve shared memories, denounce injustices, pay tribute to the fallen and even call to protest. Their size, location and state of conservation denote a certain institutional acceptance given that an administrative decision must be made to create and later preserve them. Arguably, the transgressive discourse of mobilised students has been institutionalised on the walls, becoming part of the dominant institutional discourse.

FIGURE 3. Wall mural located in front of Figure 2.

Throughout the external corridors' walls, productive and reproductive techniques overlap in a palimpsest-like style, providing a glimpse into different temporalities and creating a weave where it is difficult to establish the edges of each intervention. Hallways show posters, graffiti and scribbles on their walls. They allude to uprisings, riots, worker-led movements, invitations to gatherings and protests against free trade agreements (Figures 4 and 5). In these graphic interventions, the image maintains its function as a denunciatory device that recovers local memory, promotes social change and calls for protest. The themes are in dialogue with the epic discourses of the large murals in the central courtyard. Still, their peripheral location on the campus, mixed techniques, a less neat spatial organisation and a certain level of deterioration give the discourse a spontaneous, transitory and transgressive tone.

FIGURES 4 AND 5. Graphic interventions. Mural paints (Figure 4) and a poster stuck on corridor walls (Figure 5).

The external walls of the Primary Education Programme classrooms exhibit paintings of strange characters that catch attention. The first one evokes street art graffiti (Schacter, 2016). It has its face covered and carries a science book and a coloured Molotov cocktail (Figure 6). The other figure resembles a child with an inexpressive face, which could be a mask, and legs that grow into scissors. It plays a violin and is surrounded by a sun and a moon. Although it combines habitual childhood imagery, it is somewhat grotesque and evokes creatures with malevolent traits (Figure 7).

FIGURES 6 AND 7. Painting on the walls of an interior courtyard. A character carrying a science book and a coloured Molotov cocktail (Figure 6) and a strange character playing the violin (Figure 7).

An interior corridor connects the exterior of the campus to the classrooms of the English Pedagogy Programme. The empty white walls, together with the factory-like structure, tint this hallway with a static and anonymous flavour that sharply contrasts the outer walls. At the entrance, handmade coloured pennants mark out the limit between the exuberant visuality of the exterior and the interior space organised in the manner of a public school. As in a circus, they announce a childish environment (Figure 8).

FIGURE 8. Interior corridor of the English Pedagogy school.

In another corridor, one of the classroom doors has a text that reads: 'I fight for an education that teaches us to think and not for an education that teaches us to obey'. Such a critical message contrasts with the Mapuche flag surrounded by a list of pre-made and stereotyped useful phrases in this native language (Figure 9). The Mapuche represents 90% of the indigenous population in Chile (Ibáñez-Salgado & Druker-Ibáñez, 2018). Inside the classroom, a sign calling for a day of remembrance for 'the victims of police violence' can be seen, whereas at a short distance, cardboard cut-out figures of a sheep and a pig recall the iconography of children's products (Figures 10 and 11).

FIGURES 9, 10 AND 11. Primary Education Programme classroom door showing the text 'I fight for an education that teaches us to think and not for an education that teaches us to obey' (Figure 9); a sign calling for 'the victims of police violence' day (Figure 10) and cardboard cut-out drawings of a sheep and a pig (Figure 11).

The interior setting of this classroom reveals an awkward disconnection from the exterior campus' atmosphere. Almost no traces of political or social activism exist, except for certain graffiti on the windows. The typical disposition of desks, in homogeneous lines facing an imaginary 'front' framed by the instructor's desk, only adds to the impression that this standardised classroom is an unusual place to teach how to think 'outside the box' (Figure 12).

FIGURE 12. Interior of a Primary Education Programme classroom.

Inside another classroom, visual teaching aids for primary education can be seen where one written syllable is linked to an object that begins with that same syllable (Figures 13 and 14). In Figure 14, the 'TU' [tou] syllable overlaps the sketch of a toucan printed on white paper. It is an image downloaded from a website that offers resources to print and colour (guiainfantil.com, n.d.). Strangely enough, from Chile, one would have to travel at least 2000 miles to be able to see a real toucan.

