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Searching for Hidden Assumptions: a Critical Discourse Analysis of British Columbia's
Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreement Policy

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Doctor of Education

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ABSTRACT

There exists persistent disparity in the achievement of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal public school students in British Columbia (BC), Canada. The international literature stresses that education has the power to improve the lives and futures of indigenous peoples through the use of government policy. With that in mind, this study sets out to critically analyse BC's Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreement (EA) policy texts to better understand how Aboriginal education in BC is shaped, formed and reformed in the production and interpretation of the province's policy discourses. The study makes use of interviews and Fairclough's (2015) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to uncover the discursive and social factors at play in the production and interpretation of BC's EA policy from the time of its creation in 1999 through to the Ministry of Education announcing their withdrawal from directly supporting the policy in 2016. The study concludes that the processes involved in EA policy production and interpretation within the broad social conditions and specific institutional settings of BC education may combine to sustain the current power relationships within Aboriginal education in BC. However, in some cases, the agency of policy interpreters does allow them to resist those aspects of the policy's discourses which place western educational value over traditional cultural understandings. Thus, the production and interpretation of BC's EA policy discourse is both normative and creative and acts to both sustain and subvert the current power relationships between those producing and interpreting the policy.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BC	British Columbia
BCCPAC	BC Confederation of Parent Advisory
BCCT	BC College of Teachers
BCPVPA	BC Principals and Vice Principals Association
BCSTA	BC School Trustees Association
BCTF	BC Teachers Federation
CBE	culturally based education
CAC	Chiefs Action Committee
cda	critical discourse analysis
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CMEC	Council for Ministers of Education, Canada
CST	Critical Social Theory
CT	Critical Theory
DIAND	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
EA	Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreement
EBP	evidence based policy
FNESC	First Nations Education Steering Committee
FNSA	First Nations Schools Association
FSA	Foundation Skills Assessment
INAC	Indian and Northern Affairs Canada
ITK	Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MR	member resources
NAEA	National Assessment of Educational Achievement
NZ	New Zealand
OECD	Organization for Economic and Co-operative Development
PAC	Parent Advisory Council
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
RCAP	Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
TRB	Teacher Regulation Branch
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UN	United Nations

US United States
UNPFII United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

“I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.”

Printed Name: Lawrence Tarasoff

Signature: 

CHAPTER 1: BEGINNING AN ANALYSIS

That education has the power to improve the lives and futures of indigenous peoples is clearly expressed throughout both the global literature (Organization for Economic and Co-operative Development [OECD], 2010, 2012 and 2017; United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues [UNPFII], 2009) and the literature from Canada (Friesen & Krauth, 2012). Further, the literature consistently advances the position that there is an ongoing need for government intervention to address the disparities between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples through the use of policy. The use of policy by governments to intervene in the education of peoples and the political agendas and philosophical stances which underlie these policies, are central issues in this study.

This study sets out to critically analyse British Columbia's (BC's) Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreement (EA) policy texts as well as transcripts of interviews with BC Ministry of Education policy producers and BC public school district level policy interpreters to determine how Aboriginal education in BC is shaped, formed and reformed in the production and interpretation of the province's policy discourses. In this study, I use the term discourse to mean the use of language, be it written or spoken, by social actors in specific settings (Wodak, 2008). That is, discourse is the way in which people are able to represent their worldview at a particular time and place (Fairclough, 2003). Policy discourses are texts and statements which are reflective of the worldview of the policy's producer and reflect the producer's member resources (MR), the common-sense assumptions and expectations of the producer, including their ideological assumptions and their understanding of "truth".

Like any government policy text, BC's EA policy is 'intertextual' (Kristeva, 1986) and political. That is, it is built on previous policy texts just as '[a]ny text is a link in a chain of texts, reacting to, drawing in, and transforming other texts' (Fairclough, 2001c, p. 233) and it is produced in the 'dynamics of the various elements of the social structure and their intersections in the context of history' (Olssen, Codd and O'Neill, 2010, p. 2). It is formed from discourses found in previous political texts including discourses critical of BC schools, their lack of success (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a) and the need to include Aboriginal parents and communities in decision affecting the education of their children (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples [RCAP], Vol. 1, 1996). The BC EA policy, just

like the texts it is built upon, is formed in and reflective of the various related discourses produced and reproduced within the social structures of its time.

Throughout this study, I use a variety of terms to refer to the Aboriginal Peoples who, as a result of the colonization of North America by Great Britain, reside in present day BC and Canada. I acknowledge that each term is defined below only as I use them in this study as their use remains, to varying degrees, contested throughout the literature. Aboriginal is, under the Constitution Act (Canada, 1982), the legally recognized inclusive term for the Indian, Metis and Inuit peoples of Canada. I use this term to refer to these three groups as a whole. This is the term the BC Ministry of Education uses throughout its education policies and, as this study is primarily focused on BC education policy, Aboriginal is the default term I use throughout. Although the term “Indian” is now considered outdated and somewhat offensive, it remains a legal term and continues to be used in Canadian federal government policies and as such I use it when necessary; however, when possible, I use the term “First Nation” as the federal government recognizes this as the term preferred by those who they continue to call Indian in their policies for legal reasons (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada [INAC], 2014). Under the Indian Act (Canada, 1985) there are three recognized categories of Indian: Status Indian, Treaty Indian and Non-Status Indian. Status Indians are those individuals registered as Indians with the federal government. Treaty Indians are Status Indians who belong to an Indian Band. Non-Status Indians are those who identify as Indians, but who are not entitled to register as such. Metis are those who trace their ancestry to both First Nation peoples and European settlers. The Inuit are a distinct group of culturally similar peoples inhabiting the Arctic regions of Canada. At times I refer to indigenous people. By this I mean people who the United Nations (UN) (nd) names as those who self-identify and are accepted as a part of a community which maintains historic continuity with its pre-colonial/settler language, culture and beliefs; has a strong connection with its traditional lands; and is a non-dominant group within the existing national society. I use indigenous as an inclusive term to refer to the more than 370 million indigenous people who live in 70 different countries worldwide.

Next, I turn to the rationale for this study, including the social context of the study and my motivation for undertaking a critical analysis of BC’s EA policy. I then introduce the

theoretical framework and methodological approach for the study. I conclude the chapter with the research questions and the general structure of the study.

1.1. The Rationale for a Critical Analysis of Aboriginal Policy

In this section, I consider the broad social conditions surrounding Aboriginal education policy production and interpretation in Canada and BC since the turn of the century to establish both my motivation for undertaking this study and my choice to take a critical stance as researcher and analyst.

1.1.1. The Current Context

Indigenous Education is a growing focus of concern in BC, Canada and around the world. Indigenous peoples do significantly less well as measured by international, national and locally developed standardized student assessments. This “gap” in educational achievement between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples has been linked to significant deficiencies in indigenous health, employment and quality of life. Avison (2004) and Gordon and White (2014) describe a persistent negative achievement gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students in Canada and Richards (2014) states that the low levels of educational attainment by Canadian Aboriginal people is a major cause of their chronic poverty. Government policies and lack of policies, including those focused on Aboriginal children in the education system, directly contribute to Aboriginal people having lower health, education and economic outcomes than non-Aboriginal people in Canada (Battiste, 2013; Paquette and Fallon, 2010; RCAP, 1996; Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), 2015a).

The situation in Canada is complicated by the constitutional split of government powers with First Nations and their lands as a federal responsibility and school age education as a provincial matter. This split of issues has led both federal and provincial governments to largely neglect Aboriginal education policy production (Paquette and Fallon, 2010). In 1999, the United Nations Human Rights Committee expressed its concern that Canada had not yet addressed the significant policy issues faced by Aboriginal peoples as stated in the RCAP (1996) recommendations. The TRC (2015a) found that most of the RCAP’s

findings and recommendations have been ignored by government leading to a continuation of the policy issues identified in 1996. BC's Provincial Health Officer issued a report in 2009 that mirrors the 1996 RCAP findings, specifically noting that in the province, Aboriginal education achievement and completion lags far behind that of the non-Aboriginal population of the province (British Columbia, Provincial Health Officer, 2009), while Malatest and Associates (2002) found that BC's education gap is historical, persistent, consistent with the gaps found in other post-colonial jurisdictions and plays a key role in perpetuating the cycle of low income and poor health experienced by many Aboriginal people in BC. The Auditor General of British Columbia's (2015) report on Aboriginal Education concluded, in part, that the BC Ministry of Education had not provided the education system with sufficient direction and that better informed policy decisions could lead to better outcomes for Aboriginal students. In short, Aboriginal education in Canada and BC is seen as a policy issue which has not yet been successfully addressed, let alone "solved".

The growth of neo-liberal influences in education policy in BC, especially after the election of the Liberal Party of British Columbia in 2001, marked the beginning of a number of widespread public policy initiatives aimed at creating choice throughout the province (Fallon & Paquette, 2008). Developed within a global policy environment which has largely focused on supporting globalization (Ball, 1999; Levin, 1998), these initiatives have had a profound impact on BC's education system and led to the adoption of educational policies from other jurisdictions focused on public choice, autonomy, flexibility, accountability, institutional devolution and competitiveness (Ball, 1999; Levin, 1998) as solutions to persistent educational issues. These policies have been adopted and adapted for the BC education system (Fallon & Paquette, 2008) and its students, including those who identify as Aboriginal. The international and local focus on competitiveness and accountability has led to a spread of education policy focused on closing any disparities in the performance of identifiable groups of students including, in BC, Aboriginal students who, as a whole, are the lowest performing group on the standard measures of education achievement used by the provincial Ministry of Education (BC Ministry of Education, 2016b). The major policy tool used by the Ministry of Education to address Aboriginal education is the EA policy.

Kitchenham et al. (2016) state that while EAs are mentioned frequently as a promising policy based approach to closing the gap in Aboriginal education, there are very few research studies focused on BC's EAs available. There are in fact, just two case studies of individual school districts and two broader studies which consider EAs across multiple districts. All four studies come to the conclusions that within the BC public school system, there is the need to further develop pedagogy, resources and practices which are more inclusive of Aboriginal learners; the way to do this is to expose all students, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal to these; and that EAs, while able to be improved, are the best way currently available to carry out this work. The findings of the studies are largely focused on improving the current implementation of the existing EA policy, rather than examining the underlying historical and contemporary discourses and assumptions upon which the policy was produced by the Ministry of Education and is interpreted by the province's 60 public school districts.

1.1.2. My Motivation

I have worked as a school and district administrator in BC for 18 years, and as a teacher for eight years prior to that. In these roles, I have been privileged to have extensive contact with a large number of Aboriginal students, families and communities; however, I have struggled to reconcile the disconnect I consistently see between the vibrant cultural and social life evident within Aboriginal communities and the lack of Aboriginal student connection and success within formal school settings. For example, I have seen children as young as five years old serving food, seating Elders and engaging with their peers and supervisors in a very grown-up and responsible fashion one day, and the very next day have observed these same children act withdrawn, uncooperative and to seemingly be incapable of the simplest of tasks in the school setting. At the secondary school level, students who are capably raising families, paying bills and holding down jobs are apparently unable to successfully complete courses specifically designed to prepare students to plan for their transition from school to real life. These are just two examples of a seeming character transformation that I have witnessed time and again in a wide variety of communities and schools across many years. This apparent loss of ability based on students' environment has been a major source of professional frustration as, being a non-Aboriginal person, I am often at a loss as to how to bridge the gap so that the Aboriginal

children can find the same success at school that they demonstrate in their communities. I suspect that this gap is due to a fundamental cultural disconnect between the values and structures of the BC public school system and those of Aboriginal students but this is strictly an opinion. A major motivation in conducting this research is to find out if there is research that supports my suspicion. As I set about to undertake this study, I initially planned to investigate the cultural disconnect between home and school from the perspective of the children and their families. However, I quickly realized that my interpretation of what Aboriginal people told me, given my own upbringing and cultural biases would likely lead me to a place where I would be appropriating their “voice” for my own purposes, as well meaning as my efforts might be. It became clear to me that rather than attempting to speak for Aboriginal children, families and communities, I should instead seek to conduct research within a context where I can speak authentically. Given that I have spent the entire 26 years of my professional life working in a world of public education policy and that in my various roles I have been a policy producer, policy interpreter, policy implementer and policy critic, it makes sense to me that my study should focus on providing the voice of public education policy producers and interpreters with a focus on Aboriginal education in BC. As BC’s EA policy is the government’s major Aboriginal education policy tool and as it has not been critically analysed in the research literature, a critical analysis of the policy is warranted both to test my suspicion around cultural disconnection and to add a different perspective to the current body of EA policy research.

1.2. Introduction of the Theoretical Framework

This research aims to use a research approach, critical discourse analysis (cda), based on the theoretical, underpinnings of Critical Theory (CT), to identify and critically examine the discursive and social factors at play in the production and interpretation of BC’s EA policy texts from 1999 – 2016. Bohman (2015) considers CT to have a specific and a broad definition. Specifically, CT refers to the work of the Frankfurt School and its philosophers and social theorists who were critical of the oppressive nature of twentieth century capitalism and Soviet socialism. They defined their various works as “critical” as opposed to “traditional” because each critical approach had at its roots the practical purpose of seeking ‘to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them’ (Horkheimer,

1982, p. 244). CT in the broader sense has arisen from the application of this practical pursuit of human liberation across a wide variety of social movements.

The application of CT through research makes use of critique to root out the assumptions upon which the most powerful in a society produce and reproduce the rules, often expressed as authoritative discourses through government policy, by which that society is structured (Foucault, 1988). For Foucault (1988),

critique is not a matter of saying that things are not right as they are. It is a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought the practices that we accept rest... (p. 154).

It is this Foucaultian approach to critique as a search for assumptions based on the dominant discourses of Canadian society which lie hidden within the text of BC's EA policy which I emphasize in developing my theoretical framework.

Scholars across a variety of academic disciplines are increasingly aware of the power of blending two or more traditional academic disciplines to fully investigate complex research questions (Aboelela et al., 2007). This multiple-perspectives approach is sometimes referred to as 'interdisciplinarity' (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 3). One research approach that supports an integrated approach to studying policy text, discourse and social conditions is critical discourse analysis (cda). Cda is a problem-oriented and thus necessarily interdisciplinary approach to research (Wodak & Meyer, 2009) that draws on insights garnered from academic disciplines such as linguistics, philosophy, and sociology (Meyer, 2001). Moreover, cda approaches share a common interest in exposing and interrogating ideologies and power through the investigation of semiotic data, be that written, spoken or visual (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Cda is the approach that I will use to both frame a coherent theoretical framework for this study and later a specific methodological approach to consider BC's EA policy.

There are multiple forms of cda. In fact, Wodak and Meyer (2009) identify six major approaches. Beyond the multiple approaches to critical discourse analysis (cda) further confusion can arise as some authors, particularly those who are associated with the form of cda developed by Norman Fairclough, refer to their approach as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In order to differentiate between approaches, I will use lower case

lettering and the acronym “cda” to refer to the general field of critical approaches to discourse analysis and will capitalize the first letter of each word and use the acronym “CDA” to refer to Fairclough’s specific approach. It is Fairclough’s CDA approach that I will follow to critically analyze the discourses related to the production and interpretation of BC’s EA policy.

Cda’s problem orientation and concern with exposing ideologies and relationships of power are, like CT, grounded in the critical perspectives of the Frankfurt School and the French philosopher Michel Foucault, giving researchers employing cda the opportunity to develop and account for a critical position that is appropriate to their particular studies (Rogers, 2011) and to identify actions to help resolve the identified issues (Fairclough, 2015). Fairclough (2015) differentiates between what he terms ‘normative critique’ (p. 12), the identification of discourses that perpetuate untruths, injustices and the like as features of an existing social order, and ‘explanatory critique’ (p. 12), the examination of the social order in which these discourses exist with an unjust discourse being in that sense a symptom of a wider issue within the social order. The wider issues are often related to imbalances of power that are inherent within and help to form and reproduce the hegemonic structure of society (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). This study will seek to provide both normative and explanatory critique of BC’s EA policy.

Fairclough (2015) ties his CDA to the work of the French academic Michel Foucault, particularly as it relates to the role of ideology and power in the structuring of society. Foucault (1977) sees power as being diffused throughout society, a reality of social existence and in a sense, creating that existence. For Foucault (1977) and Fairclough (2015), power can be seen as positive, as in the case where governments have power given to them through a democratic election process by a society. In these cases, the government’s power over the people who make up that society can be seen to be legitimate since power and power over is necessary for any government to move its agenda forward. However, when the majority consents to give a government power over and the power is used to favour that majority to the detriment of minority groups, or when the power is used for the benefit of the elite to maintain the social structure to their benefit, then power can be seen as coercive and negative. Power is often manifested through powerful discourses where those receiving the discourse are unaware of the motives of those producing the

discourse, so the power is a ‘hidden power’ (Fairclough, 2015, p. 27). It is through this hidden use of power, that Fairclough (2015) says ‘the whole social order of discourse is put together and held together’ (p. 83). Ideologies are examples of discourses used to hold together the social order in which the power is hidden from the receiver in the guise of common sense. Gramsci (1971) uses the term hegemony to describe the use of hidden power by the dominant groups in society to maintain social order through coercion using ideological discourses based on common sense. Fairclough (2015) maintains that ideologies, hidden discourses and common sense are all open to normative critique, but that the social conditions in which these arise require an explanatory critique such as offered by CDA and thus, it is this theoretical model that I use to frame this study.

1.3. Introduction of the Methodological Approach

For this study, I will undertake a cda of BC’s EA Policy using the CDA approach of Norman Fairclough (2015). CDA offers a structured critical approach to frame EA policy interpretation and implementation as a “problem” that lends itself to examination through language as a socially mediated system of representation (Fairclough, 1995). Fairclough’s (2015) CDA methodology sees texts, such as BC’s EA policy, as one dimension of a discursive event with the other dimension being an instance of social practice. To uncover and interrogate the discourses hidden within a text, Fairclough moves each text through the three stages of his CDA model (see Figure 5-1):

Stage 1: linguistic description of the text

Stage 2: interpretation of the text during the process of its production and reproduction

Stage 3: explanation of the social conditions impacting the texts production and reproduction

Fairclough (2010) posits a three-part definition or test of what “counts” as CDA. CDA is part of an explanatory ‘systematic transdisciplinary analysis’ (p. 10) of the relationship between discourse and social processes; includes a systematic analysis of discourse (texts); and is ‘not just descriptive, but also normative’ (p. 11) as it not only identifies social wrongs, but also offers potential actions to address these. Wodak and Meyer (2009) state that Fairclough’s CDA relies heavily on existing texts to gather data and uses limited

examples from the data collected. The examples are specifically selected to support the researcher's claims. Recognizing the limited scope of data and selective use of evidence in Fairclough's method, in this study I use other related texts as well as semi-structured interviews with EA policy producers and interpreters to provide further relevant data to enhance the validity of the research findings. Yin (2003) describes this process of considering more than one source of data and data collection as triangulation or 'converging lines of inquiry' (p. 98) to provide validity. In summary, the data for the study consists primarily of the finding from a CDA of BC's EA policy texts and the transcribed comments of interview participants collected through a series of 20 interviews: six with policy producers at the provincial level and 14 with policy interpreters at the school district level.

In order to meet the three CDA tests of Fairclough effectively, I have relied on the philosophical, political and sociological work of Fraser (1997), Cairns (2000), Kymlicka (1989, 1995), Turner (2006), Foucault (1977, 1979, 1998), Bourdieu (1984, 1990, 1991) and Schouls (2003) to bring an interdisciplinary, systematic and normative perspective to the discursive and social conditions impacting on the historical and contemporary development, interpretation and implementation of BC's EA policy.

1.4. Research Questions

This study seeks to use CDA to analyze BC's EA policy to better understand the role of the policy in the education of BC's Aboriginal public school students. The two major questions which guide the research are:

1. What are the discursive and social factors affecting and being affected through the production of BC's EA policy?
2. What are the discursive and social factors affecting and being affected through school district's interpretation of BC's EA policy?

1.5. Organization of the Study

The second chapter of this study is a review of the international literature related to the stated goals of Canada's and BC's indigenous education policies. Three other countries, Australia, New Zealand and the United States, are used as policy comparators to first identify and then examine common international themes related to indigenous education policies. The chapter concludes with a specific review of the four research based studies of BC's EA policy.

The third chapter sets the historical and contemporary policy context for the study. The chapter begins with a critical overview of First Nations policy in Canada through the frame of three dominant liberal ideologies: classical liberalism, social justice liberalism and neo-liberalism, present at various times in Canada's First Nation policy discourses from colonization until the late twentieth century. The role of liberal discourse in the lives of First Nation peoples is highlighted with specific examples of competing discourses of how best to address First Nations policy in the area of education. Next, I examine a more recent federal policy discourse focused on giving First Nation peoples control over First Nation education through the devolution of control over education to local First Nations communities. I conclude the chapter with a critical overview of the BC Aboriginal education context from 2000 – 2016.

In Chapter Four, I lay out a theoretical framework based on the CDA of Fairclough (2015) and the theories of Foucault (1971, 1972, 1977, 1979, 1998), Gramsci (1971) and Bourdieu (1977, 1991) on the role of power in a society. The focus of the chapter is to build a case for CDA as an appropriate approach based on the theoretical and interdisciplinary approaches available to CDA through its focus on discourse, critique, power and ideology.

Chapter Five begins with a detailed description of Fairclough's CDA model and the steps involved in applying it to discourse. First, I provide an overview of discourse as social practice by considering language as it relates to discourse and orders of discourse within the frame of CDA before turning to a consideration of policy and its reproduction. I then outline how CDA is understood and will be used in this study to consider policy documents and interview transcripts from both policy producers and policy implementers.

Next, I cover study bias, data collection and procedures in turn. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of ethical considerations during the study.

In Chapter Six, I outline the application of the CDA methodology to the EA texts and interview transcripts, collect data to be used in answering the first research question and complete Stage One of the CDA.

In Chapter Seven, I complete Stage Two and Stage Three of the CDA and offer some thoughts on the challenges I faced in applying the CDA model that underpins the study. Next I review data revealed through the coding of the interviews and use this to supplement the CDA data previously collected. I conclude the chapter by answering the two research questions.

In Chapter Eight, the last chapter, I summarize the study and place the findings into the broader international context of indigenous education. Next, I offer a specific recommendation to support the work of policy producers and interpreters working with BC's Aboriginal education policies. I then discuss the contribution and limitations of the study before concluding with some thoughts on future direction for study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

There is an ongoing global interest in the education of indigenous students and the impact of education on the life chances of indigenous peoples (OECD, 2017; Jacob, Liu and Lee, 2015; United Nations, 2008; Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Iverson, Patton & Sanders, 2000) with much of the focus on what national policies exist to close the achievement gap between indigenous and non-indigenous students and various debates focused around the relative success or shortcomings of these policies. The purpose of this chapter is to review the relevant body of literature related to indigenous education policies in Canada and specifically British Columbia (BC) and to place these in the global context in order to provide a summary of the current state of research in this area. Specifically, the review considers these questions:

1. What are the current themes evident in indigenous education policies?
2. What are the current debates around indigenous education policies advanced in the literature?
3. Based on the literature, what conclusions can be drawn about the relative effectiveness of various indigenous education policy directions?
4. And finally, what gaps remain in the literature?

Randolph (2009) states that the stages for conducting secondary research, such as this literature review, should parallel the process of primary research. As such, this review follows the stages of problem formation, data collection, data evaluation, data analysis and interpretation and presentation of findings.

I begin the chapter by defining how I will refer to a variety of indigenous peoples named throughout government policies and the research literature. I then lay out the problem to be considered in this review and outline my data collection methodology. Next, I summarize the current international research literature around state education policies related to indigenous peoples by considering the Canadian government's indigenous education policy goals in the context of three other comparator countries' governments' goals. Several themes emerge from this consideration. I analyse each theme as it is addressed in the research literature before turning to the specific literature around Aboriginal Education

Enhancement Agreements (EAs) to place this specific BC policy into the international research context. I conclude the chapter by identifying a place for this study within the current research literature on indigenous education policy.

2.2. Defining Key Terms

As I have already addressed the terms Aboriginal, First Nation, Indian, Metis, Inuit and indigenous in Chapter One, I will not repeat those definitions here. However, I will define indigenous education, Australian Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander, Maori, Pasifika, Native American, Alaska Native and Native Hawaiian. These terms, used by a broad range of researchers, politicians, social activists and others across a broad range of perspectives (Jacob et. al, 2015), are contested and appear throughout this literature review. As such they require clarification as to how they are used here.

In this study, indigenous education has two meanings. First, it means the elementary and secondary education offered to indigenous students by a state or other educational jurisdiction. Second, following Jacob et al. (2015), it means the way in which ‘individuals gain knowledge and meaning from their indigenous heritage’ (p. 3) including their language, culture and identity. This dual meaning of indigenous education and the tension between the two meanings help to frame my review of the literature related to indigenous education below.

The indigenous peoples of Australia are comprised of Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, two groupings which differ one from the other both ethnically and culturally and each of which contains many culturally distinct sub-groups (Brandle, 2001). In this review, Australian Aboriginal peoples are those indigenous peoples who have traditionally been located on the mainland of the Australian continent and Torres Strait Islanders are those indigenous peoples who traditionally occupy the islands of Torres Strait off the coast of Queensland. The indigenous peoples of New Zealand are comprised of Maori and Pasifika peoples. In this study, the Maori are those indigenous peoples who have traditionally occupied New Zealand and the Pasifika are those indigenous peoples of Pacific islands who now reside in New Zealand (Cram, Phillips, Sauni & Tuagalu, 2014). The indigenous peoples of the United States of America (USA)

are comprised of Native American, Alaska Native and Native Hawaiian peoples. In this study, Native Americans are those indigenous peoples who have traditionally occupied the continental portion of the USA. Alaska Native peoples are those indigenous peoples who have traditionally occupied the area comprising the state of Alaska and native Hawaiians are those indigenous peoples who traditionally occupy the Hawaiian Islands (Jacob, Liu & Lee, 2015).

2.3. Indigenous Education: A Policy “Problem” to be Considered

I think it is fair to say that most scholars recognize that there are ongoing and significant negative disparities in the widely used measures of economic, health and social conditions experienced by indigenous peoples when compared to non-indigenous populations (OECD, 2017; Jacob, Liu & Lee, 2015; United Nations, 2008; Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Iverson, Patton & Sanders, 2000) and that these “gaps” are a significant and ongoing legacy of the colonial system and the power relations established at that time (Jacob, Cheng & Porter, 2015; Battiste, 2013; Gandhi, 1998; Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1995). Further, education is widely seen as one key factor that can empower indigenous peoples to address these disparities (TRC, 2015a; Paquette, Fallon and Managan, 2013; Nguyen, 2011; Paquette and Fallon, 2010). However, there remains significant debate about how best to use indigenous education as a policy tool to improve the situation. This debate goes as far as asking whether or not the education gaps identified in research are actually relevant. Kowal (2008) argues that the very use of the term “education gap” and the stated desire to close it perpetuates historical colonial binaries between colonizer and colonized by assuming that there should be no gap in educational or in fact any desired attainment measure between those of different cultures. But, she questions, who decides what is desirable? She points to remedialism as a version of liberalism that subscribes to the belief that the issues in the lives of indigenous people can be addressed through good governance and that this will allow indigenous people to attain the “good life” comprised of westernized housing, education, employment and health. The act of imposing liberal western education standards as the “right” measures of success, presupposes the inherent superiority of those standards and is based in colonial discourses and the power relations as historically established by these same discourses. While recognizing the difficulty inherent within the concept of closing the educational gap through policy, I will continue to use the term

throughout this study as it is a terminology used by most policy makers and researchers, particularly in the North American context, and as such, while requiring critical examination, it needs to be acknowledged as a key component of historical and contemporary indigenous education policy discourses.

The issues around the best use of indigenous education policy are complicated by a number of factors including the tension between education as a mechanism for reinforcing the language, culture and values of the state, education as a means of promoting indigenous language, culture and values, and a lack of quality research upon which to formulate policy. Kymlicka (1989), Schouls (2003), and Turner (2006) each point to the philosophical tensions which are apparent between education as a vehicle for state building through curriculum designed to support national citizenship and education as a means to promote minority rights as key to understanding the issues facing indigenous education policy makers. I will return to the tension between state and minority rights briefly in my description of indigenous education, below, and again, in more depth, when I consider the historical and contemporary discursive context in which Canadian Aboriginal education policy was and is formed in Chapter Three, but for now, suffice to say that it exists, is an issue for policy makers and is considered extensively in the literature.

The OECD (2017) cautions that there is a dearth of quantitative research studies on indigenous education and that more quantitative research is warranted. Craven (2005) cites a historic lack of quality indigenous research in Australia with that which is available suffering from a number of methodological flaws. The Council of Education Ministers of Canada (CEMC) (Friesen & Krauth, 2012) cite a lack of appropriate evidence as a major issue in Aboriginal education decision making, with several provinces and territories lacking a mechanism to identify and track Aboriginal student data and each province and territory collecting data using a variety of different tools and at different grade levels. This lack of consistent data and quality research is a major problem for policy makers in Canada, with what studies do exist being largely qualitative, small scale and varying in rigor (Raham, 2009). Friesen and Krauth (2012) see the lack of Canadian studies, most notably quantitative studies, as an impediment to improving indigenous education and Purdie and Buckley (2010) make the case for improved indigenous education data collection in the Australian context noting that there is a need for reliable evidence to

evaluate programs so that effective policy can be developed and implemented. However, there is a growing argument that the traditional western scientific approach to research, grounded as it is in the empirical measurements associated with what is seen as “truth” in the west, is incompatible with indigenous ways of learning and knowing and that indigenous approaches to research and evidence, focused on holistic indigenous knowledge systems, relationship between researcher and participants, reciprocity to the community and indigenous research methods including oral history and storytelling, are more appropriate for studies of indigenous education (Kovach, 2015). In particular Kovach (2015) notes the difficulties inherent in conducting indigenous research in the language of the colonizer and the conflicts which arise when trying to fit indigenous research findings into a language which lacks the ability to convey the depth of the findings. The need to focus on indigenous rather than western empirical research methods, including oral history, story and traditional world view, is advocated by many of Canada’s leading Aboriginal scholars (see Battiste, 2013; Kirkness, 1999; Atleo, 2004). While acknowledging the need for indigenous research methods, in this literature review, I have made the choice to seek out studies grounded in empirical measurement when possible to align with the measured “truth” of the education gap as quoted throughout various official government education policies from countries around the world (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada [INAC], 2017; Education Council, 2015; New Zealand, 2015; United States, nd) and as identified in western research methodologies. I do this to seek out the empirical evidence that is alluded to in policy discourses. However, my literature searches confirm that there are relatively few examples of these.

From those few empirical studies that are available (several of which are focused on post-secondary, rather than school aged students) it is apparent indigenous peoples around the world have generally lower performance, relative to their proportion of a given population, on traditional western measures of educational success including school retention and graduation, and university registration and graduation (Brayboy et al., 2012; Cerecer, 2013; Ewan, 2011; Goldsmith et al., 2004; Langdon & Ma Rhea, 2009; Rigby et al., 2010). Further, indigenous peoples do significantly less well as measured by international, national and locally developed standardized student assessments such as the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development’s (OECD) Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) (Song, Perry & McConney, 2014), the United States’ National

Assessment of Educational Achievement (NAEA) (Kellaghan, Greaney & Murray, 2009) and the BC Foundation Skills Assessment (FSA) (Friesen & Krauth, 2010), respectively. Further, as I outline below, governments view the lower performance of indigenous students on traditional measures of academic achievement as an issue warranting policy intervention.

2.4. Methodology

Indigenous education policy is a broad topic and thus requires some clear explanation of the scope to be used in selecting papers and texts to be used in this review. I began by reviewing a number of widely read journals, including *Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, *Canadian Journal of Native Education* and *Educational Theory* in order to get some understanding of the general themes prevalent in the current literature related to Indigenous education and to get some understanding of what sorts of policies are being debated. I used this overview to design and then run a series of database searches using ERIC, EBSCO, Nexis and ProQuest, querying “Indigenous education policy,” “Aboriginal education policy” and “Native education policy.” For each search, I limited the returns to peer reviewed texts. I then reran the queries adding + Canada, + Australia, + “New Zealand” and + “United States”, in turn for a total of 15 searches. I added Canada and the three other specific countries to my queries for two purposes. First, I did this in order to limit my research to Canada and a few example countries rather than all countries as the scope of this literature review is limited, the four countries seem to have the largest volume of research available and, as the initial results were somewhat overwhelming in volume¹, some practical constraint, such as choosing sample countries, is appropriate to focus the research. Second, I chose the three nations, Australia, New Zealand and the United States, as representative of countries whose indigenous education policies attempt to balance indigenous identity with mainstream educational integration and address the tensions between these. I should note that my selection of these three countries is a reflection of my choice to focus on postcolonial, westernized, economically developed countries, each of which was colonized by Great Britain, has English as the dominant language, has a history

¹ For example, my search for “Aboriginal Education Policy” on EBSCO returned 2180 items.

of assimilation and residential schools, has a significant gap in educational achievement between the indigenous and non-indigenous populations and is undertaking some form of indigenous education policy initiative in an attempt to close the education achievement gap. This choice reflects these countries' similarities to Canada and is in no way meant to diminish the importance of other indigenous populations throughout the world nor the work of other states to address indigenous education through policy.

In order to organize the results of my queries, I first compared the stated major indigenous education policy goals of each of the three representative countries' governments to those of the Canadian government to find common themes (See Table 2-1). I then organized selected articles from my queries within each of the themes and added any major national commissions and studies, as available, for summary within each common theme.

Next, I ran database searches of ERIC, EBSCO, Nexis and ProQuest, querying "Enhancement Agreement", "Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreement" and "British Columbia" + Aboriginal + Enhancement in order to locate research articles related to BC's EA policy. These searches turned up only four research studies focused exclusively on EAs which use primary research to validate their findings. Two studies are case studies with each focused entirely on one school district, while two studies take a broader perspective and consider EAs across multiple school districts. I incorporated the common themes arising from the consideration of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States into my consideration of the four studies related to BC's EA policy to place it in the context of the international literature.

2.5. The Goals of Indigenous Education

The international literature consistently points to two interrelated goals for indigenous education as the keys to improving system outcomes. First, indigenous learners must be enabled, through their education, to have a full understanding of their identity as an indigenous person. That is, they must be able to understand their culture and language as it connects them to society both historically and in contemporary times (Jacob, Cheng, and Porter, 2015; Battiste, 2013; Kirkness 1999). This awareness of identity is referred to as critical consciousness (Freire, 1993) or indigenous consciousness (Smith, 2004), which,

following Marker (2004), I define as an understanding which confidently grounds an indigenous student in society and empowers them to act.

The second goal of indigenous education prevalent in the literature is some form of integration of indigenous students into the mainstream education programs offered by the state as a way to improve the students' life chances. Historically, indigenous education policy approaches have focused largely on assimilating indigenous students into the majority culture by repressing or eliminating indigenous language and culture and there is current literature which supports some aspects of assimilationist policies, albeit in a softened form where the discourse is focused on integration of all students into an education system that emphasizes universal values which are applicable to all cultures, rather than repression of traditional culture (Richards, 2014; Helin & Snow, 2013; Richards, 2013; Richards, Hove & Afolabi, 2008; Widdowson & Howard, 2008; Flanagan, 2000). These studies largely highlight the importance of preparing indigenous students to participate in the dominant society on an equal footing with the majority culture in order to eliminate the deficits in economic, health and social outcomes which currently exist, as the reasoning for their approach and make no mention of who decides what constitutes a "universal truth". Many researchers call for approaches to indigenous education that focus on finding a way to successfully blend the two goals such that indigenous students will be able to confidently walk in their indigenous society and the mainstream globalized society. Speaking about the American education system, Deloria and Wildcat (2001) state that

... the educational journey of modern Indian people is one spanning two distinct value systems and worldviews. It is an adventure in which the Native American sacred view must inevitably encounter the material and pragmatic focus of the larger American society (p. v).

In the Canadian context, this educational journey, one which requires the ability to walk in the two systems and worldviews, is described by Bartlett (2012) as two-eyed seeing

... which encourages learning to see with one eye with the best in the Indigenous ways of knowing and from the other eye with the best in the mainstream ways of knowing, and most importantly, learning to see with both eyes together - for the benefit of all (p. 1).

The dual definition of indigenous education I use in this study, that is the inevitability of an education achieved on a journey involving both traditional indigenous ways of learning and the education offered to indigenous students by the state, is consistent with the concept

of two-eyed seeing as one eye focuses on gaining knowledge based on traditional indigenous ways, while the other eye attempts to reconcile with and adapt to what is made available from the education that is being provided by the state. It must be noted that despite the use of the two-eyed or two-worlds descriptor by many indigenous researchers, this frame is also subject to challenge as a ‘framework birthed from a colonial past and adapted over time to produce an institutionalized ethnocentrism’ (Buss & Genetin-Pilawa, 2014, p. 6). For these scholars, the binary created in western society between the world-views of indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, creates a convenient shorthand, tied to colonial ideas and designed to sort and deal with the very complex issues facing indigenous peoples today by framing them in a concept where western values, such as the necessity of empirical evidence to establish truth and the need for students of all cultures to achieve equally well on learning assessments, set the norm. However, given the prevalence of the use of the two-world or two-eyed model both in research and policy approaches, I feel that on balance, using two-eyed seeing is appropriate in this study. The two-eyed seeing approach is further reflected in the tension between educational policy as a tool for building universal citizenship and as a tool to protect and enhance minority rights.

The vast majority of states’ indigenous education policy programs reflect some understanding of the tension between majority and minority education rights and as such lie somewhere along a continuum between a fully separate education system for indigenous students with a focus on indigenous language, culture and identity, and a fully integrated education system where no minority views are incorporated into public schooling (INAC, 2017; Education Council, 2015; New Zealand, 2015; United States, n.d.). Schouls (2003) sees the normative task of modern political theory as dealing with the issues that arise when distinct minority groups, including indigenous peoples, each trying to maintain their own cohesion, must be accommodated within pluralistic democratic modern liberal states. He says that the major issue facing policy makers is ‘how institutions of liberal democracy might make room for the recognition of group diversity (p. 17). This challenge is captured within the international literature around indigenous education policy, as I will outline below.

With the definition of education as two-eyed seeing and the lenses of the two major goals of indigenous education policy as underpinnings, I turn now to examine the current international debates around indigenous education policy by considering a number of themes present in the literature. This review focuses on the government of Canada and three comparator nations: Australia, New Zealand and the United States, as representative of national governments whose indigenous education policies attempt to balance indigenous identity with mainstream educational integration.

