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A Critical Discourse Problematization Framework for (Disability) Policy Analysis: 'Good Cop/Bad Cop Strategy'

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A Critical Discourse Problematization Framework for (Disability) Policy Analysis: 'Good Cop/Bad Cop Strategy'

--Manuscript Draft--

Additional Information:	
Question	Response
Purpose (word limit 100)	This paper presents a composite framework for critical policy analysis drawing from discourse analysis and poststructuralist analysis. Drawing on an interpretive paradigm (Yanow, 2014), this paper provides a thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the processes involved in the application of these tools in a critical policy analysis project, focusing on disability policy within the Irish context. Methodologically, this is a resourceful cross-fertilization of analytical tools with which to interrogate policy, highlighting its potential within critical disability policy analysis.
Design/methodology/approach (limit 100 words)	Merging a critical discourse analysis framework and a policy problematization approach, the combination of tools presented here, along with their associated processes, is referred to as the Critical Discourse Problematization Framework.
Findings (limit 100 words)	Potentially, the framework can also be employed across a number of cognate policy fields including education, welfare, and social justice.
Research implications/limitations (limit 100 words) (optional)	
Practical implications (limit 100 words) (optional)	The value of this paper lies in its potential to be used within analytical practice in the field of critical (disability) policy work by offering an evaluation of the analytical tools and theoretical framework deployed and modelled across an entire research process.
Social implications (limit 100 words) (optional)	Potentially, the framework can also be employed across a number of cognate policy fields including education, welfare, and social justice
Originality (limit 100 words)	The analytical framework presented here is a methodically innovative approach to the study of policy analysis, marrying two distinct analytical tools to form a composite framework for the study of policy text.
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Is this a submission for a special issue?	No
Manuscript Number:	QRJ-D-18-00022
Full Title:	A Critical Discourse Problematization Framework for (Disability) Policy Analysis: 'Good Cop/Bad Cop Strategy'
Article Type:	Research Paper
Section/Category:	Research Paper
Order of Authors Secondary Information:	

A Critical Discourse Problematization Framework for (Disability) Policy Analysis: 'Good Cop/Bad Cop Strategy'

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Abstract

This paper presents a composite framework for critical policy analysis drawing from discourse analysis and poststructuralist analysis. Merging a critical discourse analysis framework and a policy problematization approach, the combination of tools presented here, along with their associated processes, is referred to as the Critical Discourse Problematization Framework. The rationale for this paper is to advance analytical practice in the field of critical disability policy work by offering an evaluation of the analytical tools and theoretical framework deployed and modelled across an entire research process.   Drawing on an interpretive paradigm (Yanow, 2014), this paper provides a thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the processes involved in the application of these tools in a critical policy analysis project, focusing on disability policy within the Irish context. Methodologically, this is a resourceful cross-fertilization of analytical tools with which to interrogate policy, highlighting its potential within critical disability policy analysis. Potentially, the framework can also be employed across a number of cognate policy fields including education, welfare, and social justice.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis; Critical Policy Analysis; Policy

Problematization; Disability Policy.

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Introduction

This paper proposes an innovative method for policy analysis, the Critical Discourse

Problematization Framework (CDPF), adding to the growing contribution of discursive and

problematization approaches to the critical study of policy. Our interest in this area of study has

been sparked by recent calls for innovation in qualitative research methodologies (Taylor &

Coffey, 2009) and 'Author, (2013a), Details Withheld for Peer Review' concern at the dearth of

practical approaches to assist those engaged in policy analysis.

Innovation in qualitative research has increasingly been seen as a valuable and necessary

aspect of maintaining the sustainability of social science within global knowledge economies.

Moreover, it is regarded as a matter of survival in terms of the capacity of future academic

endeavors to (re)produce this knowledge (Taylor & Coffey, 2008). As we now inhabit a world

characterised by new textual formations and technologies, emerging discourses and new forms of

identity, contemporary critical discourse analysis (CDA) researchers must look to 'new, hybrid

blends of analytic techniques and social theories' (Luke, 2002: 98).

Innovation in this sense is not necessarily limited to the creation of new methods, but can

equally be applied to the adaption and hybridization of established research methods in the

construction of new designs, concepts and approaches (Taylor & Coffey, 2008); in other words

'selecting good ideas and exploiting their potential' (Taylor & Coffey, 2009: 526). Following

Taylor and Coffey's proposal, the proposed heuristic toolkit in this paper is constructed through a

combination of 'Author, (2013b) Details Withheld for Peer Review' Critical Higher Education

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Policy Discourse Analysis (CHEPDA) Framework and Bacchi's (2009) What's the Problem Represented to Be (WPR) approach.

'Author, (2013a) Details Withheld for Peer Review' identifies policy analysis as a key element of doctoral programmes and proposes a framework for CDA in response to concerns regarding a dearth of practical approaches to do so. Extending the CHEPDA Framework (2013b), this study has the potential to illuminate the policy analysis process through the practical application of an innovative approach to the study of policy text; the aim being to showcase CDPF at work in the interests of enhancing research capacity (Taylor and Coffey, 2009).

The marriage of CDA and a policy problematization approach is a particularly beneficial hybrid, bringing together complimentary approaches to policy analysis to achieve the dual objectives of policy analysis and critique. "Critique" from this perspective is understood from a Foucauldian perspective—not being concerned about evaluating whether a policy is good or bad—but on the type of assumptions, accepted norms and frameworks of thinking upon which the accepted policy practices are based (Bacchi, 2009: xv). While a policy problematization approach allows the analyst to identify and problematize policy constructions, discourse analysis adds other dimensions in terms of the social, the cultural and the cognitive. Likewise, CDA on its own does not address policy problematization. Thus the combined approach offers a comprehensive, symbiotic framework through which to undertake the critical analysis of policy.

Critical Qualitative Inquiry Community

Denzin (2009:142) identifies at least four pedagogical stances within the critical qualitative inquiry community: (1) discipline-based qualitative research focused on accumulating

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fundamental knowledge about social processes and institutions; (2) qualitative policy research

aimed at having an impact on current programs and practices; and (3) public intellectuals, public

social scientists, and cultural critics who use qualitative inquiry and interpretive work to address

current issues and crises in the public arena. The fourth stance, which is the focus of much

poststructural analytical work, is that which this study is concerned with—critical qualitative

approaches, which have as their core aim the disruption and destabilization of public policy and

social discourses. In essence, poststructural policy analysis involves a process of interrogating

the embedded assumptions within policies with the objective of challenging the conceptual

premises in which they are grounded.

Central to the CDPF Framework proposed here is Ball's conceptualization of policy as

discourse (Ball, 2015: 1993). From this perspective, policy is not a fixed rational entity but

instead 'is a social process, a relational process, a temporal process, a discursive process. It's a

process invested with power relations, it's a political process' (Ball in Mainardes, 2015: 184).

Government enjoys a privileged position, given that its understandings "stick"—that is, its

version of problems (and solutions) are published and implemented, taking on 'lives of their

own…they exist in the real' (Bacchi, 2009: 33).

Policy subjects, from this perspective are not considered individuals with fixed identities

formed through self-directed agency; rather, they are understood as the effects of practices,

which themselves are influenced by the effects of power and discourse. Power here is

understood as 'the ability of actors (whether individual or collective) to "have an effect" upon the

context which defines the range of possibilities of others' (Hay, 2002: 185).

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Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA draws on systemic functional linguistics' approach to language as a social semiotic and post-structural analyses of power to investigate the way language use affects the social and the cultural (Fairclough, 1992). Wodak & Meyer argue its aim is to uncloak 'opaque as well 'opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of domination, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language' as transparent structural relationships of domination, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language' (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 10). Incorporating a multiplicity of methods, CDA is a problem-oriented, interdisciplinary, social science research approach, bringing together social theory and textual analysis (Author, 2013b) 'Details Withheld for Peer Review'. Focusing on discourse alone however, is not sufficient for critically examining policy; it must be accompanied by a consideration of how discourse functions socially, politically, culturally within the policy context. The theoretical lens deployed in this study is a critical disabilities studies perspective ('Author, Details Withheld for Peer Review' 2014). It is through this perspective that the discourse within CES is viewed and interrogated.