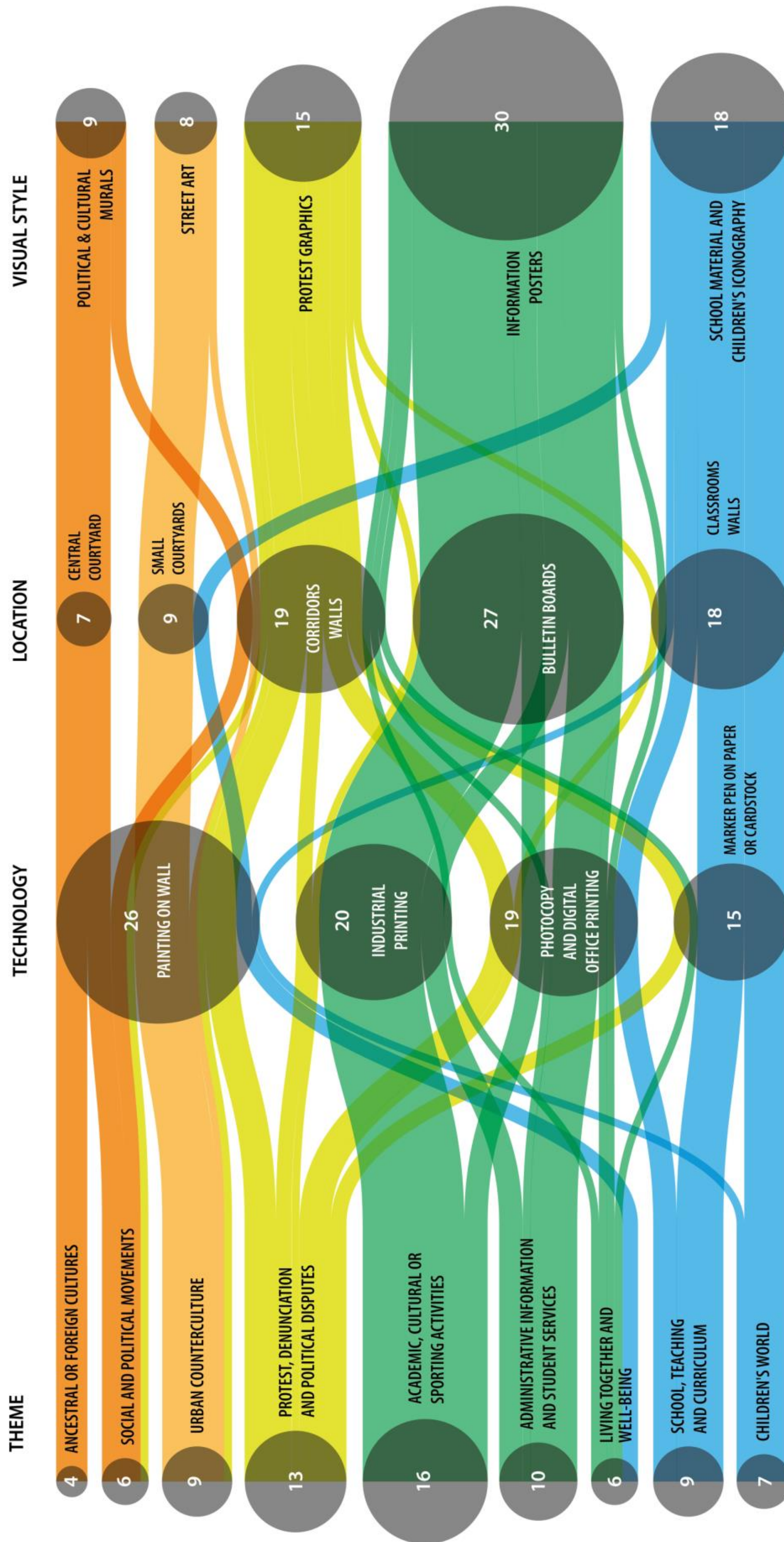
FIGURES 13 AND 14. Literacy methods using images and syllables.

On a wall opposite the whiteboard, a clown image hangs on the edge of the wall and the ceiling (Figure 15). The clown was drawn, painted and cut out by hand. The rhombus-pattern trousers and striped tie show that hard work was involved, strictly respecting the selected areas for each colour. The paper, too thin to withstand these interventions, warps out, evidencing a mismatch between the material's quality and its use. This stereotype of childhood fun seems out of context in the classroom of this university campus. It stands in stark contrast not only to the sarcastic figure with scissors feet playing the violin (Figure 7) but also to the statement written on the door promoting critical thinking (Figure 9) and the general atmosphere of the campus, which shows a critical view of reality, a desire for change and a solid connection to local contexts (Figures 2–5). Its presence in the classroom is justified solely by its belongingness to a traditional visual category of childhood, which persists without being disputed, although it happens in a context that questions the establishment.

FIGURE 15. Figure of a clown drawn, coloured and cut out on paper.

