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Blackfella Talk: A Critical Policy Analysis of the Northern Territory First Four Hours of English

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Abstract

This paper presents a number of key findings in a PhD thesis that critically and qualitatively investigated the 2008 Northern Territory school language education policy, 'Compulsory Teaching in English For the First Four Hours of Each School Day'. This policy led to the sustained abandonment of bilingual education policy in the Northern Territory as well as the demise or severe compromise of the nine remaining bilingual education programs in remote Indigenous schools. This paper relates some of the critical analysis findings of the policy discourse and interviews on two remote communities in relation to the effects of the policy. The community interviews involved methodology that included critical participatory ethnographic case study research in the field.

Given the onus on Fairclough (1989) and Reisigl and Wodak's (2009) Historical Discourse Analysis, the analysis has been informed by the works of Foucault, Bourdieu, and others. As such, it explores in the policy the influence of neoliberal globalization, the positioning and representation of Indigenous people and how these are related to the nation-state. The strong Indigenous 'voice' in the community texts also allows an Indigenous appraisal of key facets of NT education policy formation and implementation.

Introduction

Aboriginal Bilingual education began in the Northern Territory (NT) in 1972 with the election of the Federal Whitlam Labor Government and a serious implementation of self-determination. By March, the following year, the first bilingual programs were being implemented. Eventually, approximately 30 bilingual schools operated in the NT at different times in its history. Despite the NT harbouring the largest population of Aboriginal language speakers in Australia, the rapid decline in Aboriginal languages in Australia (from 250 to only 20 used regularly by children, Koch & Nordlinger 2014) and the evidence of academic and second language acquisition gains associated with bilingual education (Baker, 2008; Disbray, 2014; Martin-Rhee & Bialyostok, 2008), the number of Aboriginal bilingual education programs have progressively declined since the 1990s.

This decline was accelerated with two policy attempts to extinguish all bilingual programs in the NT, the *Schools Our Focus* policy in 1998 and the *Compulsory Teaching in English For the First Four Hours of Each School Day* (FFHP) in 2008. While nine schools retained some bilingual funding from the NT Department of Education after this policy was enacted, the absence of any bilingual policy since the FFHP has often created resource deprivation (physical and human) in these schools, or, at the very least, vacillating support for and implementation of Indigenous language (IL) programs in schools (Truscott & Malcolm, 2010).

A number of elements appear to be operating that impacted on both the decline in ILs and the implementation of policies hostile to its use in educational institutions. These elements involve the settler colonial position of Australia and the symbolic value associated with cultural and linguistic congruity (in terms of Standard Australian English, SAE) of the Australian nation state (May, 2012). The hierarchy associated with SAE dominance has led to its normalisation and privileging across a variety of domains, including institutional ones such as schools (Lo Bianco 2001b). Over the last few decades, these factors have merged with economic discourse and neoliberalism to create a "market orientation" to racialized discourse that constructs a non-ideal Indigenous citizen as a peril to the

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nation state given their economic dependency and linguistic and cultural difference (Lo Bianco 2001a; May 2012; Roberts & Mahtani 2010:253).

The aim of this paper is to outline some of the findings of a Phd that used the Historical Discourse Approach (HDA) of Reisigl and Wodak (2001) (a type of critical discourse analysis, CDA, which focuses on argument and rhetoric), to outline the influence of settler colonial, nation state and neoliberal ideologies on FFHP texts in terms of a market orientation to racialized discourse. The Phd research methodology also involved critical participatory ethnographic research on two communities (Site 1 and Site 2). This entailed semi-structured interviews to ascertain the beliefs of on-site community participants. CDA was used to analyse these interviews for the effects of the FFHP and participants were then consulted on this analysis.

This paper will address the ideologies discussed above of nation state, neoliberalism and settler colonialism, outline the CDA methodology used to analyse the policy and community texts, present CDA analysis of these texts, a discussion of the analysis and conclusion.

Ideologies

Of interest in this study was the possible confluence of settler colonialism, nation state and neoliberal ideologies to create a market orientation to racialized discourse in the FFHP texts. Settler colonialism, the wholescale territorial migration of a coloniser to a colonised space, is typified by Indigenous linguistic and cultural endangerment or elimination as a consequence of assimilation or extermination agendas (Veracini, 2010). It is often accompanied by the emergence of dominant language varieties, creoles and pidgins (Mufwene, 2002).

