TAY02215

Critical Discourse Analysis in education policy research - to what ends?

Sandra Taylor

Queensland University of Technology

Introduction

Allan Luke (2002) has argued that 'new times' have created theoretical and empirical challenges for CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) (See also Luke, 1997a). Luke argues that in these new conditions - characterised by new textual formations, new configurations of discourse and new forms of identity - CDA research is likely to require 'new, hybrid blends of analytic techniques and social theories' (p. 98). He suggests that it is important for CDA 'to move beyond a focus on ideology critique and to document "other" forms of text and discourse ... that may mark the productive use of power in the face of economic and cultural globalisation' (p. 98). He continues: 'If CDA is avowedly normative and explicitly *political*, then it must have the courage to say what is to be done with texts and discourse' (p. 12, my emphasis).

This reflects questions about the purpose of undertaking CDA based research; questions previously raised by Luke, for example, in his analysis of John Howard's speech about the Stolen Generations (1997b). More specifically in this context, Luke refers to the relationship between public speech and material effects as 'a relationship that is central to any political analysis of education but at the same time is proving increasingly slippery and elusive to many researchers in the field' (1997b, p. 345).

This paper takes up these issues raised by Luke in relation to the use of CDA in critical policy research in education. Examples are drawn from current research on Education Queensland's new policy directions. More specifically the paper aims to:

- o discuss the value of CDA in investigating policy processes and change in 'new times'; and
- o suggest how such research might be used to further social democratic goals.

Using CDA in critical policy analysis

There are many different versions of discourse analysis (van Dijk1997). Fairclough (2002) distinguishes between those approaches which pay close attention to the linguistic features of texts - which he refers to as 'textually oriented discourse analysis' - and those which do not. The latter approaches, often influenced by Foucault, generally focus on the historical and social context of texts and give little close attention to the *linguistic* features of texts. Norman Fairclough's work draws on theories and techniques from a wide range of disciplines to bring together these different approaches and different levels of analysis. Fairclough emphasises that his approach to CDA is interdisciplinary, and that 'it opens a dialogue between disciplines concerned with linguistic and semiotic analysis ... and disciplines concerned with theorizing and researching social processes and social change' (2001a, p. 229).

Critical discourse analysis, then, aims to explore the relationships between discursive practices, events and texts; and wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes. CDA explores how texts construct representations of the world, social

relationships and social identities, and there is an emphasis on highlighting how such practices and texts are ideologically shaped by relations of power. (See Fairclough 1992, 1993, 2001a, 2001b, 2002; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999.)

Recent approaches to policy analysis in education have used a discourse theory perspective (Ball 1990; Yeatman 1990; Taylor 1997; Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard and Henry 1997). From this perspective, policy making is seen as an arena of struggle over meaning, or as 'the politics of discourse'(Yeatman 1990), and policies are seen as the outcomes of struggles 'between contenders of competing objectives, where language - or more specifically discourse - is used tactically' (Fulcher 1989, p. 7). This approach has been valuable in illuminating the politics of discourse in policy arenas and in exploring the relationship between policy texts and their historical, political, social and cultural contexts. Moreover, while these approaches are able to suggest 'preferred readings' and likely effects of policy texts, most of this education policy analysis using discourse theory has not augmented social analysis with fine grained linguistic analysis. Consequently, there has been relatively little published work on policy analysis in education which specifically uses CDA. Fairclough himself has analysed policy documents (1993) and political speeches (2001a) - and there are a few Australian examples of the use of CDA in educational policy analysis by Ian Falk (1994), Allan Luke (1997a) and Sue Thomas (2002).

CDA is particularly appropriate for critical policy analysis because it allows investigation of the relationship of language to other social processes, and of how language*works* within power relations. CDA provides a framework for a *systematic* analysis - researchers can go beyond speculation and demonstrate how policy texts work. As Fairclough (2001a) puts it, '... the interdiscursive work of the text materialises in its linguistic and other semiotic features' (p. 240); he also observed that the role of discourse in social practices cannot be taken for granted, 'it has to be established through analysis' (p. 234).