CDA and Policy Analysis

CDA recognises that the prioritisation and presentation of policy issues are the result of power relations, multiple contestations and conflicts—in other words, 'what is real' depends on what is 'presented as real' by those in positions of power (Bacchi, 2009; Author, 2013b 'Author, Details Withheld for Peer Review'). At its core, CDA seeks to engage in ways of criticising and de-stabilising prevailing and normative discourses as a means of questioning social, economic and political power. This, by its nature, is a political endeavour speaking to the 'need to disrupt and

denaturalize the workings of power and knowledge, and to query existing distributions of

material and discourse resources among human communities' (Luke, 2004: 150).

A CDA approach allows the researcher to undertake a detailed systematic examination of

the relationship between language and other social processes and the role of language within

power relations: '*researchers can go beyond speculation and demonstrate how policy texts work*'

(Taylor, 2004). As Gale and Molla (2015) observe, in the policy making process, policy makers

use specific discursive constructions to portray their agendas, the seriousness of the problem and

the urgency of the solutions proposed.

The appropriateness and potential of CDA for the critical study of policy text has been

previously highlighted (Fairclough, 2013; Grue, 2011; Liasidou, 2011). Motivated by a

Foucauldian (1972) approach towards power, language and society, these scholars attempt to

expose power relations, ideology and social injustice in a variety of discourses of powerful

political, economic and social institutions and illuminating the normative basis of their

arguments. In this regard, it is an explicitly critical approach, its central tenet being to reveal the

normative discursive construction of power relations embedded within policy discourses and in

its commitment to progressive social change (Taylor 2004); as Luke argues 'it is this will

towards the normative that puts the "critical" in critical discourse analysis'(2004: 150).

Liasidou in particular has demonstrated the potential of this approach to the critique of

disability policy (2008; 2011). Due to a climate of deepening neoliberal and economic

imperatives which has seen the most vulnerable within Irish society bearing the burden of

austerity cuts, coupled with Ireland's delay in ratifying the United Nations Convention on the

Rights of People with Disabilities, the rationale for undertaking a critical analysis of Ireland's

disability policy becomes increasingly urgent. Inspired by Liasidou's contribution to the

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literature, this study's focus is on the recently *published Comprehensive Employment Strategy for People with Disabilities 2015 – 2014* Ireland (Government of Ireland, 2015).

Policy Problematization

Policy problematization offers a critical approach to the study of policy. Problematization is based upon the premise that rather than policies reacting to "problems" to be solved, they in fact play a significant role in shaping or constituting the "problem". However, this does not suggest misrepresentation or malign intent, but rather, recognises that all policies by their nature, carry implicit representations of problems that bring with them implications for how people are treated within society, how we are conditioned to understand the social world and ourselves as citizens. Thus, the main goal of studying problematizations, 'is to dismantle taken-for-granted fixed essences and show how they have come to be' (Bacchi, 2012: 2).

Drawing, as Bacchi (2012) does, on a Foucauldian understanding of this concept, problematization here is understood as a strategy for developing a critical consciousness, whereby taken for granted "truths" are questioned and challenged in order to unearth the thinking that constitutes policy problems. It involves of critical inquiry into the way policy issues are cast and framed as "problems" to be solved. Bacchi distinguishes between a problematization as a noun and to problematize as a verb. The former refers to the way in which an issue is represented or put forward by policy makers as the "problem" to be addressed; the latter refers to the process of interrogating the "problem representations" themselves.

The CHEPDA Framework

Although developed for the purpose of critical analysis of higher education policy, the CHEPDA Framework (2013b), is transdisciplinary in nature, offering a purposeful approach for engaging

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in critical policy study, regardless of the policy domain as this study demonstrates. Theoretically, the framework aligns with Fairclough's (1995) critical discourse analysis approach focusing on the relationship of language to power. As Codd (1988:243) notes

> The power that is exercised through discourse is a form of power which permeates the deepest recesses of civil society and provides the material conditions in which individuals are produced both as subjects and as objects.

The CHEPDA Framework does not purport to offer a prescriptive universal approach to policy analysis, nor is it intended to be a prescriptive tool. It invites researchers to take only those aspects of the frame which they find useful for their engagement with policy in accordance with their agenda and the context of the policy being examined. In this respect, the framework is particularly valuable to policy analysis that aims to bring about social transformation and change. The process of bringing about such transformations is discursive, 'where discourses are viewed as socially and culturally formed' ('Author, (2013a: 837), Details Withheld for Peer Review'. The framework's utility is demonstrated by the fact that it has recently been deployed in a number of critical policy studies (Mooney Simmie, 2014; Lucas, 2014; Wiggan 2018). The CHEPDA Framework comprises two elements: contextualisation and deconstruction.

Contextualising CES

Linking the discourse of the broader social and political context, provides an insight into the processes of social and cultural change taking place through a synchronic context (at a specific moment in time) , and over the course of a diachronically relevant era (over time). Thus, the relationship between historical events and their and social contexts can be seen as an 'unpredictable and fluid tangle requiring a critical analysis that delves beneath the chronology of policy as event' (Peters, 2007: 100).

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Warrant

Of central importance to this analysis is the rhetorical structuring, which argumentation theory calls 'the warrant'. Warrant is understood as 'the justification, authority, or reasonable grounds …established for some act course of action statement or belief' ('Author, 2013a: 50-51Details Withheld for Peer Review',). Drawing on Cochran-Smith and Fries (2001) three categories of warrant are identified: evidentiary, accountability and political. Evidentiary warrant refers to a justification on the basis of the perceived credibility and trustworthiness of evidence provided, often found in the form of statistics, figures, and forecasts, constructed in such a way as to position the arguments offered as uncontestable. Political warrant on the other hand, is justified by means of the state or public interest; paternalistic or charitable discourses frequently accompany warrants of this nature, particularly in relation to issues of inclusion and social justice (Liasidou, 2016). A political warrant is often rhetorically linked to an accountability warrant, expressed through concern or pondered consideration for what 'ought to be done', sometimes inferring overtly or covertly potential negative outcomes of an alternative approach or indeed, lack thereof (Reyes, 2011).

Deconstruction

This element of the CHEPDA Framework engages directly with the policy text aiming to identity discursive strategies through number of analytical lenses and tools derived from CDA and Critical Literacy Analysis. Of particular interest is the concept of strategies of legitimation. By Reyes (2011: 783) highlights how strategies of legitimation tend to be used by political leaders to 'justify their political agenda to maintain or alter the direction of a whole nation'. The CHEPDA Framework, drawing on Van Leeuwen (2008), encompasses four modes of deconstruction

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through legitimation: authorisation; rationalisation; moral evaluation and mythopoesis, each of which can be seen at work throughout CES.

Bacchi's WPR Approach

The WPR approach (Bacchi, 2009) can be described as a particular method for the critical study of policy. Two propositions underpin this approach: firstly, rather than evaluate policies for their ability to 'solve' problems, WPR encourages the study of how policies *construct* problems (Bacchi, 2009: ix-xvii). On this premise the WPR approach posits that by reading backwards from any policy solution offered, it is possible to capture what the 'problem' is *represented*—to be (Bacchi, 2009: x-xi). For Bacchi 'every policy or policy proposal is a prescriptive text, setting out a practice that relies on a particular problematization' (2012: 4). Her approach is based on the premise that proposed policy solutions can reveal how the problem has been constituted and hence the mental framework that informs the problematization formation. Put another way, 'policy meanings, values and assumptions are constituted in texts and discourses' (Gale & Molla, 2015: 811). Bacchi's post-structuralist approach allows the policy analyst to examine how the use of language and the discourse surrounding a given problem representation affects the way in which the problem is understood, and what possible presuppositions and assumptions therein. The second key proposition is that problematizations are central to the practice of government— to *governing* (Bacchi 2009: ixxiii).

In contrast to evaluative approaches, the goal of WPR is to probe the premises on which the problem representations stem from demanding the analyst to think deeply about the assumptions and presuppositions that lodge within and shape policy and the implications that flow from these premises. As Stevens argues: 'to analyze how issues are framed, then, provides

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a more engaged and critical reading of the word and the world (Freire, 1970) than in cataloging which policies we like and which we don't' (2008: 71).WPR provides six guiding questions which enable analysis at this level of investigating the construction of policy problems[1] (Bacchi 2009: 2).