Veracini (2010) maintains settler colonial contexts often develop strong nationalist ideologies and identities in order to oppose identification with their imperial ancestry. This then conflates with the settler migration "register of sameness" to create a national identity that, although derived from imperial roots, is distinct from an external "metropolitan core" (Veracini, 2010:4). Symbolically, linguistic congruity is the most powerful element of national 'sameness' in settler colonial contexts and comprises the principle item that denotes national legitimacy (Lo Bianco, 2001a; May, 2012). Difference in these contexts, in terms of multiculturalism and multilingualism, is associated with "ethnic stratification" and fragmentation of the state (May, 2012:98) and so is viewed as the harbinger of discordance and chaos (Ellis, Gogolin & Clyne, 2010).

The ideology of nation state linguistic and cultural homogeneity at the cost of Indigenous or migrant languages is so extensive, it has become the norm (May, 2012). Adherence to such a norm is thought to confer social capital, universal civism, autonomy, freedom, equality and choice (May, 2012). In Australia where the national language is SAE, failure to attain this is construed as a type of deviance, deficiency and failure to adapt (May, 2012). Contemporaneously, this ideology has manifested in 'Closing the Gap' Indigenous policy discourse which has a "pervasive rhetoric of disadvantage" (Guenther, 2013: 158) and has become the foundation of national and state policy.

Neoliberal ideologies represent a multilayered and somewhat diverse set of discursive tenets that arose from liberalism and conservative economics (Olssen, Codd & O'Neill, 2004). In many respects, these tenets exhibit classically liberal propositions such as individual responsibility for the economy, the invisible hand (where individual fate is tied to national interests and development but not by design), laissez-faire and a free market (Olssen, Codd & O'Neill 2004). However, in neoliberalism the liberal doctrine of 'homo economicus' (the economic self-interested human) has been replaced by the economically independent "manipulative man … created by the state" who, through monitoring associated with instrumentality and competition, is continually encouraged to be 'perpetually responsive'" and bereft of "slothful indolence" (Olssen, Codd & O'Neill 2004: 137). This has resulted in a reduction in state services (through privatisation), bureaucracy, taxes and obstacles associated with trade, increased deregulation and self-regulation, an onus on individual responsibility and the doctrine of competition as a mantra for quality and efficiency (Olssen, Codd & O'Neill 2004).

