THEMATIC SECTION:
ANTHROPOLOGY OF EDUCATION

Respecting Aboriginal Parents' Involvement in their Children's Learning

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ABSTRACT – Respecting Aboriginal Parents' Involvement in their Children's Learning. In Australia (and arguably in many other countries) parent involvement in their child's learning is dominated by Western notions of learning, education, pedagogy and knowledge. We discuss the application of a critical anthropology of education angle to these dominant discourses and methodological resources that encourage us to be in the field, to take time, and to, with critical reflexivity, listen and learn. We describe how we worked to create an Aboriginal Guided approach and drew on Aboriginal Research Protocols to maintain a steady and sharp emphasis on our practice as researchers.
Keywords: **Learning. Aboriginal. Critical Cultural Social Marketing. Educational Disadvantage. Australia.**

RESUMO – Respeito à Participação de Pais Aborígenes com a Aprendizagem de seus Filhos. Na Austrália (e possivelmente em muitos outros países), a participação parental na aprendizagem dos filhos é dominada por noções ocidentais de aprendizagem, educação, pedagogia e conhecimento. Discutimos a aplicação de uma antropologia crítica sob o ângulo da educação a estes discursos e recursos metodológicos dominantes, pois nos incentiva a estar no campo, despender tempo e, com reflexividade crítica, escutar e aprender. Descrevemos como trabalhamos para criar uma abordagem Aborígene-Orientada e nos embasamos em Protocolos de Pesquisa Aborígene para manter uma ênfase firme e acentuada sobre nossa prática como pesquisadoras.
Palavras-chave: **Aprendizagem. Aborígenes. Marketing Social Cultural Crítico. Desfavorecimento Educacional. Austrália.**

Introduction

Helen: I think they talk about it more.
Wayne: Yeah, they do. They talk about it more.
(Girral Aboriginal Learning Centre, 2017)

When stating *I think they talk about it more*, Helen, an Aboriginal parent who had a young child, was describing how the parents that she knew *talked* about leading learning more. Helen and Wayne were discussing the Lead My Learning campaign and parent involvement in their children's learning. They were at an Aboriginal Playgroup in the Girral Aboriginal Learning Centre, in Girral, one of the community-wide campaign sites in our project. Girral (a pseudonym) is a large regional town in NSW (population 29,000) with a population of Aboriginal people much higher than the Australian national population (12% compared with the 3.3%). Playgroups are for parents, families and caregivers and their young children (babies to preschool age). They have facilitator/s who may be employed (if the playgroup is part of a service), or if in community groups, voluntary and are usually based in designated spaces that are young child friendly. Playgroups differ markedly from childcare; while the latter usually does not include parents, playgroups are filled with both parents and their young children.

Using Critical Cultural Social Marketing (Harwood; Murray, 2019b) the Lead My Learning campaign sought to respectfully describe the learning practices of parents with their young children – practices that are too often overlooked or delegitimated in mainstream education. Developed as part of a four-year project, Lead My Learning was the outcome of seeking to create a discourse that *parents recognise* as inclusive of their involvement in their children's learning. When Helen and Wayne said that these parents *talk about it more*, they are explaining that the parents are *talking more about their involvement* in their children's learning after participating in the Lead My Learning campaign. Lead My Learning included Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal parents who experience educational disadvantage and was run at seventeen sites in regional and rural/remote communities in New South Wales, Australia. In this paper we focus on how we worked to create an Aboriginal Guided approach that was inclusive of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people.

Helen and Wayne's conversation is not framed by deficit notions, such as Aboriginal parents being *less involved or less engaged* in their children's learning. From their comments and feedback from the other parents, the Lead My Learning campaign was not a *corrective*. Rather we could say that it contributed what we've called *strategic discourse production* (Harwood; Murray, 2019a), that is, a strategically developed discourse that speaks to what the parents are doing (but which has been elided in mainstream official discourses of parent involvement in education). For instance, Deanne, who participated in a different interview, stated when asked about her experience of Lead My Learning, that, *I'm sure it has but definitely for me like it's more … I'm more conscious of it now* (Deanne, Girral Kindergarten, 2017). Similar comments about Lead

My Learning were frequently made by the 122 other parents who participated in our post campaign yarning and semi-structured interviews.