'New Times' and CDA

A number of writers have drawn attention to the increasing importance of language in social life in late modernity or late capitalism - often also referred to as 'new times' (Hall 1996). For example, Fairclough (2001a) argues that language has become more important in a range of social processes related in particular to the emergence of the 'knowledge based economy' and new communication technologies, and refers to 'discourse driven' social change (Fairclough 2001b). As a result, he explains, such changes have restructured orders of discourse 'and the relative salience of semiosis in relation to other elements within the network of social practices' (2001a, p. 231). Also associated with the increasing importance of language in social life, there have been 'more conscious attempts to shape it and control it to meet institutional or organisational objectives', which Fairclough refers to as 'the increased technologization of discourse' (2001a, p. 231).

Similarly, Luke (2002) observes that 'New forms of social life in advanced capitalist societies turn on text and discourse' ... and that 'the conditions of globalised capitalism are enabled by discourse-saturated technology and environments.' He continues:

> We might term these *semiotic economies*, where language, text and discourse become the principal modes of social relations, civic and political life, economic behaviour and activity, where means of production and modes of information become intertwined in analytically complex ways (p. 3).

Further, economic and cultural aspects of globalisation have led to the increasing fragmentation and plurality - and complexity - of social life. Associated with these changes in networks of social practices is a 'discursive multiplicity' (Kress 1985, p. 11, in Yeatman 1990, p. 163) - of new forms of hybrid texts, discourses and identities. Luke (2002) has suggested that CDA may need new tools to describe these new textual formations, as outlined in the introduction to this paper.

However, I would contend that CDA is well suited to document these new formations. In fact, Fairclough's (2001a) recent work on the language of New Labour in Britain is concerned with investigating new textual formations associated, for example, with 'globalisation, social exclusion, and shifts in governance'. He suggests that CDA is 'a resource which can be used in combination with others for researching change in contemporary social life' (2001a, p. 229).

The next section of the paper will show how CDA can be used in researching *policy processes and social change in 'new times'*. Selected extracts of education policy documents will be analysed to document hybrid genres and discourses in policy texts, and to indicate possibilities for highlighting marginal discourses and 'silences' in texts, and for tracing discursive shifts in policy processes.

A framework for analysing policy processes and change

Fairclough emphasises that his framework for CDA is not a blueprint - rather it needs to be drawn on selectively for the particular research task at hand and combined with other forms of social analysis. Within the constraints of this paper it is not appropriate to discuss Fairclough's framework in any detail, and in any case the details of his framework have changed in various ways through the 1990s. However, I will outline the key features of a conceptual framework relevant for policy analysis which will allow attention to the 'discursive multiplicity' discussed above.

The key semiotic concepts associated with networks of social practices are discourses, genres and styles:

> Discourses - Representational/ ways of representing the world/ systems of knowledge and belief.

> Genres - Actional/ ways of interacting/ social activities/social relations.

> Styles - Ways of being/ social identities.

The semiotic aspect of a social order is referred to as an 'order of discourse' - which refers to the ways in which diverse discourses and genres are networked together, or structured. *Interdiscursivity* refers to the genres and discourses which are drawn on in a text, and how they are worked together through the text (Fairclough 2001a, p. 241)

The brief analyses which follow will pay particular attention to *interdiscursive*, *representational* and *valuing* aspects, as these aspects seem to be particularly salient in relation to the work done by education policy texts. The analyses are not comprehensive, rather they are intended to be illustrative of the possible uses of CDA for critical policy analysis based on social democratic values.

Education Queensland's reform agenda: some examples

The extracts from policy texts to be used in this paper are taken from documents associated with Education Queensland's 2010 Strategy - an ambitious reform agenda for state education in Queensland, produced in 2000 after extensive consultation. This paper builds on earlier research that explored the way equity issues were being addressed in the new agenda (Taylor and Henry 2000). The 2010 Strategy exemplified the interweaving of global and local elements which characterise contemporary policy making. We wrote at that time that the strategy promoted a reasonably strong social justice agenda, but that it was 'still too early to see how this ambitious agenda will play out' (p. 21).