1. What is the problem represented to be in CES?

2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?

3. How has this representation of the problem come about?

4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the problem be thought about differently?

5. What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?

6. Where or how has this representation of the problem been produced disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?

In essence, questions 1-3 provide for a critical reading of the policy problematization, while questions 4-6 allow the problematization to be problematized and challenged.

Applying CDPF

The *Comprehensive Employment Strategy for People with Disabilities 2015-2024* (Government of Ireland, 2015; hereinafter called CES) was launched into the Irish disability policy landscape in October 2015. CES represents a significant policy event in Irish disability policy making, 'affording the first opportunity in over a decade since the publication of the National Disability Strategy (Government of Ireland, 2004) and the Education of Persons with Special Educational Needs (EPSEN) Act (Oireachtas, 2004), within which to examine the State's conceptualisation of 'disability inclusion'' ('Author, Details Withheld for Peer Review', 2016: 9). Following Bacchi, the aim here is not to assume that just because a policy has been published that this is to

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be accepted and adopted without critique. Therefore this study proposes to 'conduct an interview' with the policy on its journey towards implementation, using the CDPF.

While a full analysis and critique of the policy is beyond the scope and aim of this paper, the CDPF presented here operates as a interrogatory device in examining and interviewing the policy under study using WPR questions 1-3 in conjunction with 'Author, (2013b), Details Withheld for Peer Review'warrant and strategies of legitimation. Bacchi's WPR questions one to three are used to undertake a critical reading of the policy, while the CHEPDA Framework works in the background locating and presenting evidence in the form of a series of discursive snapshots taken from the policy text itself.

The metaphor of snapshot provides a useful conceptualisation with which to present the evidence supporting the critical reading, allowing the researcher to capture moments of the policy event in the form of excerpts taken from the policy text itself, thus affording the opportunity to interrogate the language and discourse therein. Thus, while WPR provides the questions with which to interrogate the policy under study, the CHEPDA Framework affords the means with which to support a critical reading of the policy with documentary evidence. In a sense, the CHEPDA Framework takes the role of the silent partner, responding with evidence to the questions posed by Bacchi. Working as a team of interrogators to achieve the aim of the task of the analytical process, CDPF employs a *good cop/ bad cop* strategy of investigation: Bacchi asking the tough questions, Author ('Details Withheld for Peer Review') doing the investigative work behind the scenes. Table 1 provides an illustration of how both tools work together in this regard.

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Table 1 The Critical Discourse Problematization Framework

Critical Discourse Problematization Approach: *Good Cop; Bad Cop* Strategy of Analysing *Comprehensive Employment Strategy for People with Disabilities 2015-2024*			
Bacchi asking the questions	**Hyatt Framework locates the evidence**	**Process**	**Outputs**
1. What is the problem represented to be in CES?	Warrant *evidentiary, accountability and political*	Critical Reading	Evidence from the policy text in the form of framed snapshots of extracts supporting a critical reading of the policy text and problematization.
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?	Strategies of Legitimation *Authorisation, Rationalisation and Moral Evaluation*		
3. How has this representation of the problem come about?	Temporal Contextualisation *Immediate; Medium Term; Policy Genealogy; Episteme*		

Locating the Problematization through the CDPF

Bacchi's WPR kick-starts the critical reading of this policy by posing the first question in the

interview process: *what's the problem represented to be?* Bacchi recommends starting with the

policy proposals and working backwards to identify the policy problematization. However,

drawing on the CHEPDA Framework with careful attention to the language of justification, it is

possible to pinpoint CES' problematization in the form of three categories of warrant.
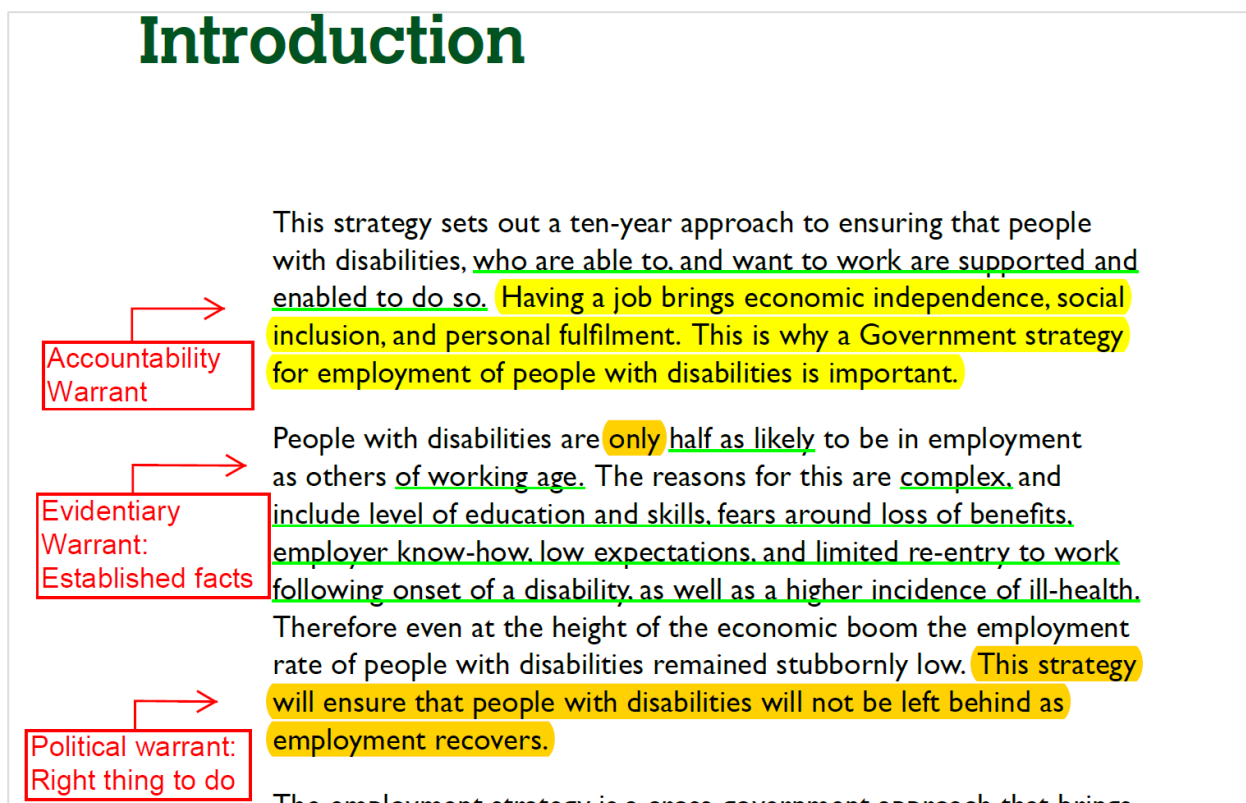
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Figure 1 Locating the Problematization

All three warrants from the CHEPDA Framework are clearly visible in this snapshot

(Figure 1) taken from the introduction chapter of CES (Government of Ireland, 2015: 5). The

accountability warrant is upfront and cuts straight to the point: economic independence, social

inclusion, and personal fulfilment are identified as the desirable outcomes justifying this policy's

key proposals. The evidentiary warrant following authoritatively establishes a single troubling

fact relating to the participation rates of disabled persons in the workforce; the use of the

modifier 'only' here, serving to heighten the impact of the fact. Complex causes of the problem

are then offered before the worthy political warrant is presented gallantly based on being the

right thing to do: 'people with disabilities will not be left behind, as the economy recovers'. The

discourse of recovery here serves to frame the warrant in paternalistic tones of assurance and

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comfort, activating CES as a gallant and noble rescuer of disabled people. Taken together, the three warrants represent the 'articulated warrant' of CES.

Discursively, this is a clearly articulated problematization, framing the problem effectively with all three warrants in a neat package of problem, evidence and moral obligation, each in turn justifying the proposals set out in the policy.