Importantly, Helen's, Wayne's and Deanne's comments make clear firstly, that the parents were talking more *about something that they were doing* – their involvement in their children's learning. And secondly, that the Lead My Learning campaign had managed to respectfully connect with these learning practices – and represent these in way that connected with the parents. We began with discussion of the comments by Helen, Wayne and Deanne because it helps us to demonstrate what our research project *set out to do*. In the remainder of the paper we move from this discussion of empirical data to a discussion of how we worked with an Aboriginal Guided approach. In this sense this paper sets out to introduce the research practice that produced the Lead My Learning campaign.

In the next section we outline the issues with how parent involvement in their child's is dominated by mainstream Western notions of education. In this discussion we point to our need to apply a *critical anthropology of education angle* to these dominant discourses, one that throws light upward, as it were, on these discursive productions and practices. At the same time, we drew on methodological resources from anthropology of education that encourage us to be in the field, to take time, and to, with critical reflexivity, listen and learn. We then provide a brief outline of Critical Cultural Social Marketing, which we adapted from social marketing. From this discussion we move to describe how we drew on Aboriginal Research Protocols, which not only informed our research practices, but in our view, improved our own practice as researchers. We then discuss how we worked with an Aboriginal Guided approach throughout our research. In the remainder of the paper we provide an overview of the research processes and discuss the crafting of Critical Cultural Social Marketing – one of the outcomes of our research efforts.

The Domineering Discourses of Parent Involvement in their Child's Learning

There is a serious problem with how parental involvement in their children's learning is conceptualised in Western mainstream education, and this can detrimental impacts for Aboriginal parents (Lea; Thompson; Mcrae-Williams; Wegner, 2011; Lowe; Harrison; Tennent; Guenther; Vass; Moodie, 2020; Martin, 2017). This issue has resonance with what González, Wyman and O'Connor (2016) describe as the underlying premise of the influential work on Funds of Knowledge (FofK) (González; Mull; Amanti, 2006; Rogoff et al., 2017; Urrieta, 2015). As they state, "The work began with a simple premise: learning about students and their communities is as important as learning about subject matter and content" (González; Wyman; O'Connor, 2016, p. 482). Significantly, with the Funds of Knowledge,

> [...] the intent was to combat uninformed and stereotypical 'cultural' explanations for behaviors that seeped into discourse around parents' involvement, valuing of education, and investment in academic achievement… FofK praxis also promoted a deep engagement with the historical locations of communities, in an effort to move beyond 'shallow cultural analyses'… (González; Wyman; O'Connor, 2016, p. 482-483).

For our research we also needed to *combat uninformed and stereotypical* views that "[...] seep into discourse around parents' involvement, valuing of education and education achievement" (González; Wyman; O'Connor, 2016, p. 482-483). And this demanded a critical approach to how educational *problems* are constructed (Harwood; Hickey-Moody; McMahon; O'Shea, 2017; McMahon; Harwood; Hickey-Moody, 2016). Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal parents who have experienced educational disadvantage certainly experienced a raft of deficit accounts about both themselves, their children and their involvement in their children's learning (Harwood; Murray, 2019b). For the Aboriginal parents involved in our research project, this included the ongoing impacts of colonisation, of racism and of deficit narratives.

Vital to building our attention to what parents were doing were the conversations and the research that describes these different practices. The published work that informed us or helped us to describe what we were experiencing about parent involvement included the work on LOPI (Learning By Observing and Pitching In) (Correa-Chávez; Mejia-Arauz; Rogoff, 2015; Mejía-Arauz; Rogoff; Dayton; Henne-Ochoa, 2018; Rogoff, 2014; 2016; Rogoff et al., 2017; Urrieta, 2015). This work, based in the Americas, focusses on learning practices that differ from the Western school focus,

> Learning by Observing and Pitching In appears to be particularly common in Mexican and Central American communities, especially those with Indigenous histories, as well as among immigrants to the US from those regions and in Native North American communities (Rogoff, 2016, p. 185).

While much of the research on LOPI has focussed on these communities, Rogoff (2016, p. 185) goes on to suggest that,

> [...] it is likely that LOPI is used in all communities, especially as children learn their first language by participating in its use. In addition, a few innovative schools are organized in ways that resemble LOPI, with collaboration among children and adults in school-community endeavors.