The strategy and its associated documents - in print and available electronically on Education Queensland's website - can be referred to as a *genre chain*. Brief extracts of text from three key policy documents from this genre chain have been selected for analysis in this paper. The documents are as follows:

- *Queensland State Education 2010* (QSE 2010) - the original document (Education Queensland 2000)
- *Destination 2010 The action plan to implement QSE 2010* (Education Queensland 2002)
- *Queensland the Smart State. Education and Training Reforms for the Future* (ETRF) - consultation document for selected reforms (Queensland Government 2002)

Queensland State Education 2010 (*QSE 2010*)

This document is apparently directed at the wider public as well as to teachers: its genre is hybrid, containing elements of policy genre interwoven with party political - even promotional - material. Most of the text is characteristic of policy genre, but the presentation is directed to a wider readership: the document is a glossy publication with eye catching use of colour, headings and layout. The use of a jigsaw puzzle motive on cover symbolically identifies the document as part of the genre chain (Weir 2002).

It seems that public informational elements and party political elements are interwoven with the more conventional policy genre in this policy document for 'new times'. As Fairclough has observed, in relation to his work on policy processes in Britain under new Labour, semiosis 'in the form of essentially promotional genres ... are a crucial element in producing change' (2001a, p. 254).

Extract One

'The challenge in summary' (Education Queensland 2000, p. 8, see Appendix for full extract) follows a discussion in the first section of the document on recent economic and social changes that have implications for education. The summary statement is visually eye catching: it takes up three quarters of the page, and the text is printed in white against a blue background.

<u>*Interdiscursive analysis:*</u>

- *Change* is a major theme of the extract:

> *Education needs something other than popular metaphors of decay, disaster and erosion as driving forces of change. Children are the starting point for a strategy about the future of schooling.*

> *... As we move into an era ...*

To become part of the learning society schools will change:

> *This will transform the means and ends of teaching and learning in schools - those involved, the way it occurs and the principles on which the curriculum is constructed.*

Teachers will also change - from being *gate keepers of information* to becoming *managers of learning experiences*. Though the agency for change in schools is elided, teachers are the *objects* of the process of transformation.

- However, more than the discourse of change, a *discourse of uncertainty* runs through the extract:

> *... popular metaphors of decay, disaster and erosion ...*

> *There is a challenge facing education ...*

> *...the complex, diverse and uncertain economic and social environments described here.*

> *The existing disparities... will get worse ...*

- The text interweaves neo-liberal and social democratic discourses. The rhetoric of *globalisation* is dominant, eg:

> *There is a challenge facing education in Queensland as we move into an era where knowledge supersedes information and technology transforms longstanding relationships of time and space. It is to become a learning society - the Smart State - in which global forces favour the adaptable, and the key resources will be human and social capital rather than just physical and material resources.*

> *... a globalised knowledge economy and society.*

There are also elements here of the discourse of *flexibility* which is linked with economic globalisation (Fairclough, undated)

- However, a social democratic discourse is also evident:

> *The existing disparities in opportunities for students arising from the distribution of wealth, different cultures and location will get worse unless there is an equity principle that gives everyone a chance at the same outcomes. This is an obligation for government.*

There is also a mention that schools should become *embedded in communities*. Linked to this social democratic discourse is a strong commitment to public education in the final sentence of the summary statement:

> *Above all there is a need for a redefinition of the purpose of public education ...*

Linguistic analysis:

- The extract is structured in the form of 'problem à solution', more specifically as 'the challenge of globalisation à change education à will meet the challenge if we adapt'. This is an aspect of the promotional character of the document - the government's solution to the problem is the one presented.

- Related to this, rather than being dialogical, the text is presented as a series of declarative statements/ assertions:

> *A constructive and optimistic vision of [children's] futures and needs should inform the structure and processes of education at every level in education Queensland.*
>
> *... Queensland state schools should be reconceptualised as part of that learning society ...*
>
> *Achievements of students ... must ensure that they have the foundation for life after school ...*
>
> *Above all there is a need for a redefinition of the purpose of public education ...*

There is a sense of urgency demanding a response set up by the use of *should* (to expressing obligation) and *must (*expressing necessity). This is perhaps a response to a lack of confidence in public education expressed in the popular media.

