

Critical Discourse Analysis for policy documents:

A case study of the Adult ESOL Strategy,

a New Zealand Government Language and Education Policy

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**ABSTRACT**

The study's theoretical framework is underpinned by Critical Theory, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), including Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FCDA), and Foucault's concept of Genealogy. Foucaultian critical discourse analysis asks questions about how we as subjects or citizens have been constructed historically; how we have come to define these concepts and have come to think, speak and act in certain ways with regard to them; and the various relations and techniques of ++power by which people come to know themselves as subjects of government policy discourses, and which produce and maintain these as notions that can be thought and acted on (Fadyl et al., 2013). Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (including Foucault's work) as a methodological and theoretical guide, the inquiry focuses partly on what the underlying views of The Adult ESOL Strategy text may be in New Zealand and what its discourses and implications are.

The Adult ESOL Strategy is seen as part of a 'governmental assemblage', in which significant documents play both an executive and educational role, particularly seen in the way they tend to form particular 'subjectivities', in accordance with the political philosophy that underpins them. Chapter 1, the Introduction provides an overview as well as a background to the study. The chapter starts with a review of the history and contexts of migrants and adult ESOL in New Zealand, going on to further explain the significance of the study. Chapter 2, the literature review, defines and examines adult ESOL as an academic and policy field and also provides an overview of relevant studies. Chapter 3 gives the background to the Foucauldian Socio-historical analysis as methodology for analysis and mainly discusses the methodology adopted in the study. It outlines approaches to education policy studies, states the principles of CDA and explains its key research tools. In addition, this chapter presents a review of previous

studies that have used CDA as a method in educational policy research. It further includes the explanation of the framework for analysis, procedure and the data that the thesis uses. Chapter 4 discusses techniques for analysis. It discusses how Foucault can be used to analyse policy documents. Chapter 5 covers Analytic Method and demonstrates the use of Critical Discourse Analysis to analyse policy documents in a case study of The Adult ESOL Strategy (2003). This chapter which is mainly an analytical case study of The Adult ESOL Strategy (2003), includes an examination of the construction of the ideal adult ESOL learner in The Adult ESOL Strategy as well as a closer look at, and analysis of, the document in terms of the discourses present in it and the assumptions it holds about the ideal/desired adult ESOL learner. This chapter more transparently provides omnibus economical answers to the two research questions in this study which are (1) What discourses/assumptions does the Adult ESOL Strategy have in relation to adult ESOL learners and immigrants? and (2) What attitude does the Adult ESOL Strategy instantiate in relation to the 'desirable/quality' adult ESOL learner? The answers to these research questions are evident in combination: a major theme in the Adult ESOL Strategy is the discourse of the construction of the adult ESOL Learner as an autonomous rational chooser who is a homo-economicus in an atmosphere of neo-liberalism. The particular identity constructed for the adult ESOL learner emphasises independence, co-operation and pro-activity in the quest to be an ideal ESOL learner. The final chapter sums up the study, discusses policy implications and makes recommendations as well as concluding remarks.

## CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .....	i
ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP .....	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	viii
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION .....	1
1.1 Overview .....	1
1.2 Background to the study .....	1
1.3 Background of Adult ESOL Strategy .....	4
1.4 Aims and significance of the study .....	5
1.5 The Research Questions .....	6
1.5.1 Research Question 1: .....	6
1.5.2 Research Question 2: .....	6
1.6 Methodology .....	6
1.7 The History of the Present .....	7
1.8 Foucault's research strategies .....	10
1.9 Genealogy as analysis of descent and emergence .....	15
1.9.1 Genealogy as analysis of descent .....	15
1.9.2 Genealogy as analysis of emergence .....	16
1.10 The Wider Context for Adult ESOL .....	17
1.11 Other related Policies: Historical Material as context .....	18
1.12 An Important antecedent: The Adult ESOL Strategy and the influence of Public Choice theory .....	18
1.13 Strategies for Adult ESOL .....	21
1.14 Structure of the thesis .....	21
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW- A REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON (FOUCAULDIAN) CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS SOCIO-HISTORICAL METHODOLOGY FOR ANALYSIS .....	23
2.1 Language Policy and Planning in New Zealand .....	23
2.2 AMELE .....	24
2.3 Adult ESOL .....	25
2.4 Adult ESOL as policy in the New Zealand context .....	27
2.5 Curriculum .....	28
2.6 Funding .....	29
2.7 The Adult ESOL Strategy .....	29
2.8 Why the need for an Adult ESOL Strategy? .....	29
2.9 Vision .....	30
2.10 Principles .....	30
2.11 Targets .....	31
2.12 Background to the Development of the Strategy .....	31

2.13	The Four Elements of the Adult ESOL Strategy .....	32
2.14	National Picture of Immigrants and Refugees.....	33
2.15	Policies: History and Strategies.....	35
2.15.1	ESOL.....	35
2.16	Historical gap in the field and how the study aims to fill it.....	36
2.16.1	The Dimensions of LPP.....	38
2.16.2	History of LPP .....	38
2.16.3	Discourse analysis and Foucauldian Discourse Analysis .....	39
CHAPTER 3 BACKGROUND TO THE FOUCAULDIAN SOCIO-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS AS METHODOLOGY FOR ANALYSIS .....		42
3.1	An overview of the approaches to policy study.....	43
3.2	CDA and its principles.....	45
3.2.1	Power .....	46
3.2.2	Subjectivity .....	46
3.2.3	Reality.....	46
3.2.4	Language .....	46
3.2.5	Application of CDA in research .....	47
3.3	Representational strategies .....	51
3.3.1	Metaphoric tropes .....	52
3.3.2	CDA-Critical Discourse analysis .....	53
3.3.3	Conducting CDA .....	56
3.3.4	Genealogy .....	63
3.3.5	Critical Discourse Analysis's compatibility with a post-structural approach .....	63
3.3.6	Foucauldian Methodology .....	66
3.3.7	Discourse Analysis and Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (The genealogical method):.....	67
3.4	Methodological Use of Archaeology and Genealogy .....	69
3.5	Foucault's epistemology: Power-knowledge .....	70
3.5.1	Discourse .....	70
3.5.2	The Usefulness of Foucault's Perspective for Policy Analysis.....	71
3.6	Foucault and Critical Policy Analysis .....	71
3.6.1	Research design .....	71
3.6.2	Selection of text .....	72
3.6.3	Analytical framework and procedure .....	72
3.7	Practical consideration .....	73
3.8	Limitations .....	73
CHAPTER 4 TECHNIQUES FOR ANALYSIS - A DISCUSSION OF HOW FOUCAULT CAN BE USED TO ANALYSE POLICY DOCUMENTS .....		75
4.1	Theories Underpinning the proposed Study .....	75
4.2	Approach to the study.....	75

4.3	Globalisation and its impacts on Policymaking .....	76
4.4	The Contextualization of policy in the global era.....	77
4.5	Globalisation, in itself, is not the problem: .....	77
4.6	The Need for Critical Reading of Policy Texts.....	78
4.6.1	Policy and Critical Theory .....	79
4.6.2	Foucault and Human Constructionism .....	80
4.6.3	Discourse .....	81
4.6.4	Foucault and the concept of Power .....	81
4.6.5	Governmentality .....	82
4.6.6	A Foucauldian Approach and the interpretation of policy texts .....	82
4.6.7	The Usefulness of Foucault's Perspective for Policy Analysis.....	84
4.6.8	A Foucauldian Approach to Critical Policy Analysis .....	85
4.6.9	Critique in Foucauldian Approach.....	85
4.7	Archaeology .....	86
4.7.1	A Framework for Analysis .....	88
4.7.2	Idealist theory of language and policy analysis .....	89
4.7.3	A framework in discourse analytical action .....	91
CHAPTER 5 ANALYTIC METHOD-USING CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS TO ANALYSE POLICY DOCUMENTS- A CASE STUDY OF THE ADULT ESOL STRATEGY (2003) .....		92
5.1	Stages 1, 2a and 2b: The problem of adult ESOL learner quality.....	94
5.2	Stages 3 & 4: Shifting from is to ought.....	104
5.3	Discussion .....	105
5.3.1	Stage 5: Reflections on the analysis .....	107
5.4	More Analysis of The Adult ESOL Strategy .....	108
5.4.1	Analysis as search for conditions of truth.....	113
5.5	Discourse .....	114
5.5.1	Non-Foucauldian conception of discourse .....	114
5.5.2	Statements as units of analysis .....	117
5.5.3	Eventalisation .....	119
5.5.4	The rules of formation (of The Adult ESOL Strategy).....	120
5.5.5	New Zealand's immigration and Social Cohesion Project .....	121
5.5.6	Social Cohesion in New Zealand: Superdiversity, Biculturalism and the Challenges of Immigrant Diversity .....	121
5.5.7	Māori and Non-Māori: Diversity Renegotiated .....	122
5.5.8	Social cohesion in New Zealand .....	127
5.5.9	New Zealand's Biculturalism: Social Cohesion and Social Tension.....	129
5.5.10	Neoliberalism and the Politics of Migration in New Zealand .....	131
5.6	Policies and Strategies for Migrants and Refugees .....	132
5.6.1	The rules of transformation of The Adult ESOL Strategy .....	133
5.6.2	The rules of correlations of The Adult ESOL Strategy .....	134
5.7	The practical field of deployment of The Adult ESOL Strategy .....	138

5.7.1	Power in The Adult ESOL Strategy .....	138
5.8	An ontology of the present .....	140
5.9	Five methodological precautions: complementary analysis of The Adult ESOL Strategy .....	142
5.9.1	Adult ESOL consultation meetings .....	145
CHAPTER 6 SUMMING UP .....		148
6.1	Political and ethical applications of Foucault's thoughts on Strategy .....	151
6.2	Implications of The Adult ESOL Strategy and recommendations .....	151
REFERENCES .....		154
APPENDIX A: The Adult ESOL Strategy (2003) .....		172

## ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

05/08/2022

Signature

Date



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## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter provides an overview as well as a background to the study. The chapter starts with a review of the history and contexts of migrants and adult ESOL in New Zealand. It further explains the significance of the study and the research questions follow on from these. The final section explains the structure of the thesis.

### 1.1 Overview

New Zealand is an immigrant country that used to welcome (pre-COVID 19) hundreds of new residents every year. The English language is a main language of New Zealand, hence. Hence it is expected that those who arrive to make New Zealand their new home will have been proficient in the language or will be willing to undertake studies to be functional in the language. (Waite, 1992; Peddie, 1997, 2005; Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013, Khan, 2016). The Adult ESOL Strategy (Ministry of Education, 2003) was the first policy document by New Zealand that sets out to address New Zealand's strategy for adult English for Speakers of other Languages (ESOL) programmes.

This thesis attempts to deduce the government's expectations and approach by analysing the major policy document The Adult ESOL Strategy (Ministry of Education, 2003)

### 1.2 Background to the study

New Zealand's population has become increasingly diverse since the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the residents are made up of people from differing linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013; Khan 2016; Statistics New Zealand, 2014)

Two factors contribute in the main to this. First, New Zealand takes its obligation as a refugee accepting country under the international humanitarian obligations seriously (Immigration New Zealand, 2013; Ministry of Social Development, 2008). Another factor is that New Zealand has or had a mostly open immigration policy underpinned by the market-based/neo-liberal perspective (Ongley & Pearson, 1995; Spoonley, 2006; Trlin & Watts, 2004; Khan, 2016).

New Zealand's commitment to refugee resettlement has been contributory to its diversity. As highlighted by the UNHCR (2013) and Immigration New Zealand (2013), refugees are from various countries and regions in the world. This can be seen in, for example, the 2013-2014 annual quota of 750 refugees made up of Africa (108 people), Asia and Pacific (375), Middle East and North Africa (107), Europe (none) and 160 from the Americas (UNHCR, 2013).

As an immigrant country, New Zealand's immigration policy initially preferred migrants from the 'traditional source countries', such as Great Britain and Holland (Clydesdale, 2011; Ongley & Pearson, 1995). In the 1960s, New Zealand was forced to accept migrants from the South Pacific because of the shortage of low-skilled workers (Ongley & Pearson, 1995; Spoonley, 2006; Clydesdale, 2011). From the 1980s, New Zealand moved away from the country-based method of sourcing migrants which is considered discriminatory by many scholars (Lyons et al., 2011; Spoonley, 2006; Trlin & Watts, 2004). Increasingly, policies are motivated by economic rationalism and labour market demands (Trlin & Watts, 2004; Ongley & Pearson, 1995; Khan, 2016). As a result of this, employability and financial strength have become the main criteria by which a majority of migrants have been selected without nationality being emphasized (Bedford, 2000; Coates & Carr, 2005; Immigration New Zealand, 2014).

For many immigrants, English is a second or additional language and the level of proficiency varies widely among them. It was claimed by the immigration authorities that accepting these migrants and other new residents necessitated the provision of standards and required competency in the English language as well as provision of language learning opportunities and facilities for those who needed to upgrade their competency in the language.

This argument is suspect especially since between 1899 and 1920, English language tests were used as instruments of keeping Asians out of New Zealand. Other restrictive measures were also used after 1920, such as those based on ethnicity and race. After restrictions which were ethnically based were abandoned in 1974, a knowledge of English was helpful but was not required to gain New Zealand permanent residency. However, from 1991, English language was once more required, and the standards required became progressively higher in 1995 and again in 2002 (Beaglehole, 2015).

Access to English language for migrants was raised in two major language policy initiatives that included consideration for adult migrants' English language education. These are *Aotearoa - Speaking for Ourselves* (Waite, 1992) and *Languages in Aotearoa New Zealand* (Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013)

*Aotearoa-Speaking for Ourselves* (Waite, 1992) was released as a discussion document by the New Zealand Ministry of Education. It stresses both the importance of the adequate English Language proficiency among all people as well as the need to create opportunities for new migrants to learn English. Waite (1992) regarded both of these as necessary for immigrants to participate fully in New Zealand society. This involves being able to access information, make use of social services, enter the education system, upskill oneself, and seek employment (Waite, 1992). The document made two very

important recommendations regarding English for Speakers of Other Languages (henceforth ESOL) education: the need to recognize the variety of new migrants' circumstances as well as to offer a range of programmes suited to the needs of all migrants (Waite, 1992)

*Languages in Aotearoa* (Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013) also mentioned the importance of access to English language tuition and ongoing support for all New Zealanders, including immigrants and refugees. It made two important observations. The first regards the current lack of appreciation of students' literacy skills in their L1 and the second is the fact that only English is used as the language of instruction and assessment across the curriculum. This is in addition to the lack of adequate English language support for learners who require it (Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013). Such practices make it harder and longer for a person to integrate into the new society and be able to use their full potential. (Khan 2016).

### 1.3 Background of Adult ESOL Strategy

The group that are the focus of The *Adult ESOL* Strategy (henceforth TAES) are intending and approved adult New Zealand residents (Ministry of Education, 2013), which include migrants and refugees whose first language is not English. The Strategy does not cover English as a foreign Language for international students. Though there are a number of different terms used to describe English for Speakers of other Languages including EFL(used for foreign fee-paying students), English for Academic Purposes (EAP)(used by tertiary education institutions and English as an Additional Language (EAL), for the purposes of TAES, English for Speakers of other Languages (ESOL), is generally used due to its being international in usage, used for collecting data and used in the New Zealand compulsory education system (Ministry of Education, 2013)

The census of 2001 indicated that 50,700 New Zealand adult residents did not speak English well enough to carry on basic conversation in the language (Statistics New Zealand Store House, n.d. & Statistics New Zealand, 2014).

The 2006 census shows that a lack of English language skills put them at serious disadvantage with regards to employment and the wages that they could earn, no matter how qualified they are. (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). In addition, there were a large number of New Zealanders from non-English speaking backgrounds whose English language skills limited their participation in New Zealand society. It was estimated that there were an additional 200,000-210,000 adults from non-English speaking backgrounds who could speak English, but with less than adequate levels of literacy (Ministry of Education, 2013). The adult ESOL population current at that time varied greatly with regard to the demographic (refugee or migrants), levels of proficiency being funded as well as the conditions placed on funding. It was estimated that there were about 10,000 ESOL learners each year in a range of formal classes (Ministry of Education, 2013).

#### 1.4 Aims and significance of the study

This thesis analyses *The Adult ESOL Strategy* (2003). The aim is to investigate the discourses in *The Adult ESOL Strategy*. The primary goal of this thesis is to understand how New Zealand's The Adult ESOL strategy discourse has developed. To accomplish this, a methodological combination of Foucault's genealogy and Critical Discourse Analysis will be used; the former to uncover the architecture of the discourse, and the latter to analyse a text, *The Adult ESOL Strategy*, in order to reveal the discursive processes that construct social reality and shape this particularly dominant discourse.

The empirical analysis of language is critical in determining how particular discursive practices and terms became 'common sense' to the New Zealand public.

## 1.5 The Research Questions

This comprises two Research questions (RQs):

### 1.5.1 Research Question 1:

What discourses/assumptions does the Adult ESOL Strategy have in relation to adult ESOL learners and immigrants?

### 1.5.2 Research Question 2:

What attitude does the Adult ESOL Strategy instantiate in relation to the 'desirable/quality' adult ESOL learner?

## 1.6 Methodology

In light of the focus of this thesis as well as its use of texts for data, the methods of critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) will be the key approach. CDA has some advantages important for this study. It will help to interpret and explain the findings as well as provide the linguistic evidence that supports the interpretation. (Khan, 2016).

It is hoped that the findings of this study will be useful for many people: policy makers, migrants, educators and all New Zealanders. For educators and staff who work with adult ESOL learners of any background, the thesis will provide a clearer picture of The Adult ESOL Strategy and show issues of great importance in the policy document. This will help them to be more conscious of what is expected of them as well becoming more

critical practitioners as they become more aware of the increasing diversity of adult ESOL learners and the rich experience that the learners bring with them.

The thesis will provide a clearer image of The Adult ESOL Strategy. It will highlight problems of major importance in the policy document for educators and personnel who work with adult ESOL learners of any background.

### 1.7 The History of the Present

In trying to understand The Adult ESOL Strategy-, it is necessary to look at its history, not necessarily its history as a linear recount as much as it is an attempt at it investigate its genealogy. There is no intention to undertake an authoritative 'history' of these ideas, rather, in line with Foucault's suggestion, to locate the history of the document as the history of the present (Foucault, 1977a, Devine, 2000, p.51).

Also, this researcher will try to establish the conditions of possibility for the introduction/existence of The Adult ESOL Strategy. To arrive at such an establishment of the truths behind the establishment of The Adult ESOL Strategy (2003) there will have to be a look at the historical knowledge of struggles involved. Foucault gives the term genealogy to the union of knowledge and local memories which allows us to establish a historical knowledge of struggles and to make use of this knowledge tactically today. He says a genealogical project does not unfold through empiricism or positivism. He claims that:

Genealogies are... not positivistic returns to a more careful or exact form of science. They are precisely anti-sciences. Not that they vindicate a lyrical right to ignorance or non-knowledge: it is not that they are concerned to deny knowledge or that they esteem the virtues of direct cognition and base their practice upon an immediate experience that escapes encapsulation in knowledge....it is really against the effects of the order of a discourse that is considered to be



scientific that the genealogy must wage its struggle. (Foucault, 1980a, p 84)

So, in the New Zealand's context, the policy titled The Adult ESOL Strategy, was ostensibly, on the surface level, an educational policy, to help immigrants and refugees whose first language was not English to integrate into, belong to, and feel at home in, New Zealand society. However, the terms integrate, belong or be at home were never actually used in the document. Rather, utilitarian, economically oriented terms such as participate, contribute, an individual yet part of a diverse group, participation, contribution as well as accountability (both to the system as well as to the strategy/policy itself) were used and /or implied (Ministry of Education, 2013).

In the Adult ESOL Strategy, the ideal the adult ESOL learner are migrants who "are expected to contribute to the nation's skills and entrepreneurial base. There is also the discourse of "more active involvement" by adult ESOL learners (Ministry of Education, 2013, p.15).

The true goal of the Strategy as a policy document was economic. It was to form subjects who are "able to participate in and contribute to New Zealand society and economy"; as an immigrant, a person is believed to "have more resources and lower levels of need than refugees, and the government expects that to a large extent they will support themselves" (Ministry of Education, 2013, p.16). The policy explicitly states that the advocated and desired "successful transition processes are needed so that refugees can eventually take control of their lives, regain their ability to make choices for themselves, and fully contribute to the country" (The Adult ESOL Strategy, p. 13). Overall, there is the discourse of the construction of the adult ESOL learner as an autonomous rational chooser, who is a 'homo-economicus' in an atmosphere of neo-liberalism.

There is thus a battle of sorts: between the surface level of what is claimed to be the reasons for the Adult ESOL Strategy and the truths that emerge upon closer examination of the document. Thus, a battle for truth is joined. (Foucault, 1980a, p 132) As Foucault says:

Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and make function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true or false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the states of those who are charged with saying what counts as true (1980a, p 131)

In the pursuit of truth, we follow Foucault through his method as revealed in his work. In his body of work, Foucault posed some helpful questions (Gordon, 1980). First, a genealogical question: What political importance might research into our past have in understanding the "objective conditions" of our social present? Second, an archaeological question: How can the emergence of sanctioned forms of rational discourse in modern societies be investigated in terms of their material, historical circumstances of possibility, as well as its regulating systems of order, appropriation, and exclusion?

Third, an ethical question: What connections can be made between theoretical study, specialised knowledge, and political disputes through the role and activity of the intellectual? Fourth, the right use of the concept of power, as well as the relationship and dependency between knowledge and power (Afterword, Foucault, 1980a, p. 233) .

Having been informed of the "what?" of questions that Foucault poses in his work, there is a need to look at the "how?" he asked these questions-his research strategies.

### 1.8 Foucault's research strategies

Foucault used the term 'genealogy' to describe his work. However, he insisted on not following any methodology to do this. His work was to move 'beyond' methodologies, though he referred to his work frequently as methodologies (Tamboukou, 1999, p.201). Foucault has written histories which have been highly interrogated (Tamboukou, 1999). Genealogy is concerned with the processes, procedures and apparatuses by which truth and knowledge are produced in what Foucault calls 'the discursive regime' of the modern era. Rather than ask the question in which kinds of discourse are we entitled to believe, Foucault's genealogies ask the question of which kinds of practices tied to which kinds of external conditions determine which kinds of knowledges in which we ourselves feature (Tamboukou, 1999). Foucauldian genealogy draws from the Enlightenment proposition of "emancipation from self-imposed immaturity" (as cited in Rajchman, 1985, 56). Foucauldian genealogy thinks of the present of philosophy and the philosophers 's self-positioning and active involvement within this present. This boils down to these questions: What is happening now? and What is this "now" within which we all find ourselves? (Tamboukou, 1999). Foucault sees the present as a process that embodies thought, knowledge and philosophy. Foucault introduces scepticism about universalist truths and dogmas, objectivity and pure objective scientific reason. He also interrogates the presumed interconnections between reason, knowledge, progress, freedom and ethical action.

Within this problematic, Foucault also sees a different role of the thinking subject. He does this firstly, by recognising the 'historical dimension of all human reality' (Tamboukou, 1999). Foucault examines the discursive and non-discursive ways in which the subject emerges in history. In doing these, Foucault deploys certain deliberate and

meaning rich terminologies such as 'discontinuities', 'disruptions', 'dispersion', 'reversal', 'episodes', 'struggle', 'relations of force and domination', among others. According to Tamboukou: Genealogy conceives human reality as an effect of the Interweaving of certain historical and cultural practices, which it sets out to trace and explore. Instead of seeing history as a continuous development of an ideal schema, genealogy is oriented to discontinuities.

Throughout the genealogical exploration there are frequent disruptions, uneven and haphazard processes of dispersion, that call into question the supposed linear evolution of history. In this context of reversal, our present is not theorised as the result of a meaningful development, but rather as an episode, a result of struggle and relations of force and domination. (Tamboukou, 1999). Genealogy is the history of such struggles and relations of force and dominations, that is, it is a history of such fights, their deep strategies and the ways that interconnect them (Tamboukou, 1999).

Foucault's Genealogical project goes beyond just revealing discontinuities in the imaginary continuous development of history. It also implies a discontinuity in the present social formations. Genealogy traces possible ways of thinking differently, instead of dogmatically accepting and legitimating the supposedly 'given' truths of our world. The aim of Genealogy is to provide a counter-memory which will help subjects recreate the practical and historical conditions of their current existence.

Genealogy aspires for a future, opening up possibilities for us in life, by separating us from "the contingency that has made us what we are, the possibility of no longer being, doing or thinking what we are, do, or think" (Mahon, 1992, 122)

To the philosopher, Gilles Deleuze (1992), there is a joy and gaiety in Foucault's writing which reveal him as a poetic philosopher. According to Deleuze, Foucault's work shows three important dimensions of writing: 'to write is to struggle and resist, to write is to become, to write is to draw a 'map' (Deleuze, as cited in Tamboukou, 1999).

Deleuze draws on a self-description made by Foucault in an interview in *Nouvelles littéraires*, 17 March 1975, in which Foucault says, "I am a cartographer" to make the claim that genealogy is the act of drawing maps or a cartography of social diagrams.

Deleuze points out that in the *Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault makes a distinction between discursive and non-discursive formations but dealt only with the discursive. However, in *Discipline and Punish*, which is a genealogical project, Foucault's methodology takes a new step, leaving out the dualism of discursive and non-discursive formations and proposing drawing of a map, or a cartography, to illustrate the reality of coexistence between discursive and non-discursive formations in various forms or correlations. Every diagram is both intersocial and evolving and changing all the time, operating to produce a new kind of reality, "by unmasking preceding realities and significations, constituting hundreds of points of emergence or creativity, unexpected conjunctions or improbable continuums" (Deleuze, 1992, p.35).

John Rajchman (1985, 1986, 1991) gives an original insight into, and interpretation of, the Foucault project, calling it a "a modern practical philosophy" (1986, pp.166-168). By this, it can be understood that the project does not try to determine what we should do based on who we are, but on who we have been constituted to be.

Mahon, describing the goal of his study to be to "reveal what Foucault means by genealogical critique" (1992, p. 17), also claims that genealogy should first be regarded

as critique: “as an attempt to reveal concrete, practical, and historical conditions of existence” (Mahon, 1992, p.9). Mahon's study questions any interpretation of Foucault's work that claims that Foucault had undertaken a 'passage' from archaeology to genealogy, by highlighting Foucault's statement: “No, no, no, ... no, no, I never stopped doing archaeology. I never stopped doing genealogy. Genealogy defines the target and the finality of the work and archaeology indicates the field with which I deal to make a genealogy” (Mahon, 1992, p. 212).

In *Critical Effective Histories*, Mitchell Dean (1994) examines Foucault's genealogies through the problematics arising from the use of history in sociological research (Tamboukou, 1999). Dean's reflection on the ontology of genealogy as a “history of the present” serves as a fitting context for his tracing of the relations of archaeology and genealogy as an important means of revealing the potential of the genealogical method to act as a critical and “effective history” (Tamboukou, 1999, p. 6).

In his 1971 essay, "Nietzsche, genealogy, history", Foucault elaborates his notion of genealogy, which turned out to be the cornerstone of work on power. According to Foucault, "Genealogy is gray, meticulous and patiently documentary" ( cited in Rabinow, 1986, p.76). Genealogy, as espoused and as practised by Foucault, has many characteristics:

First, it rests on the historical sense. According to Foucault, Genealogy retrieves an indispensable restraint: it must record the singularity of events outside of any monotonous finality; it must seek them in the most unpromising places, in what we tend to feel is without history- in sentiments, love, conscience, instincts; it must be sensitive to their recurrence not in order to trace the natural curve of their evolution, but to isolate the different scenes where they engaged in different roles. Finally genealogy

must define even those instances when they are absent, the moment when they remain unrealized. (Cited in Rabinow, 1986)

Genealogy is attentive to details, even those details that have been overlooked or considered insignificant by the narratives of mainstream history. It rejects the teleological view of history. The way things are now is just an event, a random result the interweaving of relations of power and domination (Tamboukou, 1999).