Question 2: Framing the Assumptions through the CHEPDA Framework

WPR question two requires consideration of the presuppositions or assumptions that underlie this problem representation, drawing on a form of Foucauldian archaeology. This aspect of the analysis looks for what is included, foregrounded, back-grounded and excluded with the aim of unearthing the conceptual logic operating behind the text; in other words the 'meanings that must be in place in order for a particular problem representation to make sense' (Bacchi, 2009:5). In the context of CES, question two seeks to interrogate the policy's 'linguistic paraphernalia' (Liasidou, 2008: 484) for indications and cues as to how disability is understood. The strategies of legitimation direct the study in locating the evidence required to address this question, by examining the ways in which the policy ideas are advanced and justified.

Authorisation and Rationalisation

The legitimising strategies of authorisation are often closely associated to the evidentiary warrant ('Author , 2013b Details Withheld for Peer Review'), both of which can be viewed contemporaneously in Figure 2; the authorisation strategy building on the already established evidentiary warrant from the introduction chapter.

2 Evidence and context

Strategies of Legitimation: Authorisation

This employment strategy is grounded in evidence of the barriers to employment for people with disabilities, and the evidence of what works in addressing those barriers. This section sets out this evidence, along with the wider policy and economic background.

Evidentiary Warrant

People with disabilities in Ireland are only half as likely to be in employment as others of working age. The reasons for this are complex, and include level of education and skills, fears around loss of benefits, employer know-how, low expectations, and limited re-entry to work following the onset of a disability.

Figure 2 Warrant and Strategies of Legitimation

No definition of disability is offered in CES; instead an array of tables, charts and graphs (Government of Ireland, 2015: 25-27) sorting disabled people into categories of impairment and classification of capacity and functionings—the 'clinical–medical discourses on which the mechanics of the welfare state depend' (Grue, 2011: 536). The tables and categories exemplify a rational legitimating strategy of 'precision and exactness' (Reyes, 2011: 787) mirroring Foucault's "bio-power" through the 'increased ordering of all realms' (Hook, 2010: 227) whilst assigning to each 'his "true" name, his "true" place, his "true" body, his "true" disease' (Foucault, 1977, cited in Graham and Slee, 2008: 285). A quartet of heavyweight disability experts lends an authoritative air to an extensive evidence base (35) supported by a bibliography of professional voices emphasizing health, sickness and chronic illness and claiming to 'know what works for whom, and when'(66).

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Moral evaluation

The legitimating strategy of moral evaluation manifests itself in this policy by means of a

charitable and altruistic discourse heavily couched in a comforting paternalistic overtones. Moral

evaluation as a mode of legitimation, works by way of an 'appeal to a value system around what is

good or desirable' ('Author, Details Withheld for Peer Review', 2013a, p. 53). CES (Government of

Ireland, 2015), having firmly positioned itself within a backdrop of inclusion, applauds itself as a

'significant achievement' requiring a 'concerted effort' 'in bringing the strategy to fruition'(3)

despite challenging times and the "stubborn" nature of disability employment 'even at the height

of the economic boom'(5); as Marston (2008) notes, globalised discourses invoked in the public

domain, are frequently 'characterised by a language where growing inequality and injustice are a

result of "global" processes over which no one seems to have any control' (364). This

legitimating strategy is closely linked to the political and accountability warrants and operates to

influence the opinions of the audience, with regard to a sense of what is morally right or

justifiable. In CES, the portrayal of disabled people as pitiful objects of charity portrayed in the

articulated warrant is relentlessly reinforced throughout the narrative by means of 'linguistic

veneers that legitimise binary perspectives of normality and abnormality' (Liasidou, 2008: 484).

Question 3: How has this representation of the problem come about?

Question three requires a form of Foucauldian genealogy, focusing on the conditions that

allow this particular representation to assume dominance within CES. Key to addressing this

question is a heightened awareness of how power differentials operate in the construction of a

problem representation. What is being examined here is not the concept of disability in itself,

but rather, how it came to be and is actively constituted in this policy by a charitable discourse

steeped in medicalised evidence and professional knowledge. Bacchi's conceptualisation of

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policy as 'travelling problem representations whose journey needs to be tracked' (2009: 64), is a useful metaphor in reading this policy across time and space. While WPR does not offer a specific approach to undertaking this aspect of the analysis, the CHEPDA Framework (2013b) provides a structure with which to trace the genealogy of this policy allowing for the mapping of CES to the immediate, medium and wider socio-political context into which CES was born. The synchronic aspect of the temporal analysis allows a consideration of the discursive context of CES against the diachronic relevance of emerging discourses of the time and across time ('Author, Details Withheld for Peer Review', 2005). An analysis of the immediate context considers related policy texts and media reports, in order to identify the common themes, discourses, accepted norms and concepts. An intertextual and interdiscursive approach brings a layer of consciousness to the relationship between the policy and the wider discursive practices of the episteme that it sits within.

Conclusion

As an approach to critical policy analysis, CDPF is not only valuable for researchers working in the field of disability policy but across a range of social policy domains. The application of the analytical framework and the thick description of the process offered here can equally be applied to any policy text through multiple theoretical lenses, and in a range of international contexts, depending on the aims of the study. In addition, CDPF is particularly useful for doctoral students or other researchers wishing to engage with policy who have little or no experience in the field of critical policy analysis. As such it offers a systematic tool with which to navigate this process.

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The innovation of this approach lies in the combination of two qualitative approaches to critical policy analysis in a symbiotic relationship. While the CHEPDA Framework offers a structural approach to addressing the WPR questions, Bacchi offers a focus to the CHEPDA Framework by directing hard questions to the policy text. The CHEPDA Framework offers contextualisation and deconstruction tools with which to read a policy text through Bacchi's question one to three; WPR questions four to six offers a further layer to the CHEPDA Framework by extending the analysis to interrogate and challenge the assumptions therein.

These analytical tools work here in harmony with each other in capturing and presenting a snapshot of policy in time. This affords the researcher an opportunity to deconstruct, challenge and question this policy as it moves from the policy making space on its journey into implementation: WPR up front, asking problematizing questions; CHEPDA working in the background producing the evidence.

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A Critical Discourse Problematization Framework for (Disability) Policy Analysis: 'Good Cop/Bad Cop Strategy'

Abstract

This paper presents a composite framework for critical policy analysis drawing from discourse analysis and poststructuralist analysis. Merging a critical discourse analysis framework and a policy problematization approach, the combination of tools presented here, along with their associated processes, is referred to as the Critical Discourse Problematization Framework. The rationale for this paper is to advance analytical practice in the field of critical disability policy work by offering an evaluation of the analytical tools and theoretical framework deployed and modelled across an entire research process. Drawing on an interpretive paradigm, this paper provides a thick description of the processes involved in the application of these tools in a policy document analysis project, focusing specifically on disability policy within the Irish context. Methodologically, this is a resourceful cross-fertilization of analytical tools with which to interrogate policy, highlighting its potential within critical disability policy analysis and beyond. Potentially, the framework can also be employed across a number of cognate policy fields including education, welfare, and social justice.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis; Critical Policy Analysis; Policy Problematization; Disability Policy.

Introduction

This paper proposes an innovative method for policy analysis, the Critical Discourse Problematization Framework (CDPF), adding to the growing contribution of discursive and problematization approaches to the critical study of policy. Our interest in this area of study has been sparked by recent calls for innovation in qualitative research methodologies (Taylor & Coffey, 2009) and Hyatt's (2013a) concern at the dearth of practical approaches to assist those engaged in policy analysis.

Innovation in Qualitative Research

Innovation in qualitative research has increasingly been regarded as a valuable and necessary aspect of maintaining the sustainability of social science within global knowledge economies. Moreover, it is regarded as a matter of survival in terms of the capacity of future academic endeavours to (re)produce this knowledge (Taylor & Coffey, 2008). As we inhabit a world characterised by new textual formations and technologies, emerging discourses and new forms of identity, contemporary policy researchers must look to 'new, hybrid blends of analytic techniques and social theories' (Luke, 2002: 98).

However, innovation in this sense is not necessarily limited to the creation of new methods, but can equally be applied to the adaption and hybridization of established research methods in the construction of new designs, concepts and approaches (Taylor & Coffey, 2008); in other words 'selecting good ideas and exploiting their potential' (Taylor & Coffey, 2009: 526). Following Taylor and Coffey's proposal, the proposed heuristic toolkit in this paper is constructed through a combination of Hyatt's Critical Higher Education Policy Discourse Analysis (CHEPDA) Framework (2013b) and Bacchi's (2009) *What's the Problem Represented to Be* (WPR) approach.