2.6. Indigenous Education Policy in Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Canada

In order to gather the broad themes for this review, I first reviewed and then summarized the stated indigenous education policy priorities for Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Canada as published by their respective state education bodies. I should note here that unlike Australia, New Zealand and the United States, Canada does not have a federal education entity responsibility for the public education system, as education is constitutionally the responsibility of each province and territory. However, the education ministers from each of the ten provinces and three territories work together through the Council for Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) to articulate agreed to goals around a variety of educational issues, including Aboriginal education and as such I have used their stated Aboriginal goals as outlined in their publication, *Key Policy Issues in Aboriginal Education* (Friesen & Krauth, 2012) as a baseline for Canada's goals. Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), does have a national responsibility for the education of First Nations students. A review of INAC's *2017-2018 Departmental Plan* (INAC, 2017) shows three goals: increased delegated funding to First Nation communities and organizations to address local education priorities; early childhood education; and system capacity building including teacher education. These goals largely align with those of the CMEC and taken together form a solid outline of Aboriginal education policy goals for Canada.

The major policy document(s) and the priorities for the governments of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States are summarized in Table 2-1.

Table 2-1.
Key Indigenous Policy Documents & Priorities

Canada	Australia	New Zealand	United States
Key policy issues in Aboriginal Education (Friesen and Krauth, 2012) and Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada – 2017-18 Departmental Plan (INAC, 2017)	The National Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander Education Strategy (Education Council, 2015)	Ka Hikitia – Accelerating Success 2013-2017 (New Zealand, 2015) and Pasifika Education Plan 2013-2017 (New Zealand, nd)	Title VI – Indian, Native Hawaiian, and Alaska Native Education (United States, nd)
System capacity, teacher education and funding	Leadership, quality teaching and workforce development	Organizational success	Culturally appropriate and effective instruction
Language and culture programs	Culture and identity	Language	Languages, tribal histories, traditions, and cultures
Community and parental engagement	Partnerships	Parents, families and communities	Programs that promote parental involvement
	Attendance		
	Transition points including pathways to post-school options	Tertiary education	
Early childhood education	School and child readiness	Early learning	Early childhood and parenting education programs
Student outcomes	Literacy and numeracy	Primary and secondary education	Meet state academic standards

From Table 2-1, it is clear that the four nations share a number of indigenous education policy priorities which I have further summarized into the following five themes:

1. System capacity: instruction, leadership and resourcing of indigenous education,
2. Indigenous language and culture programs and supports,
3. Community and parental involvement in education,
4. Early childhood education,
5. Academic achievement.

These themes are evident in a number of commissions and reviews of indigenous education as well as in the research literature. The policy documents make extensive use of quantitative research as evidence to support their policy goals. Much of my focus over

the next five subsections, one for each theme, is to determine the relevant research base and rigor of the quantitative studies used to support the four nations' indigenous education policies.

2.6.1. System Capacity

The governments of Canada, the United States (US), Australia and New Zealand (NZ) all identify aspects of system capacity including instruction, educational leadership and program resourcing as important policy goals for indigenous education. High quality teaching is 'the most influential point of leverage on student outcomes' (Alton-Lee, 2003, p. 2). Numerous evidence-based studies suggest that the majority of the variance in student achievement is attributable to teaching and the classroom learning environment (Scheerens, Vermeulen & Pelgrun, 1989; Haycock, 2001; Hanushek, Kain & Rivkin, 2003; Whitehurst, 2002; Willms, 2000). Researchers in Canada, the US and Australia have identified a number of common characteristics of effective teachers of indigenous students including: relationship building (Melnechenko & Horsman, 1998), community connection (Fulford et al., 2007), the use of humour (Cleary & Peacock, 1998) and good pedagogy (Tharp, 2006). However, the literature also points anecdotally to a shortage of teachers with these characteristics both worldwide and specifically in Canada (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami [ITK], 2008; Philips, 2008; Fulford et al., 2007). One solution advanced by indigenous communities and organizations is the development of more indigenous teachers (TRC, 2015; Assembly of First Nations, 2010; RCAP, 1996). While there are no quantitative studies of the effectiveness of matching indigenous educators to indigenous students, there is one quantitative study from the US which found that academic achievement improves when a student is from the same racial group as her teacher (Dee, 2004). Luke et al. (2000) point to the complex nature of teaching and the difficulty in quantifying teaching practice as creating a situation where pedagogy is largely ignored in educational policy formation and there is little evidence of specific policy practices focused on improving teacher pedagogy in the literature reviewed for this chapter aside from the occasional mention that teacher pedagogy is important and should be improved.

The body of international research fully supports the assertion that the quality of school leadership is critical for student achievement (Fullan, 2003; Cotton, 2003; Barth, 2002) and

anecdotal and case studies support this finding specifically for Aboriginal students (Phillips, 2008; Fulford et al., 2007; Bell et al., 2004). School principals have complex roles which require skills in school administration, teacher training and support, community building (both within and without the school), assessment, instruction and curriculum (Sparks & Hirsh, 2000). Case studies by Phillips (2008) report that principals of schools with largely Aboriginal students face extra challenges both from working with populations who are more likely to have learning disabilities, poor health and poor attendance and from having fewer resources, be those financial resources or trained and available staff and community-based supports, to meet the students' needs.

In Canada, much of the qualitative literature is focused on the disparities in funding for Aboriginal students with the general hypothesis being that more funding for Aboriginal education will allow for an increase in a variety of supports which should help to provide a "better" education (Paquette, Fallon & Mangan, 2013; Drummond & Rosenbluth, 2013; Paquette & Fallon, 2010). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's *Calls to Action* (2015b) has several recommendations for the federal government including developing a joint strategy to eliminate education gaps, providing sufficient education funding and eliminating the discrepancy in education funding between on and off reserve children. The CEMC (Friesen & Krauth, 2012) identifies a lack of organizational structures and resourcing as areas to address in order to improve Aboriginal education; however, citing Hanushek (2006), they recognize that increased resourcing does not typically produce better results. In one quantitative study that considers Aboriginal student funding, Battiste et al. (2011) report a substantial improvement in reading scores for Aboriginal students in those school districts in British Columbia that accessed additional Aboriginal support funds and used these to provide extra supports for Aboriginal students' language development.

2.6.2. Indigenous Language and Culture

Literacy skills are critical for school success and the early acquisition of these skills are a strong predictor of school completion (Snow, Burns & Griffin, 1998). O'Sullivan (2008) links the development of reading skills to students being taught to read in their first language. Indigenous peoples, both historically and in contemporary times, have focused

on their indigenous languages as key to their identity (Norris, 2007) and vital to the preservation of indigenous knowledge, history, culture and identity (Battiste, 2002; Battiste, 2000). Despite the negative experiences of many Indigenous peoples with state education systems, schools are viewed as institutions of a system which can be used to protect, promote and revitalize Indigenous languages and cultures (TRC, 2015a; ITK, 2008; Fulford et al., 2007; RCAP, 1996). Similarly, despite the historic repression of Indigenous language and culture and the colonizing role of the school systems in Canada, Australia, NZ and the US, schools are now seen as key sites for the promotion of culturally based education (CBE). Research suggests that it may be the disconnect between Indigenous cultural values and norms and those of westernized education systems which frequently leads to the disengagement of Indigenous students from schools (August, Goldenberg & Rueda, 2006; Whitbeck, 2001) and that strong cultural identity is key to Indigenous student success (Barker, 2009). CBE is a somewhat contested term with a number of definitions and goals (Kanu, 2005), but here I use it to refer to the general idea that teachers should reinforce, not repress, student's cultural identities to promote school success.

In Canadian publications, acquiring an Aboriginal language and learning in an Aboriginal language (Norris, 2007; McIvor, 2005), Aboriginal language and cultural knowledge (Guevremont & Kohen, 2011) and participating in language and cultural instruction (Taylor & Wright, 2003; Wright & Taylor, 1995) are reported to have a positive impact on school achievement. While the reports show a positive effect between language and culture and school achievement, none have an experimental design in which the positive effects can be said to be directly attributable to language and culture rather than other potential factors (Friesen & Krauth, 2012). Evidence from the US supports the anecdotal Canadian assertions to a degree. The U.S. Department of Education (2001) found that the research into American Indian language and culture 'generally supports the premise that students do well when their language and culture are incorporated into their education' (p. 16) and Demmert (2001) and Deyhle and Swisher (1997) found Native American language programs are associated with improved school outcomes. Despite the positive assertions from American research, Demmert & Towner (2003) found only two quantitative studies which demonstrate a clear causal link between any programs of language or cultural instruction and improved school outcomes. Tharp (1982) found evidence of positive effects

on reading scores from a reading program that incorporated Native Hawaiian culture and Lipka and Adams (2004) found positive effects from a culturally based math program for Alaska Native students. In NZ, the Ministry of Education (2007) states that students in schools where they receive the majority of their instruction in Maori meet the national literacy and numeracy standard more often than those where Maori instruction is less than 50 percent. Sternberg (2007) has used quantitative studies to support his conclusions that when cultural context is addressed in a variety of educational settings that students' talents are better identified and utilized, schools instruction and assessment practices are better and the greater society benefits from these improvements.

2.6.3. Community and Parental Involvement

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's *Calls to Action* (2015b) includes a recommendation that the Canadian government include legislation which enables 'parental and community responsibility, control, and accountability' and which allows parents to 'fully participate in the education of their children' (p. 2) and several studies demonstrate increases in general student achievement when there are partnerships between parents, communities and schools (Walberg, 1999; Epstein, 2001; Dryfoos and Knauer, 2002). These findings do not necessarily remain consistent across different groups of students with Demmert (2001), and Bull, Brooking and Campbell (2008) finding the impacts of parental involvement to be quite varied and inconsistent across different student groups and Lowe (2007) noting possible negative impacts for those students with parents who are not engaged with the education system. Within indigenous communities, many parents remain reluctant to fully engage with schools as they fear that schools still have an assimilationist agenda and the purpose of perpetuating colonial values (Battiste & McLean, 2005; Goddard & Foster, 2002; Brown et al 2009).

Increased parental and community engagement with the education system is a key vision of Canadian Aboriginal organizations (Chabot, 2005), although the research in this area is quite scant with few studies available with a robust research design (Friesen and Krauth, 2012). Deforges and Abouchaar (2003) report that parental involvement and attitudes towards school have a significant impact on a child's education and Nechyba, McEwan and Older-Aguilar (1999) find that parental engagement also has a significant impact, but

that evidence of the impact of community engagement is limited. Qualitative research has consistently pointed to a lack of Aboriginal parent engagement (Friesen & Krauth, 2012) due to systemic and historical barriers including: negative past education experiences, poor communication, racism, cultural disconnection and poverty (McDonald, 2009). A variety of interventions have been proposed to address the issues (McDonald, 2009; Malatest & Associates, 2002), but the literature is largely silent in terms of assessing these interventions.

In the US, the Indian Act of 1972 recognizes partnerships between schools and parents (including tribes and representatives of native communities) as essential to improving academic performance among Native American students. Demmert's (2001) literature review of the recognized partnerships between American Indian parents, tribes and community representatives and their schools provides evidence that these partnerships improve student performance. While Demmert (2001) found that much of the literature on school/parent partnerships was composed of descriptive case studies which lack quantitative measures, three studies did provide measurable outcomes which linked: parental involvement to improved student achievement at the secondary school level (Leveque, 1994); community/teacher partnerships to higher success in rural secondary schools (Kleinfield, McDiarmid & Hagstrom, 1985); and parent/family relationships to motivation and academic success (McInerney et al., 1997).

In NZ, a study of low achieving primary students found higher reading gains for those students whose parents took part in a program to help them learn how to help their children read (Biddulph, Biddulph & Biddulph, 2003) and that the program is particularly effective with Maori and Pasifika learners (Alton-Lee, 2003). McKinley (2000) found higher student achievement in Maori schools as compared to other schools due to the connections between the Maori schools, parents and community.

In Australia, Lowe (2007) and Schwab (2001) conducted measurable evaluations of projects designed to improve Indigenous student outcomes with both studies concluding that those projects which failed to meaningfully involve parents or connect to the Indigenous community were less successful in improving student outcomes.

In sum, the collection of research literature around the effectiveness of strategies to increase parental and community engagement on student achievement is very limited. Desforges and Abouchaar (2003) state that evaluations of interventions are so technically weak that it is impossible on the basis of publicly available evidence to describe the scale of impact on pupils' achievement (p. 5).

2.6.4. Early Childhood Education

The TRC (2015b) calls on governments to 'develop culturally appropriate early childhood education programs for Aboriginal families' (p. 2) reflecting the wide held belief that early childhood education has been "proven" to have a significant impact on later education success. However, Friesen and Kruth (2012) point to significant gaps in the research around the effectiveness of early childhood education in general and a complete lack of any formal research based evaluations to determine the effectiveness of early childhood programs for Aboriginal children. Most of the evidence supporting early childhood education comes from the US where studies by Deming (2009), Ludwig and Miller (2007) and Garces, Thomas and Currie (2002) show positive effects for children involved in Head Start programs in terms of secondary school graduation, reduced criminality and improved health. However, using a randomly assigned research design of a national sample, Puma et al. (2010) found that the cognitive effects of Head Start on test scores were no longer significant after children were out of the program for one year. Moving to the school setting, Cooper et al. (2010) and Lash et al. (2008) found that the current body of research into full-day kindergarten is so methodologically weak that it should not be used as a basis for any assertions around the effectiveness of these programs on the whole.

2.6.5. Academic Achievement

The governments of Canada, Australia, NZ and the US all identify gaps in the academic achievement of indigenous students when compared to the general population (NZ, n.d.; US, n.d.; INAC, 2017; NZ, 2015; Education Council, 2015). The TRC (2015b) calls for the federal government to work with Aboriginal groups to eliminate the gaps in education between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians within one generation. However, as

noted above, there remains a significant lack of quality educational research in the area of indigenous education. The vast majority of research which is described in the literature as solid and unequivocal in terms of increasing academic achievement is that which refers to studies where the interventions are being applied to and measured for all students in a sample group, not indigenous students. So, while high quality teaching and school leadership are important areas for educational policy consideration for all students, they have not been proven to increase indigenous student achievement as compared to all student achievement.

2.7. Summary of National Policies Review

Based on the review above, it appears that despite the reliance of many post-colonial neoliberal governments on policy making based on empirical evidence, the research used to support indigenous education policy is weak (OECD, 2017; Friesen and Krauth, 2012; Raham, 2009). From the literature reviewed, it is apparent that there is a particular gap when it comes to quantitative research and studies with rigorous research designs. Despite this, the governments of countries such as Canada, Australia, NZ and the US continue to create indigenous education policies without the rigorous research based evidence that perhaps is assumed to exist. Why is this?

The use of research in forming policy goals or evidence based policy (EBP) has been studied in some depth in the area of health care (Oliver et al., 2014; Orton et al., 2011; Innvaer et al., 2002) with three common findings. First, one barrier to EBP is the restricted contacts and relationships between policy makers and researchers. Second, there is a barrier due to research which is not clear and accessible. Finally, there is a disconnect between what policy makers view as evidence as compared to an academic definition of evidence. In reviewing the five policy themes common to Canada, Australia, NZ and the US, I note that the disconnect between the academic and policy definition of evidence appears to be prominent. The use of anecdotal evidence and evidence based on individual case studies to create national indigenous education policies seems clear. The current state of research, which generally lacks empirical evidence and consistent research methodology, does not appear to support the notion that Aboriginal education policy decisions generally rest in solid empirical evidence. This finding supports my premise that

a research study, such as this one, with a focus on a critical discourse analysis of a particular Aboriginal education policy, can meaningfully inform policy making in BC, nationally and internationally.

2.8. Current Aboriginal Education Policy in BC

The Ministry's Aboriginal Education Branch, working in a consultative fashion with various provincial organizations and stakeholders, is responsible for developing policies to guide the education of Aboriginal students in BC's public schools (Archibald & Hare, 2016; Aman, 2013). The BC Ministry of Education has, since 2003, tracked the progress of self-identified Aboriginal students separately and reported selected data from this tracking annually (Archibald & Hare, 2016). This data has shown a provincial trend of improving results for Aboriginal students; however, there still remains a large gap between the achievement of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students (Aman, 2013). Several quantitative studies have looked at the trend of improvement and the continuing achievement gap (Aman, 2013; Friesen & Krauth, 2010; Richards, Hove & Afolabi, 2008; Richards, 2014; Richards, 2013) and each concluded that while BC is making the most progress towards improving Aboriginal student achievement of any province in Canada, there remains a sizeable gap between the achievement of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students. Beyond the tracking of Aboriginal student data separately, one key area that the research has consistently highlighted is the policy work BC has done around supporting the implementation of EAs, since they first entered policy in 1999, with the implication being that EAs are key to the relative success that BC is having in closing the achievement gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students.

2.8.1. Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreements

The necessity of policy to support EAs and other Aboriginal education initiatives is acknowledged on the BC Ministry of Education (2017a) EA website which states that '[h]istorically, British Columbia schools have not been successful in ensuring that Aboriginal students receive a quality education...'. To address this, the Ministry of Education along with the Chiefs Action Committee, the federal Minister of Indian and

Northern Affairs and the President of the BC Teachers Federation signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) in 1999 that pledged a new commitment to Aboriginal student school success in BC. Out of this pledge came EAs, formal five-year working agreements collaboratively developed between school districts, local Aboriginal groups and communities and the Ministry of Education. EAs are designed to improve the educational achievement of Aboriginal students attending BC public schools by establishing common definitions of academic success for Aboriginal students between schools and communities, along with agreed goals and measures to track progress towards that success (Kitchenham et al., 2016). EAs ‘...stress the integral nature of Aboriginal traditional culture and languages to Aboriginal student success’ (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a) and are intended to support the development and dissemination of Aboriginal knowledge, culture and ways of learning to all students in the province (Kitchenham et al., 2016). At first examination, EA policy appears to focus on three of the five themes evident in the four national policies reviewed above. Specifically, the policy documents point to academic achievement, community and parental involvement and Aboriginal language and culture as key themes. The policy documents are silent around the themes of system capacity and early childhood education.

While EAs have never actually been mandated, they have been the primary policy tool the Ministry of Education has relied on to increase Aboriginal student success and to share Aboriginal language, culture and ways of learning with all students (FNESC, 2016). Kitchenham et al. (2016) point out that despite the focus on EAs in the literature around BC’s education system, there have been very few studies conducted into their impact.

2.8.2. Research Studies of EAs

As stated above, despite the numerous studies and literature reviews which mention EAs as a promising practice for Aboriginal student support, my database searches turned up only four research studies focused exclusively on EAs which use primary research to validate their findings. Two studies are case studies, each focused entirely on one school district, while two studies take a broader perspective and consider EAs across multiple school districts.

2.8.2.1. Single District Case Studies

White et al. (2012) conducted a study to examine educators' perspectives on the implementation of EAs in the Burnaby School District, a large urban district in BC. This study is quite limited partially because it is context specific to the setting and structures of one school district, but mainly because it involves just five participants completing a 19-question survey. Despite the small sample set, the authors coded the responses by theme and found that within the district context, Aboriginal student success continues to be measured in terms of Eurocentric values, especially academic achievement, as opposed to the more holistic values of traditional Aboriginal societies. Further, they found that in the Burnaby District, while information around EAs travelled well vertically between the district office and individual schools, it did not move well horizontally between schools. The study focuses on recommendations directly related to school staff that the authors believe will help to decolonize the education system in the District through increased awareness of the need to incorporate approaches to address the colonial legacy within classrooms and schools. Specifically, the authors call for more focus on educating teachers about the holistic decolonizing approaches present within their local EA through professional development and district wide communication. It is worth noting that the findings focus on using the EA to build teacher capacity, one of the themes specifically absent from the Ministry's EA policy documents.

McLean (2008) conducted a study of the role of education leaders in the Southeast Kootenay School District, a small rural school district in eastern BC. He acknowledges as one of the study's limitations the focus on the setting and structures of one district; however, unlike the limited responses in White et al. (2012), this study received questionnaire responses from almost two hundred participants representing Aboriginal learners, their parents, community members, school trustees, district staff, principals, teachers and support staff and incorporated interviews and a review of pertinent texts and data in order to look for triangulation through a mixed methods approach. McLean states that this broad set of perspectives and linkages to Ministry of Education texts and data make the study's findings applicable beyond the specific school district setting. The study's focus is on how best to close the achievement gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal learners by effectively implementing the District's EA within the scope of

Ministry direction and existing district structures. Similarly to the White et al. study, the findings of this study are also largely around the need to build system capacity with a focus on both teachers as instructional leaders and school and district leadership as well. Neither of the single district studies give consideration to the social conditions and discourses surrounding the development and implementation of BC's EA policy, but rather take the view that the policy is the correct policy approach to addressing Aboriginal education and then focus on recommendations for improving its implementation.

2.8.2.2. Multiple District Studies

The Castlemain Group (2013) conducted a study to examine the impact of EAs on Aboriginal academic achievement, the development and dissemination of Aboriginal language and culture and the relationships between school districts and Aboriginal communities. This mixed methods study, which takes a decolonizing perspective to the Eurocentric BC school system, reviewed EA reports, examined district and provincial level data and considered the information gathered in an online survey (to which over 300 responses were received), as well as interviews of those involved with implementing EAs. The report concluded that EAs do focus on tracking and improving academic achievement and that they have led to an improvement in the relationships between Aboriginal communities and school districts. However, it found there remains a need to incorporate Aboriginal language and culture more effectively into all aspects of public education.

Kitchenham et al. (2016), undertook a study to 'develop a better understanding of the impact of EAs in supporting Aboriginal education across BC school districts and to make recommendations on future change' (p. 9). The study follows a mixed-methodology in which the authors conducted a qualitative content analysis of 22 EAs and EA Annual Reports, an online survey of the 22 districts and interviews and focus groups in four of the 22 districts. While acknowledging the need for a decolonizing approach to BC's Eurocentric education system, the study remains pragmatic to the realities of the education system in BC. The study's six recommendations are: district and school leaders need to be transparent in the EA process; the Ministry of Education and school boards need to increase professional development for staff around the goals of EAs; the Ministry of

Education and school districts need to foster and build upon EA relationships; EA results should be widely shared; parents and students should be signatories and active members of EAs; and the Ministry of Education and school districts should incorporate culturally relevant education pedagogy, resources and practices are all tied directly to the existing school system. Again, neither study gives consideration to the social conditions and discourses surrounding the development and implementation of BC's EA policy and instead, accept EAs as the correct policy with a focus on how to improve the implementation of EAs within the existing BC educational system structures. The study by Kitchenham et al. does focus on the need to build system capacity with a focus on building teacher understanding, pedagogy and practice around Aboriginal education. Unfortunately, it is unclear what may become of the recommendations from these few studies as beginning in 2016, the Ministry is no longer directly involved in the development or implementation of EAs; although they will still encourage them (FNESC, 2016; BC Ministry of Education, 2017a).

2.9. Conclusion

There are five prominent themes evident in the indigenous education policies considered in this chapter: system capacity, language and culture, parental and community involvement, early childhood education and academic achievement. Undergirding each theme are the dual goals of indigenous education: enabling identity and supporting life chances. The search for ways to allow indigenous students to be successful at two-eyed seeing, that is supported in receiving all the benefits from developing their indigenous capacity while at the same time developing their ability to succeed within the dominant culture, creates tensions which leads to debates about how best to address each theme.

It is clear from the literature reviewed that there are evidence based findings which support some themes more than others. Building system capacity through increased capacity in instruction and leadership and reading instruction in a child's first language have a broad evidence base supporting their application. Community and parent involvement and linking indigenous culture to school culture are less well evidenced and early childhood education and increasing resourcing lack compelling evidence as strategies which impact positively on indigenous educational outcomes.

Indigenous education policy making is a complex issue and it is not just determined by research evidence. As stated in Chapter One, policy is intertextual and political. It is not independent of the policy text and discourses that precede it nor the political motivations and aspirations of those who determine it. Further, as discussed above, there may be a disconnect between what policy makers understand as evidence as compared to an academic definition. This may lead to the use of evidence which is discursively consistent and politically convenient as opposed to evidence which is academically rigorous. Given the widespread focus of indigenous educational policies locally, nationally and internationally onto areas which lack solid research based evidence, there is a need for further research into indigenous education policy.

In BC, the EA policy suffers from a lack of research based evidence both for its initial structure and its prominence as the primary policy tool for Aboriginal education improvement. Given the lack of evidence to support the structure and implementation of EA policy in BC, there is a need for further research into this specific policy as a structure appropriate to address Aboriginal education in BC such as I will undertake with this study.

In the next chapter I undertake a critical review of Canada's Aboriginal policies from initial colonization through to contemporary times to historically situate the current debates around Aboriginal policy within the various forms of liberal hegemony which have dominated Canadian views on what is "true" about Aboriginal peoples over the past five hundred years.

CHAPTER 3 THE HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT OF ABORIGINAL POLICY MAKING IN CANADA

Grace (1990) states that, ‘the danger for policy-makers of ignoring history is that the analysis of policy issues becomes literally superficial...’ (p. 116) and for Foucault (1984), “truth” is always historically contingent. It is clear that both the history and the interdiscursivity of Canada’s Aboriginal policy discourses must be considered in this study as the discourses, both overt and hidden, in British Columbia’s (BC’s) Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreement (EA) policy will be linked to those that came before. So, while it is not my intention to write a comprehensive history of Canada’s policy relationship with its Aboriginal peoples here, I do believe that it is critical to establish a basic historical discursive context for this study as discourse shapes history through its historical impact on societies, just as historical discourses shape contemporary discourses through interdiscursivity. In this chapter, I will touch on a few significant policy discourses to give a broad overview of the relationship between the Canadian state and the Aboriginal peoples who live within its borders, their connection to counter discourses from social justice movements and their linkages to Aboriginal education policy in the hopes that this limited, but focused consideration of history will lead to a more contextualized and thus less superficial analysis of the specific policy discourses related to BC’s EA policy texts in later chapters. In this chapter, I make use of Foucault’s (1977) notion of genealogy to trace, albeit broadly and through a limited set of examples, both what has been considered truth and accepted as common sense, and what has been contested over the historical relationship between successive Canadian governments and the Aboriginal peoples who live within the Canadian state.

This chapter is divided into three parts, each of which critically examines one of the three “eras” of federal liberal policy discourse as it has impacted on Aboriginal education policy. In the first part, I consider classical liberalism and the associated discourse of cultural assimilation using selected historical examples, including Residential Schools policy. Next, I consider social democratic liberalism and the competing discourses of individual and group rights with a focus on the evolution of assimilation policy in general and the two separate Aboriginal education systems in Canadian education policy in particular. I conclude the chapter with a consideration of Aboriginal policy discourses under the third

and most recent “era” of liberalism, neoliberalism, using recent examples from Aboriginal education discourses in BC including from the EA policy.

3.1. Aboriginal Policy Making under Classical Liberalism (from 1867 - 1945)

In 1867, the Dominion of Canada was formed through an act of the British Parliament. The Constitution Act, 1867, defined the division of powers between the federal government and the provinces. Unlike any other minority group in Canada at that time, Indians were specifically identified in Canada’s new constitution and, under Section 91 of the Constitution Act, 1867, the federal government of Canada became responsible for ‘Indians and Lands reserved for the Indians’. At the same time, under section 93, each province became responsible for education, subject to recognition of both Catholic and Protestant school rights. There is no specific mention of the education of Indian or other Aboriginal students in section 91 and no mention of Indian or other Aboriginal students at all under section 93. However, the government of Canada was clear that under the Act, they were responsible to provide a separate education system for Indian students, who they defined as status Indians as opposed to non-status Indians, Inuit and Métis. The government set about establishing separate Indian schools, including Residential Schools, in 1868. This dual system appears to be linked largely to the state’s stated desire to break the habitus of the First Nations children by removing parental influence. As John A. Macdonald, told the House of Commons,

It has been strongly pressed on myself, as the head of the Department, that Indian children should be withdrawn as much as possible from the parental influence, and the only way to do that would be to put them in central training industrial schools where they will acquire the habits and modes of thought of white men (Canada, 1883, pp. 1107-1108).

Paquette, Fallon and Mangan (2013) describe the various assimilative federal education policies as a series of discourses designed to establish a “universal” understanding of the self and acceptance that such an understanding was necessary to neutralize or eliminate divisive cultural differences’ (p. 273). This universal understanding was based on Eurocentric colonial cultural binaries, supported by the commonly understood “truth”, expressed in policy discourses, which promoted all aspects of the colonizer’s language and culture as superior and all aspects of the colonized language and culture as inferior.

Further, the ideological assumptions and discourses of classical liberal theories of justice reinforced the truth of these discourses and supported the solution to the inferiority of the colonized as resting in educating Aboriginal students to Canadian societal norms.

3.1.1. Classical Liberalism

At the time of Canadian federation, classical liberalism was beginning its ascendancy as the dominant political ideology in the western world. Cranston (1967) says that ‘by definition, a liberal is a man (sic) who believes in liberty’ (p. 459) and Hudelson (1999) defines classical liberalism as a vision of how society should be structured that is committed to liberty, that is the rights and freedoms of the individual including freedom of religion, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, economic market freedoms and so forth. Under this orthodoxy there is a clear link between liberty and property rights often based on the argument that all liberty rights are a form of property rights and that that property is essential to freedom (Gaus, 1994). Classical liberalism sees the role of government as the protector of individual citizens’ liberties, protector of the free market and supporter of progress and justice as the philosophical or legal measure of how these protections are fairly meted out. But under first colonial settler and later Canadian state rule, Aboriginal people were not citizens and thus did not warrant the liberal protections due a citizen. How classical liberalism applied to Aboriginal peoples under colonization is clarified in *On Liberty*,

Liberty, as a principle, has no application to any state of things anterior to the time when mankind have become capable of being improved by free and equal discussion. [Thus] Despotism is a legitimate form of government in dealing with barbarians, provided the end be their improvement...” (Mill, 1963, vol. 18: p. 224).

Canada’s first elected Prime Minister, Sir John A. MacDonald, announced the government’s intention to ‘do away with the tribal system, and assimilate the Indian people in all respects with the inhabitants of the Dominion’ (RCAP, 1996, Vol. 1, p. 165). What followed over the next one hundred years were a series of government policy initiatives based on the colonial settler discourse, rooted in the “unshakeable truths” of the liberal philosophy of the time, that Aboriginal people were not as intelligent and capable as those of European descent and as such needed to be protected from themselves and others until such time as they could be re-educated and brought into Canadian society. It was these

beliefs that brought about the Indian Residential School system as a systemic approach to remove Aboriginal language and culture from the Aboriginal children of Canada and re-educate them in the English language with European values. Education is in Gramsci's (1971) terms, hegemony or domination by consent, as the acceptance of the discourse that the colonizer's culture is correct removes resistance from the colonized as to whether they and more particularly their children should be educated into the dominant culture.

3.1.4. Residential Schools

Following Confederation, the Canadian government developed an aggressive assimilation policy under which First Nations children were to be taught at church-run, government-funded industrial schools, later called Residential Schools. The government felt that adults were already set in their ways and that the best way to absorb Aboriginal peoples into the mainstream culture was through a remolding of First Nations children's dispositions by removing the children from their parents' and communities' influence and retraining them to use and value only the English language, to value British culture and to de-value their own cultures (TRC, 2015). Residential Schools used strict, often harsh teaching methods or pedagogic action, in an attempt to retrain First Nations children. 'All pedagogic action is, objectively, symbolic violence insofar as it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 5). In Residential Schools, sometimes the violence was more than symbolic, but nonetheless, the school system implementing the policy discourse of the day set about trying to re-form Aboriginal children for the purposes of assimilation to meet the standards at which they would merit classical liberal rights.

The experience of being taken from their families and communities, sometimes criminally abused and always subjected to the violence of an imposed language and culture, formed the way in which many First Nation people came to view the norms of their existence, their actions and their education. According to Battiste (2013), 'Indigenous children have been part of a forced assimilation plan – their heritage and knowledge rejected and suppressed, and ignored by the education system' (p. 23). And Cardinal (1999) says, '[f]or the past 300 years, Aboriginal (Indian) education was characterized by non-Aboriginal people using non-Aboriginal methods to administer the education of Aboriginal peoples' (p. 1). Paquette and Fallon (2010) state that the colonial education paradigm was 'essentially one of

positive industrialism' (p. 4) designed to induct Aboriginal children into the dominant cultural systems of Euro-Canadian society.

Canadian Aboriginal education policies were and continue to be based at least in part on the liberal assumption that it is the individual, not the community that is the 'basic unit of society; standing at the center of all relationships of power, trust, and co-operation' (Schouls, 2003, p. 26). Thus, by removing the yoke of their communities and parents, individual Aboriginal children will be able to reach their individual potential. Given this assumption, Canadian government Aboriginal education policy was always a reflection of 'the larger social project of defining and constructing the modern liberal subject' (Heaman, 2015, p. 133). Education policies necessarily sought out assimilation not just because it was beneficial to government and settlers but, ultimately, because it was presumed essential for the well being of each Aboriginal person. Battiste (1998) says that the policies were considered by both colonizer and colonized to be socially just with each believing that their unequal relationship was part of the natural order of things, a universal truth. The colonizer will believe that she is looking out for the good of the colonized and the colonized will believe that she wants a more enlightened authority to determine her fate. In short, assimilation was seen to be the fair or just thing to do given the "reality" and state of "knowledge" as created in the context of the colonial discourse and this form of assimilation and based on the rationales of classical liberalism which continued as the dominant policy ideology until well into the twentieth century.

The last Residential School did not close until 1996. The Residential School legacy continues to have a major impacted on the "gap" between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal educational experiences due to the damage done to traditional Aboriginal language and culture norms (Battiste, 2013). The end of Residential Schools did not see the end of the school system's influence on Aboriginal peoples. When Residential Schools ended, they were replaced with different political and educational policies and institutions. While these are arguably designed to be more sensitive to Aboriginal cultural needs, they have continued to reproduce discourses based on the assumptions of the majority culture and to perpetuate the inequalities developed under colonial and settler rule and through the Residential School System (RCAP, 1998).

3.2. Aboriginal Policy Making from 1945 - 1973: The Growth of Social Justice Liberalism

A ‘new’ form of liberalism arose through the late nineteenth and into the twentieth century. Labeled also as, ‘revisionist’ and ‘welfare state’, following Gaus, Courtland and Schmidt (2018), I will refer to this form of liberalism as ‘social justice’ liberalism to focus on the social justice aspects that differentiate this form of liberalism from classical and other types of liberalism. Social justice liberalism arose in reaction to the perceived failures of liberal property rights to ensure equality in society, the perception that these rights actually contribute to the imbalance of power within a society and a growing belief that government intervention was proving effective in addressing these inequalities and would ensure a more just structure within society (Gaus, Courtland & Schmidt, 2018). So, the universal truths of classical liberalism and the beliefs and discourses reflecting those truths within Canadian Aboriginal policy began to evolve towards policies favouring a more just distribution of wealth, social goods and opportunities between all Canadians, regardless of their culture. This, at the same time as the growth of discourses based in social justice liberalism, saw calls for change in the treatment of minority groups in the United States, South Africa and so on. However, as will become clear below, this evolution was still grounded in the fundamental liberal belief that it is the individual who forms the core component of a society, not the group. This focus has led to a fundamental split in the question of what it is that forms the basis of social justice. Is social justice based on redistribution of wealth and opportunity amongst individuals or is it based on the recognition of minority groups’ rights to have an equal stake in the wealth and opportunities of a nation?

3.2.1. Liberal Concepts of Justice

As was the case with earlier government policies, in the later twentieth century, Canadian Aboriginal policies, including education policies, have been tied directly to the prevailing liberal theories of justice within Canadian society (Paquette & Fallon, 2010). Those principals were and largely continue to be directly linked to contemporary liberal views of the purpose of society both in its actions and its institutions. Dworkin (1983) says of contemporary liberal values that the highest order interest is ‘in having as good a life as

possible, a life that has all the things that a good life should have' (p. 26). Kymlicka (1989) says that the two preconditions for leading a good life are first, to live life in accordance with one's personal beliefs about what makes a life good and second, to be able to question those beliefs. He states that '[i]ndividuals must therefore have the resources and liberties needed to live their lives in accordance with their beliefs about value...' and '...the cultural conditions conducive to acquiring an awareness of different views about the good life...' (p. 13). He continues, therefore

...government treats people as equals, with equal concern and respect, by providing for each individual the liberties and resources needed to examine and act on these beliefs. This requirement forms the basis of contemporary liberal theories of justice (p. 13).

Below, I will examine the liberal concept of equality and equal treatment as justice by considering three of the more well-known liberal philosophical approaches to Aboriginal policy formation in Canada linked to social justice liberalism: "White Paper liberalism," "Citizen Plus," and "Minority Rights." In each case, Kymlicka's description of equality and individual freedom as justice will be weighed against the alternate belief exposed by Turner (2006), Schouls (2003), and others that although

...the objective of liberal democracies may be to treat all individuals equally, the standard political conventions that uphold this principal – such as individual rights, universal citizenship and majority rule – are in fact understood to be discriminatory where cultural groups are concerned (Schouls, 2003, p. 20).

3.2.2. Three Liberal Approaches to Aboriginal Policy

During the 1960s, the government was increasingly under pressure to do something about the deplorable conditions on First Nations reserves across Canada. Webber (1994) says that the public viewed the paternalistic powers of the Indian Act as akin to the situation of apartheid in South Africa and the civil rights movement in the United States. Webber (1994) continues that the public believed the solution lay in the removal of the Indian Act, reserves and the other legacies of colonial control and the full integration of Aboriginal peoples into Canadian society in much the same way that activists in South Africa and the United States wanted equality for people of colour.

In response to public pressure, the Canadian government commissioned a broad investigation into the lives of Aboriginal peoples within Canada. The result was *A Survey*

of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies (Hawthorn, 1967), or as it is more commonly known, the Hawthorn Report. The Report concluded that Aboriginal peoples were presently ‘citizens minus’ (p. 6) and had been allowed to remain in this condition for many years due to failed government policies. The Report goes on to recommend that Aboriginal peoples be considered ‘citizens plus’ as a means to help ameliorate the many years that they had done with less than other citizens, that Aboriginal people be properly resourced, educated and allowed to choose to participate in Canadian society to the extent they desired and an end to all policies focused on the assimilation of Aboriginal peoples. Hawthorn recognized that this recommendation would not necessarily go well due to ‘...the possible conflict between the status of citizens plus and the egalitarian attitudes both Whites and Indians hold’ (p. 6). He was correct. In his report, Hawthorn predicted one of the key issues which has consistently proved a stumbling block to effective Aboriginal policy development and implementation in Canada, the need for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples to be willing to accept and agree on policy that provides special treatment for an entire group of people based on their race, rather than their individual needs. The three major policy approaches advocated under social justice liberalism all attempt to address this stumbling block at the root of their platforms.