Relationships between themes, technologies and location of visual artefacts: A glimpse into the university's visual styles

After reviewing the inventory of visual artefacts recorded during the walk around the campus, we established patterns of the themes of the artefacts, the technologies employed in their production and their location on the campus. Then, we categorised the patterns and refined the categories through a constant comparison method (Flick, 2014). Finally, we counted the number of visual artefacts in each category and observed their overlap in terms of theme, technology and location, which contributed to identifying relationships (Graph 1). For example, political themes tended to be expressed through mural paintings in courtyards, and institutional information used printed technologies and was found almost exclusively on bulletin boards, whereas teaching aids and childhood references were mainly located inside classrooms using marker pens on paper or cardstock. Based on the convergence of themes, technologies and location of visual artefacts, we propose five visual styles that express coexisting discourses at this university campus and describe them in Table 2.



GRAPH 1. Graph 1 shows the relationships between theme, technology and location through lines of varying thickness. The thickness of the line is determined by the number of visual artefacts in each category. The visual style (on the right) synthesises these relationships.

TABLE 2. Description of the five styles observed in the university campus.

POLITICAL AND CULTURAL MURALS (e.g., Figures 2 and 3)		
THEMES	TECHNOLOGIES	LOCATION
• Political themes of an epic nature often associated with tributes to leaders of worker or student movements • Their iconography alludes to social movements (chains being broken, fists raised, fire, smoke and barricades). • To a lesser extent, some depict characters from local or foreign ancestral cultures.	• Large-scale murals (over 1,5 m) which require long periods of planning and production • They show high drawing technical skills and chromatic diversity. They look well preserved.	Located on the façades of 2–3-storey buildings in the central courtyard

STREET ART (e.g., Figures 6 and 7)		
THEMES	TECHNOLOGIES	LOCATION
• Expressive themes that are difficult to classify, such as bizarre characters with a sarcastic appearance • They do not include slogans or explanatory texts. Some have graffiti tags or signatures.	• Medium-sized murals (up to 1,5 m) which require a certain level of planning and production time • Possess good drawing technical quality, various colours and, in certain cases, graffiti elements	Often found on corridor walls or in small courtyards where fewer people pass by

PROTEST GRAPHIC (e.g., Figures 4 and 5)		
THEMES	TECHNOLOGIES	LOCATION
• They allude to social and student movements and commemorate students who died in protests. • They also denounce contingent political issues, for example free trade agreements, education policies, gender-based violence and reproductive rights. • Usually signed by social groups	• Varied and superimposed graphic interventions on walls, which make it difficult to identify where each begins and ends • The general style relies on saturation and fast execution. They show greater technical variety than the previous styles, including stencils, quick one-line graffiti tagging and printed or photocopied posters stuck on the wall.	Usually present in corridors

INFORMATION POSTERS		
THEMES	TECHNOLOGIES	LOCATION
• Information on various cultural and academic activities organised by different institutions linked to education, such as ministries, universities and research centres • Administrative information, such as timetables and course lists among others	• Full-colour printed posters, using industrial reproduction systems, such as offset or high-quality digital printing. • Photocopied or inkjet posters	Mainly located in official information places, such as bulletin boards or programme offices

SCHOOL MATERIALS AND CHILDREN´S ICONOGRAPHY (e.g., Figures 11 and 13–15)		
THEMES	TECHNOLOGIES	LOCATION
• Visual artefacts related to school curriculum content that function as teaching material • Decorative elements resembling traditional childhood themes and/or iconographies of the children's world, with no explicit link to the school curriculum	• They are made from paper or cardstock, handwritten or hand-drawn with crayons or coloured pencils • Some of them include cut-and-paste elements, such as hand-drawn or downloaded from the Internet and printed	Almost exclusively located in classroom walls

DISCUSSION

Building on previous investigations that analyse images in school contexts, this research addresses an unexplored aspect: the roots and branches of the visual culture of schools inside a teacher training space. The study sought to answer the following research questions: What are the dominant discourses that constitute the visible but hidden curriculum of a university of education, and through what visual styles are those dominant discourses expressed? Does higher education anticipate, reproduce, critique or neglect the visual culture of schools?

As one walks from the public exterior spaces of this education university, from its central courtyards and corridors to the educational programmes' classrooms, images gradually turn more prosaic and stereotyped, moving away from a strong protagonist role that preserves social memory and promotes cultural change to a decorative role subjugated to written messages. However, such a critical approach to reality is not transferred to an acute and innovative use of images in the context of classrooms where future teachers learn how to teach what and why.

We observe two strongly spatially segregated visual discourses that coexist with relative tolerance but little dialogue: a dominant emancipatory discourse that calls on young people to act as agents of change and an infantilised discourse associated with the teaching profession.

The exterior spaces are dominated by an emancipatory discourse expressed through large political murals (Figures 2 and 3) but also through interventions that evoke street art and protest graphics (Figures 4 and 5). This epic-toned discourse that circulates through courtyards and exterior corridors denounces injustices, pays tribute to martyrs, calls for protest and promotes social change. Along the corridors, urban-style interventions (Figure 6) attenuate the epic tone of that discourse but maintain its dissident character. Despite the evident transgressive tone of certain murals, their large size, central location and good state of conservation demonstrate the institutionalisation of the emancipatory discourse.