Interestingly Rogoff (2016) proposes a contrast between LOPI, which emphasises a participation in cultural practices paradigm, with the *assembly line* approach of modern schooling. While we did not research LOPI in our work, the concepts were extremely useful for helping

us to differently think about and recognise the learning practices of the parents.

Building recognition and appreciation of the parents' involvement, then, can be argued to require a "[...] deep engagement with historical locations of communities" (González; Wyman; O'Connor, 2016, p. 483), as well as a critical awareness of how deficit problems are constructed. That is a political-historical awareness – as well as the careful and sustained in-depth and in the field attention to how the parents are involved in their children's learning. Here anthropology of education offers valuable approaches and insight to education and parent involvement. For instance, Hurtig and Dyrness (2016, p. 531) discuss the contributions of,

> [...] critical ethnography and ethnographically informed participatory action research to our understanding of how parents from marginalised communities engage in, and think about, their participation in their children's education.

In a similar way and inspired by a critical ethnographic approach, we were able to build our understanding of the parents' involvement, and we welcomed an emphasis on Aboriginal Research Protocols and an Aboriginal Guided approach.

Critical Cultural Social Marketing and those Dominating, Colonising Deficit Discourses of Learning

As argued above, the discourse about Aboriginal parent involvement in their children's learning is impacted by colonising and deficit accounts of parental involvement and learning that are narrow and lacking. There is then a need to find ways to describe/name what *the learning parents do* with their children (but which is excluded from official discourse). The Critical Cultural Social Marketing approach to the promotion of education is one of the outcomes of our research.

> Critical cultural social marketing applies a critical frame that is culturally informed and intends to destabilise or challenge dominant deficit accounts that problematise people and/or their communities. Critical cultural social marketing situates culture and critique at the forefront for gauging how social marketing concepts, techniques and practices might be used in a particular social and cultural context and with an appreciation of how dominant practices can have impacts on the contexts of people's lives and their relationships to education and learning. Underpinning how social marketing activities are conceptualised, planned and applied, the activity of critique and attention to the cultural form an approach that problematises the production of knowledge and draws on the tradition of critical methodologies and researcher reflexivity (Harwood; Murray, 2019b, p. 96).

Critical Cultural Social Marketing engages with the recent scholarship in social marketing that has sought to think through interdisciplinary connections with the critical social sciences as well as with the new work arguing for decolonizing approaches in social marketing research with Aboriginal people (Madill; Wallace; Goneau-Lessard; Stuart MacDonald; Dion, 2014). There are very few adaptations of methodologies such as social marketing for use in the complex cultural and social landscape of educational disadvantage (Truong, 2014). There are however a number of studies that are drawing on approaches such as ethnography (Brennan; Fry; Previte, 2015; Cullen; Matthews; Teske, 2008) and that are using sociological conceptual work such as cultural capital (Kamin; Anker, 2014). At the same time scholars have drawn on the critical social sciences to question the motives of social marketing, for instance, the Foucauldian critiques of social marketing as forms of biopolitical governance (Crawshaw, 2012; Pykett; Jones; Welsh; Whitehead, 2014).

Paying close attention to a critical cultural emphasis that seeks to address the complex problems of disadvantage (Harwood; Hickey-Moody; McMahon; O'Shea, 2017; Wolff; De-Shalit, 2007) was crucial. And notably, this involved deploying critical cultural social marketing *from the ground up* (Murray; Harwood, 2016). This enabled us to create a critically informed approach for use in the promotion of educational futures in communities and places where there is significant educational disadvantage.

Aboriginal Research Protocols

Our efforts have been informed by our sustained attention to Aboriginal Protocols (Murray; Harwood, 2016). We pause to emphasise here that "[...] we are not claiming there is one set of Aboriginal protocols" (Murray; Harwood, 2019b, p. 15). This point is explained by Karen Martin (2012, p. 28), a Noonuccal Woman, in her chapter *Childhood, lifehood and relatedness: Aboriginal ways of being, knowing and doing*,

> The ideas in this chapter should not be considered as generic Aboriginal understandings of reality. While some universal principles may appear and there may be some common principles among us as Aboriginal peoples, I can only speak from my own understanding, experiences and realities. Therefore, one size does not fit all because the one-size-fits-all model is not respectful.