3.2.2.1. Assimilation or Equality: The White Paper

In 1969, following Hawthorn’s broad consultation with Aboriginal communities across Canada, the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) released a report titled, *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy 1969* (DIAND, 1969) which has come to be commonly known as the White Paper.¹ The White Paper called for a complete abolition of any special status for or restriction upon Aboriginal peoples within Canada. This was very different from Hawthorn’s recommendation that all attempts at assimilation cease. The White Paper states, ‘[t]he

¹ In Canada, federal policy documents are commonly called “white papers.” The reference to this particular policy as the “White Paper” is to highlight the belief of many Aboriginal people that the paper was written by white (of Western European descent) people for the benefit of white people.

Government believes that its policies must lead to the full, free and non-discriminatory participation of the Indian people in Canadian society' and

...it believes that all men and women have equal rights. It is determined that all shall be treated fairly and that no one shall be shut out of Canadian life, and especially that no one shall be shut out because of his race (INAD, 1969).

The government believed that governmental powers, rights and responsibilities should not be linked to ethnicity or culture, but rather should be distributed equally based solely on citizenship. For the ruling Liberals, the only form of government that was acceptably respectful of equality was one that treated all people the same (Webber, 1994) regardless of their culture or ethnicity.

Although filled with the language of equality and freedom, the White Paper was immediately rejected by Aboriginal groups throughout Canada as a blatant attempt by the government to assimilate Aboriginal peoples into mainstream Canada by removing all Aboriginal rights and eventually all federal government responsibilities (Turner, 2006). This rejection was based on Aboriginal people's fear of assimilation into the broader Canadian society and with it the loss of economic supports, cultural identity and group rights all of which are enshrined in the Canadian constitution. It is important to remember that for several hundred years leading up to the White Paper, British colonizers and Canadian governments had indeed been trying to assimilate Aboriginal peoples, so despite the equal rights justification put forth by INAD, many Aboriginal people were sceptical. Cree activist Harold Cardinal wrote:

The new Indian policy promulgated by Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau's government... is a thinly disguised programme of extermination through assimilation. For the Indian to survive, says the government in effect, he must become a good little brown white man (1969, p. 1).

Aboriginal people wanted an equal place in Canadian society, but not at the expense of their cultural identity.

In the past, the lack of a coherent Aboriginal discourse to counter the widely accepted, common sense assimilationist messages of government had led to limited resistance to classical liberal Aboriginal policies; however, in the case of the White Paper, there was a strong counter discourse raised in response. As stated previously, for Foucault (1998) authoritative discourse, such as the messaging of the White Paper, '... transmits and

produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and possible to thwart' (pp. 100-1). The response was swift, remarkably unified and ultimately resulted in the White Paper being withdrawn. This predictably created tension between Aboriginal activists and the Canadian government with Prime Minister Trudeau stating he believed it,

inconceivable... that in a given society one section of the society [could] have a treaty with the other section of the society... this is a difficult choice. It must be a very agonizing choice to the Indian peoples themselves because, on the one hand, they realize that if they come into the society as total citizens, they will be equal under the law, but they risk losing certain of their traditions, certain aspect of a culture and perhaps even certain of their basic rights, and this is a very difficult choice for them to make... (1969).

Barsh and Henderson (1982) critique Trudeau's position as,

[he] consequently assumes that Indians are a 'section' of Canadian society, rather than a separate commonwealth, because they are located within Canada's borders. His logic is nothing more than this: Indians are here, so they must be Canadian – being Canadian, they must be just like other Canadians (p. 70).

Cairns (2000) says the failure of the White Paper was partially due to the lack of consultation prevalent in Canadian public policy formation at that time, the growing strength and voice of Aboriginal leadership and faulty public relations, but overall he links the rejection to Aboriginal peoples' fear of cultural assimilation and the personal discrimination that so often occurs when Aboriginal people stray into white society.

Kymlicka (1989) offers an interesting perspective on the clash of mainstream Canadian and Aboriginal values which led to the rejection of the White Paper. He believes that it is important to understand the differences between the segregation of blacks in the United States (US) and the battle for equal rights and the Aboriginal reserve system in Canada and the battle for self-government. While the Canadian public and arguably politicians were motivated by principles of liberal social justice and sought goals based on equality similar to those sought by progressives in the US, they failed to recognize that the most crucial difference between blacks and Aboriginal people in North America is 'that the latter value their separation from the mainstream life and culture of North America' (Kymlicka, 1989, p. 145). Blacks have been forcibly excluded (segregated) from participation in mainstream white society, whereas, Aboriginal peoples have been forcibly included (assimilated) into the majority society, although not as equals. For Schouls (2003) the identity politics of American blacks are focused on inclusion into mainstream society while the identity

politics of Canadian Aboriginals are focused on group identity and as such they sought the protection of the metaphorical barriers to assimilation that come with a legal recognition of their cultural group rights. Thus, the government made a major policy error when it failed to recognize that '[a]ssimilation for the Indians, like segregation for the blacks, is a badge of inferiority...' (Kymlicka, 1989, p. 146). The fundamental issue which the authors of the White Paper failed to recognize is that Aboriginal groups in Canada seek a social pluralism in which their group culture is legally protected and allowed to remain distinct without a loss of equality. For Aboriginal groups this is a fundamental form of social justice.

Fraser (1997) says that in the past the central problem of social justice was one of redistribution of wealth between economically defined classes of people; however, these issues, while still existing, are being challenged by demands from culturally defined groups seeking identity recognition and a collective voice. Traditionally, liberal social justice theories have concerned themselves with questions of distributive justice, specifically the need to ensure a fair allocation of wealth amongst the various economic classes of people (Fraser and Honneth, 2003). These theories, most famously those of Rawls (1971, 1993), are strongly linked to a liberal view of justice which sees the need to balance the pursuit of an egalitarian society with individual liberty to pursue one's own version of the good life. These two liberal principles of justice are intimately tied to the distribution of both material goods as well as other "goods" such as education, employment and individual freedom.

Social justice based on recognition challenges the view that redistribution is the primary form of social justice. The rise of Aboriginal discourses focused on identity politics and the politics of recognition have allowed them to challenge, albeit in a limited fashion, the established liberal discourses of social justice, those based on the work of Rawls (1971, 1993) and others, that place the rights of the individual and the distribution of social primary goods firmly at the center of any social justice theory. Recognition theories of social justice reject the individualist focus of redistribution and instead emphasize the need for social justice to ensure the ability for people and groups of people to be in just and respectful relationship with one another (Young, 1997). That is to have group rights including autonomy to make decisions for the good of the group rather than the individual.

By and large, the Aboriginal peoples of Canada seek political autonomy based on a combination of traditional community, territory and tribal affiliations; although ethnicity also plays an important role, especially at the national level where Aboriginal organizations such as the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, the Assembly of First Nations and the Métis National Council each offer a strong national discourse around Aboriginal rights. This desire for political autonomy based in the recognition of their group identity and the power of their political rights as defined in the Canadian constitution allowed for the first effective Aboriginal counter discourse to the previously dominant historic authoritarian assimilationist discourses of successive Canadian governments. Cairns (2000) says that the defeat of the White Paper was not just the rejection of one government policy, but ‘a repudiation of the historic, basic, continuing policy of successive administrations since Confederation’ (p. 67). The document which summed up the rejection of the White Paper is *Citizens Plus* (Indian Chiefs of Alberta, 1970). Written by the Indian Chiefs of Alberta with the support of the National Indian Brotherhood, *Citizens Plus* was quickly dubbed the “Red Paper” to contrast its foundation in Aboriginal consultation with the lack of such consultation in the White Paper. Interestingly, despite being a strong counter discourse to the assimilation proposed in the White Paper, *Citizens Plus* did not advocate for Aboriginal nationalism or separatism, but rather focused on the protection of Aboriginal group rights within the mainstream of Canadian life. The goal of the Red Paper was for Aboriginal peoples to take their ‘rightful place as full-fledged participants in the mosaic of the “just society” as meaningful and contributing citizens of Canada’ (p. 37). It is this “Citizens Plus” approach which I consider next.

3.2.2.2. Toleration: *Citizens Plus*

Addis (1997) says, ‘the task of political and legal theory in the late twentieth century must be one of imagining institutions and vocabularies that will affirm multiplicity while cultivating solidarity’ (p. 126). In his book, *Citizens Plus*, Cairns (2000) seeks to answer one basic question about the relationship between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples of Canada, ‘Is the goal a single society with one basic model of belonging, or is the goal a kind of parallelism – a side by side coexistence – or some intermediate position’ (p. 47)? To address his question, Cairns revisits the idea of Aboriginal peoples as, ‘citizens

plus', a notion first used in the 1967 Hawthorn Report and echoed in the title of the Red Paper, to describe a vision of a "balanced" approach to Aboriginal rights in Canada. Specifically, Cairns seeks to balance an Aboriginal right to self-government through nationhood with the need to find a common thread to link Aboriginal communities with other Canadian communities through Canadian citizenship.

To investigate his question, Cairns contrasts two versions of Aboriginal relations with the Canadian state. The first version is full assimilation as represented by the White Paper policy with the emphasis on sameness and equality. The second version is parallelism which emphasizes separateness and difference at the individual level with equality being established at the group level. Cairns rejects both versions in favour of an intermediate position where Aboriginal peoples, through their group's identities, are granted special rights; however, as individuals all Canadians are equal citizens and maintain "fundamental" citizenship rights. Cairns begins his argument with the notion that we cannot simply wipe the slate clean from the past, something that Trudeau's Liberals had suggested in formulating the White Paper, but must also recognize that the former nation-to-nation relationship that was in place at the time of first European contact and trade is no longer possible. Instead, he suggests, we must accept the reality that any future form of Aboriginal self-government will come within the geographical boundaries of Canada. As such, while he believes Aboriginal communities should have self-government in those areas which are suitable for their sole control, as determined by the Canadian state, including the education of their children, he also feels there must have something that keeps Canada from becoming a mere container in which separate communities, Aboriginal and otherwise, live separate lives. He calls for 'bonds of empathy so our togetherness is moral as well as geographical. The obvious moral bond is a shared citizenship...' (p. 211). For Cairns, this need to allow for a pluralistic society with some form of self-government must not be allowed to degenerate into 'an aggregation of separate nations who share indifference to each other' (p. 211). Rather, the individual Canadian citizenship of each member of each Aboriginal nation should serve as the link that bonds those individuals into the broader "community" of Canada. While Cairns' solution may have fit well within the Canadian societal context of the 1970s, since that time, political, economic and legal battles have changed that context remarkably.

In 1982, the Canadian Constitution was repatriated and with that repatriation came the establishment of Aboriginal rights under section 35 (1). Turner (2006) describes how constitutional rights have, through a series of constitutional challenges, lead the Supreme Court of Canada to interpret those rights and how this in turn has created a situation where ‘the meaning and content of Aboriginal rights is expressed in the legal and political discourses of the Canadian state, and therefore Aboriginal rights exist or have legitimacy only within the Canadian state’ (p. 4). Turner continues that many Aboriginal peoples do not accept the authoritative discourse of the Canadian state as the granter and its courts as the arbitrator of rights. They do not view their rights as being bestowed on them by the state, but rather they view the relationship between Canada and Aboriginal peoples as one of nation-to-nation. For Turner (2006), the failure to reconcile Canadian Aboriginal rights is largely due to the refusal of the Canadian state to enter into a respectful relationship with Aboriginal peoples, instead of one where the state dictates the rules. In this frame of understanding, Turner (2006) rejects the Citizen Plus approach, largely on the grounds that it presupposes the sovereignty of the Canadian state. Turner outlines three specific issues with Citizens Plus: first, the sovereignty of the Canadian state is absolute; second, because the state’s sovereignty is absolute, Aboriginal peoples are citizens of the state before all else; and third, because they are citizens of the state, any special rights bestowed to Aboriginal peoples are individual rights. Turner concludes that Cairns’ devotion to Canadian sovereignty ignores any aspect of Aboriginal nationalism by requiring that Aboriginal self-government occur with Canada, both physically and socially. A third social justice liberal approach to Aboriginal rights in Canada (and elsewhere) is the Minority Rights approach of Will Kymlicka, who sees his approach as possibly mitigating some of the barriers facing the settling of Aboriginal rights in Canada.

3.2.2.3. *Minority Rights*

Kymlicka (1989) considers at great depth the ability of liberal theory founded on the core individualistic values of equal rights and resources to cope with a culturally pluralistic society and concludes that the two are compatible if liberal theory recognizes that the historically generated disadvantages consistently suffered by Aboriginal peoples in Canada require a system that differentiates rights based on cultural group membership. He argues that giving Aboriginal peoples minority rights to land, language and self-government

doesn't undermine individual rights, but rather creates a situation in which the individual is able to make better choices for themselves because minority rights bring protection to their cultural attributes. Kymlicka sees these cultural attributes as primary goods just as rights, liberties, income and wealth, and the basis for self-respect are all primary social goods for liberals like Rawls (1971). Kymlicka (1989) sees the need for minority rights to be enshrined at the highest level possible in the constitution of Canada.

Turner (2006) takes exception to Kymlicka's attempt to frame Aboriginal rights within a definition of minority rights largely from the premise that, 'most Aboriginal communities claim that their "special" rights flow from their legitimate political sovereignty' (p.57). These Aboriginal communities reject the idea that they are minority cultures within the Canadian state and instead take the position that they are sovereign nations. So even enshrining minority group rights at the constitutional level is still not sufficient as ultimately the rights of the minority are still subject to the structures of the majority. While rejecting Kymlicka's Minority Rights as an ultimate solution, Turner (2006) accepts one of his arguments that underpins all three of the aforementioned liberal approaches to Aboriginal rights: 'Kymlicka's constraint' (p. 58). This is a practical reality check for Aboriginal groups in Canada which basically says that the rights of minority groups, as bestowed and judged by the state, are subject to the will and good graces of the majority group within that state and thus can't stray too far from what is acceptable to that majority. Kymlicka (1989) says,

For better or worse, it is predominantly non-aboriginal judges and politicians who have the ultimate power to protect and enforce aboriginal rights, and so it is important to find a justification of them that such people can recognize and understand. Aboriginal people have their own understanding of self-government, drawn from their own experience, and that is important. But it is also important, politically, to know how non-aboriginal Canadians – Supreme Court Justices, for example – will understand aboriginal rights and relate them to their own experiences and traditions. And, as we've seen, on the standard interpretation of liberalism, aboriginal rights are viewed as matters of discrimination and/or privilege, not of equality. They will always, therefore, be viewed with the kind of suspicion that led liberals like Trudeau to advocate for their abolition. Aboriginal rights, at least in their robust form, will only be secure when they are viewed, not as competing with liberalism, but as an essential component of liberal political practice (p. 154).

The final report of the RCAP (1996) calls for a renewed respect for Aboriginal peoples and their cultures, including a respect for Aboriginal self-government which must be reflected

in both legal and political practices. However, even within this extensive study, which strongly advocates for Aboriginal rights, Kymlicka's constraint is clearly in play, for in the end, the commission states,

The right to self-determination is held by all the Aboriginal peoples of Canada... It gives Aboriginal people the right to opt for a wide variety of governmental arrangements within Canada, including some that involve a high degree of sovereignty. However, it does not entitle Aboriginal peoples to secede or form independent states, except in the case of grave oppression or a total disintegration of the Canadian state (p. 172).

Turner (2006) argues that just as Kymlicka's version of liberalism requires Aboriginal peoples to be aware of the perils of competing with liberalism, it is equally important for the Canadian state to be aware that its liberalism, at least as Kymlicka structures it, is not tenable unless it finds a way to recognize Aboriginal understandings of self-government, including control over education. As Kymlicka (1989) points out, for Aboriginal people, the history of colonial assimilation has led to a situation where Aboriginal peoples view inclusion as assimilation and a source of shame rather than equality. The work of Turner (2006) is key to understanding the contemporary social context of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relations in Canada along with the discourses which flow from these relationships and which help to form these relationships. It is the present day discourses, based on historical relationships, which show that currently many Aboriginal peoples in Canada seek political autonomy not inclusion, but as Turner points out, this is not easily achieved. He calls for 'word warriors' (2006, p. 71), educated Aboriginal people who can walk in both the policy world of the Canadian government and the cultural world of their traditional communities, with the ability to see with two eyes, as the bridge to a lasting solution to Kymlicka's constraint. Following Turner's call for an education system which can produce word warriors, the next section considers three major structural approaches to Aboriginal education advocated in the literature: parallel, integrated and choice, their links to historical and contemporary liberal discourses and the research supports for each.

3.2.3. Approaches to Aboriginal Education Policy

Widdowson and Howard (2013) have identified two general policy approaches to Aboriginal education which have arisen out of the historic and contemporary social structures and political discourses in Canada. The first, they label, 'parallelist' or what I

will refer to as parallel. In this approach, efforts to improve Aboriginal education are centered around discourses linked to self-determination and a separation of Aboriginal from non-Aboriginal education systems. This approach is closely linked to Kymlicka's (1985) account of Aboriginal people's rejection of assimilation, Turner's (2006) rejection of the given that Aboriginal peoples living within Canada are necessarily subjects of Canada, as well as Schouls' (2003) notion of communitarian pluralism in schools, with educators placing 'a high premium on significance of assimilative pressures on Aboriginal people' (p. 24) and advancing a view of justice 'in which ethnic groups are allowed free cultural development on the premise that not doing so will hinder the self-development of their members' (p. 23). The second approach is 'integrationist' or what I will refer to as integrated. This approach describes Aboriginal education discourses which support one integrated Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal education system. This approach correlates more closely with the universal citizenship approach of "White Paper" liberalism, the Citizens Plus approach of Cairns (2000) and Schoul's (2003) individual pluralism. For the individual pluralist, the major concern is that in giving groups collective rights (such as control over education), the state may create a situation where those group rights take priority over the individual rights of those who make up the group. There are, as reflected in the work of Cairns (2000), Kymlicka (1985) and others, a variety of viewpoints that lie between the extremes of pure parallel and pure integrated as well. To the parallel and integrated approaches identified by Widdowson and Howard (2013), I add a third approach, choice. Widdowson and Howard include studies which advocate for choice within their definition of integrationist; however, I believe that the use of neoliberal arguments focused on the need for individual choice to maximize autonomous capacity building which lie at the heart of choice focused studies makes them quite distinct from those studies focused on integration as a means of proving an education based on universally applicable standards. In the following three sections, I consider the literature around parallel, liberal integrated, and neoliberal choice approaches to Aboriginal education in Canada with a particular focus on the social justice tensions within and between these approaches.

3.2.3.1 Parallel

Parallelism was first used to describe Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relationships by Cairns (2000). He describes his vision for Aboriginal peoples living within the Canadian state as, ‘Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities travelling side by side, coexisting but not getting in each other’s way’ (p. 6). Generally, those who support a parallel approach to Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relations are in favour of completely separate education systems for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students, although, as parallelism exists on a spectrum, there are various degrees of separation thought to be appropriate by parallelism advocates (Widdowson and Howard, 2013). Those supporting parallel approaches to education tend to focus on the differences between Aboriginal peoples and the rest of Canadian society and involve politics in their pursuit of autonomy, power and recognition (Schouls, 2003). Kymlicka (1989) notes that groups that focus on difference often are drawn together by their shared ethnic history and seek to self-govern in key institutional areas, including education. Identity politics has brought the issues of colonization and forced assimilation to the fore of parallel education arguments with many such arguments being focused on the need for a separate school system to protect and preserve traditional Aboriginal languages and cultures (RCAP, 1996) because these are inextricably tied to Aboriginal identity (Alfred, 2009). Ball et al. (2013) report that identity politics are often tied to what they call ‘entitlement’ (p. 223), to create a situation where education focused on preserving traditional culture is paired with demands for compensation for historic educational social injustices to address both recognition and redistribution, respectively, in one movement. Fraser (Fraser and Honneth, 2003) has argued in favour of this approach as she sees redistribution without recognition and recognition without redistribution as failures from the perspective of creating a just society. The downside to combining recognition with redistribution is that a counter discourse to such an approach may paint the attempt to address social injustices as a small group “playing” at cultural politics (recognition) to their own personal gain (redistribution). This perception may well evoke Kymlicka’s Constraint (Turner, 2006) and thus the rejection of the original discourse by the majority society, if the counter discourse convinces the majority society that the recognition and redistribution discourse is actually incompatible

with the various classical, social justice or neoliberal views of justice which have dominated the political and social justice outlook of Canada since before confederation.²

Widdowson and Howard (2013) find the assumptions of parallelism to be ‘culturally and epistemologically relativist – an ideological position characteristic of the postmodern’ (p. xvi) and give as example parallel systems advocates’ use of the term “Eurocentric” to describe mainstream Canadian education, as an implication that this system is designed only for those of European heritage, rather than a system designed for all. They continue that to have a parallel school system is ‘equivalent to the “separate but equal” logic that opposed black integration in the United States’ (p. xvii). Many of Canada’s most published Aboriginal policy researchers including Battiste (2013), Kirkness (1999), St. Denis (2011) and Nguyen (2011) argue that fundamentally, Canada does have a Eurocentric school system, that it is not designed to effectively educate students with a non-European background and in many cases perpetuates colonial assimilationist policies in the name of “equality”.

3.2.3.2. Integration

Those advocating integration take issue with the parallelism view that Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal education systems need to be kept separate. Rather, integrationists see one education system for all, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, with a focus on building success for all students through the pursuit of an education based in ‘universal standards such as thinking critically, writing clearly, and understanding mathematical relationships’ (Widdowson and Howard, 2013, p. xiv). Liberal integrationists are largely focused on advancing Rawls’ (1971) model of social justice by removing educational barriers for the disadvantaged, but not at the cost of undermining individual educational freedom and equality. For example, Cairns (2000) favours numerous government interventions to create a just Aboriginal education system, but he still views this as one Canadian systemic approach as needed to maintain the common bonds of citizenship through education. While

² *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry* (2008) and *First Nations: Second Thoughts* (2000) are two books which elaborate in detail a liberal counter discourse to the identity politics and entitlement discourses of Aboriginal peoples in Canada.

supporting interventions, White, Spence and Maxim (2013) differ from Cairns by focusing their arguments for an integrated education system on interventions based on linking community to schooling to develop the human capital of Aboriginal students and thus to enable them to build the necessary social capital to find success within mainstream Canadian society. While authors such as Cairns (2000) and White, Spence and Maxim (2013) may disagree on how best to remove barriers and how much the government should be intervening in education, they ultimately agree that Canada should have an integrated school system.

3.2.3.3. Choice

A neoliberal approach to Aboriginal education policy in Canada involves an emphasis on support for the free-market, devolution of responsibility, choice, autonomy and accountability (Fallon, Paquette 2008). Flanagan (2000) represents one extreme of the neoliberal choice perspective as he argues for a classical liberal approach to Aboriginal rights, including education, which limits any government intervention and suggests that as rational self-actualizing individuals, if individual Aboriginal people (not Aboriginal governments or organizations) are to be given money (which is not something that Flanagan sees as a given), that they must also be given the choice of how and where to spend it to maximize their personal utility and that the purpose of maximizing that utility is to provide autonomous individuals to support the broader economic well being of the country. Helin and Snow (2013) echo the need for individual choice in education in their study focused on Aboriginal post-secondary funding. While their study differs in many aspects from that of Flanagan (2000), especially in terms of the need for government resources, at its heart, the study speaks to the need for individual choice in educational programs to maximize personal utility.

At present the federal system is based on parallel assumptions (Canada, 1985; RCAP, 1996; TRC, 2015a) as evidenced by the recommendations of both the RCAP and TRC that focus on correcting the lack of resourcing for Aboriginal schools to achieve equal funding to provincial systems. This push towards parity would allow the separate, federally funded First Nations schools and school systems to continue throughout Canada as a parallel system to the provincial systems.

3.3. Aboriginal Policy since 1973: The Rise of Neoliberalism and the Specific Case of British Columbia

In 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood released a report titled *Indian Control of Indian Education*. Patterned on the Indian Chiefs of Alberta's *Citizen Plus*, the report called for local control over education on each Indian reserve. While *Indian Control of Indian Education* envisioned a gradual move from local to complete national autonomy over education, Paquette, Fallon and Mangan (2013) point out that, rather than create policies to support such a transition, the federal government instead embraced a neoliberal system in which they delegated managerial responsibility for education to Aboriginal communities. In doing so, the federal government devolved responsibility for educational outcomes to communities while maintaining ultimate control over Aboriginal education policies through funding models and policy directives. This devolution of responsibility but maintenance of control foreshadowed the third major era in liberal policy discourses in Canada, neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is marked by a focus on the individual, choice, market control and devolution of responsibility (but not control) from the central state government to peripheral governments or agencies (Olssen, Codd & O'Neill, 2010). The federal government devolved its constitutional responsibility for education to First Nations communities, but held ultimate control by mandating, through the Indian Act (1985), the requirements under which the funding for educational programs would flow. This devolved approach twists together some aspects of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal socioeconomic equality as a means to addressing the social justice of redistribution advanced by Rawls (1971) and Dworkin (1985) and some political recognition for Aboriginal peoples as advocated in the social justice of Taylor (1994) and Young (1997); however, these are kept subject to policies focused on controlling costs and maintaining the state's ultimate control over Aboriginal peoples through the state's unilateral ability to interpret and modify the Indian Act (Paquette and Fallon, 2010). In the genealogy of Foucault (1977), neoliberalism is the latest version of Canada's liberal truth, in which liberty and prosperity are ensured through the creation and maintenance of a strong market-based economy and under this orthodoxy, education is primarily for the purposes of creating workers to maintain that economy (Schuetze et al., 2011).

3.3.1. *Bill C-34, a BC Example*

An interesting example of this devolution of responsibility and maintenance of control at the federal level is *Bill C-34: First Nations Jurisdiction Over Education Act* (Canada, 2006), the legislation behind a tripartite agreement signed by the federal and provincial governments and First Nations in BC, which grants Aboriginal communities, who opt in, broad rights to certify schools, teachers and set curriculum standards (White and Peters, 2013) for schools on their lands. This bill does address one major social justice concern (see especially Paquette and Fallon, 2010 and Paquette, Fallon and Mangan, 2013) around the equitable distribution of resources to local Aboriginal education authorities which lack the knowledge, skills and economies of scale to match the education resources offered by larger provincial ministries. *Bill C-34* establishes a provincial Authority with the power to coordinate and support all First Nations communities, who choose to become members. However, while creating a coordinating authority and granting many educational management rights to First Nations, the bill also leaves legislative power at the provincial and federal levels by enshrining those rights in the *First Nations Education Act* (2007) and *Bill C-34*, respectively. In terms of recognizing local education needs, the two bills appear to work together to address many social justice issues tied to recognition and sameness at the micro level, and they very well may do just that. However, the legislation does maintain ultimate control at the macro level. In particular, *Bill C-34* Section 9 (2) states that

A participating First Nation shall provide, or make provision for, education so as to allow students to transfer without academic penalty to an equivalent level in another school within the school system of British Columbia (Canada, 2006).

As the BC Ministry of Education sets the standards for what is accepted academically for transfer from any educational jurisdiction outside the BC public school system, clause 9 (2) ensures that whatever the local processes are for certifying schools, teachers and setting curriculum standards, they must be such that the BC Ministry of Education deems them acceptable. In this reading of the legislation, the agreement can be seen to recognize and address one level of social injustices, those existing at the micro level, while perpetuating the colonizing practices of government at the macro level. Further, Schouls (2003) and the RCAP (1996) both speak frankly about the need to ensure equity within Aboriginal communities for minority or disempowered sub-groups such as women and youth. The act

of moving aspects of control over Aboriginal education from government to local authorities does not ensure that micro level social justice issues, those at the level of vulnerable individuals within the group, will be addressed without further safeguards than currently exist in this legislation.

3.4. The BC Aboriginal Education Context

The BC public school system has clear integrationist roots as evidenced by the requirement for all children to be registered in a public school at age five unless the parents register them into another acceptable school system or register them as home schooled and the stated requirement for BC public schools that English is the first language and only language offered automatically to all students (British Columbia, 1996). Both the federal First Nations and provincial public school systems have neoliberal influences throughout including specific examples of choice in terms of the school system into which students may be enrolled (British Columbia, 1996 ; British Columbia, 1989: Canada, 1985).

In BC, as well as the rest of Canada, the majority of Aboriginal students attend integrated public schools. In 2016, 63,914 Aboriginal students attended BC public schools and made up approximately ten percent of the total public school population (BC Ministry of Education, 2017b). When compared to about 5,000 Aboriginal students attending on-reserve federally funded schools (FNESC, 2016), it appears either Aboriginal people are currently “voting with their feet” to be educated in an integrated system, or the federal government is creating a situation where Aboriginal people feel the need to attend integrated schools to get a good education (Paquette and Fallon, 2010), or both. So, despite the majority of research literature as well as the RCAP and TRC supporting parallel education approaches (Widdowson & Howard, 2013), the majority of Aboriginal students attend integrated schools. The current reality of the situation is such that regardless of their philosophical underpinnings, both the federal and provincial education systems are influenced by parallel, integration and choice discourses and thus face what Paquette (1986) calls the ‘parity paradox’ of having to provide an education which is deeply grounded in the language and culture of Aboriginal peoples, while maintaining parity with the content of mainstream westernized education. Paquette and Fallon (2010) argue that a successful Aboriginal education system, one which educates students to walk in two

worlds, regardless of whether it is federal or provincial, parallel or integrated, must meet both challenges of the paradox and to do so requires extensive resourcing and protection through government policy far beyond what is in place today. The next section considers the literature around BC's Aboriginal education policies with a specific focus on the development of BC's EAs as a way to address the parity paradox in BC's public schools.

3.4.1. British Columbia's Policy Context

Since 2001, when they formed their first government, the Liberal Party of British Columbia (BC Liberals) have consistently followed a neoliberal policy agenda defined by an emphasis on support for the free-market, devolution of responsibility, choice, autonomy and accountability (Fallon & Paquette 2008). A new mandate for public education in BC was key to the Liberal election platform and Premier Gordon Campbell stated in the first Liberal election platform document, 'Education is our top priority, because it's the key to any healthy, prosperous society,' (BC Liberals 2001: 17). In the years since 2001, the Liberals' education agenda has focused on choice, flexibility and accountability, with a goal of positioning British Columbia at the forefront of the global economy (Fallon & Paquette 2008). Dale's (2000), description of the symptoms of globalization as economic hyper-liberalism, political devolution of control, cultural commodification and consumerism appear throughout the BC Liberals' policy agenda. Under the BC Liberals the focus of policy is on creating efficiency and accountability (Karlsen 2010). This is not accomplished by giving up central control, but rather, like other neoliberal states, through the development of a strong state with 'stronger state structures and ... more robust modes of centralized control and regulation' (Olssen, Codd et al. 2010: 172). It is within this broader provincial neoliberal policy discourse that the Ministry of Education is tasked with providing for the education of students in BC, including those Aboriginal students who choose to attend BC public schools.

3.4.1.1. Aboriginal Education in British Columbia since 1999

As mentioned above, under the Canadian Constitutional Act (1867), provinces are responsible for education and the federal government is responsible for First Nation

people. In the province of British Columbia, this results in the BC Ministry of Education being responsible for the education of students from Kindergarten through Grade 12 in an integrated public school system; however, the federal government, specifically the Department of Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), is responsible for the education of First Nation students living on reserves and attending a parallel system of band operated schools.³ In the 2015/2016 school year, 553,378 students attended BC public schools of which 63,631 had ever self-identified⁴ as Aboriginal (BC Ministry of Education, 2016 b). Of the 63,631 Aboriginal students, 7,694 live on a reserve (BC Ministry of Education, 2016 b). The vast majority of Aboriginal students in BC live off reserve and attend BC public schools (Postl, 2005).

In addition to the Ministry of Education and INAC, the other groups involved directly with Aboriginal education in BC and which have influence over government policy decisions in this area include: the First Nations Education Steering Committee (FNESC), which is committed to supporting the quality of education for all First Nations students regardless of where they attend school in BC; the First Nations Schools Association (FNSEA), which supports excellence in BC First Nations schools; the BC School Trustees Association (BCSTA), which represents locally elected boards of education; the BC Teachers Federation, which advocates for public school teachers; the BC School Superintendents Association, which represents the senior education executives of the province's 60 school districts; the BC Association of School Business Officials, which represents the districts' senior business executives; the BC Principals and Vice Principals Association (BCPVPA), which advocates for public school administrators; the BC Confederation of Parents Advisory Council (BCCPAC), which represents the provincial voice of the multitude of school and district level Parent Advisory Councils (PACs); the BC Métis Nation, which

³ Under the Indian Act (1985) a reserve is Crown lands 'for the use and benefit of the respective bands for which they were set apart' (Canada, 18(1)) under a negotiated treaty. First Nations and/or an organization they designate are responsible for providing education services for students living on a reserve. The federally funded schools on reserves are called 'Indian schools' (Canada, 1985, 18(2)) or more commonly, band operated schools.

⁴ In the BC school system, students are able to self-identify as Aboriginal and change their identification on a yearly basis. This leads to a situation where a small portion, 2,925 of 63,631, of Aboriginal students had self-identified in previous years, but did not self-identify for the 2015/2016 school year (BC Ministry of Education, 2016).

supports all Métis peoples, including students. This lengthy list of organizations which are considered stakeholders in BC's Aboriginal education policy development and implementation will hopefully provide some scope of the complexities involved in the Aboriginal education policy making context in BC.

The Ministry's Aboriginal Education Branch, working in a consultative fashion with the various provincial organizations listed above, is responsible for developing policies to guide the education of Aboriginal students in BC's public schools (Archibald and Hare, 2016; Aman, 2013). At present the Ministry has one Aboriginal education policy, *K-12 Funding – Aboriginal Education* (2010).⁵ That said, the K-12 Funding policy does refer to 'a larger policy framework to support the achievement of Aboriginal Students' (2010). Beyond the K-12 Funding policy, the framework is stated to 'include Enhancement Agreements, Achievement Contracts and school plans.' Since July 1, 2015, Achievement Contracts and school plans are no longer mandated in policy and have been replaced by a draft *Framework for Enhancing Student Learning* (BC Ministry of Education, 2015). The Framework makes reference to, '[l]inkages with existing local agreements (e.g. Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreements) to ensure consistent and meaningful support of Aboriginal students.

The BC Ministry of Education has, since 2003, tracked the progress of self-identified Aboriginal students separately and reported selected data from this tracking annually (Archibald & Hare, 2016). This data has shown a provincial trend of improving results for Aboriginal students; however, there still remains a large gap between the achievement of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students in BC (Aman, 2016). Several studies have looked at the trend of improvement and the continuing achievement gap (Aman, 2016; Friesen & Krauth, 2010; Richards, Hove & Afolabi, 2008; Richards, 2014; Richards, 2013) and each concluded that, while BC is making the most progress towards improving Aboriginal student achievement of any province in Canada, there remains a sizeable gap between the achievement of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students. Beyond the tracking of

⁵ In 2007, BC created the *First Nations Education Act* as a part of a tripartite agreement between BC, Canada and the First Nations Education Steering Committee; however, this Act is focused on education provided by First Nations in band operated schools located on reserve lands and not the public school system.

Aboriginal student data separately, one key area that the research has consistently highlighted is the policy work BC has done around supporting the implementation of Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreements (EAs), since they first entered policy in 1999 with the implication being that EAs are key to the relative success that BC is having in closing the achievement gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students.

3.4.1.2. Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreements

The necessity of policy to support EAs and other Aboriginal education initiatives is acknowledged on the Ministry of Education (2017) EA website which states that ‘[h]istorically, British Columbia schools have not been successful in ensuring that Aboriginal students receive a quality education...’. To address this, the Ministry of Education along with the Chiefs Action Committee, the federal Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs and the President of the BC Teachers Federation signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) (1999) that pledged a new commitment to Aboriginal student school success in BC. Out of this pledge and under the neoliberal policy discourses of the BC Liberals, came EAs, formal five-year working agreements collaboratively developed between school districts, local Aboriginal groups and communities and the Ministry of Education. EAs are designed to improve the educational achievement of Aboriginal students attending BC public schools by establishing common definitions of academic success for Aboriginal students along with goals and measures to track progress towards that success (Kitchenham et al. 2016). EAs ‘...stress the integral nature of Aboriginal traditional culture and languages to Aboriginal student success’ (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a) and are intended to support the development and dissemination of Aboriginal knowledge, culture and ways of learning to all students in the province (Kitchenham et al., 2016). At first reading it appears that EA policy is designed to foster a means for supporting the root goals of parallel education approaches to Aboriginal education within the integrated BC public school system and thus address the parity paradox.

While EAs have never actually been mandated, they have been the primary policy tool the Ministry of Education has relied on to increase Aboriginal student success and to share Aboriginal language, culture and ways of learning with all students (FNESC, 2017).

Kitchenham et al. (2016) point out that despite the focus on EAs in BC's education system, there have been very few studies conducted into their impact.

3.4.2. Future Direction in BC's Aboriginal Education Policy Making

In November of 2015, Carole Bellringer, the Auditor General of British Columbia released *An Audit of the Education of Aboriginal Students in the B.C. Public School System*. In this report, Bellringer concludes that although the provincial graduation rate for Aboriginal students has increased from 39% in 2000 to 62% in 2015, 'there continue to be persistent and significant gaps between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students' and, she continues, 'despite their long-term goal to close the gaps by 2015, the ministry had not' (Auditor General of BC, 2015, p. 26) done so. The report found that in the area of Aboriginal achievement, the BC Ministry of Education did not provide sufficient leadership and direction, had undertaken limited analysis to understand trends and inform change, and had reported outcomes, but not effective education practice. Despite the public commitment to close the education gap made in the 2005 Transformative Change Accord, the Auditor General's report (2015) found that the ministry's Aboriginal education policies did not change and were not evaluated for effectiveness. Further, the report found that the ministry failed to engage 'boards, Aboriginal leaders and communities, and other education partners to develop a shared system-wide strategy for Aboriginal education' (p. 28).

At the February 3, 2016 Select Standing Committee on Public Accounts, Deputy Minister Dave Byng stated, 'the ministry accepted the findings and recommendations of the Auditor General' and, he continued, 'there is a division of statutory responsibilities between the Ministry of Education and locally elected boards... we will be working very closely with school boards... as we implement these recommendations...' (British Columbia, 2016, p. 839). The Deputy Minister went on to focus on how the Ministry can support boards of education to ensure that boards are accountable for Aboriginal student success. It is interesting to note that while accepting the Auditor General's recommendations which are clearly focused on what she views as issues at the Ministry of Education level, the Deputy Minister's response focused on holding school districts accountable for making changes. First, he outlined the Ministry's intention to put a provincial strategy in place with clear criteria for how the ministry will measure Aboriginal student success in school districts.