Hyatt (2013a) identifies policy analysis as a key element of doctoral programmes and thus proposes a framework for CDA in response to concerns regarding a dearth of practical approaches to do so. Extending the CHEPDA Framework (2013b), this study has the potential to illuminate the policy analysis process through the practical application of an innovative approach to the study of policy text; the aim being to showcase CDPF at work in the interests of enhancing research capacity (Taylor and Coffey, 2009).

The marriage of CDA and policy problematization approaches is a particularly beneficial hybrid, bringing together complimentary approaches to policy analysis to achieve the dual objectives of policy analysis and critique. "Critique" from this perspective is understood from a Foucaultian perspective—not concerned whether a policy is good or bad—but on the type of assumptions, accepted norms and frameworks of thinking upon which the accepted policy practices are based (Bacchi, 2009: xv). While a policy problematization approach allows the analyst to identify and problematize policy constructions, discourse analysis adds other dimensions in terms of the social, the cultural and the cognitive. Likewise, CDA on its own does not address policy problematization. But together, the combined approach offers a comprehensive, symbiotic framework through which to undertake the critical analysis of policy.

Critical Qualitative Inquiry Community

Denzin (2009:142) identifies at least four pedagogical stances within the critical qualitative inquiry community: (1) discipline-based qualitative research focused on accumulating fundamental knowledge about social processes and institutions; (2) qualitative policy research aimed at having an impact on current programs and practices; and (3) public intellectuals, public social scientists, and cultural critics who use qualitative inquiry and interpretive work to address

current issues and crises in the public arena. The fourth stance, which is the focus of much

poststructural analytical work, is that which this study is concerned with—critical qualitative

approaches, which have as their core aim the disruption and destabilization of public policy and

social discourses. In essence, poststructural policy analysis involves a process of interrogating the

embedded assumptions within policy with the objective of challenging the conceptual premises in

which they are grounded. Documentary analysis has come to play an important role in critical

policy analysis. Employed within qualitative research, this form of policy study requires that the

policy texts[s] be examined and interpreted in order to gain understanding and meaning, and

develop empirical knowledge (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Central to the CDPF Framework proposed here is Ball's conceptualization of policy as

discourse (1993). Ball diverges from traditional rational approaches of understanding policy to

one of criticality. From a critical perspective, policy is not a fixed rational entity but 'a discursive

process embedded within social, relational process, temporal contexts: It's a process invested with

power relations, it's a political process' (Ball in Mainardes, 2015: 184). Added to this,

Government policy, Bacchi argues, 'enjoys a privileged position, given that its understandings

"stick"—that is, its version of problems (and solutions) are published and implemented, taking on

'lives of their own…they exist in the real' (Bacchi, 2009: 33). Policy subjects, from this

perspective are not considered individuals with fixed identities formed through self-directed

agency; rather, they are understood as the effects of practices, which themselves are influenced by

the effects of power and discourse. Power here is understood as 'the ability of actors (whether

individual or collective) to "have an effect" upon the context, which defines the range of

possibilities of others' (Hay, 2002: 185). This is ultimately significant where matters of disability

are concerned. Hence, this study is particularly concerned with the power of language to construct identities and the effects therein on disabled people lives.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) draws on systemic functional linguistics' approach to language as a social semiotic and poststructural analyses of power, to investigate the way language use affects the social and the cultural. For Wodak & Meyer the aim of CDA is to uncloak 'opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of domination, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language' as transparent structural relationships of domination, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language' (2001: 2). Incorporating a multiplicity of methods, CDA is a problem-oriented, interdisciplinary, social science research approach, bringing together social theory and textual analysis (Hyatt, 2013b). Focusing on discourse alone, however, is not enough for critically examining policy; it must be accompanied by a consideration of how discourse functions socially, politically, culturally within the policy context. The theoretical lens deployed in this study is a critical disabilities studies perspective (see for example Goodley, 2014). It is through this lens that the discourse of CES is processed and questioned.

CDA and Policy Analysis

CDA recognises that the prioritisation and presentation of policy issues are the result of power relations, multiple contestations and conflicts—in other words, 'what is real' depends on what is 'presented as real' by those in positions of power (Bacchi, 2009; Hyatt, 2013b). At its core, CDA seeks to engage in ways of criticising and de-stabilising prevailing and normative discourses as a means of questioning social, economic and political power. This, by its nature, is a political

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endeavour speaking to the 'need to disrupt and denaturalize the workings of power and

knowledge, and to query existing distributions of material and discourse resources among human

communities' (Luke, 2004: 150).

Thus, a CDA approach allows the researcher to undertake a detailed systematic

examination of the relationship between language and other social processes and the role of

language within power relations, 'to go beyond speculation and demonstrate how policy texts

work' (Taylor, 2004). As Gale and Molla (2015) observe, in the policy making process, policy

makers use specific discursive constructions to portray their agendas, the seriousness of the

problem and the urgency of the solutions proposed.

The appropriateness and potential of CDA for the critical study of policy text has been

previously highlighted (Fairclough, 2013; Grue, 2011; Liasidou, 2011). Motivated by a

Foucaultian (1972) approach towards power, language and society, these scholars attempt to

expose power relations, ideology and social injustice in a variety of discourses of powerful

political, economic and social institutions, whilst illuminating the normative bases of their

arguments. In this regard, it is an explicitly critical approach, its central tenet being to reveal the

normative discursive construction of power relations embedded within policy discourses and in its

commitment to progressive social change (Taylor 2004); as Luke puts it, 'it is this will towards

the normative that puts the "critical" in critical discourse analysis' (2004: 150).

Liasidou in particular has demonstrated the potential of this approach to the critique of

disability policy focusing on document analysis (2008; 2011). Due to a climate of deepening

neoliberal and economic imperatives, which has seen the most vulnerable within Irish society

bearing the burden of austerity cuts, coupled with Ireland's delay in ratifying the United Nations

Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities (UNCRPD), the rationale for undertaking a

critical analysis of Ireland's disability policy becomes increasingly urgent. Inspired by Liasidou's

contribution to the literature, this study's focus is on the recently *published Comprehensive*

Employment Strategy for People with Disabilities 2015 – 2024 (CES) Ireland (Government of

Ireland, 2015).

Policy Problematization

Policy problematization offers a critical approach to the study of policy. Problematization is

based upon the premise that rather than policies reacting to "problems" to be solved, they in fact

play a significant role in shaping or framing the problem to be addressed. While not suggesting

misrepresentation or malign intent, this approach recognises that all policies by their nature, carry

implicit representations of problems that bring with them implications for how people are treated

within society, how we are conditioned to understand the social world and ourselves as citizens.

The main goal of studying problematizations therefore, 'is to dismantle taken-for-granted fixed

essences and show how they have come to be' (Bacchi, 2012: 2).

Drawing, as Bacchi (2012) does, on a Foucaultian understanding of this concept,

problematization here is understood as a strategy for developing a critical consciousness, whereby

taken for granted "truths" are questioned and challenged in order to unearth the thinking that

constitutes policy problems. It involves of critical inquiry into the way policy issues are cast and

framed as problems to be solved. Bacchi (2009) distinguishes between a problematization as a

noun and to problematize as a verb. The former refers to the way in which an issue is represented

or put forward by policy makers as the "problem" to be addressed; the latter refers to the process

of interrogating the "problem representations" themselves.

The CHEPDA Framework

Although developed for the purpose of critical analysis of higher education policy, the CHEPDA

Framework (Hyatt, 2013 a & b) is transdisciplinary, offering a purposeful approach for engaging

in critical policy study regardless of the policy domain, as this study elucidates. Theoretically, the

framework aligns with Fairclough's (1995) critical discourse analysis approach focusing on the

relationship of language to power. As Codd (1988:243) notes

> The power that is exercised through discourse is a form of power which permeates
> the deepest recesses of civil society and provides the material conditions in which
> individuals are produced both as subjects and as objects.