The Aboriginal protocols that we used were central to informing and guiding our approach in this research project and are not *generic* but rather the protocols that we worked with based on our own understandings. The nation state now known as Australia has a diversity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. The Australian Government (2015) reports that before colonisation of Australia (prior to 1776) there were "[...] over 500 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander clan groups or 'nations' around the continent" (Australian..., 2015). This number is,

however, likely to be higher, and crucially, "[...] it is also problematic to use past tense to describe the rich, diverse living cultural practices and knowledges of the continent that since colonisation has been called Australia" (Harwood; Murray, 2019b, p. 14). A map depicting this diversity is available online[1], and we point out that this is produced as an "[...] attempt to represent the language, tribal or nation groups of Aboriginal people of Australia [...]" and that "[...] the information on which the map is based is contested and may not be agreed to by some landowners" (Australian..., 2019).

As outlined in the AIATSIS (Australian..., 2012) *Guidelines for Ethical Research in Australian Indigenous Studies*, it is vital that *research with and about Indigenous peoples must be founded on a process of meaningful engagement and reciprocity between the researchers and Indigenous people*. We recognise the importance of learning from local Aboriginal Elders and of building relationships, establishing respect and conducting research in ways that ensure their rights to maintain intellectual property (Murray; Harwood, 2016). The Aboriginal Research protocols (Murray; Harwood, 2016) that we worked with emphasise respect, relationships and rights to knowledge. This approach looks to the strengths of Aboriginal people, Aboriginal Cultures, Aboriginal Communities and Country.

Country is of great significance in Aboriginal Australia. For instance, see McKnight (2015; 2016) and the edited collection *Us Women, Our Ways, Our World* (Dudgeon; Herbert; Milroy; Oxenham, 2017). A published description of Country by Aunty Laklak Burarrwanga, a Datiwuy Elder, Caretaker for Gumatj (Burarrwanga 2013), shares the depth of this meaning,

> Country has many layers of meaning. It incorporates people, animals, plants, water and land. But Country is more than just people and things, it is also what connects them to each other and to multiple spiritual and symbolic realms. It relates to laws, custom, movement, song, knowledges, relationships, histories, presents, futures and spirit beings. Country can be talked to, it can be known, it can itself communicate, feel and take action. Country for us is alive with story, law, power and kinship relations that join not only people to each other but link people, ancestors, place, animals, rocks, plants, stories and songs within land and sea. So, you see knowledge about Country is important because it's about how and where you fit within the world and how you connect to others and to place (Burarrwanga et al., 2013, p. 54).

We include this quote by Aunty Laklak Burarrwanga to convey the importance of Country and the vital need to be inclusive of a respect for and an awareness of Country in our work. Such respect and awareness, for example, was critical for our relationships with participants, for appreciating the different Aboriginal people and communities with whom we worked, and for being respectful researchers on Country (McKnight, 2015).

At the same time as being guided by Aboriginal protocols, our work seeks to actively critique deficit and colonising discourses, practices and research approaches. For instance, our attentiveness to Aboriginal protocols continually pushed us to be on the look-out for and to question practices that are colonising, to be better informed about the impacts of the histories of colonisation, and to be open and positively engaged in questioning ourselves and our research practice. This includes attention to the critique of the notion of 'hunter gatherer' that has been wrongly used to describe Aboriginal people (Pascoe, 2018) or stereotypes of Aboriginal people associated with 'the bush' and not the city (Fredericks, 2013). In this way, "[...] adhering to these protocols offered the opportunity to connect with deep philosophical and practical ways to undertake research processes and listen to and be guided by those involved in the research" (Harwood; Murray, 2019b, p. 115). These protocols informed our work at every stage in our research (Murray; Harwood, 2019b) and we maintain that, "[...] embedding Aboriginal Protocols provided a basis for participants and project stakeholders to see us as respectful researchers" (Harwood; Murray, 2019b, p. 115).