Then he outlined how the ministry will deal with school districts that are not successful stating, ‘we have the tools...to compel school districts to make changes if they haven’t on their own to achieve the results they need to’ (British Columbia, 2016, p. 840).

As of the 2017/2018 school year, the Ministry of Education is piloting a series of equity scans in six school districts. FNEESC (2016) states that equity scans are the Ministry’s response to the Auditor General’s recommendations for a systematic approach to closing the achievement gap, greater accountability, meaningful targets and ensuring safe, non-racist learning environments. FNEESC (2016) continues,

This project defines a process for school districts to enter into a genuine and meaningful self-assessment dialogue about the experience of education for aboriginal learners and to respond in strategic ways. The four pillars of the equity scan are: student achievement, policy/governance, learning environment, and pedagogical core (p. 24).

With the Ministry now focusing its resources on to equity scans, Enhancement Agreements are left solely to be maintained, changed or discarded by school districts and their local Aboriginal communities.

3.5. Conclusion

In this chapter I traced the changing understanding of liberal truths as seen in Canada’s policy approaches towards Aboriginal peoples under classical liberalism, social justice liberalism and neoliberalism using specific government education policies and statements to examine the discourses prevalent in each era of liberalism and to note how the interdiscursive nature of policy formation means that policy discourses help to shape successive policy discourses. Next, I considered the three approaches to Aboriginal education which arose out of and continue to exist as a result of the legacy of each form of liberal policy making, parallel, integrated and choice. Finally, I turned to the specific example of BC and its EA policy as examples of neoliberal policy making, but with discursive elements from the classical and social justice discourses of past liberal eras. In the next chapter I outline the theoretical framework which informs this study.

CHAPTER 4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

I begin this chapter by building the case for an interdisciplinary approach to researching British Columbia's (BC's) Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreement (EA) policy and the selection of critical discourse analysis (cda) as a suitable interdisciplinary methodology for this study. I then use the concepts of critique, discourse, power and ideology, as they are used in cda, to create a theoretical framework based on Fairclough's (2015) approach to cda to underpin the research into BC's EA policy.

4.1. Interdisciplinarity

This research aims to first identify and then critically examine the discursive and social factors at play in the production and interpretation of BC's EA policy from 1999 – 2016. Aboriginal education policy is a complex area for research and as such, benefits from consideration from multiple research perspectives (Paquette & Falloon, 2010). Researchers from a variety of academic disciplines are increasingly aware of the power of blending academic disciplines to more fully investigate complex research questions (Aboelela et al., 2007); this multiple-perspectives approach is sometimes referred to as 'interdisciplinarity' (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 3). Interdisciplinarity generally involves examining a problem, issue, topic, or theme through two or more relevant discipline-based lenses that are meaningfully integrated, rather than compared or contrasted as separate disciplines (Mansilla & Gardner, 2008). Interdisciplinarity makes a complex social problem the common denominator around which the insights from multiple disciplinary approaches, worldviews, or discourses are integrated to bring a deeper understanding than might be available from any singular approach (Repko, 2008; Augsberg, 2005; Newell, 2007). "Interdisciplinarity," Klein (2005) says, "integrates disciplinary data, methods, tools, concepts, and theories in order to create a holistic view or common understanding of a complex issue, question, or problem" (p. 55).

4.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

One research approach that supports an integrated approach to studying policy text, discourse and social conditions is critical discourse analysis (cda). Cda is a problem-

oriented and interdisciplinary approach (Wodak & Meyer, 2009) that blends linguistic and social theory by drawing on insights offered by a wide range of academic disciplines including history, philosophy, policy studies and sociology (Meyer, 2001). Cda approaches share a common interest in exposing and interrogating ideologies and power through the investigation of semiotic data, be that written, spoken or visual (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Chilton and Wodak (2005) see cda and interdisciplinarity as part of a ‘new agenda’ (p. xiv) that seeks to critically examine important issues. BC’s EA policy shapes the school experience of the more than 60,000 Aboriginal students attending BC public schools each year and warrants critical examination.

Cda’s interdisciplinary approach is not without its critics. Widdowson (2004) and O’Halloran (2003) question cda’s epistemological and ontological foundations while Hammersley (1997) says cda research takes for granted the ability to intermingle theoretical foundations and assumes that such combinations are unproblematic. For Slembrouck (2001), Fairclough’s cda lacks academic rigor as theories are blended in ways which are both unsystematic and lacking in scholarly attribution. Cda researchers (Koller, 2003; Meyer, 2001; Rogers, 2011) have responded by detailing the foundational principles that guide their research. In particular, Rogers (2011) traces the theoretical roots of cda to the transdisciplinary approaches of critical social theory (CST) which arose out of the critical theory (CT) of the Frankfurt School. Based on the dual agendas of ‘critiquing and resisting domination and creating a society free of oppression’ (p. 4), Rogers (2011) cites numerous research studies based in CST including the work of Apple (1995), Collins (2009), Fraser (1989), Friere (1993), Giroux (1988) and more. Despite objections to its theoretical eclecticism, cda is now firmly accepted as a legitimate academic approach (Poole, 2010) with several journals, including *Discourse and Society*, focusing exclusively on articles related to cda research.

As stated in Chapter One, cda is not a uniform approach to blending linguistic and social theory. There are multiple versions of cda (Wodak & Meyer, 2009) including the one developed by Fairclough, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Fairclough’s CDA is the primary research methodology of this study and the approach upon which I build my theoretical framework below. While the multiple cda approaches each have unique defining characteristics, Wodak and Meyer (2009) state that they all share a fundamental

research approach focused on critique, power and ideology, and discourse. It is these four terms that I use to organize the next three sections in which I frame a coherent theoretical framework for this study.

4.2.1. Critique

Olssen, Codd and O'Neill (2010) credit Michael Foucault with the increasing critical focus of education policy sociology onto the nature of policy discourse beginning in the 1980s. Despite the fact that Foucault never devoted an entire study to the field of education such as he did for identity, crime, sexuality, madness and health (Deacon, 2006), his focus on issues of institutional power and control have been taken up by many education policy researchers, including those who examine policy through cda. Wodak and Meyer (2009) describe him as one of the 'theoretical "godfathers" of CDA' (p. 10) due in large part to his critical work in relation to the workings of power through discourse and Fairclough (2003) acknowledges him as one of the main theorists underpinning his CDA approach.

According to Foucault (2007), Emmanuel Kant

founded the two great critical traditions which divide modern philosophy... Kant posited and founded this tradition of philosophy that asks the question of the conditions under which true knowledge is possible and we can therefore say that a whole side of modern philosophy since the 19th century has been defined and developed as the analytic of truth. But there exists in modern and contemporary philosophy another type of question, another kind of critical questioning... The other critical tradition poses the question: What is our actuality? What is the present field of possible experiences? It is not an issue of analyzing the truth, it will be a question rather of what we could call an ontology of ourselves, an ontology of the present... an ontology of the actuality (pp. 94-95).

This latter tradition is the one in which this study lies. Foucault (1988) clarified his view of critique within this philosophical divide saying,

critique is not a matter of saying that things are not right as they are. It is a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought the practices that we accept rest.... Criticism is a matter of flushing out that thought and trying to change it: to show that things are not as self-evident as one believed, to see that what is accepted as self-evident will no longer be accepted as such. Practicing criticism is a matter of making facile gestures difficult (pp. 154-155).

It is this Foucaultian approach to critique as a search for assumptions embedded within BC's Aboriginal education policy which I will emphasize in developing my framework.

Chilton (2005) states that cda rests on the sociological and philosophical theories known as 'critical theory' (p. 19). Bohman (2015) states that critical theory describes a series of historical stages in social, philosophical, and political thought throughout which 'critical theory provides the descriptive and normative bases for social inquiry aimed at decreasing domination and increasing freedom in all their forms' (n.p.). Bohman (2015) describes the ideological roots of critical theory as lying in the work of several generations of Marxist scholars, collectively known as the Frankfurt School, who focus their work on analyses of social injustice and asymmetrical distributions of power in newly capitalist societies. Fairclough (2003) says that neo-Marxist political theory (Gramsci), the Frankfurt school of critical social theory (Horkheimer & Adorno; Habermas), and French discourse theory (Foucault) provide the primary critical foundations for cda. Fairclough (1989, 2003), Wodak (1989, 2001), van Dijk (2004) and other cda researchers combine a variety of aspects of CT with the work of selected poststructural and postmodern scholars to bring a strong, if not universally accepted, theoretical base to their critique of social issues, including the use of power.

4.2.2. Power and Ideology

The focus of cda on the use of critique to examine assumptions, expose social inequity and resist oppression naturally leads cda researchers to consider assumptions about power. Cda theorists such as Fairclough (2010), van Dijk (2004) and Wodak (2001) look to the neo-Marxist work of Gramsci (1971) to explain how power is managed through the socially mediated linguistic practices he calls hegemony and ideology. Gramsci (1971) describes ideological hegemony as the exercise of power over one class of people by another class with the tacit consent of the former. Ideological hegemony is a form of social control that depends on the acquiescence by some "lower" classes in a society to the leadership of "higher," more intellectually adept classes. One of Gramsci's (1971) most influential claims is that such leadership need not occur through force. Instead, the controlled classes are convinced that the prevailing ideological representations of the ruling classes make 'common sense' and can be accepted at face value as 'truths' (p. 333). Battiste (1998)

alludes to this common sense in the Canadian context when she states that the acceptance of colonizer as superior to the colonized by both settlers and Aboriginals was, and some would argue is still, the norm in Canada. Fairclough (1995, 2003, 2010, 2015) has consistently depended on Gramsci's theorizing about hegemony and ideology to explain how elite classes in a society maintain power. Van Dijk (2004) sees ideologies as the collective belief systems that lead individuals and whole classes of peoples to accept as common sense versions of reality, even if such "reality" does not provide positive results for them. Wodak's (2001) critical stance depends on the connections she draws between power and ideology as 'ideology, for CDA, is seen as an important aspect of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations' (p. 10). In this study of EA policy, Gramsci's (1971) notions of power tied to socially mediated linguistic practices support both the historical analysis of Canadian Aboriginal policy as ideological hegemony as well as claims about the production and reproduction of social power through themes focused on neoliberal education policy discourses such as choice, autonomy, flexibility, accountability, institutional devolution and competitiveness. However, Gramsci's views of power will be framed as a truth within the context and parameters of time and social setting, rather than truth which is universal and timeless.

The second critical theorist in my framing of power is the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu sees power as culturally rather than ideologically created. Bourdieu attributes the maintenance of society's structures to what he refers to as 'symbolic violence' or 'power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force' (Bourdieu and Passeron, p. 4). Bourdieu (1977) says, 'Language is not only an instrument of communication, or even of knowledge, but also an instrument of power' (1977, p. 648) used to maintain societies' structures through ideologies, which Bourdieu sometimes defines as political discourses (1991).

For Bourdieu (1991) power is created through an interplay between the two traditional sociological views of human behavior: structure, in which the culturally created socialization of individuals limits their choices and structuring, in which individuals exercise free will based on their immediate experiences (Barker, 2005). In order to bridge between these concepts, Bourdieu offers his three primary 'thinking tools' (Wacquant,

1989, p. 40): habitus, practice, and social fields. Rawolle and Lingard (2008) provide a useful summary of these which they characterize as Bourdieu's 'conceptual triad' (p. 730). To the triad, I add Bourdieu's explanations of capital, doxa and misrecognition in order to make sense of the relationship between structure and structuring in the specific context of power.

4.2.2.1. *Habitus*

Habitus is the deeply ingrained cultural training which creates a series of dispositions which in turn incline a person to act a certain way and is directly relatable to a structured view of human behavior (Bourdieu, 1991). Habitus is developed through early childhood experiences and, while reflecting the setting in which the experiences are acquired, is generative and transposable, meaning that habitus will come out in different responses and behaviours depending on the setting. Habitus gives people a grounding in how they will tend to respond and behave without strictly determining their actions. While habitus can change, it is durable and generative, that is, it tends to last and influence how a person acts throughout their life. So while further training can produce a new disposition, that disposition will not be completely free of the influence of the primary habitus.

4.2.2.2. *Practice, Capital and Field*

What Bourdieu (1991) does view as adaptable are peoples' practices, their day-to-day practical actions, as these are influenced not only by their habitus, but also by field and capital. He expresses this relationship using the formula ' $[(\text{habitus}) (\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$ ' (p. 101).

Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) describe markets in which individuals exchange their linguistic and cultural capital to obtain other forms of capital. Bourdieu (1984) refines this view of markets into what he calls fields, settings in which people interact based on the rules of the field and each individual's habitus and capitals: social, cultural and economic. Bourdieu (1991) sees fields as places of struggle where those with various levels of capital and various levels of alignment between their habitus and the rules of the field, voluntarily

vie for power and to exchange their social, cultural or economic capital for other forms of capital. These exchanges are what form people's practices. For Bourdieu habitus does not dictate the practice, but rather influences it and it is with this distinction that he is able to move beyond the structure versus structuring debate and incorporate the role of human agency into his view of human behavior. In this study, the primary field under examination is BC's public school system and the major capital of interest is student achievement as defined in provincial policy. The habitus of students entering the education system is of course variable and thus, by Bourdieu's formula, so are their outputs of practices.

John Goldthorpe (2007) has strongly critiqued the work of Bourdieu and Passeron as being simplistic and incongruent with the reality of human behavior. Major criticisms include that for Bourdieu and Passeron habitus is the sole determinant of social mobility and that they ignore both the possibility of resistance and intra-class variation (Atkinson 2012). However, Atkinson (2012) and others have refuted that critique by acknowledging that Bourdieu himself (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, p. vii) stated that his work with Passeron needs to be considered, not solely on its initial merits, but in combination with his later work in which their theories are more fully developed. For example, in considering the use of language as a practice, Bourdieu's (1991) *Language and Symbolic Practice* greatly clarifies the range of choice available to individual agents. Linguistic habitus is applied in a linguistic field, such as a school or classroom. The alignment of the habitus, capital and field will create the practice and that practice will have more or less value depending on how it aligns with what is valued within that field. There is always a certain censorship, both by the self and by others that occurs due to expectations of how the field will react (Bourdieu 1991). While symbolic violence still occurs when those in power are able to arbitrarily impose values within fields and create the shared belief that these values are not arbitrary but in fact universal "truths", or what he calls doxa, each agent does have free will within the field. It is this aspect of free will or human agency, which clarifies that Bourdieu does acknowledge the possibility of resistance and intra-class variation.

4.2.2.3. *Doxa and Misrecognition*

Bourdieu uses the term *doxa* to denote that which we attribute to Gramsci's notion of "common sense". *Doxa* is 'an adherence to relations of order which, because they structure inseparably both the real world and the thought world, are accepted as self-evident' (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 471). Bourdieu also makes use of the term 'misrecognition', which is akin to Marxian ideas of 'false consciousness' (Gaventa, 2003, p. 3) linked to ideological hegemony. However, unlike false consciousness, misrecognition is more cultural than ideological. It

embodies a set of active social processes that anchor taken-for-granted assumptions into the realm of social life and, crucially, they are born in the midst of culture. All forms of power require legitimacy and culture is the battleground where this conformity is disputed and eventually materialises amongst agents, thus creating social differences and unequal structures (Navarro, 2006, p. 19).

So, while Bourdieu and Gramsci both see the final end product of power as societal inequality, they differ greatly on how it is created with Gramsci theorizing an ideological base and Bourdieu theorizing a cultural beginning and ideology as a tool of power, rather than power itself.

Foucault (1970, 1972, 1977) is the third and final critical theorist whose views on power will be addressed as part of my theoretical framework. While he rejects the label, Foucault is widely considered to be a poststructuralist, partially because he avoids dictating what should replace the social structures he critiques (Flynn, 2005). My framework makes extensive use of Foucault's views on power to allow for a melding of structural and post-structural views.

Foucault's research (1970, 1972, 1977) involves an interdisciplinary analysis of power in western societies from medieval through to modern times. He bases his studies in critiques of positivist and scientific paradigms of knowledge that support the proposition that universal "truths" lie behind peoples' practices and social systems. Foucault's views on power reject both Bourdieu's view that power is culturally and symbolically created and Gramsci's Marxist view of power as something distributed from the top to the bottom of a society through a class system. Rather, Foucault sees power as ubiquitous, lying beyond

agency or structure, ‘dispersed through social relations’ and distributed through bureaucracies, informal memberships and by states (Foucault, 1977, p. 27). Foucault (1977) sees power as circulating as a capillary, plural, and productive force in all social interactions within a society and as formed and reproduced through the broad societal web of decentered conflicting social relations which may not be based on conscious choice.

Like Bourdieu and Gramsci, Foucault (1972) speculates on the ways that relations between power and knowledge can be seen to produce social consensus. However, Foucault (1972) claims that (in contrast to Gramsci’s Marxism) there is no correct knowledge, no universal “truths.” For Foucault (1980), the determining nature of structuralist philosophies such as Marxism presupposes what is truth in three ways: first, they create ideologies to oppose which are then judged against a presupposed truth; second, they create subjects through the categorization of people by the presupposed truth; and finally, ideologies are seen to be created out of the underlying and pre-existing structures of the society, rather than through discourse. While critiquing structuralism and its reliance on a pre-existing, universal “truth” to create ideologies and subjects, Foucault is not entirely clear where his own views on truth lie. It is unclear as to whether he believes that truth is unobtainable or whether he is simply not concerned as to the links to the truth of the discourses he studies (Olssen, Codd & O’Neill, 2010). As such, he has been criticized as a relativist by some (Taylor, 1989; Habermas, 1987); however, others (Dreyfuss & Rabinow, 1982) are not as concerned with his relativism as they state it is not a judgmental relativism in which all interpretations are seen as equally valid regardless of evidence, but rather an epistemic relativism in which all beliefs and knowledge are socially constructed. As such Foucault sees the truth as non-existent outside of its historical social constructs (Olssen, Codd & O’Neill, 2010). Foucault (1984) writes,

Singular forms of experience may perfectly well harbor universal structures; they may well not be independent from the concrete determinations of social existence. However, neither these determinations nor these structures can allow for experiences... except through thought... this thought has an historicity which is proper to it. That it should have this historicity does not mean that it is deprived of all universal form, but instead that the putting into play of these universal forms is itself historical (p. 335).

In short, while Foucault doesn’t deny the existence of universal truths, for him they are always historically mediated. The ability to recognize and anchor truth in the social conditions evident at a given place and time in history allows a bridging of the post-

structural philosophy of Foucault to many other theories rooted in a structural ontology, including the CDA of Fairclough.

Notably, Foucault (1977) states that power and knowledge are inextricably linked.

We should admit that power produces knowledge (and not simply by encouraging it because it serves power, or by applying it because it is useful); that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations (p. 28).

Elsewhere, Foucault (1970) extends power/knowledge to reframe Gramsci's (1971) conception of ideology as well stating that knowledge in any era may be commonly shared, but it need not be rational to function effectively as an effect of power. Foucault (1970), sees the researcher as one who critiques what seems to commonly be held as knowledge rather than looking to uncover knowledge that appears to impart reason. This approach to ideology is deeply embedded within many approaches to cda. Wodak (2001) specifies that cda analysts aim to 'demystify' discourses by 'deciphering ideologies' (p.10). Fairclough (1989) is particularly indebted to Foucault's understanding of ideology to support his claims that the 'ideological assumptions embedded in particular "conventions"' of language distribute power in daily life (p. 2).

For the purposes of this study, Foucault's conception of power will support claims that social consensus does not necessarily represent a progressive or unified narrative and that apparently rational regimes of cooperation may hide gaps and discontinuities in patterns of social interactions. Foucault's (1970) linkage of knowledge to power will also play a role in the upcoming inquiry into BC's EA policy. His distinctive analyses through power/knowledge offers the possibility of raising similar questions about what knowledge is maintained to be correct in any given setting, including BC's education system. Finally, this inquiry will aim to illuminate, if not demystify, the workings of power in discourses of Aboriginal education. With that in mind, I turn now to a discussion of discourse and how that term will be used within my theoretical framework.

4.2.3. Discourse

Wodak and Meyer (2009) state that the term discourse appears so frequently in social science texts that it has come to mean everything from a historical artifact to a policy

statement, from a political strategy to a speech. They continue that this wide use of the word has necessarily led to much misunderstanding and confusion around the use of the term. To frame and clarify discourse, as I use it in this study, I begin with a basic definition of discourse before I turn once again to the theories of Foucault, Bourdieu and the cda of Wodak, van Dijk, Fairclough and others to develop a theoretical underpinning for the use of discourse within this study of BC's Aboriginal education policies.

Discourse can be defined as the use of language, be it written or spoken, by social actors in specific settings (Wodak, 2008). Fairclough (2003) adds that discourse is the way in which people are able to represent their worldview. However, discourse is not something that occurs in a vacuum. Fairclough (2015) draws on the work of Harvey (1996) to clarify that in a dialectical view of the social process, that is one based on a view that social discourses should be examined critically, 'discourse is one of six elements...: discourse (language); power; social relations; material practices; institutions (and rituals); beliefs (values, desires)' (p. 7) which, while distinct, are dialectically related to each other and both shape and are shaped by one another. So, discourses are both socially constructed and socially constitutive (Wodak, 2008). This dual ability of discourse to both shape society and be shaped by society makes it an important concept for understanding how ideology and power function in social practice.

Despite my definition of discourse, it should be noted that there are other views on discourse. There is a divide between the literature which supports a post-structural view of discourse and that which supports a linguistic view (MacLure, 2003). Founded in European philosophy and culture, the post-structural approach: views people's identities as being formed by their exposure to various discourses (Foucault, 1973); argues that there is no social reality other than discourse; looks more closely at the role of discursive practices than of actual texts; and sees "truth" and knowledge as contextually determined within the mediating influence of historical discourses (Foucault, 1984). Those researchers who take a more linguistic approach, tend to focus more attention onto texts and give more credence to the ability of people to interpret discourses and shape their social reality (van Dijk, 2006). Spratt (2017) points to studies by Evans et al. (2013), Grue (2009), Maguire, Braun and Ball (2015) and Picard (2010) that empirically support the view that individuals do play a role in interpreting and enacting policy discourses. As stated above, cda allows for a

critical and interdisciplinary approach to research and as such offers the possibility of blending the approaches of both post-structural and more linguistically focused theories to study complex problems, which is how I will set about framing my approach.

As discussed above, Foucault's theorizing on power and knowledge can be positioned effectively within the twentieth century tradition of CT and is useful for critiquing how knowledge is structured and distributed; further, Foucault's conception of discourse creates the link between his views on the ubiquitous nature of power and how it functions in a society. In Foucault's epistemology, the Gramscian concept of ideologies is replaced with that of discourses which he describes as a variety of practices including written and spoken speech which are tied to their historical context and capable of repetition (Olssen, Codd and O'Neill, 2010). Foucault does not use discourse as a linguistic concept where it may simply mean a passage of connected writing or speech, but rather as way to 'represent the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment... Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language' (Hall 1992: 291). In this sense of discourse, the representation of knowledge and therefore "truth" are historically contingent and thus what is "true" in one historical period is not necessarily true in another. This leads to the notion of discursive practices where the discourse, the historically constituted and repeatable practice, becomes the basis of a further practice or more likely a series of practices which come to form a way of thinking about things and acting as a society. These discursive practices become embedded into discursive fields such as law, medicine and education such that these discursive fields cannot exist outside of their constituting discourses which define their knowledge and practices. Foucault (1971) speaks to the role of institutions, including schools, as structures that mediate discourses by creating 'orders of discourse' (p. 7) as 'in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures...' (p. 8). Orders of discourse can also be thought of as interdiscursivity. Just as policy texts can be seen to exhibit intertextuality through their reliance on previous policy texts for authority, so too do discourses rely on previous discourses to find their place within a society.

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) link Foucault's concept of orders of discourse to Bourdieu's (1984) conception of fields as socially structured settings in which people voluntarily interact and vie for power based on the specific rules of each field. Society is

made up of a series of such fields with an overarching ‘field of power’ (Bourdieu in Wacquant, 1993, p. 14) which determines how the society structures the relationship between the various fields and actors within each. In fact, Bourdieu’s field of power has been seen by some (Geeiene, 2002) as a sociologically grounded description of Foucault’s view of power lying in every social interaction. By connecting orders of discourse to fields, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) suggest that the work of Bourdieu, while underestimating the power of discourse, provides a fruitful link between discourse analysis and social practice theory which can be useful to conducting cda.

Like Bourdieu, Foucault also has a “tool box” for analyzing discourse, discursive practices and discursive fields, Foucault employs two terms: 1) archaeology - his method of describing the historical presuppositions of a societies’ system of thought and 2) genealogy - his method of tracing how a given system of thought comes into being and is transformed over time. For Foucault discourse is necessarily more than the written or spoken text and as such, he looks beyond the text to focus on the discursive and the extra-discursive context in which the discourse exists, rises, falls and is transformed (Barrett, 1988).

Olssen, Codd and O’Neill (2010) state that Foucault’s examinations of discourses and their contexts are particularly important for policy discourse analysis where the context of the policy formation is differentiated from the context of the policy implementation. Such is the case with Aboriginal education policy in British Columbia where policy is produced at the Ministry of Education but interpreted in 60 separate public school districts.

4.3. Policy

Following Olssen, Codd and O’Neill (2010), I define policy as any course of action, including inaction, related to goal selection, values definition or resource allocation. From this, education policy is policy that relates to the selection of educational goals, defines educational values or allocates educational resources. In the past, educational policy making was seen as the fairly straightforward and largely top-down three-step process of a government identifying an education issue, mobilizing the bureaucracy to engage stakeholders around the issue and reaching a compromise policy statement through overcoming dilemmas and making trade-offs around competing values (Rein, 1983). Once

the policy statement was produced, it was sent out to those responsible for implementation of the policy. Trowler (2003) says a top-down approach relies on a view of successful educational organizations as ‘simple societies’ (p. 125) which strive to share a common culture.

Organisational culture induces purpose, commitment, and order, provides meaning and social cohesion and clarifies and explains behavioural expectations. Culture influences an organization through the people within it (Masland, 1985, p. 158).

Any policy implementation issues were generally seen as failures in terms of managerial coordination, control and compliance building.

The top-down approach has been heavily critiqued as largely ignoring many other significant factors at play in policy making and policy implementation including the role of individuals versus the role of agencies, power, relationships, conflicting interests and different value systems (Barrett and Fudge, 1981). A postmodern view of policy making and implementation considers the role of the individual as well as the central agency along with the reality of sub-cultures within the fluid character of the larger society (Trowler, 2003). In such a view, studying the individual is as important as studying the institution when seeking to understand policy making.

4.3.1 Policy as Text, Policy as Discourse

Ball (1994) sees policy as having two distinct characters which compete when policy is enacted: policy as text and policy as discourse. For Ball, policy as text emphasizes the social agency and power of the individual to autonomously interpret policy. In this view, policy is read by individuals who then impact upon policy as ‘policies shift and change their meanings in the arenas of politics; representations change, key interpreters... change...’ (Ball 1994, pp. 16-170). Conversely, policy as discourse emphasizes the external constraints upon the individual which control and direct their behaviours through their own internal assumptions which accept the discourses of those making policy as common sense. Foucault (1972) says that discourses,

systemically form the objects of which they speak...Discourses are not about objects; they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the practice of doing so conceal their own invention (p. 49).

The distinction between policy as text and policy as discourse is important as it plays a key role in the analysis of policy.

4.3.2 Policy Analysis

Policy analysis is either an enquiry into the informational base upon which policy is constructed, or an examination of existing policy. Gordon, Lewis and Young (1977) refer to these as analysis for policy and analysis of policy, respectively. They continue that analysis for policy can be either policy advocacy, for the purpose of making policy recommendations or information for policy, to provide information to inform the policy making process. Analysis of policy also has two forms: first, analysis of policy determination and effects which studies ‘the inputs and transformational processes operating upon the construction of public policy’ (p. 28); second, analysis of policy content which studies the assumptions, values and ideologies which underpin the policy process. It is important to clarify the different forms of policy analysis here as the central focus of this study will be an analysis of policy content linked to power and discourse with a purposeful aim to answering the two major research questions by exposing and examining the assumptions, values and ideologies underlying BC’s EA policy as it was produced and as it is interpreted.

Research points to individual policy interpreter agency as having a significant impact on how policy is interpreted as it moves from the site of production to the site of interpretation (Cohen and Ball, 1990; Weatherly and Lipsky, 1977). Fairclough (2015) says that policy is ‘reproduced’ as it moves between the place of production and the site of interpretation through an interaction between the policy discourse and the internal member resources (MR) of the interpreter, including their ideological assumptions, and it is in this reproduction that discourses are reaffirmed and that new discourses emerge. As Harvey (1996) states, discourse is only one of several elements which combine and interact discursively to shape and be shaped one by the other. In such a view, as Aboriginal policy is produced, it moves from its creation at the Ministry level and is communicated in written and spoken text to the school district level where it is interpreted by those receiving the

information through a process of decoding and recoding (Singh, Thomas & Harris, 2013) in which power, social relations, material practices, institutions (and rituals) and beliefs (values, desires) (Harvey, 1996) all play a role. The reproduced discourse is in turn communicated on to schools and classrooms where it is again reproduced. It is this process of reproduction which forms the basis of Fairclough's (2015) CDA model which will be covered extensively in Chapter Five. In Rawolle and Lingard's (2008) view, Bourdieu's concept of a policy field of practice with specific logics of practice based on habitus and capitals allows another way to conceptualize the issues which can arise between policy production and implementation.

The fact that texts circulate without their context, that-to use my terms-they don't bring with them the field of production of which they are a product, and the fact that recipients, who are themselves in a different field of production, re-interpret the texts in accordance with the structure of the field of reception, are facts that generate some formidable misunderstandings and that can have good or bad consequences (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 221).

In Bourdieu's conception of policy formation and implementation, just as in Foucault's and Fairclough's, the view that these activities follow the linguistic idealism of the technical-empiricist model is flawed as there is a necessary disconnect between policy making and policy interpreting which I address in Chapter 6 for BC's EA policy.

4.4. Conclusion

In this chapter I have used the concepts of critique, power and ideology, and discourse to develop a framework, based on the interdisciplinary approach of CDA, to serve as a theoretical base upon which to develop my study of BC's EA policy. In the next chapter, I build upon this base to provide a detailed description of the research methodology used in this study to analyze BC's EA policy

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

In this chapter I move beyond the theoretical underpinnings of critical discourse analysis (cda) from Chapter Four to outline the specific methodological framework for the study, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA provides a structured method based on an examination of texts, discursive practice and social practice to analyze and critique discourses related to British Columbia's (BC's) Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreement (EA) policy. The chapter begins with an overview of discourse as social practice by considering language as it relates to discourse and orders of discourse within the frame of CDA before turning to a consideration of policy and its reproduction. I then outline how CDA is understood, how it will be used in this study to consider policy documents and interview responses from both policy creators and policy implementers, and the differences between written and spoken texts. Next I cover study bias with a focus on making explicit relevant aspects of my member resources (MR), data collection and procedures in turn. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of ethical considerations during the study.

5.1. Discourse as Social Practice

In this study, discourse means language, both written and spoken, viewed as social practice determined by social structures (Fairclough, 2015). For Fairclough (2015) there is no separation between language and society as 'linguistic phenomena *are* social phenomena of a special sort, and social phenomena *are* (in part) linguistic phenomena' (p. 56). The work of Foucault (1972) helps to deepen this definition by specifically considering discourse in terms of both its historical context and power relations as a part of the social structure. For Foucault and Fairclough, it is not just language itself that needs examination, but rather the relationship between the discursive (language) and the extra-discursive (society) which requires analysis.

The question posed by language analysis of some discursive fact or other is always: according to what rules has a particular statement been made and consequently according to what rules could other similar statements be made? The description of the events of discourse poses quite a different question: how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another (Foucault, 1972, p. 27)?

It is in this need to be able to untangle the discursive fact or text to be analyzed from the historical context and power relations of its production that is critical for the discourse analyst and is the work which will be undertaken throughout the remainder of this study.

5.2. CDA

In order to approach discourse analysis in a complete and structured fashion, Fairclough (1992) posits a three-dimensional analytical framework to investigate how language is used to create and sustain dominant ideology and power. Fairclough's 2015 model, which is the model I use in this study, has been evolving since its introduction in 1983. The current model of discourse analysis involves the integration of three dimensions of discourse: text, interaction and context and three corresponding stages of CDA: description, interpretation and explanation (see Figure 5-1). I will consider each of the dimensions of discourse and stages of CDA briefly here.

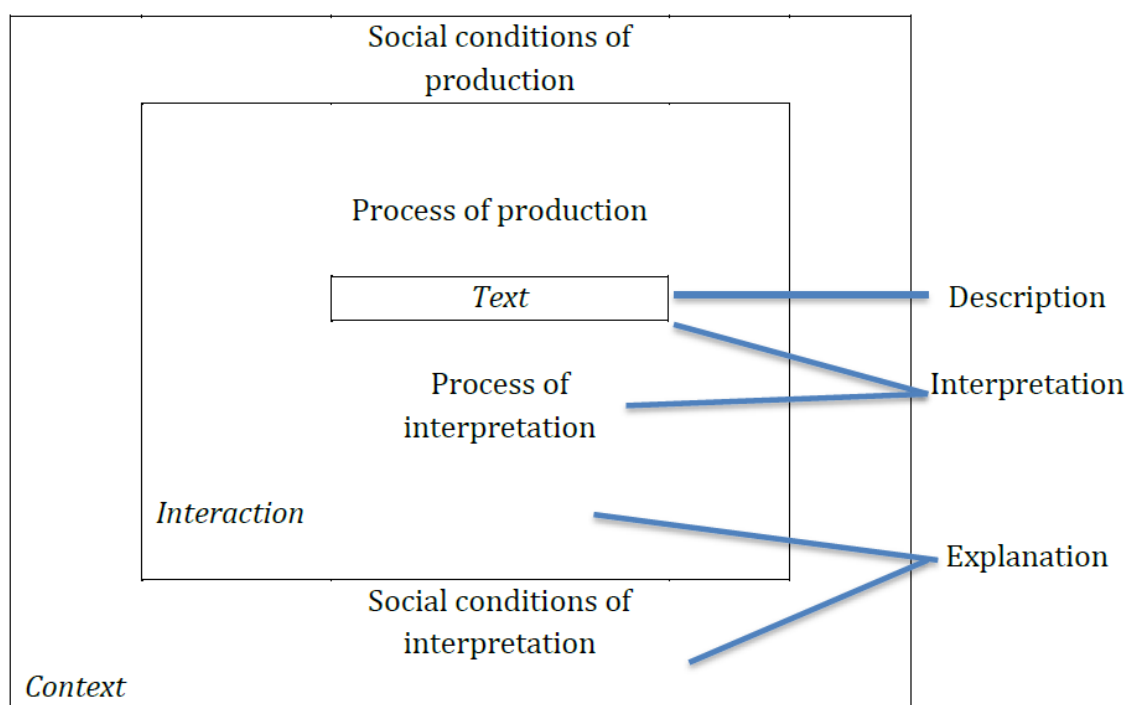


Figure 5-1. Discourse as text, interaction and context (Fairclough, 2014)

In this study, a piece of text, for instance, the BC Ministry of Education's EA policy brochure, is seen as a product, usually in a written form, created through the process of

production. While discourse can be either written or spoken texts (Halliday, 1994), for the purposes of this study, spoken texts, in this case interviews, are transcribed and thus text in this study means a written product. However, there are substantial differences between oral and written language. Horowitz and Samuels (1987), speak of the oral-written dichotomy (see Appendix 11) to describe the fundamental differences in reciprocity, orientation, time, purpose and structure between oral and written language. Therefore, although the policy documents and interview transcripts for this study are in the form of written products (texts), the initial analysis of them will differ. While policy documents by their nature as formal written texts lend themselves to a direct CDA, interview transcripts require codification to bring a systematic order to their content, based on the interpretations of the analyst, in order to be effectively analyzed (Saldana, 2016). I will discuss how I coded the interview transcripts later in this chapter.

A text is the subject which is described, but a discourse is much more as it includes a broader process of social interaction of which a text is just one element (Fairclough, 2015). Text analysis involves the description of the text along with the interpretation of both the process of production which created the text and the process of interpretation for which the text acts as a resource (Fairclough, 2015). The process of production, the text and the process of interpretation take place within a social context made up six elements: ‘discourse (language); power; social relations; material practices; institutions (and rituals); beliefs (values, desires)’ (Harvey, 1996, p. 7). These elements create a social context which includes the social conditions of production and the social conditions of interpretation. The social context is comprised of three levels of social organization: the immediate situation in which the discourse happens, for example creation of the BC Ministry’s EA brochure; the social institution that “houses” the discourse, for the EA brochure this would be the BC Ministry of Education; and in the broader society, which would include many other social institutions including the public school system. For Fairclough (2015), the six social conditions of Harvey (1996) shape the knowledge, values and beliefs that people bring to the processes of production and interpretation which then impacts on how texts are produced and interpreted. It is this connection of language to both discourse and social practice that links *texts*, *interactions* and *contexts* in Figure 5-1.

Fairclough's (2015) CDA model links texts, interactions and contexts to three distinct stages of cda:

- Description, which considers the formal properties of the text. This stage is normally concerned with "labeling" formal features of the text, although a certain consideration of the discourses under which the texts were produced will be necessary to understand those formal features.
- Interpretation, which considers interactions, that is the processes that produced the text and the processes in which the text is used as a resource for interpretation. This stage is focused on the internal thoughts of those involved in producing and interpreting the text.
- Explanation, which considers the relationship between the interactions and the three levels of social context, including the impact of the social on production and interpretation and the social impacts coming out of these. This stage looks at the relationships between social events and social structures to see how they shape one another.

A study, such as this one, which uses CDA must consider texts at all three stages in order to seek out the power and ideologies hidden within them. Before I move to a more fulsome description of the specific methods of description, interpretation and explanation I will use to critically analyze BC's EA policy, I need to bring forward two more important "tools" involved in CDA, orders of discourse and policy reproduction.

5.2.1. Orders of Discourse

Discourse is embedded in all social activities and as a result is itself a particular form of social practice (Fairclough, 2001). Regardless of the form of the discourse, verbal, non-verbal, written, spoken, it both shapes social practice and is shaped by social practice giving a structure to the social activity it is embedded within. Thus, discourse and practice become recognized conventions of social activity which in turn give social license to those who follow the conventions.