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Through marketization and privatisation, the discarding of state responsibilities that addressed structural inequities and a "muting of race" and "reverse racism" as a consequence of an "active suppression of race as a legitimate topic or term of public discourse and public policy" (Enck-Wanzer, 2011: 23,24), neoliberalism has had profound effects on the lives of Indigenous people. In Australia, particularly under the mainstreaming agenda of the Federal Howard Government (1996-2007), this has resulted in the disappearance of key state, national and community Indigenous programs, services, institutions, organisations and funding, including that for bilingual education.
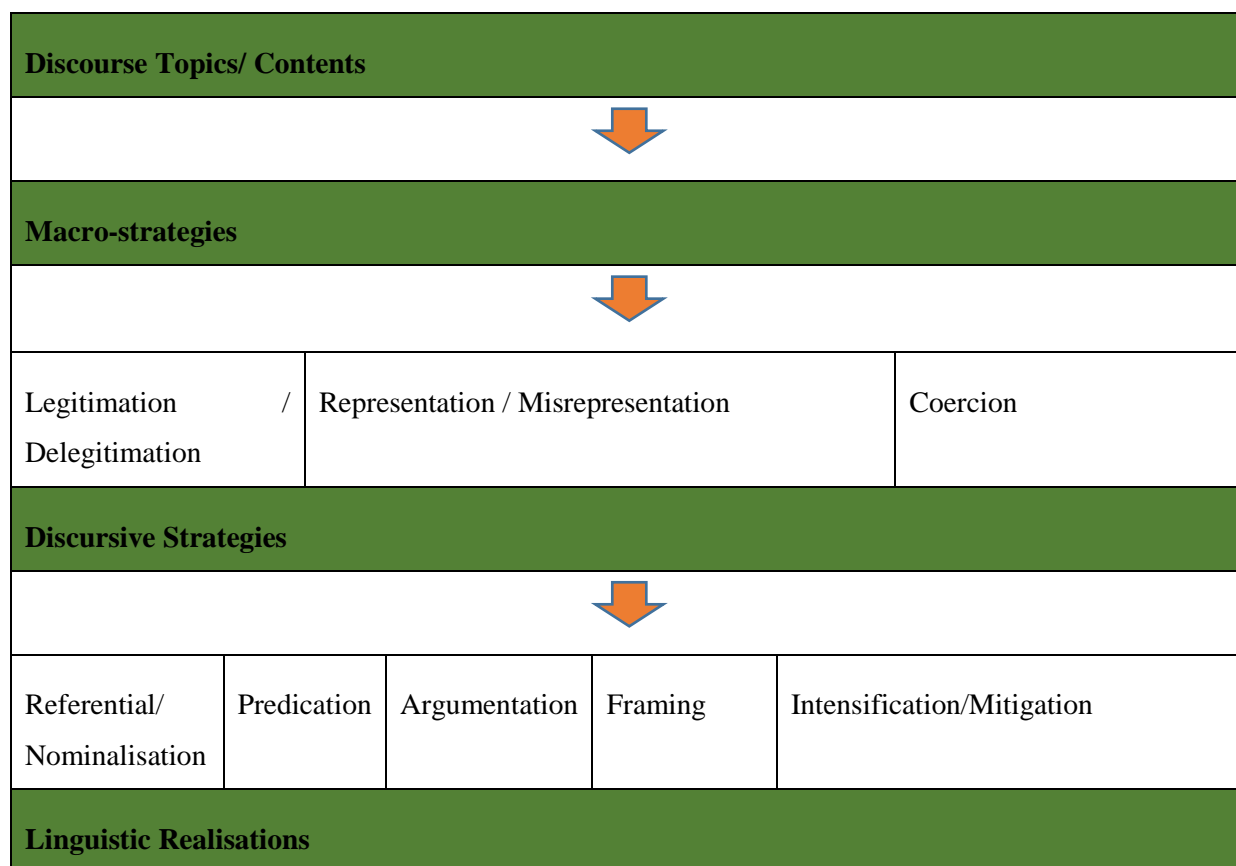
Methodology

Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA was used to analyse FFHP policy discourse and key community texts. The main principle behind CDA is the constitution of institutional policies, norms and practices through the discourses they utilise (Olssen, Codd & O'Neill 2004). The use of CDA in this study, unveils the particular institutional discourses underlying the FFHP policy. In this study, Historical Discourse Analysis (HDA) was used as the CDA. It represents a CDA derived from an examination of rhetoric and argument but placed in socio-historical context (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, 2009).

HDA involves four levels of analysis – discourse topics, macro-strategies (the influence of coercion, representation and legitimation on discourse), discourse strategies (argumentative topoi, framing, nomination or construction, predication or labelling, intensification and mitigation) and linguistic realisations (through pronouns, grammar, lexis, modality and presuppositions) (Lawton, 2013). How these elements are related appears below:

Figure 1: Levels in Analysis of the Historical Discourse Approach (adapted from Figure 1.1 Lawton, 2013:108)

Discourse Topics/ Contents				
⬇				
Macro-strategies				
⬇				
Legitimation / Delegitimation	Representation / Misrepresentation		Coercion	
Discursive Strategies				
⬇				
Referential/ Nominalisation	Predication	Argumentation	Framing	Intensification/Mitigation
Linguistic Realisations				

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Personal Pronouns	Tropes	Modality	Grammatical Structure	Lexical Choice	Presuppositions

Discourse Analysis

The principle policy texts under examination in this paper include a television interview (Whitmont, 2009) with the Education Minister Gary Barnes (succeeding Minister to Marion Scrymgour who introduced the FFHP) and an official government letter (Hansard text) issued by Julia Gillard (2009), Federal Minister for Education, in reply to an NT community letter of complaint against the FFHP.

Gary Barnes Interview

The interview, approximately 2000 words, shows responses from Barnes on the goals of the FFHP, how it should be realised in the classroom, how it is realised in a particular context (Lajamanu) and problems associated with bilingual education in justification of its withdrawal.