An Aboriginal Guided Approach: flipping mainstream strategies

The research that informed the creation of the Lead My Learning campaign was led by two researchers, Nyssa, a Dungutti Woman, and Valerie, a non-Aboriginal woman born on Kaurna Country (Adelaide, Australia) of English, Welsh and German descent. We initially came together to form a research team after Valerie was awarded a four-year Australia Research Council Future Fellowship (FT1301011332) and Nyssa was employed as the Project Manager in January 2015. The larger research team included Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. Taking a cross-cultural approach, participants included Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people who have experienced educational disadvantage, live in places of socio-economic disadvantage and who are involved in parenting young children. The research activities occurred over a four-year period (2015-2018).

The overarching aim was to investigate the adaption of social marketing techniques for use in early childhood educational contexts with families experiencing considerable socio-economic disadvantage, and to improve knowledge about higher education in low socio-economic status early childhood settings. *Lead My Learning* and the development of Critical Cultural Social Marketing are outcomes of this project.

Through our collaboration together and from our ongoing learning with Elders and communities we decided to flip the paradigm, so to speak, and focus on an Aboriginal Guided approach that was inclusive of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people.

> [...] we were guided by Aboriginal people. This approach to promoting education flips 'mainstream' strategies. Aboriginal people consulted in our research were pleased that non-Aboriginal people were welcome to participate in the campaign. Thus, while our approach did incorporate consultation with non-Aboriginal people, we ensured this was in keeping with the Aboriginal guided approaches (Harwood; Murray, 2019a, p. 354).

The research was underpinned by a commitment to prioritising Aboriginal ways of knowing, being and doing (Martin; Mirraboopa, 2003) and was guided by Aboriginal people. What we were doing was taking a *stand* where we "[...] sought to proactively work against the colonialist indifference to Indigenous philosophy" (Watson, 2014, p. 517-518)" (Harwood; Murray, 2019, p. 105). Following this guidance encouraged us to reflect on Aboriginal practices, including Dadirri (deep listening), shared by Elder Miriam-Rose Ungunmerr (2017), which has contributed to research approaches (Miller; 2014; West; Stewart; Foster; Usher, 2012).

Deciding on sites for where the Critical Cultural Social Marketing campaign might be located was an unhurried process, and an outcome of our formative research. We began in the initial phases with fieldwork in a number of sites in inner regional, rural (outer regional) and remote NSW. In Australia, "[...] [t]he term 'rural and remote' encompasses all areas outside Australia's *Major cities*" and that following the Australian Statistical Geography Standard (Australian..., 2019) "[...] these areas are classified as Inner regional, Outer regional, Remote or Very remote" (Australian..., 2019). To identify places where there was significant educational disadvantage, we drew on the Australian national SEIFA Index of Relative Socioeconomic Disadvantage (Australian..., 2013).

Based on our formative research, these initial sites were then narrowed to specific sites where the ongoing fieldwork, which included the creation and roll out of the Lead My Learning, occurred. The formative stage lasted 14 months, a time period that was required to build rapport with Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities and conduct multiple interviews and community visits with parents and a range of services in multiple locations in the Australian State of New South Wales.

Throughout our fieldwork we used interviews (yarning and semi-structured) with parent groups and service providers, and longitudinal interviews (yarning and semi-structured) with parents. Yarning, an Aboriginal methodology, and semi-structured interviews were used. Discussing Aboriginal yarning, Fredericks et al. (2011, p. 13) explain that

> Yarning is more than just a light exchange of words and pleasantries in casual conversation. A yarn is both a process and an exchange; it encompasses elements of respect, protocol and engagement in individuals' relationships with each other. Yarning establishes relationality and determines accountability (Martin, 2008).

Yarning is a respected Aboriginal method (Bessarab; Ng'Andu, 2010) and can be used in research by and with Aboriginal people (Geia; Hayes; Usher, 2013; Mooney; Riley; Blacklock, 2018).

The decision of whether to use yarning interviews or semi-structured interviews depended on who was involved in the interview (both participants and researcher) and the context. Yarning occurred usually when Aboriginal people were involved (either the participants or the researcher). If an Aboriginal researcher was present, and participants were Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, yarning did occur. If all present were non-Aboriginal (participants and researcher) then semi-structured interviews were used. In some instances where one-one interviews were held by the Aboriginal researcher and the non-Aboriginal person was familiar with or comfortable with yarning, yarning methodology was used. Notably, as well as in our interviews with participants, we used yarning in the discussions we had in our research team (Harwood; Murray, 2019b). There were occasions where yarning interviews occurred with Aboriginal participants and a non-Aboriginal researcher. In these instances, the Aboriginal Guided approach helped the non-Aboriginal researcher to respect, to listen to be guided by the Aboriginal participants and their yarning approaches in the research context.