Orders of discourse is a term used by Foucault (1971) and Fairclough to describe how the grouping of conventions into networks determine 'a particular social ordering of

relationships amongst different ways of making meaning' (Fairclough, 2001, p. 232). Fairclough (1989) sees orders of discourse, and the conventions of language which form them, as masking ideological assumptions which serve to control the distribution of power in daily life and in turn socially constrain individuals. He explains that examining an order of discourse gives the CDA researcher a "tool" to uncover the social order within a social institution (Fairclough, 2001) and the interpretation and explanation stages of CDA are often concerned with uncovering how orders of discourse perpetuate the social order to the benefit of those in power within social institutions.

5.2.2. *Reproduction of Policy*

The specific focus of this study is a CDA of the existing BC EA policy, with a mind to uncover the assumptions, values and ideologies evident in the texts, interactions and contexts associated with the development and interpretation of that policy. Reproduction of policy is a "tool" which focuses on the interpretation of a text as it moves from the immediate level of production, to the attention of parties set just outside of the immediate production, and finally into the broad social setting. In this study, these three levels of interpretation roughly align to those at the BC Ministry of Education who produced the EA policy text and related written materials, those at the school district level who interpret these texts, and those with a connection to the school system, be they teachers, parents, students and so on, respectively.

Bourdieu (1999) says that because texts do not carry the full context of their production with them, they are necessarily reinterpreted when encountered by those in a different setting and that in this reinterpretation they necessarily use their local context to replace the context that is missing from the site of production. Bernstein's (2000) work with policy reinterpretation, or as he terms it recontextualization, in the school system supports Bourdieu's views on the importance of the recipient's context to the interpretation/reinterpretation of policy as it moves between the three levels evident in Fairclough's (2015) model. In CDA, reinterpretation or recontextualization is called reproduction. In reproduction, a policy discourse, away from the mediating factors of its context of production is considered against the existing assumptions carried by each policy interpreter. Following this consideration, the policy is then reproduced as either a

transformed or reinforced discourse, by the interpreter. The process of production, process of interpretation and social conditions of interpretation, while being impacted upon by the original discourse, each create opportunities to shape that discourse and thus for new discourses to arise through the differences in power, relations, practices, rituals and beliefs that are held by those in the various levels as they “fill in” missing context. CDA uses reproduction as a “tool” to examine new interpretations which then help uncover the differences that lead to new interpretations of discourses and their impact on discourse and through discourse.

5.3. CDA in this Study

The CDA I have undertaken addresses all three levels or stages of Fairclough’s (2015) CDA model. In this section, I outline the specific steps I followed in conducting the CDA at each level: description, interpretation and explanation. While I have occasionally cited Fairclough (2015) throughout the section, the entire section is a summary of the CDA methodology outlined by Fairclough (2015) and should be read as such.

5.3.1. Description

In order to describe the formal structures of the text, I considered the following ten questions, as suggested by Fairclough (2015, pp. 129-130), for application to the texts used in the study:

Vocabulary

1. What experiential values do words have?
2. What relational values do words have?
3. What expressive values do words have?
4. What metaphors are used?

Grammar

5. What experiential values do grammatical features have?
6. What relational values do grammatical features have?
7. What expressive values do grammatical features have?
8. How are sentences linked together?

Textual structures

9. What interactional conventions are used?

10. What larger-scale structures does the text have?

Fairclough (2015) summarizes the difference between experiential, relational and expressive values and features in Table 5-1.

Table 5-1.

Formal Features: Experiential, Relational and Expressive Values (Fairclough, 2015)

Dimensions of meaning	Values of features	Structural effects
Contents	Experiential	Knowledge/beliefs
Relations	Relational	Social relations
Subjects	Expressive	Social identities

In Fairclough's (2015) CDA at the description stage, formal text features which have experiential value help the researcher uncover the text producer's concept (knowledge/belief) of the natural or social world. Those formal text features with relational value help the researcher to discover social relationships that come about through the text in the discourse and features with expressive features give clues as to the text producer's evaluation of the subjects the text relates to. Next I turn to the interpretation stage.

5.3.2. Interpretation

Fairclough (2015) says that he uses the term interpretation to describe both the second stage of CDA and the interpretation of texts by discourse participants in order to emphasize that basically the researcher and the participant are doing the same thing when interacting with texts. That is, they are both interpreting by combining what is in the text with what is "in" the interpreter. Fairclough (2015) says that what is in the interpreter, be they researcher or discourse participant, are member resources (MR), the term he uses to describe the common-sense assumptions and expectations of the interpreter. The only difference is that the researcher, as a critical analyst, must be self-conscious of their MR and its impacts on interpretation.

The interpretation stage is quite complex and requires some explanation; although, the application of interpretation to BC's EA policy texts in the next chapter should help to provide necessary depth and clarity for the critical aspects involved in the interpretation of that policy which are not necessary to lay out in the basics provided here.

Fairclough summarizes the interpretation stage in Figure 5-2. The Interpreting column lists the six major domains of interpretation. The two at the top look at context and the remaining four consider text. The Interpretive procedures (MR) column lists what MR are brought to each domain by the interpreter. The Resources column, with the associated arrows, shows the range of resources, three or four each, that the six domains draw upon during investigation.

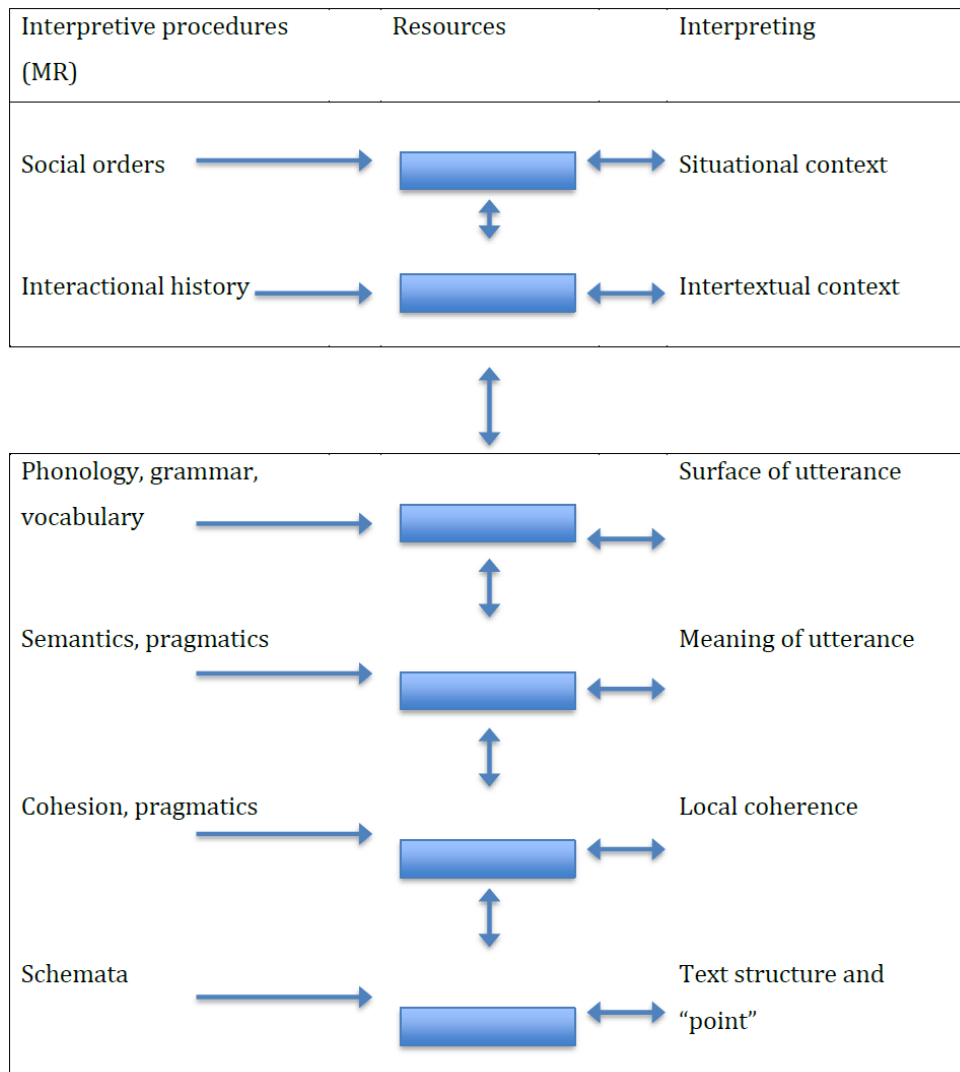


Figure 5-2. Interpretation stage

5.3.2.1. Interpretation of Text

The four levels of interpretation of text build one upon the other from the first level through to the fourth. First is surface of utterance, which is the most basic level of interpretation. It involves the interpreter converting sounds (speech) or markings (writing) into recognizable words, phrases and sentences. To do this, they draw on their MR related to phonology, grammar and vocabulary. For example, an interpreter who is illiterate will be stymied at the very first level of interpretation if dealing with a written text, for instance an email, as they will have limited ways to turn the markings into recognizable words and so on.

Second, the meaning of utterance involves the interpreter assigning meaning to the sounds and marks they converted into recognizable language pieces in the first level. Here the interpreter draws on their MR as it relates to semantics to allow them to sort out implicit meanings by combining words and grammar. At this level, pragmatic MR conventions allow the investigator to ascribe one or more speech acts, that is the “job(s)” that the utterance is trying to accomplish, to the utterance. For example, when an interpreter reads an email subject line that says, “Nice job”, they may well draw on their MR to understand that this may be a compliment, a job offer or sarcasm.

The third level, local coherence, sees the interpreter using their MR to create coherent connections between utterances both at the formal level and through implicit assumptions. A formal connection can be found between two sentences where the second one starts, “In light of this, ...”. An implicit connection can also be made between two or more sentences without any formal connection based strictly on the MR of who is doing the interpreting. In the ‘Nice job’ email, the interpreter may make an implicit connection between the subject line and the first sentence in the email which starts, “I have a great opportunity for you...”.

The fourth and final level of text interpretation involves sorting out how the entire text works together. At this level, the interpreter matches the text to a schemata, one of a recognizable set of patterns of discourse stored as MR, in order to “classify” the text as a type of discourse. At this level, the interpreter will apply their expectations to the text based on their MR. This is also the level at which the interpreter decides what the “point”

of the text is and stores this information in long term memory. Returning to the “Nice job” email, at this level, the interpreter, having read the entire email, including a concluding sentence that reads, “If you are interested in this position, please let me know right away” has classified the text as a job offer with the “point” being an attempt to recruit them to a new position with a rival firm. Next, I turn to the two contextual interpreting domains.

5.3.2.2. Interpretation of context

There are two domains related to the interpretation of context, situational context and intertextual context. First is the situational context interpretation, which involves both external factors such as location and participants as well as the MR of the interpreter, how they classify a particular discourse based on text interpretation and connect the discourse to other discourses. Fairclough (2015) summarizes situational context and discourse type in Figure 5-3.

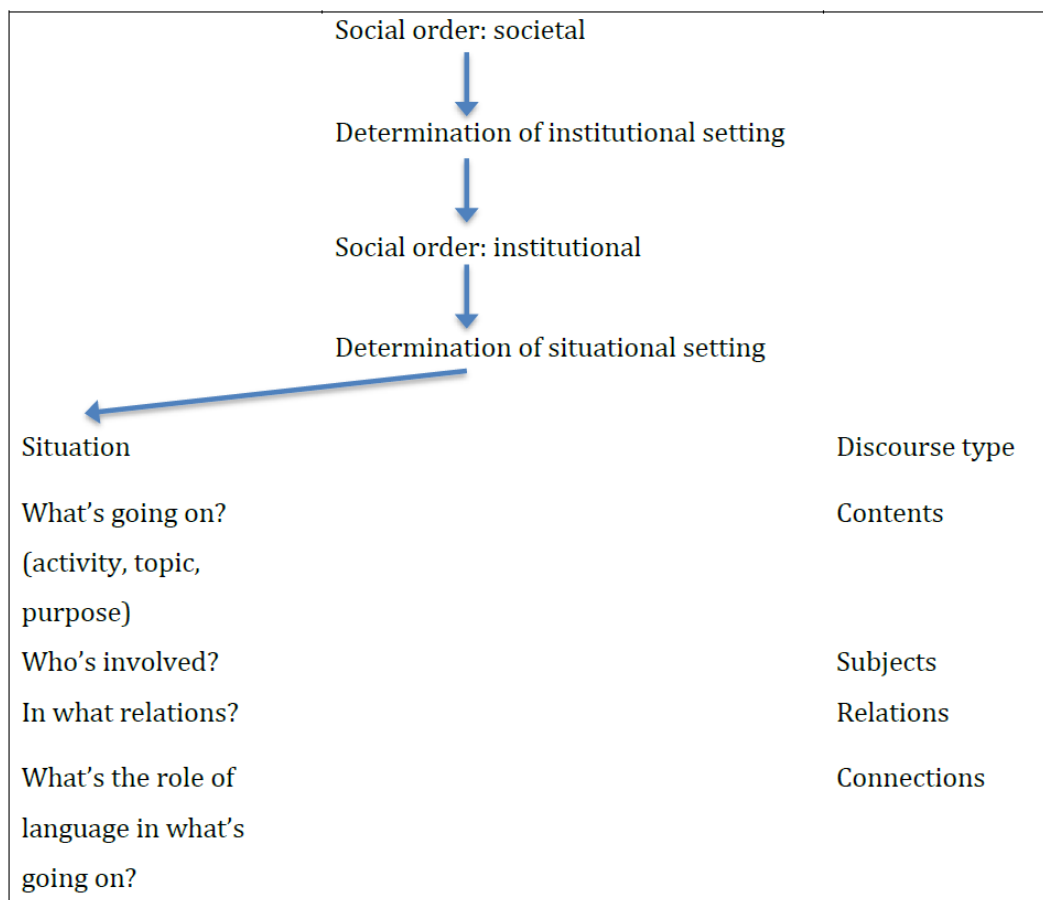


Figure 5-3. Situational context and discourse type (Fairclough, 2015, p. 159)

Interpreting situational context requires the analyst to address the four questions shown under Situation in Figure 5-3, each of which relates to a discourse type shown to the right of Figure 5-3. The first question is: What's going on? Here the analyst looks first to see what activity type is taking place. For example, in the field of executive recruitment, activity types include developing job descriptions, organizing job fairs and sending emails to prospective recruits. Fairclough (2015) says that activity types are recognizable because they are distinct within the social order of institutions. If the activity is sending emails, then the possible topics are constrained to that activity. In the 'Nice Job' example, the topic is a particular position. The purpose of the email is to elicit a response to a job offer. These contents discourse types are one clue to situational context.

The second question is: Who's involved? With this question, the analyst looks to understand the subject's discourse type in order to determine the discourse participants and their socially and institutionally ascribed roles.

The third question is: In what relations? Here the analyst considers the relations discourse type by looking at the power relationships arising within and without the subjects' ascribed roles.

The final question is: What's the role of language? The connections discourse type relates to how texts play a role in the situational context. For example, the use of email rather than a telephone call and the somewhat ambiguous 'Nice Job' subject line give the analyst clues she can use to interpret the situation.

These four questions all need to be interpreted in light of the societal and institutional social order and setting as represented by the top four lines of Figure 5-3. In the first two lines, the analyst uses her MR, that is her understandings of social order, discourse types and so on, to interpret text(s) to determine the institutional setting. The social order of the institutional setting constrains the determination of the situational setting which is also arrived at through the analyst's MR. Orders of discourse, that is the grouping of social conventions into recognizable and accepted networks, gives the CDA researcher a "tool" to uncover the social order of the institutional setting (Fairclough, 2001) and clues to how the situation may unfold to perpetuate the social order to the benefit of those in power within

the social institution. It is clear that the analyst, through her MR plays a critical role in interpretation as a different analyst with different MR may well interpret situations differently.

Intertextual context interpretation involves uncovering the presuppositions associated with discourses and texts. Presuppositions are ‘an aspect of text producers’ interpretations of intertextual context’ (Fairclough, 2015, p. 164) by which they purport to tell others what the others already “know” to be true. By doing so, the text producer establishes “truth” based on a presupposition of established “facts,” which may or may not have any basis in measurable or observable phenomena. Presuppositions, like orders of discourse, can be related to perpetuation of the social order to the benefit of those in power through their ideological function. Ideological presuppositions take the form of statements based on “common sense” as defined by the established social order. While not actual properties of texts, presuppositions can be uncovered through an analysis of formal text features as would be undertaken in the description stage of a CDA.

Fairclough (2015) summarizes that interpretation of discourse can be captured in three essential questions:

1. Context: what interpretation(s) are participants giving to the situational and intertextual contexts?
2. Discourse type(s): what discourse type(s) are being drawn upon (hence what rules, systems or principals of phonology, grammar, sentence cohesion, vocabulary, semantics and pragmatics; and what schemata, frames and scripts)?
3. Difference and change: are answers to questions 1 and 2 different for different participants? And do they change during the course of the interaction (pp. 171-172)?

In the next section, I discuss explanation, the last stage in CDA.

5.3.3. Explanation

The third and final stage of CDA is explanation. To make the transition from interpretation to explanation, Fairclough (2015) makes use of the term reproduction, by which he means the way in which social structure through discourse conventions, including orders of discourse, determines discourse. When a subject occupies a certain position within a social and/or institutional structure, they operate within the constraints of the discourse types that

form the conventions of their position. When they produce or interpret discourse, they draw on their MR, including the discursive conventions, to reproduce that discourse in light of their MR. The result may be a discourse which is reproduced with very little change, or one which is substantially modified. Reproduction does not necessarily mean without change, but rather means the mechanism of applying MR to discourse. In this way, the social order as internalized within subjects' MR can be seen to both shape discourse and be shaped by discourse. So, while interpretation is focused on how a subject uses their MR to process discourse, explanation seeks to uncover the social construction of MR including how MR is shaped through reproduction. In CDA, MR is composed of ideologies and these assumptions about race, culture, social order, religion and so on are seen as determined both by power relations and the struggle to change or maintain power relations.

For Fairclough (2015), social structures as relations of power and social practices are practices of social struggle. Explanation can be approached either with an emphasis on social structures (determinants) or on social practices (effects). Regardless of the emphasis, both should be investigated at three levels: societal, institutional and situational. Fairclough (2015) summarizes the explanation stage, in Figure 5-4.

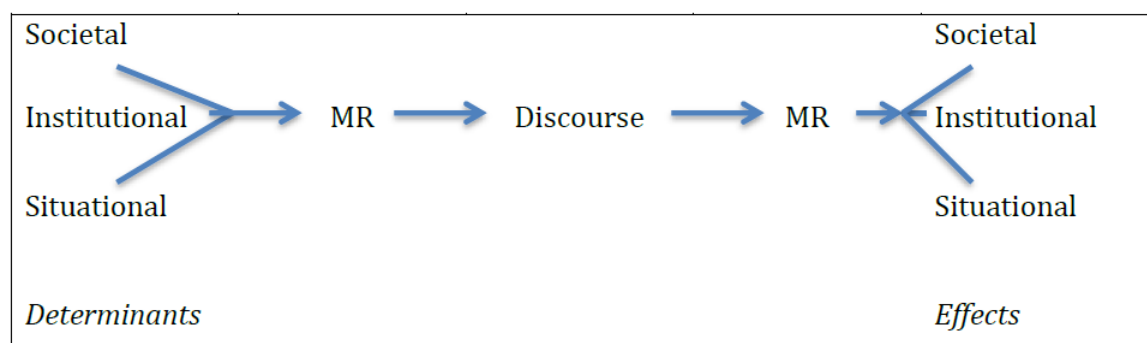


Figure 5-4. Explanation (Fairclough, 2015, p. 173)

The explanation stage involves considering the same discourse and features of the discourse through the filter of three different levels of social organization. For Fairclough (2015), explanation, like investigation, can be summarized into three questions applied to a discourse:

1. *Social determinants*: what power relations at situational, institutional and societal levels help shape this discourse?

2. *Ideologies*: what elements of MR which are drawn upon have an ideological character?
3. *Effects*: how is this discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional and societal levels? Are these struggles overt or covert? Is the discourse normative with respect to MR or creative? Does it contribute to sustaining existing power relations, or to transforming them (p. 175)?

This concludes the section on CDA methodology. In the next section I address study bias with a focus on the role of the analyst in CDA.

5.4. Addressing Bias

The choice of cda as a theoretical framework and CDA as a methodology for a policy study of BC's EA policy clearly demonstrates researcher bias. However, I will argue that this bias is an essential component of the study and as such is not just unavoidable, but in fact completely appropriate. As I mentioned in advancing cda as an appropriate theoretical frame for this study, while the various cda approaches each have unique defining characteristics, as Wodak and Meyer (2009) state, they all share a fundamental research approach focused on critique, discourse, power and ideology. Van Dijk (1993) argues, that critical discourse analysts should "take an explicit socio-political stance" (p. 252), with the implication that the stance should be in support of those fighting hegemonic practices which create inequitable social conditions. Fairclough (1993) sees the critical discourse analyst as one charged with systemically investigating the relationships between discourses and the broader social order as factors which secure power and hegemony. So, the choice of cda positions me as one who is seeking to uncover ideology, power and hegemony in order to expose these in support of those who they oppress. In this sense, I am appropriately biased as a researcher. However, while Fairclough's CDA model requires researcher bias, especially in the interpretation stage, it also builds in some checks against unfettered researcher bias at stage three.

Fairclough (2015) explicitly states that as the processes of discourse production and interpretation take place inside the heads of subjects, a critical discourse analyst's member resources (MR), which are often ideological assumptions, are required to use the explicit clues available from text analysis to explain how subjects draw upon their own MR. In the interpretation stage of CDA, the analyst must take on the same role as the subject who is

producing or interpreting discourse, but Fairclough (2015) cautions this use of analyst MR must be done with a mind ‘to develop self-consciousness about the rootedness of discourse in common-sense assumptions of MR’ (p. 176). So, the researcher must be conscious of their bias, as understood as a part of MR, and address its role, while at the same time making use of it to root out the assumptions of their subjects. During the explanation stage, CDA requires the analyst to ground their explanations in a recognized social theory. Fairclough (2015) says that the MR of the researcher makes it tempting to bring common-sense explanations forward at this stage and to give credence to the common-sense explanations of participants as well; however, the explanations offered must ‘bridge the gap between analyst and participant through the widespread development of rational understanding of, and theories of, society’ (p. 176). So, at the third stage of analysis, my explanations will be grounded in the work of Foucault, Bourdieu, Gramsci and others to avoid my MR leading to biased conclusions.

5.4.1 The Analyst’s Assumptions

My commonsense and ideological assumptions, contained in my MR and related to my role as analyst in this study, are:

- 1) Education is a means of gaining economic capital,
- 2) Students appreciate and get more from an education that they have to struggle to attain,
- 3) Education is key to growing a market driven economy,
- 4) Aboriginal people value their traditional culture over mainstream culture,
- 5) Aboriginal people are wary of mainstream education systems and,
- 6) Governments and those who hold influence over them use education policy to support the status quo.

These assumptions have developed and evolved over time, but can be directly linked to four key life experiences which I will use to identify and share my understanding of my assumptions so that these are made explicit to those reading this study. As Faircough (2015) advises, it will be important that readers understand the analyst’s assumptions as

they appropriately impact on the description and interpretation stages of CDA and knowing these assumptions will allow the reader a means to evaluate whether or not there are ideological assumptions in the analyst's explanation during Stage 3 of the CDA.

I will not claim to have been raised in poverty, but money and financial pressure were a constant issue and dictated many of my family's decisions. As a result, I hold two assumptions, which for me are "common sense". First, education is primarily a tool to allow students to look after themselves financially. While getting a well-rounded education, steeped in the reading of classic literature at a good liberal arts university may be fine for the wealthy, for most people, education is about building the necessary educational capital to be able to successfully compete for economic capital in a field (see Bourdieu, 1991), in this study, BC's market driven economy. Second, while access to money should not prevent students from attending post-secondary education, students should have to contribute financially to get an education. I had to work to pay for my own education but knew many other students whose parents or families were supporting them. Based on a few examples of supported students failing classes and/or dropping out, I have developed the assumption that students are more appreciative of an education that comes with hardships.

When I started at the University of Victoria, I studied economics because I wanted a degree that would make me rich (it was not until much later that I realized that studying money and acquiring money are two very different things). The focus of my macroeconomics courses was on the transition from government policies focused on creating the social and economic goal of low rates of unemployment (Keynes, 1936) to those focused on creating ideal conditions for market growth (Friedman, 1953). In this environment, I developed my long held "common sense" assumption that education is key to providing skilled workers to grow an economy and thus raise the relative standard of living for everyone across a province or nation.

During my third year of economics, I made the life changing decision to pursue a career in education rather than finance. When I completed my teacher certification, there was an oversupply of teachers wanting to work in the Victoria area, so rather than take a relief or part-time position, I took a series of positions in rural and remote communities. This

decision has had a profound impact on my assumptions about Aboriginal peoples. Growing up I had almost no contact with Aboriginal people and as such inherited the cultural stereotypes of mainstream 1970's Canadian society, none of which were particularly positive. When I actually spent time with Aboriginal people in Aboriginal communities, I quickly realized that my assumptions were wrong and that like any people, Aboriginal people are individuals with individual traits around work ethic, substance abuse, family values and so on. That said I have formed new assumptions based on my time in Aboriginal communities. These are that Aboriginal people value their traditional culture and values over those of mainstream Canadian society and that Aboriginal people struggle to reconcile the need for their children to be educated in mainstream Canadian schools with their wariness of education systems.

When I started my studies at the University of Glasgow six years ago, I had never contemplated an alternative worldview to my own, let alone many such views. Exposure to concepts such as reproduction (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990), power knowledge (Foucault, 1971) and hegemony (Gramsci, 1971) has fundamentally challenged my assumptions around how states operate. The effect has been a new assumption layered onto my previously developed and still present assumptions about education and Aboriginal peoples. Specifically, I now see every educational policy through a filter of policy as a hegemonic tool designed to maintain the power of the state.

These six assumptions are not always easy to reconcile on their face, but within my MR, they do layer together in a way that allows me to function. For example, my assumption that struggle for education is good is nuanced by my assumption that Aboriginal people are wary of education systems and therefore I see Aboriginal people as having had enough struggle without having to add economic struggles to their burden. My assumption that all policies are hegemonic does not mean that I do not see education as necessarily preparing students to compete in a market driven economy although this preparation will involve some degree of assimilation and potentially loss of Aboriginal cultural values.

In short, I am biased, but sharing some of these biases in the form of my assumptions should be helpful in understanding the bias inherent in this study.

5.5. Data Sources

Fossey et al. (2002) state that ‘qualitative sampling requires identification of appropriate participants, being those who can best inform the study’ (p. 726). This study uses three sources of data: policy texts, archival documents and interviews with policy producers and interpreters.

5.5.1. Policy Documents

I make use of two current policy documents in this study. First, the description of EAs from the BC Ministry of Education website (2017a) (Appendix 1) and second, the EA Brochure (2017c) (Appendix 2). I am limited to these two policy documents as they are currently the only published documents, available through the Ministry, which provide guidance to school districts and Aboriginal communities developing or implementing EAs.

5.5.2. Archival Documents

I draw on a number of relevant archival documents both to set the context for this study and as sources of evidence to triangulate with the findings from my CDA of policy documents and interviews. Wharton (2006) says that archival documents give the analyst insights into the historical and social context at the time of policy production and interpretation. The selection of multiple sources of data allows for triangulation or ‘converging lines of inquiry’ (Yin, 2003, p. 98) in order to enhance the validity of the study (Campbell and Fiske, 1959). The basic premise is that if research is conducted using two or more methods or sources of data and arrives at the same conclusion, it is more likely to be valid. Olssen, Codd and O’Neill (2010) describe Fairclough’s CDA as an attempt to triangulate three forms of analysis, description of text, interpretation of discourse and explanation of social context within one model.

5.5.3. Interviews

According to Yin (2003), interviews are an important source of data as they help to corroborate other data, provide new insights and add life to a study by bringing forward the voices of those being studied. Interviews are particularly important in this CDA of policy as they bring depth and nuance to the CDA of policy texts which can be viewed as overly subjective and influenced by the analyst's own biases. However, interviews will still be influenced by the analyst as the voice of the participants will necessarily be influenced during the interaction with the analyst and the interpretation and reproduction of the interview discourse through the analyst's MR. As Kvale (2007) summarizes, in an interview, knowledge is being socially constructed and interpreted rather than simply transmitted and recorded.

Mishler (1986) rejects the need for interviews to be highly structured with standardized questions, uniform delivery and similar settings. Rather, Mishler sees interviews as discourses that rely on the social and situational contexts of the interview such that the meanings of questions and responses are co-constructed by the researcher and research participant. To facilitate a co-constructed discourse, I used a semi-structured interview process. All questions (Appendix 3) were open-ended and untimed. It was my hope that this format would allow the research participants more latitude in their responses and a greater feeling of participation in the research process. Further, I hoped that allowing flexibility in the interview process would decrease the constraining influence of my biases towards the topics being explored.

I selected 10 provincial policy developers (producers) and 15 school district policy implementers (interpreters) as potential participants in the study. I made these selections in two different ways. For the policy developers, I approached two contacts I have with the BC Ministry of Education for their suggestions about who would be suitable to contact with a formal request to interview policy developers for this study. I took this approach because there is very little information available publicly or even within the education system about who is actually responsible for developing the various policies that the Ministry produces. Both assured me that those who are at the level of policy developers do not require permission to take part in research studies and provided me with two sets of

potential candidates for interviews based on my request that they have significant experience in developing policy and preferably Aboriginal education policy. I emailed each of these candidates with an initial request to participate (Appendix 4). For the policy implementers, I selected the candidates based on my understanding of their roles within their organizations, their length of tenure and their previous work with Aboriginal education policy. I looked for candidates who were working in school districts where there was a sizeable Aboriginal student population (at least 200 students), where the candidate had significant time assigned to Aboriginal education (at least 25 percent of their annual assignment) and who had worked in their role for at least two years. I felt that these criteria would provide interview candidates with more policy experience than a random sampling from all 60 school districts. I contacted each by email with a request to participate and a copy of the research proposal (Appendix 4). 14 of those contacted indicated immediate willingness to participate in the study. 11 of the 25 potential participants asked for a copy of the interview questions prior to making a decision on whether or not to participate and five of those 11 declined to take part. In the end, six of the 10 policy developers and 14 of the 15 policy interpreters agreed to participate.

All interviews were conducted between February 27, 2017 and April 30, 2017. Research participants decided where, when and how the interviews took place. Interviews were conducted both face-to-face (six) and over the phone (14) largely to accommodate the busy schedules of the participants. Interviews varied in length from 16 to 72 minutes with an average of 33 minutes and a median of 43 minutes. In several cases, the interviews were quite short as participants were reluctant to elaborate on their answers, often citing a lack of policy knowledge as a reason. Upon reflection, it is clear that I assumed that participants, particularly school district based policy interpreters, would have a greater background in provincial Aboriginal education policy than they did. However, the similarity in the themes which emerged during the interviews (see Appendices 6-10) demonstrates the questions were able to surface relevant information even when the participant felt unqualified to elaborate. Each interview was recorded and then transcribed verbatim.

Before each interview, I thanked the participant and briefly reviewed the aim of my research before seeking the participants' consent to continue with the interview. I reviewed

the consent to participate form (Appendix 5) with each participant by reading the form aloud. In the face-to-face interviews I asked the participants to check off each consent statement as we went, whereas for the phone interviews, I asked the participant to verbally agree to each statement after each was read. In the face-to-face interviews, participants signed two copies of the consent form, one for the researcher and one for themselves.

5.6. Procedure

Data collection took place in five stages following the completion of the literature review. The literature review procedure involved reading research literature related to indigenous education policy, the completion of a literature review focused on determining the research base behind the stated indigenous education policy goals of the governments of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States, and the selection of BC's EA as the subject for the study.

Stage 1 involved developing interview questions and conducting interviews with six policy producers from the BC Ministry of Education and 14 policy interpreters from 14 of BC's 60 school districts and transcribing the interviews verbatim.

Stage 2 involved a critical reading of archival texts and research literature related to Canada's Aboriginal policies in general and education policies in particular to set the historical context for the CDA of policy which followed.

Stage 3 involved a preliminary analysis of the policy documents and interview transcripts to identify general and common elements.

Stage 4 involved codifying the policy producer and policy interpreter interview transcripts.

Stage 5 involved conducting a CDA of the policy documents and interview transcripts.

Following the five stages involved with data collection, I analyzed the data in order to answer the research questions.

5.6.1. Codifying Interview Transcripts

Saldana (1987) outlines the importance of providing a codification to qualitative interview transcripts in order to bring a structure to their content. It is this structuring which then allows the analyst to make meaning of what has been shared. In this study, codification took place in three steps.

First I coded the interviews. While coding, I remained aware of my preconceived notions based on the interview questions with their focus on school district goals and objectives, provincial goals and objectives, the communication of provincial objectives and the alignment of provincial and school district objectives. However, I was also open to other data which presented itself through repetition, juxtaposition and so forth.

I recorded the findings from codifying the six policy producer and 14 policy interpreter interviews and summarized these in five tables (see Appendices 6-10). The three themes that emerged from this process are 1) policies/objectives, 2) communication of policy/objectives and 3) alignment of policies/objectives.

The policies/objectives theme had several distinct sub-themes:

- a. Academic success
- b. Indigenous language and culture
- c. Two-eyed seeing
- d. Equity
- e. Community engagement
- f. Supporting educators
- g. Accountability

The three themes and seven subthemes are summarized in Figures 5-5 and 5-6.

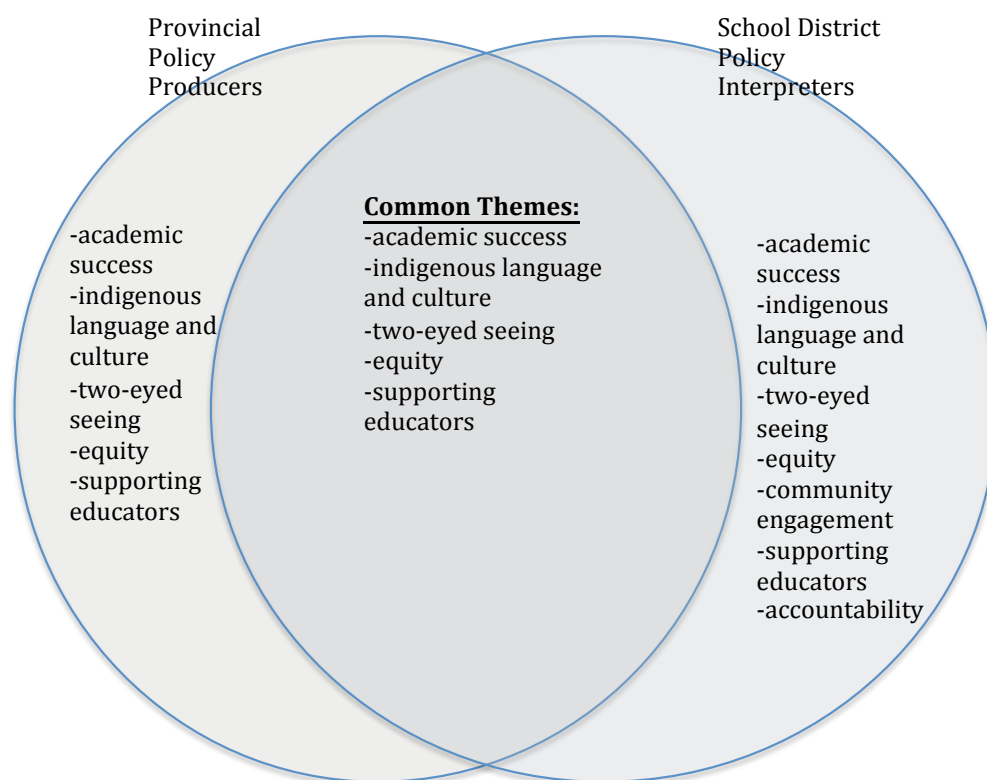


Figure 5-5. Provincial and school district policies/objectives sub-themes

Figure 5-5 is a Venn Diagram which lists the sub-themes that emerged during the coding process which I combined into the first interview theme, policies/objectives. It is apparent that there is considerable alignment between the stated objectives of the policy producers and the policy interpreters. The two objectives that are not common are community engagement and accountability. Both these objectives were mentioned at the school district level, but not at the provincial level. In addition to commenting on the theme of alignment, figure 5-6 summarizes the findings around the communication theme.

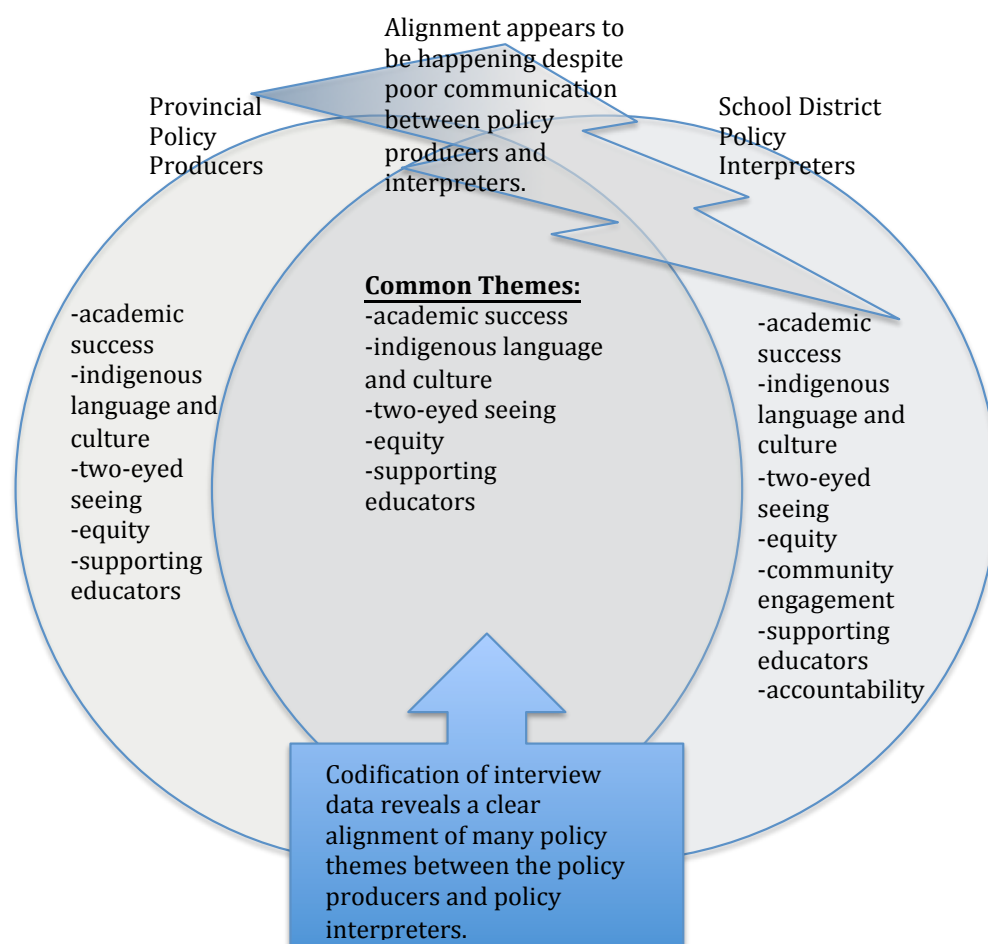


Figure 5-6. The relationship between provincial and school district themes

It is evident that despite poor communication between policy producers and policy interpreters, that there is a clear alignment between the province and school districts in many of their stated objectives. I will return to these findings when I turn to analysis of data in later chapters.