As a method of analysis, genealogy looks carefully in dispersed events to trace discontinuities, recurrences and play rather than continuous development and progress that traditional historiography sees. Foucault sees genealogy as 'eventalization' (Tamboukou, 1999). Eventalization begins by interrogating certain assumed evidences of a particular culture on how things should be: "making visible a singularity at places where there is a temptation to invoke a historical constant, an immediate anthropological trait, or an obviousness which imposes itself uniformly on all" (Foucault, cited in Burchell et al, 1991, p.76).

Also, genealogy rethinks the various power relations that decisively influenced the way things were historically and socially established at certain times in history. Genealogy way of thinking reveals, according to Foucault, 'sort of multiplication or pluralization of causes' (Foucault, in Burchell et al., 1991).

In genealogy, a starting point is that there are no final truths about our nature or the norms that our reason gives us. So, there are no essential—no required or dictated way in which we must group or classify people or the world around us. Instead of digging for moral truths, hidden meanings and grand universals, the genealogical analyst is working

on the surface, constructing 'a polygon or rather a polyhedron' (Foucault, in Burchell et al., 1991) of many minor processes that surround the emergence of the event.

Foucault states that, he would like in short to resituate the production of true and false at the heart of historical analysis and political critique' (Foucault, in Burchell et al., 1991).

Further throwing light on an important aspect of genealogy's *modus operandi*, Foucault states, 'Genealogy, consequently, requires patience and knowledge of details and it depends on vast accumulation of source material (Foucault, in Rabinow, 1986).

## 1.9 Genealogy as analysis of descent and emergence

Foucault thinks of genealogy as analysis of descent and emergence (Tamboukou, 1999). He reflects greatly on these two terms and traces their various uses in the Nietzschean texts. A summary of these ideas related to these two terms now follows immediately below:

### 1.9.1 Genealogy as analysis of descent

The analysis of descent does not search for origins; rather it traces the numberless beginnings that are often difficult to capture by the mainstream historian's eye. As Paul Veyne has clearly stated it: Foucault has only one thing to say to historians: 'You may continue to explain history as you have always done. But be careful: if you look very - closely, if you peel away the banalities, you will notice that there is more to explain than you thought; there are crooked contours that you haven't spotted' (Veyne, 1997).

A genealogical analysis of descent does not try to reconstruct the past. In the analysis of descent, 'the genealogist makes the effort to look directly at what people do, without taking anything for granted, without presupposing the existence of any goal, material



cause or ideology. The aim is to strip away the veils that cover people's practices, by simply showing how they are, and where they come from, describing its complicated forms and exploring its countless historical transformations' (Tamboukou, 1999).

Finally, the analysis of descent reveals the inscription of history on the body and everything that touches, or is connected to, the body. As noted by Foucault, "Genealogy as an analysis of descent, is thus situated within the articulation of the body and history, its task is to expose a body totally imprinted by history and the process of history's destruction of the body' (Foucault, cited in Rabinow, 1986)

### 1.9.2 Genealogy as analysis of emergence

Genealogy as analysis of emergence delineates the various processes and power relations in various systems of subjection within which things appeared as events on the stage of history (Tamboukou, 1999). Emergence is trying to capture the very 'moment of arising' (Foucault, cited in Rabinow, 1986), being aware that "this is only an accidental moment, an episode, and not the ultimate point of historical evolution" (**Foucault, cited in Rabinow, 1986, p. 84**). Foucault has seen his project as an ontology of the present (Foucault, cited in Dean, 1994). Genealogy as analysis of emergence seeks to connect to effective history. A series of methodological questions are asked: when and how can the writing of history be regarded as effective? A history renders itself effective when it "develops the ability to distinguish singularities, acknowledge differences, decentre man as the subject of historical becoming and shatter the certainties of our very existence" (Foucault, cited in Rabinow, 1986, p. 89; Tamboukou, 1999).

### 1.10 The Wider Context for Adult ESOL

The Adult ESOL Strategy is primarily about ESOL provision and potential adult ESOL learners, however it has broader contexts that impact on teaching and learning.

The Treaty of Waitangi is the founding document of New Zealand and hence it is important that migrants learn about and reflect on the bicultural message that the treaty provides. Possibly through adult ESOL classes, students could learn about Kawa and Tikanga- Māori protocols. To represent the diverse interests of ethnic communities in the Strategy, a couple of key sources were identified as guides by the Strategy. The 2001 *Vibrant Voices and Visions for Ethnic New Zealand* conference identified some key principles: policy development issues and some important implications for nation building, employment and English language skills were highlighted as being key in success in the society. Employment was regarded as key for successful participation in New Zealand society and proficiency in the English language was regarded as essential. ESOL programmes needed to be well resourced and well targeted. The Office of Ethnic affairs developed a resource in 2002, *Ethnic Perspectives on Policy*, which encompasses the main themes of visibility, acceptance, participation and access. It proposes that, in terms of adult ESOL, “English language programmes are targeted to meet the needs of people with different levels and types of language” (cited in TAES, 2003, p. 6)

The Pasifika Education Plan (Ministry of Education, 2001) has some areas of focus relevant to adult ESOL. These include improving Pacific adults’ literacy and improving their access to community education and vocational education (TAES, p.6).

### 1.11 Other related Policies: Historical Material as context

According to *The Adult ESOL Strategy*, “it is important that developments in adult ESOL are viewed within the context of government’s broader social and economic policy including those within the tertiary education sector. Many of these changes will impact on ESOL provision” (Ministry of Education, 2003, p. 6). Among such other policies are New Zealand Immigration Services’ policies around immigration and migrant settlement and refugee resettlement, The Tertiary Education Strategy 2002/07 . Finally, the Adult ESOL Strategy (TAES) also has strong links to the “Growth and Innovation Framework” (Ministry of Education, 2003, p. 6)

### 1.12 An Important antecedent: The Adult ESOL Strategy and the influence of Public Choice theory

The Adult ESOL Strategy was published in 2003 (Ministry of Education, 2003). It was not born in a vacuum. It was published at a time when Public Choice theory was figuratively everywhere, in fact, ideas inspired by it influenced virtually all government policies in New Zealand.

Public choice theory - is one of a group of theories referred to as “the new right” by David Collard in 1968 (Collard, 1968). It is also known in various places as economic rationalism, or neo-liberalism, or ordo-liberalism. Dennis Mueller defined public choice theory as follows: “Public choice is the application of the theories of economics, particularly those relating to competition, to the political arena” (Mueller, 1989 p.1).

Allocation by means of any collective action or agreement, planning for example and or government or local body decisions were held to be necessarily inefficient, and to interfere with the efficient and equitable function of the market (Devine, 2000). It was

on the basis of this that there was substantial literature written attacking all forms of 'collectivism' and 'bureaucracy'. This element of public choice theory, known variously as 'rent-seeking', 'new public management', 'new institutional economics' 'provider capture', and 'principal – agency theory' (or the 'principal - agency problem') had a great influence on the restructuring of government in New Zealand and in other places (Devine 2000). In the 1980s, the public choice- influenced form of thinking about the government, the state, and other government-related and controlled activity was pervasive. Hence, by the time the Labour party was elected in 1984 the stage was already set, with many believers in this 'theory'. The Labour government of 1984 applied the tenets of public choice to the businesses owned by the state: the telecommunications system, the nationally owned banks, government printing office, etc. (Devine, 2000). The 'theory' was a practice of applying economics to politics and other areas of society. Also, under cover of 'rationality' and 'efficiency', economics moved into disciplines in which it had not traditionally been influential. Public Choice Theory influenced education in schools (Devine, 2000).

Economists or Public Choice theorists applied their theories to education. Since ESOL was part of this terrain of power, believers in Public Choice theory had already poisoned the well by the time The Adult ESOL Strategy came along. They have taken the notions expressed by Adam Smith that the economy is co-extensive with the market to extreme lengths, to also mean that the economy is coextensive with all aspects of human activity (Devine, 2000). Hence, the emphasis on the economic 'contributions' of immigrants to New Zealand in the Strategy

Devine (2000) argues that there is no basis to believe that economics or Public Choice theory offers a better basis for decision making than the usual modes of social, political or ethical thought.

The term accountability is another term that featured in the thinking of purveyors of Public Choice theory. The influence of such thinking can be seen in The Adult ESOL Strategy closely. The term accountability replaced that of responsibility. Though the exact word is not used, a closely- related one 'participation' (which necessarily arises out of a need for accountability) occurs at least 20 times in The Adult ESOL Strategy (2003).

The Adult ESOL Strategy can show how one episteme, such as that of economics, is held to be applicable to another episteme, for example, the episteme of economics and social phenomena .

*The Calculus of Consent* (Buchanan and Tullock, 1962) is the defining statement on the nature of public choice (Devine, 2000). The basis of analysis is 'methodological individualism'. This involves seeing all human behaviour as a result of individual choices: The Adult ESOL learner is presented with choices (such as which ESOL course to take, where to take it, how many hours he/she takes it for) which he/she is free to make. However, they are indirectly warned that the choices that they make personally will have economic consequences; the 'personal' choices will determine their place economically in the society, as they need to be able to get good jobs, provide for their families, all which would be made possible by making sound personal choices regarding ESOL .The book, *The Calculus of Consent* (Buchanan & Tullock, 1962) is a study of the way in which individuals choose their preferences, given certain assumptions about the nature of individuals, and the choices which will be made available to them (Devine,

2000). By inference, the assumptions about the individual are predictable and thus transferable. The key elements of public choice are the use of methodological individualism and the idealization of the market as the model of maximally effective human interaction (Devine, 2000).

The market is regarded as fair, allowing the two individuals who make exchanges based on what advantages both of them. It is also said that the market serves the cause of justice and is the most efficient way of distributing scarce resources. Allocations based on any form of collective action such as planning, is said to be inefficient and to interfere with the efficient working of the markets. The Adult ESOL Strategy can thus be said to introduce the immigrant to a market of sorts, a market where it is expected that the choices they make or don't make will benefit or harm them economically.

### 1.13 Strategies for Adult ESOL

The Adult ESOL Strategy has four key elements designed to meet the vision and targets for Adult ESOL. These are:

First, better coordination and collaboration. Second, enhanced access and affordability. Third, expanding provision and increasing quality. Finally, fourth, ensuring the diversity of learner needs are matched with appropriate provision (The Adult ESOL Strategy, 2003, p.8).

### 1.14 Structure of the thesis

In addition to Chapter One: Introduction, the thesis has five other main chapters as following:

- Chapter Two: Literature Review including New Zealand Policy Context

- Chapter Three: Background to the Foucauldian Socio-historical analysis as methodology for analysis
- Chapter Four: Techniques for analysis: a discussion of how Foucault can be used to analyse policy documents
- Chapter Five: Analytic method: using Critical Discourse Analysis to analyse policy documents -a case study of The Adult ESOL Strategy (2003)
- Chapter Six: Summing up

This chapter has provided an overview as well as a background to the study , including a review of the history and contexts of migrants and adult ESOL in New Zealand as well as the significance of the study .The next chapter will be a review of Foucauldian discourse analysis as a socio-historical methodology for analysis.

## CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW- A REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON (FOUCAULDIAN) CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS SOCIO-HISTORICAL METHODOLOGY FOR ANALYSIS

First, this chapter provides a historical context to the study. In addition, it defines and examines adult ESOL as an academic and policy field. It also provides an overview of relevant studies. The New Zealand Policy Context chapter outlines the content of the relevant policy document. The Methodology outlines approaches to education policy studies, states the principles of CDA and explains its key research tools. It also presents a review of previous studies that have used CDA as a method in educational policy research. Also, the framework for analysis, procedure and the data that the thesis uses are explained. After this Methodology chapter, the chapter on techniques for analysis follows. The chapter will be a discussion of how Foucault can be used for analysis. The final chapters comprise one on Analytic method as well as a summing up, which includes a discussion of the policy implications, recommendations and concluding remarks.

This study of The Adult ESOL Strategy -a New Zealand policy text , through discourse analysis drawing largely on both Fairclough and Foucault, aspires to dissect, disrupt and render the familiar strange by interrogating, as Foucault (1980) describes, “the discourses of true and false ... the correlative formation of domains and objects ... the verifiable, falsifiable discourses that bear on them, and...the effects in the real to which they are linked” (Foucault 1980a, p. 237) .

### 2.1 Language Policy and Planning in New Zealand

Historically, Language Policy and Planning in New Zealand has been uneven in its development. This situation was anchored in the general attitudes prevalent in the



society and in the successive governments. Among the factors responsible for this are what Kaplan (1994) referred to as vestigial racism in New Zealand in that some of the adult Anglo-Saxon New Zealanders had rather negative feelings about Māori (Nicholson & Garland, 1991), Asian and other immigrants, hence some hostility towards language issues in the society. Also, the governments were not really interested, as it was not easy to quickly claim credit for any progress because language policies would take a long time to show concrete benefits (Kaplan, 1994).

Language planning did not exist or proceed in any coordinated fashion. It occurred in the governmental (e.g. Foreign affairs, Education, Immigration), quasi-governmental (e.g. Multinational corporations, Medical Services, Legal services) as well as non-governmental sectors (e.g. Churches, Sporting activities and Entertainment), (Kaplan, 1994). The government agencies such as Immigration and Education, among others, had their separate policies. In fact, different sectors were involved in what has been described variously as “unplanned planning” and “unconscious language planning” in New Zealand (Kaplan, 1994, p.157).

The Adult ESOL Strategy is one of the most important documents in education in New Zealand. It spells out what is planned for Adult Migrants’ ESOL education. A key foundation for the provision of education for Adult migrants is the Adult and Migrant Education Language Education (AMELE)

## 2.2 AMELE

Adult Migrant English Language Education (AMELE) is a broad field comprising of three strands. These are Adult ESOL, adult Literacy studies and Literacy in the workplace. Various academic disciplines contribute to this umbrella field. (Khan, 2016).

### 2.3 Adult ESOL

Adult ESOL is, hence, a subset of Adult and Migrant Education Language Education (AMELE). Contributions to this field are from applied linguistics and its sub-disciplines: second language acquisition (SLA), language policy and planning (LPP), sociolinguistics as well as adult education (Khan, 2016). This section will discuss key findings in Adult ESOL and highlight policy issues in Adult ESOL in New Zealand (Khan, 2016).

It has been observed that the Adult ESOL field is context-specific and as such, research findings in this field cannot necessarily be generalised from one country to another (Murray, 2005). The overseas research on Adult ESOL has been described to be fragmentary and spasmodic (Burns, 2006; Burns & Roberts, 2010; Khan, 2016). Research in the field of adult ESOL is hardly ever consistently funded, hence its spasmodic nature. The fragmented nature of funding can be explained by the diverse and transitory English language provision, which is usually spread across various providers and agencies (Burns, 2006; Burns & Roberts, 2010; Khan 2016)

Norton (2006) and Murray (2005) note that Adult ESOL as a field of research is affected by differences in learners' characteristics and needs (Khan, 2016; Murray, 2005; Norton, 2006; Ricento, 2005)

Other things that need to be considered have been summarised by Hinkel (2005, cited in Khan, 2016) as follows:

- Learners in different locations have different needs and different learning abilities;
- Different learners have different levels of education and literacy;
- Individual learners or groups of learners can be distinct in terms of their age, socioeconomic backgrounds, and sociolinguistic variables

- (Khan, 2016, p.10)

The first and natural observation is that all these words come straight out of educational thinking about learners, which Biesta (2010) critiques. It must be pointed out that there are scholars who have objections to the use of the term 'learners. Being one of them, Biesta (2010) asserts that:

when we refer to those who are the subjects of education as 'learners' we immediately put them in a position where they still have to learn and where their learning is considered to be dependent upon our explanation. Hence, we are saying that they cannot yet speak. We are saying that, for the moment, until the 'end' of education has arrived, they can only produce noise and that it is only as a result of our explanation of the meaning of their noise that they can come to speech—which, as I have argued above, means that they will never be able to come to their own speech. When we refer to those who are the subjects of education as 'students', we start from the assumption that they can learn without our explanations, without the need for educational 'respiration' (Biesta, 2010, p. 548).

The term "learners" is however used here only in the most general term, as commonly used and is used for convenience. Its use here follows the meaning given by Britannica dictionary as being: "a person who is trying to gain knowledge or skill in something by studying, practicing, or being taught" Example collocations and phrases given by the same dictionary are as follow: an adult *learner*; an advanced *learner*; *learners* of English as a second language; a *learner's* dictionary (Britannica , n.d.).

In addition, this term is used in the document, The Adult ESOL Strategy, itself. For example, in the Adult ESOL Strategy, the government stated that "a strategy is needed to co-ordinate the government's approach to adult ESOL, so that the investment in adult ESOL provision is used in ways which best meet the needs of learners, the economy and the wider community." (Ministry of Education, p. 3) [emphasis mine]

## 2.4 Adult ESOL as policy in the New Zealand context

The discussion below will first look at the definition of Adult ESOL policy in the LPP framework and then look at Adult ESOL policy in New Zealand.

According to Hornberger's framework of LPP, Adult ESOL policy is focused on acquisition planning. It involves opportunities to learn languages/literacies, in this case the acquisition of English and English literacy (Khan, 2016). Two different approaches are identified by Hornberger within acquisition planning. These are policy and cultivation planning. Policy attends to national or societal matters on a macro level, with emphasis on the formal role of language in society. On the other hand, the cultivation planning approach is interested in the functional role of a language. The goal within a cultivation approach is wider distribution of L2 literacy (Hornberger, 2006). With variations determined by which country is concerned, Adult ESOL can be treated either separately or as part of an explicit national languages policy (Lo Bianco, 1997 details an Australian example).

In New Zealand, Adult ESOL is a separate policy in the domain of Tertiary education, though this classification has been described as being just nominal. (Khan 2016). In May 2003, the New Zealand Ministry of Education released the *Adult ESOL Strategy* (Ministry of Education, 2003), which to date remains the only comprehensive and explicit statement on issues concerning English language education (Khan, 2016).

Adult ESOL policy is problematic due to lack of governmental policy about languages issues (Khan 2016). There seems to be a lack of political will by the New Zealand government to develop and adopt a comprehensive national languages policy (Peddie, 1997, 2005). This is despite language professionals strongly advocating for it (Kaplan,

1994; Benton, 1996; Shackleford, 1997; East ~~et al.~~, 2007; Roach & Roskvist, 2007; Harvey, 2013).

The government's approach to languages' issues necessarily affects Adult ESOL and the way adult ESOL is delivered. Jefferey Waite, who wrote the report titled *Aotearoa: Speaking for Ourselves* (Waite, 1992) advocated that ESOL education be available for all learners and that it should be part of a national languages policy. He argues that the presence of such a policy would have made ESOL provision more systematic, better coordinated and more accessible in New Zealand (Benton, 1996; East et al., 2007; Waite, 1992; Khan, 2016).

A systematic, coordinated and an easily accessible ESOL provision in New Zealand would depend on the two very important policy issues of curriculum and funding

## 2.5 Curriculum

Roach & Roskvist (2007) have noted that there is no national ESOL curriculum for adult learners. This means that standards differ among various ESOL education providers (Roach & Roskvist, 2007). Also, for Adult ESOL, there is no mechanism for conceptualizing languages in education and which is monitored by the Ministry of Education. As a result, different agencies or departments including the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC), Ministry of Education, Immigration New Zealand, Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment (MBIE) split the responsibilities for relevant matters among themselves (Burns, 2006; Burns & Roberts, 2010; Ker et al., 2013; Roach & Roskvist, 2007; Khan, 2016).

## 2.6 Funding

Funding is very important for Adult ESOL policy and it has implications for availability and accessibility of adult ESOL programmes, as well as for research and evaluation of ESOL programmes (Burns & Roberts, 2010; Ker et al., 2013; Roach & Roskvist, 2007; Khan 2016).

White et al., (2001; 2002) claim that the main obstacle for immigrants' accessing ESOL education is tuition cost. As noted by Roach & Roskvist (2007), there is no funded national research and evaluation programme for Adult ESOL. They recommend that New Zealand follow the Australian model, in which funding for research is made available through the National Centre for English Language and Research based at Macquarie University (Khan, 2016).

## 2.7 The Adult ESOL Strategy

*The Adult ESOL Strategy* (Ministry of Education, 2003) sets out how the government intends to properly establish and nourish adult ESOL and how the approach could be coordinated. It has a set vision, targets and principles.

The Adult ESOL Strategy was launched by the then New Zealand's Associate Minister of Education (who was also the then Minister of Immigration), Lianne Dalziel, in the Labour-led government, on May 12, 2003.

## 2.8 Why the need for an Adult ESOL Strategy?

In addition to helping new immigrants settle in with skills such as finding and retaining jobs, getting access to information and services and helping their children with their educational pursuits, an ESOL strategy also would help New Zealand fulfil her

international obligations with regards to resettling refugees. Thus, for both immigrants and refugees, having English language skills would enable them to participate fully and effectively in the New Zealand economy.

The government also stood to benefit. The government acknowledged that the range of ESOL services needed to be improved and that there was a need to meet rising demand for quality ESOL provision. The government decided that it needed to solve identified problems and to remove barriers to access to ESOL services. The government decided that things needed to change for the better with respect to ESOL administration, funding and delivery. As stated in the Adult ESOL Strategy, the government decided that “a strategy is needed to co-ordinate the government’s approach to adult ESOL, so that the investment in adult ESOL provision is used in ways which best meet the needs of learners, the economy and the wider community.” (The Adult ESOL Strategy, Ministry of Education, 2003, p.3).

## 2.9 Vision

The vision for the Adult ESOL Strategy is, “All New Zealand residents from non-English-speaking backgrounds have opportunities to gain English language skills so they can participate in all aspects of life in New Zealand, whether in the workplace, further education, family or the community” (The Adult ESOL Strategy, Ministry of Education, 2003, p.3).

## 2.10 Principles

The key principles to be used for guiding adult ESOL provision in the future were decided to be the following:

- The development and provision of adult ESOL is learner-centred and based on partnership with migrant/refugee communities
- Adult ESOL is aligned to and an integral part of migrant and refugee settlement processes
- Adult ESOL provision recognises and values the culture of all learners
- Adult ESOL provision is of high quality, is easy to access, is affordable and encourage participation and achievement

(Ministry of Education, 2003)

### 2.11 Targets

The Strategy has a long-term focus, and it was to have stepped implementation, that is, there would be phases, each stage feeding into the other. The first steps and priorities of the Strategy would be implemented over a period of three years. They would then be evaluated. The information derived from this exercise would then be used to design further steps to meet the Strategy's vision. In line with these, the following were some targets, among others, which would be a guide in determining the success of the Strategy: First, the population of the people with no English Language skills, which was about 50,000 in 2003, would be halved by 2012. Next, within six weeks of being assessed, all unemployed job seekers with no English language skills were to have been given a place on an adult ESOL programme. Finally, a process for measurement of learner gains would be developed and tested and built into quality processes by 2006 (Ministry of Education, 2003).

### 2.12 Background to the Development of the Strategy

There was intensive consultation involved in the development of the strategy. The government released the consultation document titled *Towards a Strategy for Adult ESOL provision in New Zealand* in 2002 (New Zealand Government, 2002; ESOL Home



Tutors, 2002). This document highlighted some problems, suggested a vision and suggested some ideas needed in a strategy. It was decided after the consultation, that there wasn't enough adult ESOL provision to meet demand and that there were issues with the quality of what was already available.

### 2.13 The Four Elements of the Adult ESOL Strategy

The four elements that make up the Strategy (closely aligned with the strategies of achieving the targets above) are as follow: First, better co-ordination and collaboration—there would be well-defined roles and responsibilities. There would also be the involvement of refugees and immigrants in both planning and provision of ESOL and allied services. Second, enhancing access and affordability. This would involve improvement of information about adult ESOL and more flexible and responsive programmes to meet the needs of diverse learners. Third, expanding provision and increasing quality. This would involve directing funds to those that best meet the learning needs. Fourth, ensuring the diversity of learner needs are met in a custom-made way. Students differ in their ability levels as well as in their backgrounds. It is accepted, for example, that refugees usually have more needs than immigrants with regards to language needs to be met. (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.8)

It is to be noted that despite the fanfare with which the ESOL Strategy was launched, the following are facts today: First, the strategy was not and has never been written into legislation. Second, there were no specified starting or finishing dates, though the published date may be assumed to be the starting date. Third, the strategy is still current and has not been made obsolete by a superseding strategy or legislation. Fourth, there hasn't been any publication of any review of the strategy. Finally, the strategy does not state specific time frames for achieving most of the broad goals.

There was no clear indication of the one government agency responsible for the implementation and evaluation of the targets. The Christchurch earthquake contributed to the halting of the evaluation of the results of the proposed targets by the Ministry of Education. The earthquake caused the postponement of the 2011 Census till March 2011. In turn, this caused delays. (Statistics New Zealand, 2013 cited in Khan, 2016)

In 2008, a report on National Gaps and Priorities in ESOL was released by the Tertiary Education Commission (Tertiary Education Commission, 2008b) which can be regarded as an interim assessment of the state of adult ESOL issues. TEC suggested three areas to be prioritised: the need for additional ESOL support for pre-literate learners, the demand for work based and industry specific ESOL learning opportunities and the growing demand from unfunded ESOL learners, which implies that greater investment in providing ESOL for those learners may be justified (Tertiary Education Commission, 2008b; Khan, 2016).

#### 2.14 National Picture of Immigrants and Refugees

New Zealand immigrants and refugees are from very diverse backgrounds. It has become so diverse that it has been aptly described as a superdiverse country (Harvey, 2015). According to Mai Chen (Palmer, 2015), a superdiverse society usually has more than 100 ethnicities where over 25% of the society was born abroad. This superdiversity in New Zealand has brought both blessings as well as challenges to the society. Blessings in the sense that the diversity has contributed to making the society a rich society, both culturally and economically. For example, it was the economic attraction that made New Zealand revise its eurocentric immigration policy in 1991 and adopt a points-based system. On the other hand, this superdiversity has brought its challenges; the greatest of which was that many of these refugees and immigrants were ill-equipped for their

new life here, as indicated in the 2006 Census (Roach & Roskvist, 2007) that 88,000 people did not speak English well enough to carry on regular everyday conversations in the language. It was also revealed by the government that though there were as many as 200,000 adults who though could speak English, they could not speak it as well as they should (Ministry of Education, 2003).

New Zealand's population is diverse and reflects on-going migration flows. In 2013, 25.2% of all New Zealanders were born overseas. The five most common countries of birth were England (21.5%), Australia (6.3%), India (6.3%), China (8.9%), and South Africa (5.4%) (New Zealand Government, 2015).

Potential immigrants to New Zealand must apply through one of the residence streams of the New Zealand Residence Programme which are the Skilled/Business stream, Uncapped Family Stream, Capped Family Stream, and International/ Humanitarian Streams. The number of people approved for residence in 2012/13 was 38, 961. Top source countries for approvals were United Kingdom (13%), India (13%) and China (15%). The Skilled/Business Stream was made up of half of approved residents during this period, and about 90% which translated to 18,156 people approved through the skilled Migrant Category. In addition, most approvals were for people already living in New Zealand. Between 2011 to 2013, 79% of approved applications were for migrants already in New Zealand. Since 2002, 59% of principal applicants issued work-to-residence visa transitioned to permanent residence with nearly two-third of them gaining residence through Skilled Migrant Category. International students who have completed their studies are also an important source of future skilled migrants because they adapt more quickly to local opportunities and conditions because of their experience while studying in the country (New Zealand Government, 2015).