- Globalisation is represented as inevitable, and it is interesting that agency in relation to the reforms is not clear. The text is extremely directive and it is not clear who it is addressing, and who is responsible for making the changes. This is a common feature of policy documents where sources of power and authority are often difficult to detect (Yeatman 1990). Criticism of current teachers and the system is implied, and only at one point is the government's responsibility clearly asserted: *This is an obligation for government.*

- Working with the 'problem à solution' structure of the text, there is an alternation between the use of the present tense - *There is a challenge facing education* - and the future tense - *This will transform ...*

- The explicit reference to *popular metaphors of decay, disaster and erosion* associated with globalisation contrast with the government's ...*constructive and optimistic vision*.

- In terms of vocabulary used, there are examples of new hybrid terms such as *knowledge economy*, *learning society, Smart State, managers of learning experiences.*

- Many words used in the extract draw on the discourse of change: *change, future, driving force, transition, adapt, move, transform, redefinition, reconceptualised.*There is also a link here with the *discourse of flexibility*.

Extract Two

Another block of text (black on lime green) in the *QSE 2010* document outlines the purpose of schooling (p.12).

> *Over the next decade, the central purpose of schooling in Queensland should
> be to create a safe, tolerant and disciplined environment within which young
> people prepare to be active and reflective Australian citizens with a
> disposition to lifelong learning. They will be able to participate in and shape
> community, economic and political life in Queensland and the nation. They
> will be able to engage confidently with other cultures at home and abroad.*

Although there is an allusion to globalisation, social democratic concerns are dominant here,
with references to active citizenship and shaping community. However, in linking
a *disciplined environment,* to a *safe* and *tolerant* environment, there seems to be a concern
about restoring confidence in public education. There are also some interesting references
to difference - *a tolerant environment* and *other cultures at home and abroad* - characteristic
of the discourse of 'new times'.

- Once again the text is declarative and future directed.

Destination 2010 The action plan to implement QSE 2010

This document is directed to Education Queensland teachers and administrators, and it
clearly exemplifies the *policy* genre. It contains detailed objectives and guidelines related to
the implementation of *QSE 2010*, and it lacks the glossy presentation of the original
document. However, on the cover and within the document a dotted arrow pointing from left
to right is used to indicate movement towards 2010, and the document also features the
jigsaw puzzle motive mentioned previously which links the document with the original *QSE
2010* document and the rest of the genre chain.

Extract Three

A brief Vision statement is included at the beginning of *Destination 2010*:

> *What is our destination?*

> *Vision*

>> *The vision for Education Queensland is for all Queensland
>> students to become active citizens in a learning society - the
>> Smart State.* (p. 4)

Here the neo-liberal and social democratic discourses are combined in the vision statement
and linked to the notion of 'the Smart State'. The reference to *all Queensland
students* makes it clear that the vision is an inclusive one - for everyone.

A statement headed Purpose follows the Vision statement and is substantively the same as
the purposes statement in *QSE 2010* quoted above (see Extract Two). However, here it is
formatted using bullet points.

> *The purpose of state education is to meet the needs of different students
> pursuing high levels of educational attainment.*

> *This will be achieved by:*

> o *creating a safe, tolerant and disciplined environment for students*
> o *preparing young people to be active and reflective Australian citizens*

- o *developing the skills and desire for lifelong learning in students*
- o *supporting students to become active in community, economic and political life*
- o *building students confidence in their relationships with other cultures at home and abroad.*

Bullet points are often used in this way in official policy documents; they may be seen as 'reader friendly' but also tend to be more 'reader directive' than discursive text (Fairclough 2001a).