However, the CHEPDA Framework does not purport to offer a prescriptive universal

approach to policy analysis, nor is it intended as a prescriptive tool. It invites researchers to take

only those aspects of the frame which they find useful for their engagement with policy in

accordance with their agenda and the context of the policy being examined. In this respect, the

framework is particularly valuable to policy analysis that aims to bring about social

transformation and change. This is essentially a discursive endeavour, 'where discourses are

viewed as socially and culturally formed' (Hyatt, 2013a: 837). The framework's utility is

demonstrated by the fact that it has recently been deployed in a number of critical policy studies

(Mooney Simmie, 2014; Lucas, 2014; Wiggan 2018). The CHEPDA Framework comprises two

elements: contextualisation and deconstruction.

Contextualising CES

Linking the discourse of the broader social and political context provides an insight into the

processes of social and cultural change taking place through a synchronic context (at a specific

moment in time), and over the course of a diachronically relevant era (over time). Thus, the

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relationship between historical events and their and social contexts can be seen as an 'unpredictable and fluid tangle requiring a critical analysis that delves beneath the chronology of policy as event' (Peters, 2007: 100). Key to this stage of analysis is the concept of rhetorical structuring, which argumentation theory calls 'the warrant'.

Warrant

In this context, the policy warrant is understood as 'the justification, authority, or reasonable grounds …established for some act course of action statement or belief' (Hyatt, 2013a: 50-51). Drawing on Cochran-Smith and Fries (2001) the framework identifies three categories of warrant: evidentiary, accountability and political. Evidentiary warrant refers to a justification on the basis of the perceived credibility and trustworthiness of evidence provided, often presented as statistics, figures, and forecasts and constructed in such a way as to position evidence incontestable. The accountability warrant functions to influence the opinions of audience with regard to a sense of what is morally right or justifiable. Closely linked to this, the political warrant seeks justification by means of appeal on the bases of State or public interest. It can be observed through an expressed concern or pondered consideration for what 'ought to be done', sometimes alluding overtly or covertly, to potentially negative outcomes of an alternative approach, or indeed, lack thereof (Reyes, 2011). Paternalistic or charitable discourses frequently accompany warrants of this nature, particularly in relation to issues of inclusion and social justice (Liasidou, 2016).

Deconstruction

This element of the CHEPDA Framework engages directly with the policy text, aiming to identity discursive strategies through a number of analytical lenses and tools derived from CDA and Critical Literacy Analysis. Of particular interest in this study is the concept strategies of legitimation. Reyes highlights how strategies of legitimation tend to be used by political leaders

to 'justify their political agenda or to maintain or alter the direction of a whole nation' (2011: 783). The CHEPDA Framework, drawing on Van Leeuwen (2008), encompasses four modes of deconstruction through legitimation: authorisation; rationalisation; moral evaluation and mythopoesis, each of which can be seen at work throughout CES, as this study reveals.

WPR Approach

The WPR approach (Bacchi, 2009) can be described as a questioning method for the critical study of policy; two propositions underpin the approach. Firstly, rather than evaluate policies for their ability to 'solve' problems, WPR encourages the study of how policies *construct* problems (Bacchi 2009: ix-xvii). On this premise, the WPR approach posits that by reading backwards from any policy solution proposal, it is possible to capture what the 'problem' is *represented*—to be (x-xi). For Bacchi every policy is a "prescriptive text" (2012: 4), setting out policy proposal(s) that relies heavily on how a particular problem is constituted or framed. Examining policy proposals or solutions can reveal how the problem has been problematized and hence, the mental framework—the thinking that informs the problematization formation. To put it very simply, 'policy meanings, values and assumptions are constituted in texts and discourses' (Gale & Molla, 2015: 811). Bacchi's poststructuralist approach allows the policy analyst to examine how the use of language and the discourse surrounding a given problem representation affects the way in which the problem is understood and examines what possible presuppositions and assumptions lie therein. The second key proposition is that problematizations are central to the practice of government—to *governing.*

In contrast to traditional evaluative approaches, the goal of WPR is to probe the premises on which the problem representations are based, demanding the analyst to think deeply about the

assumptions and presuppositions that lodge within and shape the policy, and to examine and

critique the implications therein. As Stevens argues: 'to analyse how issues are framed then,

provides a more engaged and critical reading of the word and the world, than in cataloguing which

policies we like and which we don't' (2008: 71). WPR therefore, provides six guiding questions

which enable analysis at this level (Bacchi 2009: 2).

1. What is the problem represented to be in CES?
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?
3. How has this representation of the problem come about?
4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences?
   Can the problem be thought about differently?
5. What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?
6. Where or how has this representation of the problem been produced disseminated and
   defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?

Essentially, as used here, questions 1-3 provide for a critical reading of the policy

problematization, while questions 4-6 allow the problematization to be problematized and

critiqued.

Applying CDPF

The *Comprehensive Employment Strategy for People with Disabilities 2015-2024* (Government of

Ireland, 2015; hereinafter called CES) was launched into the Irish disability policy landscape in

October 2015. CES represents a significant policy event in Irish disability policy making,

'affording the first opportunity in over a decade since the publication of the National Disability

Strategy (Government of Ireland, 2004 [NDS]), within which to examine the State's

conceptualisation of disability inclusion' (Van Aswegen, 2016: 9).

The relationship between disability and the State is complex and contentions (see for

example De Wispelaere & Walsh, 2007; Scanlon et al. 2014). NDS was designed as a whole of

Government approach to the planning and implementation of disability policy to achieve its

vision, bringing a fundamental shift in how we plan for and provide for disability through the

concept of mainstreaming.   However, following Bacchi (2009), the aim here is not to assume

that just because a policy has been published that this is to be lauded as achievement and adopted

without critique. Consequently, this study proposes to conduct an interview of sorts with this

policy as it makes its journey into implementation.

While a full analysis and critique CES is beyond the scope and aim of this paper, the study

aims to present a snapshot of how the CDPF operates as an interrogatory device for examining

this policy. Bacchi's WPR questions one to three are deployed to undertake a critical reading of

the policy, while the CHEPDA Framework works in the background locating and presenting

evidence in the form of a series of snapshots taken from the policy text itself. The metaphor of

snapshot provides a useful conceptualisation with which to present the evidence supporting the

critical reading, allowing the researcher to capture moments of the policy event in the form of

excerpts taken from the policy text, affording the opportunity to pause and reflect on the discourse

and assumptions therein. While WPR provides the questions with which to interrogate the policy,

the CHEPDA Framework affords the means with which to support a critical reading of the policy

with documentary evidence. In a sense, the CHEPDA Framework takes the role of the silent

partner, responding with evidence to the questions posed by WPR. Working as a team of

interrogators to achieve the aim of the task of the analytical process, CDPF employs a *good cop/*

bad cop strategy of investigation: Bacchi asking the tough questions; Hyatt doing the forensic

work behind the scenes. Table 1 provides an illustration of how both tools work together thus.

Table 1 The Critical Discourse Problematization Framework

Critical Discourse Problematization Approach: *Good Cop; Bad Cop* Strategy of Analysing *Comprehensive Employment Strategy for People with Disabilities 2015-2024*			
Inputs		**Analysis**	**Outputs**
Bacchi asking questions	**Hyatt Framework locates the evidence**	Critical Reading	Evidence from the policy text in the form of framed snapshots of extracts supporting a critical reading of the policy text and problematization.
1. What is the problem represented to be in CES?	Warrant *evidentiary, accountability and political*	Critical Reading Critique	Evidence from the policy text in the form of framed snapshots of extracts supporting a critical reading of the policy text and problematization.
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?	Strategies of Legitimation *Authorisation, Rationalisation and Moral Evaluation*		
3. How has this representation of the problem come about?	Temporal Contextualisation *Immediate; Medium Term; Policy Genealogy; Epoch*		
WPR Questions 4, 5 & 6	Linguistic/CDA	Critique; new possibilities explored	Presentation and critique of findings; reflexive problematization: *Problematizing the problematized.*

Locating the Problematization

Bacchi's WPR kick-starts the critical reading of this policy by posing the first question in the

interview process: *what's the problem represented to be*? looking towards the policy proposals

and working backwards to identify the policy problematization. Simultaneously, drawing on the