English as the currency of learning

Frequently within the Barnes text, SAE is imbued with an elevated status.

Extract 1

> And, certainly, I think, ah, as I've said, ah, this is not an either or debate. This is um, and I think it could have been painted as that, this is about um, ah, quality outcomes in, um, ah, preparing kids to use standard English as a currency for learning and at the same time, and preserving, growing, Indigenous culture.

Hierarchy is given to English in this extract by being associated with "quality outcomes" which implies that ILs fail to result in "quality outcomes". English here is also associated with social mobility and economic development when it is tied to "currency for learning", despite its foreign language status in remote Indigenous classroom contexts and the social capital associated with ILs in remote hybrid economies (Altman & Hinkson, 2010). These factors make this statement a fallacy.[1] The association of English with "currency" shows an overt link to the neoliberal logic of competition that is heavily tied to accountability and social capital, where students are perceived as workers and education as the means to "generate" sufficient human capital to compete in the "marketplace of the global economy" (Clarke, 2012:181).

English as social capital

Imbuing English with the means to achieving social mobility and social capital positions ILs as of no use and a disadvantage. This is magnified when English is conveyed as a means of "preserving, growing Indigenous culture". Not only does this impute English with a normativity in all fields and linguistic domains, including IL ones, and so shows a settler colonial ideology operating here, it contradicts human rights edicts[2] and research on the relationship between languages, culture and cognition that show a high competence in a first language results in "higher order cognition" and

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[1] Violations of discourse argumentative ethics, such as "emotionalisation, suggestion, demagogy, propaganda, brainwashing, threatening and so on", rather than reasoned and evidenced arguments are termed fallacies in HDA (Reisigl & Wodak,2001:70).

[2] These include the *Convention on the Rights of the Child,* (United Nations, 1989a), the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (United Nations, 1966), The *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (United Nations, 1989b) and the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (United Nations, 2007) which was ratified by Australia in 2009.

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cognitive processes (Goddard & Wierzbicka, 2011: 125). The failure to recognise the role of a first language in knowledge acquisition and cognition also implies an invisibility of IL and culture.

No difference between Indigenous and English language education

In this interview it was frequently claimed that the FFHP did not result in any change to bilingual education. This claim was repeatedly invoked due to the public criticism levelled at the loss of IL education in remote schools. However, this contradicted a statement by Marion Scrymgour when FFHP was announced that language and culture played no role in the school (ABC NewsOnline, 2008).

Extract 2

> I'd have to say from the outset that teaching in the First Four Hours of English categorically does not mean that the home language of the community won't also be used in that first four hours because good teaching is about making sure you build from where the kids are at. So, if kids have got language and they've got culture, that needs to be a feature of how we go about delivering in those first four hours…It's making sure that students have both their own language and culture.

This claim of 'no change' implies that monolingual dominant education is the same as Indigenous bilingual education. At the beginning of the extract, this is first mentioned as, "the First Four Hours of English does not mean that the home language of the community won't also be used." Later, Barnes states that the policy's intent was "making sure that students have both their own language and culture". The lexis chosen ("making sure", a phrasal verb used for determination and "their own language and culture", an exclusive plural possessive pronoun phrase) curtails the idea that there is any change (from bilingual to monolingual education). As such, it constitutes a misrepresentation possibly used so that, "the injustices perpetrated against Aboriginal people are down-played and dismissed" (Augoustinos, Tuffin and Rapley, 1999:360).

The failure to acknowledge a dichotomy between bilingual and monolingual education again suggests the invisibility of Indigenous people, language and culture. This is an increasing phenomenon in Indigenous education policy texts, Liddicoat (2013) argues. Lo Bianco (1999:43) in his study of Hansard parliamentary questions on *Schools Our Focus* noted crucial junctures when bilingual education became defined as "a kind of (English) literacy teaching method for linguistic minorities". This in effect meant, Lo Bianco (1999:43) argued, that "its continued funding becomes dependent on its demonstrating [impossible and unreasonable] gains in English literacy greater than alternative programs would produce". [3]

In support of the 'no change' claim, Mr Barnes, states that the continued use of local culture and language relates to the Vygotskian (1994) principle of construction of knowledge from "where the kids are at". The fact that he used Vygotsky as an authority to legitimise his claims makes this statement a fallacy of relevance since the Vygotskian approach actually entails the use of a student's language and culture.