## 2.15 Policies: History and Strategies

### 2.15.1 ESOL

The lack of a coherent language- in- education policy for Adult ESOL is well-documented (Shackleford, 1997). Despite globalisation and a groundswell in immigration, the system was still uncoordinated. The period 1986–95, earlier considered the ‘years of optimism’ (Bedford 2005, p.135), was, to a significant extent, years of lack of success with regard to provision of sufficient English-language skills for successful settlement (White et al. , 2002). It was a period in which immigrants with ESOL needs were left to fend for themselves and to develop without formalised guidance (Cooke 2001, cited in Roach & Roskvist, 2007). In addition, the years between 1996 and 2004 have been described as years in which immigration policy was reconceptualised away from quality to quantity and according to Bedford (2005) from targets to successful outcomes. The government desired to achieve both cohesion as a society and fundamental educational goals in foundation skills, adult literacy, languages and numeracy (New Zealand Immigration, 2018a; New Zealand Immigration Service 2004; Butcher & Hall, as cited in Roach & Roskvist, 2007). Undergirding the government’s efforts to achieve these goals were many policies/strategies launched namely the Adult Literacy Strategy, The Adult ESOL Strategy, Tertiary Education Strategies and the National Settlement strategy. The government published *More than Words/Kei tua atu i te kupu: The New Zealand Adult Literacy Strategy* (Ministry of Education, 2001), directly influenced by the result of the International Adult Literacy Survey of 1996, which revealed that about 20% of New Zealand’s adult population had insufficient literacy skills. This had implications for adult ESOL as the government realized the need for programmes for adult English language learners, to enable them fit well into their new environment.

## 2.16 Historical gap in the field and how the study aims to fill it

Ricento (2006) highlighted the gap in the field to be that the practice of language planning, which covers language policies implementation and evaluation of specific language policies, have not been studied enough as a facet of Language Planning research. Language planning, deliberate or not, is often an integral part of migrant policies.

There are not many known studies which use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyse national policy documents in New Zealand. This study aims to fill that gap by CDA (and FCDA) to analyse and illuminate national policy documents in New Zealand, especially *The Adult ESOL Strategy* (2003)

A Critical discourse analysis (CDA) (see Wodak & Meyer, 2009) approach to this study has been chosen because The English language plays such an important role in the settlement and integration of immigrants, which are main decided goals of the New Zealand government as expressed in government-produced policy texts. The CDA of policy texts essentially ties in to the background of what is an important area, the area of Language Policy and Planning. The policy texts *The Adult ESOL Strategy* (2003) can only be fully understood against the background of an understanding of the field of Language Policy and Planning.

### Language Policy and Planning (LPP)

Language Policy and Planning (LPP) embodies two concepts- Language planning and Language policy. Language planning, broadly speaking, refers to all oral or written, formal or informal texts that attempt to confirm or change the workings of a language in a society or parts of that society. Language policy, on the other hand, is usually

regarded as all attempts to influence the workings of a language in a society by means of specific measures that target the status, the corpus, the acquisition and prestige of a language (Darquennes, 2013). In consonance with this definition, there is a further clarification by the following definition of Language policy (statements of intent) and planning (implementation). LPP is described as a national or large-scale planning carried out by the government to influence people's ways of speaking or their literacy practices (Baldauf Jr., 2004).

Also, according to Cooper (1989), Language planning refers to effort deliberately made to influence the behaviour of others in their structure and acquisition of functional allocation with respect to their language codes (Cooper, 1989). Traditionally, there are two dimensions namely Corpus planning and Status planning. Corpus planning involves norm selection and codification such as the writing of grammars and spelling standardization. Status planning, on the other hand, involves initial choice of language, including attitudes to, and the political implications of, alternative choices (Bright, 1992). A third recognizable major type of language planning is Language Acquisition planning (Cooper, 1989). This involves choice of medium of instruction being important in the acquisition planning because one must use the language to learn, in addition to learning the language (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2018). The term 'LPP' is a convenient one because it is elastic enough to cover what LPP is or at least suggests the interrelatedness of both Policy and Planning. There is no general agreement on the exact nature of the interrelationship between Policy and Planning (Schiffman, 2013). While some scholars hold that language, planning precedes language policy (Studer et al. (2008) , as cited in Darquennes, 2013), others assert that in most cases, policy precedes planning, though it is also possible for planning to precede policy (Fishman, 1972a). In addition to the

inextricable interlinking of these two, it has been pointed out that the literature on language policy addresses planning issues and vice versa (Darquennes, 2013).

#### 2.16.1 The Dimensions of LPP

LPP covers four dimensions or according to Baldauf (2004) and Lo Bianco (2013), four kinds of interrelated actions or interactions. One, actions that aim at modifying the corpus of a language through the standardization and/or elaboration of its lexicon, grammar and /or orthography. Two, actions that aim at influencing the social status and/or functional range of a given language variety. Three, actions that aim at raising the social prestige of a language variety and four, actions that aim at promoting the acquisition of a language variety (Darquennes, 2013).

#### 2.16.2 History of LPP

The emergence of LPP can be grouped into three broad phases. The first phase started in the 1960s and ran till the late 1970s. This was that of basic research in LPP, in which focus was mainly on developing LPP terminology and framework. Primarily, the focus was on solving language problems in developing nations. Research was concerned with the technical aspects of LPP and aimed to influence the corpus and status of languages, many of them, minority languages. The second phase brought about the critical evaluation and discussion of the approaches to LPP in the first phase and the emergence of highlighting of the ideological nature of LPP (Tollefson, 2002 & Ricento, 2000, 2010a). The third phase is the current and ongoing one in which more attention is given to the variety of everyday practices and governmentality that bring about the ideologies and policies influencing particular views of the society on different issues involving language. (Ricento, 2010).

### 2.16.3 Discourse analysis and Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is a term that can be versatile or amorphous (Graham, 2005). Because of this, it is quite difficult to find a definitive description or guide to doing CDA or Foucauldian discourse analysis. Michel Foucault expressed his reluctance to delineate a research method, especially with respect to genealogy (Harwood, 2000; Meadmore et al., 2000; Tamboukou, 1999). Foucault (1994) disliked prescription and wrote instead to provoke and disrupt so that “all those who speak for others or to others “no longer know what to do” (Graham, 2005) As a result, Foucauldian framework (Graham, 2005) has emerged in which some researchers perceive that there are no rules to follow while some researchers perceive Foucauldian theory as being inaccessible and dangerous (O’Farrell, as cited in Graham, 2005).

**Various Earlier Studies :** Sandra Taylor (2004) has provided an analysis of education policy documents, using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). According to Taylor (2004), CDA is an appropriate tool to analyse policies as it creates a framework for researchers to analyse the systems without speculations and to understand how policies work. It allows the investigating on of relationships between language and other social processes of how language works within power relations.

CDA is mostly based on critical social theory (Maingueneau & O’regan (2006) ; van Leeuwen 1996 ; Buchanan, 2008). Discourse studies evolved in the 1970s through the early structuralist to the post-structuralist and post-modern approaches. This was based largely on Nietzsche and Heidegger, resulting in a relativist view of linguistics (Windschuttle, 1997). Windschuttle is one of the scholars who were critical of both Heideggerian theorists as well as Nietzschean theorists, such as Foucault. According to Windschuttle, the relativist views restrict the independence of the human subject to



being no more than an illusion. Windschuttle (1997) criticizes Foucault and other Nietzscheans of regarding humans as being merely tools of language and culture. Many other authors however find Foucault's approach to the study of Discourse a valid and helpful one. For example, McHoul & Grace (1998) argue that Foucault takes a useful middle-ground approach that ideas are not just effects of real structures and are also not just constituents of reality. Similarly, Luke (1995) finds it valuable that Foucault incorporates both broad and localised societal formations.

Socio-politically, CDA is appropriate as a methodology. The 'critical' part of CDA is comprised of societal power constructs and the request for social responsibility associated with them (Cotter, 2003). The Foucauldian approach is inextricably linked with power relations. Foucault considered power to flow throughout all levels of society and not just from top to bottom stating that in a two-way interaction, "discourse both shapes and is shaped by society" (Teo 2000, p.12).

Taylor (2004) distinguishes between two approaches to discourse analysis: CDA which, is mostly dependent on drawing inferences from linguistic features in the text and Discursive analysis, informed by the work of Foucault. The difference between these two, is sometimes simplistically described as being that between the former relying on analysis of linguistic features and the other not. The difference is more complex than this. The common features to the discourse analysis informed by Foucauldian analyses are "sensitivity about structures which emerged from theorising that rests upon complexity, uncertainty and doubt and upon a reflexivity about its own production and its claims to knowledge about the social" (Ball, 1995, p. 269).

As asserted by Graham (2005), just because post-structuralism, as in the work of Foucault, does not believe in the validity of a fixed meaning (Hutcheon, 1988), does not

mean that it is nihilistic (Nicholson, 1989) or is engaged in what Said (1993) referred to as “tiresome playfulness” (Said, 1993, p 312). The influence of Foucault and other post-thinkers is sometimes charged with both vices (Wetherall et al., 2001 cited in Graham, 2005).

Foucault was mainly interested in the interactions of three variables, namely discourse, power and the subject (McHoul & Grace, 1998). Accordingly, the discourse of Immigrant-related policy in New Zealand, *The Adult ESOL Strategy* (2003), will be analysed with special attention to these three. Power relations are particularly important, as the struggles between the requirements of the policies as constituted by the state and its agencies and the implementers and consumers of state policies are in constant play.

Foucault’s theorisation of the disciplinary properties as well as the properties of discursive practices within socio-political relations of power cares about how language works, to produce not only meaning but also the realisation of particular relations of power upon and through specific types of subjects and objects (Luke, 1999).

This chapter has looked at the relevant literature and has examined adult ESOL as an academic and policy field. The next chapter will examine the background to the Foucauldian socio-historical analysis as methodology for analysis.

### CHAPTER 3 BACKGROUND TO THE FOUCAULDIAN SOCIO-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS AS METHODOLOGY FOR ANALYSIS

This chapter mainly discusses the methodology adopted in this study. The Methodology outlines approaches to education policy studies, states the principles of CDA and explains its key research tools. It also presents a review of previous studies that have used CDA as a method in educational policy research. Also, the framework for analysis, procedure and the data that the thesis uses are explained.

The methodological framework of this thesis explicitly adopts the view of policy being a 'Discourse' with a big 'D' (Gee, 2011a, 2011b, 2012) and investigates the construction of New Zealand Adult ESOL strategy (policy).

In addition, this chapter defines policy and looks at different ways of conducting policy analysis. After this, CDA and how it can be applied in research are explained. The chapter then goes on to provide the research design. It states which text has been chosen for analysis, how the analytical framework has been designed. It ends with an acknowledgement of the limitations of the study.

This section further looks at the different methodological approaches available as well as the possibility of hybrid approaches to CDA. It states the possibility of using a variety of data collecting and analytic approaches in a study. It discusses language methods and research techniques that could be used to analyse texts. In addition, it gives examples of their use in some policy studies.

### 3.1 An overview of the approaches to policy study

Policy has been viewed and described in many ways. The way it is viewed determines the research method (Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Blackmore & Lauder, 2011; Khan, 2016). Policy can be considered as ‘text’, ‘process’, ‘discourse’, ‘political decision’, ‘program’ or ‘an outcome’ (Blackmore & Lauder, 2011; Olssen et al. , 2004). Ball (1993) adds that policy may be defined as a form of intended social action, which results in a subsequent practice (Bell & Stevenson, 2006). In this thesis, following after Khan (2016), policy is regarded as discourse, which includes an intended social action with subsequent practices. Treating policy as discourse will help in the understanding of the “relations between the individual policy text and the wider relations of the social structure and political system” (Olssen et al., 2004, p.71).

Among the various models and theories used for the study of policy are cost-benefit analysis, risk assessment, rational choice theory, agency theory, discourse theory, including CDA, critical social science and others (Fischer, 2003; Harvey, 2006; Khan 2016; Mills, 2004). The research orientation, whether qualitative, quantitative or mixed-method, will determine the type of data that will be collected, and the tools used for data analysis (Angouri, 2010; Bryman, 2012; Dornyei, 2007).

Quantitative research methods were the preferred ones in policy studies. Until the 1970s, these methods underpinned by a positivist paradigm (Blackmore & Lauder, 2011) were favoured. These were favoured among many governments because they were thought to offer ‘generalisability’, ‘objectivity’ and simple ways of understanding a problem (Blackmore & Lauder, 2011 ; Fischer, 2003).

The supposed superiority of technocratic approaches to policy studies has been challenged by other researchers such as those working in other paradigms such as postmodernism, interpretivism and critical theory (Blackmore & Lauder, 2011; Fischer, 2003; Taylor & Medina, 2013). A number of gaps were identified. With the rise of feminism as well as critical theory in the 1970s, 'rational models' were challenged by the questions of social class, gender and ethnicity. This suggested that there had been a lack of consideration and impact of those questions on the study of policy (Blackmore & Lauder, 2011). Researchers in the qualitative paradigm were also sceptical of the claimed neutrality of quantitative methods used in policy studies (Blackmore & Lauder, 2011). The question of neutrality may refer to the role of the researcher and their impact on a study with regard to assumptions and bias a researcher may state (Dornyei, 2007; Bryman, 2012; Jones, 2013).

Considerations of power and an acknowledgement of the fact that power is hardly ever equally shared among all people involved and impacted by research provides another challenge. The proponents of the critical traditions assert that how much social control those involved in and impacted by research get and whose primary interests a policy will contain is determined by the power of those people involved in and impacted by research sometimes called stakeholders (Blackmore & Lauder, 2011)

Viewing the Adult ESOL Strategy as Discourse and adult ESOL language learning and practices and the ideal adult ESOL learner as socially constructed phenomena justifies the use of critical discourse theory in the methodology of the thesis. Also, the critical stance of the author of the thesis and a view that the language plays a key role in producing and reproducing discourses makes a critical analysis appropriate to this study.

Before operationalizing the methodology and the tools, it is beneficial to explain CDA with regard to its principles. (Khan, 2016)

### 3.2 CDA and its principles

CDA has been defined as a type of discourse analysis which explores “the connection between language use and the social and political contexts in which it occurs” (Paltridge, 2006, p. 179). It has also been defined as a transdisciplinary theoretical framework, a form of critical social science (ALBA-Juez. 2009; Fairclough, 1992a, 1992b, 1995a, 2010). It gives a critical perspective on scholarship that focuses on how domination, power and power abuse are produced and reproduced (Khan, 2016; van Dijk, 2001, 2008). This thesis regards CDA as methodology-“a system of methods, which are underpinned by critical theory in terms of the epistemological and ontological bases”(Khan, 2016, p.69). These bases are principles which distinguish CDA from other types of discourse analyses.

The principles of CDA can be grouped into five categories concerning social order, power, subjectivity, reality and the role of language. The following is a summary of the principles (Khan, 2016, pp 69-70)

Social order:

- a. Is historically situated, socially constructed and changeable (Fairclough, 1992b; Locke, 2004)
- b. Is largely influenced by particular discourses rather than the will of the individual (Locke, 2004)

### 3.2.1 Power

Power in society is everywhere and is inevitable, and its effect on particular discursive arrangements privilege the status and positions of some people over others (Blommaert, 2005; Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Fairclough, 1992a; Locke, 2004):

### 3.2.2 Subjectivity

- a. Human subjectivity is in part constructed by discourse (Locke, 2004)
- b. Unlike other research methods and frameworks, CDA does not conceal its subjectivity and bias. It makes them explicit defining and defending its 'socio-political' position (van Dijk, 2001)

### 3.2.3 Reality

"Reality" is viewed as textually and intertextually mediated by means of verbal and non-verbal language systems (Locke, 2004)

### 3.2.4 Language

- a. CDA regards the use of language as discourse and a social practice (Fairclough, 1989; Olssen et al., 2004; Paltridge, 2006; Wodak, 2001).
- b. Systematic analysis of the language used in texts and interpretation of those texts help reveal discourses that consolidate power and the relationship between texts and discursive and social practices (Fairclough, 1989; Locke, 2004; Olssen et al., 2004)
- c. Language serves as a device to constitute and transmit knowledge in social institutions and challenge power (Martinez, as cited in Khan, 2016)

CDA principles have been operationalized in many different ways.

### 3.2.5 Application of CDA in research

It is to be noted that there are many different approaches within CDA (Rogers, 2011).

According to Rogers (2011), the following are examples:

- Discourse-historical method developed by Ruth Wodak,
- Michael Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL) that has been incorporated into Norman Fairclough's version of CDA, especially textual analysis,
- Socio-cognitive studies of Teun van Dijk.
- French discourse analysis of Michel Foucault and Michel Pêcheux,
- Social semiotics developed by Gunther Kress, Robert Hodge and Theo van Leeuwen, and
- Critical ethnography of communication adopted by Jan Blommaert  
(Rogers, 2011 )

CDA is quite diverse methodologically. It can combine the above approaches and different tools of analysis and data collection (Fairclough, 2003; Khan, 2016; Rogers, 2011). CDA can also be methodologically hybrid, as it may be part of a framework that combines with other theories. Examples of this are Phillips et al., 2004) and Philip and Oswick (2012) who combine CDA with institutional theory and developed a form of CDA that shows a relationship between texts, discourse, institutions or organisations and action. (Khan, 2016).

Hamilton and Pitt are an example of a CDA that uses policy texts as data and is based on a discourse historical approach (2011). The discourse historical methodology is useful for examining changes in policy rhetoric as well as its consistency throughout time. It is used by Hamilton and Pitt (2011) to examine adult education policy in the United Kingdom. They utilised a discourse historical methodology to examine how two policy papers, *The Right to Read* (British Association of Settlements, 1974) and *Skills for Life*



(Department of Education and Skills, 2001), build distinct social groups in terms of literacy demands across time. (Khan, 2016)

In addition, some scholars draw on extensive fieldwork, involving interviews and observations. An example of this is Johnson (2011), which combines CDA with ethnography to study how macro-level language policy impacts bilingual education in the United States. He studies discourse practices by analyzing intertextual and interdiscursive links between the policy texts and the discourses. A New Zealand example is Hunter (2012), which studies employers' perspectives on migrant workers and connects these to the dominant policy discourses of language and literacy in New Zealand. Hunter notes that it is common to take an ethnographic approach to studies that regard workplace language and literacy as social practice. These studies involve analyzing the context and the social practices which shape the meaning of texts (Hunter, 2012; Khan, 2016)

Some other examples of doing CDA are more textually oriented. (Rogers, 2011). They may use corpus-based tools as well as other software that have in-built collocation and frequency functions, and Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL). Corpus-based methods may be useful by enabling the investigation of particular linguistic features in particular texts, how and where they occur in discourse and how often (Paltridge, 2006). In addition to corpus-based approaches, Critical Discourse Analysis often uses Halliday & Matthiessen's (2013) SFL with regard to the tools of enquiry and it regards language as a set of resources (Khan, 2016; Machin & Mayr, 2012).

As a result, a functional view of language aids in understanding how meaning is formed using the many grammatical elements that CDA employs as tools. Examining the agent, time, tense, and modality, as well as cohesion devices, mood, and other factors, are just

a few of the techniques available. (Fernández Martínez, 2007; Janks, 1997; Khan 2016).

Using SFL, researchers can look into the linguistic processes utilised to convey and develop meaning in both written and spoken texts.

These methods are linked to discourse and social practices. As a result, this can help to explain why some ideas are transmitted in a certain way (Paltridge, 2006). An in-depth look into linguistic techniques can reveal hidden objectives, underlying beliefs, and power dynamics among players (van Dijk, 2001; Paltridge, 2006; Alba-Juez, 2009). Machin and Mayr (2012) summarise the main strategies as follow (Khan, 2016) (**Note:** Since this section of the thesis focuses on the textual analysis, strategies that are used in a multimodal CDA are being excluded):

**Concealment** is a strategy which employs nominalization, passive voice and the use of metonymy. Nominalisation replaces verbs with nouns. It creates an effect of suppressing information about the exact nature of what has been done, who has done it, who is affected by the action and when it took place (Machin & Mayr, 2012). An Example is the word “destabilization” in the sentence “Ecosystem destabilization can be the consequence of global warming”. This sentence would normally be written as an active sentence, “Global warming can **destabilize** ecosystems”.

Another example is “indication” in the following sentence, “The indication of the results was that poverty is often caused by poor health”. This would normally be written as an active sentence as “The results **indicated** that poverty often causes poor health”. In these examples, the verbs “destabilise” and “indicate” were nominalized as “destabilisation” and “indication” respectively

- To conceal an agent, the writer of a text can also use the passive voice. In addition, metonymy can also be used to conceal a social actor and their actions. Examples of metonymy are the reference to public officials and governments by terms such as 'The Kremlin' and 'Downing Street', instead of the Russian and the British government respectively. In New Zealand, an example would be the use of 'The Beehive' to represent the New Zealand government (Khan, 2016) or sources close to the minister.
- ***Taking things for granted and presupposition.*** This strategy allows one to present contestable things as given and stable without an explanation of meaning. At the core of this strategy is the ideological assumption that people will be able to elicit meaning by drawing on 'shared belief' (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Meanings that are assumed as given in texts are also known as 'pre-constructed' (Fairclough, 1995a). In the policy studies that adopt CDA as an approach, looking at taken for granted assumptions and presuppositions make it possible to enquire into the underlying issues of power that are embedded in a 'perceived' problem and solution (Gibb, 2008; Woodside-Jiron, 2011 ). This suggests that examining the strategy of taken for grantedness and presuppositions will help to reveal the motivations behind a policy and what implications the policy has for stakeholders, especially those that are not equal in their social power with the government agencies. In the analysis of adult education policy in the United Kingdom, Oughton (2007) demonstrates how the analysis of presuppositions shows the presence of assumptions in the discourses of *Skills for Life* (Department of Education and Skills, 2001) document, that have become accepted and documented (Khan, 2016)
- ***Commitment to/evading 'truth'*** strategies show either a commitment to what is being said or the opposite. Both of these outcomes are achieved by using the system of *modality* and *hedging*. Fairclough (1992a) states modality to include any unit of language that expresses the authors' personal opinion of and commitment to what they say (Khan, 2016). This is indicated through modal verbs, modal adjectives, and their adverbial equivalents, which imply probability, obligation, signal factuality, certainty, and doubt (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Hedging is a technique for indicating the level of commitment in an author's statements. It can

also be used to put oneself in a position to remove oneself from what is being stated, weakening the impact of the comments.

Hedging can be represented in a variety of ways, including modal verbs that suggest ambiguity and vagueness. Long noun phrases; modal adverbs (e.g., 'perhaps'); auxiliary adverbs (e.g., 'especially'); approximators (e.g., 'some', 'somewhat'); non-factive verbs (e.g., 'suggest'); comparative forms (e.g., 'more [...] than' or 'less [...] than'); connectors expressing alternative explanations and arguments (e.g., 'although') are all examples (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

- Hedging can be used to identify the presence of hidden objectives by purposefully introducing ambiguities, while examination of the modality system can assist to show patterns of power and authority (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

### 3.3 Representational strategies

There are two types of representation strategies: depicting people as social actors and expressing action. The technique of social actor representation entails describing and defining such actors. Van Leeuwen's (1996) inventory of referential choices can be used to investigate how social actors are represented in a text. Personalisation or impersonalisation, individualisation versus collectivisation, specification or genericisation, nomination or functionalisation, aggregation, and the 'us' and 'them' division are among the tools in the inventory. These strategies can be used to highlight important parts of social actors' identities by connecting them to specific types of speech with social, psychological, and political goals (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Representation techniques concern action in addition to social actors. Transitivity can be used to investigate the way action is represented. According to Machin and Mayr (2012), transitivity is a study of "who does what to whom and how" (p. 105). Participants,

processes, and conditions are the focal points of representational action techniques (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

### 3.3.1 Metaphoric tropes

Metaphors are a linguistic tool or device that is used to demonstrate “a way by which we understand and experience one thing in terms of another” (Taylor, 2008, p. 133 cited in Khan, 2016). Metaphors can be seen as a versatile tool that can help achieve a variety of goals due to their varied application in various linguistic approaches. Metaphors, according to Fairclough (1995), can both conceal and mould understandings while also giving the impression of revealing hidden ideologies. As a result, metaphors can be employed to portray a social actor or activity, as well as to demonstrate adherence to "truth" and presuppositions. Taylor (2008) demonstrates how metaphoric tropes can be incorporated into policy research by analysing the Skills for Life Strategy (Department for Education and Skills, 2001), which is one of the core papers of adult literacy policy in the United Kingdom.

She investigates the use of metaphors in this paper to see how they contribute to framing a lack of literacy as a "problem" and constructing learners as the source of economic difficulties. Taylor's (2008) study indicates how language in policy texts perpetuates discourses based on assumptions and ideas, and leads to power imbalances among stakeholders, similar to Hamilton and Pitt (2011), who also discussed the Skills for Life Strategy.

In summary, this section looked at the methodological diversity and hybridity of CDA, implying that a study could use a variety of data collecting and analytic approaches. It has detailed the essential language methods and research techniques that are useful in

textual analyses, as well as examples of how they have been used in similar policy studies.

The next section shows how CDA is used in this thesis's study of *The Adult ESOL Strategy* (policy), what data and methods are used, and how the analysis is carried out.

In the Research design section, the principles of CDA are operationalized and how the study is conducted is outlined. There are three subsections. The first one explains which (policy) text has been selected for the study. The second subsection outlines the analytical framework and procedure. The section ends with an acknowledgement of limitations of the study and explanation of how they are managed.

This subsection on selection of text explains the reasons for the choice of *The Adult ESOL Strategy* (Ministry of Education, 2003) as data for analysis.

### 3.3.2 CDA-Critical Discourse analysis

The possibility of examining the constitutive role of discourses in society is a distinguishing mark of CDA as a methodology. It originated in applied linguistics (Fairclough 2003; van Dijk, 2008; Wodak and Meyer 2002). The central role of texts and their analysis are emphasized more than in other approaches to discourse analysis. In contrast to some other linguistic methods, CDA emphasizes that the discursive and other social practices are linked and so it does not reduce everything to discourse, as is the case with some relativist forms of discourse analysis. (Vaara, 2015)

CDA has been used in various ways in social human and other sciences. Though epistemologically different, post-structuralist approaches such as Foucauldian approach are also considered critical discursive analyses. Though there are differences in these

approaches, there is a connection between the approaches as, for example, Fairclough's work draws on Foucault's ideas. CDA is not one monolithic coherent whole as borne out by the fact that there are different traditions in CDA. To illustrate, Fairclough & Wodak, (1997) distinguish between French discourse analysis, social semiotics, sociocultural change and change in discourse, critical linguistics, socio-cognitive studies, the discourse-historical method, reading analysis, and the Duisburg school.

CDA sees discourse as both conditioned by the social environment as well as being socially constructive or performative. Accordingly, language is how we construct and reproduce reality as we experience it in addition to it reflecting the 'reality' in the first place.

CDA sees discourses as part of social practice. This means that, to CDA scholars, not everything can be reduced to discourse. Discourses are particular 'moments' among others in the complex social processes constituting the world. So, in CDA, there is usually the highlighting of dialectics of discourse and (social) structure; discourses are both the producers of structures and the products of structures. This interrelationship can be seen in Fairclough's work, where discourse is seen to have effects on social structures, as well as being determined by them, and so contributes to social continuity and social change (e.g. 1989, 1997, 2003). (Vaara, 2015)

The most distinctive characteristic of CDA is that it always has a critical stance. CDA tries to reveal underlying assumptions on social, economic, and political spheres, and looks at power relationships between various kinds of discourses and actors (van Dijk 1998; 1989a, 1989b, 2003). CDA tries to shine the light on social phenomena that often go unnoticed. In CDA, discourses are not seen as ideologically neutral content wise, but a major locus of ideology. Fairclough (1989) states that 'ideology is pervasively present in

language’ and ‘that fact ought to mean that the ideological nature of language should be one of the major themes of modern social science’ (p. 2).

The concept of ideology is a broad one in this type of discourse analysis. In this view, it is not one ‘ideology’, rather alternative or competing ideologies mediated by or linked with specific discourses, that is the focus.