This document is ostensibly more dialogic than *QSE 2010* - questions are asked, apparently directed to teachers, for example: *Is what I'm doing promoting the best interests of students? (p. 4)*

Queensland the Smart State. Education and Training Reforms for the Future (ETRF)

The third document is a consultation document about selected reforms following *QSE 2010* which was released around the same time as *Destination 2010.* It provides a good example of a promotional genre. Its apparent purpose is to provide public information about the new policy directions the government is taking, but has the character of a political statement as well. It is a glossy publication - this time produced by the Department of Premier and Cabinet, not Education Queensland - and includes a message from the Premier (with a photo) as a preface. The document is linked prominently to the 'Smart State initiative', which is located within the Premier's Department, rather than to *QSE 2010,* and is not symbolically linked to the other *QSE 2010* documents through the cover design. Full colour photos are used in the document and questions are posed in relation to the proposed reforms. The document is more dialogic than the other two - though basically the document presents the case for the new reforms and seeks questions relating to the specific proposals.

Extract 4

The final extract is the introductory message from Premier Peter Beattie in the ETRF document (see Appendix for full extract). The genre is informational and political - the main purpose of the document seems to be to make the case for - or 'sell' - the reforms to parents and the wider community. The Premier writes persuasively as a parent wanting the best for his children, and then shifting into explaining the government's vision for the reforms.

Interdiscursive analysis

- The focus in the extract is on *the future*:

> *This is a Government with a vision for our State's future. We are transforming Queensland into the Smart State of Australia - a State of prosperity and social justice with a commitment to equality of opportunity. At the very heart of this vision is education - the very best education possible for every Queensland child, so that he or she reaches their full potential and helps to build the Smart State. ...*

- Discourses are again interwoven around the notion of the Smart State. The emphasis is on skills for the knowledge economy, the need for flexibility:

> *We want our system to keep pace with - and capitalise on - the rapid rate of change in our society.*

- Social democratic discourses are present, but marginalised, and there is only one mention of citizenship which is so central in the other two documents:

> *Along with all young Queenslanders, we want to provide opportunity for those who have slipped through our safety nets. Our systems need to provide these young people with the foundations for social equity, informed citizenship and quality of life.*

However, it is not clear if these goals are for all young people - as stated in *Destination 2010* - or only those who have 'slipped through the net'.

Linguistic analysis:

- There is an interesting use of pronouns in the extract. There is a shift back and forth from *we* (Queenslanders, parents) to *we* (the government), and from *I* (a parent) to *I*(Premier):

> *As a parent of school-age children I, like all other Queensland parents, want my kids ...*

> *As Premier, I want this for all Queensland children and young people.*

At times it is not clear whether *we* is parents or the government:

> *... But we want more than that - and our children deserve more.*

- Repetition is used to present an argument for the changes:

> *The present ...system serves most students well. But we want much more than that ...We want ...We want ... We want ... That's why this Government ....*

- Some statements express obligation, eg *This partnership needs to extend ..., Our systems need ...*

- Agency for change lies with the government and the focus is system change.

- Vocabulary indicates change*: Vision, future, transforming ...*

In summary

Using these brief extracts I have shown how CDA can be used to explore how language *works* in policy texts, and in particular how it can be used to document hybrid genres and discourses, to highlight competing discourses and marginalised discourses. These discursive and linguistic issues have implications for how policy texts are read, implemented, and how they may be used in emancipatory ways by teachers and policy activists.

By analysing three policy documents from a genre chain I have also been able to draw attention to a subtle *discursive shift* in the policy implementation process, where social democratic discourses - especially the discourse of active citizenship - have become marginalised. However, though marginalised, it was still possible to trace this discourse through the three documents in the genre chain. An example of a discourse which seems to have disappeared during the implementation process, to become a*silence*, is the discourse

of *public education*. The significance of such discursive shifts will be discussed further in the next section.

Policy activism

So what is the point of this kind of research? How can it be used? In the current context where language/ discourse is particularly important, activists need skills to engage at this level. For example, Lo Bianco (2001) has emphasised the need for researchers and practitioners to understand the language of policy. For some time Anna Yeatman has been interested in how social theorists 'might open up the politics of discourse to democratic and dialogic modes of participation' (1990, p. 159). She continues: 'The participant who wants to discursively contest policies as texts must come to understand how discursive practices operate, how they distribute power and constitute power, and how discursive interventions are possible' (p. 159).