This formative work also caused us to reconsider and re-plan our research design for the campaign, with the result that we adjusted to incorporate three different strategies:

1) A community-based campaign (with waitlist) (population ~29,000 people)

2) A multi-playgroup (11 sites) campaign in partnership with a service provider in regional NSW

3) An early childhood centre campaign in services (4 sites) that rely on bus transport for children.

Critical Cultural Social Marketing, similar to social marketing, involves the use of a number of strategies or techniques. We briefly include a description of two of these, segmentation and the proposition statement. In terms of segmentation, our project worked with what we term the *happiness vs education* segment. This segment valued education – but viewed happiness as more important than education (Harwood; Murray 2019a). Through our formative work, we had identified that connecting learning with happiness would be key in the design of Critical Cultural Social Marketing campaign for this priority group.

The proposition statement developed for Lead My Learning was based on our in-depth formative stage. The following proposition statement was developed,

- It is possible to lead your child's learning. It only takes a little time and can fit in with everyday activities.
- You can encourage your child's learning without having specific knowledge of a topic AND it gives a child the happy experiences of valuing and enjoying learning.

This proposition statement formed the basis from which we developed and tested/sought feedback (and redesigned and sought feedback) on the campaign messages. This led to the developing the clear message, *Everyday Activities are Opportunities to Share and Encourage Learning*. The associated messages created emphasised sharing and encouraging learning,

- Sharing and Encouraging learning moments helps children enjoy learning, to feel strong about learning, and importantly, be keen to learn and explore learning relationships.
- *Sharing Learning*: Talking about the *how* to learn, describing things as you see them, sharing information, children watching you learn.
- *Encouraging Learning*: Giving acts of encouragement like smiling, thumbs up, positive reinforcement, and praise for trying.

These messages were supported by a range of materials and design components, and processes such as the campaign plan. We had additional iterative consultation phases with representatives of our priority audience (the priority segment that we had identified). These multiple iterations ensured materials were continually refined as the representative audience directed – and helping us to ensure that the campaign and campaign materials were respectful of the parents' involvement.

Taking note of the Aboriginal Guided approach, the Aboriginal Research Protocols as well as the valued practice of time in the field in anthropology of education, assisted us in our efforts to take the time to carry out our project, particularly the in-depth formative research and the iterative design and feedback cycles. While we did experience a sense of pressure to complete these parts of the research project, we drew strength from these protocols and approaches to stay the distance and take the time to develop relationships and carefully listen, learn and recraft our work. This in-depth research, we believe, was crucial to our successes in the campaign and particularly, to being able to respectfully describe or depict parent involvement in the Lead My Learning campaign. Examples of the posters used in the campaign are included in Figure 1, Share Poster, and Figure 2, Encourage Poster.

Figure 1 – Share Poster

Source: Lead my Learning (2019).

Figure 2 – Encourage Poster

Source: Lead my Learning (2019).

These posters in Figures 1 & 2 show the messaging and design elements used in the campaign. The photographic images are of people in the local communities, content that was requested by the representative groups with which we consulted[2].

Strategic Discourse Production and Critical Cultural Social Marketing

Critical Cultural Social Marketing uses what we have termed strategic discourse production, which "[...] operates to deliberately produce discourses of subjugated knowledge that can interrupt dominant procedures of truth" (Harwood; Murray, 2019a, p. 353-354). In our project,

> [...] subjugated knowledges are the learning practices of parents, while the procedures of truth we are seeking to interrupt are the truths that 'educationally disadvantaged parents are not involved in children's learning'.

Our case for the need for strategic discourse production is based on the argument that the truths about the parents' involvement are crucial to be heard, that there are benefits for parents when the truths about their involvement in learning are told and that this is crucial when the dominant truths are so heavily infused with deficit narratives about the parents.