5.7. Ethical Dimensions

Ethical considerations of the methodological approach and data collection for this study include those related to research with human subjects, in this case the policy producers and interpreters who took part in the semi-structured interviews. Further considerations are those related to the trustworthiness and authenticity of a qualitative analysis of policy documents, in this study the CDA of BC's EA policy documents.

5.7.1 Ethical Considerations for Human Subjects

There is consensus in the literature that research should be undertaken only for worthwhile purposes and that it should not have harmful effects on research participants. To this end, ethical considerations are paramount in all research from the early design stages through to reporting (Ritchie et al. 2014). Working with human subjects means that the major ethical issues including informed consent, participant safety, privacy and confidentiality are applicable (Patton, 2002). In the next four sections, I outline the steps I took to address each of these ethical issues in this study.

5.7.1.1 Informed Consent

For Armiger (1997), informed consent ‘means that a person knowingly, voluntarily and intelligently, and in a clear and manifest way, gives his consent’ (p. 331). In order to have the research participants give their informed consent, I had to be sure that I outlined for them the possible risks to their safety, their privacy and the confidentiality of the research information to be gathered from them. I provided this information to each participant in the consent to participate form, which I reviewed with each participant verbally prior to their taking part in the interview.

5.7.1.2 Participant Safety

Participant safety requires that the researcher be aware of what might harm a participant and take steps to minimize the risk of that harm, be it physiological, emotional, social or economic (Burns and Grove, 2005). For this study, I addressed these areas by allowing the participant to select the time and setting for the interview and through the informed consent process. I was acutely aware that the major risk for the study’s participants is in the possibility of identification. That is to say that there are relatively few school district level

Aboriginal education policy interpreters in BC and even fewer ministerial level Aboriginal education policy producers. Each of the participants is part of a larger organization and as such could potentially face harm to their career, should another member of their organization identify them and take issue with their comments. To minimize this risk, I took steps to address both participant privacy and confidentiality as outlined next.

5.7.1.3 Privacy

I either took detailed notes during or, more often, transcribed audio recordings of all interviews after they were concluded. To address potential privacy concerns as they relate to the data collected from the interviews, following transcription, I destroyed the original recordings and will keep one copy of each transcript or interview notes in a locked cabinet in my office until June 30, 2029. At that time, all the documents will be destroyed.

5.7.1.4 Confidentiality

My major concern with protecting the study's participants was in maintaining their confidentiality. Levine (1976) says that confidentiality means that participants are free to give or withhold information as they so choose and that the researcher is responsible to respect those choices and maintain participants' confidentiality in a manner beyond ordinary loyalty. To this end, all participants were informed, through the participant consent form, both that due to the small number of participants their anonymity could not be guaranteed and that they had the right to withdraw at anytime. Further, to greater ensure confidentiality, in conducting the CDA, I chose participant statements that do not require specific contextual information, beyond the participant's role as ministerial policy producer or school district interpreter. Finally, although I would have liked to have drawn specific examples of Aboriginal education policy implementation from various participants' school districts' publically available documents to validate some of the points I make in this study, to do so would have greatly diminished the anonymity of those taking part in the study, and I do not feel that the benefits of that additional evidence would outweigh the potential harm to the participants. As such, I have not made use of any specific district implementation examples.

5.7.2 Rigor: Qualitative Measures of Trustworthiness and Authenticity

Lincoln and Guba (1986) state that the quality of social research has traditionally been measured against the standards of measurement and control appropriate to a laboratory setting, but that the recognition of the messiness of ‘real-world... social action programs have led to increasing relaxation of the rules of rigor’ (p. 15). However, they caution that this movement away from traditional measures of rigor must not lead to a situation where no rules apply. Rather, they propose a parallel set of standards for rigor to better meet the real-world conditions under which social research is conducted.

Lincoln and Guba (1986) provide four main criteria for rigor in qualitative social studies and their analogous relationship to quantitative measures:

Credibility – ‘an analog to internal validity’ (p. 18);

Transferability – ‘an analog to external validity’ (p. 18);

Dependability – ‘an analog to reliability’ (p. 18);

and, Confirmability – ‘an analog to objectivity’ (p. 18).

In the next four sections I discuss how I addressed each of these in this study.

5.7.2.1 Credibility

Quantitative research methods seek to ensure internal validity, that is making sure the study measures what it intends to measure. Shenton (2004) explores Lincoln and Guba’s (1986) notion of credibility as an analog to internal reliability through multiple examples of measures available to a qualitative researcher to establish confidence in the credibility of research findings. I make use of six of these in this study.

First, ‘the adoption of research methods well established’ (p. 64). It is important to use the correct research methodology for the concepts being examined (Yin, 2003); thus, the researcher should look to previous research studies of similar concepts to find successful examples of research methodology. For this study, I based my selection of interviews and CDA on studies by Mengibar (2015) and Evolvi (2017). Both reported success in using a

triangulation of the two research methods, CDA and interviews, to overcome some of the limitations inherent in each method when used individually. This was especially critical when using CDA as it requires the ‘theorization and description of the political, economic and social processes and structures responsible for the production of such texts’ (Fairclough, 1998, p. 4). ‘This fundamental theoretical claim inevitably calls for using a multitude of interdisciplinary methods’ (Evolvi, 2017, p. 42). In this study, the social processes and structures at the policy production and interpretation levels were not readily apparent in the EA policy documents and required both a general historical and a focused, interview-based, discourse analysis to make them apparent.

Second, ‘triangulation’ (p. 65) or the use of multiple sources of data or multiple research methods. This study makes use of triangulation of data sources including BC’s EA policy documents and semi-structured interviews with policy producers and policy interpreters. I also made use of other documents to reinforce my findings from the primary data sources.

Third, ‘the development of an early familiarity with the culture of participating organizations’ (p. 65) requires the researcher to spend prolonged time with the participants to develop an adequate understanding of the organizations and to build trust. I am fortunate to have spent the last 11 years working with both the BC Ministry of Education’s Aboriginal Branch and the various BC school district’s Aboriginal principals, vice-principals and education directors. These years have helped me to understand the organizations in which BC’s EA policies are produced and interpreted. They have also created a level of trust which I believe has proven critical to establishing an open and honest sharing of information by participants.

Fourth and fifth, ‘tactics to help ensure honesty in informants’ (p. 66) and ‘interactive questioning’ (p. 67) were achieved through my communications with research participants: first, by offering prospective participants the option of declining to participate without any requirement of an explanation to ensure only those genuinely interested in taking part were interviewed; second, by assuring those participating that they were doing so anonymously and that they could withdraw at any time without explanation and; finally, the semi-structured format of the interviews allowed me to encourage openness and honesty by

offering opportunities for follow-up clarification questions and the option to verbalize encouragement when suitable.

Finally, ‘thick description of the phenomenon under scrutiny’ (p. 69) helps to establish credibility by allowing the reader insights into both the situation being investigated and the context around it. In this study, the historical and contemporary discourses surrounding Aboriginal education are combined with multiple examples from both the participant interviews and policy documents to create a more contextualized study than would be possible without these elements.

These six measures address the credibility of this study. In the next section, I turn to transferability as an analogy to external validity.

5.7.2.2 *Transferability*

Qualitative research methods seek to ensure external validity through transferability, that is making sure the study contains enough thick description that others researchers are able to make use of the methodology, findings and so forth in future studies (Shenton, 2004). Readers should be able to make ‘judgements about the degree of fit or similarity [should they] wish to apply all or part of the findings elsewhere’ (Lincoln and Guba, 1986, p. 19).

This study focuses extensively on both the context of the study and the research methodology. The study attempts to give a thick description of the historical and contemporary policy discourse contexts and their impact on the research and researcher. Further, there is a consistent effort to express the impact of the context on the methodology and the methodology on the researcher and participants throughout the study. This is especially true in the chapters focused on the specific application of CDA and the critical role of member resources (MR) in CDA as it impacts Stages 1 and 2 of the analysis.

5.7.2.3 Dependability

Shenton (2004) asserts that dependability, a qualitative analog for quantitative reliability (Lincoln and Guba, 1986), is addressed through reporting in detail ‘the processes within the study ... thereby enabling a future researcher to repeat the work, if not necessarily to gain the same results’ (p. 71). Lincoln and Guba (1986) also assert that the measures of dependability are closely related to those of credibility. That is, if a study is credible then the data is more likely to be reliable. In this study, the six measures I used to establish credibility are outlined above. The three chapters, 5, 6 and 7, provide a detailed description of the method of the study, the three stages of CDA and how they are applied in this study. These should allow another researcher to replicate the study’s methodology; however, many factors including the MR of the researcher, their relationship with the organizations and participants and so on will likely lead to different outcomes at Stage 1 and 2 of the CDA, but not necessarily at Stage 3 when they apply the theoretical framework to their Stage 1 and 2 findings.

5.7.2.4 Confirmability

Shenton (2004) says, ‘the concept of confirmability is the qualitative investigator’s comparable concern to objectivity’ (p. 72) in quantitative research. However, he also states that researcher bias will inevitably arise in any research as many choices including the design of the test instrument, selection of setting and so on are based in personal preference. Shenton (2004) sees the goal of the researcher as taking the appropriate actions to ensure the findings of their study reflect the experiences and opinions of the research participants and not those of the researcher. He suggests that triangulation for the purposes of minimizing researcher bias and the researcher clearly stating her predispositions and assumptions are key tools for confirmability. I make use of triangulation in my methodology for this study and have made consistent efforts to share my predispositions and assumptions, my MR, throughout, especially when they clearly impact on my objectivity. In the next section, I specifically address rigor as related to objectivity as it applies to CDA in general and this CDA in particular.

5.8 Rigor as it Applies to CDA

There is broad acceptance that qualitative studies should not be judged by the same measures of validity as quantitative studies due to the differences in ontological and epistemological beliefs upon which each rests. The epistemological roots of CDA lie in the acceptance of the inner subjective understandings of the research analyst as being justified. Scheurich (1996) sees traditional “objective” validity measures as tools of control in which those in positions of power within the research community use discourses of validity to define what is acceptable as knowledge. From the explanation of CDA above, it is clear that the CDA analyst is not objective and from the explanation of Critical Theory in earlier chapters, it is also clear that objectivity is not the default stance in any CT study. In fact, following Scheurich’s (1996) views, the cda analyst should necessarily interrogate widely accepted measures of validity for underlying ideological assumptions which validate what is taken as common sense in research practice.

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) state that for research to be reliable, the research must demonstrate that its results are consistent when applied to a similar subject group in a similar context. I will now consider the three stages of CDA through the lens of this definition to assess the reliability of the study based on the definition and I will suggest that like validity, reliability can be seen as a tool for those who hold power to control what is acceptable research practice.

Stage 1, description, is concerned with describing texts using formal linguistic structures. I think it is fair to say that this stage of CDA lends itself to a high measure of reliability and that a CDA analyst would find the same descriptive features that were identified in this study if they applied a stage 1 analysis to similar texts in a similar context.

Stage 2, interpretation, involves the formation of interpretations through the interaction of what is “in” the texts and what is “in” the analyst, their MR. The complex interactions between text and analyst (see Figure 5.3), given the unique MR of each individual, suggests that it is highly unlikely that a similar interpretation of text and context would be reproduced by different analysts even if looking at the same texts and contexts. Further,

given the methodology associated with CDA, reliability in the sense of reproduction of results, as opposed to reproduction of analytic framework, has no significant value.

Stage 3, explanation, is concerned with the reproduction of discourses through their shaping and being shaped by MR as seen through the lens of an academically rigorous theoretical framework. So, unlike interpretation, where the unique make up of each analyst's MR makes the traditional interpretation of reliability somewhat meaningless, at stage 3, the grounding of explanation in theory creates reliability for a CDA.

Using a methodology which rejects much of what has traditionally been seen as the true measures of quality research was a challenge for me. I sought long and hard to find ways to link my CDA research to more traditional measures of validity and reliability. However, the farther I progressed with the study, the more I came to accept that it was my MR, my ideological assumptions of what is common sense when it comes to good research practice which were being challenged and that these biases were in good company among the many other biases, both within my MR and without in the world of BC's EA policy that this CDA uncovered. Fortunately, the work of Lincoln and Guba gave me a way to address the rigor of this study while recognizing the challenges of the CDA methodology.

5.9. Conclusion

CDA is a powerful methodology which lends itself to a critical examination of BC's EA policy as text, discourse and within society. Over the next two chapters, I will report the specific procedures I followed to analyze BC's EA policy texts, the transcripts of interviews with six provincial education policy developers and the transcripts of interviews with 14 school district level policy interpreters and the data resulting in order to answer the major research questions of this study. In the next chapter, I undertake the description stage of my analysis.

CHAPTER 6 DESCRIPTION

In this chapter, I analyse British Columbia's (BC's) Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreement (EA) policy texts and the transcripts of the six provincial policy producer interviews at the descriptive stage of CDA to begin to address my first major research question: what are the discursive and social factors affecting and being affected through the production of BC's EA policy?

6.1. Description

I analyzed the texts and transcripts at this first stage of Fairclough's CDA by subjecting each to questions based on those suggested by Fairclough (2015). In forming the questions, I kept in mind the advice that when conducting a study using CDA, it is not necessary to use all the questions and tools Fairclough suggests, as the choice of questions and tools will be dependent on the specific research questions and the scope of the study (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). As my first research question is largely premised on identifying and interrogating discourses for the purpose of exposing the ideological assumptions underpinning their production, my specific CDA questions here are focused in this direction and, as is normal practice with CDA (Wodak & Meyer, 2009), I have provided a few concrete examples to support my analysis rather than a comprehensive listing of every piece of evidence from every text. I chose to treat the two policy texts (Appendix 1 and 2) as linked EA discourse artifacts of the BC Ministry of Education's Aboriginal Education Branch and as such one source of data. Throughout the CDA, I made efforts to remain self-aware, recognizing that my MR would be a relevant factor throughout all three stages of CDA. Finally, I recognized very early in the analysis, that as Fairclough (2015) warned, it is not usually possible or in fact desirable to complete each CDA stage without wandering a little into the other two. I have tried to be clear where this blending of information between stages is necessary.

The description stage is concerned with the analysis of formal text features as clues to the text producers' existing member resources (MR) including their concepts of the order of the social world, relationships and the subject of the text they produced. In the following three sections I first consider the vocabulary, grammar and textual structures of BC's EA

policy as documented on the BC Ministry of Education website (2017a) and the EA Brochure (2017c). I then consider the same structures for the policy producer interview transcripts to provide further evidence of the policy producers' MR. As there are two descriptions happening here, for clarity, I will use the term texts when referring to the two written policy documents and the term transcripts when referring to the transcripts of the policy producer interviews.

6.1.1. Vocabulary

With my analysis of vocabulary, I seek to answer the question, 'What are the experiential, relational and expressive values of words as well as the use of metaphors in the two policy texts and six policy developer interview transcripts?' The answer should provide insight into the policy producers' MR, in particular, their knowledge, beliefs and views on how the social world, including BC's education system, is structured; how they view social relationships generally with respect to those who produce or interpret policy documents, be that Ministry of Education employees, school district and school-based employees, Aboriginal groups and communities and so on; and how they feel about Aboriginal education in BC, the subject of the policy texts.

The policy producers' choice of words (vocabulary) can be seen as reflecting aspects of experiential, relational and expressive values, and many times, one word choice can reflect more than one aspect of values. The BC EA policy texts contain many examples of vocabulary that when analysed in the frame of the discourses related to Aboriginal education in BC, give hints as to the policy producers' MR. I am going to focus on three that are especially relevant here: the use of vocabulary to express an ideology, to create relationship and to express an opinion on a subject.

The policy producers use the term 'Enhancement Agreement' as the title of the policy. The word enhancement generally has a positive connotation in British Columbia's education system. The word enhancement, or variations such as enhance, appears in the two texts 18 times while other words that I, granted through the filter of my own MR, view as positive

also appear multiple times. By contrast, the word, ‘problem’, the only word from the policy texts which I interpret as commonly taken as negative, seldom appears¹ (see Table 6-1).

Table 6-1.
Frequency of Positive and Negative Words

Positive (+)	Frequency Per Policy Text	Frequency per Policy Producer Interview Transcript	Negative (-)	Frequency Per Policy Text	Frequency per Policy Producer Interview Transcript
enhancement	9	5	problem	1	2
success	17	5			
progress	3	1			
improve	3	3			
increase	2	0			
respect	2	0			
collaboration	2	2			
support	2	8			
help	1	5			

Similarly, in the policy producer interview transcripts, positive words occurred more regularly than negative words. One reading of the abundance of positive vocabulary choice is that the producer is trying to convince the interpreter, be that those who read and interpret the policy texts, or the interviewer, that the policy is a positive direction for Aboriginal education in BC. Fairclough (2015) suggests that the analyst should move back and forth between focusing on the textual structures of the text and focusing on the discourse in order to draw connections between the two. By framing the work contemplated in both texts and transcripts as positive through the choice of positive words, the policy producer gives a hint that the ideological assumptions (beliefs) contained within their MR, may be grounded in a discourse that sees public policy as a positive way to improve the lives of all citizens. Such an approach lends itself to a discourse focused on supporting an integrated school system for all students, rather than a discourse advocating for a separate or parallel school system for indigenous students in Canada. Certainly, there

¹ One insight into my MR came from my initial decision to label the words ‘improve’ and ‘increase’ as negative. Upon self-reflection, I realized that I had labeled these words as negative based on my ideological assumption that they are linked to the neo-liberal discourses promoting devolved and measureable accountability prevalent throughout the education policy documents being produced in Canada and BC at the time the EA policy was produced. Upon further consideration, I changed them to positive terms in Table 6-1.

are clues throughout the texts and transcripts that there is a discourse prevalent that views the role of policy as ‘fixing’ a problem that exists between schools and Aboriginal communities.

Movement between analysis of text and discourse also helps to identify the meaning relations created from word choices. Turning again to Table 6-1, the words ‘improve’ and ‘success’ are repeated relatively frequently throughout the policy texts. They are often used in close proximity to one another and thereby are linked in a discourse that success needs to be improved. The use of the euphemism ‘improve success’ is strange on the face of it, as one could argue that one is either successful or not successful. That is, they accomplish a goal or they do not. To improve success actually means to make one who is successful, more successful, which implies that there is already success happening. I suspect that linking improve and success in the policy texts is actually referring to increasing rates of success, or the percentage of Aboriginal students experiencing success in public schools as measured by graduation rates or some other government approved metric. Given the discourse, stated in the policy texts, that ‘British Columbia schools have not been successful in ensuring that Aboriginal students receive a quality education...’ (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a), the notion of improving success may be seen as a choice by the policy producer to avoid negative language through the use of euphemism to build or keep positive social relations with policy interpreters. Certainly, the policy producer could simply use the word improve alone if the purpose of the text was simply to say that things need to improve without a relation to a specific (yet unspecified) measure of that improvement, but that is not the case. The linking of improve and success may surface a tact to support a policy discourse which is focused on building a relationship of trust between the provincial policy producer and the school district level policy interpreter to work towards an unspecified measure of success.

Word choice can also convey expressive values when analyzed within an associated discourse. Expressive values are linked to social identity and are focused on subjects. A third major discourse evident in the policy texts is one of government as overseers. Once policy is in place, interpreters are responsible to achieve the desired policy outcomes and held accountable by government. In the case of these two policy texts, schools and Aboriginal communities are responsible to make Aboriginal students successful as the

Ministry has given them the tools to do it. Therefore, ‘the Ministry will no longer be involved in the development of EAs, believing that school districts and Aboriginal communities understand their value and no longer need Ministry support’ (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a). Returning to the notion that multiple values are contained within words (see Table 6-2), the use of certain words, like ‘support,’ can be seen as reflecting a positive word choice to support experiential values as well as to support relational values through the use of a euphemism to avoid negative word choices like oversight or accountability. ‘Support’ can also be seen to have expressive values which link to the ideological assumptions of the policy producer and relate to subjects. In the policy documents, the government is the supporter of the communities and schools who are in the role of requiring support. The policy texts make use of metaphor stating that an EA is a tool to increase student success, bring Aboriginal learning to all students and to include Aboriginal people in decision making and focus on measurable student outcomes. Considering the three discourses that are beginning to emerge from this CDA (see Table 6-2), the metaphor of an EA as a tool may be interpreted as a tool for empowerment or a tool for control. In either case, certainly as a tool which makes use of power.

Table 6-2.
Discourse Values

Discourse	Value(s)	Comment
Public policy making is a positive activity to support all people.	Relational	addresses the policy producers’ views on relationships
Schools have not done a good job in supporting Aboriginal students and require correction.	Experiential and expressive	addresses the policy producers’ views the structure of the schools’ system and on Aboriginal education as a subject
Governments have given schools and communities the support they need to support Aboriginal students.	Experiential, relational and expressive	addresses the policy producers’ views on relationships, the structure of the schools’ system and on Aboriginal education as a subject

In the next section I consider the role of grammar in CDA.

6.1.2. Grammar

In this section, I look to answer the question, ‘What are the roles of the experiential, relational and expressive values of the grammatical features of the texts and transcripts and how are sentences linked?’ This question is designed to seek out further clues to the discourse type the policy texts are drawing upon and the MR of the policy producer.

Three grammatical elements that play key roles in BC’s EA policy texts are transitivity, modality and the use of pronouns. Analysis of transitivity is focused on how events and processes are connected to subjects and objects to seek underlying ideological assumptions or messaging. One way this connection can be seen is by examining the grammatical structuring of sentences within a text. In both EA policy texts, the sentences are predominantly structured in the pattern subject (S), verb (V), and object (O), in that order. This pattern of structuring represents processes associated with action where an agent (S) acts (V) upon a patient (O) in some way (Fairclough, 2015). Sentences that take the SVO form are normally clear and straightforward regarding attribution; the agent (S) does something (V) to the patient (O). This has the effect of creating certainty in the mind of the interpreter as it is clear who or what is doing what to whom or what. Interestingly, SVO sentences usually involve animate subjects, but in the three examples taken from the two policy texts for Table 6-2, the subjects are all inanimate. The attribution of action to inanimate agents has the effect of masking those responsible for the outcome of the action, in the case of EAs, those who produce and interpret them. This choice of inanimate subjects may be a further example of the policy producer seeking to maintain positive relations with the policy interpreter by avoiding attribution to actual people, in this case, the Ministry of Education’s policy production team. In contrast, while the policy producer interview transcripts also largely followed the SVO structure, the subject was more often animate, either themselves, colleagues or others. This may well reflect the more collegial setting of a one-to-one interview versus the formality of a policy document as well as the structure of the questions asked (see Appendix 3) which focused on personal perspective, rather than the “official position.”

Three key examples of SVO structure from the policy texts which reflect the three emerging discourses from my consideration of vocabulary are illustrated in Table 6-3.

Table 6-3.
Transitivity Examples from Policy Texts

Discourse	Example
Public policy making is a positive activity to support all people.	‘... the agreements (S) reach (V) ... all students (O)’ (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a) .
Schools have not done a good job in supporting Aboriginal students and require correction.	‘...schools (S) have not been (V) successful (O)...’ (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a) .
Governments have given schools and communities the support they need to support Aboriginal students.	‘This tool (S) is (V) well established (O) ...’ (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a) .

These examples provide grammatical evidence to support the uncovering of particular discourses started in the vocabulary analysis above.

Analysis of modality seeks to understand the level of commitment of the speaker to what they say and is of interest to the discourse analyst as modality shows a text producer’s ideological interests through the evidence provided by their claims to knowledge or authenticity (Fairclough, 2015). Modality can be either relational or expressive. Relational modality concerns the establishing of the authority of a subject or object in relation to other subjects or objects within a text. For example, the sentence, ‘The EA establishes a collaborative partnership between Aboriginal communities and school districts...’ (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a), clearly establishes the inanimate EA as the subject that is controlling two other inanimate objects, Aboriginal communities and school districts. The use of relational modality shows just who (or what) the policy producer believes is in control and in this case gives a hint that the policy producer may hold the assumption that government’s role is to establish control over others. Further evidence of this belief can be found throughout the texts wherever the EA is said to empower (perhaps a positive euphemism for grant permission to) schools and communities. This use of relational modality is also evident in the policy producer transcripts with examples such as:

-‘We believe that this to be (sic) important so we want you to approach this with intent and we want you to report out on the success of those students.’

-‘...it was communicated directly to school districts that the Ministry was adjusting the policy here around the use of those certificates and they would expect the school districts would adjust their policies.’

-‘The Ministry will probably ask for some accountability measures around the impact of that policy...’

Expressive modality concerns establishing the relation of the text producer to “truth”.

Truth is a type of modality where the speaker commits herself to her statements with absolute certainty. Text producers use certain modal auxiliary verbs such as ‘is’ and ‘has’ rather than ‘may be’ and ‘might have’ to establish the truth of their text. In the two policy texts, three examples of expressive modality are:

-‘The Ministry of Education has supported the development...’ (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a)

-‘This tool is well established as a way to include...’ (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a)

-‘An EA is a working agreement...’ (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a).

In each case, the verb in the sentence lies at one end or one terminal point (Fairclough, 2015) of a continuum of possibilities with the other terminal point being the verb with the opposite meaning. For example, ‘is’ in the sentence beginning ‘This tool is well established...’ is one terminal point along a continuum of possibilities, ‘may,’ ‘should,’ ‘may not,’ and so on, ending in the other terminal point ‘is not.’ Texts whose sentences tend to be rooted in modal auxiliary verbs which lie at terminal points can be seen as authoritative, with the purpose of signaling to the interpreter that they should take what is said (or written) as unequivocal truth. Similar examples were evident in the policy producer transcripts:

-‘...the *How are we Doing* report statistics is [sic] showing that we have increased graduation rates for students, Aboriginal students’

-‘...there has been a strong level of communication’

Although, overall the interview transcripts do show many examples of less adamant assertions:

- ‘I think that success for Aboriginal students may be...’
- ‘Aboriginal communities may need to understand...’.

The choice of pronouns in both documents can be seen as reinforcing the relational modality of the policy texts. The use of pronouns that indicate inclusion such as ‘us’ and ‘we’ is significantly lacking in both policy texts with the only examples being the use of the pronoun ‘we’ once in each document and then only in the quotes included as supporting statements for the EA policy. The more commonly used pronoun is ‘they’ which appears 12 times in the two texts. ‘They’ is more often associated with relations that are exclusive and its use may indicate a desire on the part of the policy producer to maintain a distance from the object of the policy, the interpreter. This could be seen as a desire to gain or maintain authority tied to the discourse that says that the Ministry is the subject who directs the actions of school districts and Aboriginal communities. The choice of pronouns in the interview transcripts provides insight into the ideological views contained within the MR of the policy producer. The pronouns I, us and we appear more frequently in the interview transcripts than in the policy texts. Again, this may reflect the structure of the interview and phrasing of the interview questions more than a lack of desire to gain or maintain authority. It may also indicate an assumed authority between policy producer and interviewer such that no distancing is required.

The final area for grammatical analysis is the linking of sentences. Sentences can be grammatically connected in many ways, so how a text’s producer chooses to join sentences is of interest as these choices can give insights into the ideological assumptions of the producer. Sentences may be connected directly with connecting words, through reference to one another, through the repetition of words and so on. Given the wide variety of ways to link sentences, following Fairclough (2015), I will use the term ‘cohesive features’ (p. 146) to cover all the ways in which sentences can be linked. Consider the following passage from the Ministry’s EA website:

Historically, British Columbia schools have not been successful in ensuring that Aboriginal students receive a quality education, one that allows these students to succeed in the larger provincial economy while maintaining ties to their culture. Growing recognition of this problem led to the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding in 1999:

“We the undersigned, acknowledge that Aboriginal learners are not experiencing school success in British Columbia. We state our intention to work together within the mandates of our respective organizations to improve school success for Aboriginal learners in British Columbia.” (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a)

The first cohesive feature of note is a logical connection in the first sentence between a quality education and an education that allows students to succeed in the larger provincial economy. There is an assumption here that quality is linked to economic potential, perhaps due to the interdiscursive influence of neoliberal discourses found throughout BC’s government policy platforms under the BC Liberals as previously outlined. A second logical connection exists between the first and second sentence where the second sentence asserts as fact that the first sentence represents a problem. A third example is the linking of the first paragraph to the second paragraph with a colon to indicate a connection. This linkage seeks to establish a logical connection between the first sentence of the first paragraph, which has BC schools as the subjects who lack success, and the first sentence of the second paragraph, in which Aboriginal learners are the subjects who lack success. Taken as a whole, these three examples give clues that the policy producer may take as common sense such things as the need for all people to be economic contributors, that a school that doesn’t create economic contributors is a problem and that it is the school, not the Ministry of Education or the student themselves who is responsible for ensuring success, however it may be measured. These clues point to the influence of neoliberal discourse as reproduced through the policy producer’s MR on the production of BC’s EA policy.

6.1.3. Textual Structures

The analysis of textual structures is focused on the question, ‘What are the roles of interactional conventions and larger-scale structures of these texts and transcripts?’ Texts can be seen as either monologues or dialogues. The two policy texts under analysis here are a web site and a brochure and as such are monologues with the text constructed solely by the producer and communication flowing from text producer to text interpreters; whereas, the interviews transcripts are dialogues between the analyst and policy producers.

There are two interactional conventions evident in the policy producer interview transcripts: taking turns talking and control of contribution (Fairclough, 2015). Turn-taking occurs throughout the interviews with a basic pattern of the analyst asking a question, the producer responding, the analyst asking a clarification or follow up question and again the producer responding. This pattern is quite normal in a semi-structured interview and demonstrates an understanding by all parties of the conventions of the interview format and indicates the acceptance of the social convention that cedes power to the interviewer in a standard interview situation. However, there are also several examples where the policy producer exerted their power in the interview. Fairclough (2015) outlines four devices which are used to control the contribution of others:

1. Interruption – one speaker cuts another off to take back or reinforce power.
2. Enforcing explicitness – one speaker forcing the other to clarify or make unambiguous a previous statement.
3. Controlling topic – normally the more powerful speaker will control the topic if they choose to.
4. Formulation – one speaker rewording the other’s statement and feeding it back to them to control the wording of the original statement.

Each of these devices was employed at various times in the interviews:

Analyst: ‘But it sounds like it’s pretty key the way government is set up’?

Producer: ‘It would, I...’

Analyst: ‘It would be helpful’.

Producer: ‘I would think it would be extremely helpful, yes’.

The example above shows the analyst using all four devices to exert power over the policy producer by interrupting to formulate a half formed statement, thereby making it more explicit, around a topic that the analyst chose in the first place.

A second example shows a producer exerting their power by resisting an attempt by the analyst to do the same thing to them:

Analyst: ‘So, in terms of what there is for provincial policy and the objectives, goals, whatever it is, how do you communicate with school districts’?

Producer: ‘I don’t. That’s up to the Director’.

Analyst: ‘Okay. So...’

Producer: ‘We have our lane, we have our little project that is going, but I don’t have any mandate... to communicate out to the province...’

These two examples demonstrate how the textual structures in dialogues can be dynamic and how power exists in all relationships and can be used both to control and to resist control as theorized by Foucault (1977). The second example, also provides the analyst some insight into the local social conditions of the policy texts’ production as it is apparent from the one statement that, at least at the time the interviews took place, the Director of the Aboriginal Branch controlled the communication between policy producers and policy interpreters.

The larger scale structures of the two policy texts are quite different as one is a web site designed for reading online and the other a tri-fold brochure, designed for physical distribution. However, both texts make use of their structures to provide “evidence” to support their messages. The Ministry website provides a structural clue as to the historical discourse that was prominent when the EA policy was formed by government. The lower half of the website (see Appendix 1) is a recounting, through historical evidence, of why EAs were brought into policy and recounts the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) which ‘led to a framework for the creation of Enhancement Agreements’ (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a). The MOU, which is actually inserted into the website to lend authority, reads:

We the undersigned, acknowledge that Aboriginal learners are not experiencing school success in British Columbia. We state our intention to work together within the mandates of our respective organizations to improve school success for Aboriginal learners in British Columbia (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a).

The MOU is used as historical evidence to support the rest of the section including the statement, ‘Historically, British Columbia schools have not been successful in ensuring that Aboriginal students receive a quality education...’ (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a). The structure of the website reinforces the assumption, expressed as an authoritative

discourse and supported by historical evidence (the MOU), that it is a school's responsibility to ensure Aboriginal learners receive a quality education.

The EA brochure (Appendix 2) uses three contemporary quotes, including one from BC's premier of the day, Gordon Campbell, as evidence to support the messaging of the brochure. In addition, the brochure makes use of pictures and graphics to create a positive environment for its message. The three pictures show positive images of Aboriginal students in school settings and a large graphic on the back of the brochure highlights a piece of First Nation artwork. Two smaller graphics from the provincial government and the Ministry of Education both contain the phrase 'British Columbia the Best Place on Earth'. Finally, the brochure, despite being a monologue, simulates a dialogue by framing the information it provides as responses to questions which may be posed by those affected by the EA policy. By simulating a dialogue, the messaging becomes less authoritative and more participatory creating the impression that the EA policy was constructed with the questions in mind. Taken together, the textual structures of the brochure indicate attention to relational issues and the desire of the producer to maintain positive relations with the interpreters of the brochure.

6.2. Conclusion

The description stage of CDA surfaces a number of normalizing vocabulary, grammar, and textual structures which appear to be designed to reproduce at least three discourses: policy making as a positive and supportive activity; schools not supporting Aboriginal students; and government having given schools and Aboriginal communities the policy tools to be successful (see table 6-3). These structures and discourses begin to answer the first research question, what are the discursive and social factors affecting and being affected through the production of BC's EA policy? Specifically, the vocabulary, grammar and textual structures of both the texts and transcripts give the analyst hints that the texts are designed to reproduce the three discourses. Description of the policy producer interview transcripts uncovers further clues as to the social factors influencing the production of policy both at the local level and in the broader social setting. In the next chapter, I continue the CDA of the policy texts at the interpretation and description stages.

CHAPTER 7: INTERPRETATION AND EXPLANATION

In this chapter, I complete the second and third stages of my CDA of BC's EA policy before offering an analysis into the agency of policy actors in the production and interpretation of BC's EA policy. I conclude the chapter by answering my two research questions.

7.1. Interpretation

Having worked through the questions related to description of the two policy texts and six policy producer transcripts, I now turn to Stage 2, interpretation. Fairclough (2015) sees the interpretation stage as having three separate components: interpretation of text, interpretation of the situational context and interpretation of the intertextual context. I will consider each in turn. I must stress here that at this point of analysis, I am dealing with both my interpretation of the two policy texts and those of the school district level interpreters as ascertained from analyzing the codified transcripts of their interviews. Again, as in Chapter 6, I will make every effort to keep the analysis clear by using the terms "texts" when referring to the two written policy documents, "interpreter transcripts" when referring to the transcripts of the policy interpreter interviews and "producer transcripts" when referring to the transcripts of the policy producer interviews.

7.1.1. *Interpretation of Text*

The interpretation of the two texts involves establishing a coherent understanding of what the texts "say", their words, and sorting out what the texts "mean", their discourse. The description stage undertaken in Chapter 6 necessarily involved moving between text and discourse (Fairclough, 2015) to see the connections between the two and as such involved some interpretation to allow for a robust description. As such, this section will include some of what was uncovered about the producer's MR during the description stage, along with clues to the analyst's MR as revealed in the description stage.

Fairclough's (2015) CDA model makes use of three aspects of MR: schema, frame and script, to help to make sense of how a subject's MR interprets text. A schema is an activity

type that follows a predictable pattern. A frame is a topic to which connections are possible. A script is a predictable subject relationship within a frame. Each of the three rely on MR as each is tied to existing knowledge, ideological assumptions and so on. Table 7-1 is a summary of how the MR of the policy producer, summarized from Stage 1 of this CDA, and the MR of the policy analyst, arrived at through self-consciousness during Stage 1, may function to interpret the same texts very differently.

Table 7-1 lays out how each text sample is filtered through existing MR, but that as MR is different for different subjects, the point of the text, what meaning the producer is trying to convey, is subject to reproduction by the interpreter. It is this reproduction, perhaps made clearer if written as “re-production”, which explains how on one level discourses are not just produced, but re-produced each time they are acted upon by MR. The reproduction either reinforces or changes the discourse just as the discourse reinforces or changes the subject’s MR.

Turning to the policy interpreters’ interview transcripts, samples of evidence to support my assertions around interpretation of texts and reproduction above are summarized in Table 7-2. Here, what the policy “says” as taken directly from the policy texts and what the policy “means” as taken directly from the interpreter interview transcripts give the analyst clues as to the policy interpreters’ MR and its impact on the reproduction of discourses. It is clear that in each of the three examples, the policy discourses produced by the policy producer have been reproduced in some sense by the policy interpreter. In the coding of policy producer and policy interpreter interviews (Appendices 6-10), it is apparent that through the process of gathering the individual codes into overarching themes, which demonstrate a clear alignment of provincial and school district objectives (see Figure 5-2), some of the nuanced differences which underlie the apparent similarity of objectives may be lost. As one example, the objective of two-eyed seeing, was cited by several policy producers (Appendix 7) as necessary for Aboriginal students to become ‘...educated citizen(s)...’ and to be ‘...capable young people thriving in a rapidly changing world’. Contrast this with two statements from policy interpreters (Appendix 6) who see two-eyed seeing as ‘...increasing Aboriginal students’ sense of belonging, cultural identity and self esteem...’ and ‘... increasing students’ sense of belonging...’. While all four statements are advocating for Aboriginal students to be able to be successful in both western and

traditional cultures, the policy producers' focus is clearly on increasing success in the western world and the policy interpreters' on success in preserving the Aboriginal students' traditional culture.