Julia Gillard Letter

The extract below appears from a letter written by, Julia Gillard (2009), the Federal Minister for Education that responded to a petition to reinstate bilingual education in the NT. The petition canvassed the arguments that; research on bilingual education contravened the assumptions expressed in the FFHP; the FFHP posed a risk to ILs already in danger; the FFHP contravened Human Rights tenets of "Indigenous people to provide education in their own languages"; and that after a thirty-year investment in bilingual education in remote communities, the FFHP was "demoralising" (Irwin, 2009:4148). The Gillard letter, exceptional for being a product of Federal Government intervention

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[3] However, due to the lack of bilingual education in high school years (with the absence of high schools), these higher gains cannot be realised.

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into NT affairs, appeared in a Hansard Procedural Text (page 8738, 7 September 2009), consisting of 11 paragraphs.

Extract 3

> The Australian Government is committed to maximising the learning opportunities and life chances of Indigenous Australians. The Government is committed to languages education in Australian schools and recognises the important role IL learning plays in some schools. In recognition of this commitment, Australia formally endorsed the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples on 3 April 2009.

English as social capital and a human right

The list of Federal Government initiatives in the extract above is used to support a representation macro-strategy of government responsibility and legitimation through mythopoesis (narration). A moral evaluation strategy also appears to be operating to support the FFHP shown by the predicates "maximising the learning opportunities" and "life chances" both of which allude to the idea that social mobility (and rising above deficient Indigenous communities) occurs with English literacy education. These initiatives, however, appear to have no direct bearing on the FFHP or its effects. However, such vague constructions, according to Augoustinos, Tuffin, Rapley (1999:363) warrant "a particular inference" which can be difficult to undermine. The inference in this instance, seems to be that the FFHP follows national and international human rights agreements, which it clearly contravenes making the argument a fallacy. This argument is further supported by a direct reference to the Indigenous United Nations agreement and the use of "commitment" in, "In recognition of this commitment, Australia formally endorsed the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples on 3 April 2009."

Indigenous teachers and languages as deficient and English is normal

The text also infers the inferiority of both ILs and teacher.

Extract 4

> The Northern Territory Government's policy that programs in its schools are to be conducted in English for the first four hours of each school day is about ensuring that Indigenous children have the opportunity to be taught and learn English. The learning of English is a fundamental skill that all Australians, including Indigenous Australians, must have to successfully progress through school and participate in life beyond their schooling years.

The inference operating here is that Indigenous students cannot get adequate exposure to and opportunities for learning English since both ILs and Indigenous educators cannot facilitate English language acquisitions, thereby implying their deficiency. This contradicts international and national research evidence that shows higher English numeracy and literacy outcomes occur with sufficient first language and English as a second or foreign language instruction in bilingual programs (Disbray, 2014; Harris & Jones, 1991; Hoogenraad, 2001).

English in the subject position in the sentence and predicated with "fundamental" personifies English as well as intensifying its importance. Such an elevation of 'English' is typical of neo-liberal discourse across multiple fields, classically positioning English as normative. This is also linked to national normativity when it co-occurs with "Australians" but the addition of "Indigenous" in "Indigenous Australians" ensures this categorisation reflects difference and so "excludes" Indigenous people from the norm (as similarly outlined by Witkowska, Krzyżanowski, Buchowski, 2012). The use of "all" in "all Australians, including Indigenous Australians", however, suggests a universality to sectional interests that appears to signify the neo-liberal construction of equality as 'sameness' (Corson, 1993:169).

Standardisation as social justice

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The use of the modal 'must' in extract 4 in terms of the need to learn English suggests an urgency and moral imperative or 'cautionary tale' of "bad things will happen if we don't" teach in English (such as socio-economic and educational exclusion) (Fairclough, 2003:91). That is, legitimation through moral evaluation is occurring here despite evidence for bilingual education demonstrating the contrary. This is framed with predications such as "successfully progress" and "participate in life" that are typical neo-liberal signifiers of individual economic participation and inclusion even though greater economic participation occurs with a greater knowledge of ILs and culture (Biddle, 2012; Daly & Smith, 2003; Docker, 2010, 2013).