Here Yeatman refers to *contesting* policy, but discursive interventions need not always be reactive. As she explains, 'because they arise out of discursive difference, they always contain contradictions which can be mobilised by readers who are discursively positioned to do this. (1990, p. 165) She argues that it is possible to overstate the discursive domination of policy and bureaucratic discourse, and discusses the way that the impersonal styles of bureaucratic and policy discourse can lend themselves to democratic feature of planning, using an example relating to needs based child care in NSW in the 1980s.

Yeatman's (1998) collection on policy activism extends her work on the politics of discourse and the politics of the state. Her definition of policy activism is 'any and all instances of a strategic commitment to the policy process in the context of a democratic government on behalf of a citizen community' (1998, p. 10). She sees policy activist networks - spanning 'policy insiders' working for government agencies and 'policy outsiders' in the community - as central in policy activism. For example, this kind of policy activist network was seen in Australia in the 1980s when feminists in the women's movement worked closely with 'femocrats' in government bureaucracies to bring about policy changes for women (Eisenstein 1996, Taylor 2001).

Jones, Lee and Poynton (1998), like Yeatman, view policy making and policy activism as discursive and textual practices. They argue that, given the recent proliferation of policy, activists need to engage with discursive aspects of policy, and that this seems to be even more appropriate in the context of rapid social change. Jones et al. argue, 'To be a policy activist is to be centrally involved in the generation (writing) and interpretation (reading and rewriting) of text' (1998, p. 147). They view 'policy work' as 'text work' (p. 169) and discourse analysis as a form of policy activism. They discuss the possibilities for 'strategic rewritings' of the dominant narratives of research policy in relation to the research quantum within their own institutional sites, illustrated by a case study of the effects of 'the changing rules of what counts as "research" ' in the creative arts (p. 158).

Networks of relationships may be built between 'insider activists' within government agencies and outsiders who share their cause or activist leanings. Dugdale (1998), writing about health policy, refers to the importance of insider activists in recognising opportunities to get issues on to policy agendas, and in charting a course through policy processes. He refers to 'the political art of framing and interpreting policy', and argues that 'knowing how to frame policy statements so that they actually make a positive difference' is an important ' "power tool" wielded by the insider activist' (Dugdale 1998, p. 115). He also uses the example of institutional mission statements, and suggests that insider activists can take such statements at face value and work to fulfil the rhetoric of the institution (p. 119).

Similarly through an understanding of the language of policy - policy activists can help to keep social democratic discourses and language on policy agendas and ensure that they are not marginalised or silenced during implementation processes. They can recognise marginalised discourses and silences - and find spaces for discursive interventions.

Concluding comments

In a context of policy proliferation and discourse led social change CDA is a valuable tool for researching policy and change. It is also a useful tool for policy activists in insider and outsider networks. These include academics working as 'critical friends', or working as researchers with insiders in the bureaucracy, with teachers, or with outsiders in the public sphere - unionists and community activists. With the particular tools offered by CDA, policy activists can help to keep social justice issues on policy agendas, and can help to ensure that emancipatory goals/language do not get lost in production and implementation processes. It can also assist in reframing policies in emancipatory ways, subverting repressive policies and in reading them 'against the grain'.

Acknowledgements

References

Ball, S. (1990) *Politics and Policymaking in Education. Explorations in policy sociology.* London: Routledge.

Chouliaraki, L. and Fairclough, N. (1999) *Discourse in Late Modernity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Department of Premier and Cabinet (2002) *Queensland the Smart State. Education and Training Reforms for the Future.* Brisbane: Queensland Government.

Dugdale, P. (1998) 'The art of insider activism: policy activism and the governance of health', in A. Yeatman (ed) *Activism and the Policy Process*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, pp. 104 - 21.

Education Queensland (2000) *Queensland State Education 2010*. Brisbane: Education Queensland.