Fairclough (1989) sees ideologies as ‘common-sense’ assumptions that treat specific ideas and power relations as natural. Van Dijk views ideology as the “basis of the social representations shared by members of a group” (1998, p. 8). This view is different from the classical Marxist emphasis on ‘false consciousness’ and closer to post-structuralist (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985) or culturalist (e.g. Chiapello, 2003) conceptions of ideology (Vaara, 2015).

Methodologically, CDA scholars point out that to understand discourses and specific texts, the social context in question must be considered. Fairclough (2003) argues that ideally, discourses should be analysed simultaneously at textual (micro-level textual elements), discursive practice (the production and interpretation of texts) and social practice (the situational and institutional context) levels. The discourse- historical method of Wodak (e.g., Wodak *et al.* 1999), in turn, emphasizes the importance of the historical dimension in such analysis by claiming that the emergence of specific discourses always takes place in a particular socio-historical context.

All CDA scholars also underscore the importance of seeing specific texts or communications as parts of longer chains of texts, which is called intertextuality. This means that the meaning created in a particular discursive act can only be clearly understood by considering what has been said before or what is ‘common knowledge’.



Intertextuality is also related to the broader question of interdiscursivity, which refers to how specific discourse and genres are interlinked and constitute particular 'orders-of-discourse', that is ensembles of relationships between discourses in particular social contexts. These orders-of- discourse can be seen as the discursive reflections of social order, and thus help to understand the discursive aspects of social structures (1989, 2003 , cited in Vaara, 2015)

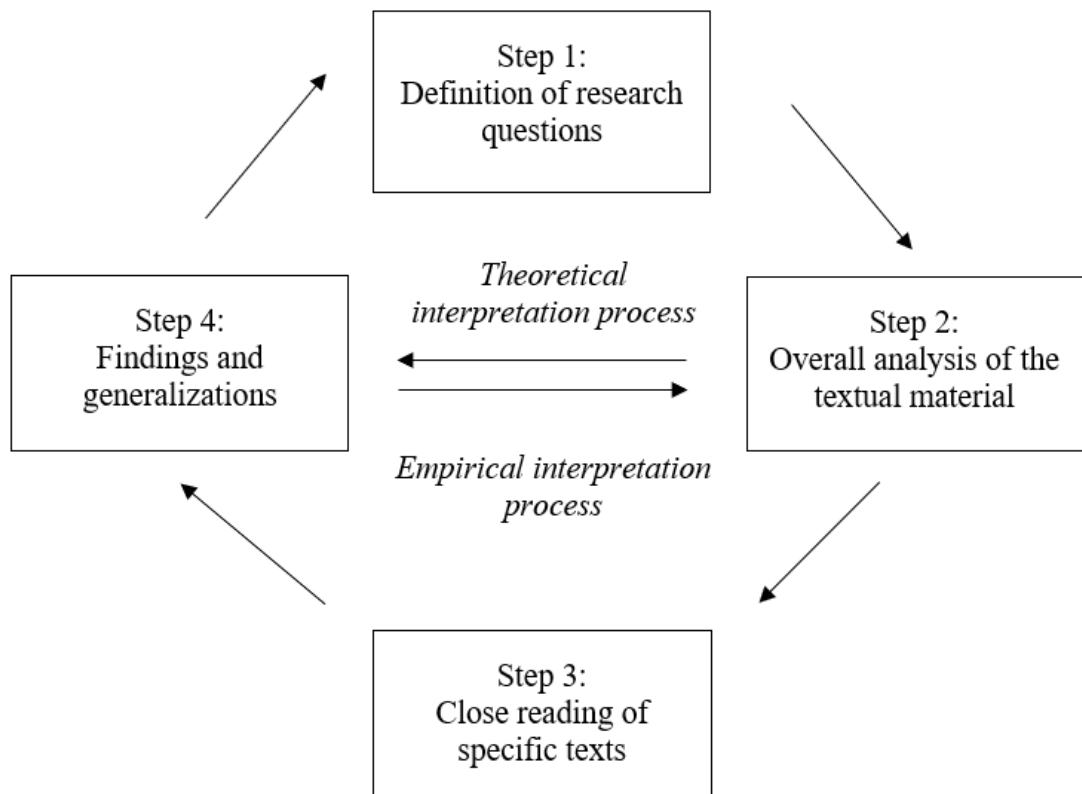
### 3.3.3 Conducting CDA

CDA is a methodology that can be applied in various ways. The tradition in applied linguistics has been to focus on the close reading of specific texts. However, in the context of policy documents' research, CDA would be concerned with the selection of texts and the generalizability of findings. Consequently, there is a need to proceed in stages such as the following (see also Vaara and Tienari, 2004):

- Definition of research questions that reflect critical orientation. CDA focuses on issues and concerns of social and societal importance that require critical scrutiny; Overall analysis of the textual material leading to a selection of 'samples' of texts. CDA can focus on a larger number of texts or only on one text, but the selection of the sample needs to be made very carefully: Close reading of specific texts. this phase is crucial in CDA as the objective is to provide concrete illustrations at the textual micro-level, Elaboration on findings and their generalizability. After a close reading of a text, the key findings should be elaborated on and placed in their wider context. (Vaara, 2015)

However, it has been claimed (Vaara, 2015) that CDA is in its very nature 'abductive', that is, research involves constant refinement of theoretical ideas with an increasingly accurate understanding of the empirical phenomena (Locke *et al.* 2008). According to Wodak: "a constant movement back and forth between theory and empirical data is

necessary” (Wodak, 2004, p. 200). The below provides a simplified view of the typical stages in CDA research.



**Figure above:** CDA as abduction (modification of a figure presented in Vaara and Tienari, 2004)

The close reading of texts is the crucial distinctive feature of CDA research. An example of this kind close reading is in Strategy as Practice research. It is an analysis of a media text that was originally published in Vaara and Tienari (2008). In their analysis, they focused on the discursive legitimation of a shutdown decision in the media. They state that although such close reading can be conducted in various ways, it is important to focus on the representativeness of the text in terms of its genre and particular characteristics. Their analysis focused on a typical media text that helped them to uncover and exemplify how the media makes sense of such strategic decisions.

They also state that in such close reading, it is also vital to employ specific theoretical models and ideas as guiding principles in the analysis. They used the theoretical model developed by van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) in which they distinguished authorization, rationalization, moral evaluation and mythopoesis as typical discursive legitimation strategies. While such close reading is by its very nature interpretative and subjective, specified theoretical starting points help to structure the analysis and ascertain that the analysis captures essential aspects of the phenomenon in question. A justification for this is that it is important to move beyond the apparent surface level of the texts, to be able to identify and elaborate on the key discursive and social practices in question.

Furthermore, methodologically, Discourse analysis is an umbrella term for many approaches including social psychological methodologies that emphasise the intersubjective construction of discourse. However, they have been said to fail to address the issue of subjectivity and tend heavily toward positivism (Doty, 1993). Content analysis is a popular choice for textual analysis in the social sciences (Fierke, 2007), but is often regarded as too quantitative (Gleeson, 2012).

Conversational analysis, although considered methodologically rigorous is not very suitable when it comes to theorising social practices (Gleeson, 2012). On a positive note, however, there are some approaches which have been applied in the analysis of discourse, for example in international relations. An example is Discourse theory, devised by Laclau and Mouffe (1985). However, it is considered as less of a method and more of a theoretical framework. Also, there is a failure to highlight the place of relations of power into discursive interactions – and as a result their theory tends to overstate the place of agency in relation to discourse (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002, 54; Gleeson, 2012).

Critical Discourse Analysis, as introduced by Norman Fairclough (Fairclough, 1995a ; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999 ) is an approach that focuses on the relationship between language, power and social practices and is thus well-situated to be integrated into the methodology of this thesis.

To justify the specific approach to be followed in this study, it is helpful to state what an appropriate discourse analysis methodology should do in the context of a study such as this. Following recommendations made by Gleeson (2012), the methodology chosen should essentially fill five criteria.

**Firstly**, it should be what Milliken calls “critically self-aware” (1999, p.227). This means that it should avoid practising the disciplinary and truth-claiming strategies characteristic of that which it seeks to critique. **Secondly**, the method should be geared towards constitutive analysis rather than causal analysis (Hansen, 2006). This simply means that the analysis of discourse should lay bare the way in which identities, subjects, objects, structures, agents, language, and practice are constitutive of one another; rather than – as desired by constructivists or rationalists – create a new regime of truth by privileging the enabling role of particular discursive practices over others (Hansen, 2006, 10). **Third**, because dominant discourses are typified by the construction through language of particular objects, subject positions (identities) and practices, the method chosen must incorporate empirical textual analysis in order to draw out the enabling capacity of the particular discursive constructions (Fierke, 2007). **Fourth**, a methodology must be employed which has the ability to analyse discourse in terms of its linguistic and non-linguistic elements. Weldes (1999) makes clear the cruciality of paying attention to both elements which she sees as “mutually constitutive and jointly productive of the meanings of the social world” (Weldes, 1999, p.110).

**Finally**, to answer the research questions in this study, a method of discourse analysis must be profoundly concerned with power, particularly how it is generated and sustained through exclusion. (George, 1994; Gleeson, 2012).

In large parts, the concept of discourse was popularised by Foucault through his early works. Aspects of Foucault's approach to discourse will be employed in this analysis. For Foucault, discourse refers to ways of structuring knowledge and social practices, and discourse analysis is thus about analysing the "statements" that enable that structuring (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, pp.44-78). He theorised that 'statements' are claims to meaning whose identity "is constituted by the functioning of the field of use in which it is placed" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p.45). In the *Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault distinguishes his theory of discourse analysis from conventional methods:

The analysis of statements, then, is a historical analysis, but one that avoids all interpretation:

it does not question things said as to what they are hiding, what they were 'really' saying, in spite of themselves, the unspoken element that they contain...; but, on the contrary, it questions them as to their mode of existence..., what it means for them to have appeared when and where they did – they and no others. (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p. 51) (Gleeson, 2012).

Foucault posited that statements occur in certain contexts as a result of 'discursive formations' – sets of rules inhering in linguistic systems in particular sociohistorical contexts – thus the attention of the discourse analyst should be focused, Foucault argues, on "discursive formations" (Gutting, 1994, p.17). Foucault's approach offers four crucial insights that are crucial to the methodological framework (Gleeson, 2012). First, Foucault's concept of discourse theorises the way in which discourse is constitutive for what is brought into being. The claim that objects and subjects are only made

meaningful through discursive formations is methodologically useful for two reasons. Firstly, the assertion that a pre-discursive subject or context is an impossibility means that only a discourse analysis can provide information about how identities produce and are reproduced or transformed by (language) policy (Hansen, cited in Gleeson, 2012).

Hence, only the context of the particular discourse would be needed to determine the identity of the subject under analysis, and not as derived externally– as might be the case in a constructivist analysis. Secondly, this nominalism provides an avenue for realising that in the absence of an objective essence, subjects and objects can be both reproduced and radically transformed as shifts occur in the discursive formation (Rouse, 1994). Intertextuality is also very important in the analysis of discourse as will be the case in this study. In the *Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault points to the importance of interdiscursivity in enabling particular statements to gain traction within a discursive formation. He claimed, “There can be no statement that in one way or another does not reactualize others” (Foucault, 1972, p.98). It is this assertion that gave rise to what linguistic and post structural analysts commonly refer to as ‘intertextuality’, the assertion that “any text is the absorption and transformation of another” (Kristeva, 1980, p.66). Though some theorists treat interdiscursivity and intertextuality as analytically different – for example, Fairclough (1992a) sees interdiscursivity as relations between discourses, and intertextuality as relations between texts – following the example of Gleeson (2012), this study will adopt the poststructuralist tendency to focus on intertextuality as the broad tendency of discourses to rely on other texts and other discourses for legitimacy. The degree of intertextuality in a discourse is important in ascertaining how discursive stability is achieved. Methodologically, this would mean paying attention during textual analysis, to processes of linking and differentiation

“within and between texts” (Hansen, 2006, p.19). Explicating intertextuality in a language policy text can be a potentially infinite process. However, as Hansen (2006) notes, it is possible to limit textual analysis to official discourse and still uncover crucial examples of intertextuality.

The third prominent insight offered by Foucault’s work on discourse relates to his theorization of what Dreyfus and Rabinow (1983, p. 48) have termed on his behalf “serious speech acts” – statements made by privileged speakers which make a particularly acute claim to knowledge and truth. (Gleeson, 2012). Foucault posited that the ability to carry out such an act is heavily contingent; in order for a serious speech act to be spoken and received as such, it has to occur in a “rule-governed domain” (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p.53).

According to Gleeson (2012), identifying serious speech acts is an important part of this type of discourse analysis because it provides an indication of the degree of dominance of a discursive formation, it shows the extent to which the audience are complicit in its functioning, it provides a point of departure for understanding the creation of particular subject positions (including that of the speaker) and it opens up a space to think about who can speak, what they can say in a particular context and what it is about that context that enables the invocation of extraordinary measures. (Gleeson, 2012).

The fourth insight offered by Foucault is a recognition of the power-knowledge nexus. In the *History of Sexuality* Volume 1 (Foucault, 1978 ) Foucault stated that power is dynamic, and is dispersed through social networks and is thus not something that can be possessed. Foucault saw power and knowledge as operating historically in a “mutually generative” manner (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p. 114). This theory emerged out of Foucault’s shift from archaeology to genealogy. This shift enriched his

theorization of discourse (Gleeson 2012). For the discourse analyst then, an analytic sensitivity to the place of power-knowledge is an important part of discourse analysis (Gleeson, 2012)

### 3.3.4 Genealogy

*Discipline and Punish* (1977) sets the genealogical period of Foucault's investigations apart from the archaeological phase. In a 1977 interview (Gordon, 1980, p.117), Foucault characterised his new method as follows:

One has to... arrive at an analysis which can account for the constitution of the subject within a historical framework. And this is what I would call genealogy, that is, a form of history which can account for the constitution of knowledges, discourses, domains of objects etc., without having to make reference to a subject which is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history. Genealogy unearths the means by which particular discursive formations come to be the way they are their limits; their characteristics; and their institutionalization. (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p.104).

### 3.3.5 Critical Discourse Analysis's compatibility with a post-structural approach

A number of authors have noted that discourse analysis is compatible with genealogy: Milliken (1999) asserts that poststructuralist discourse analysis is characterised by a historically contextualized concern with how constructed meanings come to be stable. Hansen (2006) attests that tracing the genealogy of dominant representations is a crucial aspect of discourse analysis; and Foucault himself (in Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p.105) asserts that "critical and genealogical descriptions are to alternate, support and complete each other". Ashley (1989, p.283) suggests that the only way to find answers to "how possible" questions is via some degree of genealogy



Tracing the genealogy of New Zealand's policy document, *The Adult ESOL Strategy*

discourse serves to fill the analytic gap left open by discourse analysis:

whereas the discourse analysis points to the character of discourse; the particular subject positions and identities invoked therein; and the subjugation of alternative meanings, genealogy casts these constructions in a historical light in order to effectively draw out intertextuality and epistemic breaks, and to highlight not the foundations of discourse, but rather its architecture (Gleeson, 2012, p.29). Gelber, (2007) proposes that by combining components of several techniques, improved findings in discourse analysis might be produced. Despite its strengths, some opponents of Foucault's discourse theory contend that it is very abstract in sections, that he only applied it in a narrow sense (to discourses in the human sciences), and that it lacks highly practical methods for analysing text or practice (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983; Fairclough, 1992). Foucault's approach to discourse provides a much more solid framework for methodical analysis when combined with other complementary methodologies (Gleeson, 2012).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), started by Norman Fairclough, is a methodology fundamentally concerned with understanding discourse in a broader social context. While the epistemological compatibility of this approach with Foucauldian discourse analysis has been said to be questionable (Gleeson, 2012), on a strictly methodological level, it is very useful and appropriate in operationalising Foucault's sometimes rather abstract method.

As made clear by Jackson (2005), the core methodological premises of CDA – that discourse and social structure are dialectically related and mutually constitutive, and that discursive practices are defined by (unequal) relations of power – ensure its compatibility with a broader post structural approach. (Gleeson, 2012)

What will be most useful is Fairclough's 'three-dimensional notion of discourse,' a framework for analysing discourse in its social context (1992 ). Since Fairclough defines CDA as a methodology that is open to "social and political thought relevant to discourse

and language" (1992, p.62), it would be useful for a discourse analytical work to follow in the footsteps of Gleeson (2012), who reworked aspects of Fairclough's three-dimensional framework to include tools, analytic strategies, and methods most appropriate for the research questions in this study.

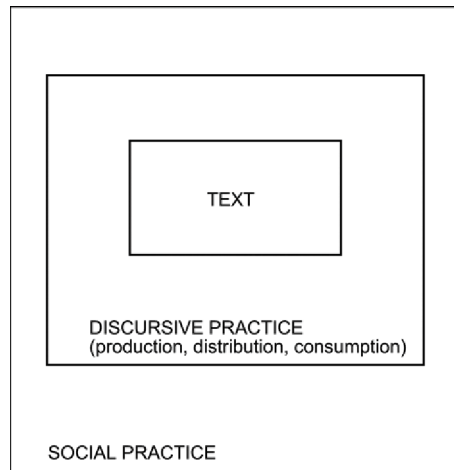


Figure 1. Three-dimensional conception of discourse (from Fairclough, 1992, p.73).

As the three-dimensional model suggests, discourse analysis will be based on the fact that language use has three dimensions: it is a text, a discursive practice, and a social practice all at the same time (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002). As a result, each of these dimensions requires consideration. Text analysis entails examining vocabulary, word choice, syntax, and sentence structure, as well as the text's overall structure (Fairclough, 1992, p.75).

With this in mind, a practical discourse analytical study would follow Fairclough's three-dimensional framework as reworked by Gleeson (2012). The framework is designed to be used in conjunction with the Foucauldian-derived discourse analysis and genealogy methodologies mentioned earlier. Given that communicative acts have meaning at all three levels, or in all three dimensions, analysis need not necessarily proceed each time

from the same point. That is, the framework will be used in an integrative way, whereby the three stages of analysis are conducted simultaneously rather than in isolation.

### 3.3.6 Foucauldian Methodology

The work of Michel Foucault (1926-1984) has become an important tool for researchers who are committed to critical analysis of discourses. However, he never stipulated a set of guidelines that could be described as his complete methodology. In fact, he made this statement:

I do not have a methodology that I apply in the same way to different domains. On the contrary, I would say that I try to isolate a single field of objects, by using the instruments that I can find or that I forge as I am actually doing my research, but without privileging the problem of methodology in any way (Foucault, cited in Fontana & Bertani, 2003, pp. 287-288; Fadyl, 2013, p. 3).

As a result, some researchers have argued (Fadyl et al., 2013) that the way to use Foucault productively in research is to apply his work as appropriate for the particular focus of inquiry but making sure that the way it is used has a coherent connection with his theoretical and philosophical aims and approaches (Hook, 2001; Nicholls, 2009).

It has been suggested that Foucauldian analysis can be approached by designing the study and adopting the methodology according to the research questions, using the philosophical and methodological writing and lectures by Foucault, and others who have followed his methods and work, so as to use a methodological approach that addressed the topic and problem of interest (Fadyl et al, 2013). Some researchers who have used this approach have published the ways they have interpreted and applied Foucault's methodological principles to their projects as a contribution to methodological discussion in this area (Fadyl et al., 2013; Graham, 2011; Nicholls, 2009; Tamboukou, 1999). Fadyl et al. (2013) applied their interpretation and application of Foucault's

methodological principles to a study which drew on the concept of 'governmentality' to analyse the conditions of possibility for emerging approaches to vocational rehabilitation in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

This proposed study, in a large part, will adopt their method that shows the various ways in which Foucault's work can be applied to develop a discourse analytical methodology (Fadyl et al., 2013). In addition to the above, other published works of other researchers such as Graham (2011), Nicholls (2009), and Tamboukou (1999), who have set out their own use of Foucault's methods, in addition to Hook's (2001) reading of *The Order of Discourse*; as well as Rose (1999) and Dean (1999) in their work on governmentality (Fadyl et al., 2013) will all be consulted.

### 3.3.7 Discourse Analysis and Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (The genealogical method):

There is huge literature related to the genealogical method and various interpretations of it, which disclose the different dimensions of the Foucauldian method.

A Critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Wodak & Meyer, 2009) approach to this study has been chosen because language plays such an important role in the Adult ESOL uptake of Adult ESOL programmes and provision, which are main decided goals of the New Zealand government as expressed in government-produced policy texts. The CDA of policy texts essentially ties into the background of what is an important area, the area of Language Policy and Planning as reflected in the policy texts, The Adult ESOL Strategy (2003).

This study of a New Zealand immigration/refugee-related policy text, The Adult ESOL Strategy, through discourse analysis drawing largely on Foucault, aspires to dissect,

disrupt and render the familiar strange by interrogating, as Foucault (1980a) describes, “the discourses of true and false the correlative formation of domains and objects the verifiable, falsifiable discourses that bear on them, and ... the effects in the real to which they are linked” (Foucault, as cited in Graham, 2005, p.4).

There is a need for a new theoretical framework for a critical reading of state-produced policy texts because of the inadequacy of earlier approaches (Olssen et al., 2004). Prior to 1984, policy was taken at face value. Earlier approaches sought to derive ‘objective’ value-free methods of reading policies and for writing about them. There was an attempt to give technical and scientific sophistication to the process of policy studies and analysis to make it more intellectually appealing. Critical readings of policy took off in the 1980s, especially in Education. This trend has continued till now, with a recognition of the conceptual complexity of reading state-produced Education policy discourse. The thinking behind such critical readings of policy is shown by Olssen et al who argue that “reading neo-liberal educational policy is not just a matter of understanding its educational context or reading it as the ‘pronouncements’ of ‘the policy-makers’. It requires an understanding of the dynamics of the various elements of the social structure and their intersections in the context of history” (Olssen, 2004, p. 2)

In Foucault’s framework, discursivity is different from language and textuality by the centrality of context. (Barrett, as cited in Olssen, Cord & O’Neill, 2004). Foucault’s approach emphasizes the political nature of discourses. Other writers whose contributions have also been influenced by Foucault’s methodological insights include Codd (1988; 1990) ; Dale (1986a; 1986b; 1989) ; Gale (2001); Henry (1993), Prunty (1984; 1985) and Scheurich (1994).

### 3.4 Methodological Use of Archaeology and Genealogy

This will involve how the key concepts in The Adult ESOL Strategy's discourses have been constructed historically; how we have come to define these concepts and have come to think, speak and act in certain ways with regard to them; and the various relations and techniques of power by which people come to know themselves as subjects of immigration/refugee discourses, and which produce and maintain these as notions that can be thought and acted on (Fadyl et al., 2013). As such, genealogy, in its broadest sense, will be the methodological approach used in the relevant part of this study. As such, the idea of archaeology and genealogy will be employed as "dimensions of analysis" (Foucault, 1992: p.12), archaeology will be used as part of genealogy in this study.

The position that this researcher takes is that the attitude to or context of the discourses of the desired/quality adult ESOL learner in New Zealand is historically and culturally situated and has effects, producing some things while constraining others. Using Foucault's work as a methodological and theoretical guide, this inquiry will focus partly on what the underlying views of the adult ESOL texts may be in New Zealand and what their discourses and implications are. This will involve how the key concepts in the strategy's policy discourses have been constructed historically; how people have come to define these concepts and have come to think, speak and act in certain ways with regard to them; and the various relations and techniques of power by which people come to know themselves as subjects of the adult ESOL discourses, and which produce and maintain these as notions that can be thought and acted on (Fadyl et al., 2013)

### 3.5 Foucault's epistemology: Power-knowledge

The concept of power-knowledge is central to understanding Foucault. At the heart of this concept is the suggestion that power and knowledge are always inextricably linked, and that the production of knowledge always has sociological implications. (Olssen et al. 2004) According to Foucault's practice, different discourses interact with social structures in their own different ways. For example, 'scientific' discourse comes predetermined, precise, and all-knowing, conferring respect on a certain class of the society, while giving that class the power to measure and judge commensurability. The discourse that would be contained in educational policy, on the other hand, would be subtler but equally powerful - dispensing prescriptive terms such as "best practice" or even "Education" or "educated" themselves. In accepting and using these terms, implementers of Education policies are "constructed" and shaped by them.

#### 3.5.1 Discourse

In Foucault's framework, the concept of "ideology" is replaced by that of discourse. A discourse is one of a variety of practices whose most important elements are regarded as serious speech acts, which could be either written or spoken.

Discourses cannot be simply reduced to language analysis. Discourses embody meaning and social relationships. They constitute subjectivity and power relations (Ball, cited in Olssen et al., 2004). Foucault sees the language analysis as being always a question of by what rules have one statement been made and as a result, by what rules could a similar statement be made. The most important thing is the relationship between the discursive and the extra-discursive. In his concern with the analysis of institutional

power, Foucault was concerned in his writings about the relations between micro and macro structures of power as well as between power and subjectivity.

Discursivity is different from language and textuality by the centrality of Context. (Barrett, cited in Olssen et al., 2004). Olssen et al., 2004 highlighted that this is particularly important in the analysis of policy discourse where the context of implementation should be differentiated from the context of formation. This differentiation is a key distinguishing factor in a Foucauldian approach to policy analysis because it makes it possible to understand in a deeper way how policy texts can have real life effects on social structures and practices (Olssen et al., 2004). This differentiation will be a central factor in this proposed study of selected New Zealand policy texts.

### 3.5.2 The Usefulness of Foucault's Perspective for Policy Analysis

Foucault's approach emphasizes the political nature of discourses. In his approach, a discourse involves an apparatus that is political and involves instructional technologies by which there is a constitution of subjectivity and power is affected. Technician models of educational policy making, and policy analysis are rejected and surpassed by a Foucauldian critical policy analysis approach.

## 3.6 Foucault and Critical Policy Analysis

### 3.6.1 Research design

In this section, the principles of CDA are operationalized and how the study is conducted is outlined. There are three subsections. The first one explains which (policy) text has been selected for the study. The second subsection outlines the analytical framework



and procedure. The section ends with an acknowledgement of limitations of the study and explanation of how they are managed.

### 3.6.2 Selection of text

This subsection explains the reasons for the choice of The Adult ESOL Strategy (Ministry of Education, 2003) as data for analysis.

This is the only document so far in New Zealand to have comprehensively laid out the government's desire regarding adult ESOL. In fact, to date, it remains the only comprehensive and explicit statement on issues concerning English language education (Khan, 2016).

Because the field of adult ESOL still remains vitally important in New Zealand, the text that will be used in the analysis will be Adult ESOL focused and connected. The following subsection outlines how this text is analysed and how the study in this section is organised.

### 3.6.3 Analytical framework and procedure

This section lays forth a structure for using CDA to analyse the chosen text. It discusses how the framework was created, as well as the factors that were considered and other practical issues.

CDA is viewed in this thesis, among other things as a set of linguistic tools that aids in policy analysis. Using Fairclough's (1992a, 1995a, 2003) paradigm, it contains systematic aspects that allow for the investigation of the interaction between texts and discursive and social activities. Fairclough's (1992a) model demonstrates how discourse operates on three levels: textual, discursive, and social practices.

Texts, both written and spoken, reflect, produce, and reinforce these activities. Texts are shaped by practices at the two other levels at the same time. Similarly, social practices drive discourse practices and vice versa (Fairclough, 1992a, 1995 )

Therefore, the CDA of The Adult ESOL Strategy (policy) will include the following:

- textual analyses of The Adult ESOL Strategy
- (implied) analysis of the Adult ESOL policy is distribution\*

(\*The analysis of the discursive practices is limited due to data that are limited to the policy texts. No interviews with experts in the field or stakeholders' representatives were conducted as part of this study. Thus, the thesis excludes the analysis of production of the policy and how it was received) (Khan, 2016)

Analysis at each (integrated) level will be tailored to the study's Research questions

### 3.7 Practical consideration

This relates to some technical aspects of the presentation of the results.