Table 7-1.

Summary of Producer's and Analyst's Interpretations of Texts

Texts "say" (the writing)	Producer and Analyst MR (schema (S), frame (F), script (St))	Texts "mean" (the "point" and the discourse)
1) 'But the agreements reach beyond Aboriginal students to increase knowledge and respect for Aboriginal culture, language and history among all students' (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a) .	<u>Producer</u> S: policy making F: Aboriginal education St: policy maker gives the solution to others <u>Analyst</u> S: political appeasement F: Aboriginal education St: government imposes policy	<u>Producer</u> Public policy making is a positive activity to support all people. <u>Analyst</u> Public policy can be a negative activity to control all people.
2) 'Historically, British Columbia schools have not been successful in ensuring that Aboriginal students receive a quality education, one that allows these students to succeed in the larger provincial economy while maintaining ties to their culture' (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a) .	<u>Producer</u> S: reporting a historical fact F: Aboriginal education St: bureaucrat reports to the public <u>Analyst</u> S: problematizing a system F: public education St: government justifies intervention in education system	<u>Producer</u> Schools have not done a good job in supporting Aboriginal students and require correction. <u>Analyst</u> Government is trying to rewrite history to absolve themselves for their failed Aboriginal education policies.
3) 'This tool is well established as a way to include Aboriginal people in decision-making and focus on measurable student outcomes' (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a) .	<u>Producer</u> S: reinforcing good policy F: Aboriginal education St: bureaucrat shares information with the public <u>Analyst</u> S: reinforcing all policy F: public education St: government justifies itself	<u>Producer</u> Governments have given schools and communities the support they need to support Aboriginal students. <u>Analyst</u> Governments want everyone to believe that they have given schools and communities the solution if they just choose to do it.

Table 7-2.
Policy Interpreters' MR

Texts "say" (the writing)	Interpreter MR (schema (S), frame (F), script (St))	Texts "mean" (the "point" and the discourse)
1) 'But the agreements reach beyond Aboriginal students to increase knowledge and respect for Aboriginal culture, language and history among all students' (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a).	S: policy interpretation F: Aboriginal education St: government has a clear agenda regardless of how they state it.	'... with the Ministry, I tend to get the sense, and from what I read, the real focus is (sic) want good grad rates, it still seems to be the focus above all else.' -Government policy requires results.
2) 'Historically, British Columbia schools have not been successful in ensuring that Aboriginal students receive a quality education, one that allows these students to succeed in the larger provincial economy while maintaining ties to their culture' (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a).	S: historical interpretation F: Aboriginal education St: government has power over school districts	'I'm driven by what they have in policy because I need to protect my district...' -Government policy is a threat.
3) 'This tool is well established as a way to include Aboriginal people in decision-making and focus on measurable student outcomes' (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a).	S: policy interpretation F: Aboriginal education St: do as directed	'... we tend to rely on what the Ministry is mandating...' -Government policy tells school districts what to do.

Policy is reproduced as it moves between the place of production and the site of interpretation through an interaction between the policy discourse and the internal member resources (MR) of the interpreter (Fairclough, 2015), but discourse is only one of several elements which combine and interact discursively to shape and be shaped one by the other. Power, social relations, material practices, institutions (and rituals) and beliefs (values, desires) (Harvey, 1996) all play a role in policy reproduction. It is clear from the differences between what the policies "say" and what they are taken to "mean" that no hegemony is perfect. As such, there is both acceptance and resistance evident in the policy interpreters' reproduction of the discourses due to the role of MR in their reproduction. In the next section, I consider the situational context in which policy is reproduced.

7.1.2. Interpretation of the Situational Context

The situational context can be broken down into four questions (Fairclough, 2015): ‘What’s going on?’ ‘Who’s involved?’ ‘In what relations?’ ‘What’s the role of language?’ (pp. 160-161). The answer to each of these questions is contingent on the MR of the analyst asking the questions.

What’s going on? This question looks at activity, topic and purpose. In this CDA, it is already clear that what is going on depends on who is being asked (or analysed). From Table 7-1, the policy text producers’ schemata says that policy production, reporting of historical facts and reinforcing good policy is what is going on. However, the analyst’s schemata says something very different. The analyst sees political appeasement, problematizing a system and reinforcing all policy as what is going on with the texts. Table 7-2 shows an entirely different interpretation when the policy interpreters consider the texts through the filter of their MR. Fairclough’s (2015) model explains this difference as, in part, resting on the need to interpret the situational context. Of course, the policy producer, interpreter and the analyst come to the texts in different situational contexts: they are separated geographically, institutionally and by time. Further, each must interpret the situation through two levels of their MR before they can even start to ask, what’s going on? This filtering is captured in Figure 5-3. At the first level the subject determines the institutional setting based on the connections to their understanding of the social order of society as contained in their MR. Once they have determined the institutional setting, the subject proceeds to determine the situational setting based on their understanding, as contained in their MR, of the social order of the institution. Even in situations where the policy producer and interpreter are located within the same institution and considering a text at exactly the same time, their unique MR will necessarily lead them to different interpretations of the situation and thus different answers to the four questions. That said, I will now continue to address Fairclough’s questions from my perspective (and through my MR) as the analyst.

Who’s involved? There are 12 groups named in or associated with the text included in the two policy texts (see Table 7-3). In the context of Aboriginal education policy at the

province wide level in BC, there are four groups which produce policy and eight groups which interpret policy. The group which produced the two EA policy texts is the Aboriginal Branch of the BC Ministry of Education.

Table 7-3.

Aboriginal Policy Producers and Interpreters in British Columbia

Who	Subject Position
BC Ministry of Education	Policy producer
Aboriginal Branch	Policy producer
British Columbia College of Teachers (BCCT) now Teacher Regulation Branch (TRB)	Policy producer
Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada now Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC)	Policy producer
School districts	Policy interpreter
British Columbia School Trustees Association (BCSTA)	Policy interpreter
British Columbia Principals and Vice Principals Association (BCPVPA)	Policy interpreter
British Columbia Teachers Federation (BCTF)	Policy interpreter
First Nations Education Steering Committee (FNESC)	Policy interpreter
First Nations Schools Association (FNSA)	Policy interpreter
Chiefs Action Committee (CAC)	Policy interpreter
Aboriginal communities	Policy interpreter

In what relations? The Aboriginal Branch and TRB produce policy under the authority of the Ministry of Education. The TRB's policies are focused on teacher certification, rather than directly on students. The other policy producer is INAC, which produces federal policy as well as partnering on provincial/federal agreements both of which are applicable province wide. Again, in the context of provincial Aboriginal policy, school districts, who are represented provincially by the BCSTA, will normally interpret the policy and pass that interpretation on to principals, vice principals and teachers, who then reinterpret the policy to fit in their context. Principals/vice principals and teachers are represented provincially by the BCPVPA and BCFT, respectively. CAC represents Aboriginal communities. FNESC and FNSA represent Aboriginal students. Many groups, including the Ministry of Education, BCSTA, BCPVPA and BCTF, claim to represent all students in BC. The key relationships for the interpretation stage of this CDA, with its focus on the use of power in the production and interpretation of BC's Aboriginal education policy, is that of BC Ministry of Education, represented by the Aboriginal Branch, as policy producer and

school districts as policy interpreters. It is this relationship that I will continue to focus on throughout this CDA.

What's the role of language? Language as a part of a wider institutional objective plays an important role in the interpretation of the two policy texts. Four notable features of language which impact on the interpretation of the texts and which were described in detail in Chapter 6 are: 1) positive word choice and euphemism to support relationship between text producer and text interpreter; 2) Subject, Verb, Object (SVO) sentence structure to establish an action orientation and certainty of purpose in the policy; 3) using relational and expressive modality, through the use of modal auxiliary verbs, to establish the authority of the policy over those interpreting it and the conviction of the policy producer to the "truth" of the policy's message; 4) the frequent use of the pronoun 'they' to create a distance between the policy producer and the policy interpreter to establish and reinforce authority. In short, the policy, as read and filtered through the analyst's and policy interpreters' MRs, is designed to be interpreted as positive, authoritative and factual.

7.1.3. Interpretation of the Intertextual Context

Discourses and the texts associated with them fit within a history of related discourses (Fairclough, 2015). Interpretation of intertextual context is a matter of a policy interpreter deciding which discourse series a text fits within and using this link, through their MR, to connect the text to their existing understandings of that discourse. Fairclough (2015) sees this as an activity where interpreters seek to establish what can be taken as established understandings, presupposed, about a text. The process is as illustrated in Tables 7-1 and 7-2, where a piece of text is considered through MR to establish its point; however, the emphasis when interpreting intertextual context is on uncovering the power relations and ideological functions inherent in the presupposition which underlie the process of establishing the point of the text. Uncovering presuppositions requires viewing the text from a historical perspective and exposing the ideological functions of the text.

The two EA policy texts are more recent text examples in a series of historical policy texts produced around the discourses related to Aboriginal education (see Chapter 3). The two texts make use of presuppositions to try to establish common ground with those

interpreting them, but also to influence what is assumed to be common ground through the use of language: vocabulary, grammar, textual structure, and so on. The use of language by the EA text producers can be understood at this level as either a sincere seeking of common ground or a strategy to manipulate the texts' interpreters. In either case, the policy producer's ideological assumptions, contained in their MR, can be discovered through exposing the presuppositions in the policy texts and linking these to the historical discourses around Aboriginal education.

Table 7-4.
Interpreting Presuppositions

Texts "say"	Presupposition	Historical Discourse and Era of Liberalism	Ideological Assumption
1) 'But the agreements reach beyond Aboriginal students to increase knowledge and respect for Aboriginal culture, language and history among all students' (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a).	All students should learn about Aboriginal culture.	Social justice requires recognition. Social justice liberalism	All cultures should be recognized.
2) 'Historically, British Columbia schools have not been successful in ensuring that Aboriginal students receive a quality education, one that allows these students to succeed in the larger provincial economy while maintaining ties to their culture' (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a).	Aboriginal students should receive an education that allows them to get a job.	The individual is the basic unit of society and the betterment (or development) of the individual should be the focus of education policy. Classical liberalism (neo-liberalism)	The function of education is to produce autonomous workers for the economy.
3) 'This tool is well established as a way to include Aboriginal people in decision-making and focus on measurable student outcomes' (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a).	It is important to focus on measuring student outcomes.	The role of the state is to devolve responsibility to institutions and hold them accountable through measurable results. Neo-liberalism	Education should be measurable.

Table 7-4 takes the statements that were examined in Tables 7-1 and 7-2 to uncover their “point” and reexamines them through the dual lenses of presupposition and historical discourse to uncover the text producer’s ideological assumptions. In the first example, the presupposition is that all students should learn about Aboriginal culture. This presupposition underlies a number of liberal approaches to Aboriginal rights in Canada including Citizen’s Plus (Cairns, 2000) and Minority Rights (Kymlicka, 1989). Both Citizen’s Plus and Minority Rights, as discourses represented in texts, specify that there is a need for governments to make a place for minority cultures within the frame of Canadian citizenship. The second example is based on a presupposition that Aboriginal students should get an education that allows them to get a job. This presupposition is a component of classical liberal discourses which place the individual as the basic unit of society. This presupposition is also linked to the discourses of neo-liberalism which takes the view that one role of the state is to create autonomous self-actualizing individuals who are economically self-interested, competitive and entrepreneurial (Olssen, Codd & O’Neill, 2010). Autonomous, self-actualizers is not an end in itself, but rather, one piece of the larger mission of neo-liberalism which is to use the power of the state to create the conditions necessary to support a market driven economy (Olssen, Codd & O’Neill, 2010). This includes creating and maintaining the institutions needed to produce the labour for the market economy, schools. In the final example, the text producer presupposes that it is important to measure student outcomes. This presupposition can also be linked to neo-liberal discourses which focus on the devolution of responsibility (but not control) from the central state government to peripheral governments or agencies (Olssen, Codd & O’Neill, 2010). In such a system, measurement and the reporting of data becomes essential to establishing mechanisms of accountability based on the data produced by institutions, including schools.

The second stage of this CDA considered the interpretation of text, the situational context and the intertextual context to reveal further clues as to the MR of the EA policy’s producers and interpreters. The analysis uncovered the differences between what is understood to be said and meant by the policy texts, in what context and in what relation to previous policy discourses to better understand the presuppositions and ideological assumptions inherent in the MR of those producing, interpreting and analyzing the policy.

In the next section, Explanation, I complete my CDA of BC's EA policy.

7.2. Explanation

The explanation stage of CDA is concerned with discourse as a social practice which is both determined by social structures and has a role in determining social structures (see Figure 5-4). I will use the final stage of Fairclough's (2015) CDA to look at three areas: social determinants, ideologies and social effects to explain BC's Aboriginal education policy as discourse related to the two policy texts under consideration. Each of these areas is intimately linked by power and my explanation of this process and how it plays out in BC's Aboriginal education policy discourse will draw extensively on my theoretical framework, particularly the work of Gramsci around common sense, Bourdieu around reproduction and Foucault's (2007) 'ontology of the actuality' (p.5). This explanation seeks to expose the assumptions and structures of power that act to maintain the status quo around discourses of BC's Aboriginal education policy while at the same time recognizing that discourse has the power to effect both these assumptions and the structures upon which they are built.

7.2.1. Approach to Explanation

In the next two sections, I use Fairclough's (2015) three explanation questions to consider the three major discourses (see Table 6-3) evident in BC's EA policy texts as summarized in the description and interpretation stages of this CDA. The three questions, which follow the flow of explanation shown in Figure 5-4, are:

1. Social determinants: what power relations at the situational, institutional and societal levels help shape this discourse?
2. Ideologies: what elements of MR which are drawn upon have an ideological character?
3. Effects: how is this discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional and societal levels? Are these struggles overt or covert? Is the discourse normative with respect to MR or creative? Does it contribute to sustaining existing power relations or transforming them? (p. 175)

7.2.2. Power and Reproduction

In this section, I consider the role of power at each step of explanation beginning with social determinants. Here the question is, what power relations at the situational, institutional and societal levels help shape this discourse? At the societal level, the power of law plays a role in establishing the relationship between the policy producer, the BC Ministry of Education and the policy interpreter, the province's 60 school districts. The Constitution Act (1982) reaffirms that the province has jurisdiction over school age education programs for all students, with the exception of those living on federal reserve lands. Further, the BC School Act (British Columbia, 1996) specifies that school districts have only those powers delegated to them by the province. The legal structure embraces Gramsci's (1971) view of power as something that flows from a central source, from top to bottom, and is primarily repressive in the sense that it maintains the existing social structure to the benefit of those in power, thus these two legal documents establish and maintain both the situational and institutional social structures upon which BC's Aboriginal education policy discourse is built. At the societal level, the Constitution Act also establishes that both federal and provincial governments have the right to enact legislation concerning the role and function of people, public institutions and communities, including Aboriginal communities.

The legislation produced by governments draws on the MR of those tasked with policy production. Within the MR of these people will be some ideological assumptions. One common assumption that has been consistently evident throughout the various eras of Aboriginal policy making in Canada is the assumption that Canada, and the various levels of government that flow out under the federal umbrella, have the legitimate right to make policy for all its citizens, including Aboriginal people. This assumption is evident in the reports of the RCAP (1996) and the TRC (2015a) as well as in several approaches to policy both suggested and in some cases implemented. From the Hawthorne Report (1967) to the White Paper (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1969), from Citizens Plus (Cairns, 2000) to Minority Rights (Kymlicka, 1987), the vast majority of policy thinkers, makers and implementers have carried the same assumption that Canada has the right to make laws for all its citizens. Of course, this assumption has been disputed by Aboriginal activists who say that Canada and Aboriginal nations need to negotiate as

nation to nation (Cardinal 1969, Turner, 2006). The nation to nation discourse of Aboriginal rights has created a more specific discourse around Aboriginal education rights and the form of the Aboriginal education system, be that parallel or integrated (Widdowson & Howard, 2013). But these arguments and struggles, while gaining in academic mention and perhaps even public consciousness, at present have limited power as the courts in Canada have been reluctant to grant full nation status to Aboriginal peoples except in situations where their nationhood has minimal impact on non-Aboriginal Canadians. As Kymlicka (1989) reminds us, a practical reality check for Aboriginal groups in Canada does exist. He says that the rights of minority groups, as bestowed and judged by the state, are subject to the will and good graces of the majority group within that state and thus cannot stray too far from what is acceptable to that majority.

7.2.3. Ideology

The explanation stage involves using the ideological assumptions uncovered in the description and interpretation stages to compare determinants to effects. Because the ideological assumptions of policy producers and policy interpreters appear, based on the clues uncovered in Stage 1 and Stage 2 of this CDA, to be very different from each other, I will chart the use of both sets of assumptions before turning to an explanation of the effects of reproduction on BC's Aboriginal education policy. The three discourses and the flow of explanation from determinants for policy production to their effects is summarized in Figure 7-1. The same flow for policy interpretation is summarized in Figure 7-2.

In Figure 7-1, for each discourse, the underpinning social relations of power at the situational, institutional and societal levels and the resultant ideological assumption, which leads from these relations to the formation of each discourse, are the same. However, for each discourse, the restructuring effects of ideological assumptions specific to each discourse leads to different effects at the situational, institutional and societal level as each discourse is reproduced through its interaction with specific ideological assumptions of the policy producer. In each case, the underlying power relations are based on assumptions of government, at the federal, provincial and local levels, as the legitimate holders of power

and that power being used responsibly and reasonably to move Aboriginal education forward in BC.

Social determinants: situational (S), institutional (I), societal (Sc)	Ideologies (MR)	Discourse	Ideologies (MR)	Effects: situational (S), institutional (I), societal (Sc)
<p>S: Policy texts are read as authoritative discourses.</p> <p>I: The Ministry of Education has power over school districts.</p> <p>Sc: Governments have power over both communities and social institutions.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Government has legitimate authority to govern.</p>		<p>1) Public policy making is a positive activity to support all people.</p>	<p>Government should use its authority to support all people.</p>	<p>S: EA policy to be read as a supportive and relation building text. I: EA policy is written to give schools and communities power to make agreements under the EA. Sc: EA policy is a tool to transform Aboriginal education.</p>
		<p>2) Schools have not done a good job in supporting Aboriginal students and require correction.</p>	<p>Government should use its authority to correct schools</p>	<p>S: EA policy to be read as an authoritative and corrective text. I: EA policy is written to address schools failure to support Aboriginal students. Sc: EA policy is a tool to maintain the structure of power in Aboriginal policy making</p>
		<p>3) Governments have given schools and communities the support they need to support Aboriginal students.</p>	<p>Government should use its authority to hold schools and communities accountable.</p>	<p>S: EA policy to be read as an authoritative text. I: EA policy is written to hold schools and communities accountable. Sc: EA policy is a tool to maintain the structure of power in Aboriginal policy making</p>

Figure 7-1. Discourse production explanation

Social determinants: situational (S), institutional (I), societal (Sc)	Ideologies (MR)	Discourse	Ideologies (MR)	Effects: situational (S), institutional (I), societal (Sc)
<p>S: Policy texts are read as authoritative discourses.</p> <p>I: The Ministry of Education has power over school districts.</p> <p>Sc: Governments have power over both communities and social institutions.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Government has legitimate authority to govern.</p>		1) Government policy requires results.	Government has an agenda.	<p>S: EA policy to be read as a results based agenda text.</p> <p>I: EA policy is written to direct school districts.</p> <p>Sc: EA policy is a tool to control Aboriginal education.</p>
		2) Government policy is a threat.	Government has power over school districts.	<p>S: EA policy to be read as an authoritative text.</p> <p>I: EA policy is written to coerce school district behaviour.</p> <p>Sc: EA policy is a tool to maintain the structure of power in Aboriginal policy making</p>
		3) Government policy tells school districts what to do.	Do as directed.	<p>S: EA policy to be read as an authoritative text.</p> <p>I: EA policy is written to direct school district behaviour.</p> <p>Sc: EA policy is a tool to maintain the structure of power in Aboriginal policy making</p>

Figure 7-2. Discourse interpretation explanation

In Figure 7-2, for each discourse, the underpinning social relations of power at the situational, institutional and societal levels and the resultant ideological assumption, which leads from these relations to the formation of each discourse, are the same as those in Figure 7-1. This is a reasonable assumption as the policy producers and interpreters are all employees within the BC school system, albeit with some at the Ministry level and some at the school district level (Table 7-3 shows the roles of those groups involved or named in BC's s EA policy along with their roles). As such, their assumptions about the role of government policy are likely quite similar at the level of social determination. In short,

they all believe that the government has the right to make the rules for the school system. However, for each discourse, the restructuring effects of ideological assumptions specific to each discourse leads to different effects at the situational, institutional and societal level as each discourse is reproduced through its interaction with specific ideological assumptions of policy interpreters. In each case, the underlying power relations are based on assumptions of government policy as part of a government agenda to direct or coerce school districts into following policy direction.

7.2.4. Effects

Turning to effects, the question is, how is BC's Aboriginal education discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional and societal levels? Further, are these struggles overt or covert and does the discourse contribute to sustaining existing power relations or transforming them? To start with, in this CDA, six discourses have been uncovered, three from policy producers and three from policy implementers (see Figures 7-1 and 7-2). In terms of the struggles for Aboriginal rights in general and between separate and integrated school systems in particular, all six discourses act to sustain the existing power relationships. While one might argue that on its face, the EA policy clearly provides power to Aboriginal communities and school districts, when the language is subjected to CDA, it becomes clear that from the perspective of the policy producer at the provincial government level and the policy interpreter at the school district level, the document reinforces the positions of power that already exist in education in BC.

7.3. Challenges

One major challenge in conducting this CDA was determining how best to analyze three sets of documents: policy texts, policy producer interviews and policy interpreter interviews. My first approach was to conduct three separate CDA's, one for each type of text with a focus on building the analysis as I moved from one set to the next. This was somewhat unsuccessful as it seemed quite artificial to set aside information from the interview texts that was relevant to the CDA of the policy texts and bring it in after the fact in the subsequent CDA's. In the end, I wound up conducting one CDA of all the texts at

once. This led to the second challenge, organizing a coherent CDA with multiple text types. The solution I fell upon was to try to summarize selected data into figures and tables in order to present a visual representation of very complex data. I feel that this strategy was quite successful and allowed me to reduce what was a very lengthy chapter down to two chapters of a more reasonable total length.

A second major challenge was how to address my broad research questions given that my data collection and analysis was, by choice, restricted to EA policy producers and school district based EA policy interpreters. I believe that I have recognized this restriction throughout my analysis and it will be addressed again in the next chapter when I discuss the limitations of the study.

7.4. Agency

In this section, I analyse the data gathered through the CDA of BC's EA policy and the interviews with policy producers and interpreters to better understand what happens in and between the setting of BC's EA policy production and the settings of its interpretation in terms of the policy actors. Ball (1994) sees policy as both text and discourse with the former emphasizing the social agency and power of an individual to autonomously interpret policy and the latter emphasizing the external and internal constraints which function to control both policy production and interpretation. While the focus of Chapters 6 and 7 to this point has been on the role of discourse, the focus of this section is to search out areas in which the agency of policy interpreters appears and to understand how and why this happens.

The CDA of BC's EA policy uncovered three policy producer and three policy interpreter discourses (see Figures 7-1 and 7-2). These discourses are rooted in a belief that government has the legitimate authority to govern, and transcripts of the policy producers provide further evidence of their belief in these discourses. For example, one producer¹,

¹ In this section of the study, I am purposely not identifying policy producers and interpreters as I had assured all participants that their participation was anonymous and the discussion here could potentially lead to participants becoming identifiable.

summarizes policy and its development as being ‘...laid out in structured agreements ...[which] say here’s how we are going to operate and here’s the things we are going to focus on’ and ‘...policy development... is what the Ministry of Education is actually legally able to do’. In this view, all authority lies within the policy documents and only the Ministry has the legitimate (legal) authority to create policy. Policy producers see the School Act as granting the legitimate authority and power to the Ministry of Education to produce policy and to expect that it will be implemented by school districts and communities. Another policy producer says, ‘...the K-12 system operates under the School Act and must meet the requirements of the Act’. This view of the Ministry holding power over school districts and communities lies in the belief that government has the legitimate authority to govern and is expressed in the view that the Ministry as an institution has power over school districts as subordinate institutions under the School Act. Speaking about closing the achievement gap, a producer states, ‘we communicate directly to school districts and sometimes that is done through the Minister of Education who speaks directly to boards of education and said (sic), “We believe that this to be (sic) important so we want you to approach this with intent and we want you to report out on the success of those students”’.

Similarly, policy interpreters express discourses (see Figure 7-2) rooted in their common belief that, like the policy producers, they believe government has the legitimate authority to govern. However, within the transcripts of the 14 policy interpreter interviews, there are significant indications of agency influencing their interpretation of policy, which are largely lacking in the policy producer interviews, despite their shared belief. The role of agency comes forward most strongly in many policy interpreters’ stated belief that policy, including the EA policy must be adapted to meet local needs. This aspect of agency is apparent, at the local level, despite the belief of policy interpreters and producers that their intentions are aligned.

Many of the policy interpreters spoke to the importance of adapting the EA policy to local needs. One interpreter says, ‘... well, I understand what is being asked for, but we need to do what makes sense for our students’ and another states, ‘...provincial policies are important, but it’s what we do with them that matters’. A third interpreter says, ‘... [I] need to pay attention to local indigenous beliefs, not just provincial initiatives’. These are just

three examples of the many which show the important role that agency plays in mediating the influence of discourse in interpretation of BC's EA policy. Other policy interpreters were less willing to question the authoritative discourse of the EA policy with one stating, 'Our local goals are...based on the EA policy' and another saying, '...those recommendations, those directions from...provincial level organizations and ministries are what our district is supporting and being'.

There are several key and interconnected elements which should be considered to help uncover why some policy interpreters demonstrate more agency than others when interviewed. Specifically, following Harvey (1996), these are discourse, power, social relations, material practices, institutions and beliefs.

7.4.1. Discourse, Power and Material Practices

This study has demonstrated (see Figure 7-2) that discourse, particularly the authoritative discourse within BC's EA policy, is a tool used by government to connect to the MR of policy actors, including those charged with implementing the policy, and maintain power over the reproduction of the policy in local settings. The interview transcripts demonstrate that those policy interpreters with relatively greater Aboriginal education administrative experience, higher positions of authority within their respective school districts and stronger self-identified social ties to policy producers and their local Aboriginal community are less likely to state that they accept the EA policy as written. There is a tendency for those demonstrating agency to speak of '...a shared responsibility...' and '...local needs being addressed...' as opposed to those exhibiting less agency who speak about '...ministries are what our district is supporting and being' and 'Our local goals... based on the EA policy'. The difference in approach to policy interpretation appears to be linked to the level of personal power and autonomy the policy interpreter may feel as those with more experience and higher positions of authority appear to feel that they can '...push back a little...' on Ministry policies.

The idea of pushing back on policy was clearly tempered by a repeated concern that the material wellbeing of a school district and in particular of the Aboriginal education

department within a district could be negatively impacted if policy was not interpreted “correctly”. Several policy interpreters, and again these tended to be the less experienced and relatively lower placed individuals, said that they need to be careful not to misinterpret Ministry policy to avoid financial and professional consequences. One policy interpreter states,

‘I’m driven by what they have on policy because I need to protect my district from audit, so I tend to look at what the policies are... to follow that, foremost (sic) anything else.’

Another says, ‘... we tend to rely on what the Ministry is mandating, that’s the safest way’. So the power of the Ministry to “punish” districts with financial audits for not following policy, seems to play a role in the agency demonstrated by policy interpreters. There is also a difference in social relations that seems to play a role in agency and I address that next.

7.4.2. Social Relations

In BC, particularly in the relatively small world of K-12 Aboriginal education, policy producers and policy interpreters often have some social connection, and the degree of that connection, as well as the relative professional standing of those involved, can have significant impacts on the degree of local agency reported when reproducing policy. Those policy implementers who reported a strong personal connection to policy producers within the Ministry, tended to be relatively more senior and have more formal responsibility within their respective school districts. Through their personal contacts with policy producers, some more senior interpreters report that they are able to ‘...get clarification...’ and ‘... get the go ahead...’ on their interpretations of policy, even when they are not what was originally intended in the policy text. Interestingly, the policy interpreters who felt that there was generally good communication between the Ministry and school districts, were in fact those least socially connected to the policy producers. Those that felt there was good communication relied on what information they received from their school district superiors, rather than being in direct communication with the Ministry and its policy producers. Those that felt there was poor communication were much more likely to say that they would just phone a Ministry contact if they needed clarification on a policy objective, but that this was often necessary due to poor initial policy roll out and

communication. The difference in how communication is viewed seems to relate to how much agency interpreters demonstrate with those who feel there is good communication exhibiting relatively less agency. It should be noted that the one policy producer who felt that there is good communication between the Ministry and school districts is the person who was most often mentioned by the policy interpreters as the person they would contact for clarification. Beyond their reported feelings around communication, social connection does appear to play a role in agency around the interpretation of EA policy.

7.4.3. Institutions

The majority of policy producers and interpreters referred to the ‘good relationship’ between the individuals involved with EA policy production and interpretation and how they assumed good will ‘despite having to tow the company line...’ when considering the intent behind the EA policy and the efforts to implement the policy. The ‘company line’ comment is a clue as to the importance of institutions in the reproduction of BC’s EA policy as social relations appear to have little impact on policy producers’ and interpreters’ general view that the Ministry has the legitimate role of producing policy (see Figures 7-1 and 7-2) that they are required to see it implemented in some form.

Institutional authority plays a significant role in the reproduction of BC’s EA policy. The majority of policy producers and interpreters made reference to meeting together regularly to discuss Aboriginal education, but these meetings were seen as more related to their institutional roles rather than to social relations or basic policy communication. From the interviews it appears that the alignment of the policies/objectives evident in Figure 5-2 is largely due to the sharing of ideas that occur at these formal meetings, and the general acceptance of the EA policy as a legitimate process under which school districts can meet their local objectives around Aboriginal education.

7.4.4. Beliefs

While interview data related to discourse, power, social relations, material practices and institutions appears ultimately to reinforce the CDA findings of alignment between the

ideological assumptions underlying the six discourses (see Figures 7-1 and 7-2) which serve to sustain the existing power relationships around Aboriginal education, the interview data around beliefs (which encompass values and desires), offers a slightly different picture.

The coding process (see Appendices 6, 7 and 8) revealed three themes and several sub-themes (see Figure 5-1) common within policy producer and interpreter's transcripts. Looking in particular at the sub-themes, it is apparent that while policy producers and interpreters may use similar language to describe their understandings around Aboriginal education, including 'achievement', 'success' and 'equity', what they believe, value and desire are often very different.

Looking at the interview transcripts related to the use of the words achievement, success and equity, what becomes apparent is that overall, policy producers frame these terms from a western perspective in which Aboriginal students find academic success equal to that of their non-Aboriginal peers; whereas, many, but not all policy interpreters frame the same terms from the perspective of Aboriginal cultural knowledge being treated equitably and in balance with academic success. For example, one policy interpreter says,

'We're really working to find a balance... to provide support to students of Aboriginal ancestry, academic support and cultural enrichment... equally important...'

Another states, '...the number one goal is to increase every Aboriginal student's sense of belonging, cultural identity and self esteem'. As with other aspects of agency, there seems to be a relationship between the seniority and position with more senior and higher level interpreters making the strongest statements about the need for cultural equity and the less senior tending to focus more on equality of academic success.

In this section, I have considered the role of policy interpreter agency and found that while discourse and the other elements discursively linked to it, seem to play the major role in shaping the interpretation of BC's EA policy, there is a significant element of agency involved as well. In the next section, I set about to succinctly answer the two research questions.

7.5. Answers to the Research Questions

In this section, I return to the work of Fairclough (2015) to examine my two research questions through the lens of his CDA model and in particular the third stage of that model, explanation. Fairclough's explanation stage involves considering the same discourse and features of the discourse through the filter of three different levels of social organization: social determinants, ideologies and effects (see Figure 5-4).

7.5.1 Answering Research Question One

What are the discursive and social factors affecting and being affected through the production of BC's EA policy? To answer this question, I will consider social determinants, ideologies and effects in turn and will refer to Figure 7-1 which summarizes my explanation of BC's EA policy's production.

The social determinants of BC's EA policy production lie in the power relations uncovered at the situational, institutional and societal levels. The situational power relations of the EA policy's production are captured in the three policy production discourses: public policy making is a positive activity to support all people; schools have not done a good job in supporting Aboriginal students and require correction; and governments have given schools and communities the support they need to support Aboriginal students. These discourses can be seen to authoritatively frame the situation in which the EA policy was produced. Specifically that was a situation where the government of the day felt compelled to exercise its power to create legislation to address the issues that it perceived in the area of Aboriginal public education, particularly those related to a lack of Aboriginal academic achievement. The Ministry of Education has power over school districts and communities to set legislation around public education, including the power to produce Aboriginal education policy that is required to be implemented by school districts and accepted by those Aboriginal students and communities who choose to take part in the BC public school system. At the societal level, the production of the EA policy is grounded in the ruling provincial government's power to enact laws that are binding on all students and communities taking part in BC's public education system.

The elements of policy producer MR discursively drawn upon which have an ideological character are those grounded in the belief that government has the legitimate authority to govern and as such that this authority should be used to support all people, to correct schools and to hold schools and communities accountable.

Like the social determinants, the effects of the production of BC's EA policy are also situational, institutional and societal. EA policy production has created an authoritative policy discourse, rooted in relationship building for correction and accountability, that directs the relationship between the Ministry of Education, school districts and Aboriginal communities. This discourse is normative in terms of the policy producers' MR acting to sustain the current power relationships between the Ministry, school districts and Aboriginal communities.

7.5.2 Answering Research Question Two

What are the discursive and social factors affecting and being affected through school district's interpretation of BC's EA policy? As with research question one, I will consider social determinants, ideologies and effects in turn but will refer to Figure 7-2 which summarizes my explanation of BC's EA policy's interpretation and consider aspects of my discussion of policy interpreter agency to answer this question.

The situational power relations of the EA policy's interpretation are captured in three policy interpretation discourses: government policy requires results; is potentially a threat; and tells school districts what to do. These discourses frame the situation in which the EA policy moves from its site of production at the Ministry of Education to the 60 sites of interpretation in school districts. The institutionally embedded power relationship of EA policy interpretation is such that policy interpreters acknowledge and accept that the Ministry of Education has power over school districts and communities to set legislation around public education, including the power to produce Aboriginal education policy that is required to be implemented by school districts and accepted by those Aboriginal students and communities who choose to take part in the BC public school system. At the

societal level, the interpretation of the EA policy is grounded in the acceptance by school districts and Aboriginal communities of the Ministry's power over them, but this acceptance is seen to be mediated by the agency of some individual policy interpreters who exhibit creative policy discourse reproduction based on the influence of their MR.

The elements of policy interpreter MR discursively drawn upon which have an ideological character are those grounded in the belief that government has power over school districts to direct a particular agenda focused on academic achievement.

Like social determinants, the effects of the interpretation of BC's EA policy are also situational, institutional and societal. In reproducing the EA policy discourse, policy interpreters accept the authoritative policy discourse, rooted in relationship building for correction and accountability, that directs the relationship between the Ministry of Education, school districts and Aboriginal communities, but in some cases also resist those aspects of the discourse which place western educational value over traditional cultural understandings. Thus the interpretation of the EA policy discourse is both normative and creative in terms of policy interpreter MR and acts to both sustain and subvert the current power relationships between the Ministry, school districts and Aboriginal communities.

7.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I concluded my CDA of BC's EA policy texts as well as six interview transcripts with policy producers and 14 interview transcripts with policy interpreters in order to find data to address my research questions. The CDA was able to provide significant data by uncovering the historical and socially contextualized tensions and underlying ideological assumptions related to six distinct, but related discourses to find that in general, both the policy producers' and policy implementers' prior assumptions contained within their MR play a role in the EA policy acting as a tool to maintain the current social structures around Aboriginal education in BC. I concluded the chapter by first considering the role of the agency of policy actors in the interpretation of the EA policy before answering my two research questions.

In the next chapter, I place the study's findings back into the broader context of indigenous education and offer what I believe is a positive and realistic recommendation for implementing change in Aboriginal education policy in BC. I then discuss the contribution and limitations of the study before concluding with some thoughts on future direction for study.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

In this, the concluding chapter, I begin with a brief summary of the study. I then place the study's findings from Chapters 6 and 7, the international literature around indigenous education policy as reviewed in Chapter 2 and the history of Aboriginal policy making in Canada from Chapter 3 back into the broader context of indigenous education. Next I offer what I believe is a positive and realistic recommendation for implementing change in BC's Aboriginal education policy production and school district level interpretation. I then discuss the contributions and limitations of the study before concluding with some thoughts on future direction for study.

8.1. The Study Summarized

The Aboriginal peoples who live within the Canadian state have been subject to a succession of policy discourses based on evolving, but consistently liberal views of the nature of people, society and education. Beginning with colonization, continuing through the creation of Canada as a country and right up to the present day, Aboriginal peoples live under an imposed system of governance based in a culture other than their own. My desire to investigate how and why Aboriginal students in BC are less successful in their education was based on my assumption that having the "rules" for what is of value in education and how it should be measured determined by those of another culture may well lead to some difficulties for students from minority populations, including Aboriginal students. This assumption in turn led me to the policies that set the "rules" under which Aboriginal students attend school in BC and in particular the EA policy as the major provincial government policy tool specifically produced to increase the success of BC's Aboriginal students.

My CDA of BC's EA policy texts and the transcripts of interviews with provincial policy makers and school district level policy interpreters revealed that there are at least six distinct discourses at play, three in the production and three in the interpretation of BC's EA policy as it moves between the site of production at the Ministry of Education and the school district based sites of interpretation (see Table 8-1).

Table 8-1.
BC's EA Discourses

Discourse at Site of Production	Discourse at Sites of Interpretation
1) Public policy making is a positive activity to support all people.	1) Government policy requires results.
2) Schools have not done a good job in supporting Aboriginal students and require correction.	2) Government policy is a threat.
3) Governments have given schools and communities the support they need to support Aboriginal students.	3) Government policy tells school districts what to do.