Education Queensland (2002) *Destination 2010. The action plan to implement Queensland State Education - 2010*. Brisbane: Education Queensland.

Eisenstein, H. (1996) *Inside Agitators: Australian Femocrats and the State.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Fairclough, N. (1992) *Discourse and Social Change*. London: Polity Press.

Fairclough, N. (1993) 'Critical discourse analysis and the marketisation of public discourse: the universities', *Discourse and Society*, 4, 2, pp. 133 - 68.

Fairclough, N. (2001a) 'The discourse of New Labour: critical discourse analysis', in M. Wetherall, S. Taylor and S. Yates (eds) *Discourse as Data. A Guide for Analysis*. London: Sage/Open University, pp. 229 - 226.

Fairclough, N. (2001b) 'The dialectics of discourse', *Textus*, 14, pp. 231 - 42.

Fairclough, N. (2002) *Analysing Discourse and Text: Textual analysis for social research.* Unpublished manuscript.

Fairclough, N. (undated) 'Global capitalism and critical language awareness', unpublished paper at: http://www.schools.ash.org.au/litweb/norman1.htm.

Falk, I. (1994) 'The making of policy: media discourse conversations', *Discourse*, 15, 2, pp. 1 - 12.

Fulcher, G. (1989) *Disabling policies? A comparative approach to education policy and disability*. London: Falmer Press.

Hall, S. (1996) 'The meaning of new times, in D.Morley and K. Chen (eds) *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies.* London and New York: Routledge, pp. 223 - 37.

Jones, G., Lee, A. and Poynton, C. (1998) 'Discourse analysis and policy activism: readings and rewritings of Australian university research policy', in A. Yeatman (ed)*Activism and the Policy Process*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, pp. 146 - 70.

Kress, G. (1985) *Linguistic Processes in Sociocultural Practice*. Geelong: Deakin University Press.

Lo Bianco, J. (2001) 'Policy literacy', *Language and Education*, 15, 2&3, pp. 212 - 27.

Luke, A. (1997a) 'Critical discourse analysis', in L. Saha (ed) *International Encyclopaedia of the Sociology of Education.* Oxford: Elsevier, pp. 50-57.

Luke, A. (1997b) 'The material effects of the word: apologies, stolen children and public discourse', *Discourse: studies in the cultural politics of education*, 18, 3, pp. 343-68.

Luke, A. (2002) 'Beyond science and ideology critique: developments in critical discourse analysis', *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 22, pp. 96 - 110.

Taylor, S. (1997) 'Critical policy analysis: exploring contexts, texts and consequences', *Discourse*, 18, 1, pp. 23 - 35.

Taylor, S. (2001) 'Teachers' union activism for gender equity: social movements and policy processes', *Australian Educational Researcher*, 28, 1, 47 - 79.

Taylor, S. and Henry, M. (2000) 'Social justice in a global context: education Queensland's 2010 Strategy', unpublished paper.

Taylor S., Lingard, B., Rizvi, F. & Henry, M. (1997) *Education Policy and the Politics of Change*. London: Routledge.

Thomas, S. (2002) 'Contesting education policy in the public sphere: media debates over policies for the Queensland school curriculum', *Journal of Education Policy*, 17, 2, pp. 187 - 192.

van Djik, T.A. (ed)(1997) *Discourse as Social Interaction.* London: Sage.

Weir, K. (2002) 'A critical semiotic analysis of the "Rich Tasks"', paper presented at School of Education Postgraduate Conference, University of Queensland, November 2002.

Yeatman, A. (1990) *Bureaucrats, Technocrats, Femocrats. Essays on the contemporary Australian state*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Yeatman, A. (ed)(1998) *Activism and the Policy Process*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Appendix

Queensland State Education 2010 **(Education Queensland 2000)**

<u>**Extract One**</u> **(p. 8)**

The challenge in summary

Education needs something other than popular metaphors of decay, disaster and erosion as driving forces of change. Children are the starting point for a strategy about the future of schooling. A constructive and optimistic vision of their futures and needs

should inform the structure and processes of education at every level in education Queensland.