The chosen policy document is available in a digital PDF format. It is also essential to include full text of the selected document in case they are no longer accessible from the Ministry of Education websites or their respective websites in the future. (Khan, 2016)

### 3.8 Limitations

The limitations relate to the choice of CDA as well as what has been excluded from the scope.

One of the main critiques of the CDA is its inclination to read texts without any attention to text creators' objectives (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Paltridge, 2006). Widdowson (1998) believes that the analysis should not just take

account of the analyst's opinion of the meaning of a text but should take account of the goals of authors and of readers' roles in consumption and interpretation of the text.

Since the data that this thesis uses are comprised of the one document only, production and reception are excluded from the analysis and are considered to be outside the scope of this study.

Similar to other qualitative studies, this thesis may be criticized for being subjective and possessing an author's bias. In terms of interpretative subjectiveness in CDA-based studies, Widdowson (1998) argues that a text can be read in numerous ways that show that the results of the study are partial and based on the analyst's view. It must therefore be acknowledged that the author of this study is an immigrant for whom English is a second language (Khan, 2016)

Finally, because the data consists of one policy text, the thesis does not argue that the study's findings are generalizable. The thesis also accepts that the scope of the discourse and social practice analysis has not been exhausted.

This chapter has discussed the methodology adopted in this study, outlining approaches to education policy studies as well as stating the principles and key tools CDA . It also presented a review of CDA-based- and -influenced previous studies. In addition, the framework for analysis was presented. The next chapter will look at how Foucault can be used in the analysis of policy documents.

## CHAPTER 4 TECHNIQUES FOR ANALYSIS - A DISCUSSION OF HOW FOUCAULT CAN BE USED TO ANALYSE POLICY DOCUMENTS

This chapter discusses how Foucault can be used to analyse policy documents. This kind of analysis can be done on a historical and sociological basis. The chapter looks at the theories that underpin a Foucauldian study. There is further discussion of the global contextualization of Foucauldian analysis and especially why it is needed, being an example of a Critical method of analysis. Foucault's concepts and principles of analysis are discussed, including a proposed framework of analysis which rejects an empiricist approach to the analysis of policy documents.

### 4.1 Theories Underpinning the proposed Study

Theoretically, this study is underpinned by Critical Theory, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), especially Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FCDA), Foucault's notions of genealogy and archaeology.

### 4.2 Approach to the study

The approach to this study will be Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis is one of the specific types of CDA that will be employed in this study. CDA approach is underpinned by Critical Theory. CDA will now be illustrated to show what it is, its background, theoretical context, and relevance to this study. The theory underpinning this proposed study will first be discussed.

#### 4.3 Globalisation and its impacts on Policymaking

This study recognises the effects of globalization on policy texts, emphasizing the interrelatedness of the political, economic, cultural and the social as opposed to many postmodernists and older-styled positivistic studies which tend to focus on the 'local' or the 'specific'.

Globalisation theorists assert that individual nation-states are influenced by the international world order economically, culturally, and politically, each form being interrelated to the others. As interactions and communications become cross-national, so the traditional cultural identities claimed by individual countries are increasingly undercut (Wallerstein, 1974). Globalisation has different facets, including economic, cultural, and political (Burbules and Torres, cited in Olssen et al, 2004). As demonstrated in the effects it has, "globalization is about power; it is fundamentally a political phenomenon, in which dominant ideologies are vigorously contested and resisted" (Rupert, 2000 cited in Olssen et al, 2004 , p. 7 ).

At a political level, policy is increasingly a response to international developments, agreements and collaborations as is evident in the growing powers and influence of such supranational organizations as the World Trade Organization (WTO), the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Related developments have involved "the increasing trend to marketization ... by states over social services including education at its various levels; and a new institutional norm of competition as a strategy to affect the efficient utilization of resources" (Olssen et al., 2004, pp. 10 -11).

#### 4.4 The Contextualization of policy in the global era

To understand the production of education policy in any country, it is necessary to understand the origins of, and the factors that influence that policy in the context of cultural, social, economic and political forces that are beyond the context of its national production. In short, certain theories of macroeconomic management have come to affect the development of education in most advanced western societies. Examples of such theories are Keynesianism as well as knowledge systems of neoliberalism.

#### 4.5 Globalisation, in itself, is not the problem:

it is the imposed policies of neoliberal governmentality, rather than globalization as such, that is the key force affecting (and undermining) nation - policy can be explained in terms of the sociological concept of globalization, we argue ... that it must be theoretically represented in relation to the political philosophy of neoliberalism. (Olssen et al., 2004, p.13)

Various forms of state reason have often served as a basis from which policy has been formulated. Undergirding this reason is liberalism and its mutation, neoliberalism. Liberalism incorporates many progressive elements in its classical or original formulation, especially as regards democratic and constitutional safeguards. It also has ideals regarding rights, freedom, and democracy. However, despite the lofty ideals of liberalism, it has been argued that it falls terribly short as a basis from which nations can make policy. The reasons for its inadequacy include the fact that it does not have an adequate account for the dimensions of power and control, has an unsatisfactory conceptualization of the individual, of human nature, of power, of the state, as well as of the international economic order. Besides, in addition to other inadequacies,

liberalism provides an untenable explanation of education, of the sources of educational success and failure, of the nature of individual agency and of the processes of national economic planning. Further, through the changes of its formulation, resulting as it has in neoliberal theories of the economy and management, those principles that were initially progressive in the classical doctrine, have become corrupted. (Olssen et al., 2004)

Considering the above shortcomings of a liberal/neoliberal framework of analysis, a viable alternative is Michel Foucault's insights. Not only do his insights provide a window into the discursive manifestations of state-authored modes of power and control, but they also show how governments become inscribed in the subject. His views provide a more deeply theoretical account of globalization than liberalism or neoliberalism does (Olssen et al., 2004).

#### 4.6 The Need for Critical Reading of Policy Texts

Earlier approaches to policy studies sought to derive 'objective' value-free methods of reading policies and for writing about them. There was an attempt to give technical and scientific sophistication to the process of policy studies and analysis to make it more intellectually appealing. Friedmann (1987) traced the intellectual heritage of policy analysis back to operations research, systems engineering and management sciences among other 'scientific' disciplines. The early policy literature introduced systems research and operations research methods (e.g. Hitch, 1965) and promoted how to apply quantitative methods for analysis to solve policy problems (Durning, 1999 ; Rivlin, 1971). In the light of the inadequacy of earlier approaches, there is a need for a broad theoretical framework for a critical reading of state produced policy texts. Earlier, policy

was taken at face value. However, there is now a recognition of the conceptual complexity of reading state produced policy discourse. Olsen et al. (2004) argue that:

reading neo-liberal educational policy is not just a matter of understanding its educational context or reading it as the 'pronouncements' of 'the policymakers. It requires an understanding of the dynamics of the various elements of the social structure and their intersections in the context of history. Policy documents are discursive embodiments of the balance of these dynamics as they underlie social relations at particular points in time. It is for this reason that the discursive formations they contain constitute a highly - politicized form of public rhetoric; symbolic systems which await decoding. (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 2)

Official policy texts are not just mere educational treatises, which are what they might initially appear to be. They are also political documents. Thus, the real meanings of the embedded discourses within these texts need to be decoded in order to reveal what they help to construct, reconstruct and conceal (Olssen et al, 2004).

(Olssen et al. (2004) assert that previously educational policies were thought to be objective documents. Policymaking was seen as a democratic process involving consensus and not a political one. They further claim that today, educational policies are subjects of controversies and generate much public contestation. It is their contention that the analysis of such policies is done both within governments by those who are officially called 'policy analysts' as well as outside of governments by those who claim that they are doing policy analysis and that the whole field has now become much politicised (Olssen et al., 2004).

#### 4.6.1 Policy and Critical Theory

Over a considerable period of time, the meaning and effects of educational policy have been placed within the theoretical context of critical theory. Prunty (1984) wrote about the importance of critical theory, what he called the 'critical perspective' when he wrote



of 'venturing 'onto an intellectual landscape with few paths and signposts ... a new social terrain' (Olssen et al., 2004, p.3).

In consonance with a rejection of educational policy as rarefied, clinical, objective entity as well as an embrace of the realisation of the political nature of educational policy, Olssen et al argue that "education policy has to be contextualized both nationally and globally as a transformative discourse that is transformative and (which) can have real social effects in response to contemporary crises of survival and sustainability...." (2004, p. 3). Practically, such argument shows a rejection of positivist epistemologies and positivist methodologies and many dominant insights in the liberal conception of the political system.

#### 4.6.2 Foucault and Human Constructionism

Foucault has a strong view on the human subject. Social constructionism is at the heart of his view. By Social Constructionism, Foucault meant that the subject is constructed discursively in history. He rejects essentialist views based on conceptions of "human nature", 'psychology' or 'biology'. His conception of subjectivity is central to his theoretical perspective. His goal in his studies was creating a history of different modes through which human beings are made subjects in our culture (Olssen et al., 2004). In his view, there are three main ways by which subjects are constructed. First, through the human sciences, which grew after the start of the nineteenth century; secondly, through the 'dividing' practices which objectify the Subject and thirdly, through human individuals who have agency to turn themselves into subjects and who also can change history through resistance. In his view, in discourses, individuals identify with particular subject positions.

#### 4.6.3 Discourse

According to Foucault, 'Discourses are composed of signs but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things. It is this move that renders them irreducible to the language and to speech. It is this "move" that we must reveal and describe' (Foucault, 1972, p. 49).

In essence, discourses cannot be simply reduced to language analysis. Discourses embody meaning and social relationships. They constitute subjectivity and power relations (Ball, 1990). In other words, though discourses comprise signs and are capable of conceptualizing ideas in complex ways similar to the way a frame of reference is referred to, they are beyond mere frames of reference. Foucault sees the language analysis as being always a question of by what rules have one statement been made and as a result, by what rules could a similar statement be made. However, "The description of the events of discourse poses a different question: how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another?" (Foucault, 1972, p. 27). In Foucault's theoretical worldview, what is the most important thing is the relationship between the discursive and the extra-discursive.

#### 4.6.4 Foucault and the concept of Power

Foucault's concept of power is diametrically opposed to the Marxist idea of power and class struggle and dominance. In Foucauldian conception, power is not possessed, it is exercised. It is not incorporated into agents and interests, rather it is embedded into practices. Power is not centralized, it is dispensed. Power works from the bottom up rather than from the top down. Also, just as power is negative and repressive, it is also positive and enabling. It is both liberating and oppressive (Olssen et al., 2004). In his

earlier works, Foucault was mainly interested in the central- processing level of power. This in essence, focuses on the ways in which individuals are incorporated into social regulation by which it constitutes its subjects as members. Power in society is a constantly changing relation. Power is not a substance, according to Foucault, it is a certain type of relation between individuals, as well as being the source of their subjectivity. (Olssen et al, 2004)

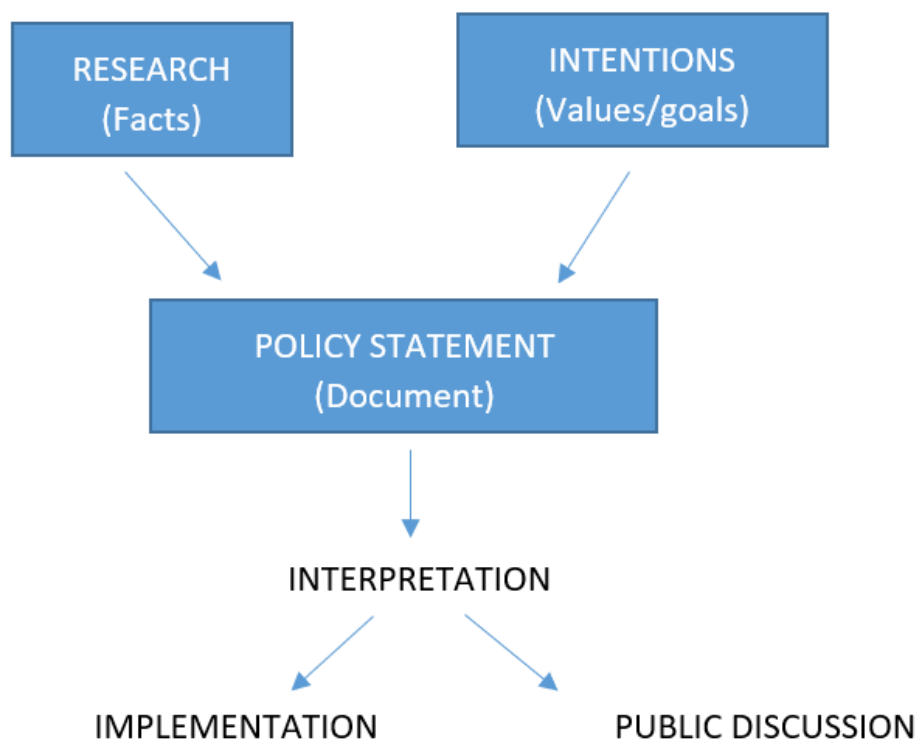
#### 4.6.5 Governmentality

Foucault was also interested in power at the macro-levels of society, as it acted on populations through the exercise of governments. He linked both his micro and macro dimensions of analysis in his concern with 'bio-power' and 'governmentality'. By 'governmentality', Foucault refers to a form of activity whose aim is to guide and shape human conduct. In his essay, *Governmentality*, Foucault traces an evolution of a genealogy of concern from 'advice to the prince/ruler' to "the art of government ... of how to be ruled, how strictly, by whom, to what end, by what methods etc." (Foucault, 1991, pp. 87–8).

#### 4.6.6 A Foucauldian Approach and the interpretation of policy texts

A Foucauldian approach to critical policy analysis is based on a theory of language that does not accept the idealist assumptions that are the basis of the traditional, technocratic conception of the policy process. As far as the technocratic view is concerned, policy documents are interpreted as the expression of political purpose. These documents are seen as expressions of the courses of action that the policy makers and administrators intend to follow. In this view, the task of the policy analyst is to search for the authorial intentions behind the documents. In the technocratic view,

specific functions are assigned to the policy researcher, the policy maker as well as to the policy recipient. The policy researcher is the provider of information who is presumably neutral; the policy maker produces the document while the policy recipient interprets or implements the policy. The policy document itself is seen as a vehicle between these agents in the process. Hence, the policy documents or statements relate the educational intentions in terms of values and goals to factual information obtained through research. These statements are then supposed to be interpreted by those who discuss or implement the policy. This model can be represented as in the figure below:



*Technical -empiricist model of the policy document (Olssen et al, 2004).*

Since policy documents are thought of as ‘expressions’ of particular information and ‘intentions’, the task of policy analysis then becomes establishing the correct interpretation of the intentions of the text. In this approach, controversy about a policy document is often ascribed to a misreading or a misunderstanding of the intentions of the text and the analyst is thus given the task of establishing the authoritative

interpretation of the policy document. Olssen et al. (2004) however argue that from a materialist standpoint, such a task is based upon mistaken idealist assumptions about both the nature of intentions and the nature of language itself. There are many fundamental contradictions behind the wording and language of many state policies, but the liberal humanist ideology within which these assumptions belong, is largely successful in covering up these contradictions.

#### 4.6.7 The Usefulness of Foucault's Perspective for Policy Analysis

Foucault's approach emphasizes the political nature of discourses. In his approach, a discourse involves an apparatus that is political and involves instructional technologies by which there is a constitution of subjectivity and power is affected. His theory of discourse can help our understanding of how people's identities are constituted, and possibly even altered, of how social groups emerge or fade out, of how cultural hegemony is instantiated and possibly contested, and the possibility of social change that is liberating. Foucault's view of social structure has been described as one in which the task of analysis is to focus on the 'new social movements' (Olssen et al., 2004), centring on race, sex, gender, ethnicity or national identity instead of on the privileging of class as is the case in Marxist thought. The concept of 'new social movement' is used in post-structuralist thought to represent groups of diverse social and political kinds. The functionalist paradigm had given rise to the mainstream technicist understanding of how policymaking occurs in a democracy. The supremacy of technicist orthodox liberal understandings of education theory and practice had been the norm. These technicist models of educational policy making and policy analysis are rejected and surpassed by a Foucauldian critical policy analysis approach.

#### 4.6.8 A Foucauldian Approach to Critical Policy Analysis

An effective analysis of education policy is possible by adopting a Foucauldian framework (Graham, 2005). Foucault's idea of critique enables us to have a deeper understanding of social institutions, especially of educational institutions in particular.

#### 4.6.9 Critique in Foucauldian Approach

Critique according to Foucault aims to identify and expose the unrecognized forms of power in people's lives. These forms of power are constraints on people's lives, but such constraints have become so much of the everyday lives that they have been accepted as normal and are not ordinarily recognized as being constraints. They have been accepted as being normal and natural human behaviour. Freedom is subordinated to reason and reason in turn is subordinated to nature. Foucault is against this reduction of reason to nature. He is committed to freedom of thought and from these flows his commitment to 'permanent criticism'. The aim of this 'permanent criticism' is not a utopian enlightenment or absolute emancipation but aims to encourage us to think differently from what we already know. According to Foucault,

A Critique...is a matter of pointing out on what kind of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought, the practices we accept rest .... Criticism is matter of flushing out that thought and trying to change it: to show that things are not as self-evident as we believed, to see that what is accepted as self-evident will no longer be accepted as such. Practising criticism is a matter of making facile gestures difficult. (Foucault, 1988, p. 154).

Foucault differs from other theorists (e.g. Kant and Habermas) by asserting the importance of the contextual historical nature of the social and historical customs and practices of a specific society. This means it is the role of the policy analyst to acknowledge the historical nature of what existed before, through examining carefully

the social and historical practices such as customs, language, habits, institutions and discourses from which certain styles of institutional reasoning comes and develops. (Olssen et al., 2004)

Foucault suspects the humanist and idealist views of Critique. He sees history as continuum of never-ending procession of changing practices. He disputes claims to universal truths but asserts the principle of permanent contingency. Foucault upholds a conception of critique as practical and historically specific rather than being transcendently grounded. According to Foucault,

criticism is no longer going to be practised in search for formal structures with universal value, but rather as an historical investigation into the events that have led us to constitute ourselves and to recognize ourselves as subjects of what we are doing, thinking, saying. In this sense the criticism is not transcendental, and its goal is not that of making metaphysics possible: it is genealogical in its design and archaeological in its method (Foucault, 1984, pp. 45–6).

For Foucault, criticism has a local character. It doesn't seek, neither is dependent on totalizing models or strategies, which are not helpful to taking effective action. Foucault terms his own form of critical inquiry as "practical" because it is not utopian such as advocated by Marxism or by the leading writers of the Frankfurt school such as Horkheimer or Habermas (Olssen et al., 2004)

#### 4.7 Archaeology

Foucault's method of Archaeology is a way of analysing the superstructural elements of language that make up a discourse. A discourse is defined in terms of statements (énoncés) of 'things said'. Statements are events of certain kinds which are both historical in context and are capable of repetition. Statements are not the same as

sentences or propositions or 'speech acts. They are also not phonemes, morphemes or syntagms. Rather, as Foucault (1972) states:

In examining the statement what we have discovered is a function that has a bearing on groups of signs, which is identified neither with grammatical 'acceptability' nor with logical correctness, and which requires it to operate: a referential (which is not exactly a fact, a state of things, or even an object, but a principle of differentiation); a subject (not the speaking consciousness, nor the author of the formulation, but a position that may be filled in certain conditions by various individuals); an associated field (which is not the real context of the formulation, the situation in which it was articulated, but a domain of coexistence for other statements); a materiality (which is not only the substance or support of the articulation, but a status, rules of transcription, possibilities for use and re-use) (Foucault, 1972, p.115).

Very important to Foucault's approach are serious statements that make up subsets that have some autonomy. These subsets contain truth claims which belong to a single system of formation.

A 'discursive formation' makes up the regularity that is present between 'objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices' (Foucault, 1972). Discursive formation is the general expression system governing a verbal performances group (Foucault, cited in Olssen et al., 2004). Archaeological analysis is mainly concerned with uncovering the rules of the formation of discourses, or discursive systems. In essence, it progresses from the level of statements searching for the rules which explain the appearance of the phenomena that are being studied. It examines the discursive conditions which order the structure of a form of discourse and which control how such orders emerge. Hence, discourse is analysed in terms of the operation of rules that bring the discourse into existence. Archaeology tries to account for the way discourses are ordered. At the heart of archaeology is the attempt to establish the rules of formation of discourses or the



discursive practices through asking such question as ‘how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another?’ (Foucault, 1972).

In addition to the above, another element of archaeological analysis is the “episteme”. The episteme refers to the total set of relations that unite the discursive practices at a particular time. The episteme is “totality of relations that can be discovered for a given period between the sciences when one analyses them at the level of discursive regularities” (Foucault, 1972, p. 211). According to Foucault, epistemes are practices to be encountered, they are factual, and they are time-bound. Archaeology’s object of study is discourses. It seeks to search for explanations at a deeper level than those provided by science. Archaeology’s methods are conceptual. It uses theoretical knowledge so as to analyse forms of knowledge. It looks carefully at all forms of policy in their historical context. However, archaeology is limited because it is unable to account for the historical emergence and transformation of discourses. In order to do this, after 1968, Foucault shifted his methodological emphasis to genealogy.

#### 4.7.1 A Framework for Analysis

This study will also co-opt Olssen et al.’s (2004) *Framework for Discourse/Policy Analysis*, adopting a materialist theory of language as the basis for an approach to discourse analysis. While there is a growing body of Foucauldian policy analysis (Scheurich, 1994; Gale, 2001, among others), Olssen et al. (2004) base their approach on a reading of Foucault, which is more comprehensive and which considers his whole intellectual project, not limiting or restricting themselves to a particular period or facet of Foucault’s work. By adopting Foucault in this way, Olssen et al. (2004) overcome objections from writers like Troyna (as cited in Olssen et al, 2004), that ‘policy sociology’ is inappropriate. By using Foucault this way, policy sociology is seen as a form of critical policy analysis

with no attachment to the discipline of sociology. Because Foucauldian is not located within any discipline, it is thus more able to be genuinely multidisciplinary. A Foucauldian perspective makes possible for the incorporation of a form of critical policy analysis within a more theoretically worked-out and grounded 'critical social science approach' (Ozga, as cited in Olssen et al, 2004).

Another advantage of using Olssen's suggested Foucauldian approach is that it has a critical edge by being not a totalizing conception of critique in the tradition of the Frankfurt school, or a reconstructive conception, in the tradition of Habermas, but rather "a form of critique which aims at partial and local interrogations of the real, which confines itself to exposing the contemporary limits of the necessary, but nevertheless struggles against oppressive social structures" (Olssen et al, 2004, p. 59). Additionally, it is a form of critique which is associated with "pluralism and the pragmatic turn" and "the transformation of critical theory" (Rehg & Bohman, 2001, in the book title). Most importantly, it is a form of critique that emphasizes the material nature of language in the constitution and exercise of power and also rejects linguistic idealism (Olssen et al, 2004)

#### 4.7.2 Idealist theory of language and policy analysis

Approaching the analysis of policy documents by explicating the ideas within them and trying to explain their intended meanings presupposes a theory of language which could be called idealist because of the assumed relationship between words, thoughts and the real world. Ogden & Richards (1923) asserted that language has an indirect relationship with the real world, one that is mediated by thought. The relationship between language and thought is direct and causal. (Olssen et al, 2004). In this theory of language, symbolic

truth (coherence) is distinguished from referential truth (correspondence). Ogden & Richards (1923) define symbolic (or conceptual) truth as follows:

A true symbol = one which correctly records an adequate reference. It is usually a set of words in the form of a proposition or sentence. It correctly records an adequate reference when it will cause similar reference to occur in a suitable interpreter. It is false when it records an inadequate reference (Ogden & Richards, 1923, p.102)

Olssen et al. (2004) postulate this conception of language is that which is implicit in the work of policy analysts who try to clarify the meaning of policy documents. Their main aim is to make the language transparent and understandable through correct use. Their goal is to produce commensurability of meaning among different readers of the policy text. This kind of policy analysis assumes language to be a transparent vehicle for the expression of experience.

This view of language is the idealist-empiricist view of language, which does not consider that language itself is a sphere of social practice and is affected and structured by the conditions in which that practice takes place. This requires an alternative conception of language as, for instance in the work of Foucault. This conception recognizes and accepts that words do much more than just signify or name things or ideas that are already in existence. It recognizes that the use of language can produce real social effects. The use of language can be political, not just by referring to political ideas or events, but by itself becoming an instrument and object of power. This materialist conception of language recognizes how language produces ideological effects by suppressing the contradictions of peoples' experiences so as to preserve the existing social formation, especially when it analyses policies produced by and for the state.

#### 4.7.3 A framework in discourse analytical action

In Olssen et al.'s (2004), proposal of framework for the discursive analysis of educational policy texts, discourse is not seen simply as 'text', nor just 'langue and parole' in the tradition of Saussure (1974), but rather as the total collection through which social production of meaning takes place. Discourse is a complex phenomenon rooted in extra-discursive conditions of a particular political and economic order. This extra-discursiveness is effective in and through the discursive, and against a background of multiple discourses which affect the conditions of its production and reception. In the light of this, an analysis of social practice always necessitates at the same time an analysis of the discursive because social practice is always mediated discursively. Also, though policy discourses are 'texts', they are, at the same time, always more than texts. They are always components of discourse and of social practices as well. Their position is in line with that adopted by Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999, p. 6) who state that "It is important to recognize the social import of discourse without reducing social life to discourse- a reductionism characteristic of postmodern views of the social world that is a constant risk and temptation for discourse analysts".

This chapter has presented how Foucault can be used to analyse policy documents. It has also demonstrated that this kind of analysis can be done on a historical and sociological basis. The next chapter discusses using Critical Discourse Analysis to analyse policy documents. It will be mainly an analytic case study of *The Adult ESOL Strategy* (2003).

## CHAPTER 5 ANALYTIC METHOD-USING CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS TO ANALYSE POLICY DOCUMENTS- A CASE STUDY OF THE ADULT ESOL STRATEGY (2003)

This chapter is mainly an analytical case study of *The Adult ESOL Strategy* (2003). It includes an examination of the construction of the ideal adult ESOL learner in *The Adult ESOL Strategy* as well as a closer look at, and analysis of, the document in terms of the discourses present in it and the assumptions it holds about the ideal/desired adult ESOL learner.

Thus, this chapter intends to more explicitly and transparently provide omnibus economical answers to the two research questions in this study, namely:

**Research Question 1:** What discourses/assumptions does the Adult ESOL Strategy have in relation to adult ESOL learners and immigrants?

**Research Question 2:** What attitude does the Adult ESOL Strategy instantiate in relation to the 'desirable/quality' adult ESOL learner?

The answers to these questions will be evident in combination, since these two questions are essentially two ends of the same continuum

The Adult ESOL strategy is regarded as a New Zealand government Education policy. The discussion of any Education policy is a discursive practice. It is to be noted that the discursive construction of identities in policy processes are very important. Discourses constitute identities that position people in potentially contradictory ways (Fairclough 1995b, Gee 1996, 1999, as cited in Thomas, 2005).

Such positionings result in the fact that people are homogenized or differentiated. That is, it allows certain people to have their voice privileged over others. On the other hand,

it also provides for differentiation and creativity, allowing people to represent themselves as a collective identity (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999).

People recognise or know themselves as certain kinds of people as they 'enact, perform, and recognize different socially situated identities' (Gee, 1999, p. 89) through discourse (Thomas 2005). That is, positionings constructed in discourse constitute identities, both in the way people are represented by others and the way people represent themselves (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999). In this understanding of identities, it is recognized that people actively construct their individual and collective identities in discourse; that identities are in constant flux, not static, as they are negotiated through discourse; and that the process of identification in discourse is a feature of social life (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999), including the processes of policy-making.