CHEPDA Framework with careful attention to the language of justification, it is possible to

pinpoint CES' problematization in the form of three categories of warrant.
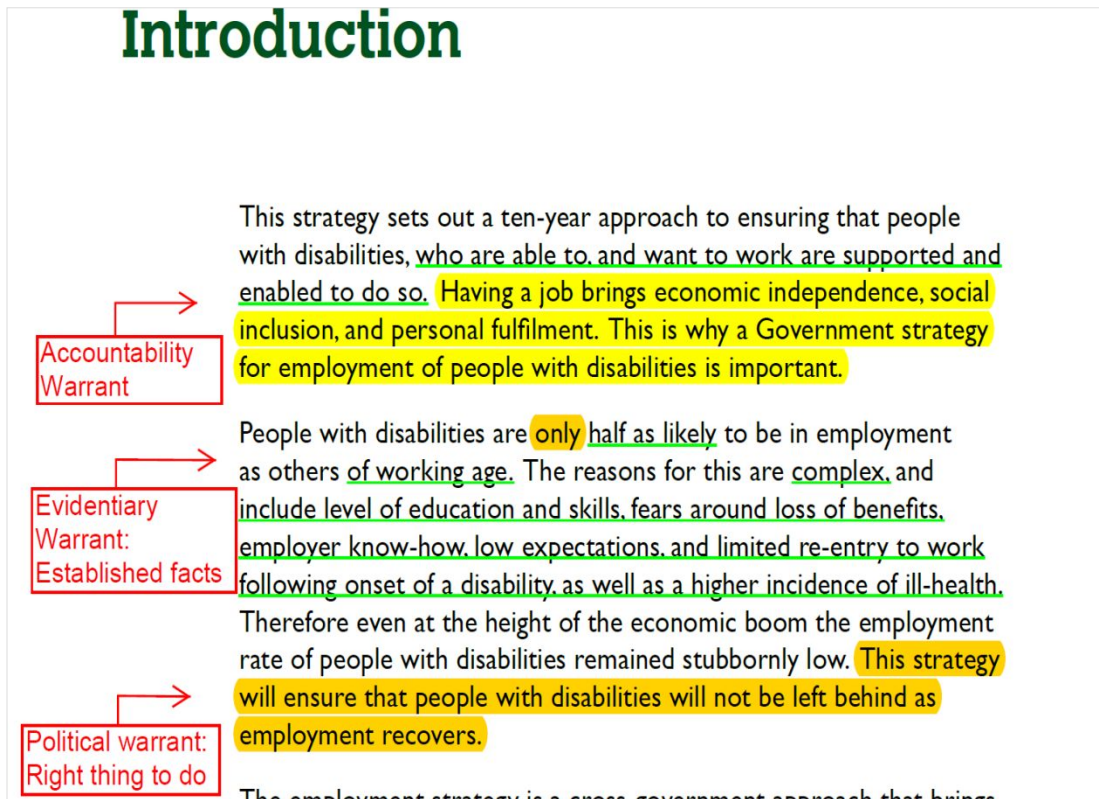

Figure 1 Framing the Problematization: Warrant (Government of Ireland, 2015: 5)

All three warrants from the CHEPDA Framework are clearly visible in this snapshot

(Figure 1). The accountability warrant is upfront and cuts straight to the point: economic

independence, social inclusion, and personal fulfilment are the desired outcomes this policy

wishes to achieve. The evidentiary warrant authoritatively establishes a single troubling fact

relating to the participation rates of disabled persons in the workforce; the use of the modifier

'only' here, serving to heighten the impact of the statement. Complex 'causes' of the problem are

identified, before the worthy political warrant is presented gallantly, based on being the right thing

to do: 'people with disabilities will not be left behind, as the economy recovers'. Notice the

discourse of 'recovery' here as it serves to frame the warrant in paternalistic tones of assurance

and comfort, activating CES rhetorically, as a heroic and honourable rescuer of pitiful but

deserving disabled people. Discursively, this is a clearly articulated problematization, framing the

problem effectively with all three warrants in a neat package of problem, evidence and moral

obligation, each in turn justifying the proposals set out in the policy. Taken together, the three

warrants represent the 'articulated warrant' of CES.

Question 2: Framing the Assumptions

WPR question two requires consideration of the presuppositions or assumptions that underlie the

problem representation, drawing on a form of Foucaultian archaeology. This aspect of the

analysis looks for what is included, foregrounded, back-grounded and excluded with the aim of

unearthing the conceptual logic operating behind the text; in other words, the 'meanings that must

be in place in order for a particular problem representation to make sense' (Bacchi, 2009:5). In

the context of CES, question two seeks to interrogate the policy's 'linguistic paraphernalia'

(Liasidou, 2008: 484) for cues as to how disability is understood. The strategies of legitimation

direct the study in locating the evidence required to address this question, by examining the ways

in which the policy ideas are advanced and justified.

Authorisation and Rationalisation

The legitimising strategies of authorisation are often closely associated to the evidentiary warrant

(Hyatt, 2013b), both of which can be viewed contemporaneously in Figure 2; the authorisation

strategy building on the already established evidentiary warrant from the introduction chapter.

Figure 2 Warrant and Strategies of Legitimation (Government of Ireland, 2015: 23)

No definition of disability is offered in CES; instead an array of tables, charts and graphs sorting disabled people into categories of impairment and classification of capacity and functionings—the 'clinical–medical discourses on which the mechanics of the welfare state depend' (Grue, 2011: 536).

Employment rate of people with disabilities, 2011, by disability type

% of people with disabilities at work and not at work, by degree of restriction on amount of work they can do (2002)
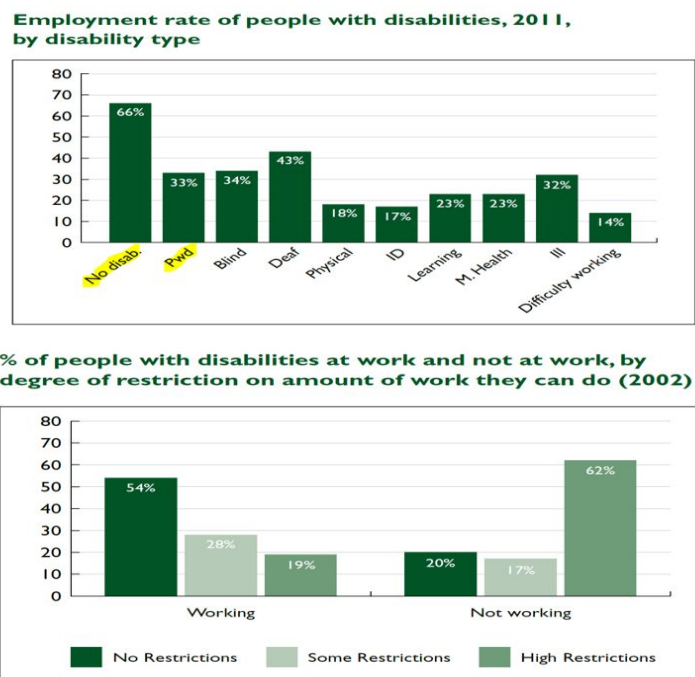
Figure 3 Binaries: Normals and Others (Government of Ireland, 2015: 25-27)

The tables and categories in figure 3 exemplify the hallmarks of rational legitimation—a deference to 'precision and exactness' (Reyes, 2011: 787) and the 'increased ordering of all realms' (Hook, 2010: 227); thus assigning to each, 'his "true" name, his "true" place, his "true" body, his "true" disease' (Foucault, 1977, cited in Graham and Slee, 2008: 285). In addition, a quartet of heavyweight disability professionals and experts, including the World Health Organisation (Government of Ireland, 2015: 35) trumpet an extensive evidence base emphasizing randomized control trials and chronic illness, declaring with certainty to 'know what works for whom—*and even* when' (66 emphasis added).

Moral evaluation

Moral evaluation as a mode of legitimation, works by appealing to a value system on what is considered good or desirable (Hyatt, 2013a) and is closely linked to the political and accountability warrants. It can be seen to manifest itself in this policy by means of a charitable discourse heavily

couched in soothing, paternalistic overtones. From the pitiful depiction of disabled people constructed in the warrant (figure 1), CES proceeds to congratulate itself on its 'significant achievement' requiring 'concerted effort' 'in bringing the strategy to fruition' (3), despite challenging times and the 'stubborn' nature of disability employment—'even at the height of the economic boom' (5).   The warrant is subsequently reinforced relentlessly throughout the narrative through a layer of 'linguistic veneers that legitimise binary perspectives of normality and abnormality' (Liasidou, 2008: 484) as figure 3 testifies.