In contrast, a less articulated infantilised discourse circulates inside classrooms. This discourse does not respond to any particular political agenda or pedagogical approach. It expresses an anachronistic and decontextualised idea of childhood and teaching through decorative elements and teaching materials made of coloured cardboards (Figures 8, 11, 13–15). These visual artefacts are tailored to children but without their participation. On the contrary, they have been produced by young university students who are training to become teachers and have a teacher-in-training subjectivity. This discourse circularly reproduces itself by prolonging the school art style towards the university and anticipating the stereotyped representation of the world observed inside the school classrooms (Errázuriz & Portales, 2018). The university students who produced these artefacts may have learned a visual repertoire 'for children' as school students and will replicate it without further questioning it when they become teachers.

Contemporary issues that are relevant to these young people, such as gender equality, social justice and multiculturalism, and reveal a desired model of society do not have a visual correlation within the classroom. The Mapuche flag and useful phrases may constitute an exception (Figure 9), though the result is ambiguous in this case because the nobility of the flag is banalised by this standardised list of basic dialogues. Such dialogues are in sharp contrast to the aim to 'fight for an education that teaches us to think and not for an education that teaches us to obey'.

To summarise, why university students who walk every day by murals that promote critical thinking and social activism in education can become indifferent (or even pliant) to classroom images that continue to replicate inherited visual patterns is difficult to explain. The visual discourses of this university that are fully devoted to the education of teachers-to-be failed to retrieve elements from local reality that would help address diversity in contemporary terms as claimed by Burke and Grosvenor (2007).

Despite being a university with a long tradition of teacher education and considering the social critique that is constantly repeated in the various visual artefacts displayed on its walls, education and the role of the teacher as an agent of social change appear only marginally in the images of the campus. Many images show university students fighting for a noble cause but with almost no references to teachers who teach. Thus, the subjectivity of future teachers is lodged in the role of critical students

rather than related to a knowledgeable and professional teacher. In addition, visual references to childhood are scarce, stereotyped and confined almost exclusively to classrooms. No images of children appear in campus images, except for cartoon-like characters traditionally associated with infancy (Figure 15) or representations of objects and animals in a childish tone inside classrooms (Figure 11). In this sense, the university anticipates an adult-centric view of childhood which is omnipresent in the visual culture of schools (Errázuriz & Portales, 2018).

CONCLUSION

This work provides evidence that school visual culture is not encapsulated in school spaces nor is it only reproduced within schools. It is also reproduced in university spaces where future teachers are trained. In a world where millions of images are produced, reproduced and circulated daily on multiple digital devices to which today's children have access, teachers should question the point of perpetuating a child's visual style in the classroom.

One could argue that the school art style that Efland (1976) described as confirming the distance between the art world and the school is correlated with the gap between the themes and production technologies of images placed in the exterior and interior spaces of this educational campus. This phenomenon is problematic when considering Freedman (2003) and Kędra and Žakevičiūtė's (2019) warnings regarding universities' responsibility to develop future teachers' visual education. In this sense, as stated by Corbetta and Dussel (2018), the way visual resources are handled inside classrooms evidence a trivial comprehension of visual images by future teachers and an anachronistic view of childhood. The overwhelming impression is that teachers have an outdated and context-less image of children in their minds and, therefore, choose to use anachronistic and stereotypical images in their classrooms.

Although the results presented in this study are not generalisable to other contexts, they advance criteria for teacher education regarding skills for the critical management of school visual environments (Bravo, 2023). Future research in different geographical and cultural contexts could deepen the relationship between the visual cultures of schools and those of institutions that train teachers-to-be. Similarly, exploring future and in-service teachers' beliefs and habits regarding using images in teaching contexts is necessary.

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[1] Building on Foucault, Rose affirms that discourses frame images' materialities, meanings and political implications as definitive and undisputable.

[2] The other 18 artefacts displayed on whiteboards, pillars, doors, windows and trees were discarded, either because of thematic saturation or because their location and production technology revealed an ephemeral situation. For instance, whiteboard artefacts were often hanging on a strip of adhesive tape, and photocopies of other artefacts were displayed in bulletin boards.

[3] Law No 21128, 'Safe Classroom', seeks to strengthen the powers of school principals to expel or cancel the enrolment of students involved in cases of violence. Its legislative process was controversial, as its detractors claimed that the law criminalised student protest and the Senate Constitution Committee went so far as to claim that the spirit of the law contradicted the Constitution (Retamal Salazar, 2019). The law was finally promulgated in December 2018 (Law No 211128, 2018).