Questions about identity have gained increased prominence in education research (Gee, 2001), including critical education policy research (Thomas, 2005). The following discussion explores and applies CDA to the construction of the adult ESOL learner identities in an educational policy, *The Adult ESOL Strategy*.

The discussion that follows applies the Chouliaraki & Fairclough's (1999, ~~p-60~~) framework to an analysis of the problem of adult ESOL learner quality in educational policies.

First the discussion focuses on the discourse related problem of adult ESOL learner quality. This section applies to stages 1, and 2B of the framework. The second section applies to stage 2c, the analysis of the discourse, as it analyses the discourses about adult ESOL learners found in the policy document. The third section addresses stages 3 and 4 and focuses especially on alternative constructions of adult ESOL learner quality,

constructions that 'ought' to be. Finally, the critical discourse analysis ends with a reflection on the position of the analyst.

### 5.1 Stages 1, 2a and 2b: The problem of adult ESOL learner quality

1. A problem (activity, reflexivity)
2. Obstacles to its being tackled
  - (a) Analysis of the conjuncture
  - (b) Analysis of the practice re its discourse moment
    - (i) relevant practice(s)
    - (ii) relation of discourse to other moments
      - discourse as part of activity
      - discourse and reflexivity

The first stage of the framework is the identification of a social problem. The problem may be in the activities of a social practice or in the reflexive construction of a social construction. The latter problems are concerned with problems of misrepresentation or miscognition (Thomas 2005). This discussion focuses on such a problem-the problem of Adult ESOL learner quality. It examines the representations of adult ESOL learners, particularly, the discursive construction of the good/desirable/ideal adult ESOL learner.

After this, the framework recognizes obstacles which work against the problem being tackled. In other words, the analysis aims to understand "how the problem arises and how it is rooted in the way social life is organised" (Fairclough 2003, p.209). This second stage of the framework includes three types of analysis. The first type of analysis is the analysis of conjuncture, the network of social practices in which the discourse is located. This analysis will hopefully result in the understanding of which social practices are

brought together, that is, it should result in the understanding of the struggles over power which are internalized in the discourse (Thomas, 2005).

The second type of analysis in this stage of the framework concerns power and power struggles. This type of analysis is the analysis of the practice in relation to its discourse moment and examines how the discourse is related to other moments. That is a critical discourse analysis seeks to understand 'how the discourse works in relation to "other things" '(Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999, p.62) within relations of power (Thomas, 2005).

Both these two types of analysis, that of conjuncture and that of the practices within which the discursive practice cooperate with other techniques to throw light on multiple aspects of practice exists. This means that both work towards the goal of contextualizing the problem. As has been said, 'in a critical discourse analysis of policy texts, both types of analysis work to reconstruct the relationship between the policy texts and the context in which they are used "(Thomas 2005, p.30)

The analysis of the conjuncture and the analysis of the discursive moment will be included in the following discussion of the Adult ESOL learner quality.

This discussion first identifies the problem, and after that places the problem in the social context within which the text under analysis is situated.

Education policies have had as a feature discourse on quality for many years (Vidovich & Potter, 1999). Such discourse has had a global impact (See Henry et al, 2001 for discussion of the impact of the worldwide impact of the global discourse of quality on the OECD), and on individual nations. An example is Apple (2004), which has discussed the impact of quality discourses in the USA; Whitty (2002) has discussed the impact on teacher professionalism in the UK. (Thomas, 2005)



The following discussion of policies for adult ESOL/immigrant learner quality analyses the conjuncture of practices within which discourses of on adult ESOL/immigrant learner quality are located in the New Zealand context. Not only does it present a contextual frame for such policies, but it also identifies the struggles over power that are internalised within discourses on the quality adult ESOL/immigrant learner.

## 2c: Analysing the policy discourse on adult ESOL/immigrant Learner Quality

### 2. Obstacles to its being tackled

#### (c) analysis of the discourse

The third type of analysis in the second stage of the framework is the analysis of the discourse. This analysis covers both structure and interaction, being that it is interested in both the structural elements of the discourse that enables and constrains interactions and how these, work together in the textual process. It examines the dialectic between structure and interaction, between the linguistic and the social.

The following analysis of the discourses constructed in the chapter titled “**Adult ESOL for Migrants**” in The Adult ESOL Strategy focuses on the linguistic features of the chapter. In doing this, the analysis highlights the link between CDA, and Systemic Functional Grammar or Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) mentioned by Gee (1999) and Fairclough (2003), Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999) (Thomas 2005). The analysis draws on these connections as it identifies the use grammatical structures in the policy and shows how the processes of identification in discourse are realized by these structures.

An understanding of the processes of identification in the discourses constructed in The Adult ESOL Strategy is gained through analysis of the relations between the authors, that is The New Zealand Ministry of Education, the readers and the representation of adult ESOL learners and the quality adult ESOL learner constructed in the strategy. These relations are realized in the grammatical features of modality and evaluation (Fairclough 2003)

These two features are discussed regarding what the authors of the policy commit themselves to. Modality is examined in terms of what the authors of the policy commit themselves to when they make statements (declarations) and ask questions.

*Making statements* is an important feature of the chapter of the strategy being analysed and involves the exchange of what Fairclough (2003) calls epistemic modality. Epistemic modality refers to the authors' commitments to the truth. *Assertions* or statements of fact realise strong commitments to truth. Asking questions also involves the exchange of knowledge as the authors elicit others' commitment to truth (Thomas 2005).

*Evaluation* refers to the ways in which authors commit themselves to values and is concerned with the authors' commitment to desirability (Fairclough 2003) (Thomas 2005). In this analysis, evaluative statements regarding what is desirable, or undesirable can be observed. Both modality and evaluation help reveal the authors' contribution to the process of identification since what they commit to is an important part of what they are (Thomas 2005). In addition, Fairclough (2003) states that identification meanings presuppose representational meaning, that is meanings about 'what is'. Hence, analyses of modality and valuation encompasses all of how the authors represent themselves, how the world is represented and how the identity of social groups, such as adult ESOL learners are constructed.

Below is an analysis of modality and evaluation as they are realised in the chapter titled “Adult ESOL for Migrants” in ‘The Adult ESOL Strategy’

The chapter mentioned above is full of declarative *statements*, many of which are evaluative, about Adult ESOL Learners and learning quality.

An analysis of statements shows how the authors identify themselves. Fairclough (2001) states that declarative statements position the authors as givers, and readers as receivers, of information. Through its use of declarative statements, The New Zealand Ministry of Education identifies itself as the giver of information, as the authority on adult ESOL and adult ESOL learners. This authority can be seen in the use of statements such as, “A strategy is needed to coordinate the government’s approach to adult ESOL, so that investments in adult ESOL provision is used in ways which best meet the needs of the learners, the economy and the wider community” (The Adult ESOL Strategy, 2003, p.3)

Also,

The key principles to be used for guiding adult ESOL provision in the future are: First, the development and provision of adult ESOL is learner centred and based on partnership with migrant/refugee communities. Second, Adult ESOL provision is aligned to, and an integral part of migrant settlement and refugee resettlement processes. Third, Adult ESOL provision recognizes and values the cultures of learners. Fourth, Adult ESOL provision supports and creates pathways to further learning and/or employment. Fifth, Adult ESOL provision is of a high quality, is easy to access, is affordable and encourages participation and achievement. Finally, “this Strategy has a long-term focus, and will therefore have a stepped implementation. (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.4) In the

policy document, the idea of the need for contribution is as important as the need for participation. The discourse of migrants as economic contributors is evident in the extract, “Migrant communities make extensive contributions to New Zealand society. They are more diverse than refugees, in terms of their level of ESOL need, their settlement needs, their ability to pay and the level of support to be provided by government”. (The Adult ESOL Strategy, p.15). It further says, “A lack of English language skills affects their ability to participate and contribute to New Zealand society and economy.” (The Adult ESOL Strategy, p.15).

As seen in the extracts above, the discourse constructed in the strategy is that of the quality/ideal adult ESOL learner as **a contributor** to New Zealand society. Not only is the adult ESOL learner a contributor, but he/she is also a special kind of learner worthy of being categorized differently from other learners. According to the discourse of the adult ESOL learner, “migrants within the skilled/business stream...are expected to contribute to the nation’s skills and entrepreneurial base” (*Adult ESOL Strategy*, p.15)

In addition, there is the construction of migrants as subjects who are normalized through classification, categorization, streaming, demands, obligations and requirements. This is reflected in the following extract:

Currently, there are a number of migration classifications under which people enter New Zealand. There are three streams: Skilled/Business Stream, Family-Sponsored stream, and International/Humanitarian (which includes categories for Pacific migrants as well as refugees). The purpose of having different categories of migration is to establish different priorities and obligations. Migrants within the Skilled/Business stream, for example, are **expected** to contribute to the nation's skills and entrepreneurial base, and the humanitarian migrants programme is designed to meet international and regional **obligations**. (Ministry of Education, p.15).

Further, there is the discourse of the adult ESOL learners being diverse and having diverse needs. The following illustrates this point: “[**Migrant** communities] are more **diverse** than refugees.... For many **Pacific peoples**, English remains a significant barrier in terms of further education and labour market opportunities.” (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.15). The Strategy aims to encourage Pacific learners' participation and achievement in ESOL through: “a focus on improving the information in Pacific languages provided to potential Pacific learners... and ...encouraging providers to be more responsive by paying more for quality provision tailored to the diverse needs of Pacific learners” (The Adult ESOL Strategy, p.15).

There are other constructed discourses of the quality/ideal adult ESOL learner found in the Adult ESOL Strategy (2003). The discourse constructs a particular identity for the adult ESOL learner which emphasizes **independence, cooperation, and pro-activity** in the adult ESOL learner and adult ESOL learning.

First, the adult ESOL learner is constructed as an independent chooser. Part of the goal of the Adult ESOL Strategy is, “ensuring migrants can access and achieve in adult ESOL provision that is appropriate to their needs in order to participate and contribute to New Zealand society” (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.15). It is stated as a ‘given’ here that the immigrant is independent and can independently decide what their ‘needs’ are and whether the ESOL provision is “appropriate” to their needs.

Here, there is the discourse of the construction of the adult ESOL learner as **an autonomous rational chooser**, who is a ‘homo-economicus’ in an atmosphere of neo-liberalism. The above picture is however not true. The first evidence to support this conclusion is that the immigrant has had no say in determining what their “needs’ are, since they have been told these through the results of some ‘placement tests’ or ‘needs

analysis' facilitated by a person who is meeting them for the first time and most likely doesn't speak their first language or understand their particular background or 'story'.

The ideal adult ESOL learner is constructed as being pro-active. They are **able to take advantage** of ESOL provision linked to literacy and integrated with their settlement needs." (The Adult ESOL Strategy, p.16). This seen as particularly helpful as one of the ways mapped out to achieve improvements in adult ESOL provision for family-sponsored and humanitarian stream migrants is to

[d]evelop information in a variety of formats and languages, targeted at different audiences including new arrivals. [and] inform learners who have been here for some years of the importance of ESOL, the variety of provision available, how ESOL can fit in with other priorities and needs associated with the settlement process. (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.15).

The ideal ESOL learner is also constructed as cooperative: Among priorities for migrant ESOL learners, the Adult ESOL strategy states that "in general, migrants have more resources and lower levels of need than refugees, and **the government expects** that to a large extent **they will support themselves**" (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.16. Emphasis mine). The government expects cooperation from migrants as is clear in the excerpt above.

The Adult ESOL strategy policy documents have many evaluative statements about the ideal /desirable adult ESOL learner. The following extract demonstrates this:

There are a number of migrants from non-English-speaking backgrounds who have been living in New Zealand for some time without gaining English language skills. For spouses of migrants, a lack of English can contribute to feelings of isolation, undermine their ability to assist with their children's education and prevent them from independently accessing services. Low participation in some forms of adult ESOL provision by Pacific peoples is also an issue. A lack of English language skills affects their ability to participate and contribute to New Zealand society and economy--(Ministry of Education, 2003, p.15)

The above extract has many **evaluative** statements about Adult ESOL learners. The statements are not explicit statements that use words like “good”, “bad” “ideal”, “quality” “desirable’. Instead, these statements evaluate in terms of importance, where desirability is assumed (Fairclough 2003 cited in Thomas 2005). According to Gee (1996), words “have meanings only relative to choices (by speakers and writers) and guesses (by hearers and readers) about other words, and assumptions about contexts” (1996, p.76). This means that meanings constructed in a text depend a lot on the guesses and assumptions, or presuppositions, made by the reader of the text (Fairclough 2003, Thomas 2005). *The Adult ESOL Strategy* (2003) constructs a picture of the quality or ideal adult ESOL learner through the use of evaluative statements in which the desirable qualities of a good adult ESOL learner are assumed.

Evaluative statements found in the above extract lead the reader to presuppose the desirable qualities of the good adult ESOL learner. These qualities regard what type of person a good adult ESOL learner is and how he/she behaves.

The good adult ESOL learner is: able to assist with their children’s education able to independently access services; able to participate in and contribute to New Zealand society and economy; if an immigrant, is believed to “have more resources and lower levels of need than refugees, and the government expects that to a large extent they will support themselves” (The Adult ESOL Strategy, p.16); able to partake of a diverse quality-assured adult ESOL; that is “linked to **outcomes** and recognizes a **diversity** of learner needs” (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.16).

The same document further depicts the quality/ideal ESOL learner as being “**more responsive** by paying more for quality provision tailored to the diverse needs” of such a learner (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.15). In addition, he/she is supposed to be a

learner with “more active involvement” in adult ESOL (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.15).

Apart from highlighting the diversity of composition, the strategy also points out the diversity of experiences and (lack of) opportunities, as reflected in this extract:

It is important to note that around a third of the migrants who do not speak English have been living in New Zealand for ten years or more, and this is a particular trend for Pacific communities. Therefore, as well as designing a strategy that caters for the needs of **new migrants** to New Zealand, the needs of **migrants who** have been living in New Zealand for some time have also been considered. (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.15).

In the above extract, new migrants are contrasted to those who have been living in New Zealand for some time. However, does this mean that this is a new awareness? Have those migrants who “do not speak English [and] have been living in New Zealand for ten years or more” (Adult ESOL Strategy, p.15) been invisible to the authorities? Does this mean that they have not been “contributing” anything to New Zealand and her economy all those years? The discourse at work here with regards to migrants seems to be one of “You are invisible till you are rendered visible by the economic microscope of enhanced neo-liberalism”

The language used in the *Adult ESOL Strategy* (Ministry of Education, 2003) is quite prescriptive as illustrated the following extract, “For spouses of migrants, a lack of English can contribute to feelings of isolation, undermine their ability to assist with their children's education and prevent them from independently accessing services.” (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.15). In this extract, whose voice do we hear throughout? What do these spouses who are referred to actually say? Why not let one two of them actually say something of their own experiences? We are not allowed to hear them in their own voices.



Not only is it that the language is prescriptive but in addition, it is deployed to hide full disclosure through the use of Nominalisation, as in this example: “All secondary applicants must achieve an IELTS 5 average or prepay for ESOL through the English for Migrants scheme. **This decision was made to ensure better settlement outcomes for skilled and business migrants** (The Adult ESOL Strategy, p.15. The researcher added the bold format). This is decision was made by whom? The use of Nominalisation here has hidden the ‘doer’ of the action. This use was deliberate and was designed to mask the people or authority responsible for the decision, especially as it was further stated that this decision “may have an impact on the level of adult ESOL needed in the future” (p.15)

The analysis of the discourse on the ideal adult ESOL learner constructed in *The Adult ESOL Strategy* has shown how the grammatical features of modality and evaluation have realized the process of identification in the discourse. It has shown how these have worked to establish the authors of the strategy, The New Zealand Ministry of Education, as authorities committed to a particular discourse on adult ESOL learner.

## 5.2 Stages 3 & 4: Shifting from is to ought

### 3. Function of the problem in the practice

### 4. Possible ways past the obstacle

The third stage of the framework concerns whether the problem has a function within the network of social practices. According to Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), this stage is described as shifting from ‘is’ to ‘ought’. This involves a “shift from explanation of what it is about the practice that leads to the problem, to evaluation of the practice in terms of its problematic results” (Thomas, 2005, p. 65).

This stage of the framework tries to identify who benefits most from the way social life is organized and who might have an interest in the problem not being resolved (Thomas, 2005). The fourth stage looks for possible ways to solve the problem, ways past the problem, including by looking at novel ways for change in the way social life is organized. The discussion below looks at the discursive construction of the adult ESOL learner identities The Adult ESOL Strategy in terms of what ought to be. It emphasizes whose interest are being served by the discourse, and on possibilities for alternative discourses.

The discourse on adult ESOL learners constructed in The Adult ESOL Strategy linked quality adult ESOL learners to the economy and national development, as seen in the following extract from the Strategy:

There are currently a significant number of adult New Zealand permanent residents who face barriers to **participation** in New Zealand's society and **economy**, due to their lack of English Language skills. People who lack these skills are at a serious disadvantage in terms of **finding** and **retaining employment**, acting as advocates for their communities, accessing information and services, and assisting in them children's educational **achievement**. (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.3. Emphasis mine)

### 5.3 Discussion

The above extract shows the strategy as being very monolingual and monocultural. In addition, the Adult ESOL Strategy constructed a discourse of a quality Adult ESOL learner through the implementation of a national Adult ESOL strategy. Such a strategy takes a developmental approach to standards in the context of adult ESOL learner development and social settlement. For example, it is stated that to "ensure that sustainable improvements are made, implementation will have to be staged, with strategies developed for short, medium- and long-term improvements" (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.18)

Among the priorities for how the government needs to intervene initially is the issue of quality. It plans to “target provision with quality, fitness for purpose and meeting needs criteria (pre-and post- assessments) focused on priority areas/initiatives to fill gaps in provision” (Ministry of Education, 2003, p. 20)

The expressions used above are generalised terms. The key terms are not well-defined. What is meant by ‘quality’? and how do we objectively recognise or measure “quality”? Since different people will have different definitions of quality, the term is difficult to define. It implies that if we ask 20 people to define quality, we will likely receive 20 definitions in return. People define quality according to their understanding, knowledge, and circumstances.

Also, people change and so do their needs, depending on the time and different stages they are in their lives. Pre-and post-assessments would presumably use some static standards or ‘standardised’ tests to measure immigrants’ non-static (dynamic) needs re and post -assessments. No adjustments have been made for the context of the immigrants’ lives.

Also, other goals include: “Bringing together an expert working group to develop performance indicators to be used as guidelines for funding to providers who meet quality requirements” (p. 18) and “The performance indicators will be broad enough to be applicable to all quality -assured adult ESOL provision, and flexible enough to allow for new provision to be introduced” (pp 19 - 20).

As before, the painting in the extracts above are done in very broad strokes. The indicators will be broad enough to be applicable to “all” adult ESOL provision. Examples

are not given. The flexibility mentioned does not indicate a greater input by the learners themselves. It all seems very monolingual and mono-cultural.

The Strategy further states that, “improvement in quality will also involve capability building-including support for teacher -development, as well as bilingual/community development” (Ministry of Education, 2003 No changes required, p.19)

One could ask here: how would the policy makers ensure their own flexibility in ensuring the flexibility of the performance indicators? How would the policy makers measure their own performance and not just that of the ESOL consumers? All these need to be explicitly stated and made transparent, but they are not.

Regardless of the shortcomings noted above, ESOL standards and quality assurance developed in this context will be in the best interest of adult ESOL learners. Professional standards required for quality ESOL provision and the production of quality adult ESOL learner are most likely to be in the best interest of teachers (Sachs 2003). A revitalized adult ESOL learner and adult ESOL learning environment are what ‘ought’ to be and The Adult ESOL Strategy, the teachers involved as well as the adult ESOL learner himself are identified as the resource for this change (Thomas, 2005).

### 5.3.1 Stage 5: Reflections on the analysis

It has been noticed in the course of this analysis that this framework for analysis gives the analyst the opportunity to overcome the limitations of a strictly linguistic analysis. It has been found that CDA, as used in this analysis, helps to highlight the discursive nature of policy by outlining a concept of policy as discourse that is “constructed through hegemonic struggles over policy problems and solutions” (Thomas, 2003, p.40).

Also, it was found that the application of the analytical framework for critical discourse analysis shows that it has relevance and suitability for critical policy analysis. It has been found as well as hereby suggested and recommended that, in agreement with Thomas (2005), there is a complexity inherent in the application of the framework and that such complexity “requires the analyst to move beyond a stage-by-stage analysis to an analysis that recognizes the interrelationships between stages” (Thomas, 2005, p. 41)

#### 5.4 More Analysis of The Adult ESOL Strategy

Foucault’s investigations are conceptual. So, our analysis necessarily engages our minds. The main concepts he approaches in his work are discourse, power, and the subject (McHoul & Grace, 1993) and these are designed to achieve what he called ‘an ontology of the present’. According to McHoul & Grace (1998), “[t]hat is, Foucault is asking a very basic philosophical question: who are we? Or perhaps: who are we today?” (p.viii)

In a practical way, in response to these questions as we analyse *The Adult ESOL Strategy* in New Zealand: Who are we? We are New Zealand, a nation of former settlers as well as immigrants, refugees and an indigenous group of people, all who have agreed to live as a (superdiverse) nation. (However, it should be noted that it is arguable whether indigenous people ‘agree’ to superdiversity).

The knowledge that we have of ourselves is informed by our history and the educational system as well as the educational (including ESOL) policies that guide this system.

The political forces that made New Zealand who we are and our internal relations with ourselves (that is ethical considerations) guide our enquiry. To Foucault, ethics means “the relation one has to himself” (McHoul & Grace, 1998, p.24)

Changes start in public ideas and precede changes in private individuals and not otherwise (McHoul & Grace, 1998, p. 4). In this vein, the Adult ESOL Strategy (2003) was meant to bring about changes in the ESOL offerings and educational opportunities available in New Zealand and then bring about changes in the practices and knowledge of certain individuals that is, Adult ESOL learners.

The changes desired by the government in private individuals is well-articulated in the Minister's foreword to the *Adult ESOL Strategy* (2003):

[It] is English that is predominant in everyday use and is essential for participation in New Zealand society. Adult English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) is an integral part in the settlement and resettlement process for people from non-English-speaking backgrounds.... Like all good strategies, [The Adult ESOL Strategy] [has]... achievable first steps towards... all New Zealand residents ... participating in all aspects of life in New Zealand. (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.2).

Furthermore, the *Adult ESOL Strategy* explicitly states that its vision for is that "all New Zealand residents from non-English-speaking backgrounds have opportunities to gain English language skills so they can participate in all aspects of life in New Zealand, whether in the workplace, further education, family, or the community"—(Ministry of Education, 2003, p.3).

It would be noted here that the changes desired in the individuals are ultimately linked to changes in the public sphere, that is in: "all aspects of life in New Zealand, whether in the workplace, further education or the community" (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.3). Through the Adult ESOL Strategy, the Ministry of Education in New Zealand is apparently involved in a terrain of power relations. We are not so much concerned with the Ministry as 'authors of power', 'wielders of power' or 'the exercisers of power' rather, this analysis defers to another aspect of Foucault's critical method, which is that it identifies

power that is not intentionally wielded. He is interested in the field of power where it plays out and has effects, not in who wield the power.

In the *Adult ESOL Strategy*, power is not to be regarded as a domination of the policy makers (the Ministry of Education in New Zealand) over others or even the domination of one class over others. This is because “the subject that power has constituted becomes part of the mechanism of that power, it becomes a vehicle of that power (McHoul & Grace, 1998, p. 22). An illustration of this phenomenon is stated under actions to be taken to ensure better coordination and collaboration: “Encourage the participation of refugee and migrant community groups in planning and provision of migrant settlement and refugee resettlement services, including ESOL (The Adult ESOL Strategy, 2003, p. 9)

Power installs itself and produces real effects in the ESOL learning subjects: It would be seen in the excerpt above that refugees and migrant community groups who, at first, are constituted as subjects of this ESOL policy are desired to ultimately become part of the mechanism of that power in their participation in “planning and provision of migrant settlement and resettlement services, including ESOL” (Ministry of Education, 2003, p. 9). In doing this, they in turn act as channels for the flow of power itself.

The phenomenon as seen in ESOL learners confirms that power is both reflexive and impersonal. It is relatively autonomous. It produces subjects just as much as subjects reproduce it (McHoul & Grace, 1998, p.22}. The process by which subjects are constructed in the midst of flow of power is called ‘subjection’. This happens in the terrain of power which could be an individual or a group’s collective space.

The effects of power in The Adult ESOL Strategy are very real. The effects of power are material and potentially empowering and their site is often the body. Among the descriptors of ESOL learners and their needs -by migration categories, "Settlement/resettlement needs" is one of the four categories. Among the key components taken into consideration are "Level of resource, health/family issues, trauma...." (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.12). These are material and mostly related to the 'body'.

As has been stated, "power is comprised of instruments for the formation and recording of knowledge (register and archives, methods of observation, techniques of registration, procedures for investigation, apparatuses of control and so forth" (McHoul & Grace, 1998, p.22. See also Hacking, 1981, 1982). In light of this, *The Adult ESOL Strategy* demonstrates the reality of the presence and installation of the components of power in the sub-section titled "Increased quality provision" under the general section titled "Submissions on the Adult ESOL consultation document" as follows:

Most respondents agreed that **more consistent measurement** of learner progress, New Zealand-based resources, and common **assessment and referral processes** would be useful. Some felt, however, that **compliance** and **assessment** was already too costly and time-consuming, and **more quality measures** could potentially impact upon flexibility, particularly for providers who already had **quality assurance processes** in place. (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.24). (All underlining and bolding are mine for emphasis)

The presence and installation of power is demonstrated in the above-shown extract by the proliferation of power-comprising instruments such as measurement, assessment and referral techniques, which are apparatuses of control. It is further observed that in claiming to help to solve the problem of non-possession of English language skills, these normalising processes have a possibility of creating more problems: How do those who



‘fail’ or ‘do not achieve’, when their performance is measured or tested, feel or react? Would they give up on themselves as ‘impossible cases’? Would they feel that being ‘judged’ as ‘failed’ on a test equate to being deemed ‘failures’ in their new country? Would they feel at risk of being ejected from their new home-New Zealand? Their self-esteem may be impacted, their morale may be reduced. Many immigrants are from cultures where ‘losing face’ is a serious thing. Many would be at risk of losing face, if these testing and possible negative results are not handled sensitively and delicately.

The policy document, The Adult ESOL Strategy (2003), further highlights:

The importance of **professionally- qualified** adult ESOL tutors, including bilingual tutors, and **their development** and support was mentioned, as was the need for effective auditing and reviewing processes to be developed by the Ministry of Education. (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.24) (All underlining and bolding are mine)

More evidence of procedures of investigation and components of power are in the extract above with the emphasis on qualifications, development, auditing, and review by the Ministry of Education.

It is noted that such instruments for the installation of power as developments, auditing and reviews are all processes that are ancillary to teaching and learning, which are the key elements in the process of producing ideal/desired ESOL learners. There is the danger of these ancillaries overshadowing the original goals. These ancillary processes take time and cost money-two resources which are already in short supply in the ESOL field. Committing more resources to these ancillaries run the risk of taking away from what is available for excellent ESOL provision.

In sum, from the above extracts, it would be seen that such key qualities of power as being “comprised of instruments for the formation and recording of knowledge (register

and archives, methods of observation, techniques of registration, procedures for investigation, apparatuses of control....” (McHoul & Grace, 1998, p.22) are echoed and reflected in the underlined and bolded words above, such as “measurement”, “assessment and referral processes”, “compliance”, “assessment”, “more quality measures”, “quality assurance measures”, “quality assurance processes”, “professionally-qualified”, “need for effective auditing”, “reviewing processes” (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.24)

Consequently, the excerpts above support the assertion of this analyst that The Adult ESOL Strategy is a document of power and that it is comprised of instruments for forming, as well as recording, knowledge.