There is a challenge facing education in Queensland as we move into an era where knowledge supersedes information and technology transforms longstanding relationships of time and space. It is to become a learning society - the Smart State - in which global forces favour the adaptable, and the key resources will be human and social capital rather than just physical and material resources.

Because human and social capital develop within families and through wider networks, Queensland state schools should be re-conceptualised as part of that learning society and become embedded in communities - local and global - in new ways.

This will transform the means and ends of teaching and learning in schools - those involved, the way it occurs, and the principles on which the curriculum is constructed.

It changes what teachers do from teacher-centred learning and gate keepers of information to managers of learning experiences of children.

Completion of school for the large majority is now more important than being there. Achievements of students along the path to completing school must ensure that they have the foundation for life after they leave school in the complex, diverse and uncertain economic and social environments described here. This outcome will be assisted if the emphasis is on achieving personal best rather than passing or failing.

The existing disparities in opportunities for students arising from the distribution of wealth, different cultures and location will get worse unless there is an equity principle that gives everyone a chance at the same outcomes. This is an obligation for government.

Above all there is a need for a redefinition of the purpose of public education that meets the unique challenge posed by the transition to a globalised knowledge economy and society.

Extract Two (p. 12)

Over the next decade, the central purpose of schooling in Queensland should be to create a safe, tolerant and disciplined environment within which young people prepare to be active and reflective Australian citizens with a disposition to lifelong learning. They will be able to participate in and shape community, economic and political life in Queensland and the nation. They will be able to engage confidently with other cultures at home and abroad.

Extract Three

Destination 2010 The action plan to implement QSE 2010 (Education Queensland 2002, p. 4)

What is our destination?

Vision

> The vision for Education Queensland is for all Queensland students to become active citizens in a learning society - the Smart State.

Purpose

> The purpose of state education is to meet the needs of different students pursuing high levels of educational attainment.

This will be achieved by:

- o   creating a safe, tolerant and disciplined environment for students
- o   preparing young people to be active and reflective Australian citizens
- o   developing the skills and desire for lifelong learning in students
- o   supporting students to become active in community, economic and political life
- o   building students confidence in their relationships with other cultures at home and abroad.

Extract Four

Queensland the Smart State. Education and Training Reforms for the Future (Queensland Government, 2002) (Preface, p. i)

Queensland's most precious resource is its children. When we nurture our children, we nurture our future.

This is a Government with a vision for our State's future. We are transforming Queensland into the Smart State of Australia - a State of prosperity and social justice with a commitment to equality of opportunity. At the very heart of this vision is education - the very best education possible for every Queensland child, so that he or she reaches their full potential and helps to build the Smart State.

As a parent of school-age children I, like all other Queensland parents, want my kids to have the best education possible so they are ready for a lifetime of learning and earning. As Premier, I want this for all Queensland children and young people. I know the Minister for Education, Anna Bligh, and the Minister for Employment, Training and Youth, Matt Foley, share this goal.

" ... This is a Government with a **vision** for our State's future ..."

The present State education and training system serves most students well. But we want much more than that - and our children deserve more. We want to build an exceptional State education and training system. We want a system that not only builds the mind, but also the character, of every student. We want stronger partnerships with parents, so they know our schools are helping them make important decisions about their children's schooling and providing an education of excellence. This partnership needs to extend to teachers, trainers, and educators. We want our system to keep pace with - and capitalise on - the rapid rate of change in our society.

That's why this Government has set new goals for education, training and employment through:

- Queensland State Education - 2010 (QSE - 2010)

- Skilling Queensland 2001 - 2004, Queensland's vocational education and training strategy

- jobs for young people through the Breaking the Unemployment Cycle Initiative.

....

Along with all young Queenslanders, we want to provide opportunity for those who have slipped through our safety nets. Our systems need to provide these young people with the foundations for social equity, informed citizenship and quality of life.

"...Along with all young Queenslanders, we want to **provide opportunity** for those who have slipped through our safety nets ..."