Community Texts

The following two extracts were taken from 29 semi-structured adult interviews conducted on the two separate communities in 2014. The main categories that arose in relation to the effects of the FFHP included; community interaction in the school; professional conduct of non-Indigenous teachers; professional status of Indigenous teachers; language education; academic and behavioural outcomes of students; and governance (government authority) and governance outcomes.

Language is given to us

Of particular importance to community members in relation to language education was the issue of language and identity.

Extract 5

> Language is a thing given to us and we see it with the country, you know, how it is important to us. It's not there just to play around, it's there. We're connected into that. There's about 8 or 16 groups of people who carry that. If they're not doing that, where are they? They're lost. So we come in some of us to get them back with their ceremony, dancing and all that and the language is part of that. It's really important.

The importance of language is evident in this extract where language is associated with a 'gift' metaphor, implying a valuable element that requires care. The phrase "not …just to play around" seems to link language to its powers to generate mental, material and behavioural effects. A strong relationship is also apparent between language and other aspects of Indigenous culture – song, story, land, with the use of the verb "see" to describe language, even though language is auditory. This is intensified with the verb "carry" in relation to the responsibilities of 8 or 16 groups of people (Skin groups) for the knowledge and culture entailed in language, implying a burden or load (see Diegnan, 1999 on the meaning of 'carry').

"We" personalises and intensifies the universality and sincerity of the argument but also acts to create a coercive macro-strategy. In contrast, those without language and culture are described as "lost" and directionless suggesting the use of the pathway or procession metaphor to indicate no "future planning" or "moving forward" with a consequential result of social dysfunction (Chilton, 2006: 64).

These sentiments resonate with the findings of Guenther (2014) who found in his study of 31 very remote Indigenous Australian schools (with Indigenous populations of more than 80%) that remote Indigenous families regarded the development of Indigenous cultural capital in school – in terms of teacher social competency in the community and classroom and student language and cultural development - as of prime importance.

Bilingual makes kids stronger

Many respondents spoke of the enhanced economic and well-being benefits for students derived from bilingual education. An ex-IL teacher at Site 2 who was also a grandmother to children currently attending the school argued:

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> My son has had many jobs – the mines, telegraph station as a ranger…he was always able
> to work. (Bilingualism) It makes kids stronger. My grandson can read (Site 2 language) at
> home with his parents. It makes them happier, they like to learn.

This respondent is associating academic and language achievements with resilience and socio-economic benefits, and attributing these outcomes to a bilingual education program; a relationship also confirmed by Biddle (2012), Dockery (2010, 2013) and the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2011). In addition, she is also relating the greater participation that parents have in a child's school homework with a bilingual program where there is a shared language and understanding. These arguments are created using narration and description (mythopoesis) as well as topoi of advantage and usefulness and positive predications and goal oriented behaviour ("stronger", "happier", "like to learn" and "able to work") (van Leeuwen 2008:127). These are intensified with argument and repetition ("My son has had many jobs – the mines, telegraph station as a ranger"). The active subjectivity of Indigenous agents in addition to a lack of embedded clauses, nominalisation, modality and metaphors shows a positive active agency as well as implied 'truth' of statements (Gee, 2011).

English way sends you rama

Two respondents, an elder and his nephew, discussed the dangers of dominant English instruction

Extract 7

> Elder: Bilingual and English. Both ways. Making the tjitji [Children] rama [crazy] tjitji
> rama English way. They be rama, they be robbing anything teach English [you know like
> motor cars and money]
>
> Nephew: And forget about losing their language. They're not going to listen if they don't
> learn their own language

The interpreter for this site informed me of the decay in traditional Indigenous and Christian values, ethics, morals and behaviour as a consequence of English-only instruction in schools which is magnified when children are removed from their communities. These views are in accordance with findings by de la Sablonniere et al (2011) who noted the process of Indigenous de-culturation, as a consequence of colonisation and English-only education, undermined traditional Indigenous authority, failed to engender the acquisition of a standard national language, led to the loss of Indigenous norms and values and created social dysfunction. The legitimation macro-strategy used is rationalisation (a 'truth' which is augmented with the simple present tense and lack of modality) and the argument is framed using narration with a topoi of disadvantage in relation to English-only education. The lexical choice of "rama" [crazy] in this extract is a powerful but accurate description (given the evidence above) of the consequences of monolingual English education and so intensifies the statements, suggesting a coercive macro-strategy is also operating. The use of "tjitji", an IL term for children, indicates both endearment as well as coercion. All these lexical choice features suggest a deep emotive response from the interviewee in addition to the operation of moral evaluation.