Before Foucault, structural linguistics ( de Saussure, 1974) analysed the object of the text through semiology and structuralism. Foucault is the first major writer to pose the question of power in relation to discourse. Earlier, psycho- social sciences turned to the subjectivities of responsive readers.

#### 5.4.1 Analysis as search for conditions of truth

In Foucault asking, ‘how can the truth be told?’, his emphasis is on the ‘how’, that is, by what regularities and under what conditions is something able to count as the truth regarding sickness, language and crime. This question belongs in the field of ‘what can be said’. In Foucauldian construct, ‘what can be said’ is referred to as ‘discourse’.

Here, we may substitute “the truth about *The Adult ESOL Strategy*” for the truth about “sickness, language and crime” and we will still be on solid theoretical and practical grounds discursively. Hence, this current analysis is a ‘Discourse’ analysis. It

encompasses a look at the conditions for the possibility of the truth of the policy document.

## 5.5 Discourse

Foucauldian approach is a critical approach because it relates power to the everyday social conditions and by following his practice, it is possible to have social renewal that comes from or is engendered by social critique. Foucault says, “power is not localised in the state apparatus and nothing in society will change if the mechanisms of power which function below and alongside the state apparatuses, on a minute and everyday level are not also changed. (Foucault, 1972, p. 60)

### 5.5.1 Non-Foucauldian conception of discourse

Non-Foucauldian approaches to understanding ‘discourse’ can be classified into two groups (McHoul & Grace (1998): The first is (1) Formal and the second is (2) Empirical.

First, the formal approach considers discourse in terms of text e.g. Harris (1952) and Mitchell (1957). Formalist discourse analysts are interested in social functions of language and use so-called naturally occurring language data. Therefore, this form of understanding is close to the disciplines of sociolinguistics (Giglioli, 1982) and the ethnography of communication (Bauman & Scherzer, 1974; Gumperz & Hymes, 1972).

Second, empirical approaches largely consist of sociological forms of analysis. In this tradition, discourse is used to mean human conversation. Their concern with ‘knowledge’ seems to show a common concern as Foucault at first. However, their understanding of ‘knowledge’ is technical knowledge of know-how, different from Foucault’s understanding of knowledge to be “a matter of the social, historical and

political conditions under which, for example, statements come to count as true or false” (McHoul & Grace, 1998, p. 29)

As part of the discourse theory that Foucault subscribes to, both the world and our consciousness of it are effects of the kinds of representation that we can make of it. However, at the same time, discourse is not just a form of representation, it is “a material condition (or set of conditions) that enables and constrains the socially productive imagination” (McHoul & Grace, 1998, p. 34)

What then could we identify as the set of conditions that enabled or constrained the production of *The Adult ESOL Strategy* (2003)?

Among enabling conditions were the following:

1. There were no policies in existence with regards to ESOL in New Zealand
2. There was a growing number of immigrants
3. There was a need, as felt by the government, for standards
4. There was a need for an all-of-government approach to the solution of the problems perceived as existing because of 1-3 above

Among constraining conditions are the following:

1. New Zealand is a democracy. There are elections and the interests of the electorate must necessarily constrain what the government can and wants to do.
2. Different government departments had been handling different aspects of immigrants’ settlement and refugees’ resettlement programmes, independently of other government departments.

These conditions mentioned above, among others, can therefore be referred to as 'discourses' or 'discursive conditions of possibility' (McHoul & Grace, 1998, p.34). Such discourses (forms of representation) might be in contention and conflict, as shown by the Russian analyst Voloshinov (1973), for example in the human or scientific sciences, where what Kuhn (1970) terms 'paradigms' may "strive for dominance in a given sector" (McHoul & Grace, 1998, p. 35). For example, the discourse of national independence versus that of globalisation; nationalism versus international citizenship/obligations (reflected in New Zealand having a quota to accept certain number of refugees annually etc), among others are discourses that struggle for dominance at different stages of New Zealand's national evolution/development.

Discourses are part of the production of the real. If this is so, then the best way to judge a discourse would be in terms of how it can actually intervene in local struggles. The work of anthropologist Michaels (1987) and the co-productions of Australian Aborigines with discourse analysts (Benterrak et al., 1984) are examples of this type of highly interventionist critical discourse analysis (McHoul & Grace, 1998).

With regards to *The Adult ESOL Strategy* (2003), how did it actually intervene in local struggle? This would be obvious as we delve into the 'components' of the discourse.

How Foucault characterised the 'components' of discourse can be thought of as illuminating a systematic position on what discourse is and how it works socially and politically.

We can gain an insight into this by looking at *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972) which is Foucault's own contribution to discourse theory. Foucault argues that formal and empirical approaches have tended to favour the side of enunciation (énonciation)

of discourse. By enunciation is meant the techniques, structures, the ways and means by which concepts are written and spoken, the know-how by which people are able to produce or recognize utterances. In place of this emphasis, Foucault (1972) proposes to look at enounced (énoncé) translated as **the statement**—specific bodies of knowledge (McHoul & Grace, 1998).

### 5.5.2 Statements as units of analysis

Foucault's first condition is that a statement should be functional units. They do things, bring about effects rather than just 'represent' states of affairs.

Secondly, as Foucault argues, a statement is not the same as a sentence. So, Foucault's second criterion for a statement is that statements should be part of knowledge (McHoul & Grace, 1998, p. 37).

Thirdly, a statement cannot be the same as a speech act, it should be part of a technique or techniques for the production of human subjects and institutions (McHoul & Grace, 1998, p. 37). A statement is strictly speaking not a unit, but a "function that operates vertically in relation to other units such as the proposition, the sentence and speech acts and which enables one to say of a series of signs whether or not they are present in it" (Foucault, 1972, p. 86)

Statements can be understood, not as fixed components, only through rules that govern their functioning. These rules are not like grammatical rules. They have to do with historically variable bodies of knowledge. They are rules governing what is possible to know. Hence, they are not controlled by or related to a general theory of language; Statements and the rules that govern then are neither purely linguistic nor material, but in fact, connect these two domains.

It has been said that

in order to analyse or describe discursive rules, we must always turn to specific historical conditions -to the piecemeal, the local and the contingent. Events, no matter how specific, cannot happen just anyhow. They must happen according to certain constraints, rules or conditions of possibility. And these mean that discourses always function in relation to power relations in Foucault's sense. (McHoul & Grace, 1998, p. 39)

The linguistic system, far from being the source of discourse is just an instance of power, where power is regarded as a set of relations of force. "Because these relations are local and historically contingent, they cannot be 'predicted' by a general theory. Only a particular investigation -what Foucault calls 'archaeological' investigations, investigations of an 'archive'- can specify them" (McHoul & Grace, 1998, p. 40).

Statements are best approached, not individually, but in terms of the archives and organisations to which they belong. Thus, what can be said or cannot be said about a thing is neither absolutely fixed (because it varies historically) nor dependent on the whims of the moment, For

the archive... determines that all these things said do not accumulate endlessly in an amorphous mass, nor are they inscribed in an unbroken linearity, nor do they disappear at the mercy of chance external accidents; but they are grouped together in distinct figures, composed together in accordance with multiple relations, maintained or blurred in accordance with specific regularities. (Foucault, 1972, p. 128)

The statement is a socio-historical function, though possibly it can be linguistic. An archaeological method which enables us to locate statements located in talk and texts, and work from a collection of statements to their organising archives shows that social history of thought, knowledge and power have general properties as well as being both unique and specific. Foucault (1981a) called this method of tracing the systematic

(archival) properties of unique and local affairs 'eventalisation'. Foucault refers to the archive as 'the very root of the statement-event' (Foucault, 1972, p. 129).

The term 'archive' is very helpful for analysis. 'Archive' is a much more elastic than the term 'episteme' (Foucault, 1970) which is relatively fixed. Also, the concept of an archive "deprives us of our continuities" (Foucault, 1972, p. 131) and establishes the fact that human subjects and historical events are not fixed and immobile but change as power flows across different sites. The archive, Foucault claims, "establishes that we are difference, that our reason is the difference of discourses, our history the history of difference, our selves the difference of masks". (Foucault, 1972, p. 131)

### 5.5.3 Eventalisation

Statements as functioning units in the analysis of The Adult ESOL Strategy.

New Zealand inherited a certain disposition to the minority as well as to the immigrant, the first of which can be seen in the incident in which there was the racist killing in Wellington's Haining St on 24 September 1905. The murder of elderly miner Joe Kum Yung on Wellington's Haining Street exposed anti-Chinese sentiment in the country. The discourse of the perilous danger of the Chinese to the New Zealand society, which was common at that time, created the atmosphere which enabled his assailant, Lionel Terry, a white supremacist who had recently arrived in the nation, to carry out the heinous murder to further his fight to rid New Zealand of non-European immigrants. Joe Kum Yung was shot from behind by Terry on the night of September 24, 1905, while walking down Haining Street (Tod, 1996).

In a sad but similar vein, Māori soldiers sailed to war on 14 February 1915. When it was proposed that Māori be deployed to garrison the newly acquired German province of



Samoa, New Zealand Administrator Robert Logan warned that this could incite the Samoan people. Instead, on 14 February 1915, a Māori Contingent of roughly 500 men sailed from Wellington to Egypt on the SS Warrimoo. By the end of the war, 2227 Maori and 458 Pacific Islanders had served in what was now known as the Māori (Pioneer) Battalion. 336 were killed in action, while 734 were injured. Many Māori also enlisted (and were killed) in other regiments of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force. However, no players identifiable as Māori would tour South Africa as rugby players until 1970, doing so even then as only 'honorary whites'. The discourse was that of 'you are only good enough to die for the nation, but not to be honoured by her. You are good enough for only what we tell you that you are good enough for'. These incidents illustrate the discourse of cultural subjugation, domination, appropriation and the construction of New Zealand's minority and immigrant resident as dominated subjects. (*Māori Soldiers Sail to War*, n.d.)

Foucauldian analysis rejects theories of historical change which retain the idea of 'deeper' continuity commonly called 'tradition, influence, habits of thought, broad mental forms [or] constraints of the human mind' (Foucault, 1978, p. 11). These transformations are not to be sought for or found in the genius of any individual either: "The transformations Foucault speaks of are not merely incidental to historical change but actually constitute it. There is no other place to look for the 'reasons' behind the changes." (McHoul & Grace, 1998, p. 45)

#### 5.5.4 The rules of formation (of The Adult ESOL Strategy)

In discovering this, we can tentatively lay down some non-exhaustive observed conditions which made possible the Adult ESOL Strategy. These conditions encompassed New Zealand's history with nationhood, social cohesion, biculturalism in tension with

multiculturalism and the background to the formation of ESOL policy formation. All these will be understood as set out below:

#### 5.5.5 New Zealand's immigration and Social Cohesion Project

Many societies have experienced riots and social upheaval, such as those in the UK in 2011, in France 2012 as well as in Cronulla, Australia, in 2005 (Collins, 2007). While the causes of these clashes were varied and different, just as the suggested solutions to them, it was almost generally agreed that there was a need to find a way that communities could exist together peacefully. This desired end point has been referred to as social cohesion (Spoonley & Tolley, 2012). While social cohesion is not usually stated as a purely educational goal, it is a desired outcome of schooling which has a far-reaching significance (Heyneman, 2020).

Social cohesion, as a term, originated from the late nineteenth and twentieth writings of Emile Durkheim and had some popular usage during the 1940s and 1970s (Hulse & Stone 2007; Jenson 1998) and regained popularity in the 1990s when organizations such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the Club of Europe and the Government of Canada produced a series of reports and started to use the term more frequently in their official communication. Terms associated with this concept include social capital, social inclusion, social exclusion, and community cohesion (Spoonley & Tolley, 2012).

#### 5.5.6 Social Cohesion in New Zealand: Superdiversity, Biculturalism and the Challenges of Immigrant Diversity

New Zealand cabinet minutes in 2006 noted the importance of social cohesion for an ethnically diverse New Zealand. This acknowledgement was brought about by the

growing concern in the society about the growing religious diversity as well as about the London bombings of 2005. This cabinet document has not been built upon in any meaningful way.

#### 5.5.7 Māori and Non-Māori: Diversity Renegotiated

There is huge tension between biculturalism and multiculturalism in New Zealand. The specific history of New Zealand explains both the drive to social cohesion and the anxiety regarding multi-culturalism

The early 18<sup>th</sup> century was a contested field for the discourses of ‘protection’ (of the indigenous people and ‘settlers’- and their ambitions and sense of entitlement). In the early 1700s, Europeans had visited and settled in an unorganized way, as sealers, foresters, traders, and missionaries. However, by the 1830s, the British government was being pressurised by groups, including the Aboriginal Protection Society, based in London, to recognize the indigenous inhabitants of British colonies. The Treaty of Waitangi was an agreement that concerns both the legitimacy of British colonial possession and a recognition of Māori rights. However, in just a little over a decade after the signing of the treaty, in a judgment handed down by Judge Prendergast in 1852, these rights were nullified and, with some notable exceptions, went on to be ignored for most of the next 120 years (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2020; Spoonley et al., 2012).

After 1945, Māori moved in large numbers from the rural areas to urban centres such as Auckland and Wellington. *Nga Tamatoa* again changed the discourse. The ongoing attempts to further deprive Māori of their valuable resources such as land, through for example, *the land and Country planning Act of 1968*, which sought to transfer ownership

of Māori land to public bodies or for sale, further accelerated the developing politicization among young Māori. Representative of such emerging resistance was a group of Māori university students, who along with others, formed Nga Tamatoa (Young warriors) in 1970, at the University of Auckland. (Harris, 2004). They argued for Māori language to be well-resourced in the education system and to be recognized as one of the official languages of New Zealand.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Māori activists clashed with the state and its agencies. For example, the land march in 1975 and the 16-month occupation by Māori of Bastion Point in central Auckland in 1978. With a growing Māori population and the growing political clout of Māori, the desire for Māori to be recognized as indigenous people with specific rights could no longer be ignored by those that matter (Spoonley and Butcher, 2009). After the seeming empowerment of the Maori in the late 1970s, the 1980s brought a policy of neo-liberalism that took away with the other hand what seemingly had been given by one hand. It was a period of radical change.

From 1984, the discourse of neo-liberalism ruled the day and the lives of New Zealand citizens. New Zealand was quickly remade as one of the most free-market economies in the industrialised world. Radical change came about rapidly: deregulation, privatisation, the sale of state assets, and the removal of subsidies, tariffs and price controls. GST was added to the mix in 1986. State-owned enterprises were born on 1 April 1987. The State-owned Enterprises Act 1986 – the key provisions of which took effect on 1 April 1987 – introduced a major overhaul of New Zealand's state sector. A number of government departments became commercially- oriented organisations, emphasising efficiency and profitability. The new SOEs were to be run along private-sector lines, which in many cases meant drastic cuts in employee numbers. The reinforced discourse at this time

was that of the survival of the fittest, at least in the economic sense. However, it wasn't a fair race. It was not a level playing field. The Māori who were already in the minority economically became more disadvantaged. The neo-liberalism that was practised by the government in the 1980s saw the

hollowing out and/or the shift from government to governance ... the contracting out to private providers of services previously delivered within the state and the subjection of state activities to market disciplines and practices of the new public management (Lewis et al, 2009, p. 166).

Discourses surrounding the ideas of *market*, *accountability* and *competition* fuelled the privatization which resulted in the loss of many jobs, especially in forestry which affected the Māori greatly. The effects of these radical changes were disastrous for Māori. Twenty percent of Māori who were employed in 1987 had lost their jobs by 1989 (Spoonley & Tolley, 2012). Unemployment was complicated by the neoliberal re-discoursing of the unemployed as beneficiaries (Hackell, 2007) and the vilification of dependence.

However, the results were not all bad. In 1986, the *State-owned Enterprises Act*, which provided the privatization of state activities, included a clause requiring the recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi and the rights of Māori in anything covered by the Act. More Acts, 15 in total between 1985 and 1989, included clauses which recognize the rights of Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi (Spoonley & Tolley, 2012). This period marked an important period in the setting of a new direction for the recognition of ethnic and indigenous recognition in New Zealand. New Zealand was no longer seen as a homogeneous nation represented by the state. There was a new discourse of biculturalism. The universal sets of rights enjoyed by all New Zealanders were

accompanied by specific sets of rights attached to being Māori: for example, traditional rights to some resources such as land and minerals.

Also, Māori language and culture were given new recognition especially in both education and the media. Māori language became an official language in 1987. All these were among other improvements in the way Māori were recognized. Māori suspicion of multiculturalism was because of the record of exploitation that had existed. The relevance to ESOL of the linkage of Māori suspicions to multiculturalism is that ESOL thus became a victim of suspicion by circumstance. Since there was no talk of ESOL when biculturalism was still the main thing in focus, ESOL was seen as the “other”, possibly a rival to Māori language, at least to the extent of the provision of resources, financial and otherwise, to grow it. The growth of ESOL was seen as indicative of the growth of immigration and hence, multiculturalism, which had been looked at with suspicion, as already stated above. (Spoonley & Tolley, 2012}

Immigration and Superdiversity: New Zealand’s Story: Change in pattern of discourse to one that shows more acceptance from purely “British” to more open acceptance of a wider range of immigrants

New Zealand was part of the British empire from 1840 -1948, when the British Nationality and New Zealand Citizenship Act 1948, the act that established New Zealand’s nationality, was enacted. Institutions and values in New Zealand were imported from Britain and though some changes were effected here and there, it was clear that New Zealand was still regarded as being British (Spoonley & Tolley, 2012), even after 1948.

Unlike other British colonies, the indigenous inhabitants made up a sizable proportion and eventually became relatively powerful. Also, immigration to New Zealand was more homogeneous than in other settler societies (Papillon, 2012; Neerup, 2012). From the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 to the 1960s, 98% of all immigrants to New Zealand were British or Irish, most of them English. Not only were these immigrants from the same Islands, but they were also of the same socio-economic class, spoke the same language and were mostly of the same Christian denomination and political beliefs. Their homogeneity was to such a degree unusual among settler societies (Pool, 2010).

During this period, there were few non-European immigrants. These included few Chinese and even fewer Indians. In addition, between 1880 and 1920, 33 acts of Parliament were enacted to exclude Asians from entering New Zealand or, if they entered, from staying and denying them access to the normal rights of New Zealand citizenship. (Spoonley & Tolley, 2012). The term 'Yellow peril' was used. Yellow peril is part of the discourse of 'the danger of the Chinese'. It was claimed that they spread diseases and used opium. This widely-accepted discourse of threat from the Chinese to New Zealand citizens enabled Lionel Terry to deliberately shoot Joe Kum Yung in 1905, in the heart of the Chinese community in Wellington. He did this to draw attention to the 'yellow peril' (Spoonley, 2011).

The prevailing pattern of migration was undercut in the 1960s by the inability of the traditional immigrants from the UK or the rural-urban Māori migrants to meet the need for unskilled and semi-skilled labour by the growing industrial sector. Employers then looked to the Polynesian Pacific Islands of Samoa, Tonga, the Cook Islands, Niue, and Tokelau to meet these needs. Policy responses to this new diversity were not in the form

of any coordinated policy of multiculturalism. It was more in the form of anti-discrimination measures such as generic laws including the Bill of Rights Act 1990 and the Human Rights Act 1993 (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, New Zealand Government, n.d.) rather than any well-considered policy of social cohesion. The policy discourse does not show any theoretical commitment to multi-culturalism but rather to a general principle of anti-discrimination.

The discourse of independence and fierce national identity that surfaced in New Zealand in the late 1980s reflects the next major change away from the traditional pattern of immigration which took place in 1986 with a review of immigration policy, which was followed by new legislation in 1987. Immigration policy now reflected the effects of the twin forces of neoliberalism and post-colonialism. They combined with desire to develop independent nationhood and identity, to use immigration policy to recruit skills needed in an international marketplace and to develop local entrepreneurship and closer relations with important economies in Asia. This new immigration approach was based on a points system which had been developed and used by Canada and Australia. It allocated points based on various characteristics, especially those reflecting the skills and experience of potential immigrants. (Vertovec, 2007).

#### 5.5.8 Social cohesion in New Zealand

Unlike in Canada, Australia and the United States, New Zealand expected that those who were allowed to immigrate as skilled migrants did not need much, if any, assistance. If they were to get such assistance, they had to pay for it. However, the immigration minister under the fifth labour-led government, Lianne Dalziel, acknowledged that the government should do more to aid settlement and achievement of good outcomes for all involved, both immigrant and host society, resulting in the National Immigration



Settlement Strategy in 2003. In the 1970s (Ross, 1994), there had been the discourse of 'Pacific Island overstayers' were seen as taking away job opportunities from New Zealanders (Spoonley, 1988). However, Niue, Cook Islands and Tokelau were all under New Zealand's control and migrants from these Islands were New Zealand citizens. The Tongans and Samoans who came and overstayed their legal entry permits were not hounded at first by the law because of the demand for labour. It was only when there was economic downturn in the 1970s that the overstayers were demonized and a campaign to deport them was started. This continued for approximately the next decade before their contribution was recognized as valuable and they were accepted as being 'here to stay' in New Zealand.

The panic that had occurred with respect to the Pacific Islanders reoccurred with the arrival of Asian Immigrants in the 1990s, encapsulated in newspaper use of the term 'Inv-Asian' (Spoonley & Butcher, 2012). About the same time, New Zealand First, led by Winston Peters, was formed. At the 1996 general election, NZ First had a platform of anti-Asian sentiments and opposition to Treaty of Waitangi settlements, though after 2000, there was opposition by mass media to the anti-immigration message of the party (Spoonley & Butcher, 2009). As a result of the fear that the inter-communal conflicts which was becoming more frequent in Europe, would happen in New Zealand, the New Zealand government started exploring ways of addressing these new community dynamics.

The Ministry of Social Development and the Department of Labour prepared a statement for cabinet, which was approved in 2003 (New Zealand Cabinet, 2003). The definition of social cohesion, as an aspiration appears in the cabinet minutes describing New Zealand as "an increasingly cohesive society with a climate of collaboration because

all groups have a sense of belonging, participation, inclusion, recognition and legitimacy” (New Zealand Cabinet Policy Committee, 2006). There were five key desired outcomes. The list was derived from Canada (Jenson 1998; Jeanotte, as cited in Spoonley & Tolley, 2012). These provided support for the high-level policy goal of social cohesion. After 2005, more work was done on the social cohesion policy framework, with different government departments required to develop indicators that related to their area of responsibility.

By the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, enthusiasm for the high-level goal of social cohesion had waned. The budget cuts in 2009 and 2010 harmed programmes that met social cohesion goals. For example, an \$85 million cut to adult and community education caused the courses delivered to immigrant and refugee groups, especially with respect to English language learning, to be cut significantly (Spoonley & Tolley, 2012). Community and voluntary agencies services such as those offered by English Language Partners and other such agencies were badly affected. Above all, there was limited political will for making social cohesion a political or policy priority (Spoonley & Tolley, 2012).

#### 5.5.9 New Zealand’s Biculturalism: Social Cohesion and Social Tension

Social cohesion as a goal, and multiculturalism more broadly, was in tension with biculturalism, which was privileged in New Zealand. At the same time as there was a liberation of immigration from its discriminatory and colonial focus. Māori were gaining more concessions from the state and developing their new understanding of what New Zealand citizenship and indigeneity meant. This biculturalism required Māori to be recognized as partners in delivering services. At the same time, significant resources were transferred to Māori organizations and communities. Māori were also becoming

more concerned about immigrant-related diversity. A leading Māori Academic, Ranginui Walker (Spoonley, 2009), reminded government that they had not consulted Māori on the changes to immigration policy. Māori leaders and communities felt that the new immigration policy favoured business and skilled immigrants and regarded those who benefited from it to be only the immigrants, corporate business, and immigrant consultants (Spoonley & Tolley, 2012). This concern was further broadened to include concern that Māori were being displaced economically in terms of labour market participation and economic development. This was in addition to the concern that multiculturalism might be said to marginalize biculturalism. According to Walker:

The opponents of the ideology of biculturalism were always saying “we’re multicultural”. And of course, the counter to this is that the Chinese who came here have no right to have their language taught here in the country, because their language is safe in China...The only place that the Māori language and culture belong is right here, so serve the indigenous culture first. (Walker in Simmons, Horrocks & Sharp, 2007, p. 239)

The Māori Party, formed in 2004, adopted a critical attitude to the numbers of immigrants that were arriving from Asia. In their opinion, Māori were losing out economically and demographically. Polling reflected the negative attitudes and concerns of both the general public and Māori about immigration were most apparent in the mid-1990s. However, even as the percentage of the people expressing negative views or concerns dropped after 2000 and continued to drop (Spoonley & Butcher 2009), the proportion among the Māori expressing negative attitudes continued to climb (Spoonley & Tolley, 2012).

There were apparently three reasons for Māori concern. One, immigrant-related multiculturalism was regarded as a competitor to valued biculturalism. Some Māori suspected that multiculturalism was a way of avoiding the obligations of the Treaty of

Waitangi (Spoonley & Tolley, 2012). The second reason is economic. Immigration policies built around skilled recruitment and bringing in wealthy individuals is seen as restricting the options for many Māori. Finally, Māori felt that they were not consulted regarding the changes to immigration and policy development in this regard. There seems to be an impasse between the realities and implications of biculturalism and those of immigrant-related multiculturalism. As has been said:

there appears little to suggest a way past the impasse between a biculturalism (premised in the presence of a major indigenous group) and an immigrant-related multiculturalism. The two policies approaches-a biculturalism which recognizes indigeneity and an immigrant-related multiculturalism-tend to be seen as in conflict.... (Spoonley & Tolley, 2012, p. 96).

#### 5.5.10 Neoliberalism and the Politics of Migration in New Zealand

It has been observed that policy concerning migration to labour-receiving countries such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand is greatly informed by neoliberal discourse. Economic considerations of suitability-that is, the ability to invest or fill labour shortages- mainly decide migration policies which decide who is allowed to enter these countries. (Simon-Kumar, 2015).

New Zealand is a country of immigrants (Bedford, 2005) and migration continues to be a sphere in which New Zealand is interventionist (Simon-Kumar, 2015). This is where the idea of the 'desirable migrants' (Simon-Kumar, 2015) comes in. Desirable migrants are those that the government of New Zealand, through its immigration policy, deems as matching its economic and social cohesion objectives. A neoliberal system is supposed to depend on meritocracy, that is, theoretically race-blind, since it is supposed to be preoccupied with efficiency and productivity. However, the reality is that rather than

being disinterested in race, critiques point to neoliberalism's intersections with race in contemporary society (Simon-Kumar, 2015).

An effect of this intersection, is to 'privatise' race and racism, so that the poverty, low education, low employment achievements, which are all examples of deprivations pervasive among non-white immigrants-are seen as showing only the immigrants' own lack of initiative and self-responsibility rather than structures of inequality based on race (Lentin & Titley, 2011; Fraser 2012)

In the context of New Zealand, Fraser (2012) and Simon-Kumar (2014) point to the pervasive effect of subjectivities or construction of personhood which come out of the dominant discourse of neoliberalism. According to Simon-Kumar,

In a society that places a premium on economic independence, raced refugees and immigrants who are unable to 'be contributors' to the economy easily present as failed subjects and citizens. The modern, neoliberal society that transcends societal constraints purportedly negates race but, in reality, masks the emergence of new forms of racism" (Simon-Kumar, 2015, p.1180).

## 5.6 Policies and Strategies for Migrants and Refugees

Despite the cancellation of community programmes, the Adult ESOL Strategy followed in 2003 and was linked to the Adult Literacy Strategy. All New Zealand residents from whichever non-English-speaking backgrounds would be able to gain sufficient English language skills to participate in all aspects of life in New Zealand. (Ministry of Education, 2003).