Silence

What is not accounted for in this narrative are the effects of seven years in which the burden of hardship, crisis and austerity policies were placed disproportionately on those least able to bear its impact. Silenced are the economic imperatives of disability retrenchment and benefit restructuring, which place the onus firmly on the individual to prove who is most disabled, and therefore most deserving. Although CES legitimates its proposals drawing on an evidence base bearing a 'what works' prescription, what is silent in this policy narrative are the forms of institutional power, inequalities and the normative ways in which people with disabilities are already disadvantaged in terms of their relative position in a privileged, ableist society. The State's protracted delay in ratifying UNCRPD and the failure to implement fully the Education of Persons with Special Educational Needs (EPSEN) Act (Oireachtas, 2004) is testimony to our reputation as a 'Careless State' (Lynch, 2014) when it comes to matters of disability inequality. Instead, the policy rhetoric frames a portrait of disabilities as objects of charity in need of recovery. Notwithstanding that we would like to consider ourselves a State with a more sophisticated lexicon for describing and understanding disability, disabled people are still constituted as 'of interventions rather than sources of socio-political change' (Grue, 2011: 535).

Question 3: How has this representation of the problem come about?

Key to addressing this question is a heightened awareness of how power differentials operate in the construction of a problem representation. What is being examined here is not the concept of disability in itself, but rather, how it came to be and is actively constituted in this policy by a charitable discourse steeped in medicalised evidence and professional knowledge. Bacchi's conceptualisation of policy as 'travelling problem representations whose journey needs to be tracked' (2009: 64), is a useful metaphor in reading this policy across time and space. While WPR does not offer a specific approach to undertaking this aspect of the analysis, the CHEPDA Framework (2013b) provides a structure with which to trace the genealogy of this policy, allowing for the mapping of CES to the immediate, medium and wider socio-political context into which it was born. The synchronic aspect of the temporal analysis allows for a consideration of the discursive context of CES against the diachronic relevance of emerging discourses of the time and across time (Hyatt, 2005). An intertextual and interdiscursive approach brings a layer of consciousness to the relationship between the policy and the wider discursive practices of the episteme that it sits within.

An analysis of the immediate context reveals a hegemony of economic recovery in which the boundaries of the welfare system are being redrawn through tightened disability benefit eligibility and conditionality. Sustained political stability and recovery became the outgoing Government's election mantra, to the tune of a "happy-clappy" poster campaign urging voters to *keep the recovery going*. The supply-side measures articulated in the soft paternalistic discourse of 'promoting positive expectations', 'planning young people's transitions' and 'fostering independence' are traded in exchange for a commitment from people with disabilities to 'maximise their potential' and 'make a contribution' (Government of Ireland, 2015: 6). The

disability problem is thus packaged as one of personal failings and inadequacy that can be

summed up as 'laziness and lack of drive, motivation and intelligence that consequently absolve

the state from any responsibility' (Leyva, 2009: 369).

Discussion

Such discourses are of course not unique to Irish disability policy; globalized discourses invoked

in the public domain, are frequently 'characterised by a language where growing inequality and

injustice are a result of "global" processes over which no one seems to have any control' (as

Marston (2008) notes, 364). The charitable model has a particularly Irish dimension although,

because of its long association with the development of disability services through religious

organisations. A charitable model is dangerous on a number of levels as it is underpinned by the

desire for moral recognition on behalf of a virtuous donor rather than the rights of those who

receive, thus helping to offload the guilt of the better off (Surbaugh, 2012). A charity ideology

positions those in positions of power in the caring and compassionate role of protector 'and the

Other as in need of protection' (Choules 2007: 466). From an Irish perspective, McDonnell puts it

laconically: 'the presumption of authority and care together with the practice of exclusion can best

be described as institutionalised paternalism' (2003: 266).

Thus, we see Bacchi's questions four, five and six coming into their own here, allowing

the researcher to stop and question this policy document before it sets off on its journey to

implementation. Through problematization, the researcher not only gets to identify the

problematization representation in the policy document; but also, to problematize that same

problematization through the lens of a theoretical framework of their choosing—in this case,

through the lens of critical disability studies (Goodley, 2014).

Conclusion

This paper set out to demonstrated that CDPF, as a qualitative approach to critical policy analysis, is not only valuable for researchers working in the field of disability policy, but across a range of social policy domains such as welfare, education, employment and their intersectionality. Simultaneously, it highlights the usefulness of CDPF in undertaking a document analysis of a chosen policy. Document analysis is particularly appropriate to qualitative policy case studies, producing rich descriptions (Stake, 1995) of the policy event, the interpretive lens and processes of interpretation undertaken; its usefulness as a standalone method for specialised forms of qualitative research has been documented by Bowen (2009). The application of the analytical framework and the thick description of the process offered here can equally be applied to any policy text through multiple theoretical lenses, and in a range of international contexts, depending on the aims of the study. In addition, CDPF is particularly useful for doctoral students or other researchers wishing to engage with policy, who have little or no experience in the field of policy analysis (see for example, AUTHOR 2016). As such, it offers a systematic tool with which to navigate this process at a critical level.

The innovation of this approach lies in the blend of two qualitative approaches to critical policy analysis in a symbiotic relationship. While the CHEPDA Framework (Hyatt, 2013a) offers a structural approach to addressing the WPR's questions, Bacchi offers a focus to the CHEPDA Framework by directing hard questions to the policy text. The CHEPDA Framework offers contextualisation and deconstruction tools with which to read a policy text through Bacchi's question one to three; WPR questions four to six offers a further layer to the CHEPDA Framework by extending the analysis to interrogate and challenge the assumptions therein, as has been highlighted in this study. Both work here in harmony with each other, capturing and

presenting a snapshot of policy in time, thus affording an opportunity to deconstruct, challenge

and question this policy, as it moves from the policy making space on its journey into

implementation. Working as a team they execute a good cop/bad cop game plan: WPR up front

asking the tough questions; CHEPDA working silently in the background framing the evidence.

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Author Comment:
We are very grateful to the reviewers for kind comments, their time and valuable feedback, which we hope satisfactorily addresses the issues raised in your appraisal.
Kind regards
The Authors

Reviewers' comments:

Reviewer #1: Overall, I very much enjoyed reviewing this paper and can readily see the value of the framework presented for interrogating policies and teaching.

Whilst recognizing the focus of the paper is on presenting the framework however, I do however feel the paper would be improved with a few more **links back to the theoretical lens and key findings**.

1.   links back to the theoretical lens and key findings.

   a.   Specifically, it would be useful to **link the key findings identified through the analysis** process (including what is not being said/silence re broader austerity measures in Ireland, CRPD and how this also impacts on the lives of people with disability, and how this problem has been constructed to focus on individuals rather than structural barriers, **perhaps under section on moral evaluation**?) within the discussion and conclusion, *as this would better guide the reader on how the framework can be used to critique and present the policy process and impact.*

   Author Response a
   I have **discussed the silences** in the text and the impact of such on disabled people under Moral Evaluation. I have included an **additional snapshot** of binaries (figure 3) within this section also.

   The paper now includes a **discussion section** problematizing charitable model of disability linked back to the findings (under moral evaluation). This section extends the discussion to critique and examine the impact of the portrayal of disability along charity ideology. A concluding paragraph outlines the critique process involved through the problematization approach
   b.   It may also be useful to include a **few more sentences in the background to the CES on page 12** or refer readers

   Author Response b: I have added to this section and referred reader through a citation on page 12

c.   The author may also consider **more clearly articulating the links back to qualitative methods in the conclusion.**

Author response c: In the introduction I have included document analysis as a qualitative research method drawing on Corbin and Strauss. I have introduced **a new heading** following the introduction dealing with innovation in qualitative research. Th**e** Conclusion now makes a **direct link with qualitative research methods citing Bowen (2009** who discusses document analysis as a qualitative research method in QRJ).

Minor edits:

Page 6 line 12: check quote? addressed
Page 8: line 7, check dates of the strategy? addresed
Page 10: line 47, through 'a' number? Line 49: 'By'? addressed