This is the last leaf on the tree

During the period of the community interviews, the daft Wilson (2014) review of Indigenous education in the NT had just been released and recommended the closure of all NT bilingual programs. Many respondents expressed their fear of losing bilingual education at Site 2 school. A parent perceived the change as already occurring since English instruction had been extended at the expense of instruction in the local language. This concern was also expressed by an ex-teacher at the school.

Extract 8

> Interviewee: Docker River is now English. All that top end, they took it away.
> Interviewer: Do you think they'll do it here.
> Interviewee: This one is the last one. It's on the last branch, the last leaf.

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The belief of the imminent closing of bilingual programs is a product of both the perceived impulsiveness of government policy-making in the NT in addition to insightful analysis given the closure of the bilingual program at Site 2 the year after this interview.

The extract also shows the perceived oppression of government and Indigenous victimisation with the use of "took away" constructing a negative representation macro-strategy in relation to government. A topos of danger or threat and urgency is also clearly visible with the use of a tree metaphor and the repetition of 'last' in "This one is the last one. It's the last branch, the last leaf" and the almost certitude that the leaf will fall as a consequence of the political climate operating in the NT at that time.

Discussion, conclusion

The few policy discourse extracts that have been analysed in this paper indicate that the arguments employed in support of the FFHP both defy academic research and demonstrate settler colonial invisibility of ILs and cultures, neoliberal tenets of competition and instrumentality and nation state linguistic normativity of SAE. Neoliberalism, represents a principle framing mechanism for the policy and, in conjunction with Indigenous cultural and language deficiency and invisibility, has created a "market orientation" (Roberts & Mahtani 2010:253) to racialized discourse that constructs ILs and cultures as a 'danger' to Indigenous economic participation and, thereby, economic stability of the nation-state. The depiction of Indigenous deficiency and invisibility and the role of English in social capital in racialized discourse allows the inaccurate construal of English-only education as academically enabling, inclusive (of ILs and culture) and adhering to human rights which it clearly contravenes.

Community excerpts shown in this paper demonstrated the importance IL has in the life and identity of Indigenous people in remote contexts and the effects of English-only education in terms of social fragmentation and dysfunction. Contrary to the statements in the policy discourse, the interview discussions on the positive influence of bilingual education on student academic and well-being outcomes as well as remote community economic participation have been extensively substantiated by research (de la Sablonniere et al, 2011; Disbray, 2014; Harris & Jones, 1991, Hoongenraad, 2001). The extracts also reveal the degree to which community members perceive the FFHP policy as oppressive, impulsive and not responsive to their needs and desires. This is in agreement with the 2013 Productivity Commission Report that described bureaucratic intervention "in the lives of [particularly remote] Aboriginal people" as "chilling" (Chaney, 2013:65).

The findings in this paper, although modest in comparison to those of the Phd, still demonstrate a consistent and disturbing underlying marketization to racialized discourse in NT language policy that has no evidential support and, moreover, acts to justify an oppressive and destructive governance of remote Indigenous people. The aim of this paper is to raise awareness of the constructions and representations that permeate such policies and so reveal fundamental flaws in contemporary NT IL and education policy. These flaws include the failure to acknowledge valuable language education evidence and the human rights consequences of poor policy practices that sustain the under privileging, the dependency and the marginalisation of remote Indigenous people. However, the use of CDA in this study, is also an example of an "ethico-practical" contribution to policy formation that can act to ensure ethical requirements are sustained in policy (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001:32-33). Moreover, if this is combined with Indigenous direction, authority and Indigenous capacity development in the creation of IL education policy, it should contribute to successful government policy as outlined by Cox (2014).

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