For us, subjectivity, and in particular, Foucauldian theorisation of subjectivity, is a way of understanding how truths can have these impacts (Harwood; Murray, 2019a). Attention to subjectivity is not new in anthropology, (for instance, Povinelli (2016)), and indeed, as Ortner (2006, p. 128) has stated, is valuable for *cultural critique*,

> I have been concerned to explore the ways in which such an anthropology of subjectivity can be the basis of cultural critique, allowing us to ask sharp questions about the cultural shaping of subjectivities within a world of wildly unequal power relations, and about the complexities of personal subjectivities within the world.

Our attention to strategic discourse production connects in some ways to such an anthropology of subjectivity, broadly conceived, because this very attention to discourses brings us into close proximity with the processes of subjectivation (Harwood; Murray, 2019a). Subjectivity is very much to do with subjectivation, "[...] the formation of a definite relationship of self to self" (Foucault, 2014, p. 231). That is, our relationships with ourselves and our relationships with truth are very much implicated in processes of subjectivation. Truths don't simply circulate without impacting subjectivity, nor, do they, paraphrasing Ortner (2006) operate without a network of power relations. In short, "Foucault encourages attention to how practices of subjectivation are tied to how the subject tells what is true" (Harwood; Murray, 2019a, p. 356).

This conceptual approach has also helped us to interpret how certain knowledge/s are *disqualified* and *subjugated*. As Foucault (1980, p. 81-82) outlines, this occurs in two ways:

> Historical contents that have been buried or disguised in a functionalist coherence or formal systematisation [...] blocs of historical knowledges which were present but

> were disguised within the body of functionalist and systematising knowledge [...]
> [...] [and] Something else [...] a whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naïve knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy.

The first way helps us to be aware of how particular historical contents, such as cultural practices of learning can be *buried* or *disguised* within a *systematising knowledge*, such as settler colonialism. For the parents and communities in our study, the second way reminds us how the parents' knowledges about learning are likely to have been disqualified. Taken together, these two ways force us to differently approach the parents' relationships with learning. Doing research in this way means it is untenable to conclude that parents, as per the official discourse, are not doing *real* or *educated* learning with their children. As researchers, we deliberately resisted such deficit tropes and instead, sought to recognise, and build our appreciation and respect of how this officially unrecognised parent involvement in learning is occurring. Significantly, too, in the politics of this research process, we set out to acknowledge and build our recognition of how domineering legitimised Western education practices produce certain forms of learning as naïve and disqualified. Our critical approach has sought to recognise, describe, depict and visually represent the existent learning practices. Our work establishes that while social science theories such as the work on governmentality by Foucault (1991; 2000) can inform the critique of social marketing, these can also assist in building critical approaches that enable strategically productive discourse techniques that can disrupt dominant deficit views.

Conclusion

Our project demonstrates it is possible to adapt a social marketing approach to promoting education in a way that is respectful of the involvement Aboriginal parents have with their children's learning. We have also shown how it is possible to conduct cross-cultural research with Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people that is *guided by Aboriginal approaches*. This guidance informed not only how Lead My Learning, the Critical Cultural Social Marketing campaign was conceptualised – but how we as researchers understood and conceptualised the problems of educational marginalisation and socio-economic disadvantage. To date there is little published work on social marketing approaches with Aboriginal people (Madill; Wallace; Goneau-Lessard; Stuart MacDonald; Dion, 2014). Our work is a contribution to how social marketing might be adapted to work respectfully with Aboriginal parents. Learning from the efforts of many of our colleagues and Aboriginal communities, this approach looks to the strengths of Aboriginal people, Aboriginal Cultures and Aboriginal Communities and at the same time, seeks to actively critique any deficit approaches.

Aboriginal protocols used for consultation in research are vital for meaningful engagement with Aboriginal people. These protocols enabled us to maintain an Aboriginal Guided approach, hold respect for this approach throughout the research processes, and apply this to all involved in the research, Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people. In closing, we would like to pay our respects and thanks to the many participants and mentors in our research. Embedding Aboriginal protocols into our project is not only for interactions with Aboriginal people; it has provided a basis for non-Aboriginal people to see us as respectful researchers.

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Notes

1 Available at: <https://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/articles/ aiatsis-map-indigenous-australia>.

2 For more examples of the materials and the campaign see <www.le admylearning.com.au> and Harwood and Murray (2019b).

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