The Tertiary Education strategy, 2002-2007 (Ministry of Education, 2002), which called for strong foundation skills to enable people to be more integrated into the society economically, was followed by the Tertiary Education Strategy 2007-2012 (Ministry of

Education, 2006) which supported literacy, numeracy and language (ESOL included). The National Settlements' Strategy was launched in 2004 and had among its goals the need for immigrants and other new arrivals in New Zealand to be confident users of English or be able to access help to cover whatever language deficiencies they might still have (Ministry of Education, 2008).

#### 5.6.1 The rules of transformation of The Adult ESOL Strategy.

The rules of transformation of The Adult ESOL Strategy are the limits of its capacities to modify itself and the threshold from which it can bring new rules to play. *The Adult ESOL Strategy* has the capacity to "modify itself" and it can "bring new rules not play ". It is designed to have a "long term" focus. This is illustrated in the following excerpt from *The Adult ESOL Strategy*, "This Strategy has a long-term focus, and will therefore have a stepped implementation. The first steps and priorities for the Strategy have been outlined at the of this document, and these will be implemented over three years" (Ministry of Education, 2003, p. 4)

In addition, the steps to be taken are outlined, starting with "the first steps". Further steps and modifications are anticipated and planned for. It says, "once these initiatives have been evaluated, this information will be used to design further steps to meet the Strategy's vision" (p.4). This last sentence in particular highlights that the Strategy is expected to modify itself, not randomly, but based on the information garnered after evaluation, which will be "used to design further steps to meet the Strategy's vision" (p.4). This capacity to transform itself is amplified by the word "expanding" in the following extract , which states the fifth of the five targets which would be a guide to determining the success of the Adult ESOL Strategy : " A process for measurement of

learner gains is developed and tested, and built into quality processes that allow for expanding high-quality provision by 2006” (Ministry of Education, 2003, p. 4)

### 5.6.2 The rules of correlations of The Adult ESOL Strategy

The rules of correlations of The Adult ESOL Strategy are the “ensemble of relations” that it has with other discourses and with the non-discursive context in which it finds itself (McHoul & Grace, 1998, p.44).

The Adult ESOL Strategy has relations with discourse on immigration. It was designed to be part of the effort of government’s effort at facilitating the settlement and resettlement of immigrants and refugees.

In addition, it has relations with discourse on education as it informs the principles and practices of those aspects of education (specifically, English language education) not already catered for by the formal education sector.

Similarly, it has relations with the discourse on multiculturalism, especially as played out against the background of the tension between biculturalism and multiculturalism. The Adult ESOL Strategy was designed to help immigrants become part of New Zealand’s multicultural society and to be able to function and thrive within this new environment.

The ‘ensemble of relations’ that The Adult ESOL Strategy has with other discourses is further illustrated by its connections to other documents, especially policy documents. To understand this, light has to be thrown on the wider context for adult ESOL (p.6). The primary concern of the Adult ESOL Strategy is adult ESOL provision and potential adult ESOL learners. It is, however, connected to some broader contextual issues that have impact on teaching and learning.

First, the Treaty of Waitangi, which is the founding document of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The Adult ESOL Strategy states that,

it is important that upon arrival, migrants and refugees are able to reflect upon the bi- cultural message that the Treaty provides and are given the opportunity (perhaps in some cases, through adult ESOL programmes) to learn about Te Tiriti, Te Reo Māori and Tikanga Māori (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.6)

A second important connected document is *The Pasifika Plan* (Ministry of Education, 2001), which identifies some areas of focus which are relevant to adult ESOL. This is particularly important because a quarter of the adult population in New Zealand with English language needs are made up of Pacific peoples. It is also to be noted that their experiences in New Zealand are usually distinct from those of other ethnic communities. (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.6). There are various ways in which Pacific Islanders' experiences in New Zealand differ from those of other ethnic communities, including the fact that they face poverty at higher rates than other ethnic communities. Additionally, their rates of underemployment and unemployment are higher. Their representation in the criminal justice system is disproportionate, and they have worse health outcomes, such as greater rates of obesity, diabetes, and heart disease.

In New Zealand, Pacific peoples frequently experience racism and prejudice, which can have a severe effect on their mental health and general wellbeing. Their language and cultural history is frequently underappreciated. The town also has a young population, meaning that many of them are still in school and struggling with inequality in education.

However, it should be recognised that experiences can differ between various Pacific Islander communities.



*The Adult ESOL Strategy* (2003) is connected to other New Zealand policy documents. For example, the New Zealand Immigration Service's (NZIS) policies around immigration and migrant settlement and refugee resettlement are of particular importance to the Adult are very important to *The Adult ESOL Strategy*. The strategy states that, "As ESOL is an essential element in the settlement and resettlement process it is crucial that the Adult ESOL Strategy aligns with NZIS's policies" (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.6). It further asserts that because these policies can change often and suddenly, provisions for adult ESOL need to take this changeability into account and reflect this need for flexibility.

Another policy document connected in importance to *The Adult ESOL Strategy* is *The Tertiary Education Strategy* (2002/07). The document set the strategic direction for tertiary education over five years. The strategies which would have the biggest impact upon adult ESOL provision are: Strategy 3 - *Raise foundation skills so that all people can participate in our knowledge society*; Strategy 4 - *Develop the skills New Zealanders need for our knowledge society*; and Strategy 5 - *Educate for Pacific peoples' development and success*. (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.7).

The necessary relationship between *The Adult ESOL Strategy* and *The Adult Literacy Strategy* is justified as follows: "The needs of pre-literate and partially-literate ESOL learners need to be catered for in an integrated and consistent way; therefore, the Adult ESOL Strategy is linked to the Adult Literacy Strategy" (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.7).

Finally, the Strategy also has strong connections with the Growth and Innovation Framework, being that improving immigrants' access and achievement in adult ESOL will increase their capability to use their existing skills in the New Zealand and help those

unemployed because of their inadequate English to gain employment (Ministry of Education, 2003).

It is possible to see our analysis as part of possible differentiated analyses, in the vein of Foucault's argument that he could "substitute differentiated analysis for the themes of a totalising history 'the spirit of a century'" (Foucault, 1978, p. 10)

Three recommendations that further guide Foucauldian analysis:

Three recommendations which further guide Foucauldian analysis are as follow:

- (1) Treat past discourse not as a theme for commentary, which would revive it, but as a monument to be described in its character-disposition.
- (2) Seek in the discourse not the laws of construction, as do the structural methods, but its conditions of existence.
- (3) Refer the discourse not to the thought, to the mind or to the subject which might have given rise to it, but to the practical field in which it is deployed (Foucault, 1978. p. 15 cited in McHoul & Grace, 1998, p. 49)

In following these recommendations, with respect to the Adult ESOL Strategy, this researcher has come up with the following:

- (1) Description of the character-disposition of the Adult ESOL Strategy

It is a policy document to guide the government's practice in the administration of ESOL services to immigrants and refugees.

- (2) Conditions of existence of the Adult ESOL Strategy

These conditions are **political**, **economic**, **sociocultural** as well as **educational**.

The first three of these have been referenced variously earlier in some

historical events in New Zealand that served as the contextual background to the development of the Adult ESOL Strategy. The fourth one is the educational condition. The salient educational condition was that there was no policy for Adult ESOL education before the Adult ESOL Strategy (2003).

There was lack of a coherent language- in- education policy for Adult ESOL (Shackleford, 1997). Despite the period 1986–95, having been considered the ‘years of optimism’ (Bedford 2005: 135), the system was still uncoordinated and hence mostly unsuccessful with regard to provision of sufficient English-language skills for successful settlement (White, Watts and Trlin 2002). Immigrants with ESOL needs were left without formalised guidance (Cooke 2001). (New Zealand Immigration, 2018; New Zealand Immigration Service 2004, Ministry of Education & Butcher & Hall, as cited in Roach & Roskvist, 2007). The Adult ESOL Strategy was thus one of the many policies documents the government brought on to address the undesirable educational condition that existed prior to its launch in 2003.

## 5.7 The practical field of deployment of The Adult ESOL Strategy

This is primarily in the field of education, specifically Adult ESOL education for both immigrants and refugees. Though this policy was published by the Ministry of Education, in keeping with Foucault, the credit for our insight is not to focus on them as “the mind, or... the subject” which gave rise to it, “but to the practical field in which it is deployed” (Foucault, 1978, p.15)

### 5.7.1 Power in The Adult ESOL Strategy

Power is central in Foucauldian constructs. In Foucault’s retheorisation of the concept of power, the field of power and the position it generates for subjects are what connect

discourses and their analyses with politics. Focus of political analysis is shifted away from relations of production or signification to a study of power relations. The questions of subjection and the political struggles associated with 'identities' constitute the most important issues of our time (McHoul & Grace, 1998, p. 57)

In his book *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault asserts that power produces knowledge and that power and knowledge directly imply each other. He further claims that power relations always have correlative fields of knowledge; and that there is no knowledge that does not at the same time constitute power relations (Foucault, 1977a, p. 27).

He further argues in the same vein that there are many relations of power which permeate and constitute the social body. Without a functioning discourse, these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated, or implemented. Also, we cannot observe the exercise of power without certain discourses of truth which operate through and on the basis of this association. Truth is produced through power and there can be no exercise of power without it being through the production of truth (Foucault, 1980a, p. 93).

In *The Adult ESOL Strategy*, many relations of power permeate, characterise, and constitute the Adult ESOL learner environment and the terrain of power, the adult ESOL pedagogy, the ESOL teachers and the adult ESOL learners, who are potentially all immigrants and refugees, who would be impacted by the principles and practices outlined in the *Adult ESOL Strategy*.

It is through the association between the policy makers and the implementers of the policy that certain economy of discourses of truth operate. The discourses of ESOL truth operate on the basis of this association. However, this exercise of power is not top down,

but is diffused throughout the “body” such as teacher -to- teacher, student- to- student, student-to-teacher and teacher- to-student and so on.)

## 5.8 An ontology of the present

To Foucault, power is a phenomenon to be differentiated historically. The point he makes that power in its modern form does not act as a constraining form of ‘corporeal control’. What needs to be explained are the methods of how ‘time and labour’ can be extracted from bodies when those bodies, in modern times, are not necessarily constrained, have legal rights protecting them from exploitation and are ‘free’ from direct forms of control (McHoul & Grace, 1998, p. 63).

In the Adult ESOL Strategy, there is evidence of the technique of the extraction of time from bodies as well as the extraction of labour from bodies, as evidenced by the following excerpts. The desired Adult ESOL provision which is planned to meet the Adult ESOL learners’ needs is one which:

considers learners’ resettlement and education needs, as well as their English language and is in a context that is relevant to the learner. Learners can track their English language progress and easily move through different ESOL programmes and into higher education and employment. (Ministry of Education, 2003, p. 17)

In the extract above, it is evident that it takes time for learners to track their own English language progress as expected and for them to move through different ESOL programmes.

Similarly, in stating the first steps to be taken in the implementation of the goals of

*The Adult ESOL Strategy* (2003), the Ministry of Education says:

The goals set out in this Strategy for adult ESOL provision in New Zealand are ambitious. To ensure that sustainable improvements are made, implementation will have to be staged, with strategies developed for short, medium and long-term improvements. (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.18)

It would be seen that the implementation of the goals of the Adult ESOL Strategy would take time, having to be staged and covering short, medium- and long-term time dimensions. In the two extracts above, it is evident that time is extracted from the 'bodies' of the subjects of this discourse. Similarly, labour is extracted from bodies. In stating the plan for Needs assessment as well as for quality and funding in the implementation of the goals of The Adult ESOL Strategy, the Ministry of Education states they would:

- Progressively provide adult ESOL experts in migrant and refugee resource centres to provide assessment and advice to potential learners as well as doing some scoping and capability-building with adult ESOL providers in the area....
- [Bring] together an expert working group to develop performance indicators to be used as guidelines for funding to providers who meet quality requirements.

**[And]**

- [Ensure] [t]he performance indicators will be broad enough to be applicable to all quality-assured adult ESOL provision, and flexible enough to allow for new provision to be introduced. It may be appropriate to draw on the work done developing the compulsory ESOL curriculum, as well as overseas examples such as the UK adult ESOL core curriculum, Canada's adult ESOL benchmark and the Australian AMEP (Adult Migrant English Programme). (Ministry of Education, 2003, pp.18-19)

In reviewing the extracts above, it would be seen that considerable amount of labour and worker-hours would be involved in carrying out activities such as assessment, capability building and getting an expert working group to develop performance indicators and to also draw on overseas examples from the UK, Canada, and Australia.

In the two extracts above, it is evident that labour is extracted from the bodies of the subjects of this discourse.

Earlier conceptions of power saw it as negative and repressive, almost always in the image of a sovereign and subjects, which is then replaced by the relationship between the modern state and its free 'individuals' as subjects under the control of the state.

McHoul & Grace (1998) assert that the most important thesis of Foucault in this area is the productive nature of power's modern exercise. According to Foucault, the circulation and exercise of power in its modern forms is responsible for the production of ideas, concepts, and institutional structures (1977a: 194)

In the Adult ESOL Strategy, we have examples of how power produces. It produces the concept of the (desirable/ideal) adult ESOL learner, the strategies for Adult ESOL, proposed actions for achieving better coordination and collaboration among government agencies involved in issues for refugees and migrants as well as well-thought-out identification and itemisation of ESOL learners and their needs by migration categories (The Adult ESOL Strategy, 2003, pp 8-9, 12). All of these are positive.

## 5.9 Five methodological precautions: complementary analysis of The Adult ESOL Strategy

In the second of two lectures originally delivered in 1976, Foucault outlined five 'methodological precautions' to be had in mind to avoid conceiving power in juridico-discursive terms of sovereignty (Foucault, 1980a, pp. 92-108; McHoul & Grace, 1998)

Firstly, Foucault stresses the local and regional points of power's destination as focus of analysis rather than central and resultant forms. Analysts should avoid identifying global

institutions such as the state as central conductors which orchestrate movement of power. Instead, they should investigate areas of relative autonomy, organisations that function daily in terms of their own procedure and techniques in order to bring to light the particular configuration of power relations they depend on.

In our study and analysis of the Adult ESOL Strategy, for example, our focus is on New Zealand or more specifically, the principles and practice of Adult ESOL pedagogy in New Zealand. There is no aspiration to discover or develop overarching global principles or commonalities in the practice of Adult ESOL worldwide. We are interested in the local and regional points of power destination.

Secondly, the study of 'the effective practices of power' such as the panopticon or confessional is advocated. By focusing on the technologies and their histories, Foucault avoids the dull, monotonous and thus, uninteresting, attempts to explain power in terms of intentions, motives, aims interests. To Foucault, the important things are the effects of power's exercise (McHoul & Grace, 1998).

In the Adult ESOL Strategy (2003), the effects of power exercise include a conscious study and acknowledgement of existing problems in the area of Adult ESOL policy and practice in New Zealand as well as the laying out of goals and the steps to be taken to achieve these goals.

The third methodological precaution is not to see power, with a capital P as the homogenous domination by an individual or group over others. Foucault says:

Power must be analysed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localised here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed or exercised through net like organisation. And not only do individuals circulate



between its threads, they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. In other words, individuals are the vehicles of power, not its point of application (Foucault, 1980a, p.98)

In the Adult ESOL Strategy, power can be seen as a chain. For example, ESOL learners are targets of power as learners, but they are also encouraged to influence other immigrant learners, to act as liaison to their own local immigrant communities, as borne out by the following excerpt which highlights one of the priorities for the government, which is to “ensure refugee and migrant community groups’ involvement in planning processes and in the delivery of adult ESOL.” (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.18). So not only do adult ESOL learners undergo the effects of power, but they also exercise power, influencing others who would also be expected and encouraged to further influence other immigrant ESOL learners.

Fourthly, power should not be seen as exercised in a descending order. Foucault claims that one needs to investigate historically and starting from the lowest level of society, “how mechanisms of power have been able to function” (Foucault, 1980a, p. 100). He thus recommends an ascending analysis of power.

In the *Adult ESOL Strategy* (2003) , immigrant communities were consulted even before putting the policy together. This could be considered consultation at the grassroots. Recommendations from such consultations were then fed up the chain of influence, in an ascending manner, with many such recommendations influencing and shaping the final policy document. Information regarding such consultations is found in Appendix 3 of the Adult ESOL Strategy (2003):

### 5.9.1 Adult ESOL consultation meetings

Two meetings were held in Auckland and Wellington, one for providers and government officials, and one for refugee and migrant community groups. One meeting covering all interested groups was held in Christchurch. Overall, meeting participants welcomed the preparation of the adult ESOL strategy, and agreed that the vision, principles, and issues identified were generally sound, except for the need to add “opportunities” to the vision. There was concern about some of the implications of implementing the strategy. (Ministry of Education, 2003).

#### Issues raised by refugee and migrant community groups

Meetings with refugee and migrant community representatives in Auckland and Wellington mainly focused on how the delivery of adult ESOL provision could be improved and in Christchurch the emphasis was on the importance of meaningful consultation with refugee migrant communities. These issues can be summarised as follows:

- A need was expressed for more adult ESOL provision which is free for refugees and appropriate to learner needs, including provision that is timely, of longer duration, higher intensity (including part-time learning), and more centred on the different resettlement needs and learning styles of participants.
- A more diverse range of adult ESOL provision was seen as necessary, including ESOL in employment, technology, family and media-based contexts.
- Better information for learners and assessment were highlighted as important, as was the need for bilingual tutors and aides, particularly for beginners. Wider issues included employer prejudice and the lack of acceptance of refugees and migrants by New Zealand communities (Ministry of Education, 2003, p. 23).

The point of the above-given extracts is that these consultation meetings not only served as avenues for the exercise of power (bottom-up) by the migrant and refugee communities, but also served as introduction to the practice of an aspect of democracy

(consultation) in action. The new immigrants were being introduced to social functioning and contextualisation of (the English) language in their new social environment, New Zealand. It was being demonstrated to them that improvement in ESOL ability was not an end itself, but a means to an end; that is, to be functional in society.

Thus, in these meetings (presumably held in English because of the linguistic diversity of the participants' backgrounds), immigrants practised using English to negotiate, ask questions, make suggestions and so on. If the suggestions (including those on adding 'opportunities' to the vision of the Strategy; on how the delivery of adult ESOL provision could be improved; on the need to consider individual learning styles as well as on the need for bilingual tutors in the Strategy's implementation) are implemented, it would be further evidence of the policy discourse's ability to 'modify' itself in a positive way.

Finally, Foucault asserts that the types of apparatuses of knowledge associated with the exercise of power cannot be considered systems of 'ideology' (1980a: 102). He himself is not ideological. For example, Foucault distinguishes himself from Marxist and para-Marxist perspectives. He says:

I think I would distinguish myself from the Marxist and the Para Marxist perspectives. As regards Marxism, I'm not one of those who try to elicit the effects of power at the level of ideology.... what troubles me with these analyses which prioritise ideology is that there is always presupposed a human subject on the lines of the model provided by classical philosophy, endowed with a consciousness which power is then thought to seize on. (Foucault, 1980a, p. 58)

So, in the analysis of the Adult ESOL Strategy, as recommended, the types of apparatuses of knowledge have not been considered as systems of ideology.

This chapter has mainly been an analytic case study of The Adult ESOL Strategy (2003). It has attempted to answer economically the two research questions in this study; that is: **First**, what discourses/assumptions does the Adult ESOL Strategy have in relation to adult ESOL learners and immigrants? **And second**, what attitude does the Adult ESOL Strategy instantiate in relation to the 'desirable/quality' adult ESOL learner? The next chapter is a summing up chapter.

This final chapter sums up the study. It also contains discussion of the policy implications, recommendations and concluding remarks. In this study, The Adult ESOL Strategy was analysed and studied. The background to the production of the policy document was examined. The document was taken as historical document which has material implications to millions of immigrants and other people whose first language is not English. In the study, the research questions necessitated looking at the discourses that constitute the Adult ESOL strategy. These were found to include the construction of the ideal/desirable adult ESOL learner as an 'individual' yet part of a 'diverse' group. Other terms that were relevant are 'contribution', 'participation', 'contribution' as well as 'accountability' both to the system as well as to the strategy/policy itself.

As seen in The Adult ESOL Strategy, the discourse is that of the quality/ideal adult ESOL learner as **a contributor** to New Zealand society who is also a special learner worthy of being categorized differently from other learners. It was seen that the adult ESOL learners who are migrants within the skilled /business stream, "are expected to contribute to the nation's skills and entrepreneurial base" (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.15).

There is also the discourse of the adult ESOL learners as being **diverse**. The quality/ideal ESOL learner is constructed as having "diverse needs" (Adult ESOL Strategy, p.15) and is supposed to be a learner with "more active involvement" in adult ESOL (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.15).

There are other constructed discourses of the quality/ideal adult ESOL learner found in *The Adult ESOL Strategy* (2003). For example, it was found that the good Adult ESOL

learner was constructed through the use of evaluative statements as the one able **to recognise and utilise** the adult ESOL provision options that meet their particular needs.

It was also found that the good adult ESOL learners are further constructed as the ones: able to assist with their children's education; able to independently access services; able to participate in and contribute to New Zealand society and economy; if an immigrant, is believed to "have more resources and lower levels of need than refugees, and the government expects that to a large extent they will support themselves" (The Adult ESOL Strategy, p.16); In addition, they are able to partake of a diverse quality-assured adult ESOL, that is "linked to **outcomes** and recognizes a **diversity** of learner needs" (The Adult ESOL Strategy, p.16) ; is **able to take advantage** of ESOL provision linked to literacy and integrated with their settlement needs." (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.16. Emphasis mine).

Overall, there is the discourse of the construction of the adult ESOL learner as **an autonomous rational chooser**, who is a 'homo-economicus' in an atmosphere of neo-liberalism.

The analysis of the discourse on the ideal adult ESOL learner constructed in *The Adult ESOL Strategy* has shown how the grammatical features of modality and evaluation have realized the process of identification in the discourse. It has shown how these have worked to establish the authors of the strategy, The New Zealand Ministry of Education, as authorities committed to a particular discourse on the adult ESOL learner. The discourse constructs a particular identity for the adult ESOL learner which emphasizes **independence, cooperation, and pro-activity** in the adult ESOL learner and adult ESOL learning.

This study has sought to follow three recommendations which are part of Foucauldian thinking: First, it has treated past discourse, *The Adult ESOL Strategy*, as a monument to be described in its character-disposition. Second, it has not sought the laws of construction, but has looked at the conditions of existence and third, it has referred the discourse not to the thought, the mind or the subject which might have given rise to it, but to “the practical field in which it is deployed” (Foucault, 1978, p. 15); that is, the adult ESOL field, among immigrants and refugees as well as consumers of ESOL in New Zealand.

The concept of power, which is at the heart of Foucauldian thinking, was examined in the text. Foucault says he has been trying to “make visible the constant articulation of power on knowledge and of knowledge on power” (Foucault, 1980a, p. 51). He asserts that the exercise of power itself creates and causes to emerge new objects of knowledge. Foucault asserts that: knowledge and power are integrated with one another, and there is no point in dreaming of a time when knowledge will cease to depend on power; this is just a way of reviving humanism in a utopian guise. It is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power (Foucault, 1980, p.52)

Furthermore, it has been noticed in the course of this analysis that this framework for analysis gives the analyst the opportunity to overcome the limitations of a strictly linguistic analysis. It has been found that CDA, as used in this analysis, helps to highlight the discursive nature of policy by outlining a concept of policy as discourse that is “constructed through hegemonic struggles over policy problems and solutions” (Thomas, 2003. p.40).

In addition, it was found that the application of the analytical framework for critical discourse analysis shows that it has relevance and suitability for critical policy analysis. It has been found as well as hereby suggested and recommended that, in agreement with Thomas (2005), there is a complexity inherent in the application of the framework and that such complexity “requires the analyst to move beyond a stage-by-stage analysis to an analysis that recognizes the interrelationships between stages” (Thomas, 2005, p. 41)

### 6.1 Political and ethical applications of Foucault’s thoughts on Strategy

As has been said, “The field of strategies is a field of conflicts: The human material operated on by programmes and technologies is inherently a resistant material. If this were not the case, history itself would become unthinkable” (Gordon, 1980, p. 257). However, Foucault feels that if one is to do historical work that is politically meaningful and effective, it is possible only if one is somehow engaged with the struggles going on in the particular sphere in question (1980, p 64).

### 6.2 Implications of The Adult ESOL Strategy and recommendations

A major implication of the Adult ESOL Strategy is that it is a strategy and remains so until it is (fully) implemented. It is recommended that the strategy be updated and implemented in full to realise all the laudable goals/objectives stated in it.

The strategy emphasizes the ‘adult’ aspect of its title. It is assumed that the government implies that a different strategy would be needed for children, teenagers and possibly the elderly who are immigrants. It is assumed that the government did not think that one size fitted all. It is hereby recommended that these necessary Strategies (for children etc.) be stated and implemented. If there are no plans to establish these



separately, the government should make clear how children and teenagers 'fit in' to The Adult ESOL Strategy and how ESOL provision would be tailored or customised to their specific needs.

It was observed in the course of this study, that there has been some tension between biculturalism and multiculturalism. ESOL thus became a victim of suspicion by circumstance. Since there was no talk of ESOL when biculturalism was still the main focus in New Zealand, ESOL, at least to the extent of the provision of resources, financial and otherwise, to grow it, could be seen as the "other", possibly a rival to Māori language. It was observed in this study that the growth of ESOL was seen as indicative of the growth of immigration and hence, multiculturalism, which had been looked at with suspicion by the Māori who feel that multiculturalism is an excuse for the government to back out of or minimise their obligations to Māori under biculturalism. It is hereby recommended that the government set up a very active information strategy to explain the goals and objectives of The Adult ESOL strategy and to inform the whole New Zealand populace (not just the immigrants and refugees) of the benefits of the success of the Strategy. Since one of the goals is to make the immigrants feel accepted and New Zealanders, this would go a long way to remove any lingering suspicions.

Another implication is the importance of immigrants and refugees being consciously exposed to an understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi, which was stated in the strategy.

The Adult ESOL Strategy (2003) says:

The Treaty of Waitangi is the founding document of Aotearoa/New Zealand. It is important that upon arrival, migrants and refugees are able to reflect upon the bi-cultural message that the Treaty provides and are given the opportunity (perhaps in some cases, through adult ESOL programmes) to learn about Te Tiriti, Te Reo Maori and Tikanga Maori. (Ministry of Education, 2003, p.6)

If this is to be implemented, it is recommended that for authenticity's sake, lessons on the Treaty of Waitangi, Te Reo Maori (Maori language) and Tikanga Māori (Māori protocols) be taught, as much as possible by Māori. This means that there should be a campaign to train and recruit as many Maori teachers of ESOL as possible as soon as possible.

Finally, another implication of this strategy is that ESOL will have to be strengthened without seeming to want to weaken or destroy the first languages and cultures of the ESOL learners who are usually immigrants or refugees. *The Adult ESOL Strategy* says that while ESOL is recognised for being an effective tool of promoting immigrants' participation in New Zealand society, this should not be at the expense of learners' language, inheritance and culture. Rather, "these aspects of cultural heritage should be used as a valuable basis for building new skills" (Ministry of Education, 2003, p. 6). This is a laudable goal. However, it is not specific. It is recommended there be clear specifications and suggestions as to how this goal would be achieved and how ESOL will play a prominent role in achieving this.

As has been evident in this study, Foucault does not claim to be perfect or to have the solution to every problem. He is only too happy to be an observer and recorder of the eruptions of "popular knowledge" and "insurrections of subjugated knowledges", which he is happy to highlight (Foucault, 1980a, p, 81). In sum, it could be asserted that what [Foucauldian analysis] has to offer above all, is "a set of tools, tools for the identification of the conditions of possibility which operate through the obviousness and enigmas of our present, tools perhaps also for the eventual modification of those conditions." (Afterword, Foucault, 1980a, p.258).

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## APPENDIX A: The Adult ESOL Strategy (2003)



134.-The\_Adult\_ESOL  
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