Some of these discourses actually reinforce one another. For instance, the producer discourse that sees the government's legitimate authority to deal with schools as institutions needing correction and the interpreter discourse that sees policy as a legitimate and authoritative discourse for directing school districts. However, other examples show competing discourses. An example is the producer discourse which sees government policy making as a legitimate and positive support to all people as contrasted with the interpreter discourse of government policy as legitimate, but a threat.

This study takes the position that in policy production and interpretation the role of the individual needs to be considered along with the role of the institution. That said, a major focus of this study is a critical examination of the production and reproduction of policy discourses by educational institutions which, through orders of discourse, control, to a greater or lesser degree, what is "known" to be "true" about Aboriginal education policy in BC. The work of Gramsci, Bourdieu and Foucault around power, ideology, and discourse is critical to understanding the role of orders of discourse within the Ministry of Education and BC's school districts.

The CDA of BC's EA policy texts and interview transcripts clearly evidences a relationship in which the Ministry assumes power over school districts in the area of Aboriginal education both because of the authoritative discourse of legislation which states that they have this power (BC, 1996) and because of the discourse at the Ministry of Education that schools have not done a good job in supporting Aboriginal children and require correction. School districts share a discourse that government policy tells schools what to do. If these were the only two discourses uncovered in this study, then the

discursive relationship could perhaps be explained by Gramsci's ideological hegemony (1971), with school districts accepting the Ministry as the one with the knowledge and power and therefore setting about to implement policy based on what they are told to do. However, it is already clear from the study that there are other discourses happening within Aboriginal education and that school district policy implementers do not merely acquiesce to Ministry policy. Further, this study does not focus on classes of people, but rather on two institutions and as such, some of the notions of class differences from structural ideologies such as Gramsci's Marxism, may not be as applicable when dealing with institutions.

In a similar vein, the work of Bourdieu (1977) who sees language as 'an instrument of power' (p. 648) to maintain social structures through ideologies is also useful. I believe Bourdieu's (1991) formula '[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice' (p. 101) can be stretched to [(habitus) (capital)] + field = discourse in the institutional setting when the end product being considered is a policy text. In an institutional setting, the institutional habitus can be seen to be formed by pedagogical training which arises from and is reinforced by the orders of discourse under which the institution operates. Similarly, the institutionally valued capital(s) are arrived at discursively. The orders of discourse within an institution such as a Ministry or a school district, are based in a form of Bourdieu's (1984) doxa, 'adherence to relations of order' (p. 471) taken as self-evident and based in a false consciousness, or at least a institutionally developed/controlled consciousness, akin to a limited form of misrecognition.

Foucault's (1971) concept of institutional orders of discourse, that is discursive practices where the discourse, the historically constituted and repeatable practice, becomes the basis of a further practice or a series of practices which come to form a way of thinking about things and acting as an institution reinforces the notion of an adherence to understood relations of order, while providing a historical underpinning to how such orders come about. Like relations of order, under orders of discourse, discursive practices become embedded into discursive fields, in this case education, such that these discursive fields cannot exist outside of their constituting discourses which define their knowledge and practices. Foucault (1971) speaks to the role of institutions, including schools, as structures that mediate discourses by creating 'orders of discourse' (p. 7) as 'in every society the

production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures...’ (p. 8). In this study, BC’s six EA discourses are tied to the orders of discourse within the Ministry of Education and school districts that have developed through successive liberal policy making eras in Canadian history.

The six discourses evident in BC’s EA policy can be historically and socially contextualized within the three broad eras of Canadian Liberal Aboriginal policy making: classical liberalism, social justice liberalism and neo-liberalism. Within each of these eras, the fundamental view of government that it is the individual, rather than a group, who is the primary building block of society and therefore the primary focus of policy making, including Aboriginal education policy making, has remained a constant. While policy producers at the Ministry of Education and policy interpreters at the school district level may reproduce different discourses due to differences in setting, time and MR, there is evidently a similarity in their common sense assumptions about Aboriginal education. The CDA undertaken in Chapters 6 and 7 uncovered the common ideological assumption between policy producers and interpreters that government has the legitimate authority to govern. As stated previously, this is not an unexpected finding as both the policy producers and the policy interpreters are employees within the BC public school system, albeit in different roles and locations. The effects from the reproduction of discourses are obviously impacted by more than ideological assumptions as the six different discourses evident in the EA policy attest. Reproduction is affected by the situational and the structural context in which it occurs. As such, despite a common ideological assumption, those in the Ministry and those in school districts reproduced discourses which are more different than the same. However, the shared ideological assumption of government authority to rule means that the six EA discourses, while certainly highlighting major differences in the MR, situations and settings of those producing and interpreting the EA policy, ultimately all reinforce their ideological base of government as legitimate in its governing role. The processes involved in EA policy production and interpretation within the broad social conditions and specific institutional settings may combine to sustain the current power relationships within Aboriginal education in BC; however, in some cases the agency of policy interpreters does allow them to resist the aspects of the policy discourse which place western educational value over traditional cultural understandings. Thus, the production

and interpretation of BC's EA policy discourse is both normative and creative and acts to both sustain and subvert the current power relationships between the Ministry, school districts and Aboriginal communities.

Beginning with the classical liberal discourses supporting Residential Schools designed to assimilate and indoctrinate Aboriginal children into the dominant settler culture, continuing with the social justice liberal discourses, represented in the White Paper, calling for a society of equality, but not equity, up to the present day neoliberal discourses, represented by Bill-34, calling for individual choice in education, but with that choice being controlled by those in power to meet the needs of the market driven economy, the history of Canadian and BC government education policy discourses is one based in a liberal view of society. The fundamental belief in the individual as the building block of society has remained consistent over the past two hundred years. So while educational policies come and go, governments, both federal and provincial, consistently demonstrate one-eyed seeing through a liberal lens.

In BC, the consistent application of liberal policy perspective can be seen clearly in the discourses underlying the production of the province's EA policy and is often reinforced by the ideological assumptions of those interpreting the policy at the school district level. The Aboriginal peoples living within Canada have consistently sought to have their views of how to structure society incorporated into education policy. The notion of two-eyed seeing and being able to walk in two worlds, reflect the practical approach of many Aboriginal policy critics as they seek to balance the inevitability of a non-Aboriginal majority with the needs of an Aboriginal minority. Beginning with Aboriginal control over Aboriginal education as called for in the Red Paper and continuing through to the present day legal challenges to Canada's Aboriginal education system, over the past 50 years, Aboriginal peoples have consistently put forth discourses in opposition to the liberal discourses of the state. However, these challenges clearly operate within the bounds of Kymlicka's constraint (Turner, 2006), that is, the challenges must still be acceptable to the majority society or they will not be considered by those, be they judges, politicians, or others, who hold the power to enact or quash them. The production and interpretation of BC's EA policy clearly reflects Kymlicka's constraint. The policy allows for recognition of the minority rights of Aboriginal peoples to engage with their local school district to

develop programs that support Aboriginal students. However, that recognition is within the bounds imposed by the Ministry of Education and set down in the EA policy text.

Programs developed under the EA policy must be acceptable within the legal framework laid out by the BC School Act; the school district must agree to the programs; and the results of the program must be measurable in a way that is acceptable to the Ministry. The illusion of a true partnership, with all parties, Ministry, school district and community, having equal power blunts potential counter discourses which may question the authority of the Ministry and school districts to have the right to dictate the conditions under which the policy operates. Just as the four previous research studies of BC's EA policy take the policy as a given and focus on its implementation, this study demonstrates that the competing discourses arising from and influencing the production and interpretation of BC's EA policy focus on how best to implement it, not whether or not the policy itself is just.

The Canadian Constitution is structured such that the federal government is responsible for Aboriginal peoples and their lands and each province and territory is responsible for the education of its young people. This constitutional structure has led to two broad education systems for Aboriginal children in Canada: a system of federally funded band schools on reserves and a provincially funded public education system for all students not living on reserves¹. Each has a different mandate, the federal system to allow for a limited system of Aboriginal control of Aboriginal education within a devolved accountability framework and the provincial systems to educate all students to meet the needs of a market driven economy. In BC's public system, the responsibility for Aboriginal education policy lies with the Aboriginal branch of the Ministry of Education. However, the Ministry also practices a form of devolved responsibility and accountability through its structuring and measurement of Aboriginal achievement at the school district level. This is clearly seen in the statement by then BC Deputy Minister of Education Dave Byng, 'we have the tools...to compel school districts to make changes if they haven't on their own to achieve the results they need to' (British Columbia, 2016, p. 840). While both systems speak of supporting Aboriginal peoples to make the decisions for their children, the reality of the

¹ In reality, Canada and its provinces have many school systems including a publicly funded Catholic system, publicly and privately funded schools and school systems, public schools on reserves and so on.

need to walk in two worlds when all the major structures are designed from the majority perspective and those deciding policy have the ideological assumptions inherent in the majority perspective, the result is a continuation, a reproduction through the interaction of discourse with member resources (MR), of the social structures which favour those in power.

8.2. The Study in the Broader Context of Indigenous Education

The reproduction of the majority perspective in state policy discourses, as uncovered in this study, is mirrored throughout the international literature on indigenous education. While education is seen as a key to alleviating the disparities between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples (TRC, 2015a; Paquette, Fallon & Managan, 2013; Nguyen, 2011; Paquette & Fallon, 2010), the majority of policy initiatives are targeted at the achievement gap, a measure that reflects western world values (OECD, 2017; Jacob, Liu & Lee, 2015; United Nations, 2008; Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Iverson, Patton and Sanders, 2000). The development of traditional language and cultural values of indigenous peoples are, in many cases, still seen as nice extras, but not central to the “real” work of indigenous education policy (Jacob et. al, 2015; Paquette & Fallon, 2010). Kowal’s (2008) view on the propensity to remedialism in indigenous education policy making, that is the application of western liberal views to help indigenous people to be successful by western standards, shows up time and again throughout government policies across a wide variety of countries (see Chapter 2 for the policies of Canada, Australia, the United States and New Zealand for examples). Kowal (2008) first identifies liberal discourse as the dominant factor in most indigenous education policy and then questions the relevance of western values measures, such as housing, education, employment and health, in measuring indigenous outcomes. She argues that the very act of imposing liberal western education standards as the “right” measures of success, presupposes the inherent superiority of those standards and is based in colonial discourses and the power relations as historically established by the same discourses.

Of course, not all policies are the same, nor are they based entirely on the same discourses, the same societal conditions, nor the same desired outcomes. Beyond closing the achievement gap, governments have a variety of other goals for indigenous education

policy including building the economy, promoting citizenship, protecting minority rights and settling legal challenges to their authority. Just as BC's EA policy seeks to balance aspects of two-eyed seeing and walking in two worlds, so too do many other indigenous education policies; however, like BC's EA policy, the prevalence of discourses based on the view of the majority society means that on balance, the majority of policy still focuses on promoting the western world view rather than fully balancing between both worlds in which indigenous students are required to walk.

8.3. A Recommendation

One of the key elements of critical discourse analysis (cda) is its focus on not just identifying issues related to social inequity and oppression through power, but on offering a positive way forward for the oppressed. In this study of BC's EA policy, the structures of Canadian society, the structures of the BC education system and the discourses that created and arise from these all impact on the ideological assumptions of both policy producers and policy interpreters. As these discourses are reproduced through the producers' and interpreters' MR, they reinforce the current structures that exist in education in BC. The current structures do allow for limited Aboriginal community input into the education of their children, but certainly not the control of education that was called for in the Red Paper and advocated by the United Nations *Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People* (2008).

If the goal of Aboriginal education is to maintain the current focus on government dictated outcomes, then the EA policy should be effective. However, if the goal is to bring about a change, and here I advocate that this is desirable, then the discourses and ideological assumptions underlying the EA policy and any subsequent BC Aboriginal education policies need to be continually uncovered (as I have started to do in this study) and addressed. One way to do this is to provide policy producers and interpreters with the tools to understand and address their own underlying ideological assumptions as well as the discourses they reproduce in order to create in each of them a self-awareness such as that required of any cda analyst. If this is not practical, and based on the amount of time required to get myself trained to undertake this relatively small CDA I suspect it is not, then a solid alternative, and one which I recommend, lies in creating a small group of cda

analysts to review provincial Aboriginal education policy and to work with the policy producers and interpreters to build their cda literacy through focused, school district based work to surface the discourses and assumptions underlying policies during their production and again during their interpretation. Given the very few Aboriginal education policies currently active or contemplated in BC, this seems to me a reasonable recommendation and would in many ways reflect the same level of staffing and resource commitment that the Ministry put into supporting EA agreements prior to stepping out of that support role in 2016. The only major difference would be a specific cda literacy focus for the Ministry support. Developing this structure would be one positive step towards empowering Aboriginal education policy producers and interpreters to recognize the discourses which limit change to Aboriginal education in BC.

8.4. The Contribution and Limitations of the Study

This study is the first CDA of BC's EA policy and as such has value as an initial attempt at uncovering the underlying ideological assumptions of those producing and interpreting the policy at the Ministry of Education and in school districts, respectively. The study does demonstrate that it is possible, through careful examination of text and research into the existing discourses and structures of power within a society, to uncover clues to some of the ideological assumptions upon which policy is built and implemented, despite those assumptions being invisible to direct observation as they are entirely contained within the MR of the policy producer or interpreter. That said, the study faces some major limitations. The study is limited to just one group of policy producers and one group of policy interpreters. Further, the study is limited to just those members of the two groups who chose to participate in the interviews. There are many other Aboriginal policy producers and interpreters in BC (see Table 7-3) and their discourses and counter discourses, based in the ideological assumptions contained in their MR also have an impact on the reproduction of discourses which was not captured in this study. Finally, the ideological assumptions contained in my own MR, as they colour my work as the CDA analyst in this study, create their own limitations to the study. While the necessary filter of my own MR does not negate or make trivial the findings of this study, it does need to be considered as a limiting factor in how the findings are applied as another analyst would

almost invariably come up with different findings at the interpretation stage of a CDA using the same methodology, texts and interview transcripts as I used in this study.

8.5. Future Directions for Study

This study focused on the very specific topic of BC's EA policy and the impacts of policy producer and policy interpreter ideological assumptions in the reproduction of the discourses related to the policy. As mentioned above, there are 12 organizations representing groups who are involved in some way with BC's EA policy development and/or interpretation and it could be valuable to undertake a network analysis of these and other Aboriginal education stakeholders. Certainly there is room for future cdas (including CDAs) of BC's EA policy using any combination of these organizations and their members. However, as mentioned on the EA policy website (BC Ministry of Education, 2017a), the province has recently moved away from directly supporting school districts and communities in their EA work together. Rather, the province is now piloting a new Aboriginal policy focus called Equity Scans. While these scans and the details of such are not yet settled, once the policy texts that will be needed to communicate what is involved in an equity scan are available, they will open the possibility for any number of cdas to examine the discourses framing them and the underlying ideological assumptions of the policy producers or interpreters or both. Further, I believe that my recommendation for a group of dedicated cda analysts to review the new policy texts and to work with the policy producers and interpreters to build their cda literacy remains applicable despite, or perhaps more accurately, because of the move towards a new Aboriginal education policy focus in the province.

8.6. Conclusion

I entered into this research because I wanted to understand why the school system seems to be able to take capable young Aboriginal people and render them incapable. My observations told me that it was something to do with how we structure our school system to remove the traditional structures that our Aboriginal students have grown up with and which seem to help them to function; this study has confirmed one small piece of my broad

observations. I found that overall, BC's EA policy is a tool for maintaining the education system as it exists today; however, I do not want to end this study on a negative note and so, I will instead end with the good news related to the EA policy. On the surface, the EA policy encourages and creates mechanisms for school districts and Aboriginal communities to come together to address the needs of Aboriginal students and this cooperative work appears to be helping Aboriginal students to see with two eyes and walk in both worlds. Further, the work of some policy interpreters to seek equity for Aboriginal cultural approaches despite the normative discourses of BC's EA policy offers more opportunities for Aboriginal students. Under the years of the EA policy, BC's Aboriginal school completion rate increased from 39 percent in 2000 to 69 percent in 2018² (BC Ministry of Education, 2019) and this is by far the best in Canada. I just hope that educators and researchers continue to examine the assumptions underlying BC's current and future Aboriginal education policies so that the supportive work realized by EAs is not swallowed up by the ideological assumptions underpinning the EA policy such that we wind up with evidence of success, such as graduation rates, that reflect not Aboriginal student success at walking in two worlds, but rather success at being assimilated into one.

² The date range 2000 – 2018 covers the available data provided by the BC Ministry of Education. It should be noted that Ministry website states that the data from 2000 is an estimate.

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APPENDIX 1



Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreements

For over 15 years, the Ministry of Education has supported the development and implementation of Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreements (EAs) as a primary tool to increase student success and to bring Aboriginal learning to all students. This tool is well established as a way to include Aboriginal people in decision-making and focus on measurable student outcomes. Commencing in the fall of 2016, the Ministry will no longer be involved in the development of EAs, believing that school districts and Aboriginal communities understand their value and no longer need Ministry support. The Ministry will maintain a [list of the most current Enhancement Agreements](#). For older EAs and annual reports, please go to each school district's website to find these agreement(s) or contact the relevant [Aboriginal school district contact](#).

An EA is a working agreement between a school district, all local Aboriginal communities, and the Ministry of Education designed to enhance the educational achievement of Aboriginal students. The EA establishes a collaborative partnership between Aboriginal communities and school districts that involves shared decision-making and specific goal setting to meet the educational needs of Aboriginal students.

- [Enhancement Agreement brochure \(PDF\)](#)
- [School districts that have an Enhancement Agreement](#)

EAs highlight the importance of academic performance and more importantly, stress the integral nature of Aboriginal traditional culture and languages to Aboriginal student development and success. Fundamental to EAs is the requirement that school districts provide strong programs on the culture of local Aboriginal peoples on whose traditional territories the districts are located.

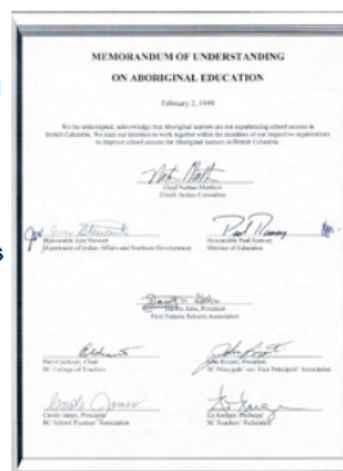
Enhancement Agreements

- are intended to continually improve the quality of education achieved by all Aboriginal students;
- support strong cooperative, collaborative relationships between Aboriginal communities and school districts;
- provide Aboriginal communities and districts greater autonomy to find solutions that work for Aboriginal students, the schools and the communities; and
- require a high level of respect and trust to function.

Background

Historically, British Columbia schools have not been successful in ensuring that Aboriginal students receive a quality education, one that allows these students to succeed in the larger provincial economy while maintaining ties to their culture. Growing recognition of this problem led to the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding in 1999:

"We the undersigned, acknowledge that Aboriginal learners are not experiencing school success in British Columbia. We state our intention to work together within the mandates of our respective organizations to improve school success for Aboriginal learners in British Columbia."



Memorandum signatories include:

- The Chiefs Action Committee
- The provincial Minister of Education
- The federal Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs
- The President of the BC Teachers Federation

The Memorandum of Understanding led to a framework for the creation of Enhancement Agreements. Through these agreements, new relationships and commitments were made to improve the educational success of Aboriginal students.

First Nations Organizations

Access support for the development and improvement of high-quality, culturally appropriate education for First Nations students.

- [First Nations School Association \(FNSEA\)](#)
- [First Nations Education Steering Committee \(FNESC\)](#)

Related Links

- [Aboriginal education teaching tools](#)
- [Curriculum](#)
- [Assessment](#)
- [Professional development](#)

Contact Information

If you would like more information, please contact [school district Aboriginal education programs](#) or the Aboriginal Education team at the Ministry of Education.

Office:

[250-356-1891](tel:250-356-1891)

Mailing:

PO Box 9887 Stn Prov Govt Victoria, B.C. V8W 9T6

Email:

EDUC.AboriginalEducation@gov.bc.ca

APPENDIX 2



What are Enhancement Agreements?

An EA is a commitment made by each school district, involving all local Aboriginal communities and the Ministry of Education, to work together to improve the success of all Aboriginal students. The agreements are based on mutual respect and trust and represent a five-year vision of success for First Nations, Métis and Inuit students in each school district.

How do they help Aboriginal students?

Agreements are developed locally by each school district and its Aboriginal communities. The goals focus on student success, and agreements are designed to highlight the importance of academic performance as well as other areas of success important to Aboriginal communities.

What role do they play in the recognition of Aboriginal culture?

Enhancement agreements establish programs that reflect the culture of local Aboriginal people and increase knowledge and respect for that culture among all students and staff. Agreements emphasize the integral nature of traditional culture, language and history to Aboriginal student development and success.

Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreements

What is Aboriginal student success?

Success is identified through community engagement, and is reflected in the EA goals. It is holistic, encompassing the academic as well as mental, physical, emotional and spiritual well-being of each student.

Which students are included in the Enhancement Agreement?

All First Nations, Métis and Inuit students in the participating school district are included. But the agreements reach beyond Aboriginal students to increase knowledge and respect for Aboriginal culture, language and history among all students.

Who has input and how do they participate?

All Aboriginal communities represented in the student population work together with the school district to develop and implement the agreement. The EA is a collaborative process based on open and meaningful dialogue. An Aboriginal Education Committee is set up in each school district, and the committee works to ensure that all Aboriginal communities are involved in the process. The Aboriginal Education Enhancements Branch works closely with the communities to assist in developing their EA.

How are goals set?

Decision making is based on the principle of collaboration and partnership. Goals are developed jointly between the school district and its Aboriginal communities. Decisions are reached locally to provide greater autonomy and goals that meet local needs.

How is consensus reached?

Community engagement respects the voice of all Aboriginal participants. Through continuous dialogue, all Aboriginal communities develop a shared ownership of the agreement.

Who participates in implementing the Enhancement Agreement?

Each school district's Aboriginal Education Committee works to ensure that all local Aboriginal communities are engaged in the process. School districts are responsible for ensuring the continued involvement of the communities in implementing the agreement.

How long do the agreements last?

The agreements are developed for a five-year period. Strategies are assessed frequently during the term of the agreement to determine their effectiveness. As the end of the five year period approaches, districts and communities develop a new EA by re-engaging and undertaking a full review of goals and student needs.

How is success measured?

Assessment is continuous and includes all forms of information and input. District, school and ministry data, as well as information from community surveys and other forms of assessments play an essential role in helping to determine goals and track progress.



What are the benchmarks for progress?

Enhancement Agreements provide goals, indicators and targets. Goals are the outcome of community input and dialogue. They provide the direction needed to improve the success of Aboriginal students. They must be measurable and focus on student outcomes. The indicators identify student progress for each goal and provide specific data so that progress can be tracked. Targets are determined from baseline data. They are assessed annually to determine whether they are realistic and attainable.

What are the strategies and can they be changed?

Strategies are actions which focus resources to support the goals of the agreement. They are assessed frequently to determine their effectiveness. They are adjusted as needed.

How often are results reported on?

An Enhancement Agreement report is produced annually. The annual report helps to communicate student progress in each goal area. Performance data over time, goals and indicators, as well as strategies and targets are included in the report.



"British Columbia is committed to working with First Nations to ensure that Aboriginal students have the same opportunities and achievements as non-Aboriginal students."

Premier Gordon Campbell

"We fully expect that agreements like these are going to result in higher levels of achievement and more success for First Nations learners across the province."

**Nathan Matthew,
First Nations Education
Steering Committee**

"The agreement is a guide, designed to help all of our children be the best people they can possibly be, academically, spiritually and physically."

**Lorraine Richard,
Métis, Ojibway, Aboriginal
Parent Focus Group, SD #43**

Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreements



Contact the **Aboriginal Education Enhancements Branch** for more details.
EDUC.AboriginalEducation@gov.bc.ca
www.bced.gov.bc.ca/abed
 Tel: 250 356-1891 Fax: 250 356-1742



Ministry of
Education



APPENDIX 3

Face-to Face Semi-Structured Interviews – Provincial Aboriginal Education Policy Developers

Although the interviews will be semi-structured to allow the interviewer to follow up on participant statements and respond to participant questions, all will involve the four key themes listed below:

1) Participant's Role

- How are you involved in British Columbia's (BC's) Aboriginal education policy development?
- Who do you work for?
- What is the mandate of your organization?
- Why is your organization involved in policy development?
- Who do you interact with in developing policy? Who within your organization and who outside of it? Which interactions are formal and which are informal?

2) Participant's Views on Policy Objective Formation

- What are BC's Aboriginal education policy objectives?
- Why these objectives?
- What are your organization's current Aboriginal education policy objectives? Are these reflected in provincial policy? Why or why not?
- Are some objectives more critical than others? Are some more easily obtained than others? Why?
- What policy development challenges do you have inside and outside your organization?

3) Participant's Views on Policy Objective Communication

- How are provincial policy objectives communicated to school districts and others? Do you feel the communication is effective? Why/why not?
- What evidence do you have of effective/ineffective communication?
- What would make communication more effective?

4) Participant's Views on Policy Uptake

- Do you see BC's Aboriginal education policy objectives being implemented at the school district level?
- What evidence do you have that they are/are not being implemented?
- Why do you think they are/are not being implemented?
- What issues do you see with school district level implementation?
- What do you feel would help with implementation?

Face-to Face Semi-Structured Interviews – School District Aboriginal Education Policy Interpreters

Although the interviews will be semi-structured to allow the interviewer to follow up on participant statements and respond to participant questions, all will involve the four key themes listed below:

1) Participant's Role

- How are you involved in Aboriginal education?
- Who do you work for?
- What is your role within your school district? How did you get that role?
- What challenges do you face in your role?

2) Participant's Views on Provincial Policy Objectives

- What are BC's Aboriginal education policy objectives?
- How do you receive information on provincial Aboriginal education policy objectives?
- Where/who does the information come from? Are you able to ask questions or seek clarity on policy objectives?
- Are there formal and informal methods of communication around provincial policy objectives?
- What issues do you have with provincial Aboriginal education policy objectives?

3) Participant's Views on Local Policy Objectives

- What are your current local Aboriginal education policy objectives? Why these objectives?
- Are some objectives more critical than others? Are some more easily obtained than others? Why?

4) Participant's Views on Alignment of Policy Objectives

- Are your local objectives reflected in provincial policy? Is provincial policy reflected in your local policy? Why or why not?
- Do you see BC's Aboriginal education policy objectives being implemented in your school district? What evidence do you have that they are/are not being implemented? Why do you think they are/are not being implemented?
- What would make things easier/clearer?

APPENDIX 4

College of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee



College of Social
Sciences

Participant Information Sheet

British Columbia's Aboriginal Education Policy Objectives: Provincial Development and Local Interpretation

Name of Researcher: Lawrence Tarasoff

Supervisors: Professor Michele Schweisfurth and Dr. Oscar Valiente

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

Details of the Study:

The purpose of this study is to examine the development of Aboriginal education policy objectives in British Columbia (BC) at the provincial level and the interpretation of those policy objectives at the school district level. This research will be significant at both the Ministry of Education and school district levels for policy developers and interpreters, respectively. My research will include an analysis of publicly available documents related to BC's Aboriginal education policy objectives as well as a series of interviews of about one hour with policy developers and policy interpreters.

Your participation is voluntary and will be to participate in an interview lasting about one hour.

All participants' names will be replaced with pseudonyms to protect their privacy. The interview will be audio-recorded, transcribed verbatim and then immediately destroyed. Transcripts will be stored in a locked cabinet in my home office and destroyed ten years after the conclusion of the study, June 30, 2028.

Please note that confidentiality will be maintained as far as it possible, unless during our conversation I hear anything which makes me worried that someone might be in danger of harm. Further, please note that confidentiality may not be guaranteed; due to the limited size of the participant sample or the particular role of a person being interviewed.

Data Use:

The data collected will be used to examine the relationship between BC's Aboriginal education policy objectives as developed at the provincial level and as interpreted at the school district level.

This project has been considered and approved by the College Research Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns, please contact [Dr Muir Houston at \[Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk\]\(mailto:Dr.Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk\)](mailto:Dr.Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk)

APPENDIX 5

College of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee



College of Social
Sciences

Consent Form

Title of Project: British Columbia's Aboriginal Education Policy Objectives: Provincial Development and Local Interpretation

Name of Researcher: Lawrence Tarasoff

Supervisors: Professor Michele Schweisfurth and Dr. Oscar Valiente

Please read each statement below and check the corresponding box to indicate your understanding/consent:

I confirm that I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

I consent to interviews being audio-recorded.

I acknowledge that participants will be referred to by pseudonym.

I understand that the data collected from this research project will be treated as confidential and kept in secure storage at all times with my personal details removed as set out in the Participant Information Sheet.

I agree to take part in this research study

I do not agree to take part in this research study

Name of Participant

Signature

Date

Name of Researcher Lawrence Tarasoff

Signature

Date

APPENDIX 6

Policy Interpreters' Views on Local and Provincial Objectives with Themes

Policy Interpreter (PI)	Local Objective(s)	Theme	Provincial Objective(s)	Theme
PI 1	'... increasing students' sense of belonging for indigenous students.'	Two-eyed seeing	'...student success... and close the gap...'	Academic success
	'... increasing the ...awareness of all students and staff about the local history and culture...'	Indigenous language and culture	'... increasing the knowledge and understanding of First Nations ... or Aboriginal history and culture.'	Indigenous language and culture
PI 2	'...all Aboriginal students learn about and value their identity within the larger society.'	Two-eyed seeing	'...similar to what we have as our goals...'	Two-eyed seeing
	'Educational achievement outcomes ... equivalent to their counterparts...'	Academic success	'...similar to what we have as our goals...'	Academic success
PI 3	'... from a social-emotional standpoint... connectedness and connectivity ...'	Two-eyed seeing	'... increase the success of Aboriginal learners...'	Academic success
	'The academic piece with regards to preparation...working with interventions...'	Academic success	'...[do] things that reflect Aboriginal culture...'	Indigenous language and culture
PI 4	'... language and culture opportunities...'	Indigenous language and culture	'... equity...'	Equity
	'... community engagement...'	Community engagement	'... graduation rates...'	Academic success
	'... successful transitions...'	Two-eyed seeing	'...life opportunities for the students...'	Two-eyed seeing
	'...improving graduation rates...'	Academic success		
	'...literacy and numeracy...'	Academic success		

PI 5	'... increase the number of Aboriginal role models in schools...'	Equity	'... integrating and supporting our...Aboriginal learners...'	Two-eyed seeing
	'... improve the academic achievement of our Aboriginal students...'	Academic success	'... being culturally responsive and inclusive...'	Indigenous language and culture
	'... increase family engagement in student learning.'	Community engagement	'... graduation...'	Academic success
PI 6	'... supporting teachers and schools with the curriculum...'	Supporting educators	'... improved student success for Aboriginal students...'	Academic success
	'... academic support...'	Academic success	'... transition them into whatever come the [sic] next.'	Two-eyed seeing
	'... cultural enrichment...'	Indigenous language and culture	'... districts are more accountable and responsible on the whole...'	Accountability
	'...supporting the language program...'	Indigenous language and culture		
PI 7	'... increase... Aboriginal student's sense of belonging, cultural identity and self esteem.'	Two-eyed seeing	'... measurable student success.'	Academic success
	'... increase academic success...'	Academic success		
	'... increase awareness of [Aboriginal] ...traditions and culture...'	Indigenous language and culture		
	'... increase Aboriginal student...leadership...'	Two-eyed seeing		
PI 8	'... employment equity...'	Equity	'The province is very weak and silent on what its Aboriginal education policy is.'	
	'... equity of opportunity... '	Equity		
	'...eliminate the gap...'	Academic success		

	'...language and culture programs...'	Indigenous language and culture		
	'... early success...'	Academic success		
PI 9	'... achievement... completion rate'	Academic success	'... improve success...'	Academic success
	'... language and cultural learning...'	Indigenous language and culture	'... rules to access funding.'	Accountability
	'... partnering with community...'	Community engagement		
	'... better curriculum resources...'	Supporting educators		
PI 10	'... improving academic success.'	Academic success	'... increasing graduation rates...'	Academic success
	'... language and culture integrated into curriculum...'	Indigenous language and culture		
	'...community engagement...'	Community engagement		
PI 11	'...increasing a sense of belonging in our schools...'	Two-eyed seeing	'Not sure of the provincial goals...'	
	'... increased success...'	Academic success		
PI 12	'... close the gap...'	Academic success	'... increased results for Aboriginal students.'	Academic success
	'... increase all students' understanding of Aboriginal culture.'	Indigenous language and culture		
	'... more Aboriginal teachers...'	Equity		
PI 13	'... making our schools and classrooms more inclusive...'	Equity	'Increasing Aboriginal graduation rates...'	Academic success
	'... success for all students...'	Academic success	'... [schools] having... accountability for student success...'	Academic success
	'... more cultural understanding [for]... all students...'	Indigenous language and culture		

PI 14	'Increasing achievement for our Aboriginal students.'	Academic success	'...increased grad rates for Aboriginal students.'	Academic success
	'Increasing the number of language and culture programs throughout the district.'	Indigenous language and culture		

APPENDIX 7

Policy Producer Objectives and Themes

Policy Producer (PP)	Policy Objective(s)	Theme
PP 1	'... equity...'	Equity
	'Closing the gap...'	Academic success
	'... providing language and culture.'	Indigenous language and culture
	'...the educated citizen...'	Two-eyed seeing
PP 2	'... improving successful students...'	Academic success
	'... supporting all students learning about Aboriginal peoples...'	Indigenous language and culture
	'... helping teachers... to bring Aboriginal knowledge into their teaching practices.'	Supporting educators
PP 3	'Aboriginal student success...'	Academic success
	'... close the gap...'	Academic success
	'... an even playing field...'	Equity
	'... social justice...'	Equity
PP 4	'...infusing culture into the curriculum...'	Indigenous language and culture
	'... academic achievement...'	Academic success
PP 5	'... capable young people thriving in a rapidly changing world.'	Two-eyed seeing
	'...student success not [sic] matter who they are...'	Equity
	'...equal opportunities.'	Equity
PP 6	'... closing the gap...'	Academic success
	'... language and culture in the curriculum.'	Indigenous language and culture

APPENDIX 8

Policy Interpreter and Producer Objective Themes Summary

Themes	Policy Interpreter Local Theme Count	Policy Interpreter Provincial Theme Count	Policy Producer Theme Count
Academic Success	15	13	6
Indigenous Language and Culture	11	3	4
Two-eyed Seeing	7	4	2
Equity	5	1	5
Community Engagement	4	0	0
Supporting Educators	2	0	1
Accountability	0	2	0

APPENDIX 9

Policy Interpreters and Producers on Communication of Provincial Policy

Objectives

Policy Interpreter (PI)	Communication Comment(s)	Communication	Policy Producer (PP)	Communication Comment(s)	Communication
PI 1	'... you have to do your own research...'	Low	PP 1	'... I don't communicate. That's up to the director...'	Low
	'... don't feel connected...'	Low	PP 2	'I think we could do a better job of communicating to the field...'	Low
PI 2	'... not from the Ministry per se.'	Low	PP 3	'I think the message is pretty clear...'	High
PI 3	'... filtered to me through my superintendent.'	High	PP 4	'I think it could be improved.'	Low
PI 4	'... it's pretty informal in my experience.'	Low	PP 5	'We struggle with communication to districts...'	Low
PI 5	'... not been very successful.'	Low	PP 6	'Communication is a tough one.'	Low
PI 6	'I feel really out of the loop with what's going on with the Ministry.'	Low			
PI 7	'... follow policy statements... ask if I can't find it.'	Low			
PI 8	'The province is weak on communicating its objectives.'	Low			

PI 9	'I would go and seek it out myself.'	Low			
PI 10	'... not sure usually...'	Low			
PI 11	'I do feel a bit disconnected from the Ministry.'	Low			
PI 12	'... I just get the information my super passes on...'	High			
PI 13	'... usually have to ask someone from our Circle.'	Low			
PI 14	'... it's OK. Usually I just call...'	High			

APPENDIX 10

Policy Interpreters and Producers on Alignment of Provincial and Local Objectives

Policy Interpreter (PI)	Alignment Comment(s)	Alignment	Policy Producer (PP)	Alignment Comment(s)	Alignment
PI 1	'... the student success piece, I think that aligns.'	Aligned	PP 1	'We don't really align.'	Unaligned
	'... more focus on local... reluctant to pull in provincial piece...'	Unaligned	PP 2	'We align on the big stuff...'	Aligned
PI 2	'No...we were ahead of the game...'	Unaligned	PP 3	'...in many cases...'	Aligned
PI 3	'Yes, in regards to success for all learners...'	Aligned	PP 4	'...it's a matter of do you have someone in the district taking ownership...'	Unaligned
	'... use the formal structures of EAs...'	Aligned	PP 5	'...broadly, yes.'	Aligned
PI 4	'... its almost like the Ministry is caught up now to what we do...'	Aligned	PP 6	'...not all the time, but certainly a lot of the time...'	Aligned
PI 5	'Yup, ...like the First Peoples' Principles...'	Aligned			
PI 6	'I can't think of anything specific in terms of implementation right now.'	Unaligned			
PI 7	'... we definitely use the How are we Doing document, that helps guide us...'	Aligned			
PI 8	'The province is weak on	Unaligned			

	communicating its objectives.'				
PI 9	'... at a very big and broad level...'	Aligned			
PI 10	'Yes, the EAs help...'	Aligned			
PI 11	'... hard to say...'	Unaligned			
PI 12	'Yes on success and language for sure.'	Aligned			
PI 13	'...we just focus on our local community...'	Unaligned			
PI 14	'... absolutely...'	Aligned			

APPENDIX 11

The oral-written dichotomy (Horowitz and Samuels, 1987)

Oral language	Written language
Talk	Text
Face to face conversation with reciprocity between speaker and listener	Face to text with limited reciprocity between author and reader
Narrative-like	Expository-like
Action-oriented	Idea-oriented
Event-oriented	Argument-oriented
Story-oriented	Explanatory
Here and now	Future and past
In given space and time	Not space – or time – bound
Informal	Formal
Primary discourse	Secondary discourse
Natural communication	Artificial communication
Interpersonal	Objective and distanced
Spontaneous	Planned
Sharing of context (situational)	No common context
Ellipsis	Explicitness in text consciousness
Structureless	Highly structured
Cohesion through paralinguistic cues	Cohesion through lexical cues
Single predication	Multiple prediction
Repetition	Succinctness
Simple linear structures	Complex hierarchical structures
Paratactic patterns	Hypotactic patterns
Right branching with limited subordination	Left branching with multiple levels of subordination
Fleeting	Permanent
Unconscious	Conscious and restructured